

**From cislocative to inverse marker: the pivotal role of 'sudden action'**  
**Keywords: cislocatives, inverse, secondary grammaticalization, Japanese, Circassian**  
Anton ANTONOV

This paper is a case-study of an ongoing grammaticalization process in representatives of two unrelated language families, Japanese and Circassian (NW Caucasian), from CISLOC affixes (cf. (1) & (3)) into incipient exponents of INV marking in those instances when the patient outranks the agent on the person hierarchy  $1 > 2 > 3$  (cf. (2) & (4)). The existence of such a grammaticalization path is not a novelty *per se*, as it has already been proposed that a CISLOC affix is the source of the INV markers in at least Nez Perce (Sahaptian; Zúñiga, 2006, 165-166) and the TB languages Tiddim and Sizang (Kuki-Chin, Gildea and Zúñiga, 2012).

What is interesting in the case of Japanese and Circassian is that the CISLOC have as their source two different but *synchronically* well-attested lexical origins: a verb ('to come') in Japanese and a noun ('hand') in Circassian (John Colarusso, p.c.). This is not the case with markers in the other languages where earlier CISLOC markers can only be reconstructed as CISLOC in their respective proto-languages. It thus seems legitimate to view the ongoing grammaticalization as a case of **secondary** grammaticalization, i.e. one whose input evolves from a "less grammatical" towards a "more grammatical" status (Kuryłowicz, 1965).

What is even more interesting is the role of 'sudden action' in the emergence of the INV reading:

COME > CISLOCATIVE associated motion > CISLOCATIVE directional > 'SUDDEN ACTION' > INVERSE

The 'sudden action' reading, shared by Japanese and Circassian, seems to be a typological *rarum* and could play a pivotal role in the CISLOC to INV reanalysis.

This in turn makes the study of Japanese and Circassian all the more interesting as it could help us refine the grammaticalization path of CISLOC to INV cross-linguistically.

## References

- Gildea, Spike, and Fernando Zúñiga. 2012. Referential hierarchies: A new look at some historical and typological patterns. In EuroBABEL Final Conference, 23–26 August. Leiden.  
Kuryłowicz, Jerzy. 1965. The evolution of grammatical categories. *Diogenes* 51:55–71.  
Zúñiga, Fernando. 2006. Inverse systems in indigenous languages of the Americas. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

## Japanese

(1) 'come' => CISLOC

Otoko=ga chikazuite-kita.  
man=NOM approach.CVB-come.PST  
'A man approached (me).' (constructed)

(2) CISLOC => SUDDEN ACTION=> INV

Otoko=ga nagutte-kita.  
man=NOM hit.CVB-come.PST  
'A man hit me.' (constructed)

## Adyghe (West Circassian)

(3) CISLOCATIVE

hač'e qə-kwe-š't.  
Guest DIR-go-FUT  
'A guest will come.' (Sumbatova 2005, Paris presentation)

## Besleney (East Circassian)

(4) INVERSE

ha-r qə-š'ə-w-e-zaqe-č'e vračə-m=djə kwe.  
dog-ABS DIR-SUB-2SG:DEST-DAT-bite-  
INSTR doctor-INSTR=to go.IMP  
'If a dog bites you, go to the doctor.' (Letuchiy & Arkadiev 2012 SWL presentation)