ABAZA

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1. Introduction

1.1. Area and speakers

Abaza (*ábaza bəzŝá*, ISO 639-3 abq) is spoken mainly in the Karachay-Cherkess Republic in Russia, where the several villages with predominantly Abaza population form the Abazinskiy district located along the banks of the rivers Kuban and its tributary Malyj Zelenčuk (*jənǯ’ə́g’-č’ḱʷən*). The most important villages are Inžič-Čukun (*jənǯ’ə́g’-č’ḱʷən*, the administrative centre of the district), El'burgan (*albərʕán*), Kubina (*q́ʷbə́jna*) and Psyž (*psəẑ*). A number of smaller Abaza villages are located outside of the Abazinskiy district in Karachay-Cherkessia, the largest of these being Krasnyj Vostok (*gʷəm-lawkt*) in the valley of the river Kuma (*gʷəm*) to the east of the Abazinskiy district, as well as in the valley of the river Bol'šoj Zelenčuk (*jənǯ’ə́g’-dəw*) to the west. According to the 2010 Russian census, there were slightly less that 38 thousand speakers of Abaza in Russia; the exact number of speakers in other countries, mainly in Turkey (on these, see Chirikba 2012), is unknown but can be estimated as about 10 thousand.

1.2. Dialects

Traditionally (see e.g. Tabulova 1976: 3; Lomtatidze 2006: 98), Abaza is divided into the Tapanta (*ṭaṗánta*) and Ashkharywa (*aš’qárawa*) dialects, the former being the variety with the largest number of speakers and the basis of the written standard, while the latter being spoken in a number of minor villages in the valley of the river Bol'šoj Zelenčuk. However, according to Chirikba (2003: 11–14), the Ashkharywa dialect is actually closer to the

Abkhaz dialectal continuum. According to anecdotal evidence, Tapanta Abaza and standard Abkhaz are not mutually intelligible, whereas no data exists on the mutual intelligibility of Tapanta and Ashkharywa. The current description is based on the Tapanta dialect, both in its standard written form and in the oral form as spoken in Inžič-Čukun. Most of the data derives from fieldwork materials collected by the author and his colleagues during three fieldtrips to Inžič-Čukun in July 2017, July 2018 and April 2019 as well as via internet communication with speakers. Examples taken from the small corpus of oral narratives recorded and annotated by our group (see https://linghub.ru/spoken_abaza/) are marked (T); elicited examples are marked (E).

1.3. Sociolinguistic situation

In Russia, Abaza is one of the official languages of the Karachay-Cherkess Republic and has a written standard used in media (e.g. the newspaper *Abazašta*, http://abazashta.online) including the internet. Its current use, however, is mostly limited to colloquial situations and rural environments. Most if not all speakers of Abaza in Russia are bilingual in Abaza and Russian, and many are also fluent in Kabardian (East Circassian); Abaza has experienced a considerable influence from the latter, including lexical and even morphological borrowings as well as morpholexical and morphosyntactic calques. Even though Abaza is stricktly speaking not endangered (classified by Ethnologue as "developing", https://www.ethnologue.com/cloud/abq), it, together with other local languages, undergoes a constant pressure from Russian, which is the lingua franca and *de facto* the main official language in Karachay-Cherkessia. The international non-profit organization "Alašara" ('Light', http://alashara.org) based in Cherkessk promotes the Abaza language and culture and maintains contacts with the Abaza living in diaspora.

1.4. State of research

Although systematic investigations of Abaza started during the early Soviet period, it remains the least studied of the Northwest Caucasian languages. No comprehensive grammar is available, all existing descriptions being rather short and fragmentary. The first published description of Abaza is admittedly a short article by Karl Bouda (1940) based on materials published in the Soviet Union and focusing on the differences between Abaza and Abkhaz. The most detailed grammar, Tabulova (1976), only deals with phonology and morphology; other grammars include Genko (1955, actually written in 1930-ies), Serdjučenko (1955) and Lomtatidze (2006), all in Russian. The only reference work on Abaza in English is the grammatical sketch Lomtatidze et al. (1989). Other important works (some of which deal with all Abkhaz-Abaza dialects) include Allen (1956) on verbal morphology, Čkadua (1970) on tense-aspect-mood, Gagiev (2000) on simple clause syntax, Avidzba Z. (2017) on verbal affixes, Avidzva A. (2017) on local preverbs, and a series of works by Ketevan Lomtatidze (1944, 1977, etc.), Brian O'Herin (1992, 1993, 2001, 2002), Rauf Klyčev (1972, 1994, 1995, 2000) and Sergej Pazov (2008, 2009, 2010, 2016 etc.). Dictionaries include an Abaza-Russian dictionary (Tugov 1967, ca. 14 thousand words) and a Russian-Abaza dictionary Žirov & Ekba (1956, ca. 30 thousand words); there also exists an online dictionary based mainly on Tugov (1967), available at http://www.abazinka.ru/. A pilot Abaza-Russian parallel corpus based on an almanach published by the "Alašara" society is available at https://linghub.ru/abaza_rus_corpus/search. Dialectological materials include sketches of Tapanta (Lomtatidze 1944) and Ashkharywa (Lomtatidze 1954, both in Georgian) dialects and a dialectological dictionary Tabulova (1999); on Abaza in Turkey, see Dumézil (1968).

1.5. Language history

The linguistic history of Abaza remains obscure, since no written records of the language before the beginning of the 20th century exist. Before the 1860-ies, when massive resettlements and deportations by the Russian empirial forces have dramatically disrupted the

original ethnolinguistic landscape of the Northwest Caucasus, the Abazas occupied the highlands in the basins of the Bolshoy Zelenchuk, Malyj Zelenchuk and Teberda rivers (see Koryakov 2002: map #4). Still before that, the ancestors of Abazas are believed to have lived on the Black Sea side of the Great Caucasian range forming a dialectal continuum with Abkhazians (see e.g. Tabulova 1976: 5–6 and references therein).

2. Phonology

2.1. Vowels and consonants

There are two basic vowel phonemes in Abaza: low /a/ (ɐ, Cyrillic <a>) and (mid-)high /ə/ (ɨ, Cyrillic <ы>). Besides these, there are four additional vowel phonemes found mainly in loanwords or arising by contraction of vowel + glide sequences: /u/ (< /əw/ and /wə/), /o/ (< /aw/), /i/ (< /jə/, /əj/), /e/ (< /aj/). In the following, the additional vowels will only be marked as such in loanwords.

The consonant inventory is extremely rich and is shown in Table 1 together with the equivalents of each phoneme in the Cyrillic orthography in angular brackets. Phonemes occurring only in loanwords are given in parentheses.

Table 1. Abaza consonant system

	plosives			fricatives			sonorants	
	−voice	+glottal	+voice	−voice	+glottal	+voice	nasals	resonants
labial	p <п>	ṗ <пI>	b <б>	(f <ф>)	(f̣<фI>)	(v <в>)	m <м>	w <у>
dental	t <т>	ṭ <тI>	d <д>	s <с>		z <з>	n <н>	r <р>
affricates	c <ц>	ç <цI>	ʒ <дз>					
laminal	ĉ <чв>	ĉ̣ <чIв>	ʒ̂<джв>	ŝ <шв>		ẑ <жв>		
palato-alveolar	č <тш>	č̣ <шI>	ǯ <дж>	š <ш>		ž <ж>		
palatalized	č' <ч>	č̣' <чI>	ǯ'<джь>	š' <щ>		ž' <жь>		
lateral				(λ<тл>)	(λ̣<лI>)	(ɬ'<ль>)		l <л>
palatal								j <й>
velar	k <к>	ḳ <кI>	g <г>					
palatalized	k' <кь>	ḳ' <кIь>	g' <гь>					
labialized	kʷ <кв>	ḳʷ<кIв>	gʷ <гв>					
uvular	q <хъ>	q̇ <къ>		χ <х>		ʁ <гъ>		
palatalized		q̇'<къь>		χ' <хь>		ʁ'<гъь>		
labialized	qʷ<хъв>	q̇ʷ<къв>		χʷ <хв>		ʁʷ<гъв>		
pharyngeal				ħ <хI>		ʕ <гI>		
labialized				ħʷ<хIв>		ʕʷ<гIв>		
laryngeal	ʔ <ъ>							

Allophonic variation is significant for vowels, which receive labial or palatal "colouring" from adjacent consonants (e.g. /ə/ becomes similar to [u] after labial consonants and similar to [i] after palatal ones, for more details see Moroz 2018), and much less so for consonants.

The Abaza phonological inventory is remarkable due to both its highly reduced "vertical" vocalism and to its extraordinarily rich consonantal system including such typologically exotic segments as palatalized uvulars. The sibilant system of Abaza is, however, standard for the Northwest Caucasian family; moreover, by lacking glottalized fricatives (apart from Kabardian borrowings) it fares as less "exotic" than that of the neighboring Circassian languages.

2.2. Script and transcription

First attempts to create a script for Abaza based on Arabic date to late 19th and early 20th centuries (Tabulova 1976: 9), but were not successful. A Latin-based alphabet was devised in 1932, and the current Cyrillic-based alphabet in 1938. The written standard, based on the variety of Tapanta dialect spoken in El'burgan, is officially recognized and taught at schools in the Abaza-speaking villages. It is used in press, on the internet, in publications of

fiction and folklore, as well as in representations of Abaza data in linguistic works published in Russia; works published in Abkhazia, even when written in Russian, often employ the Abkhaz script for rendering Abaza. The script is phonological, with certain inconsistencies in rendering the sequences of glides and /ə/.

2.3. Phonotactics

The syllable structure of Abaza admits both complex onsets and complex codas, mainly created by affixation or deletion of unstressed /ə/, consider the common tongue-twister *h-qḳ-χ-bq̇ʷəl-ḳ* 1PL.IO-cream-three-barrel-UNIT 'our three barrels of cream'. Non-syllabic sonorants can occur in word-initial clusters, cf. *mʕʷa* 'road' or *j-s-taqə́-ṗ* 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-want-NPST.DCL 'I want it', but not in other positions, where they have to be preceded by /ə/, cf. *sə-ĉ-ṭ* 1SG.ABS-sleep(AOR)-DCL vs. *sə́-ĉə-n* 1SG.ABS-sleep-PST.DCL 'I slept', *l-pnə* 3SG.F.IO-at 'at her' vs. *j-ʕa-jə-r-t-ṭ* 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL 'they gave it to him' vs. *j-ʕa-lə́-r-tə-n* 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.F.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-PST.DCL 'they gave it to her'. The voiced sibilant /z/ behaves in this respect like a sonorant, cf. *j-h-č'p-ə́w-š-ṭ* 3SG.N.ABS-1PL.ERG-do-IPF-FUT-DCL 'we shall do it' vs. *j-h-č'p-ə́w-šə-z* REL.ABS-1PL.ERG-do-IPF-FUT-PST.NFIN 'what would we do', *jə-z-č'p-ə́w-š* 3SG.N.ABS-REL.ERG-do-IPF-FUT 'the one who will do it'.

Vocalic hiatuses are not permitted (apart from recent borrowings from Russian); when morphology creates a potential sequence of vowels, the first one is deleted: *h-bzáza-ṭ* 'we lived' vs. *h-bzáz[a]-əj-ṭ* 'we live'.

2.4. Prosody

Stress in Abaza is mobile, distinctive and is determined by inherent properties of morphemes, cf. minimal pairs *ʕá-j-ra* CISL-come-MSD 'to come' vs. *ʕa-j-rá* CISL-grow-MSD 'to grow' (Moroz 2017). The system works basically like that of Abkhaz, which has been described in Spruit (1985) and Dybo (1977, 2000). Abaza stress is described in yet unpublished work by Moroz (2017, 2018) based on fieldwork in Inžič-Čukun; another work on Abaza stress, O'Herin (1992), also unpublished, is based on a different, yet unspecified, source of data.

Each morpheme (more precisely, CV(C) formative) is assigned to one of the following accentual classes: Dominant (D), Recessive (R), Fixed stress (F). The accentual class is a lexical property of each morpheme not correlated with any synchronic phonological or grammatical properties. The position of stress in a wordform is determined by the following accentuation rules:

(1)   a. If the word contains F formatives, the stress falls on the first F formative, otherwise
     b. If the word contains D formatives, the stress falls on the first D formative not followed by another D formative, otherwise
     c. If the word contains only R formatives, the stress falls on the first syllable.

The working of the rules is illustrated in (2)–(4) taken from Moroz (2017) for nominal morphology, and in (5)–(6) taken from Moroz (2017) and (7) from Moroz (2018) for verbal morphology. Importantly, example (7) illustrates that the negation marker *m(ə)-* assimilates its accentual class to that of the following morpheme.

(2)   a. s_D-*lá*$_D$
       1SG.IO-dog
       'my dog'

     b. $sə́_D$-*la*$_R$
       1SG.IO-eye
       'my eye'

     c. s_D-*báq̇*$_F$
       1SG.IO-barn
       'my barn'

(3)   a. la_D-*kʷá*$_D$
       dog-PL
       'dogs'

     b. la_R-*kʷá*$_D$
       eye-PL
       'eyes'

     c.   *báq̇* $_F$-$kʷa_D$
       barn-PL
       'barns'

(4) a. *láᴅ-taᴿ*   b. *láᴿ-taᴿ*   c. *báq̇ ꜰ-taᴿ*
dog-ADV   eye-ADV   barn-ADV
'like a dog'   'like an eye'   'like a barn'

(5) a. *caᴅ-ráᴅ*   b. *paᴿ-ráᴅ*
go-MSD   jump-MSD
'to go'   'to jump'

(6) a. *sᴿ-cáᴅ-dᴿ*   b. *sə̂ᴿ-paᴿ-dᴿ*
1SG.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL   1SG.ABS-jump(AOR)-DCL
'I went'   'I jumped'

(7) a. *dᴅ-g'əᴅ-mᴅ-cáᴅ-ṭᴿ*   b. *dᴅ-g'ə̂ᴅ-mᴿ-paᴿ-ṭᴿ*
3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-NEG-go(AOR)-DCL   3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-NEG-jump(AOR)-DCL
's/he did not go'   's/he did not jump'

According to Genko (1955: 63), stress in Abaza is dynamic; this, however, has not been independently proven by instrumental analysis. Despite its unpredictability and its role in grammar, Abaza stress is not marked in the orthography, including most of the examples in existing grammars; moreover, of the existing dictionaries only Tugov (1967) marks stress, but just in the headwords.

Abaza has no phonological word-level tone. Sentence intonation has not been investigated.

2.5. Morphophonemics

Abaza morphophonemic rules inlcude the following:

(a) Vowel hiatus resolution: $V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_2$ (see 2.3 above).

(b) Unstressed shwa deletion: /ə/ $\rightarrow \varnothing$ in unstressed syllables unless followed by a tautosyllabic sonorant or /z/; more formally, $C_1ə(C_2) \rightarrow C_1(C_2)$, where $C_2 \notin$ {m,n,r,l,w,j,z}.

Rule (b) is illustrated by the following examples taken from Moroz (2018):

(8) a. ***mŝə̂ᴿ***   b. ***mŝə̂ᴿ-taᴿ***   c. ***sə̂ᴅ-mŝᴿ-kʷaᴅ***
bear   bear-ADV   1SG.IO-bear-PL
'bear'   'like a bear'   'my bears'

(9) a. ***wə́-ʒ***   b. ***wə́-m-ʒə-n***
2SG.M.ABS-disappear(IMP)   2SG.M.ABS-NEG-disappear-NEG.IMP
'disappear!'   'do not disappear!'

The only class of exceptions to rule (b) is constituted by some morphemes of the shape CCə subject to rule (c), see examples in (10) from (Moroz 2018).

(c) CCə $\rightarrow$ CəC in unstressed position

(10) a. ***bzə́ᴿ***   b. ***bzə́ᴿ-taᴿ***   c. ***sə̂ᴅ-bəzᴿ-kʷaᴅ***
tongue   tongue-ADV   1SG.IO-tongue-PL
'tongue'   'like a tongue'   'my tongues'

(11) a. ***tʒə́ᴅ***   b. ***tʒə́ᴅ-taᴿ***   c. ***sᴅ-təʒᴅ-kʷáᴅ***
house   house-ADV   1SG.IO-house-PL
'house'   'like a house'   'my houses'

Besides certain nominal and verbal roots, subject to rule (c) are some locative preverbs (historically incorporated roots), cf. ***bž'ə́-χ-ra*** 'take out of smth.' vs. ***bəž'-pš'-rá*** 'look through smth.', see §3.6.10.

Certain verbal roots ending in /a/ change it to /ə/ (usually dropped) in certain forms, cf. (12) with the verb 'give'. Precise rules governing this variation are not yet understood, though for the verb *hʷ(a)* 'say' it appears that the choice of the vowel depends on the presence of an indirect object, cf. (13).

(12) a. *j-rə́-s-**ta**-ṭ*
 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-1SG.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL
 'I gave it to them.' (T)

 b. *j-ʕa-wə́-r-**t**-ṭ*
 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL
 'They gave it to you (man).' (T)

(13) a. *j-s-**hʷa**-ṭ*
 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 'I said.' (T)

 b. *j-l-a-s-**hʷ**-ṭ*
 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 'I told her.' (T)

The other morphophonemic rules concern individual morphemes or morphologically defined classes thereof and will be described in the respective sections.

3. Morphology: word classes and inflection
3.1. Overview

Abaza, like other Northwest Caucasian languages, is characterized as polysynthetic, its verbs obligatorily expressing information about all clausal participants and their grammatical roles as well as about spatial configuration, aspect, tense, mood and interclausal relations. Besides that, verbs may contain one or several optional affixes expressing evaluative and aspectual meanings as well as introducing extra participants. Both prefixation and suffixation are rich and productive, showing a mixture of templatic and layered organization. In the nominal domain, compounding is well-developed, though it is often hard to draw a line between it and, on the one hand, affixation and, on the other hand, morphosyntactic modification.

The question of parts of speech is complex with few robust diagnostics pointing towards distinctions between nouns, adjectives and verbs. Abaza can be characterized by "omnipredicativity", whereby almost any content word can occur in the predicate position and take the stative verbal inflection, see (14a) with a noun, (14b) with an adjective, (14c) with a demonstrative and (14d) with an adverb.

(14) a. *sará   s-an   **d-adəg'á-b***
 1SG   1SG.IO-mother   3SG.H.ABS-Circassian-NPST.DCL
 'My mother is a Circassian.' (T)

 b. *uẑə́   jə-r-čpa-wá   **mač'-ṗ**   awə́j*
 now   REL.ABS-3PL.ERG-do-IPF   little-NPST.DCL   DIST
 'What they do now is not enough (lit. little).' (T)

 c. ***awáj-b***   awát   r-də́na-kʷa   šə-ʔ-wə́   r-χ'ábza-kʷa
 DIST-NPST.DCL   DIST.PL   3PL.IO-HES-PL   REL.MNR-be-PRS.NFIN   3PL.IO-custom-PL
 'Such are their customs.' (T)

 d. *sará   **wəẑ̂ə́-ṗ**   s-an-nə́-ç-wa-š*
 1SG   now-NPST.DCL   1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-LOC.ELAT-go-IPF-FUT
 'I will go NOW (lit. it is now when I will go).' (E)

Verbs, especially dynamic verbs, differ from all other parts of speech in that they can take special morphology (see §3.6) and must be nominalized or relativized in order to occur as arguments or modifiers. Verbs do not take articles or possessor prefixes and, when nominalized, cannot be modified by further relative clauses. On the other hand, non-verbs in predicative position can lack absolutive cross-reference prefixes where these are expected for predicates, see (14b-d) above.

Property words ("adjectives") constitute a subclass of nouns and have the same distribution, including the ability to project NPs without any overt head noun (15). They differ from object-denoting nominals in that they usually follow the object-denoting words they modify and more easily participate in comparative constructions.

(15)   *awəj*   *a-ʕʷabǯ'a*   *s-a-ĉ-ŝ-əj-ṭ*
         DIST   DEF-brown   1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DCL
         'I fear that brown thing.' (Fedorenko 2017: ex. 6)

Adverbs can be derived from any content word by the highly productive suffix *-ta*, see (16) with adverbials based on nouns, property words and verbs. Non-derived adverbs like *wəẑə́* 'now' form a closed class.

(16)   a.   ***a-rə́-pχ'a-ʕʷ-ta***   *s-nə-m-χa-rə́-g'əj*
             DEF-CAUS-learn-NAG-ADV   1SG.ABS-LOC-NEG-work-FUT.NFIN-ADD
             'although I don't work as a teacher...' (T)

       b.   ***ŝábəž-ta***   *j-ʕa-psá-d*   *a-waʕá*
             strong-ADV   3PL.ABS-CISL-get.tired(AOR)-DCL   DEF-people
             'The people became very exhausted.' (T)

       c.   ***j-s-gʷapχa-ʒa-wá-ta ...***   *s-á-pχ'a-ṭ*
             3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-like-INT-IPF-ADV   1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-learn(AOR)-DCL
             'I liked to learn very much (lit. I learnt liking it very much).' (T)

Pronouns and numerals can be singled out on both semantic and morphological grounds but syntactically pattern with nominals. Closed (grammatical) word classes are constituted by postpositions and complementizers (most of which are more or less grammaticalized nouns), coordinating conjunctions and various particles.

3.2. Nouns
3.2.1. General structure
The general structure of the nominal word is shown in (17):

(17)   definiteness/possessor – stem – plural – indefiniteness – case – additive

3.2.2. Gender
Abaza distinguishes between human (comprising men, women, children and supernatural rational beings such as God) and non-human genders (comprising all animals and inanimate entities), and, in the human gender, between masculine and feminine subgenders. Gender assignment is strictly reference-based and is manifested mainly in verbal and nominal cross-reference, cf. (18). There is no gender agreement of modifiers in the noun phrase.

(18)   a.   *s-**abá***   *j-aχš'á*
             1SG.IO-father   3SG.M.IO-sister
             'my father's sister' (T)

       b.   *s-**án***   *l-aš'á*
             1SG.IO-mother   3SG.F.IO-brother
             'my mother's brother' (T)

       c.   *a-**čə́***   *a-š'aṗə́*
             DEF-horse   3SG.N.IO-leg
             'the leg of the horse' (Tabulova 1976: 52)

3.2.3. Number
In the domain of number, singular (generally unmarked) vs. plural are distinguished. The most common plural marker is *-kʷa* (*maʁráj-**kʷa*** 'blackberries'), but inherited human nouns often attach the suffix *-ĉa* (*sə́-nbǯ'aʕʷ-**ĉa*** 1SG.IO-friend-PLH 'my friends'); the two suf-

fixes often combine (*sə́-nbǯ'aʕʷ-ĉa-kʷa* 1SG.IO-friend-PLH-PL 'my friends'), and many human nouns attach -*kʷa* (*a-sabə́j-kʷa* DEF-child-PL 'children'). In nominal complexes with postpositional modifiers, the human plural suffix always attaches to the head, whereas the general plural suffix follows the modifiers, see §4.1. The general plural suffix requires marking for either definiteness or indefiniteness and does not co-occur with bare nouns.

There are a few morphological idiosycrasies in number inflection, such as the suppletive forms for 'person' SG *ʕʷəĉʷʕʷə́s* ∼ PL *waʕá* and 'girl' SG *phʷə́s.pa* ∼ PL *hʷssa*; the word for 'man' (*qáca*) shows truncation in the human plural (*qá-ĉa*); finally, the ethnonym *abáza* 'Abaza' marks plurality by shifting stress to the first syllable: *ábaza*. Nouns denoting young animals show special inflection SG -*s*, PL -*ara*: 'calf' SG *hʷə-s* ∼ PL *a-hʷ-ara* (Tabulova 1976: 49).

There is also an associative plural suffix -*rʕa* attaching to human nouns and personal names and denoting groups, e.g. *nana-rʕa* 'grandmother and her family', *dəwda-rʕa* 'the Duda family' (Tabulova 1976: 49).

3.2.4. Case

Abaza has no case marking for such grammatical roles as intransitive or transitive subject, direct or indirect object or adnominal possessor. A number of suffixes marking peripheral relations exist:

– instrumental -*la*, whose functions include instrument (19a), place (19b), direction (19c), domain (19d), time (19e), language (19f) and some adnominal dependents (19g).

(19) a. **_a-bacaçaχʷa-kʷa-la_**   *s-a-gʷ-lə-r-cə-d*
DEF-rod-PL-INS   1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-split(AOR)-DCL
'She beat me with the rods.' (T)

b. **_a-háq̇ʷara-la_**   *hə́-la-ĉa-ta*   *č-hə-r-pχ-ə́w-n*
DEF-gravel-INS   1PL.ABS-LOC-sit-ADV   RFL.ABS-1PL.ERG-CAUS-warm-IPF-PST
'We sat on the gravel and were warming ourselves.' (T)

c. **_h-wə́naʕʷa-kʷa-la_**   *h-ca-χ-ṭ*
1PL.IO-family-PL-INS   1PL.ABS-go-RE(AOR)-DCL
'We went back to our families.' (T)

d. *wə-g'ə-m-pχaš'-əw-ma*   *l-hʷa-d*
2SG.M.ABS-NEG.EMP-NEG-be.ashamed-IPF-Q   3SG.F.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
wə-bəzŝa-la   *ʕʷ-ba*   *ʕa-wə-g-nəs*
2SG.M.IO-language-INS   two-CLN   CISL-2SG.M.ERG-carry-PURP
'Aren't you ashamed, she said, of bringing home poor marks in your native language?' (T)

e. *á-raχʷ*   *χʷə́jt-ta*   *dará∼dará*   *tə́-ç-əj-ṭ*   **_š'əmtá-la_**
DEF-cattle   free-ADV   3PL∼EMP   LOC.ELAT-go-PRS-DCL   morning-INS
'The cattle freeley go out on its own each morning.' (T)

f. *jar-g'ə́j*   **_wrə́ŝ-la_**   *j-s-hʷá-ṗ-ta*
3SG.N-ADD   Russian-INS   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-say-NPST.DCL-ADV
'I'll say it in Russian.' (T)

g. **_lingvistika-la_**   *a-qʷšara*
linguistics(R)-INS   DEF-department
'department of linguistics' (Abazašta 2017)

– adverbial -*ta* forming adverbs and secondary predicates, see (16a) above and (20), as well as marking the head of maximalizing head-internal relative clauses (see §4.4.1).

