

Overt case containment in Kaytag and Sanzhi Dargwa

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Intro: Hierarchy of cases, suppletion, and syncretism are central issues within the nanosyntax framework. Based on patterns of syncretism and overt case containment *Case Containment Hypothesis* was formulated and the hierarchy as in (1) was proposed in (Caha 2009: 24).

(1) NOM < ACC < GEN < DAT < INST < COM

Theory's main claim is that structural case is internally complex, and more complex (more marked) cases structurally contain the less complex (less marked) ones. The hypothesis is based mainly on ABA pattern ban (*ABA) observed across languages of the world, which implies that (i) only adjacent case markers show systematic syncretism in the case sequence, (ii) in the case sequence the marking of cases on the right can morphologically contain cases on the left, but not the other way round (Caha 2009: 33, 37). In recent studies the theory was examined in the light of cross-linguistic data (Davis 2021, 2023; Türk, Caha 2021; Sergienko, Egorov 2022; Smith et al. 2019).

Problem: The main problem we address in the talk is the position of Kaytag (data collected during fieldwork in the village of Javgat in June 2024) and Sanzhi (Forker 2020) Dargwa genitive in the case containment hierarchy. In Dargwa varieties, case suffixes for the most part do not directly attach to the root, but are preceded by an oblique marker. One of the oblique markers is identical to the ergative suffix *-li* (*-l*). This fact, on the one hand, supports the hypothesis, while on the other hand, Kaytag and Sanzhi data poses a number of problems for nanosyntax framework. Paradigms shown in Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate that ergative is overtly contained by dative and comitative, but not by genitive. This, however, contradicts generalization (ii).

	‘girl’ SG	‘girl’ PL
ABS	<i>rirsi</i>	<i>rirs-bi</i>
ERG	<i>rirsi-l</i>	<i>rirs-ba-l</i>
GEN	<i>rirsi-la</i>	<i>rirs-ba-la</i>
DAT (SUPER)	<i>rirsi-l-ži</i>	<i>rirs-ba-l-ži</i>
IN	<i>rirsi-l-c:i</i>	<i>rirs-ba-l-c:i</i>
AD	<i>rirsi-l-sa</i>	<i>rirs-ba-l-sa</i>
COM	<i>rirsi-l-c:el</i>	<i>rirs-ba-l-c:el</i>

Table 1: Partial case paradigm of Kaytag noun *rirsi* ‘girl’

	‘clothes’ SG	‘friend’ SG
ABS	<i>paltar</i>	<i>juldaš</i>
ERG	<i>paltar-ri/-li</i>	<i>juldaš-li</i>
GEN	<i>paltar-ra/-la</i>	<i>juldaš-la</i>
DAT (SUPER)	<i>paltar-ri-j/-li-j</i>	<i>juldaš-li-j</i>
AD	<i>paltar-ri-š:u/-li-š:u</i>	<i>juldaš-li-š:u</i>
COM	<i>paltar-ri-c:ella/-li-c:ella</i>	<i>juldaš-li-c:ella</i>

Table 2: Partial case paradigms of Sanzhi nouns *paltar* ‘clothes’ and *juldaš* ‘friend’ (Forker 2020)

Solution: We argue that the solution proposed in (Starke 2017), elaborated in (Caha 2018) and used in (Sergienko, Egorov 2022) can be adopted for Kaytag and Sanzhi, resulting in hierarchy as in (2).

(2) NOM < GEN < BERG < BDAT < IN < COM

Split of the ergative and dative into Big ERG | Small ERG and Big DAT | Small DAT, respectively, not only solves the contradiction posed by Dargwa data, but is actually supported by independent evidence, just like it is for Kildin Saami (Sergienko, Egorov 2022). Namely, forms of ergative (3) and dative (4) are preserved in Kaytag Dargwa under nominalization.

- (3) *gažin* *neg-li* *b-irc-ni*
 jug.ABS milk-ERG N.SG-fill:IPF-MSDR
 ‘Filling a jug with milk’
- (4) $\chi^w a^s$ -*l-ži* *dig* *b-ek:-ni*
 dog-OBL-DAT meat.ABS N.SG-give:IPF-MSDR
 ‘Giving the dog meat’

In the talk, other problems that Kaytag and Sanzhi nominal and pronominal paradigms pose for nanosyntax framework, will be discussed, including the position of other cases in the hierarchy.

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Note that the hierarchy can be applied for ergative languages. Since ...

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 Подумать про масдар