(20) *abχaz-kʷa   rə-bəzŝa   ġraӡəʕʷa–bəzŝa-ta   j-š-š'a-kʷ-gəl-əw*
Abkhaz-PL   3PL.IO-language   state–language-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-leg-LOC-stand-PRS.NFIN
'[we know] that Abkhaz has a status of a state language' (Abazašta 2017)

  – limitive *-ӡa* 'until' expresses the limit in space (21a) and time (21b):

(21) a.   *jənž'ə́g'–č'ḳʷən   ás'ma-la   a-ӡ-čpə́-ӡa*
       Zelenčuk–small   right-INS   DEF-water-bank-LIM
       '[lands] till the right bank of Malyj Zelenčuk' (T)

   b.   *š'asə-ӡa   a-warad-əj   a-ʕa.hʷ.r-əj*
       night-LIM   DEF-song-ADD   DEF-dance-ADD
       r-bž'ə   g'-a-ča-m-s-ṭ
       3PL.IO-sound   NEG.EMP-3N.IO-LOC-NEG-hit(AOR)-DCL
       'The sounds of singing and dancing did not stop till late at night.' (Tabulova 1976: 273)

3.2.5. Additive markers

The additive markers *-əj* and *-g'əj* occupy the rightmost position in the nominal word (they can only be followed by the emphatic suffix *-š'təj*, cf. (22a)); the former mostly serves as coordinator, appearing on all conjuncts, cf. (21b) and (22a); the latter can also be used to coordinate noun phrases (22b), but more often serves to express addition (23a), emphasis under negation (23b) or as a clause-linking device occurring on the first constituent (23c).

(22) a.   *arəj   a-χə-ʕʷ-hʷsəsa-ḳ-jə-š'təj   pa-ḳ-əj   d-sə-ma-n*
       PROX   DEF-three-CLH-girl.PL-UNIT-ADD-EMP   son-INDF-ADD   3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PST
       'I had three daughters and one son.' (T)

   b.   *a-ʕʷə-ӡ'-g'əj   s-aš'a-g'əj   sar-g'əj*
       DEF-two-CLH-ADD   1SG.IO-brother-ADD   1SG-ADD
       'the two of us, my brother and I' (T)

(23) a.   *awát-g'əj   j-gʷə́rʁ'a-wa   jə-r-fá-n*
       DIST.PL-ADD   3PL.ABS-rejoice-IPF   3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-eat-PST
       'They, too, ate it gladly.' (T)

   b.   *ḳaṗəjḳa-ḳ-g'əj   j-g'-ʕa-hə-rə-m-t-χ-wa-z-d*
       penny(R)-INDF-ADD   3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-CISL-1PL.IO-3PL.ERG-NEG-give-RE-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
       'They did not give us a penny.' (T)

   c.   *h-ӡca-wá   h-á-la-ga-n*
       1PL.ABS-swim-IPF   1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin-PST
       a-š'árda-ʕʷ-g'əj   ʕá-qən-hʷə-χ-ṭ
       DEF-many-CLH-ADD   CISL-LOC-turn-RE(AOR)-DCL
       'We started swimming, [but] many returned.' (T)

Both markers can attach to case markers (24):

(24) a.   *mháĉa-kʷa-**l**-əj   vílka-kʷa-**l**-əj   h-č'-əj-ṭ*
       spoon-PL-INS-ADD   fork(R)-PL-INS-ADD   1PL.ABS-eat-PRS-DCL
   b.   *mháĉa-kʷa-**la-g'əj**   vílka-kʷa-**la-g'əj**   h-č'-əj-ṭ*
       spoon-PL-INS-ADD   fork(R)-PL-INS-ADD   1PL.ABS-eat-PRS-DCL
       a=b 'We eat with spoons and forks.' (E)

3.2.6. Definiteness and indefiniteness

Abaza nominals mark definiteness by the prefix *a-* and indefiniteness by the suffix *-ḳ* also functioning as the numeral 'one'. The prefix *a-* marks not only anaphoric and situational definiteness (25a,b), but also nominals with unique referents (25c) as well as common nouns with generic reference (25d) (Arakelova 2019: 6). Besides that, plural nouns, even when non-

referential, usually occur with the definite prefix (25e), although this is not an absolute rule, cf. (24).

(25) a. *ĉə́mla–awə́ra r-č'pá-wa   j-á-la-ga-ṭ.*
ladder–long   3PL.ERG-do-IPF   3PL.ERG-3N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
á-ĉəmla r-č'pá-ṭ.
DEF-ladder   3PL.ERG-do(AOR)-DCL
'They started making a long ladder. They made the ladder.' (T)

b. *ẑ–zaẑə-ḳ   ʕa-h-χʷʕa-n ...   j-ʕa-na-r-jə-z*
cow–one-INDF   CISL-1PL.ERG-buy-PST   REL.ABS-CISL-3SG.N.ERG-CAUS-go-PST.NFIN
a-tana ... j-hə-kʷə-r-χ-d
DEF-calf   3N.ABS-1PL.IO-LOC-3PL.ERG-take(AOR)-DCL
'We bought a cow ... they took from us the calf that it had given birth to.' (T)

c. *awəj s-gʷə   j-a-s-wa   a-dəwnaj sə-kʷ-b*
DIST   1SG.IO-heart   REL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-hit-IPF   DEF-world   1SG.ABS-be.at-NPST.DCL
'With that heartache I live in the world.' (T)

d. *á-baga   á-ĉa   ʕʷáž'-ṗ   jg'ə́j a-çə́qʷa   awə́ra-ṗ.*
DEF-fox   3SG.N.IO-colour   yellow-NPST.DCL   and   3SG.N.IO-tail long-NPST.DCL
'The fox has yellow fur and a long tail.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 3)

e. *a-sabə́j-kʷa anáχ' á-rqa   a-pnə́*
DEF-child-PL   MED.LOC DEF-field   3SG.N.IO-at
jə-š-ná-r-g-wa-z   a-phʷə́s-kʷa
3PL.ABS-REL.MNR-TRAL-3PL.ERG-carry-IPF-PST.NFIN   DEF-woman-PL
j-r-á-bə-m-hʷ-əw-ma
3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-DAT-2SG.F.ERG-NEG-say-IPF-Q
'Could you please tell them how women used to carry children to the field?' (T, asking to tell a story from the interlocutor's childhood)

The indefinite suffix occurs on singular (26a) or plural (26b) referential nominals introducing new referents; however, these can also be introduced by bare nominals, as in the first clause of (25a), especially when inanimate.

(26) a. *dagestán   d-á-wa-ta   č'ḳʷən-ḳ*
Dagestan(R)   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-be.from-ADV guy-INDF
q̇ʷərʓə́kʷ   sə́-cə-j-χ-əw-n
service   1SG.IO-COM-3M.SG.ERG-work-IPF-PST
'There was a guy from Daghestan who served in the army with me.' (T, beginning of a story and introducing the protagonist)

b. *a-mʕʷa s-š-a-la-c-əw-zə-mca*
DEF-road   1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-3SG.N.IO-LOC-go-IPF-PST.NFIN-CVB
çla-kʷa-ḳ   ʕa-z-ba-ṭ
tree-PL-INDF   CISL-1SG.ERG-see(AOR)-DCL
'While walking along the road I saw some trees.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 18)

Non-referential bare nominals without either definite or indefinite markers occur in irrealis contexts such as e.g. imperatives (27a) and wishes (27b) (Arakelova 2019: 8–10) or with intensional verbs (27c).

(27) a. *ʒə–bašə́rba   χʷʕá!*
water–bottle   buy(IMP)
'Buy a bottle of water!' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 9)

b. *nbž'aʕʷ   d-ʕa-s-áw-ra   s-taqə́-n*
friend   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.ERG-find-MSD   1SG.IO-want-PST
'I'd like to find a friend.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 10)

c.   *a-dg'əl*   *a-pnə*   *χ'apš'*   *d-a-zə-pšʕ-əj-ṭ*
    DEF-earth   3SG.N.IO-at   gold   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-search-PRS-DCL
    'He is looking for gold in the earth.' (Testelets 2017a: 313)

Non-referential bare nominals show number neutrality (28a) and do not occur with demonstratives (28b); more on their morphosyntactic properties see Testelets (2017a).

(28) a.   *a-tʒə*   *a-paχ'*   *çla*   *aʔa-n*
      DEF-house   3SG.N.IO-front   tree   be-PST
      'There was a tree / were trees in front of the house.' (Testelets 2017a: 314)

    b.   *arəj*   **(a-)č'ḳʷən*
      PROX   *(DEF-)guy
      'this guy' (Testelets 2017a: 316)

Generic and indefinite mass nouns also frequently occur unmarked (29a,b).

(29) a.   **(a-)nartə́χʷ**   *χʷábəž-ta*   *j-sabáp-ṗ*
      (DEF-)maize   strong-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-useful-NPST.DCL
      'Maize is very healthy.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 22)

    b.   *h-an*   *jacə*   *ž'ə(-ḳ)*   *l-χʷʕa-ṭ*
      1PL.IO-mother   yesterday   meat(-INDF)   3SG.F.ERG-buy(AOR)-DCL
      'Mother bought meat yesterday.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 23)

Under sentential negation, even definite nominals can sometimes occur unmarked (Arakelova 2019: 15–16) (30), but when universal quantification ('not a single') is implied, the indefinite marker together with the additive suffix are used, see (23b).

(30) *sará*   **(a-)telefón**   *g'-ʕá-s-m-aχʷ-ṭ*
    1SG   (DEF-)phone(R)   NEG.EMP-CISL-1SG.ERG-take(AOR)-DCL
    'I didn't take my phone.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 28)

First names and place names do not normally take the definite marker (31a), however, may take verbal non-finite past tense marking on non-first uses in the narrative (31b) (Tabulova 1976: 45). Surnames can take the definite prefix (Tabulova 1976: 44).

(31) a.   **zawaӡ** *a-ʒə*   *č-a-j-rə-qʷara-χ-ṭ*   *hʷa-ta*
      PN   DEF-water   RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-strangle-RE(AOR)-DCL   QUOT-ADV
      j-r-a-hʷ
      3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-DAT-say(IMP)
      'Tell them that Zawal drowned himself.' (T)

    b.   *h-pnə*   *bəjӡaӡ-χ-əw-z*   *d-ca-χə-n*
      1PL.IO-at   PN-INC-IPF-PST.NFIN   3SG.H.ABS-go-RE-PST
      j-r-a-j-hʷ-ṭ
      3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
      'The aforementioned Bilyal returned home and told them.' (T)

The definite and indefinite markers can co-occur denoting one element from a set;

(32) **a-ĉá-ḳ**   *sará*   *j-s-f-əw-š-ṭ,*
    DEF-apple-INDF   1SG   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-eat-IPF-FUT-DCL
    anaχ'-anát   *s-án*   *j-lə́-s-t-χ-wa-š-ṭ*
    MED.LOC-MED.PL   1SG.IO-mother   3PL.ABS-3SG.F.IO-1SG.ERG-give-RE-IPF-FUT-DCL
    'I'll eat one of the apples, and will give the remaining ones back to my mother.'
    (Arakelova 2019: ex. 16)

The marker *-ḳ* occurs in compounds containing numerals regardless of definiteness of the whole phrase: *pš'ə́-məz-ḳ* four-month-UNIT 'four months', *a-χə-ʕʷ-hʷsəsa-ḳ* DEF-three-CLH-girl.PL-UNIT 'the three girls'.

3.2.7. Possession

Possession is expressed by prefixes identical to those marking indirect objects with verbs, see Table 2, and occurring in the same slot as the definite marker. No alienability contrast exists, and both body-part and kinship nouns may, when appropriate, occur without possessive prefixes.

Table 2. Possessive prefixes

	1	2M	2F	3M	3F	3N	Rel
Sg	sə-	wə-	bə-	jə-	lə-	a-	zə-
Pl	hə-	ŝə-		rə-			

The relative prefix is used when the possessor argument is bound by a question or relativization operator on the clause level, cf. (33).

(33) *áẑ-aĉ-kʷa*   **z-qa**   *z-zə́-nq̇ʷə-m-ga-χ-kʷa-wa*
DEF+old-NPRO-PL   REL.IO-head   REL.IO-POT-LOC-NEG-carry-RE-PL-IPF
'the old ones, who can no longer take care of themselves (lit. who can no longer carry whose head)' (T)

Possessive prefixes are the standard way of attaching referential modifiers to nominals (including nominalizations of verbs formally marked as such by suffixes); there is no restriction on inanimate possessors, cf. *albərʕán **a**-boǧníca* 'the hospital(R) at El'burgan', *watar **a**-gʷaŝ-kʷa* 'the doors of the barn' etc. The third person possessive prefixes are referential and do not require an overt nominal possessor:

(34) *awə́j*   *á-dg'əl*   **j-ájš'-ĉa-kʷa**   *jə́-r-ĉa-d*
DIST   DEF-land   3SG.M.IO-brother-PLH-PL   3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-sit(AOR)-DCL
'He settled his brothers on this land.' (T)

3.2.8. Nominal derivation

The primary means of nominal derivation in Abaza are suffixation and compounding. The productive suffixes include (see Genko 1955: 113–115; Tabulova 1976: 59–66):

-ra: abstract nouns from other parts of speech (including masdars from verbs), cf. *ҫawlá-ra* deep-NML 'depth', *č.k̡ʷaba-rá* bathe-NML 'bathing';

-ʕʷ: agent nouns (*n.χa-ʕʷ* work-NAG 'worker, staff', *bzáza-ʕʷ* live-NAG 'inhabitant') and, more generally, nouns denoting persons (*š'arda-ʕʷə́* many-NAG 'majority'); the same suffix is used as the human class marker with numerals (*ẑa.χə́-ʕʷ* 'thirteen people');

-ga: instrument nouns, *á-pχ'a-ga* 3SG.N.IO-learn-NINS '(text)book';

-rta: locative nouns, *sasə́-rta* guest-NLOC 'drawing-room', *χʷə-rta* injure-NLOC 'wound';

-ʕa: abstract nouns (*nbǯ'aʕʷə́-ʕa* 'friendship') and nouns denoting time (*ʕa-gə́l-ʕa* CISL-stand-NTMP 'time to get up');

-š'a: manner nouns, *bzáza-š'a* 'way of life', *hʷá-š'a* 'manner of saying';

-ẑ: augmentatives, *kʷə́ǯ'ma-ẑ* 'a huge wolf';

-c: singulatives, *qa-qʷə́-c* head-hair-SNG 'one hair on one's head'.

Compound nouns with conventionalized semantics may be formed from roots of different categories with different semantic relations between them (Tabulova 1976: 53–59):

− noun-noun compounds with the first root modifying the second (*la-qʷə́* eye-hair 'eyelashes', *taca-nadə́.l.ra* bride-leading.inside 'wedding') or with a coordinative relation (*kʷṭə́w-q̇az* hen-goose 'poultry');

− endocentric verb-noun compounds with the first root modifying the second (*ҫər-bǯ'ə́* cry-voice 'scream');

– noun-adjective compounds with the second root modifying the first (*aš'-ahba* brother-elder 'elder brother', *hʷrá-pšʒa* grass-beautiful 'flower'); the adjectival roots *č'ḳʷən* and *χʷəc* 'small' can be used as diminutive markers expressing not only size, but also emotional attitude (*a-jaĉa-χʷəc* DEF-star-small 'the dear little star', AbPo);

– exocentric noun-verb compounds denoting persons (*mc-hʷa* lie-say 'liar'), things (*ʒə-r-šə́* water-CAUS-boil 'boiled water') and events (*la-qʕʷa* eye-close 'hide-and-seek').

Reduplication is also attested (Tabulova 1976: 58–59), always with some modification of the copy, either morphological, e.g. change of the prefix (*na-hʷa~ʕa-hʷa* TRAL-say~CISL-say 'rumours'), or phonological in expressive formations (*taẑ~máẑ-kʷa* 'old women').

3.3. Adjectives

Property-words do not form a well-defined morphosyntactic class in Abaza. When modifying a noun, most adjectives occur in postposition to their head and form with it a compound (*taba–də́w* 'big pan', *čəʕʷra–baẑ* 'rich harvest'); however, some adjectives always occur to the left of their head, cf. *arma–naṗə́* 'left hand'. There is no agreement in gender or number between adjectives and nouns, and adjectives do not have any special inflectional morphology apart from the following:

-*ʒa*: intensive and superlative (*a-wəs–naq̇ʷ-ʒa-kʷa* DEF-deed–base-INT-PL 'the basest deeds', AbPo; *qara-ʒa* 'very far'); the consonant of the suffix can be doubled (*dəw-ʒʒa* 'the largest');

-*ĉa*: attenuative (*aw-ĉa* 'longish').

Adjectival derivation is achieved by suffixation (most of it non-productive) and compounding (Tabulova 1976: 76–80). Productive suffixes include:

-*da*, -*dʔa*: caritive 'without' (*qəŝ-dʔa* 'without windows', *amʕa-da* shoes-CAR 'barefoot'); the choice between the two allomorphs is unclear, and the morphosyntactic properties of the caritive formation are mixed between that of a property-word (e.g. they can freely occur as predicates) and an adverbial (they usually serve as clause-level modifiers and rarely form compounds with nouns);

-*χʷ*: facilitive, forms adjectives from verbs (*fa-χʷə́* 'easy to eat');

-*waĉa*: difficilitive, forms adjectives from verbs (*bž'a-waĉa* 'hard to bring up').

Adjectival compounding:

– exocentric noun-adjective compounds (*ʕʷə-las* person-quick 'quick-tempered', *gʷə-pška* heart-soft 'kind-hearted');

– exocentric noun-noun compounds (*ča-psart* mouth-scissors 'sharp-tongued', *hʷəhʷ-ĉa* dove-colour 'dove-grey');

– endocentric adjective-adjective compounds (*mawra-kʷajĉa* brown-black 'dark-brown');

– exocentric noun-verb compounds (*rə-cha* forearm-bite 'poor', *gʷə-m-ĉa* heart-NEG-sit 'uneasy').

3.4. Pronouns

Pronouns form a heterogeneous class of words with morphological and syntactic peculiarities.

3.4.1. Personal pronouns

Independent personal pronouns are shown in Table 3. Short (unstressed) vs. full (stressed) forms are distinguished, with the former used only rarely.

Table 3. Independent personal pronouns

	1	2M	2F	3M	3F	3N
Sg	*sa(rá)*	*wa(rá)*	*ba(rá)*	*ja(rá)*	*la(rá)*	*ja(rá)*
Pl	*ha(rá)*	*ŝa(rá)*			*da(rá)*	

Third person pronouns occur only rarely, with demonstratives (§3.4.3) normally used instead. The use of short and full personal pronouns as arguments and possessors is illustrated in (35) and (36).

(35) a. *wẑə-g'əj   bzəj   h-aba-m-b-əw-ztən*   **ha...**
now-ADD   good   1PL.ABS-REC.ERG-NEG-see-IPF-COND.REAL   1PL
'If we no longer love each other...' (AbPo)

b. *q̇rəm   **wará**   wə-górec-əw-ma*   *hʷa*
PN   2SG.M   2SG.M.ABS-mountaineer(R)-PRS.NFIN-Q   QUOT
'Krym, are you a mountaineer?' (T)

(36) a. *awát   zəmʕʷá   **sa**   sə-la-gʷə́   jə-ç-s-ṭ*
DIST.PL   all   1SG   1SG.IO-eye-heart   3PL.ABS-LOC-hit(AOR)-DCL
'All this has passed through my eyes.' (T)

b. *awə́j   ĵ-w-ə́j-ṭ*   **ŝará**   *ŝ-məwrád*
DIST   3SG.M.ERG-agree-PRS-DCL   2PL   2PL.IO-wish
'He agrees with your wish.' (T)

Full personal pronouns can attach nominal morphology such as the instrumental (*sara-la* 'with me'), additive (*sar-g'əj* 'and I', NB truncation) and caritive (*sara-dʔa* 'without me'). When used as prediactes, pronominal roots can also be directly inserted into the appropriate verbal morphology (37a), although normally the construction with the copula is used instead (37b).

(37) a. *sará*   **g'-sá-m-ma**   *j-w-á-z-hʷə-z?*
1SG   NEG-1SG-NEG-Q   3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.IO-DAT-REL.ERG-say-PST.NFIN

b. *sará*   **g'-s-ák̇ʷə-m-ma**   *j-w-á-z-hʷə-z?*
1SG   NEG-1SG.IO-COP-NEG-Q   3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.IO-DAT-REL.ERG-say-PST.NFIN
'a=b Wasn't it me who told you that?' (E)

3.4.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns exist only as nominal proforms or predicates, not as possessive modifiers. They are formed by adding the respective possessive prefix to the root *-ĉə* 'belong' serving as an all-purpose nominal proform (Testelets 2018), cf. (38).

(38) a. *arə́j   a-q̇ə́lpa   sará   **j-s-ĉə-ṗ.***
PROX   DEF-cap   1SG   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-belong-NPST.DCL
'This cap belongs to me.' (Testelets 2018: ex. 20)

b. *w-an-ə́j*   *w-ab-ə́j*   *sará*   **s-ĉ-kʷa**
2SG.M.IO-mother-ADD   2SG.M.IO-father-ADD   1SG   1SG.IO-NPRO-PL
r-ack̇ə́s   rə́ça   j-áhba-ṗ.
3PL.IO-than   more   3PL.ABS-elder-NPST.DCL
'Your parents are older than mine.' (Testelets 2018: ex. 10a)

3.4.3. Demonstratives

Abaza has a tripartite system of demonstratives distinguishing proximal, medial and distal deixis (the exact deictic meanings are yet to be determined) and forming a morphological paradigm of their own, shown in Table 4 and illustrated in (39) and (40).

Table 4. Demonstratives

	Sg	Pl	INS	LOC	LAT	ADV
proximal (PROX)	*arə́j*	*arát*	*arə́la*	*aráʔa*	*aráh*	*arása*
medial (MED)	*anə́j*	*anát*	*anə́la*	*anáʔa*	*anáh*	*anása*
distal (DIST)	*awə́j*	*awát*	*awə́la*	*awáʔa*	*awáh*	*awása*

(39) a.　*h-an*　　　　*d-ʕa-s-çʕa-ṭ*
　　　　1PL.IO-mother　3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-ask(AOR)-DCL
　　　　arə́j　*j-a-mʕanə-ja*　　　　　*l-hʷa-d.*
　　　　PROX　　REL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-meaning-QN　3SG.F.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
　　　　'Mother asked me "What does this mean?"' (T)

　　b.　***arə́j***　*h-č'pá-ṭ*　　　　***anə́j***　*h-č'pá-ṭ*
　　　　PROX　　1PL.ERG-do(AOR)-DCL　MED　　1PL.ERG-do(AOR)-DCL
　　　　'We did this and that.' (T)

　　c.　***awát-kʷa***　*r-áḳʷ-b*　　　　*j-h-č'pá-z*　　　　　*hará*
　　　　DIST.PL-PL　　3PL.IO-COP-NPST.DCL　REL.ABS-1PL.ERG-do-PST.NFIN　1PL
　　　　'That's what we did.' (T)

(40) a.　***ará.sa***　*s-g'ə́-z-qə-s-wa-šə-m*
　　　　PROX.ADV　　1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-LOC-go-IPF-FUT-NEG
　　　　'I won't be able to pass this way.' (T)

　　b.　***anə-la***　*h-a-kʷ-də-r-ĉa-ṭ*
　　　　MED-INS　　1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3PL.ERG-CAUS-sit(AOR)-DCL
　　　　'They put us there [onto the cart].' (T)

　　c.　***awa.ʔa***　*h-ʕa-n-χa-n*
　　　　DIST.LOC　1PL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PST
　　　　'We remained there.' (T)

The plural demonstratives can also attach the regular plural suffix, cf. (39c).

Besides independent use, demonstratives can function as determiners modifying noun phrases. Determiners are clearly free and stressed forms normally requiring the definite form of the following NP and agreeing with it in number (41).

(41) a.　***anə́j***　*a-mca*　　*ʔa-ʕa-ḳḳa-wa*　　*a-pnə*　　*w-ca-ta*
　　　　MED　　DEF-fire　REL.LOC-CISL-shine-IPF　3SG.N.IO-at　2SG.M.ABS-go-ADV
　　　　j-aʔ-əw　　　　　*wə-r-dər*
　　　　REL.ABS-be-PRS.NFIN　2SG.M.IO-CAUS-know(IMP)
　　　　'Go there where that fire glares and find out what it is.' (Tabulova 1976: 95)

　　b.　***awát***　*j-ʕa-n-χá-z*　　　　　***a-wʕa-kʷá***
　　　　DIST.PL　REL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PST.NFIN　DEF-people-PL
　　　　'The remaining people.' (T)

Demonstratives, especially the distal one, are frequently used anaphorically as third person pronouns, cf. (42).

(42) *wəʕaqá-ḳ*ᵢ　　　*ʕa-n-χá-ṭ*
　　　nation-INDF　　CISL-remain-INC(AOR)-DCL
　　　awása　***awát***ᵢ　*g'ə-z-ʕa-tə́-m-ç-ṭ*
　　　but　　DIST.PL　NEG.EMP-POT-CISL-LOC.ELAT-NEG-pass(AOR)-DCL
　　　'There remained one nation, but they could not get out.' (T)

3.4.4. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

Reflexivity and reciprocity can be expressed both in the verb (§3.6.8) and by means of independent words. As a reflexive pronoun, the noun *qa* 'head' with a possessive prefix coreferential with the subject is used, cf. (43).

(43) a.   *sara*ᵢ   *s*ᵢ**-qa**   *sə-r-q̇ʷanč'-əj-ṭ*
        1SG   1SG.IO-head   1SG.ERG-CAUS-guilty-PRS-DCL
        'I blame myself.' (Durneva 2020: 20)

     b.   *awəj*ᵢ   *l*ᵢ**-qa**   *j-a-l*ᵢ*-hʷ-χ-ṭ*
        DIST   3SG.F.IO-head   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.F.IO-say-RE(AOR)-DCL
        'She said it to herself.' (Sonia Durneva's fieldnotes)

Reciprocal pronouns are based on the numeral 'one', cf. *a(za)ǯ–a(za)ǯ* (for humans), and *azaḳə–azaḳə* (for non-humans), cf. (44).

(44) a.   **a-ǯ~aǯ**   *ʒə*   *jə́-kʷə-j-ĉ-əj-ṭ*
        DEF-one.H~REC   water   3N.SG.ABS-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-pour-PRS-DCL
        'They are pouring water on each other.' (T)

     b.   *a-korobka-kʷa*   **a-zaḳə~a-zaḳə**   *j-a-kʷ-gəla-ṗ*
        DEF-box(R)-PL   DEF-one.n~REC   3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-stand-NPST.DCL
        'The boxes stand on top of one another.' (Durneva 2017: ex. 20)

3.4.5. Interrogative and relative pronouns

Interrogative and relative pronouns as such do not exist in Abaza, both functions being expressed by means of verbal morphology, see §3.6.6, §3.6.9. The closest Abaza comes to a dedicated interrogative pronoun is *dəzdá* 'who' (< *də-z(-əw)-da* 3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO(-be.part.of)-QH, Pazov 2016: 132), which, as all other interrogative expressions, occurs as a predicate of a pseudocleft construction (for more details, see Arkadiev 2020):

(45) *jə-z-də́r-ra*   *a-taq-ə́w*   **də-z-dá?**
     3SG.N.ABS-REL.ERG-know-MSD   3SG.N.IO-need-PRS.NFIN   3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-QH
     'Who should know it?' (T)

3.4.6. Indefinite and negative pronouns

Abaza has a complex and not yet fully understood system of indefinite pronouns and related expressions (for a preliminary survey see Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019). Most indefinite pronouns are based on the roots meaning 'one', cf. *zaḳə́, ḳará* 'something, anything', *(z)aǯə́, aǯə́raʕʷ* 'somebody, anybody', *znə́ḳ* 'once, sometime', *zǯ'ara* 'somewhere, anywhere'. Most of them occur in both specific (46) and non-specific contexts (47), although the distributions of individual pronouns do not always overlap.

(46) a.   *wadərʕʷána*   **á.ǯ**   *j-hʷá-n*
        then   one.CLH   3SG.ERG-say-PST
        'Then someone said.' (T)

     b.   *sara*   **ḳ.ara**   *a-zə-s-təj-ṭ,*
        1SG   something   3SG.N.IO-BEN-1SG.ERG-pay(AOR)-DCL
        awasa   *z-ʔar-əw*   *j-g'-sə-z-də-r-χ-wa-m*
        but   REL.IO-amount-PRS.NFIN   3SG.N.ABS-NEG-EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-RE-IPF-NEG
        'I paid something but I don't remember how much.' (Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019: ex. 4a)

     c.   *maq̇əm–pšʒa-ḳ*   **zǯ'ara**   *j-š'ṭə-ç-əj-ṭ*
        voice–beautiful-INDF   somewhere   3SG.N.ABS-LOC.ELAT-pass-PRS-DCL
        'A beautiful voice rises somewhere.' (AbPo)

(47) a. *sara mz-əj-ʕaʒa.pχ'aʒa z-ǯ'a-ḳə šaχmat s-rə-c-qʷmar-əj-ṭ*
  1SG   month-ADD-each   one-CLH-INDF   chess   1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-COM-play-PRS-DCL
  'Every month I play chess with somebody.' (Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019: ex. 9c)

  b. *wara ḳ.ara w-fa-ztən s-na-w-aj.s-wa-š-ṭ*
  2SG.N   something   2SG.M.ERG-eat-COND.REAL   1SG.ABS-TRAL-2SG.M.IO-beat-IPF-FUT-DCL
  'If you ate anything I'll beat you.' (Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019: ex. 11a)

  c. *awəj z-nə-ḳ r-acḳəs lasə də-ʕʷ-əj-ṭ*
  DIST   one-time-INDF   3PL.IO-than   quick   3SG.H.ABS-run-PRS-DCL
  'He is running faster than any time (before).' (Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019: ex. 13c)

In free-choice and universal contexts special forms employing relative prefixes and the complex universal concessive conditional suffix *-laḳg'əj* are used (see §§3,6.9, 4.4.3); they may attach to lexical (48a) as well as auxiliary verbal roots such as the copula (48b) or the possessive root *-ĉə* (48c); in the latter two cases the resulting expressions function as *sui generis* indefinite pronouns.

(48) a. ***j-ʔa-ca-lá-ḳ-g'əj ...*** *r-án-ĉ-əj r-ába-ĉ-əj*
  3PL.ABS-REL.LOC-go-CNC-INDF-ADD   3PL.IO-mother-PLH-ADD   3PL.IO-father-PLH-ADD
  j-ʕa-də-m-rə́-pχaš'a-wa-ta
  3PL.ABS-CISL-3PL.ERG-NEG-CAUS-be.ashamed-IPF-ADV
  'Wherever they go, they do not bring disgrace on their parents.' (T)

  b. *s-an sə-la d-ʕa-ça-l-jə-d*
  1SG.IO-mother   1SG.IO-eye   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-LOC-go-PRS-DYN
  j-an-aḳʷə-z-la-ḳ-g'əj
  3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-COP-PST.NFIN-CNC-ADD-ADD
  'My mother appears before my eyes at any time.' (T)

  c. *awəj* ***d-z-a-ĉə-z-la-ḳ-g'əj*** *j-č'p-əw-š-ṭ.*
  DIST   3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-DAT-belong-PST.NFIN-CNC-INDF-ADD   3SG.M.ERG-do-IPF-FUT-DCL
  'Anybody will do it.' (Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019: ex. 20a)

Negative indefinite expressions contain the additive suffix and require clause-mate negation (49).

(49) a. *awát z-la-ĉáẑa-wa á-bəzŝa* ***za-ǯ-g'əj*** *jə-m-də́r-wa-ta*
  DIST.PL   REL.IO-INS-speak-IPF   DEF-language   one-CLH-ADD   3SG.M.ERG-NEG-know-IPF-ADV
  'Nobody knows the language they speak.' (T)

  b. *har-g'əj* ***za-ḳ-g'əj*** *g'-ʕa-hə-rə-m-t-χ-d*
  1PL-ADD   one-INDF-ADD   NEG.EMP-CISL-1PL.IO-3PL.ERG-NEG-give-RE-DCL
  'They didn't give us anything.' (T)

  c. ***zə-n-g'əj*** *j-a-pšə-m-ḳʷa*
  one-time-ADD   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-similar-NEG-CVB.NEG
  h-wəs ʕa-hə-dahʷ-ṭ
  1PL.IO-deed   CISL-1PL.ERG-succeed(AOR)-DCL
  'We were lucky as never (before).' (T)

3.5. Numerals

Abaza has a mixed decimal-vigesimal numeral system, see Table 5. Numerals up to '10' are simplex, '11' to '19' are formed as not fully regular combinations with '10', and '20' is '2×10'. When further units are added, the additive suffix *-əj* is attached to the preceding part of the numeral. '30' is '20 and 10', while '40' is 'two times 20' etc. There are several expressions for '50' in addition to the regular '2×20+10': *ŝ-bža-ḳ* 100-half-UNIT and *χʷ-ẑa-* 5×10.

Table 5. Cardinal numerals

1	*za-*	17	*ẑ-ǝj-bž*
2	*ʕʷǝ-*	18	*ẑ-aʕ*
3	*χǝ-*	19	*ẑa-j-ẑ*
4	*pš'ǝ-*	20	*ʕʷa-ẑá*
5	*χʷǝ-*	21	*ʕʷa-ẑ-ój-za-ḳ*
6	*cǝ-*	30	*ʕʷa-ẑ-ój-ẑa*
7	*bžǝ-*	40	*ʕʷó-n-ʕʷa-ẑa*
8	*aʕ-*	50	*ʕʷó-n-ʕʷa-ẑ-ǝj-ẑa*
9	*ẑǝ-*	60	*χó-n-ʕʷa-ẑa*
10	*ẑa-*	70	*χó-n-ʕʷa-ẑ-ǝj-ẑa*
11	*ẑ-ǝj-z*	80	*pš'ó-n-ʕʷa-ẑa*
12	*ẑǝ-ʕʷ*	90	*pš'ó-n-ʕʷa-ẑ-ǝj-ẑa*
13	*ẑa-χ*	100	*ŝǝ-*
14	*ẑ-ǝj-pš'*	157	*ŝ-ǝj ʕʷǝ-n-ʕʷa-ẑ-ój bž'ó*
15	*ẑǝ-χʷ*	500	*χʷǝ-ŝ*
16	*ẑ-ǝj-c*	1000	*zk'ǝ-*

Most cardinals are not used independently and require a suffix indicating the human vs. non-human class of the referent, cf. *pš'-ʕʷǝ* 'four people' vs. *pš'-ba* 'four (animals/things)'. The independent numerals 'one' and 'two' are irregular, cf. *za-ẑó* 'one person' vs. *za-ḳó ~ za-ẑó-ḳ* 'one (thing)', *ʕʷǝ-ẑ* 'two people' vs. the regular *ʕʷ-ba* 'two things'. The nonhuman numeral classifier suffix shows assimilation to the preceding unvoiced consonant, but only with 'three', cf. *χ-pa* 'three things', but *pš'-ba* 'four things', *χʷ-ba* 'five things'.

When they modify nouns, numerals from 1 to 19 form compounds of the form "numeral – (classifier suffix for humans) – noun – -ḳ" (the unit suffix does not occur after '10'), cf. *pš'ó-mǝz-ḳ* four-month-UNIT 'four months' (T), *a-χǝ-ʕʷ-hʷsǝsa-ḳ* DEF-three-CLH-girl.PL-UNIT 'the three girls' (T), *ẑ-ǝj-pš'-skʷša* ten-ADD-four-year 'fourteen years' (T); the numeral 'one' is expressed merely by the unit suffix, cf. *bǝẑa-ḳǝ-n* language-UNIT-PST 'there was one language' (T). Higher numerals occur postnominally either as second members of compounds (*skʷš-χǝ-n-zók'* year-three-time-thousand 'three thousand years' (T)), or as independent modifiers with an obligatory classifier suffix (50).

(50) *awǝj a-skʷšǝ*   *zk'-ǝj–ẑ-ŝ-ǝj–ʕʷa-ẑ-ǝj-ẑ-ba*   *asqan*
     DIST   DEF-year   thousand-ADD–nine-hundred-ADD–two-ten-ADD-nine-CLN   time
     d-ʕa-d-r-ǝj-d
     3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3PL.ERG-CAUS-go(AOR)-DCL
     'She was born in 1929.' (T)

Ordinals are relativized inceptive forms able to inflect for tense, cf. *j-za-ḳ-χa-wa* REL.ABS-one-UNIT-INC-IPF 'first (non-human)', lit. 'that which becomes one' or *j-pš'ǝ-ʕʷ-χ-ǝw-š* REL.ABS-four-CLH-INC-IPF-FUT 'the person who will be the fourth' (Tabulova 1976: 88). In this way ordinals can also be built from higher numerals (*jǝ-ŝ-ḳ-χa-wá* REL.ABS-hundred-UNIT-INC-IPF 'the hundredth'), including complex ones (*j-ʕʷa-ẑ-ój-aʕ-ba-χa-wa* REL.ABS-two-ten-ADD-eight-CLN-INC-IPF 'the twenty-eighth'). Ordinals can also be based on tuples, cf. *j-ʕʷa-n-χa-wa* REL.ABS-two-time-INC-IPF 'second time' (Tabulova 1976: 89). The word for 'first' is based on the adverb *apqa* 'before' (*j-apqa-χa-wa*, Tabulova 1976: 89).

Distributive numerals involve reduplication: *ʕʷ-ba~ʕʷ-ba* 'two each', *ŝ-ʕʷǝ~ŝǝ-ʕʷ* 'a hundred people each' (Tabulova 1976: 89); this formation appears to be limited to numerals containing no more than two morphemes.

Tuples are formed by the element *-n(ə)*, cf. *z-nə* 'once', *ʕʷa-n* 'twice', *ŝ-əj–ʕʷa-ẑ-əj–ẑə-χʷə-n* hundred-ADD–two-ten-ADD–ten-five-time 'one hundred thirty five times' (Tabulova 1976: 88).

Collective numerals are formed by means of a possessive prefix referring to the entities involved and often contain the additive suffix: *a-ʕʷ-ba(-g'əj)* 3SG.N.IO-two-CLN(-ADD) 'both (things)' (Tabulova 1976: 90), *hə-χə-ʕʷ-g'əj* 1PL.IO-three-CLH-ADD 'the three of us' (T).

3.6. Verbs
3.6.1. The general structure of the verbal complex

Abaza verbal morphology follows a complex template containing ca. 20 slots organized into several zones characterized by distinct behaviour, see Table 6.

Table 6. The verbal template

		"preverbs" (Π)								"stem" (Σ)					"endings"				
−12	−11	−10	−9	−8	−7	−6	−5	−4	−3	−2	−1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7
absolutive	subordinators, negation	repetitive	potential, involuntative	applicatives	directional preverbs	locative preverbs	indirect object	ergative	negation	causative	sociative	root	directional suffixes	event operators	plural	aspect, tense	negation	past tense, modality	subordinators, force, emphasis

This template is not 100% rigid, with some affixes appearing in different slots depending on their semantic scope and some slots (−11, −8, −6, −5, +2, +6, +7) admitting multiple affixes. Form-meaning relations are quite complex, especially in the domains of tense-aspect, negation and finiteness, where multiple exponence and dependencies between non-adjacent slots are observed.

One of the consequences of the largely templatic organization of Abaza verbal morphology is the frequent occurrence of discontinuous lexical bases consisting of a (sometimes desemanticized) root and one or several lexicalized prefixes; the components of such complex stems can be separated by regular inflectional prefixes expressing negation or cross-reference, e.g. *n-χa* LOC.on-make 'work' ~ *sə-g'-nə-m-χá-ṭ* 1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-LOC-NEG-make(AOR)-DCL 'I did not work' (T).

Stem suppletion is not attested. In some verb roots, the first consonant can be geminated expressing intensification or distributivity, ex. *ĉa-ra* 'suck' ~ *çə́-ĉĉ-ʕa-ra* LOC-suck.INT-ELAT-MSD 'drain, exhaust', *p-q̇-ra* 'cut, chop' ~ *p-q̇q̇-ra* 'chop into small pieces' (Lomtatidze 2006: 142).

3.6.2. Agreement and cross-reference

Argument prefixes signal the person, number and, for 2nd and 3rd person singular, gender of the argument, as well as its grammatical role; the latter is primarily expressed by the position rather than the shape of the prefixes. Among the grammatical roles the major division is between absolutive (Abs) and non-absolutive (oblique), and in the latter between ergative (Erg) and indirect object (IO), the latter two being formally virtually non-distinct, see Table 6.

Table 6. Verbal personal prefixes

	absolutive	oblique		absolutive	oblique
1Sg	*s(ə)-/z-*		1Pl	*h(ə)-/ʕ-*	
2SgM	*w(ə)-*		2Pl	*ŝ(ə)-/ẑ-*	
2SgF	*b(ə)-/p-*		3Pl	*j(ə)-*	*r(ə)-/d(ə)-*
3SgM	*d(ə)-*	*j(ə)-*	REL	*j(ə)-*	*z(ə)-*
3SgF		*l(ə)-*			
3SgN	*j(ə)-/∅-*	*a-/na-*			

The choice between the voiceless and voiced consonants in the prefixes depends on the following consonant; in general, voicing of unvoiced consonants is attested in Erg prefixes only, cf. (51). The 3Abs non-human or plural prefix *j*- can be omitted if the corresponding full noun phrase immediately precedes the verb (52a,b), and is often absent in non-verbal predicates even when the corresponding argument is absent (see §3.1). However, the stressed absolutive prefix does not drop (52c,d).

(51) a. **h-ž̌-əj-t̬**   b. **j-ʕ-ẑ-əj-t̬**
         1PL.ABS-dig-PRS-DCL   3SG.N.ABS-1PL.ERG-boil-PRS-DCL
         'we dig' (E)   'we boil it' (Tabulova 1976: 114)

(52) a. *a-phʷəs*   **(d)-ʕa-j-d*
         DEF-woman   *(3SG.H.ABS-)CISL-go(AOR)-DCL
         'The woman came.' (O'Herin 2002: 64)

      b. *a-mara*   *(j-)ʕa-qa-l-əj-d*
         DEF-sun   (3SG.N.ABS-)CISL-LOC-go.in-PRS-DCL
         'The sun rises.' (O'Herin 2002: 64)

      c. *á-ẑ*   *(j-)ʕʷ-áj-d*
         DEF-cow   (3SG.N.ABS-)grow.thin-PRS-DCL
         'The cow is growing thin.' (Testelets 2017b: ex. 5a)

      d. *á-ẑ*   **(jə́-)ʕʷ-əj-d*
         DEF-cow   *(3SG.N.ABS-)run-PRS-DCL
         'The cow is running.' (Testelets 2017b: ex. 5b)

The 3Sg.Erg non-human prefix is *na*- in verbs with locative, directional and applicative prefixes and indirect objects (53a) and *a*- otherwise (53b):

(53) a. *a-ʒə́*   *j-hə-z-**ná**-χa-z*   *g'ə-r-də́ra-m*
         DEF-water   REL.ABS-1PL.IO-BEN-3SG.N.ERG-do-PST.NFIN   NEG.EMP-3PL.ERG-know-NEG
         'They don't know what the water did to us.' (T)

      b. *š'qa–warad-ḳ*   *awəj*   *j-**a**-hʷ-əj-t̬*
         mountain–song-INDF   DIST   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
         'It (a mountain river) is singing and mountain song.' (AbPo)

The 3SG non-human, plural and relative absolutive prefix *jə*- coalesces with the 3SG masculine indirect object and ergative *jə*-: [*j-*]*j-rə-hazərə-z* [REL.ABS-]3M.ERG-CAUS-ready-PST.NFIN 'what he prepared', [*j-*]*j-č'pa-d* [3SG.N.ABS-]3SG.M.ERG-do(AOR)-DCL 'he did it'.

The 3PL non-absolutive prefix *r*- dissimilates into *d*- before the causative prefix *r*- (54a,b), including cases with an intervening prefix (54c); this *d*- may devoice into *t*- before a voiceless consonant (54d). Note that the doubling of the causative prefix itself does not result in dissimilation (54b), and neither does 3PL.IO dissimilate before 3PL.ERG (*j-ʕa-**rə-r**-t-wá-n* 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST 'they gave it to them'). Besides that, when a causative is nominalized and takes possessive prefixes, the 3PL possessive prefix does not dissimilate either (54e).

(54) a. *s-**də-r**-cá-t̬*
         1SG.ABS-3PL.ERG-CAUS-go(AOR)-DCL
         'They sent me.' (T)

      b. *a-bəzŝa-kʷa*   ***d-də-r**-dərə-rkʷən*
         DEF-language-PL   3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-CAUS-know-COND
         'if they studied (lit. made themselves know) languages' (Abazašta 2017)

      c. *j-**d**-sə-**r**-rə́-ʒ-t̬*
         3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-CAUS-roast(AOR)-DCL
         'I made them roast it.' (T)

d. *r-crəj–bəzŝa-la*   *j-a-ta-t-hə-r-ḳ-wa-mca*
   3PL.IO-native–language-INS   3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3PL.IO-1PL.ERG-CAUS-hold-IPF-CVB
   'when we ask them to translate into their native language' (Abazašta 2017)

e. *a-bəzŝa-kʷa*   *rə-r-dər-ra*
   DEF-language -PL   3PL.IO-CAUS-know-CAUS
   'the study of languages' (Abazašta 2017)

In relative verbal forms the plural ending *-kʷa* is used to express the plurality of the relativized argument, cf. *j-ʕa-n-χa-kʷá-z* REL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PL-PST.NFIN 'those who remained' (T).

3.6.3. Valency classes

Abaza verbs can be monovalent, bivalent or polyvalent, and non-monovalent verbs can be transitive, intransitive or inverse. The valency classes are defined by patterns of verbal cross-reference, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Valency classes of verbs

	I argument	II argument	other arguments	example
transitive	Erg	Abs	(IO, Appl)	*dər* 'know', *t(a)* 'give'
intransitive	Abs	(IO, Appl)	(Appl)	*bzaza* 'live', *pšə* 'look at', *c-qraʕa* 'help'
inverse	IO, Appl	Abs	(Appl)	*ma* 'have' *q-aštəl* 'forget'

Sample paradigms of person inflection are given in Tables 8–11 (cf. Tabulova 1976: 118–145).

Table 8. Monovalent intransitive verb (*ʕʷə* 'run', present tense).

	Sg	Pl
1	*sə́-ʕʷ-əj-ṭ*	*hə́-ʕʷ-əj-ṭ*
2M	*wə́-ʕʷ-əj-ṭ*	*ŝə́-ʕʷ-əj-ṭ*
2F	*bə́-ʕʷ-əj-ṭ*	
3H	*də́-ʕʷ-əj-ṭ*	*jə́-ʕʷ-əj-ṭ*
3N	*jə́-ʕʷ-əj-ṭ*	

Table 9. Bivalent intransitive verb (*pšə* 'look', aorist).

IO / Abs	1Sg	2SgM	2SgF	3SgM	3SgF	3SgN	1Pl	2Pl	3Pl
1Sg	—	*sə-w-pšə́ṭ*	*s-b-pšə́ṭ*	*sə-j-pšə́ṭ*	*sə-l-pšə́ṭ*	*s-a-pšə́ṭ*	—	*s-ŝ-pšə́ṭ*	*sə-r-pšə́ṭ*
2SgM	*w-ʕa-s-pšə́ṭ*	—	—	*wə-j-pšə́ṭ*	*wə-l-pšə́ṭ*	*w-a-pšə́ṭ*	*w-ʕa-h-pšə́ṭ*	—	*wə-r-pšə́ṭ*
2SgF	*b-ʕa-s-pšə́ṭ*	—	—	*bə-j-pšə́ṭ*	*bə-l-pšə́ṭ*	*b-a-pšə́ṭ*	*b-ʕa-h-pšə́ṭ*	—	*bə-r-pšə́ṭ*
3SgH	*d-ʕa-s-pšə́ṭ*	*d-ʕa-w-pšə́ṭ*	*d-ʕa-b-pšə́ṭ*	*də-j-pšə́ṭ*	*də-l-pšə́ṭ*	*d-a-pšə́ṭ*	*d-ʕa-h-pšə́ṭ*	*d-ʕa-ŝ-pšə́ṭ*	*də-r-pšə́ṭ*
3SgN	*j-ʕa-s-pšə́ṭ*	*j-ʕa-w-pšə́ṭ*	*j-ʕa-b-pšə́ṭ*	*j-pšə́ṭ*	*jə-l-pšə́ṭ*	*j-a-pšə́ṭ*	*j-ʕa-h-pšə́ṭ*	*j-ʕa-ŝ-pšə́ṭ*	*jə-r-pšə́ṭ*
1Pl	—	*h-na-w-pšə́ṭ*	*h-b-pšə́ṭ*	*hə-j-pšə́ṭ*	*hə-l-pšə́ṭ*	*h-a-pšə́ṭ*	—	*h-ŝ-pšə́ṭ*	*hə-r-pšə́ṭ*
2Pl	*ŝ-ʕa-s-pšə́ṭ*	—	—	*ŝə-j-pšə́ṭ*	*ŝə-l-pšə́ṭ*	*ŝ-a-pšə́ṭ*	*ŝ-ʕa-h-pšə́ṭ*	—	*ŝə-r-pšə́ṭ*
3Pl	*j-ʕa-s-pšə́ṭ*	*j-ʕa-w-pšə́ṭ*	*j-ʕa-b-pšə́ṭ*	*j-pšə́ṭ*	*jə-l-pšə́ṭ*	*j-a-pšə́ṭ*	*j-ʕa-h-pšə́ṭ*	*j-ʕa-ŝ-pšə́ṭ*	*j-ʕa-r-pšə́ṭ*

Table 10. Bivalent transitive verb (*ba* 'see', aorist).

Abs / Erg	1Sg	2SgM	2SgF	3SgH	3SgN	1Pl	2Pl	3Pl
1Sg	—	wə-z-báṭ	bə-z-báṭ	də-z-báṭ	jə-z-báṭ	—	ŝə-z-báṭ	jə-z-báṭ
2SgM	sə-w-báṭ	—	—	də-w-báṭ	jə-w-báṭ	hə-w-báṭ	—	jə-w-báṭ
2SgF	s-b-báṭ	—	—	də-b-báṭ	jə-b-báṭ	h-b-báṭ	—	jə-b-báṭ
3SgM	sə-j-báṭ	wə-j-báṭ	bə-j-báṭ	də-j-báṭ	j-báṭ	hə-j-báṭ	ŝə-j-báṭ	j-báṭ
3SgF	sə-l-báṭ	wə-l-báṭ	bə-l-báṭ	də-l-báṭ	jə-l-báṭ	hə-l-báṭ	ŝə-l-báṭ	jə-l-báṭ
3SgN	s-a-báṭ	w-a-báṭ	b-a-báṭ	d-a-báṭ	j-a-báṭ	h-a-báṭ	ŝ-a-báṭ	j-a-báṭ
1Pl	—	wə-ʕ-báṭ	bə-ʕ-báṭ	bə-ʕ-báṭ	jə-ʕ-báṭ	—	ŝə-ʕ-báṭ	jə-ʕ-báṭ
2Pl	sə-ẑ-báṭ	—	—	də-ẑ-báṭ	jə-ẑ-báṭ	hə-ẑ-báṭ	—	jə-ẑ-báṭ
3Pl	sə-r-báṭ	wə-r-báṭ	bə-r-báṭ	də-r-báṭ	jə-r-báṭ	hə-r-báṭ	ŝə-r-báṭ	jə-r-báṭ

Table 11. Trivalent transitive verb (*tə* 'give', aorist, 3SG non-human absolutive)

IO / Erg	1Sg	2SgM	2SgF	3SgM	3SgF	3SgN	1Pl	2Pl	3Pl
1Sg	—	j-wə́-s-ṭṭ	j-bə́-s-ṭṭ	jə́-s-ṭṭ	j-lə́-s-ṭṭ	j-á-s-ṭṭ	—	j-ŝə́-s-ṭṭ	j-rə́-s-ṭṭ
2SgM	j-ʕa-sə́-w-ṭṭ	—	—	jə́-w-ṭṭ	j-lə́-w-ṭṭ	j-á-w-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-hə́-w-ṭṭ	—	j-rə́-w-ṭṭ
2SgF	j-ʕa-sə́-b-ṭṭ	—	—	jə́-b-ṭṭ	j-lə́-b-ṭṭ	j-á-b-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-hə́-b-ṭṭ	—	j-rə́-b-ṭṭ
3SgM	j-ʕa-sə́-j-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-wə́-j-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-bə́-j-ṭṭ	jə́-j-ṭṭ	j-lə́-j-ṭṭ	j-á-j-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-hə́-j-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-ŝə́-j-tt	j-rə́-j-ṭṭ
3SgF	j-ʕa-sə́-l-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-wə́-l-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-b-sə́-l-ṭṭ	jə́-l-ṭṭ	j-lə́-l-ṭṭ	j-á-l-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-hə́-l-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-ŝə́-l-ṭṭ	j-rə́-l-ṭṭ
3SgN	j-ʕa-s-ná-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-w-ná-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-b-ná-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-j-ná-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-l-ná-ṭṭ	j-a-ná-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-h-ná-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-ŝ-ná-tt	jə-r-ná-ṭṭ
1Pl	—	j-wə́-h-ṭṭ	j-bə́-h-ṭṭ	jə́-h-ṭṭ	j-lə́-h-ṭṭ	j-á-h-ṭṭ	—	j-ŝə́-h-ṭṭ	j-rə́-h-ṭṭ
2Pl	j-ʕa-sə́-ŝ-ṭṭ	—	—	jə́-ŝ-ṭṭ	j-lə́-ŝ-ṭṭ	j-á-ŝ-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-hə́-ŝ-ṭṭ	—	j-rə́-ŝ-ṭṭ
3Pl	j-ʕa-sə́-r-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-wə́-r-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-bə́-r-ṭṭ	jə́-r-ṭṭ	j-lə́-r-ṭṭ	j-á-r-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-hə́-r-ṭṭ	j-ʕa-ŝə́-r-tt	j-rə́-r-ṭṭ

There are no restrictions on the co-occurrence of person values of any arguments; for example, ditransitive verbs freely allow first or second person absolutive themes with third person indirect object recipients, cf. (55).

(55) *sar-g'ə́j   a-vóžd'   s-jə́-j-tə-n*
      1SG-ADD   DEF-chief(R)   1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PST
      'He handed me over to the chief.' (T)

The three major verb classes (intransitive, transitive and inverse) differ not only in the linking between arguments and cross-referencing prefixes, but also in other morphosyntactic properties, such as formation of imperative, reflexive and reciprocal forms, summarized in Table 12 and illustrated in (56)–(58). As is clear, inverse verbs differ from transitives only in lacking a proper imperative.

Table 12. Differences between verb classes

	Imperative	Reflexive	Reciprocal
Transitive	2SG.ERG omitted (56a)	*č*- ABS (56b)	*aba-* ERG (56c)
Intransitive	2SG.ABS overt (57a)	analytic (57b)	other (57c,d)
Inverse	through causative (58a)	*č*- ABS (58b)	*aba-* (58c)

(56) a.   *a-sabə́j   d-ẑ̂ẑ̂á / *də-w-ẑ̂ẑ̂á*
          DEF-child   3SG.H.ABS-wash(IMP) / *3SG.H.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-wash(IMP)
          'Wash the child!' (E)

      b.   *čə́-ẑ̂ẑ̂a*
          RFL.ABS-wash(IMP)
          'Wash yourself!' (E)

c. *a-sabə́j-kʷa   j-abá-ǯǯa-ṭ*
DEF-child-PL   3PL.ABS-REC-wash(AOR)-DCL
'The children washed each other.' (E)

(57) a. **(b-)ʕa-s-pšə́*
*(2SG.F.ABS-)CISL-1SG.IO-look(IMP)
'Look at me!' (E)

b. ***p-qa***   *b-a-pšə́*
2SG.F.IO-head   2SG.F.ABS-3SG.N.IO-look(IMP)
'Look at yourself!' (E)

c. *áš'-əj*   *áχš'-əj*   ***aǯ~aǯ***   *jə-pšə́-ṭ / *j-aba-pšə́-ṭ*
brother-ADD   sister-ADD one.CLH~REC 3PL.ABS-look(AOR)-DCL / *3PL.ABS-REC-look(AOR)-DCL
'Brother and sister looked at each other.' (E)

d. *a-sabə́j-kʷa*   *j-**a-c~ác**-qraʕ-əj-ṭ*
DEF-child-PL   3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-COM~REC-help-PRS-DCL
'The children help each other.' (E)

(58) a. *sə-w-q-r-áštəl / *sə-(w)q-áštəl*
1SG.ABS-2SG.M.IO-LOC-CAUS-forget(IMP) / *1SG.ABS-(2SG.M.IO-)LOC-forget(IMP)
'Forget me!' (lit. make yourself forget me) (E)

b. *aslán*   *zə-n-g'ə́j*   *č̣-g'ə-j-q-aštəl-wa-m*
PN   one-time-ADD   RFL.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-LOC-forget-IPF-NEG
'Aslan never forgets about himself.' (E)

c. *zə-n-g'ə́j*   *h-g'-**aba**-q-áštəl-wa-šə-m*
one-time-ADD   1PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-REC-LOC-forget-IPF-FUT-NEG
'We shall never forget each other.' (E)

In their lexical semantics, transitive verbs differ from bivalent intransitives in that the former tend to denote events with clearly affected or effected patients ('eat', 'drink', 'make', 'write', 'break', 'wash', 'kill') or changes of state or position ('buy', 'sell', 'give', 'take', 'carry', 'throw', 'open'), while the latter express such events as impact ('hit', 'touch', 'bite'), directed perception ('look at', 'listen to', 'search'), mental state or process ('fear', 'think', 'wait', 'read'), addressee-directed actions ('ask', 'help', 'talk to'). The transitive class also includes such verbs as 'see', 'hear' and 'know'. Inverse verbs form a closed class of mostly stative or inceptive predicates denoting possession ('hold', 'have', 'lack'), mental states ('forget', 'hate', 'understand') and modality ('want', 'need'). Inverse predicates can also be productively derived from transitive verbs by potential and involuntative preverbs (§3.6.8).

3.6.4. Tense and aspect

Abaza verbs fall into two classes differing in their morphology: stative and dynamic. Stative verbs have an impoverished paradigm and comprise a closed class of verbal predicates denoting posture, location, possession, and certain modal notions, as well as resultative derivatives of dynamic verbs; besides that, non-verbal lexical stems assume stative verbal inflection when used predicatively, see §3.1. Dynamic verbs form an open class, including not only activities and events, but some state-denoting predicates as well, e.g. 'know'. Stative verbs can be turned into dynamic by means of the inceptive suffix *-χa* and the habitual suffix *-zla*, which, among other things, allow stative verbs to build those forms that cannot be formed directly, e.g. the future. In turn, dynamic verbs can be converted into stative ones by resultative formation applying mainly to transitive verbs. Stative verbs can be either intransitive or inverse, while dynamic verbs can be transitive as well.

Some verbal roots have stative and dynamic variants regularly differing is meaning, cf. *ta-**gəla**-* (stative) 'stand in smth.' ~ *ta-**gəl**-* (dynamic) 'stand into smth.'; the root *ç̂a* 'sit' can occur with both stative and dynamic morphology, while the transitive verb *dər* 'know' in

negative present tense forms takes stative inflection and shows an extended root, cf. *j-g'ə-r-**dərá**-m* 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3PL.ERG-know.ST-NEG 'they don't know' vs. *jə-g'-sə-m-**də́r**-ṭ* 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.ERG-NEG-know(AOR)-DCL 'I didn't know'.

The division between the so-called "finite" and "non-finite", or rather, declarative and non-declarative, forms cross-cuts the tense paradigm. The non-finite forms can be considered morphologically basic, because, first, some declarative forms differ from the corresponding non-finite ones by the presence of special markers, and, second, the non-finite paradigm serves as the basis for a much wider array of forms, such as relativization, converbs, non-declarative moods, as well as (partly) for both the finite and non-finite negative forms.

The paradigms of affirmative and negative finite and non-finite tense forms of stative and dynamic verbs are given in Tables 13–15.

Table 13. Tense forms of stative verbs

	affirmative		negative	
	finite	non-finite	finite	non-finite
Present	*-ṗ/b*	*-əw*	*g'-Π-Σ-m*	*Π-Σ-m*
Past	*-n*	*-z*	*g'-Π-Σ-mə-z-ṭ/d*	*Π-Σ-mə-z*

Table 14. Dynamic verbs, affirmative forms

	basic		retrospectivized		
	finite	non-finite		finite	non-finite
Present	*-əj-ṭ/d*	*-wa*	Imperfect	*-wa-n*	*-wa-z*
Aorist	*-ṭ/d*	∅	Preterite	*-n*	*-z*
Future I	*-wa-š-ṭ/d*	*-wa-š*	Subjunctive I	*-wa-šə-n*	*-wa-šə-z*
Future II	*-ṗ/b*	*-ra*	Subjunctive II	*-rə-n*	*-rə-z*

Table 15. Dymanic verbs, negative forms

	basic		retrospectivized		
	finite	non-finite		finite	non-finite
Present	*g'-Π-Σ-wa-m*	*Π-m-Σ-wa*	Imperfect	*g'-Π-Σ-wa-mə-z-ṭ ~ g'-Π-m-Σ-wa-z-ṭ*	*Π-m-Σ-wa-z*
Aorist	*g'-Π-m-Σ-ṭ*	*Π-m-Σ*	Preterite	*g'-Π-m-Σ-z-ṭ*	*Π-m-Σ-z*
Future I	*g'-Π-Σ-wa-šə-m*	*Π-m-Σ-wa-š*	Subjunctive I	*g'-Π-m-Σ-wa-šə-z-ṭ*	*Π-m-Σ-wa-šə-z*
Future II	*g'-Π-Σ-rə-m*	*Π-m-Σ-ra*	Subjunctive II	*g'-Π-m-Σ-rə-z-ṭ*	*Π-m-Σ-rə-z*

Notes on the morphology:

(i) The static Present / dynamic Future II suffix *-ṗ* has the variant *-b*, which is considered more colloquial; the same concerns the declarative suffix *-ṭ ~ d*.

(ii) The imperfective suffix *-wa* coalesces with the preceding /a/ into /əw/ [u] unless followed by /C/ (the exact conditioning of the rule is not fully clear):

(59) a. *bzaza-ra* b. *d-bzaz-**əw**-n* c. *d-bzaza-**wa**(-ta)*
          live-MSD   3SG.H.ABS-live-IPF-PST   3SG.H.ABS-live-IPF(-ADV)
          'to live'   's/he was living'   'while s/he is living' (E)

(60) a. *dər-ra* b. *jə-z-dər-**wa**-n*
          know-MSD   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-IPF-PST
          'to know'   'I knew it' (E)

(iii) The non-finite Future II suffix usually surfaces as *-r(ə)* before further suffixes.

The Present tense denotes situations whose timespan includes the speech time, such as durative states (61a), progressive processes (61b) or habitual (61c) and generic (61d) situations, as well as historical present (61e).

(61) a.   *zəmʕʷá*   ***j-rə́-ma-b***
           all   3N.ABS-3PL.IO-have-NPST.DCL
           'They have everything' (T)

      b.   *a-sabə́j*   ***d-ĉə́w-əj-d***
           DEF-child   3SG.H.ABS-cry-PRS-DCL
           'The child is crying.' (E)

      c.   *áχč'a*   ***g'-jə́-r-t-wa-m***
           money   NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give-IPF-NEG
           'They don't pay him.' (T)

      d.   *a-sabəj-kʷa-g'əj*   *bzəj*   ***jə-ʕ-b-ə́j-ṭ***
           DEF-child-PL-ADD   good   3PL.ABS-1PL.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
           'And we love children.' (T)

      e.   *h-ʔa-cá-χə-z*   *sa*   *мама*   *d-ʕa-sə-njá-n*
           1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-go-RE-PST   я   мама   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.ERG-meet-PST
           h-an   ***j-l-á-s-hʷ-əj-ṭ***
           1PL.IO-мама   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
           'When I came home I met my mother and I tell her.' (T)

The past tense of stative verbs denotes states holding before the speech time:

(62) a.   *ẑ-za.ǯə-ḳ ...*   ***j-hə-ma-n***
           cow-one-UNIT   3SG.N.ABS-1PL.IO-have-PST
           'We had one cow.' (T)

      b.   *awə́j*   *áḳʷə-m-ḳʷa*   *za.ḳ-g'ə́j*   ***g'-s-taqə́-mə-z-ṭ***
           DIST   COP-NEG-CVB.NEG   one-ADD   NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-want-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
           'I didn't want anything apart from that.' (T)

The formally unmarked Aorist is a perfective past denoting completed (63a,b) or temporally bounded situations (63c,d), and serves as the main narrative tense.

(63) a.   ***j-g'-zə́-na-m-ʒa-ṭ ...***   ***j-ḳá-ha-ṭ***
           3PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-TRAL-NEG-reach(AOR)-DCL   3PL.ABS-LOC-fall(AOR)-DCL
           'They didn't manage to reach it (the sky) ... and fell down.' (T)

      b.   *a-cə́ca*   *dəw-ʒʒá-ta*   ***j-ʕa-jə-ṭ***
           DEF-turnip   big-INT-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-go(AOR)-DCL
           'The turnip grew very big.' (T)

      c.   *a-waq*   *j-ša-nʒəḳ'a.ra*   ***j-s-zə-pšʕa-ṭ***
           DEF-night   3SG.N.ABS-dawn-UNTIL   3PL.ABS-1SG.IO-BEN-search(AOR)-DCL
           'They searched for me till dawn.' (T)

      d.   *pš'ə́-məz-ḳ*   ***sə-n-χá-d***
           four-month-UNIT   1SG.ABS-LOC-work(AOR)-DCL
           'I worked (there) for four months.' (T)

The Aorist has a special non-temporal use in wishes:

(64) a.   ***wə-zʕʷada-χa-ṭ,***   *s-aš'a!*
           2M.ABS-healthy-INC(AOR)-DCL   1SG.IO-брат
           'Be healthy, my brother!' (AbPo)

      b.   ***j-awəra-χa-ṭ***   *wə-nçra!*
           3SG.N.ABS-long-INC(AOR)-DCL   2SG.M.IO-жизнь
           'Let your life be long!' (AbPo)

Retrospectivized forms are shifted back into the past with respect to the corresponding basic forms. Thus the Imperfect denotes durative (65a), progressive (65b,c) and habitual (65d) situations in the past.

(65) a. ***zǯ'ára*** ***j-bzáz-əw-n***
      somewhere 3PL.ABS-live-IPF-PST
      'They lived somewhere.' (T)

    b. ***a-ʒə́ʕʷ*** ***s-an-ta-pšə́***   ***ásqan***
      DEF-river 1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-LOC-look   time
      ŝáqə-m-ḳʷa   ***za.ḳ-g'ə́j***   ***g'-ʕá-mə-j-wa-z-ṭ***
      foam-NEG-CVB.NEG   one-ADD   NEG.EMP-CISL-NEG-go-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
      'When I looked at the river, nothing but foam was coming.' (T)

    c. ***jaqa***   ***a-sə–ẑ̇pa-ʒa***   ***j-ʕa-s-wa-n***
      night   DEF-snow–thick-INT   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-snow-IPF-PST
      'At night thick snow was falling down.' (AbPo)

    d. ***za.ẑə́∼za.ẑə́-mca*** ***j-ʕá-j-wa-n***   ***ansəj-wáq-g'əj***
      one ∼DISTR-CVB   3PL.ABS-CISL-go-IPF-PST   every-night-ADD
      'They would come one by one every night.' (T)

The finite Preterite is mainly used in narratives as a non-final form in sequences of clauses denoting chains of successive events and ending in an Aorist form (66a). It is also used in a reduplicated construstion emphasizing durative events, where it follows the Aorist form of the same verb (66b).

(66) a. ***jə-r-ga-n,***   ***jə-r-š'ə-n,***
      3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-carry-PST   3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-cut-PST
      dara   ***jə-r-fa-χ-d***
      3PL   3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-eat-RE-DCL
      'They took it (the calf), slaughtered it and ate it themselves.' (T)

    b. ***d-á-q-ṭ–d-á-qə-n***
      3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-pull(AOR)-DCL–3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-pull-PST
      j-g'ə-r-z-ʕa-lə́-m-χ-ṭ
      3SG.N-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-POT-CISL-LOC-NEG-take(AOR)-DCL
      'He pulled and pulled but could not pull it (the turnip) out.' (T)

When used in isolation, the Preterite implies that the result of a past situation no longer holds at reference time (67a), in contrast to the Aorist, which by default implies that the result still holds (67b) (Klyagina 2018: 46–47; Klyagina & Arkadiev 2019):

(67) a. ***səwltan*** ***d-ʕa-j-n***
      PN   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-go-PST
      'Sultan came (and went away).' (Klyagina 2018: 46)

    b. ***səwltan*** ***d-ʕa-j-d***
      PN   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-go(AOR)-DCL
      'Sultan came (and is still here).' (Klyagina 2018: 46)

In non-finite forms, the Preterite denotes situations preceding the reference time set by the matrix clause (68), however, such uses require further investigation.

(68) ***hə́-nbǯ'aʕʷ-ĉa-kʷa*** ***j-ná-mə-j-kʷa-z***   ***rə́-qaz***
    1PL.IO-friend-PLH-PL   REL.ABS-TRAL-NEG-go-PL-PST.NFIN   3PL.IO-for
    j-rə-z-ʕá-ʕ-ga-ṭ
    3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-CISL-1PL.ERG-carry(AOR)-DCL
    'We brought it for those our friends who had not gone (with us).' (T)

The semantic difference between Future I and Future II is not yet well-understood. Future I is by far the most frequent form of the two, being used for neutral reference to events following the speech time such as predictions (69a,b) or plans (69c,d).

(69) a. *a-risunk̲a*   *a-pnə*   **jə-ẑ-b-əw-š-ṭ**
DEF-drawing(R) 3SG.N.IO-at 3SG.N.ABS-2PL.ERG-see-IPF-FUT-DCL
'You will see it in the picture.' (T)

b. *ʕʷə-ra*   *z-m-əw*   *rə-bəzŝa*   **bzaz-əw-š-ṭ**
write-MSD REL.IO-have-PRS.NFIN 3PL.IO-language live-IPF-FUT-DCL
'Their written language will be alive.' (Abazašta 2017)

c. **čə-s-qʷara-χ-wa-š-ṭ**   *j-hʷa-n*
RFL.ABS-1SG.ERG-strangle-RE-IPF-FUT-DCL 3SG.M.ERG-say-PST
'He said, "I will drown myself".' (T)

d. **s-g'-na-j-χ-wa-šə-m**   *h-pnə*
1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-TRAL-go-RE-IPF-FUT-NEG 1PL.IO-at
'I won't go back home.' (T)

Future II has modalized uses such as promises and vows (70a), threats (70b), spontaneous decisions (70c) and questions like (70d). It is not allowed in reference to situations whose occurrence is scheduled or determined by natural laws (70e).

(70) a. *ara.ʔá*   *a-pnə́*   *qalə́rta*   **h-č'pá-ṗ-ta**
PROX.LOC 3SG.N.IO-at stairs 1PL.ERG-do-NPST.DCL-ADV
'We shall build stairs here...' (T)

b. *arəj*   *wə-naṗə*   *jə-kʷə-w-ça-ṗ-ta*
PROX 2SG.M.IO-hand 3SG.M.IO-LOC-2SG.M.ERG-put-NPST-ADV
n-ç-ra-ta   *j-sə-m-əw*   *haram-ta*
LOC-live-MSD-ADV REL.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PRS.NFIN forbidden-ADV
wə-s-č'pa-ṗ
2SG.M.ABS-1SG.ERG-do-NPST
'You raise your hand against him and I will make you alien for the rest of my life.' (T)

c. *sará*   *arə́j*   *a-televízor-g'əj*   **na-s-áχʷ-ṗ-ta**
1SG PROX DEF-tv.set(R)-ADD TRAL-1SG.ERG-take-NPST.DCL-ADV
j-hʷa-ṭ   *s-qə-s-ṗ*
3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL 1SG.ABS-LOC-cross-NPST.DCL
'I'll take this tv-set and I'll cross (the river with it), he said.' (T)

d. *s-cá-χə-r-ma?*
1SG.ABS-go-RE-FUT.NFIN-Q
'Should I go?' (example courtesy of Evgenia Klyagina)

e. *sahat-bža-k̲-la*   *a-sahat-aẑ-ba*   **na-ʒ-əw-š-ṭ /*na-ʒa-ṗ**
hour-half-UNIT-INS DEF-hour-eight-CLN TRAL-reach-IPF-FUT-DCL /*TRAL-reach-NPST.DCL
'In half an hour it will be eight o'clock.' (example courtesy of Evgenia Klyagina)

Both future forms can be retrospectivized to form the corresponding Subjunctives. Subjunctive I is used to express situations following a reference point in the past (71a), and has as a variety of modal uses such as apodoses of irrealis conditionals (71b), wishes (71c), epistemic (71d) or situational (71e) possibility.

(71) a. *wadərʕʷána*   *a-k̲alχóz-la*   **d-cá-χ-wa-šə-n**
then DEF-kolkhoz(R)-INS 3SG.H.ABS-go-RE-IPF-FUT-PST
'Then she was going to return to the kolkhoz (field).' (T)

b. *rə́ça*   *š'ardá*   *wə́-ĉ-zə-rkʷən*
more many 2SG.M.ABS-sleep-PST-COND
rə́ça   *máč'-ta*   **w-ʕa-ps-əw-šə-n**
more little-ADV 2SG.M.ABS-CISL-get.tired-IPF-FUT-PST
'If you slept more, you would get tired less.' (E)

c. *awә́-la*   **h-jә́-hʷ-әw-šә-n**   *r-hʷa-ṭ*
DIST-INS   1PL.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask-IPF-FUT-PST   3PL.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
'We would ask him about that, they said.' (T)

d. *jará*   *d-g'ә-z-ʕá-mә-j-ṭ*
3SG.M   3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-CISL-NEG-go(AOR)-DCL
wәs   *j-š'árda-ta*   **ʕá-çç-wa-šә-n**
deed   3SG.N.ABS-many-ADV   CISL-go.out-IPF-FUT-PST
'He could not come, he must have been occupied.' (T)

e. *j-zә́-ʒca-kʷ-әw-šә-z*
REL.ABS-POT-swim-PL-IPF-FUT-PST
'those who could swim (lit. who would be able to...)' (T)

The uses of the Subjunctive II are not suffieciently studied and seem to overlap with those of the Subjunctive I, cf. future in the past (72a), non-referential irrealis under negation (72b), and irrealis conditional apodisis (72c).

(72) a. *waḳәn-la*   **h-ana-ʕa-j-χ-rә-z**
evening-INS   1PL.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-go-RE-FUT.NFIN-PST.NFIN
awa.ʔa   *h-ata-dә-r-ca-χ-wa-n*
DIST.LOC   1PL.ABS-REP-3PL.ERG-CAUS-go-RE-IPF-PST
'In the evenings, when we were going to return home, they would again turn us back.' (T)

b. *sara*   **s-a-z-rә-pχ'a-rә-z**
я   1SG.ABS-DAT-REL.ERG-CAUS-learn-FUT.NFIN-PST.NFIN
dә-g'-sә-ma-mә-z-d
3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-have-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
'I didn't have anybody who would teach me.' (T)

c. *sara*   *j-ʕa-s-çʕa-rәkʷnә-z ...*
1SG   3PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-ask-COND-PST.NFIN
š'awap-ta   *j-s-hʷa-rә-n*
answer-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-say-FUT.NFIN-PST
'If they had asked me, I would have said...' (AbPo)

In addition to the basic tense-aspect paradigm there is a large number of optional affixes mainly occurring in slot +2 and expressing aspectual and evaluative meanings (Avidzba 2017, Panova 2019a):

-χ'a iamitive 'already' (for more details, see Klyagina 2018: 40–46; Klyagina & Panova 2019; Panova 2019a: 26–30); with stative verbs occurs in both present and past tenses (73a), with dynamic verbs is limited to the past (73b); in addition to 'already' expresses events that have occured at least once in the past (experiential perfect) (73a); bare verbal roots with the iamitive can behave as nominals, cf. *apχ'a-χ'a* 'learned, scholarly' (possibly a calque from Russian *učenyj* 'id.').

(73) a. *sara daʁstan jg'әj adәgeja*   **s-aʔa-χ'a-n**
1SG   Dagestan   and   Adygheya(R)   1SG.ABS-be-IAM-PST
'I have already been to Dagestan and Adygheya.' (Abazašta 2017)

b. *jә-w-f-ә́w-š-g'әj*   *qa-g'ә́j*   *zәmʕʷá*   **s-rә-hazәr-χ'á-ṭ**
REL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-eat-IPF-FUT-ADD   head-ADD   all   1SG.ERG-CAUS-ready-IAM-DCL
'I have already prepared food and everything for you.' (T)

-s 'not yet', serves as a negative counterpart of the iamitive in dynamic verbs (74) (see Klyagina & Panova 2019), but occurs in slot +4, as evidenced by its position with respect to the plural suffix in non-finite forms (*j-lә-m-ĝ̂ĝa-kʷa-s* REL.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-NEG-wash-PL-

NONDUM 'those that she has not yet washed' vs. *jə-l-ẑ͡ʒa-χ'a-kʷa-z* REL.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-wash-IAM-PL-PST.NFIN 'those that she has already washed', Panova 2019a: ex. 67, 60).

(74) *arəj   a-bzaza-ra   a-maʕnə*
    PROX   DEF-live-MSD   3SG.N.IO-meaning
    za.ẑə   j-g'ə-j-zə-m-hʷa-s-ṭ   wəẑ.ʕan-ʒa-ra
    one   3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-POT-NEG-say-NONDUM-DCL   this.time-LIM-MSD-SUF
    'Up till now nobody has yet said what the meaning of this life is.' (AbPo)

    -rḳʷa continuative 'still' (Klyagina & Panova 2019; Panova 2019a: 23–26); with dynamic verbs attaches either to the bare stem (75a) or to the imperfective *-wa* (75b); the Imperfect of the continuative can show two instances of the imperfective (75c); does not occur in the Aorist.

(75) a.   *sakəjnat   a-qə̂ŝ   d-pšə-rḳʷ-əj-ṭ*
        PN   DEF-window   3SG.H.ABS-look-CNT-PRS-DCL
        'Sakinat is still looking through the window.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 51)

    b.   *a-č'mazaʕʷ.tara   də-n-χa-wa-rḳʷ-əj-d*
        DEF-hospital   3SG.H.ABS-LOC-work-IPF-CNT-PRS-DCL
        'S/he still works at the hospital.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 52)

    c.   *raš'əjd   j-ləmha   a-hʷssa   r-bəž'-kʷa   tə-ʕʷ-wa-rḳʷ-əw-n*
        PN   3SG.M.IO-ear   DEF-girl.PL   3PL.IO-voice-PL   LOC.ELAT-run-IPF-CNT-IPF-PST
        'The girls' voices still resounded in Rashid's ears.' (Tabulova 1976: 207)

    -la habitual (Panova 2019a: 19–21) expresses regularly occurring events (76); does not occur in Aorist and is mutually exclusive with the iamitive (Panova 2019a: 76).

(76) *sará   s-an-χʷə́cə-z   s-án   l-aš'á   arə́j   anglíjska-la*
    1SG   1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-small-PST.NFIN   1SG.IO-mother   3SG.F.IO-brother   PROX   English(R)-INS
    j-a-l-rə́-pχ'-əw-š-ṭ   hʷá
    3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-learn-IPF-FUT-DCL   QUOT
    j-ʕa-s-á-j-hʷ-l-əw-n
    3SG.N.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-3M.ERG-say-HAB-IPF-PST
    'When I was a child my maternal uncle used to say that I would become a teacher of English.' (T)

    -zla habitual-dynamic with stative verbs (Panova 2019a: 20–21); in addition to expressing habituality (77a) often serves to turn stative verbs into dynamic with a fuller paradigm of tense-aspect forms, cf. the Future II of 'have' in (77b).

(77) a.   *a-č'ḳʷən–χʷəc   a-ĉarta   d-š'ṭa-zl-əj-ṭ*
        DEF-guy–small   DEF-bed   3SG.H.ABS-lie-DYN-PRS-DCL
        'The boy often lies in bed.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 41b)

    b.   *waçəqʷan   j-a-ma-zla-ṗ   ž'awaṗ*
        then   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-have-DYN-NPST.DCL   answer
        wara   j-wə-r-gələ-z   w-a-z-çʕa-ra
        2SG.M   REL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-CAUS-stand-PST.NFIN   2SG.M.IO-3SG.N.IO-BEN-ask-MSD
        'Then the answer to the question you posed will appear.' (AbPo)

    -zapət (< Kabardian) frequentative 'often' (Panova 2019a: 21–23); combines with both stative (78a) and dynamic (78b) verbs; with the latter can be reinforced by the habitual *-la* (*r-hʷa-zapət-l-əw-n* 3PL.ERG-say-FREQ-HAB-IPF-PST 'they used to often say', Tabulova 1976: 208).

(78) a.   *a-ʕa-šələ-rta   hʷənĉ-zapətə-n*
        DEF-CISL-go.in-NLOC   dirt-FREQ-PST
        'The entrance was always dirty.' (Tabulova 1976: 208)

b. *a-naməca*   *a-bna-la*   **d-ʕa-pš-zapət-wa-n**
DEF-German(R)   DEF-forest-INS   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-look-FREQ-IPF-PST
'The German would often look towards the forest.' (Tabulova 1976: 208)

-*χ* refactive 'back, again' (Avidzba 1968; Panova 2019a: 11–19, 55–61; 2019b); denotes backwards motion (79a), reversion towards the original state (79b), completion (79c); under negation expresses discontinuity 'no longer' (79d). In the meaning of pure repetition is usually reinforced by the prefix *ata-* in slot −10 (79e). The refactive also often occurs in reflexive (79f) constructions, and is prone to lexicalization (e.g. *dər-χ* know-RE 'remember').

(79) a. *j-z-áĉʷ–bzə́j*   **ŝ-ʕá-j-χ-ja**
3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-belong–good   2PL.ABS-CISL-go-RE(AOR)-QN
'It is so good that you came back!' (T)

b. *s-gʷə*   *a-χʷə.rta*   **sə-w-rə-χ'-χ-əj-ṭ**
1SG.IO-heart 3SG.N.IO-wound   1SG.IO-2SG.M.ERG-CAUS-cool.down-RE-PRS-DCL
'You cool down the wounds of my heart.' (AbPo)

c. *χ-ḳilométər-ḳ-əj–bža-ḳ-əj,*   *pš'-ba-ḳ*   *j-na-ʒ-əw-z*
three-kilometer-unit-ADD–half-UNIT-ADD   four-CLN-UNIT   REL.ABS-TRAL-reach-IPF-PST.NFIN
á-mʕʷa   **ʕa-mə-z-dá-χə-n**
DEF-road   CISL-LOC-1SG.ERG-cover-RE-PST
'I covered a distance of three and a half to four kilometers.' (T)

d. *d-psə-χ-ṭ*   **d-g'-sə-ma-χə-m**
3SG.H.ABS-die-RE(AOR)-DCL   3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-have-RE-NEG
'He died, he is no longer with me.' (T)

e. *č-an-hə-r-pχá*   *ámš'taχ'*   *a-ʒə́*
RFL.ABS-REL.TMP-1PL.ERG-CAUS-warm   after   DEF-water
č-atá-ta-h-psa-χə-n
RFL.ABS-REP-LOC-1PL.ERG-pour-RE-PST
'After we had warmed ourselves we went into the water again.' (T)

f. *zawaȴ*   *a-ʒə*   *č-a-j-rə-qʷara-χ-ṭ*
PN   DEF-river   RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-SG.3M.ERG-CAUS-strangle-RE(AOR)-DCL
'Zawal drowned himself.' (T)

-*ʒa* intensive 'very much, completely, really' (Panova 2019a: 30–34, 61–65), possibly related to the verb root meaning 'reach'; denotes either a high degree of the realization of the situation (80a,b) or the speaker's assertion of the fact (80c):

(80) a. *a-qaça*   *dəwmp-ta*   *adg'əl*   *d-ḳəl-ŝt-ra*   **s-taq-ʒa-χ-əj-ṭ**
DEF-man   at.once-ADV   DEF+place   3SG.H.ABS-LOC-vanish-MSD   1SG.IO-want-INT-INC-PRS-DCL
'I start strongly wishing that the husband disappear at once.' (AbPo)

b. *fatima*   *ĉa*   *l-fa-ʒa-ṭ*
PN   apple   3SG.ERG-eat-INT(AOR)-DCL
'Fatima ate an apple completely.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 77b)

c. *a-č'ḳʷən*   *a-ĉa.rta*   *a-pnə*   **d-š'ta-ʒa-ṗ**
DEF-guy   DEF-bed   3SG.N.IO-at   3SG.H.ABS-lie-INT-NPST.DCL
'The boy is indeed lying on the bed.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 70b)

-*ĉa* excessive 'too much' (Panova 2019a: 34–35):

(81) a. *awát*   *zəmʕʷá*   *j-š'arda-ĉa-χá-ṭ*   *j-ʔa-tá-z*
DIST.PL   all   3PL.ABS-many-EXC-INC(AOR)-DCL   3PL.ABS-REL.LOC-be.in-PST.NFIN
'They all became too numerous where they were.' (T)

b.   *sə-j-pšə́-n*   *j-ž̌'a-s-š'a-ĉá-n*
     1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-look-PST   3SG.N.ABS-LOC-1SG.ERG-wonder-EXC-PST
     'I looked at him and greatly wondered.' (T)

-*χa* inceptive, attaches to nominals and stative verbs to form dynamic verbs denoting the coming about of the state, cf (81a) and (82):

(82) *sará*   *j-ŝ-á-s-hʷə-rnəs*   *j-s-taqə́-ṗ*
     1SG   3SG.N.ABS-2PL.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PURP   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-want-NPST.DCL
     s-š-a-rə́-pχ'a-ʕʷ-χa-z
     1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-DAT-CAUS-learn-NAG-INC-PST.NFIN
     'I'd like to tell you how I became a teacher.' (T)

-*g'aŝa*, -*ʕʷəŝa* intensive 'very much' with stative verbs: *jə-mcəra-g'aŝa-ṗ* 'it is absolutely empty', *j-ck'a-ʕʷəŝa-ṗ* 'it is very clean' (Tabulova 1976: 213);

-*ʕʷaca* 'just, only', -*zaẑ̌ə k̦* 'only' (< one-INDF) (Panova 2019a: 45–47) are verb-bound unselective quantifiers taking in their scope any part of the sentence (83a,b); -*ʕʷaca* also has the temporal meaning 'just' (83c), usually realised in the Aorist; these markers are incompatible with the Iamitive.

(83) a.   *zarema*   *a-hʷrapšʒa-kʷa*   *ʒə*   *rə-kʷə-l-ĉa-zaẑ̌ə k̦-wa-n*
          PN   DEF-flower-PL   water   3PL.IO-LOC-3SG.F.ERG-pour-JUST-IPF-PST
          i. 'Zarema only watered the flowers (she did nothing else).'
          ii. 'Zarema watered only the flowers (and nothing else).'
          iii. 'Only Zarema watered the flowers (and nobody else).' (Panova 2019a: ex. 101)

     b.   *fatima*   *a-tamš'ak'-kʷa*   *l-ẑ̌ẑ̌a-ʕʷac-əw-n*
          PN   DEF-plate-PL   3SG.F.ERG-wash-JUST-IPF-PST
          i. 'Fatima only washed the plates (she did nothing else).'
          ii. 'Fatima washed only the plates (and nothing else).'
          iii. 'Only Fatima washed the plates (and nobody else).' (Panova 2019a: ex. 100)

     c.   *s-ʕa-č̦ə-χa-ʕʷacá-ț*
          1SG.ABS-CISL-awake-INC-JUST(AOR)-DCL
          'I have just woken up.' (E)

-*gʷəš'a*, -*məʕʷa* depreciative 'pity, poor' (Panova 2019a: 41–45): express either the speaker's sympathy with respect to one of the participants of the situation (84a,b) or the speaker's regret about the whole fact (84c).

(84) a.   *madina rasul*   *də-j-pš-gʷəš'-əw-n*
          PN   PN   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.M.IO-look-DPRC-IPF-PST
          i. 'Poor Madina was looking at Rasul.'
          ii. 'Madina was looking at poor Rasul.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 95b)

     b.   *awəj*   *moskva*   *d-ca-məʕʷa-ț*
          DIST   Moscow   3SG.H.ABS-go-DPRC(AOR)-DCL
          'The poor one went to Moscow.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 92b)

     c.   *a-pša*   *ʕa-s-məʕʷa/-gʷəš'a-ț*
          DEF-wind   CISL-hit-DPRC(AOR)-DCL
          'Unfortunately, the wind blew.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 94b)

The suffixes described above may combine with each other, although such combinations only very rarely occur in texts and many of them, including those semantically plausible, are rejected in elicitation (see Panova 2019a: 67–85 for a discussion). Examples (85a,b) present especially long strings of suffixes accepted by our consultants.

(85) a. *a-ž'ə́*   *s-rə́-ȝ-ĉa-ʕʷaca-məʕʷa-ṭ*
      DEF-meat   1SG.ERG-CAUS-roast-EXC-JUST-DPRC(AOR)-DCL
      'Unfortunately, I have just burnt (lit. roasted too much) the meat.' (E)

   b. *d-**ata**-ca-χ-**zapət**-la-rḳʷ-əj-ṭ*
      3SG.H.ABS-REP-go-RE-FREQ-HAB-CNT-PRS-DCL
      'S/he keeps coming again and again.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 116)

In addition to the temporal and aspectual forms marked by dedicated affixes or affixal combinations, there also exits a resultative form which is encoded by converting the verb into the stative class and (for transitive verbs) removing the ergative prefix, cf. (86).

(86) a. *a-phʷə́spa*   *á-ŝ*   *ʕa-l-ṭə́-d*
      DEF-girl   DEF-door   CISL-3SG.F.ERG-open(AOR)-DCL
      'The girl opened the door.' (E)

   b. *hə-ŝ-kʷa*   *ṭə-ṗ*
      1PL.IO-door-PL   open(RES)-NPST.DCL
      'Our doors are open.' (AbPo)

The resultative attaches the regular stative verbal morphology and is compatible with most aspectual suffixes; notably, it is the only form where the Iamitive co-occurs with negation (87), since the 'not yet' suffix *-s* does not occur with stative verbs.

(87) *arəj* *a-həjsap*   *j-g'-č'pa-χ'a-m*
    PROX   DEF-problem   3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-do-IAM-NEG
    'This problem is not yet solved.' (E)

The resultative can function not only as a predicate, but also as an adjectival modifier, cf. *sə-laȝ–tə-r-ʕʷʕʷə* 1SG.IO-tear–LOC.ELAT-CAUS-pour(RES) 'my tears that have poured out' (AbPo). Like nominals, the resultative can be further dynamicized by the inceptive suffix thus forming a passive-like form (88) (see §3.6.8).

(88) *aĉə-ja* *jə-r-zə-w-hʷ-əw-š*   *j-š'-χa-z*   *a-ž'amʕat?*
    belong-QN REL.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-2SG.M.ERG-say-IPF-FUT   REL.ABS-kill(RES)-INC-PST.NFIN DEF-society
    'What will the society say about those who were killed?' (AbPo)

3.6.5. Evidentiality

Abaza does not have grammaticalized evidential categories; the only formation that can be linked to evidentiality is the Inferential, expressing epistemic evaluation of a proposition. This is a complex formation involving the suffix *-za-* attaching to the non-finite tense suffixes and itself furnished with the Future II (for basic tenses) or Subjunctive II (for retrospectivized tenses) markers. Tables 16–18 show the paradigms of the Inferential for stative and affirmative and negative dynamic verbs (cf. Lomtatidze et al. 1989: 115–116; Panova 2019a: 40).

Table 16. Inferential forms of stative verbs

	affirmative	negative
present	*-za-ṗ*	*g'-Π-Σ-m-za-ṗ ~ g'-Π-Σ-za-rə-m*
past	*-za-rə-n*	*g'-Π-Σ-m-za-rə-z-ṭ*

Table 17. Inferential forms of dynamic verbs (affirmative)

	basic		retrospectivized
present	*-wa-za-ṗ*	imperfect	*-wa-za-rə-n*
aorist	*-za-ṗ*	preterite	*-za-rə-n*
future I	*-wa-š-za-ṗ*	subjunctive I	*-wa-š-za-rə-n*

Table 18. Inferential forms of dynamic verbs (negative)

	basic		retrospectivized	
present	*g'-П-m-Σ-wa-za-ṗ*	imperfect	*g'-П-m-Σ-wa-za-rə-z-ṭ*	
aorist	*g'-П-m-Σ-za-ṗ*	preterite	*g'-П-m-Σ-za-rə-z-ṭ*	
future I	*g'-П-m-Σ-wa-š-za-ṗ*	subjunctive I	*g'-П-m-Σ-wa-š-za-rə-z-ṭ ~*	
			g'-П-Σ-wa-š-za-rə-m	

The epistenic evaluation in the inferential is anchored to the present tense, and the tense marking of the whole inferential form refers to the time of the event (89); likewise, the inferential has wide scope over negation (90).

(89) a. *a-bzaza-ra   s-aj.gʷʁ-əw-za-ṗ   sa   š'arda-ĉa-la*
DEF-live-MSD   1SG.ABS-hope-IPF-INFR-NPST.DCL   1SG   much-EXC-INS
'Maybe I trust life too much.' (AbPo)

   b. *š'ta-ḳ   də-kʷ-ŝa-χ'a-za-rə-n   k'arəjm*
trace-INDF   3SG.H.ABS-LOC-fall-IAM-INFR-FUT.NFIN-PST   PN
'Karim must have already traced it down.' (AbPo)

(90) a. *a-bna   h-a-ʒa-rnəs   saržna–Sʷə-ŝ-ḳ   aha*
DEF-forest   1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-reach-PURP   sazhen–two-hundred-INDF   more
   g'-hə-ma-χə-m-za-ṗ
NEG.EMP-1PL.IO-have-RE-NEG-INFR-NPST.DCL
'For us to reach the forest, there must have been no more than four hundred yards left.' (Tabulova 1976: 169)

   b. *də-g'-Sa-mə-j-s-za-rə-z-ṭ*
3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-CISL-NEG-go-NONDUM-INFR-FUT.NFIN-PST.NFIN-DCL
'He must not have come yet.' (Tabulova 1976: 170)

Nominals and stative verbs also form the inferential by means of the inceptive suffix *-χa* with Future I (91a) or Future II (91b) markers.

(91) a. *sə-m-Sʷaš'-əw-ztən,   bə-vrač'-χa-ṗ*
1SG.ABS-NEG-err-IPF-COND.REAL   2SG.F.ABS-doctor(R)-INC-NPST.DCL
'If I am not mistaken, you must be a doctor.' (Tabulova 1976: 168)

   b. *arə-g'əj   h-mama   l-aḳʷ-χ-əw-š-ṭ*
PROX-ADD   1PL.IO-mother   3SG.F.IO-COP-INC-IPF-FUT-DCL
'That must be our mother.' (Tabulova 1976: 168)

Tabulova (1976: 305–306) mentions the suffix *-ja* attaching to declarative past tense forms and allegedly signaling reported evidentiality; however, in our corpus it only occurs with the speech verb 'say' introducing reported speech (92), therefore its status as an evidentiality marker is disputable.

\(92) *sa   s-oficér–savétskoj–ármii,   j-hʷá-d-ja*
1SG   1SG.ABS-officer–of.Soviet–army(R)   3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL-SUF
'I'm an officer of the Soviet army, he said.' (T)

3.6.6. Mood and modality
The two subjunctive moods belong to the tense paradigm and have been discussed in §3.6.4. Here the non-assertive moods will be described.

The imperative consists of the bare stem without any temporal affixes. With transitive verbs, the second person singular ergative prefix is omitted (93a), while the plural ergative prefix remains in place (93b); likewise, the addressee of the imperative is overtly expressed with intransitive verbs (93c). Stative verbs form the imperative with the dynamicizing suffix

-zla (93d). The addressee of the imperative can be expressed by an overt pronoun or nominal (93a,c).

(93) a. *jálah   kʷa-ṭáḳʷ   ʕá-ta*
       god   rain-little   CISL-give(IMP)
       'Oh God, give (us) a little rain!' (T)

   b. *č-ʕa-ŝ-rə-hazər*
       RFL.ABS-CISL-2PL.ERG-CAUS-ready(IMP)
       'Prepare yourselves!' (Tabulova 1976: 155)

   c. ***w-ʕa-j***   *wara*
       2SG.M.ABS-CISL-go(IMP)   2SG.M
       'You go with me!' (T)

   d. *w-ĉa-**zla***
       2SG.M.ABS-sit-DYN(IMP)
       'Keep sitting!' (Tabulova 1976: 156)

As said in §3.6.3, inverse verbs form their imperative through causativization, lit. 'cause yourself to V', see (58a) above.

The prohibitive contains the negative prefix and the suffix *-n* (Π-*m*-Σ-*n*); the addressee is always expressed by the appropriate personal prefix, cf. (94a) with an intransitive and (94b) with a transitive verb. Inverse verbs again are first causativized (94c).

(94) a. *wə-m-gʷərʕʷa-n*
       2SG.M.ABS-NEG-grieve-IMP.NEG
       'Don't grieve!' (T)

   b. *awəj   a- q̇awm-g'əj*   ***bə-m-hʷa-n***
       DIST   DEF-so.much-ADD   2SG.F.ERG-NEG-say-IMP.NEG
       'Don't say so much!' (T)

   c. *sə-b-q-bə-m-r-áštələ-n*
       1SG.ABS-2SG.F.IO-LOC-2SG.F.ERG-NEG-CAUS-forget-IMP.NEG
       'Don't forget about me!' (E)

The imperative of a causative with a 1PL causee serves as a hortative: *h-ŝə-r-č'á* 1PL.ABS-2PL.ERG-CAUS-eat(IMP) 'let's have a meal' (Genko 1955: 156), *d-hə-r-r-č'a* 3SG.H.ABS-1PL.IO-CAUS-CAUS-eat.ITR(IMP) 'let's feed him' (Tabulova 1976: 156).

Imperative forms attach the suffix *-sṭ* to express a variety of intersubjective flavours such as emphasis or politeness (Tabulova 1976: 155), cf. (95), where the reason for the use of the suffix is unclear.

(95) *a-təwmán   a-pnə́   j-hʷá-z*   ***sə-r-hʷá-χ-sṭ***
     DEF-ten.roubles   3SG.N.IO-at   REL.ABS+3SG.ERG-say-PST.NFIN   1SG.IO-CAUS-say-RE(IMP)-EMP
     'Let me retell what he said about the ten roubles.' (T)

The permissive mood ('let P') is expressed by the suffix *-zṭ* with stative verbs (96a) and by the suffix *-r(a/ə)ʕaṭ* with dynamic verbs (96b). The subject is normally third person, but other persons are also possible.

(96) a. *zəmʕʷa-ʒ-ə́w-g'əj*   *a-zʕʷáda-ra*   ***hə́-ma-zṭ***
       all-INT-PRS.NFIN-ADD   DEF-healthy-MSD   1PL.IO-have-PRM.ST
       'Let us all be healthy! (lit. let health be with us)' (T)

   b. *a-ĉəla   dəwmp-ta   **w-ḳələ-j-rə-ŝtə-rʕaṭ***   *a-nĉa!*
       DEF-ground   at.once-ADV   2SG.M.ABS-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-fall-PRM.DYN   DEF-god
       'Let God make you fall through the ground!' (AbPo)

The optative is marked by the suffix *-nda* and expresses the speaker's wish that the situation takes place (97a); it can attach the suffix of the non-finite past *-z* to emphasize coun-

terfactuality (*s-cá-**nda**-z* 1SG.ABS-go-OPT-PST.NFIN 'if only I had gone (then)' (Genko 1955: 159)), or the suffix of the non-finite future *-ra/ə* (97b), or both (Tabulova 1976: 159).

(97) a. **sə-r-χ'ə-s-χə-nda** *a-bɮən–sʕa-kʷa,* *a-hakʷ!*
   1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-LOC-touch-RE-OPT DEF-wall–low-PL DEF-oven
   'If only I could again touch the low walls and the oven [of my house]!' (AbPo)

  b. *aj,* *awəj* **ʕa-s-ḳə-nda-ra!**
   oh DIST CISL-1SG.ERG-catch-OPT-FUT.NFIN
   'Oh, if only I could catch it (the butterfly)!' (Tabulova 1976: 159)

  There are three types of interrogative forms:

  – The yes/no interrogative suffix *-ma* attaches to the non-finite tense markers (98a,b), but usually marks negation by the combination of the general negative prefix *m-* and the emphatic negative prefix *g'-*, like declarative forms (98c). Negative polar interrogatives are the normal way of forming polite requests (98d), cf. also (25e) above; in this case the emphatic negative prefix is not used..

(98) a. *a-saɮámŝʔa-kʷa* **b-ʕʷə́-ma?**
   DEF-letter-PL   2SG.F.ERG-write(AOR)-Q
   'Did you write the letters?' (E)

  b. *s-anə́-ĉ*   *ásqan* **jə-z-də́r-χ-wa-z-ma**   *š'ta?*
   1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-sleep time 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-RE-IPF-PST.NFIN-Q PTCL
   'How could I remember it when I had fallen asleep?' (T)

  c. *wə-**g'ə**-**m**-pχaš'-**wə́-ma***
   2SG.M.ABS-NEG-NEG-be.ashamed-IPF-Q
   'Aren't you ashamed?' (T)

  d. *j-ʕa-s-á-bə-**m**-hʷ-əw-**ma***
   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-2SG.F.ERG-NEG-say-IPF-Q
   'Could you please tell me?' (E)

  – Content questions about arguments are formed by the suffixes *-da* ('who') (99a) and *-ja* ('what') (99b) attaching to the relative verbal forms whose relative prefix refers to the questioned participant (see §4.3.3 and Arkadiev 2020):

(99) a. **j-wə́-c-kʷa-z-da**   *l-hʷá-n*
   REL.ABS-2SG.M.IO-be.with-PL-PST.NFIN-QH 3SG.F.ERG-say-PST
   'Who was with you? she asked.' (T)

  b. **jə-z-zə-w-hʷ-əw-š-ja**   *j-rə-wa-ta*
   3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-BEN-2SG.M.ERG-say-IPF-FUT-QN 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-part.of-ADV
   a-wəs–naq̇ʷ-ʒa-kʷa?
   DEF-deed–base-INT-PL
   'About what will you say that those belong to the basest deeds?' (AbPo)

  – Content questions about time, place and manner are based on the adverbial relative forms (§3.6.9) with the prefix *-ba* attaching after the relative prefix in slot −11 (100a); this prefix surfaces as *-pa* after voiceless consonants (100b):

(100) a. **j-a-bá-ʕa-z-ʁəč'**   *arə́j* *áχč'a* *j-sə́-m-əw?*
   3SG.N.ABS-REL.LOC-Q.ADV-CISL-1SG.ERG-steal PROX DEF.money REL.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PRS.NFIN
   'Where did I steal this money that I have?' (T)

  b. *wə-š-**pa**-za-ʕá-j-χ?*
   2SG.M.ABS-REL.MNR-QADV-POT-CISL-go-RE
   'How could you come back?' (T)

Interrogative forms can attach the emphatic suffix *-əǰš'ṭ ∼-əǰš'd*, whose exact pragmatic contribution is unclear, cf. *j-zə-l-gʷal-j-əǰš'd* 3SG.N.ABS-REL.RSN-3SG.F.IO-hope-QN-EMP 'Why on earth does she need it?' (T).

3.6.7. Negation

Negation is expressed morphologically on the verb and interacts with the tense-aspect-mood and finiteness system in complex ways (for the paradigms of the affirmative and negative forms of the basic tenses see §3.6.4). The general negation marker is *-mə-*, which appears either as a prefix in slot –3 (separating the "stem" from the "preverbs") or as a suffix in slot +5 between the primary tense markers and the retrospective shift marker (*-n* ∼ *-z*). The position of the negation marker depends on the particular verbal form; in general, all non-declarative forms with the exception of those of the stative verbs mark negation prefixally, cf. (101a–b) vs. (101c), whereas the declarative forms are split into those where *-mə-* is a suffix (the Present of both stative and dynamic verbs (102a), the Past of stative verbs (102b), and both Future tenses (102c)) and those where it is a prefix (the Aorist (103a), the Nondum 'not yet' (74) and all retrospectivized tenses); the negative Imperfect has two variants, the one with the suffix and the one with the prefix, of which the first one, the more archaic (it is identical to the corresponding form in Abkhaz and is given as the only variant in Genko 1955: 160–161) (103b), has been ousted by the form with the prefixal negation following the general pattern of retrospectivized forms (103c). Besides the general negative marker *-mə-* the negative declarative (101a, 102, 103) and negative polar interrogative (97c) forms also feature the "emphatic negative" prefix *g'ə-* is slot –11; this marker is historically related to the additive suffix *-g'əj* and must have first been used for emphasis, but now has become an obligatory part of certain negative forms (see Pazov 2019).

(101) a. *awə́j   ák̮ʷ-ṗ   jə-z-ʕa-s-**m**-áχʷə-z*
DIST   COP-NPST   3PL.ABS-REL.RSN-CISL-1SG.ERG-NEG-take-PST.NFIN
'That's why I didn't take them with me.' (T)

b. *za.ẑ-g'əj   s-jə-**m**-ba-nda*
one-ADD   1SG.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-NEG-see-OPT
'If only nobody saw me.' (Tabulova 1976: 159)

c. *ja   w-á-ʒqa-gəla-**mə**-ztən*
or   2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-stand-NEG-COND.REAL
'Or if you don't stand near it.' (T)

(102) a. *wẑə́   za-ḳə́   **g'ə**-r-čp-wə́-**m***
now   one-INDF   NEG.EMP-3PL.ERG-do-IPF-NEG
'Now they don't do anything.' (T)

b. *za-ḳ-g'əj   **g'**-jə-ma-χ-**mə**-z-ṭ*
one-INDF-ADD   NEG.EMP-3M.IO-have-RE-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
'He didn't have anything any more.' (T)

c. *aẑ̂-g'ə́j   də-**g'**-hə́-kʷ-jə-χ-wa-šə-**m***
one.CLH-ADD   3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-1PL.IO-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-take-IPF-FUT-NEG
'No one will take him (God) from us.' (T)

(103) a. *jə-**g'**-sə-**m**-də́r-ṭ*
3SG.N.IO-NEG.EMP-1SG.ERG-NEG-know(AOR)-DCL
'I didn't know it.' (T)

b. *sə-**g'**-c-wə́-**mə**-z-d*
1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-go-IPF-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
'I was not going.' (Genko 1955: 160)

c. *bzəj*   *jə-**g'**-jə-**m**-b-w**ə́**-z-d*
     good   3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.ERG-NEG-see-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
     'He didn't like it.' (T)

There are three special forms featuring dedicated affixes not used in affirmative contexts in addition to the regular negation, i.e. the Nondum with the suffix *-sə* (§3.6.4), the Prohibitive with the suffix *-n* (§3.6.6) and the negative converb in *-ḳʷa* (§3.6.9). On the syntax of negation see also §4.5.

3.6.8. Valency-changing derivations

Most verbs in Abaza are strictly transitive or intransitive; however, there is a number of labile or ambitransitive verbs, whose transitive and intransitive uses differ only in the personal prefixes indexing their arguments (see Gagiev 2000: 179–187). P-labile verbs, whose intransitive and transitive uses share the absolutive patientive argument, are not numerous and include such verbs as *bəl-* 'burn', *p-čə-* 'break', *ʒa-* 'reach; get', *ʕʷ-q̇'a-* 'break, split', *ʕʷ-ẑa-* 'tear, burst'. The A-labile verbs whose transitive and intransitive uses share the agentive argument, which in the intransitive use becomes the absolutive, are more numerous and include many verbs denoting concrete activities, e.g. *maçawa-* 'cook', *bq̇a-* 'thresh', *ĝ̂ĝa-* 'wash', *žə-* 'dig', *ž'əj-* 'forge', *q̇əĉ-* 'hew', *pssa-* 'plane', *ččа-* 'gnaw', *ĉ-ʁ'ʁ'a-* 'scratch', *ŝəj-* 'curse', as well as *hʷa-* 'say, tell' (transitive) ~ 'ask' (intransitive with an indirect object). The transitive and intransitive uses of 'eat' are expressed by distinct roots: *fa-* 'eat smth' vs. *ča-* 'eat, have a meal'.

There is a large number of valency-increasing derivations and just a few valency-decreasing ones. Most of these are expressed by prefixes.

– Causative *r-* (slot –2) makes the verb transitive and introduces the ergative causer; the causee (i.e. the first argument of the base verb) is encoded as the absolutive if the verb is intransitive (104) or as an indirect object if the verb is transitive (105); when a ditransitive verb is causativized, the causee is expressed as the indirect object closer to the root than the original IO (106). Four-argument verbs apparently do not admit causativization. On the dissimilation of the 3PL prefixes see §3.6.2.

(104) a.   *fatəjma*   *d-ʕa-čə-χa-d*
       PN   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-awake-INC(AOR)-DCL
       'Fatima woke up.' (Koshevoy 2018: ex. 3a)

     b.   *fatəjma*   *l-aba*   ***d-ʕa-jə-r-čə-χa-d***
       PN   3SG.F.IO-father   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-awake-INS-DCL
       'Her father made Fatima wake up.' (Koshevoy 2018: ex. 3b)

(105) a.   *fatəjma*   *ʒə*   *jə-lə-ẑ̂-əj-d*
       PN   water   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-drink-PRS-DCL
       'Fatima is drinking water.' (Koshevoy 2018: ex. 4a)

     b.   *fatəjma*   *a-sabəj*   *ʒə*   ***jə-j-l-rə-ẑ̂-d***
       PN   DEF-child   water   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.M.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-drink(AOR)-DCL
       'Fatima gave the child water to drink.' (based on Koshevoy 2018: ex. 4b)

(106) a.   *aləj*   *tajzada*   *a-tetrad'*   *jə-lə-j-t-əj-ṭ*
       PN   PN   DEF-notebook(R)   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PRS-DCL
       'Ali gives Tezada the notebook.' (Koshevoy 2018: ex. 6a)

     b.   *sara*   *aləj*   *tajzada*   *a-tetrad'*
       1SG   PN   PN   DEF-notebook
       j-lə-j-s-rə-t-ṭ
       3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-3SG.M.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-give(AOR)-DCL
       'I made Ali give the notebook to Tezada.' (Koshevoy 2018: ex. 6b)

Double causatives are also attested:

(107) *a-larǯ'*   *a-ʒqa*   **jə-w-sə-r-r-c-əw-š-ṭ**
    DEF-grey   DEF-river   3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-CAUS-go-IPF-FUT-DCL
    'I'll let you lead Grey (a horse) to the watering place.' (Tabulova 1976: 181)

    The causative can apply not only to verbs, but also to nominals, cf. *rə-hazər* CAUS-ready 'prepare', *r-gʷanə́* CAUS-near 'bring near', *r-ajgʷa* CAUS-friend 'invite'.

    The semantics of the causative includes not only direct (factative) causation of inanimate (108a) and animate (108b) causees, but also varieties of indirect causation such as permission (107), request (108c) and order (108d).

(108) a.   *awə́j*   *a-ƀaqʷəm-əj-š'təj,*   *č'aj–škʷáwḳʷ-əj*
        DIST   DEF-pancake-ADD-EMP   tea–white-ADD
        j-ʕá-lə-r-šə-ṭ
        3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-boil(AOR)-DCL
        'She made pancakes and white tea.' (T)

    b.   *hə-bəzŝa-g'əj*   **h-lə-r-dər-d**
        1PL.IO-language-ADD   1PL.IO-3SG.ERG-CAUS-know(AOR)-DCL
        'She taught us our own language, too.' (T)

    c.   *awát*   **z-rə́-qʷmar-wa**   *j-rə́-r-t-əj-ṭ*
        DIST.PL   REL.ERG-CAUS-play-IPF   3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PRS-DCL
        'Those who ask them to play give it (money) to them.' (T)

    d.   *awə́j*   *á-mʕʷa-kʷa*   **d-jə-rə́-č'pa-ṭ**
        DIST   DEF-road-PL   3PL.IO-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-do(AOR)-DCL
        'He had the roads constructed.' (T)

    The most pervasive type of valency-increasing device in Abaza is the numerous applicative preverbs (see O'Herin 2001). Each applicative is preceded by an indirect object personal prefix cross-referencing the applied argument. There are two types of productive applicatives: applicatives proper, which usually occur in slot –8, and locative applicatives occurring in slot –6. The latter are very numerous and often form more or less lexicalized combinations with verbal roots (see e.g. Klyčev 1995), many of which either do not occur without locatives at all or considerably differ in their meaning when used independently. The locative preverbs will be dealt with in greater detail in §3.6.10, and here I only give examples (109a,b) clearly showing that they introduce arguments.

(109) a.   *phʷəs-ḳ*   *d-ʕa-**rə**-l-s-χə-n*
        woman-INDF   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-LOC.ELAT-1SG.ERG-take-PST
        'I chose a woman among them.' (T)

    b.   *šamíƀ*   *čə́-ʕʷ-ta*   *d-na-**sə́**-š'ta-lə-n*
        PN   horse-NAG-ADV   3SG.H.ABS-TRAL-1SG.IO-LOC-go.in-PST
        'Shamil went after me on horseback.' (T)

    Applicatives proper include:
    – Benefactive *zə-*, expressing the beneficiary of the event (110a), goal of motion (110b), topic or domain (110c), stimulus or emotion (110d) and perception (110e):

(110) a.   *sə-ŝ-kʷa*   **w-zə-ṭ-ṗ**   *wara!*
        1SG.IO-дверь-PL   2SG.M.IO-BEN-open(RES)-NPST.DCL   2SG.M
        'My doors are open for you!' (AbPo)

    b.   *s-pa*   *a-q̇arč'a-kʷa*   *də-r-š'ə-n*
        1SG.IO-son   DEF-Karachay-PL   3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-kill-PST
        d-sə-z-ʕa-r-g-χ-ṭ
        3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-BEN-CISL-3PL.ERG-carry-RE(AOR)-DCL
        'The Karachay killed my son and brought him to me.' (T)

c.　*sar-g'əj　awəj　**s-a-z-qʷəc-wa**　　　**s-ẑəl-c̣-d**
　　я-ADD　　DIST　　1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-think-IPF　1SG.ABS-LOC-pass(AOR)-DCL
　　'I went out thinking about it.' (T)

d.　*waχ'ĉá-la　zəmʕʷa-ʒ-ə́w-g'əj　**sə-r-zə́-raz-ṗ***
　　today-INS　　all-INT-PRS.NFIN-ADD　1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-content-NPST.DCL
　　'Today I am satisfied with everything.' (T)

e.　*awát　　**sə-z-ʒərʕʷ-wá***
　　DIST.PL　　1SG.IO-BEN-listen-IPF
　　'They listened to me...' (T)

The benefactive often expresses the obligatory indirect object (e.g. *zə-pšʕa* 'search smth.', *z-c̣ʕa* 'ask smbd.') and is often lexicalized, cf. *z-pšə* BEN-look 'wait'.

– Malefactive *ĉə-*: the participant adversely affected by the event (111a), experiencer (111b) or stimulus (111c) of negative emotions:

(111) a.　***j-g'ə-j-ĉə-c̣a-h-ḳ-wa-m***
　　　　3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-MAL-LOC-1PL.ERG-hold-IPF-NEG
　　　　'We don't conceal it from him.' (Tabulova 1976: 184)

b.　*ʕʷ-ba　　tə-z-ca-wá　　　awə́j　jə-ĉ-ħáλa-χ-əw-š-ṭ*
　　two-CLN　LOC.ELAT-REL.ERG-drive-IPF　DIST　3SG.M.IO-MAL-hard-INC-IPF-FUT-DCL
　　'It must be hard for the one who herds two (cows).' (T)

c.　***sə-z-ĉ-pχaš'a-wa***　　　*s-satər-kʷa*
　　　1SG.ABS-REL.IO-MAL-be.ashamed-IPF　1SG.IO-line-PL
　　'my verses, which I am ashamed of' (AbPo)

– Comitative *cə-* expresses a co-participant (112a) or an obligatory indirect object (112b); when preceded by the indirect object reciprocal prefix *a(j)-* expresses the meaning 'together' (112c). Can be lexicalized, cf. *c-ca* COM-go 'marry (about women)'.

(112) a　*buχgálter–qadá-ta　　**d-sə́-cə-n-χ-əj-ṭ***
　　　　accountant(R)–chief-ADV　3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-LOC-work-PRS-DCL
　　　　'She works with me as chief accountant.' (T)

b.　*a-maladažon-kʷa　χʷábəž-ta　**jə-r-c-qráʕ-əj-ṭ***
　　DEF-newlywed(R)-PL　strong-ADV　3PL.ABS-3PL.IO-COM-help-PRS-DCL
　　'They help the newlywed a lot.' (T)

c.　*bzə́j-ta　　**h-a-cə-n-χ-ə́j-d***
　　good-ADV　　1PL.ABS-REC.IO-COM-LOC-work-PRS-DCL
　　'We work together well.' (T)

– Judicative *ma-* is used with nominal roots and introduces the person who considers the absolutive argument to belong to the category denoted by the root:

(113) ***d-rə́-ma-λaṗa-ṗ-ta***　　　　*áχč'a　g'-jə́-r-t-wa-m*
　　　3SG.H.ABS-3PL.IO-JUD-expensive-NPST.DCL-ADV　money　NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give-IPF-NEG
　　'They consider him expensive and don't pay him.' (T)

– Instrumental *la-* introduces instrument (114a) or means (114b):

(114) a.　*a-ĉərʁʷə́　a-zernó　　**a-lá-ʕ-c̣a-r-g-əj-ṭ***
　　　　DEF-spade　DEF-corn(R)　3SG.N.IO-INS-CISL-LOC-3PL.ERG-carry-PRS-DCL
　　　　'They collect corn with spades.' (T)

b.　*awát　**z-la-ĉáẑa-wa**　á-bəẑa　za.ẑ-g'ə́j　jə-m-də́r-wa-ta*
　　DIST.PL　REL.IO-INS-speak-IPF　DEF-language　one-ADD　3SG.M.ERG-NEG-know-IPF-ADV
　　'Nobody knows the language they speak.' (T)

Two applicatives show special behaviour in that they do not increase the valency of the predicate and occur in slot −9 to the left of all other applicatives:

– Potential *ʐə-* expresses the ability of the agent to bring about the action; with intransitive verbs it does not add an extra argument and does not introduce a personal prefix (115a); the potential of transitive verbs is an inverse predicate, the original agent becoming the indirect object of the applicative (115b,c). This indirect object can still control the reflexive (115d).

(115) a. ***s-g'ə-z-ʕá-mə-j-χ-d***   *a-q̇ráȶ*
      1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-CISL-NEG-go-RE(AOR)-DCL   DEF-country
      'I could not return to my country.' (T)

    b. *ẑ-za.ǯə-ḵ*   *ʕa-h-χʷʕa-n*
      cow-one-UNIT   CISL-1PL.ERG-buy-PST
      'We bought a cow.' (T)

    c. *knigá*   ***g'-s-zə́-m-χʷʕ-əw-z-ṭ***
      book(R)   NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-NEG-buy-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
      'I could not buy books.' (T)

    d. ***čə-z-zə́-ḵʷaba-kʷ-əw-z***
      RFL-REL.IO-POT-bathe-PL-IPF-PST.NFIN
      'those who could bathe (lit. themselves)'

The negative potential form of 'know' is used quite frequently to express lack of knowledge:

(116) *z-pnə*   *s-aʔá-z-g'əj*   ***də-g'-sə-z-də́ra-m***
      REL.IO-at   1SG.ABS-be-PST.NFIN-ADD   3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-NEG
      'I don't know at whose place I was.' (T)

– Involuntative *mqa-* behaves in the same way, however, with intransitive verbs it occurs with the dummy 3SG non-human prefix (117a), while transitive verbs undergo inversion (117b).

(117) a. ***s-a-mqa-ç̇ər-ṭ***
      1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-INVOL-cry(AOR)-DCL
      'I involuntarily screamed.' (Tabulova 1976: 201)

    b. *j-s-taq-ʒa-m-ḵʷa*   *sə-maʒa*   ***sə-mqa-hʷa-ṭ***
      3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-want-INT-NEG-CVB.NEG   1SG.IO-secret   1SG.IO-INVOL-say(AOR)-DCL
      'Absolutely unwittingly I gave out my secret.' (Tabulova 1976: 202)

There are also two non-productive applicatives with special morphological properties:

– Sociative *a(j)-* occurs in slot −1 closest to the root, but is able to introduce an indirect object prefix in slot −5; the indirect object it introduces is often a co-participant with such verbs as 'speak' (118b), but in many cases is determined lexically (118a).

(118) a. *a-waʕa*   *r-crəj–bəzŝa-la*   *bzəj-ta*   *j-ʔa-ĉaẑa-wa*
      DEF-people   3PL.IO-native–language-INS   good-ADV   3PL.ABS-REL.LOC-speak-IPF
      w-a-m-aj-gʷərʁ'-əw-š-ta   *j-g'-aʔa-m*
      2SG.M.IO-3SG.N.IO-NEG-SOC-rejoice-IPF-FUT-ADV   3PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-be-NEG
      'One can not but rejoice that people speak their native language well.' (Abazašta 2017)

    b. *telefon-la*   *sə-nbž'a.ʕʷ-ĉa*   ***s-an-r-a-ĉaẑa-wa***
      phone(R)-INS   1SG.IO-friend-PLH   1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-3PL.IO-SOC-speak-IPF
      'When I speak with my friends on the phone...' (Abazašta 2017)

– Dative *a-* occurs after the indirect object prefix in slot −5 in some verbs (*j-a-l-hʷ-ṭ* 3SG.M.IO-DAT-3SG.F.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL 'she told him', *wə-l-a-pš-ṗ* 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.F.IO-DAT-

be.similar-NPST.DCL 'you are like her') and is obviously lexicalized; note that the partly ho-
mophonous dative and sociative differ in their position, cf. (118a) and (119).

(119) *j-r-á-bə-m-hʷ-wə-ma*
   3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-DAT-2SG.F.ERG-NEG-say-IPF-Q
   'Could you please tell them?' (T)

 Some applicative preverbs, especially the locative ones (§3.6.10), can be used as sta-
tive roots, cf. the comitative in (120):

(120) *awat* *a-wəsa-ʕʷ–gʷəmĉ̂a* **d-rə-c-ta**
   DIST.PL DEF-verse-NAG–restless 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.IO-be.with-ADV
   'The restless poet being with them' (AbPo)

 Valency-reducing derivations in Abaza are as follows:

 – The resultative, described in §3.6.4, removes the agent from transitive verbs and can
thus be considered an analogue of a passive; moreover, some speakers even accept construc-
tions with the inceptive based on the resultative taking the agent phrase in the instrumental
case (121a) or, in questions and relatives, an instrumental applicative referring to the agent
(121b).

(121) a. *a-çapχa-kʷá* *č'ḳʷə́n-ḳ-la* *j-ʕ-áw-χa-ṭ*
     DEF-key-PL   guy-INDF-INS 3PL.ABS-CISL-find(RES)-INC(AOR)-DCL
     'The keys were found by some guy.' (E)

   b. *arə́j* *a-tʒə́* *z-la-č'pa-χá-da?*
     PROX DEF-house REL.IO-INS-do(RES)-INC(AOR)-QH
     'By whom was this house built?' (E)

 – The reflexive derivations are not valency-reducing in the formal sense of the word,
since they do not involve changes in transitivity (see Arkadiev & Durneva 2020). Transitive
and inverse verbs are reflexivized by the prefix *čə-* in the absolute slot and retain the erga-
tive resp. indirect object prefixes referring to the more agentive participant, see §3.6.3. Some
transitive trivalent verbs (including causatives) can reflexivize their indirect objects by simply
doubling the ergative prefix in the indirect object slot, cf. (122a,b) with the simple indirect ob-
ject and (122c) with the benefactive.

(122) a. *lə-bəzŝa-g'əj* **h-lə-r-dər-d**
     3SG.F.IO-language-ADD 1PL.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-know(AOR)-DCL
     'She taught us her language.' (T)

   b. *adəg'a* *a- q̇abard–č'erkes–dialekt-kʷa* *hᵢ-həᵢ-r-dər-ṭ*
     DEF-Adyghe DEF-Kabardian–Circassian–dialect-PL 1PL.IO-1PL.ERG-CAUS-know(AOR) -DCL
     'We studied (lit. we taught us) Adyghe and Kabardian dialects.' (Abazašta 2017)

   c. *jə-wᵢ-zə-wᵢ-χʷʕ-əj-ṭ*
     3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.IO-BEN-2SG.M.ERG-buy-PRS-DCL
     'You are buying it for yourself.' (Durneva 2020: 18)

 In causatives from transitive verbs the reflexive prefix *čə-* is usually bound by the
causee expressed as the indirect object (123a), which implies that the causative scopes over
the reflexive; however, examples with opposite scope (first causativization, then reflexiviza-
tion) are also attested with some verbs (123b).

(123) a. *an* *fatíma* *čᵢ-ləᵢ-l-rə́-ĝ̂ĝa-ṭ*
     mother PN   RFL.ABS-3SG.F.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-wash(AOR)-DCL
     'Mother made Fatima wash herself (=Fatima).' (Sonia Durneva's fieldnotes)

b. *zawaǯ*   *a-ʒə*   *č̌ᵢ-a-jᵢ-rə-qʷara-χ-ṭ*
    PN   DEF-water   RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-strangle-RE(AOR)-DCL
    'Zawal drowned himself (lit. Zawal let the water strangle himself).' (T)

The reflexive has autocausative and anticausative uses with both controlling animate (124a) and non-controlling inanimate (124b) subjects.

(124) a. *nána*   *č̌ə́-na-lə-r-q̇ʷ-ṭ*
          granny   RFL.ABS-TRAL-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-bend(AOR)-DCL
          'Granny bent (to get something from the floor).' (Durneva 2020: 22)

      b. *á-ç̌la*   *č̌-ná-na-r-q̇ʷ-ṭ*
          DEF-tree   RFL.ABS-TRAL-3SG.N.ERG-CAUS-bend(AOR)-DCL
          'The tree bent.' (Durneva 2020: 22)

    – There are several morphological means to express the reciprocal, none of which seems to be fully productive. The most common is the prefix *aba-* primarily used in transitive verbs; it occurs in slot –4 displacing the ergative marker, hence the resulting verb can be considered intransitive with the original agent expressed as the absolutive (125a–b).

(125) a. *jə-ʕ-b-ə́j-ṭ*
          3PL.ABS-1PL.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
          'We see them.' (E)

      b. *aχš̌'a–crə́j-ḳ*   *l-á-pš-ta*   *h-aba-ba-wá-ta*
          sister–sibling-INDF   3SG.F.IO-DAT-similar-ADV   1PL.ABS-REC-see-IPF-ADV
          'We see each other as sisters, and...' (T)

In ditransitive verbs, the reciprocal marker occupies the indirect object slot and may express the reciprocal relation of the recipient either with the agent (126b), which is retained, or with the absolutive (126c), where it can be argued that the reciprocal is in the scope of the causative.

(126) a. *awəj*   *ba*   *j-a-l-hʷ-əj-ṭ*
          DIST   kiss   3SG.M.IO-DAT-3SG.F.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
          'She is kissing him (lit. is saying him kiss).' (Durneva 2017: ex. 24a)

      b. *awát*   *ba*   *abáᵢ-rᵢ-hʷ-əj-ṭ*
          DIST.PL   kiss   REC-3PL.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
          'They are kissing each other (lit. saying each other kiss).' (Durneva 2017: ex. 24b)

      c. *a-ʕʷə-ǯ'*   *jᵢ-abaᵢ-hə-r-ba-ṭ*
          DEF-two-CLH   3PL.ABS-REC-1PL.ERG-CAUS-see(AOR)-DCL
          'We showed them to each other (lit. made them see each other).' (Durneva 2017: ex. 24c)

The reciprocal *aba-* can sometimes function as a sociative applicative introducing an indirect object rather than expressing reciprocity; note than in this case the verb still becomes intransitive:

(127) *r.qʷəχə-ʕʷ-ĉa-g'əj*   *h-r-aba-dər-nəs*   *h-aj-gʷʁ-əj-ṭ*
      study-NAG-PLH-ADD   1PL.ABS-3PL.IO-REC-know-PURP   1PL.ABS-SOC-hope-PRS-DCL
      'We hope to get acquainted with the researchers.' (Abazašta 2017)

Inverse verbs take the prefix *aba-* in the position of the indirect object (58c), and certain intransitive verbs use the special indirect object reciprocal prefix *aj-* (128a). Intransitive verbs with lexicalized applicatives can form the reciprocal by reduplication of the applicative (128b); neither of these mechanisms is productive.

(128) a. *h-aj-ĉáẑ-əw-n*
     1PL.ABS-REC.IO-talk-IPF-PST
     'We were talking to each other.' (T)

    b. *h-a-c~ac-qraʕa-ṗ*
     1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-COM~REC-help-NPST.DCL
     'We shall help each other.' (Tabulova 1976: 195)

In potential forms of transitive verbs the reciprocal prefix *aba-* remains in the position of the ergative (*h-g'-z-ába-m-dər-ṭ* 1PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-REC-NEG-know(AOR)-DCL 'we could not recognize each other' (E)), while the involutative forms prefer to place the reciprocal marker before the applicative (*h-aba-mqa-q̇'š'ə́-ṭ* 1PL.ABS-REC-INVOL-dirty(AOR)-DCL 'we accidentally dirtied each other' (E)).

3.6.9. Non-finite forms

The wide variety of Abaza non-finite forms can be roughly divided into nominal, converbal and relative. All non-finite forms lack declarative markers, with the exception of the forms with the adverbial ending *-ta*, which can attach to declarative forms in coordination-like constructions (see below).

The only deverbal nominalization retaining certain verbal properties is the masdar (action nominal) in *-ra*. The suffix attaches to the stem of dynamic verbs, while stative verbs first have to be dynamicized by means of the inceptive *-χa* or habitual *-zla*. The masdar, being the closest equivalent of the European and Russian infinitive, is used in dictionaries as the basic form of verbs. The masdar can be used as a nominal referring to a concrete or generic event or state (129a), in which case it does not take verbal cross-referencing prefixes but can be marked for definiteness (129b), plurality (129d), or possesssion (129c); the possessor of the masdar usually corresponds to the subject, be it absolutive (129c) or ergative (129d).

(129) a. ***bzaza-ra-ṗ***   *a-sə*   *ʕa-s-wa-ztən*
     live-MSD-NPST.DCL   DEF-snow   CISL-snow-IPF-COND.REAL
     'It is life when snow falls.' (AbPo)

    b. ***a-ʒca-rá***   *jə-zə́-č'pa-kʷa-mə-z*
     DEF-swim-MSD   3SG.N.ABS-REL.ERG-do-PL-NEG-PST.NFIN
     'those who could not swim (lit. do the swimming)' (T)

    c ***j-c-qaráʕa-ra***   *sə́-ma-ta*
     3M.IO-COM-help-MSD   1SG.IO-have-ADV
     'with his help' (T)

    d. ***hə-n-c̣-ra-kʷa***   *n-h-c̣-əj-ṭ*
     1PL.IO-LOC-live-MSD-PL   LOC-1PL.ERG-live-PRS-DCL
     'We live our lifes.' (AbPo)

The masdar also has verbal uses, mainly as sentential complement (for more details see §4.4.2), in which case it can take full verbal cross-reference including the absolutive (130a) and the ergative (130b).

(130) a. ***d-ḳəl-ŝt-ra***   *s-taq-ʒa-χ-əj-ṭ*
     3SG.H.ABS-LOC-vanish-MSD   1SG.IO-want-INT-INC-PRS-DCL
     'I strongly wish that he disappear.' (AbPo)

    b. *j-qʷəc-š'a*   ***č-a-c-s-č'pa-ra***   *s-məwrad-ta*
     3SG.M.IO-think-NMNR   RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-COM-1SG.ERG-do-MSD   1SG.IO-goal-ADV
     'my goal being to imitate his way of thinking...' (AbPo)

There are numerous converbs with general and specialized functions:

– The unmarked form lacking tense endings; with stative verbs it denotes a situation simultaneous to the main clause event (131a); with dynamic verbs it either denotes anteriority

(131b) or simultaneity, in which case it has the imperfective suffix *-wa* (131c); the latter form can also be used as complement with some verbs (131d). The subjects of the two predicates need not coinside (131c).

(131) a. *χang'arəj*   *a-ḳʷdər-ta*   **d-ta-ĉa**   *d-qʷəc-əj-ṭ*
PN   DEF-saddle-ADV   3SG.H.ABS-LOC-sit   3SG.H.ABS-think-PRS-DCL
'Khangeri, sitting in the saddle, is thinking.' (Tabulova 1976: 238)

    b. *a-pšċa*   *j-pšċa-z*   **j-aba-rə-s**   *j-ʕa-ʒa-n*
DEF-courtyard   REL.ABS-be.in-PST.NFIN 3PL.ABS-REC-CAUS-gather   3PL.ABS-CISL-reach-PST
sawsrəq̇ʷa   *d-čə-ẑə-r-χ-ṭ*
PN   3SG.H.ABS-horse-LOC-3PL.ERG-take(AOR)-DCL
'The people who were in the courtyard, having gathered into a mob, took Sosruko from his horse.' (Tabulova 1976: 238)

    c. *awəj*   *s-gʷə*   **j-a-s-wa**   *a-dəwnaj* *sə-kʷ-b*
DIST   1SG.IO-heart 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-hit-IPF   DEF-world   1SG.ABS-be.on-NPST.DCL
'With this causing me heartache I live in the world.' (T)

    d. **h-ʒca-wá**   *h-á-la-ga-ṭ*
1PL.ABS-swim-IPF   1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
'We started swimming.' (T)

   – The adverbial *-ta*, which attaches either to the unmarked form just discussed and is apparently synonymous with it, cf. (132a) with a stative verb and (132b,c) with dynamic verbs.

(132) a. *a-ĉ-kʷa*   **a-ċa-hʷa-ta**   *h-ĉaʁʷa-ṭ*
DEF-ox-PL   3SG.N.IO-LOC-yoke(RES)-ADV   1PL.ABS-plough(AOR)-DCL
'We plughed with the oxen yoked.' (T)

    b. *áj.s.ra*   **a-čá-s-χ-ta**   *h-an-cá-χ-ra*   *ásqan*
war   3SG.N.IO-LOC-hit-RE-ADV   1PL.ABS-REL.TMP-go-RE-FUT.NFIN   DEF+time
'when we come back after the end of the war' (T)

    c. *s-qa*   **lə-la-dáw-χa-wa-ta**   *s-lə-cə-n-χ-áj-ṭ*
1SG.IO-head   3SG.F.IO-INS-big-INC-IPF-ADV   1SG.ABS-3SG.F.IO-COM-LOC-work-PRS-DCL
'I work with her being proud of her.' (T)

   The adverbial also freely attaches to finite tense forms with declarative suffixes (133a–c) and to the imperative (133d) in coordination- or chaining-like structures.

(133) a. *dasəw*   *jə-m-əw*   **rá-j-t-əj-ṭ-ta**
everyone 3SG.M.IO-have-PRS.NFIN 3PL.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PRS-DCL-ADV
a-ʒəjwára-g'əj   *də-r-ḳʷab-áj-ṭ*
DEF-idol-ADD   3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-bathe-PRS-DCL
'Everyone gives them what he has, and then they bathe the idol.' (T)

    b. *a-nĉá*   *s-psə*   *z-q̇ʷərmán-əw*   *j-pnə*
DEF-god   1SG.IO-soul REL.IO-sacrifice-PRS.NFIN   3SG.M.IO-at
h-qá-l-ṗ-ta   *hə-j-çʕá-ṗ*
1PL.ABS-LOC-go.in-NPST.DCL-ADV   1PL.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask-NPST.DCL
ará.ʔa   *h-tə́-j-š'tə-rnəs*
PROX.LOC   1PL.ABS-LOC.ELAT-3SG.M.ERG-release-PURP
'We'll climb up to God and ask him to release us from here.' (T)

    c. *á-maša-kʷa*   **ʕa-r-ž-wá-n-ta**   *a-sabə́j-kʷa* *awá.ʔa*
DEF-pit-PL   CISL-3PL.ERG-dig-IPF-PST-ADV   DEF-child-PL   DIST.LOC
də-r-gə́l-wa-n-ta   *dará*   *raŝ-ə́w-n*
3PL.ERG-CAUS-stand-IPF-PST-ADV   3PL   weed-IPF-PST
'They used to dig pits, put children there and weed.' (T)

d.   *wə́naʕʷa*   **d-ʕá-ddal-ta**   **d-ʕa-r-ájgʷa-ta**
         family   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-lead(IMP)-ADV   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-CAUS-friend(IMP)-ADV
         psəjmláh   *j-hʷá*
         in.the.name.of.god   3SG.N.ABS-say(IMP)
         'Bring him home, make him a guest and give him food.' (T)

Tabulova (1976: 244) reports that the adverbial form can lack the ergative prefix coreferential to the matrix subject (134), but the texts collected in Inžič-Čukun do not confirm this.

(134) *wara*   *wə-ʕʷara*   **ḳa-rə-ŝ-ta**   *ara.ʔa*   *wə-z-ʕa-j-ja?*
       2SG.M   2M.IO-burrow   LOC-CAUS-fall-ADV   PROX.LOC   2SG.M.ABS-REL.RSN-CISL-go-QN
       'Why did you leave your burrow and come here?' (Tabulova 1976: 244)

     – Negative converb *-ḳʷa*, only attaches to negated non-finite stems, cf. (135a) with a stative verb and suffixal negation and (135b) with a dynamic verb and prefixal negation.

(135) a.   *awat*   *ĉg'ara-ḳ-g'əj*   *s-gʷə*   **j-rə-z-ta-m-ḳʷa**
         DIST.PL   evil-INDF-ADD   1SG.IO-heart   3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-be.in-NEG-CVB.NEG
         bzəj   *jə-z-b-əj-ṭ!*
         good   3PL.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
         'I love them without any evil in my heart!' (AbPo)

      b.   *ha*   *h-vožd'*   **də-m-psə́-s-ḳʷa**
         1PL   1PL.IO-chief(R)   3SG.H.ABS-NEG-die-NONDUM-CVB.NEG
         j-pha   *d-ʕá-z-gə-n*
         3SG.M.IO-daughter   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1PL.ERG-lead-PST
         'While our chief was still alive (lit. had not yet died) I married his daughter.' (T)

     – Converb of simultaneity *-mca(ra)*, attaches to the bare stem of stative verbs (136a) and to the imperfective of dynamic verbs (136b), as well as to the manner relative (135c).

(136) a.   *sara*   **s-ĉa-mca**   *s-gʷə*   *ara.sa*
         1SG   1SG.ABS-sit-CVB   1SG.IO-heart   PROX.ADV
         j-ʕa-n[a]-ga-ṭ
         3SG.ABS-CISL-3SG.N.ERG-carry(AOR)-DCL
         'While I am sitting, it thus occurred to me.' (Tabulova 1976: 238)

      b.   *s-phʷəs–nína*   **d-ʕa-s-c-qráʕ-əw-mca**
         1SG.IO-woman–PN   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-COM-help-IPF-CVB
         s-š'aṗ-ḳʷá   *s-rə́-ḳʷ-lə-r-gəl-χ-d*
         1SG.IO-foot-PL   1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-LOC-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-stand-RE(AOR)-DCL
         'My wife Nina helped me to rise on my legs again (lit. helping me made me rise).' (T)

      c.   **s-š-š'ṭa-zə-mca.ra**   *sə-ĉ-ṭ*
         1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-lie-PST.NFIN-CVB   1SG.ABS-sleep(AOR)-DCL
         'While I was lying there I fell asleep.' (T)

The suffix can also attach to pronouns and adverbials, cf. *za.ɣ́ə~zaɣ́ə-mca* one-~DISTR-CVB 'one by one', *awá.sa-mca* DIST.ADV-CVB 'and so forth'.
     – *-pχ'aʒa* 'each time' (< 'count'):

(137) *s-gʷə*   **ʕa-r-blə-pχ'aʒa,**   **s-ḳa-də-r-pšə-pχ'aʒa,**
       1SG.IO-heart   CISL-3PL.ERG-burn-EACH   1SG.ABS-LOC-LOC-3PL.IO-look-EACH
       zaḳ~zaḳ   *χʷə.rta-ta*   *j-ʕa-ḳʷ-χ-əj-ṭ*   *sə-nc̣.ra*
       one.CLN~DISTR   wound-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-be.on-INC-PRS-DCL   1SG.IO-life
       'Each time they burn my heart, each time I look down on them, a wound remains in my heart.' (AbPo)

– *-əj.ž'ta.ra* ~ *əj.š'ta.ra* 'since':

(138) *á.pχ'a.rta* **s-ʕa-l-g-əjš'tára** *skʷšə́* *ʕʷə-n-ʕʷa-ẑ-ə́j–ẑ-ə́j-χ*
DEF+school 1SG.ABS-CISL-LOC.ELAT-finish-SINCE year two-time-two-ten–ADD–ten-ADD-three
çə́-ṭ
pass(AOR)-DCL
'Fifty three years passed since I finished school.' (T)

– *-nʒəḳ'(ara)* ~ *-nçəḳ'(ara)* 'until':

(139) a. *šamíɮ* **d-ʕá-jə-nʒəḳ'** *s-a-z-pš-ə́j-ṭ*
PN 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-идти-UNTIL 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-wait-PRS-DCL
'I am waiting until Shamil comes.' (T)

b. *abar.awa.sa* *a-waq* **j-ša-nçəḳ'a.ra**
DIST.EMP.ADV DEF-night 3SG.N.ABS-dawn-UNTIL
a-kət *haǥabaǥəq̇* *j-a-la-s-ça-ṭ*
DEF-village turmoil 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-put(AOR)-DCL
'In this way I caused turmoil in the village till the end of the night.' (T)

– *-bərg(ʒa)* 'as soon as' (?< 'exactly'), attaches to the manner relative with the imperfective (140a) or imperfective past (140b) suffixes, or to the temporal relative (140c);

(140) a. **j-š-ʕa-kʷ-ç-wa-bərg.ʒa** *aẑa* *s-pəkʷ*
3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-CISL-LOC-pass-IPF-JUST DEF+word 1SG.IO-lips
j-a-ĉə-ʒ-wa-z-ŝa *jə-z-b-əj-ṭ* *çakə.ra-ḳ*
3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-vanish-IPF-PST.NFIN-SML 3SG.N.IO-1SG.ERG-see-PRS-DCL secret-INDF
'As soon as the word gets off my lips I feel that it loses a secret.' (AbPo)

b. *á-mara* **š-ta-ŝ-əw-z-bərg** *j-ʕa-la-qʷla-ṭ*
DEF-sun REL.MNR-LOC-fall-IPF-PST.NFIN-JUST 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-LOC-grow.dusky(AOR)-DCL
'It became dusky as soon as sun set.' (Tabulova 1976: 211)

c. *uč'iliš'a* **d-an-ʕa-l-ga-bərg** *d-ča-ʒa-ta*
college(R) 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-LOC.ELAT-finish-JUST 3SG.H.ABS-young-INT-ADV
až'əj-rʕa–abaza–tʕaĉa-ḳ *d-ʕa-rə-la-na-ga-ṭ*
PN-ASSPL–Abaza–family-INDF 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-LOC-3SG.N.ERG-carry(AOR)-DCL
'She got into the Abaza Adžiev family very young, just having finished college.'
(AbRus)

The suffix can also occur in slot +2 before the imperfective:

(141) *sara* **d-š-ʕa-hə-d-gəl-bərg-wa-z**
1SG 3SG.H.ABS-REL.MNR-CISL-1PL.IO-LOC-stand-JUST-IPF-PST.NFIN
də-z-dər-χ-ṭ.
3SG.H.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-RE(AOR)-DCL
'As soon as he approached us I recognized him.' (Tabulova 1976: 211)

– Realis conditional *-ztən*, attaches to non-finite basic tenses (historically it probably was a combination of the non-finite past *-z* with *-tən*, cf. Bouda 1940: 248, hence its incompatibility with the retrospectivized forms, but synchronically the affix does not imply pastness), cf. unmarked stative present (142a), dynamic present (142b), aorist (124c) and future (142d). It can have not only conditional, but also temporal uses (142a,c).

(142) a. *ʔaχʷtán–za.ẑə́-ḳ* **hə́-ma-ztən**
dress–one-INDF 1PL.IO-have-COND.REAL
hará *j-h-ŝá-h-ç-əw-n-ta* *á-rqa* *h-c-əw-n*
1PL 3SG.N.ABS-1PL.IO-LOC-1PL.IO-put-IPF-PST-ADV DEF-fielr 1PL,ABS-go-IPF-PST
'When we had a single dress we would put it on and go to the field.' (T)

b. *wə́-ẑ-kʷa*   *tə-w-c̣-əw-ztən ...*
2M.IO-cow-PL   LOC.ELAT-2SG.M.ERG-drive-IPF-COND.REAL
á-raχʷ-χč'a   *jə́-χʷ*   *jə́-ta*
DEF-cattle-guard   3SG.M.IO-price   3SG.M.IO-give(IMP)
'If you pasture cows ... pay the herder his wages.' (T)

c. *s-ʕa-cá-jə-r-pa-χə-ztən*   *a-taca.nadə́.l.ra*   *a-pnə́*
1SG.ABS-CISL-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-turn-RE-COND.REAL   DEF-wedding   3SG.N.IO-at
s-á-d-gəl-ṭ
1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-stand(AOR)-DCL
'When he returned me back I got to the wedding.' (T)

d. *wrə́ŝ-la*   *jə-w-hʷ-ə́w-šə-ztən*
Russiam-INS   3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-say-IPF-FUT-COND.REAL
prémija-ta   *j-ʕa-wə́-r-t-ṭ-əj*
bonus(R)-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL-ADD
'To say it in Russian, they gave you a bonus.' (T)

With nominals *-ztən* marks the topic:

(143) *d-fatəjma-ztən,*   *lará*   *d-maçawə́-ʕʷ–bzəj-b*
3SG.H.ABS-PN-COND.REAL   3SG.F   3SG.H.ABS-cook-NAG–good-NPST.DCL
'Speaking about Fatima, she is a good cook.' (Lander 2018: ex. 13)

– General conditional *-rəkʷən ~ -rəḳʷən*, attaches either to the bare stem of dynamic verbs (144a) or to retrospectivized tenses (cf. the allomorph *-za* of PST.NFIN), in which case it has irrealis and counterfactual readings regardless of actual temporal reference (144b,c); the non-finite past suffix can also follow the conditional (145c). Stative verbs are only compatible with the retrospectivized conditional (145d).

(144) a. *h-ʔa-n-χa-wá*   *á.pχ'a.rta*   *w-a-pš-rə́kʷən*
1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-LOC-work-IPF   DEF+school   2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-look-COND
w-gʷə   *j-á-la-h-əj-ṭ*
2M.IO-heart   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.ABS-LOC-increase-PRS-DCL
'If you look at the school where we work, your heart rejoices.' (T)

b. *jə-č'pá-z*   *r-č'pá-za-rkʷən*
[REL.ABS]3SG.M.ERG-do-PST.NFIN   3PL.ERG-do-PST.NFIN-COND
a-kə́t-g'əj   *jə-kḳa-wá*   *j-gə́l-rə-n*
DEF-village-ADD   3SG.N.ABS-shine-IPF   3SG.N.ABS-stand-FUT.NFIN-PST
'If they did what he did the village would shine.' (T)

c. *sara*   *j-ʕa-s-c̣ʕa-rəkʷnə-z ...*
1SG   3PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-ask-COND-PST.NFIN
ž'awap-ta   *j-s-hʷa-rə-n*
answer-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-say-FUT.NFIN-PST
'If they had asked me ... I would have answered thus.' (AbPo)

d. *w-ġarəw*   *qaça-ra–ṭaḳʷ-g'əj*   *a-c-wə-ma-za-rkʷən...*
2SG.M.IO-strength   man-NML–little-ADD   3SG.N.IO-COM-2SG.M.IO-have-PST.NFIN-COND
'If you had a little courage together with your strength...' (Tabulova 1976: 160)

– Reason conditional *-zara* ('if it is the case that'), attaches to the temporal relative:

(145) *w-an-gʷəbzəʁa-ʒá-zara*   *abaza–bəẑá-la*   *warád-ḳ*   *hʷa*
2SG.M.ABS-REL.TMP-clever-INT-COND.RSN   Abaza–language-INS   song-INDF   say(IMP)
'If you are so clever, then sing a song in Abaza!' (T)

– Concessive *-zṭ.hʷa ~ -zd.hʷa* 'although' (< 'say: let P'), attaches to the stem or the imperfective suffix (*s-ca-wá-zd.hʷa* 1SG.ABS-go-IPF-CNC 'although I am going', Genko 1955: 156), cf. (146a) with a stative and (146b) with a dynamic verb.

(146) a. **s-górecə-zṭ.hʷa**   ha   h-pnə   awáj–pš   g'-aʔá-m
          1SG.ABS-mountaineer(R)-CNC 1PL   1PL.IO-at DIST–like NEG.EMP-be-NEG
          'Although I am a mountaineer, we don't have such things at our place.' (T)

   b. **j-hʷa-rnəs**   **d-ʕa-la-ga-zṭ.hʷa,**
       3SG.ERG-say-PURP   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-LOC-begin-CNC
       dača *za-ḳə*   *d-a-p-na-q'a-χ-wa-n*
       other   one-INDF   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3SG.N.ERG-hit-RE-IPF-PST
       'Although he started talking, something would always interrupt him.' (Tabulova 1976: 286)

– Concessive conditional ('even if, even though') is formed by attaching the additive suffix *-g'əj* either to the realis conditional (147a) or to the non-finite Future II (147b); there is no apparent difference in meaning between the two forms.

(147) a. *a-ẑə-ĉʷ-ḳʷá*   *š'arda-ʕʷɔ́* **j-áʔa-χə-mə-ztən-g'əj**   *j-aʔá-ṗ*
          DEF-old-belong-PL many-CLH   3PL.ABS-be-RE-NEG-COND.REAL-ADD 3PL.ABS-be-NPST.DCL
          'Even though there aren't many old people left, they exist.' (T)

   b. *namáz* **bə-m-č'pa-rə-g'ɔ́j**   [ƛa-iƛƛáha iƛƛáh] *hʷa*
       prayer   2SG.F.ERG-NEG-do-FUT.NFIN-ADD   [Arabic.prayer]   say(IMP)
       'Even if you don't pray, say "There is no God other than Allah".' (T)

– Universal concessive conditionals are formed by attaching the complex suffix *-la-ḳ-g'əj* to relative forms (see below), where the relative prefix indicates the participant quantified over (148); see also §3.4.6 on the use of such forms as indefinite pronouns.

(148) a. *a-za-ḳɔ́*   **j-na-ʒa-lá-ḳ-g'əj** ...
          DEF-one-INDF   REL.ABS-TRAL-reach-CNC-INDF-ADD
          a-wnáʕʷa–čəc *j-rə-r-t-əj-ṭ*
          DEF-family–new 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PRS-DCL
          'One part, whatever it amounts to, ... is given to the new family.' (T)

   b. *a-q̇ʷart*   **ʔa-ca-la-ḳ-g'əj**
       DEF-brood.hen   REL.LOC-go-CNC-INDF-ADD
       a-kʷṭaʁ'-kʷa *j-rə-z-ʕa-j-χ-əj-ṭ*
       DEF-egg-PL   3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-CISL-go-RE-PRS-DCL
       'Wherever a brood hen goes, it always returns to the eggs.' (a proverb, AbRus)

– Purposive *-(r)nəs*, attaches to the bare stem and expresses purpose adjuncts (149a) as well as complements of certain verbs (149b).

(149) a. *a-ʒə*   **č-a-j-t-χə-rnəs**   *d-ca-ṭ*
          DEF-water RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-RE-PURP 3SG.H.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL
          'He went in order to drown himself.' (T)

   b. *awat*   **s-ʕa-rə-pχ'a-rnəs**   *s-ŝ-əj-ṭ*
       DIST.PL 1SG.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-read-PURP   1SG.ABS-fear-PRS-DCL
       'I am afraid to read them (my poems).' (AbPo)

– Simulative *-ŝa* ('as though'), attaches to non-finite tense forms and is mainly used as a complement to the verb 'see' in the construction expressing contrary-to-fact perception or thought.

(150) *a.rɔ́.pχ'a.ʕʷ-ta*   **wə-n-χa-wa-ŝá**   *jə-w-ba-wá-ta*
      teacher-ADV   2SG.M.ABS-LOC-work-IPF-SML 3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-see-IPF-ADV
      'it seems to you that you work as a teacher' (T)

The most important class of non-finite forms is the argument and adjunct relative forms which, besides heading relative clauses proper (§4.4.1), occur in pseudocleft focus con-

structions (§4.9) and serve as the basis for a number of other forms (e.g. interrogative and universal concessive conditional, see above).

Argument relative forms employ the relative prefixes (absolutive *jə-* and oblique *zə-*), which substitute the person cross-referencing prefixes in their respective slots, cf. (151a) for the absolutive, (151b) for the ergative, (151c) for the indirect object and (151d) for the object of an applicative. Argument relatives can take the plural suffix in slot +3 referring to the relativized argument (151a).

(151) a. *á.pχ'a.rta*   *j-sə-c-a-pχ'a-kʷ-ə́w-z*
DEF+school   REL.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-3SG.N.IO-learn-PL-IPF-PST.NFIN
'those who studied with me at school' (T)

    b. *a-m-dər-ra–prapsa*   *š'ṭə-z-χ-wa*   *r-bl-əj-ṭ*
DEF-NEG-know-MSD–curtain   LOC.ELAT-REL.ERG-take-IPF   3PL.ERG-burn-PRS-DCL
'Those who raise the curtain of ignorance are burnt.' (AbPo)

    c. *j-də-r-b-əw-šə-n ...*   *sə-z-pχ'á-z*
3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-CAUS-see-IPF-FUT-PST   1SG.ABS-REL.IO-learn-PST.NFIN
'They would show ... what I had learnt.' (T)

    d. *prósta*   *ĉərʁʷə́*   *a-zernó*   *z-la-zə-r-ḳ̣-wá*   *a-máŝ*
simply(R)   spade   DEF-corn(R)   REL.IO-INS-BEN-3PL.ERG-gather-IPF   DEF-barn
'(This is) simply the spade they gather the corn in the barn with' (T)

Adjunct relative forms employ prefixes occuring in slot −11 (Xagba 2015):

– Locative *ʔa-* (*a-* in interrogatives); refers to static location (152a) or goal of motion (152b) and can also be used in conditional (152c) and causal (152d) constructions as well as sentential complements (§4.4.2).

(152) a. *h-ʔa-n-χa-wá*   *á.pχ'a.rta*
1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-LOC-work-IPF   DEF+school
'the school where we work' (T)

    b. *h-ʔa-cá-χə-z*   *sá*   *mə́ma*   *d-ʕa-sə-njá-n*
1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-go-RE-PST.NPST   1SG   mother   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.ERG-meet-PST
'In the place we returned to I met my mother.' (T)

    c. *arəj*   *j-w-a-s-hʷə-z*   *a-wəs*
PROX   REL.ABS-2SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PST.NFIN   DEF-deed
      na-w-mə-r-ʒa-wa-ta   *w-ʔa-ʕa-ca-pa-χə-z*
TRAL-2SG.M.ERG-NEG-reach-IPF-ADV   2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-CISL-LOC-turn-RE-PST.NFIN
      a-wʕa   *j-šə-r-ba-wa*   *w-qa*
DEF-people   3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-3PL.ERG-see-IPF   2SG.M.IO-head
      qə-s-χ-wa-š-ṭ
LOC.ELAT-1SG.ERG-take-IPF-FUT-DCL
'If you return not having fulfilled the task I gave you, I will decapitate you before the people.' (Tabulova 1976: 226)

    d. *awə́j*   *bzə́j-ta*   *w-ʔa-ʕa-hʷə-z*   *á-qaz*
DIST   good-ADV   2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-CISL-dance-PST.NFIN   3SG.N.IO-for
      j-ʕa-wə́-r-t-ṭ
3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL
'They gave it (the money) to you because you had danced well.' (T)

The locative relative prefix combines with the limitive *-ʒa-* to express temporal 'until' and 'while' clauses (153a) and with the lative *aχ'-*, which can occur both before (153b) and after (153c) the relative:

(153) a. *á.pχ'a.rta*   *s-á-ʒ-a-pχ'-əw-z-g'əj* ...
DEF+school   1SG.ABS-REL.LOC-LIM-3SG.N.IO-learn-IPF-PST-ADD
awə́j   *ák̬ʷə-m-k̬ʷa*   *za-k̬-g'əj*   *g'-s-taqə́-mə-z-t̬*
DIST   COP-NEG-CVB.NEG   one-INDF-ADD   NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-want-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
'While I studied at school ... I did not want anything else.' (T)

b. *d-aχ'-ʔa-ca-g'əj*   *g'-sə-z-dəra-m*
3SG.H.ABS-LAT-REL.LOC-go-ADD   NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-NEG
'I don't know where he went.' (Xagba 2015: 19)

c. *də-ʔa-χ'-c-əw-š*   *a-λanəq̇ʷa*
3SG.H.ABS-REL.LOC-LAT-go-IPF-FUT   DEF-direction
g'ə-j-z-a-lə-r-ga-χ-wa-m
NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-BEN-3N.IO-LOC.ELAT-CAUS-go.out-RE-IPF-NEG
'He cannot choose the direction he should take.' (Xagba 2015: 19)

– Temporal *(a)nə-* heads temporal clauses and takes non-finite tense suffixes, cf. (154a) with the bare stem (aorist), (154b) with the imperfective (present), (154c) with the Imperfect, (154d) with the future and (72a) above with the subjunctive:

(154) a. *l-an*   *d-an-ʕá-j-χ*   *ásqan*   *a-sabə́j*
3SG.F.IO-mother   3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-go-RE   DEF.time   DEF-child
d-g'-lə-m-də́r-χ-d
3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.F.IO-NEG-знать-RE(AOR)-DCL
'When her mother came back she didn't know about the child.' (T)

b. *k̬avk̬az*   *n-χa-ra*   *h-an-ʕa-j-wa*
Caucasis   LOC-work-MSD   1PL.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-go-IPF
g'ʷərʁ'aqʷ–dəw-k̬   *h-c-əw-z-ŝa*   *ak̬ʷ-ṗ*
feast–big-INDF   1PL.ABS-go-IPF-PST.NFIN-SML   COP-NPST.DCL
j-šə-ʕ-ba-wa
3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-1PL.ERG-see-IPF
'When we arrive to the Caucasus for work, it seems to us that we came to a big feast.' (Abazašta 2017)

c. *j-an-ʕa-s-da-hʷ-wa-z*   *š'arda-n*
3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-1SG.IO-LOC-succeed-IPF-PST.NFIN   much-PST
'There were many times when I was lucky.' (AbPo)

d. *j-an-wə-kʷ-qʷla-ra*
3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-2SG.M.IO-LOC-get.dusky-FUT.NFIN
w-jə-r-ajĝʷ-əj-t̬   *ʕʷəĉ̬ʕʷəs–χama-ʒa-k̬*
2SG.M.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-friend-PRS-DCL   person–alien-INT-INDF
'When you get caught in the dusk a complete foreigner invites you.' (AbPo)

– Manner *š-* is the most polyfunctional of the adjunct relative markers; besides manner clauses (155a), it is used in temporal clauses meaning 'as soon as' (155b) and 'while' (see above under *-bərg*), as well as in sentential complements of factive verbs (§4.4.2).

(155) a. *wəẑ.əjnás*   *jə-z-də́r-ṗ*   *nbž'áʕʷ*
henceforth   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-NPST   friend
jə-š-jə-š'ta-nəq̇ʷ-áw-š
3PL.ABS-REL.MNR-3SG.M.IO-LOC-behave-IPF-FUT
'Henceforth I'll know how one should behave with friends.' (T)

b. *awá.ʔa*   *s-š-áʔa-z*
DIST.LOC   1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-be-PST.NFIN
abdulgamíd   *j-aš'á-hba*   *phʷə́s*   *d-ʕá-j-gə-n*
PN   3M.IO-brother-elder   woman   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.ERG-lead-PST
'While I stayed there, Abdulgamid's elder brother got married.' (T)

– Reason *zə-* (historically related to the benefactive), expresses reason (156a) and purpose (156b):

(156) a.   *awə́j*   *ák̫ʷ-ṗ*   *jə-z-ʕa-s-m-áχʷə-z*
               DIST   COP-NPST.DCL   3PL.ABS-REL.RSN-CISL-1SG.ERG-NEG-take-PST.NFIN
               'That's why I didn't take them with me.' (T)

     b.   *wə-z-ʕa-z-də-z*   *w-a-s-hʷ-ṗ*
               2SG.M.ABS-REL.RSN-CISL-1SG.ERG-lead-PST.NFIN   2SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-NPST.DCL
               'I'll tell you what I called you for.' (Tabulova 1976: 227)

The adverbial relative prefixes can occur before the reflexive prefix *čə-*, which otherwise occupies the leftmost slot: *š-čə-j-č'pa-wa* REL.MNR-RFL-3SG.M.ERG-do-IPF 'how he pretends', *z-čə-q̇a-w-ĉa-χ* REL.RSN-RFL-LOC-2SG.M.ERG-hide-RE 'the reason why you hid here' (Tabulova 1976: 187). In elicitation, considerable variation is observed, with some speakers preferring the order "reflexive–subordinator", others the opposite, and still others allowing both, cf. (157) with the adverbial question.

(157) *š-pá-č-bə-r-bzəj-χa / č-š-pá-bə-r-bzəj-χa?*
     {REL.MNR-QADV-RFL.ABS/RFL.ABS-REL.MNR-QADV}-2SG.F.ERG-CAUS-good-INC
     'How did you recover (lit. make yourself good again)?' (E)

3.6.10. Expression of locative meanings

Abaza has a highly developed system of morphological expression of spatial meanings, comprising prefixes and suffixes. The most pervasive part of this system is locative preverbs occurring in slot –6. In addition to several dozen simple preverbs there are complex preverbs consisting of two or even three elements, some functioning as a unit and some apparently semantically complementing each other (e.g. *də-[bž'a-[ḳ.nə-pa]]-ṭ* 3SG.H.ABS-LOC.between-LOC.down-jump(AOR)-DCL 'he jumped down between smth.' Klyčev 1995: 67, where the preverb farther from the root ('between') further specifies the meaning of the verb 'jump down' itself containing a preverb). The total number of simplex and complex preverbs as listed in Klyčev (1995) is 150; some of these are highly productive while some combine with just a handful of verbal roots or even with a single root. Some preverbs have transparent and often very specific meanings while some show a considerable degree of lexicalization.

Morphosyntactically, preverbs fall into several types (see Avidzba 2017). Some are canonical applicatives, i.e. introduce a spatial argument and are preceded by an obligatory prefix cross-referencing it, see (109) above; other preverbs, by contrast, do not introduce an argument but themselves express the spatial landmark of the event (158a); still others show mixed behaviour in that they may license an argument but do not cross-reference it (158b) or may introduce an argument optionally.

(158) a.   *w-gʷara-pš-ta*   *w-ʕa-j-χ*
               2SG.M.ABS-LOC.courtyard-look(IMP)-ADV   2SG.M.ABS-CISL-go-RE(IMP)
               'Look in the courtyard and come back.' (Klyčev 1995: 69)

     b.   *a-bəʁ'-kʷa*   *andak'*   *j-bʁa-ŝŝ-əw-n*
               DEF-leaf-PL   DEF+ditch   3PL.ABS-LOC.down-fall.INT-IPF-PST
               'Leafs were falling into the ditch.' (Klyčev 1995: 54)

Some of the preverbs are transparently related to nouns or, more rarely, adverbs and verbs, and can be considered an instance of incorporation; those of them denoting body parts bear personal prefixes referring to the possessor (159a), and some of those denoting spatial objects are related to the argument they introduce as more general to more specific (159b); the preverb may even be identical to the external nominal it licences (159c). Occasional incorporation of adverbs not listed in dictionaries as preverbs is also attested, cf. *j-qara-na-g-əw-š-ta* 3PL.ABS-far-3SG.N.ERG-carry-IPF-FUT-ADV 'it will carry them far off' (T).

(159) a.   *a-kʷṭaʁ'*   *s-napǝ-ça-pǝ-l-č-ṭ*
DEF-egg   1SG.IO-LOC.hand-LOC.below-LOC.front-3SG.F.ERG-break(AOR)-DCL
'She broke the egg in my hands.' (Klyčev 1995: 170)

    b.   *a-tawp*   *a-pajš'*   *jǝ-ʕʷna-g'až'-ṭ*
DEF-ball   DEF-room   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-LOC.house-roll(AOR)-DCL
'The ball rolled into the room.' (Klyčev 1995: 86)

    c.   *a-ž'ǝ*   *a-čʕʷa*   *j-čʕʷa-q̇'q̇'a-ṭ*
DEF-meat   DEF-oven   3SG.N.ABS-LOC.oven-chop.INT(AOR)-DCL
'They chopped the meat near the oven.' (Klyčev 1995: 212)

Certain complex preverbs actually consist of a simple preverb with a more abstract spatial meaning preceded by an incorporated nominal, e.g. *mǝʕʷ-qǝ-* LOC.road-LOC.surface.ELAT 'from a road'.

Some of the preverbs can be used as stative verbal roots, cf. *dǝ-la-ṗ* 3SG.H.ABS-be.in-NPST.DCL 's/he is there' (Tabulova 1976: 104) ~ *j-a-la-gǝla-n* 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.in-stand-PST.DCL 'it stood there' (Klyčev 1995: 140), *d-š'ṭa-ṗ* 3SG.H.ABS-be.on.a.horizontal.surface-NPST.DCL 's/he is lying' ~ *j-š'ṭa-r-psa-ṭ* 3SG.N.ABS-LOC.ground-3PL.ERG-spill(AOR)-DCL 'they spilt it on the ground' (Klyčev 1995: 342).

By themselves, locative preverbs do not specify direction of motion with respect to the landmark. Many preverbs ending in /a/, including some of those clearly related to lexical nouns, form an elative variant by changing /a/ to /ǝ/ (see Avidzba 2017: 123–130) (160).

(160) a.   *a-q̇anǯ'a*   *a-ʕʷara*   *j-ta-pssʕa-χ-ṭ*
DEF-crow   3SG.N.IO-nest   3SG.N.ABS-LOC.in.LAT-fly-RE(AOR)-DCL
'The crow flew back into its nest.' (Klyčev 1995: 197)

    b.   *a-warba*   *a-ʕʷara*   *j-tǝ-pssʕa-ṭ*
DEF-eagle   3SG.N.IO-nest   3SG.N.ABS-LOC.in.ELAT-fly(AOR)-DCL
'The eagle flew out of its nest.' (Klyčev 1995: 205)

Below is given the list of simplex and complex preverbs together with their meanings based on Klyčev (1995). Note that many preverbs are quasi-synonymous. Complex preverbs are listed under the preverb that contributes the primary meaning; spurious combinations where one of the preverbs scopes over the other and the verb, are ignored. Elative variants of preverbs are given after the tilde. The semantics of the lexical correspondence is provided where available.

– Preverbs usually not taking personal prefixes:

bʁa- 'down' (***bʁa**-pš-ra* 'look down', Klyčev 1995: 53) < 'back'

čʕʷa- ~ *čǝʕʷ/čʕʷǝ-* 'oven' (***čʕʷa**-kʷk̇ʷa-ra* 'drip into an oven', Klyčev 1995: 212; ***čʕʷǝ**-ha-ra* 'smell from an oven', Klyčev 1995: 218) < 'oven'

čk̇ara- ~ *čk̇arǝ-* 'yard' (***čk̇ara**-s-ra* 'snow into the yard', Klyčev 1995: 226; ***čk̇ar**-psa-ra* 'sweep out of the yard', Klyčev 1995: 231) < 'yard' (not used independently)

čǝ-ẑǝ- 'from horseback' (***čǝ-ẑ**-pa-ra* 'jump from the horse', Klyčev 1995: 237) < *čǝ-* 'horse'

ĉǝ- 'skin, cover' (***ĉǝ**-bbǝl-ra* 'burn on the surface', Klyčev 1995: 310) < *ĉa* 'skin'

gara- 'craddle' (***gara**-qʷmar-ra* 'play in a craddle', Klyčev 1995: 68) < 'craddle'

gʷara- ~ *gʷarǝ-* 'yard' (***gʷara**-bzaza-ra* 'live in a yard', Klyčev 1995: 68; ***gʷar**-ca-ra* 'drive smth. out of a yard') < 'fence'

k̇a- 'down' (***k̇a**-ŝa-ra* 'fall down', Klyčev 1995: 128)

k̇ǝ-dǝ- 'vertical object' (***k̇ǝ-d**-gǝla* 'stand near a wall', Klyčev 1995: 128)

k̇ǝ-la- ~ *k̇ǝ-lǝ-* 'hole' (***k̇ǝ-la**-psa-ra* 'pour into a hole', Klyčev 1995: 131; ***k̇ǝ-l**-psa-ra* 'pour through a hole', Klyčev 1995: 134)

l-bʕa- 'down from above' (***l-bʕa-ḳʷər-ra*** 'crawl down from above', Klyčev 1995: 155) < 'descend'

məʕʷ-qə- 'from a road' (***məʕʷ-q-pš-ra*** 'look at the sides of a road', Klyčev 1995: 163) < *mʕʷa* 'road'

pə- 'tip' (***p-q̇-ra*** 'chop off', Klyčev 1995: 175) < 'nose' (historically)

p-χ'a- ~ *p-χ'ə-* 'aside' (***p-χ'a-pš-ra*** 'look towards smth.', Klyčev 1995: 178; ***p-χ'-č-ra*** 'break off from the side of smth.', Klyčev 1995: 179)

pšça- ~ *pšçə-* 'yard' (***pšça-n-χa-ra*** 'work in the yard', Klyčev 1995: 180; ***pšç-ca-ra*** 'drive smbd. out of the yard', Klyčev 1995: 182) < 'yard'

qə-la- 'around, on both sides' (***qə-la-q̇'a-ra*** 'swing around', Klyčev 1995: 272)

qə-nə- 'around' (unique: ***qə-n-hʷ-ra*** 'turn around', Klyčev 1995: 272)

qʷə- 'pond' (***qʷ-ẑa-ra*** 'break through a dam', Klyčev 1995: 276) (non-productive)

qʷa-la- 'ashes' (***qʷa-la-ʕʷaṭ-ra*** 'hide in ashes', Klyčev 1995: 273) < *qʷa-* 'ashes'

qʷ(a)-ça- 'encircled' (***qʷa-ça-hʷhʷa-ra*** 'bungle', Klyčev 1995: 275) (non-productive)

rə- 'water' (***r-ga-ra*** 'carry over water', *r-a-t-ra* 'melt', Klyčev 1995: 191) (non-productive)

š'ṭa- 'ground, horizontal surface' ~ *š'ṭə-* 'from below' (***š'ṭa-gʷəč'a-ra*** 'trample smth. on a horizontal surface', Klyčev 1995: 340; ***š'ṭə-pssʕa-ra*** 'fly up from below', Klyčev 1995: 348).

ta- 'inside', 'down' ~ *tə-* 'outside' (***ta-bzaza-ra*** 'live somewhere', Klyčev 1995: 192; ***t-pa-ra*** 'get out of joint', Klyčev 1995: 205)

ẑə-kʷə- 'out of enclosure' (***ẑə-kʷ-hʷa-ra*** 'drag out of smth.', Klyčev 1995: 96)

ẑə-lə- 'out of enclosure' (***ẑə-l-pš-ra*** 'look out from', Klyčev 1995: 97)

ʕʷna- 'house, room' (***ʕʷna-maχ-ra*** 'faint inside', Klyčev 1995: 88) < 'home'

– Preverbs usually taking personal prefixes:

bž'a- ~ *bəž'/bž'ə-* 'between' (***bž'a-ẑẑa-ra*** 'spit between smth.' Klyčev 1995: 56; ***bəž'-ga-ra*** 'carry smth. from space between smth.') < 'lap'

ca- 'back' (***ca-pš-ra*** 'look back', Klyčev 1995: 280)

c-ḳə-la- ~ *c-ḳə-lə-* 'from behind', 'narrow enclosure' (***c-ḳ-la-s-ra*** 'hit from behind', Klyčev 1995: 281; ***c-ḳə-l-ẑa-ra*** 'pull out from a hole', Klyčev 1995: 281)

cra- ~ *cər/crə-* 'behind' (***cra-kša-ra*** 'thrust from behind', Klyčev 1995: 282; ***crə-q̇'a-ra*** 'knock off from behind', Klyčev 1995: 284)

ça- ~ *çə-* 'below, under' (***ça-ʕza-ra*** 'bring up a child under one's roof', Klyčev 1995: 287; ***ç-q-ra*** 'pull from below', Klyčev 1995: 303)

ʕʷə-ça- 'under the armpit' (***ʕʷə-ça-ḳ-ra*** 'hold under the armpit', Klyčev 1995: 95)

čə-ça- 'down on earth' (only with a handful of verbs of falling, e.g. *čə-ça-ŝa-ra* 'fall down on earth', Klyčev 1995: 329)

čpə-nə- 'bank, edge' (***čpə-n-sač'-ra*** 'burn on the edge of smth.', Klyčev 1995: 235) < *čpə* 'bank, side'

ča- ~ *čə-* 'slope, frontal surface', 'face, mouth' (often lexicalized) (*ča-gəl-ra* 'stand on the slope', *ča-gʷa-ra* 'stuff into mouth' Klyčev 1995: 312; *č-ʕʷər-ra* 'crumble, collapse', *č-t-ra* 'call, invite', Klyčev 1995: 324) < *ča* 'mouth, face'

də- 'near' (*s-lə-d-gəla-ṗ* 1SG.ABS-3SG.F.IO-LOC.near-stand-NPST.DCL 'I am standing near her', Klyčev 1995: 96); unproductive

gʷa ~ *gʷə-* 'heart' (mainly metaphoric, ***gʷa-qʷəc-ra*** 'think out in one's heart', Klyčev 1995: 72); 'apart' (***gʷ-c-ra*** 'crack', Klyčev 1995: 72) < 'heart'

gʷə-nə- 'heart' (lexicalized and unproductive; ***gʷə-n-ʕʷ-ra*** 3SG.N.IO-LOC.heart-LOC.on-run-MSD 'understand', Klyčev 1995: 78)

gʷə-ça- 'in the middle', 'towards breast/heart' (***gʷə-ça-*psa-ra** 'pour smth. in the middle of smth.', Klyčev 1995: 79)

kʷə- 'surface' (***kʷə-ʕʷ-ra*** 'write on smth.', Klyčev 1995: 109); is often lexicalized (*a-**kʷ-ḳ-ra*** 3SG.N.IO-LOC.on-hold-MSD 'decide', Klyčev 1995: 111) < 'roof'

gʷə-kʷə- 'on top' (***gʷə-kʷ-*pa-ra** 'jump on top of smth.', Klyčev 1995: 73)

kʷ-ta- lexicalized (***kʷ-ta-*s-ra** LOC.on-LOC.in-hit-MSD 'push', Klyčev 1995: 121)

š'a-kʷə- 'feet, basis' (non-productive) (***š'a-kʷ-*gəl-ra** 'become established', Klyčev 1995: 330)

kʷa-ça- 'inhabited place' (***kʷa-ça-*ʕʷa-ra** 'dry in the street') ~ *kʷa-çə-* 'out of', 'through' (***kʷa-ç-*s-ra** 'go through') (non-productive)

ḳə-nə- 'from above', 'from a surface' (***ḳ-nə-*q̇'a-ra** 'descend', Klyčev 1995: 137)

ta-ḳə-nə- 'down inside' (***ta-ḳ-nə-*žž-ra** 'run down a pipe (about water)', Klyčev 1995: 209)

ḳʷa- 'bosom, beside' (***ḳʷa-*ŝa-ra** LOC.bosom-fall-MSD 'find room beside', Klyčev 1995: 138) < 'bosom'

ḳʷə- 'around', is only used together with the suffix *-ša* (***ḳʷ-*da-ša-ra** 'lead around', Klyčev 1995: 138–139); on this form see also Klyčev (2000: 29–32)

qə-ḳʷə- 'around' (***qə-ḳʷ-*pš-ša-ra** 'look round', Klyčev 1995: 271)

la- ~ *lə-* 'in a mass', 'in contact with'; often lexicalized (*a-la-ga-ra* 'carry into a mass; start', Klyčev 1995: 140; *a-l-ga-ra* 'carry out of a mass; finish', Klyčev 1995: 150)

gʷa/gʷə-la- ~ *gʷə-lə-* 'inside a container or mass' (***gʷə-la-*ĉa-ra** 'pour liquid inside smth.', Klyčev 1995: 77; ***gʷə-l-*ĉa-ra** 'pour liquid out of smth.', Klyčev 1995: 78)

lakta- 'face' (***lakta-*ḳ-ra** 'hold smth. before someone's face', Klyčev 1995: 153) < 'face'

ma- 'together' ~ *mə-* 'out of contact' (***ma-*t-ra** 'attach', Klyčev 1995: 157; *m-c-ra* 'break off', Klyčev 1995: 158)

m-qə- 'apart' (***m-q-*ṭṭa-ra** 'spread in different directions', Klyčev 1995: 164)

m-ça- 'in front of' ~ *m-çə-* 'from beside', 'in different directions' (***m-ça-*š'-ra** 'kill in view of smbd.', ***m-ç-*bləg'a-ra** 'roll away', Klyčev 1995: 165)

mgʷa- ~ *məgʷ/mgʷə-* 'wrapped up', 'in a container' (***mgʷa-*ps-ra** 'die being wrapped up into smth.', Klyčev 1995: 160; ***mgʷ-*psa-ra** 'spill out of a package', Klyčev 1995: 162) < 'belly'

nə- 'on a horizontal surface', often lexicalized (***n-*ĉəw-ra** 'cry on smth.', *n-ša-ra* 'appear, happen', Klyčev 1995: 168)

naṗə-ça- ~ *naṗə-çə-* 'hands' (***naṗə-ça-*ḳ-ra** 'hold smth. in one's hands', Klyčev 1995: 170; ***naṗə-ç-*ʕʷəz-ra** 'slip out of one's hands', Klyčev 1995: 173) < 'hand'

nq̇ʷə- 'back and forth', occurs with a few verbs of motion (***nq̇ʷ-*ga-ra** 'carry back and forth', Klyčev 1995: 174) < 'walk'

pa- lexicalized and unproductive (***pa-*ĉaẑa-ra** LOC-speak-MSD 'contradict', Klyčev 1995: 174)

p-ča- 'against' (***p-ča-*gəl-ra** 'oppose, contradict', Klyčev 1995: 182)

pəra- ~ *pərə-* 'front' (***pəra-*fa-ra** 'eat smth. in front of smth.', Klyčev 1995: 187; ***pər-*ĉ-ra** 'remove', Klyčev 1995: 190)

qa- ~ *qə-* 'above, over' (often lexicalized) (***qa-*pχ'aʒa-ra** 'read prayers over smth.', Klyčev 1995: 255; ***q-*ṭ-ra** 'uncover', Klyčev 1995: 264) < 'head'

qa-ta- 'above' (***qa-ta-s-ra*** 'hit from above', Klyčev 1995: 269)

q-tə- 'through' (***q-t-ga-ra*** 'carry through', Klyčev 1995: 270) (lexicalized, non-productive)

qʷda- ~ *qʷəd/qʷdə-* 'neck' (***qʷda-ʒaχ-ra*** 'attach to collar', Klyčev 1995: 274; ***qʷəd-ẑa-ra*** 'tear from somebody's neck', Klyčev 1995: 275) < 'neck'

qʷ-la- 'in tight contact' (*a-**qʷ-la**-ha-ra* 'hear each other's breath', Klyčev 1995: 276)

q̇a- unique: *q̇a-ĉa-ra* 'hide' (Klyčev 1995: 124)

q̇ʷə- 'from beside', 'detach part' (***q̇ʷ-ṗla-ra*** 'break off', Klyčev 1995: 125)

š'ḳla- 'stirrup', 'behind' (***š'ḳla-hʷa-ra*** 'attach to the stirrup', Klyčev 1995: 332) < 'stirrup'

š'ta- 'after' (***š'ta-g'až'-ra*** 'roll after smth.', Klyčev 1995: 334) ~ *š'tə-* 'from' (unproductive) (***š't-ca-ra*** 'drive smbd. away', Klyčev 1995: 338)

š'qʷa- 'heel' (unproductive) (***š'qʷa-s-ra*** 'hit somebody's heel', Klyčev 1995: 348)

ŝə- 'foot', 'body' (with a handful of verbs of clothing: *ŝ-hʷa-ra* 'take clothes off smbd.', Klyčev 1995: 329)

waça- ~ *waçə-* 'inside a strong container' (***waça-ẑ-ra*** 'boil in a container', Klyčev 1995: 239; ***waç-s-ra*** 'go out from inside', Klyčev 1995: 247) < 'intestines'

w(a)hʷ-ta 'behind' (***wahʷ-ta-š-ra*** 'bark after smbd.', Klyčev 1995: 249)

χʷə-nə- 'on a height' unique: ***χʷə-n-gəl-ra*** 'stand on a height; step upon' (Klyčev 1995: 249)

χ'ə- 'down a vertical surface' (often lexicalized) (***χ'-pλa-ra*** 'spill from above', ***χ'-pš-ra*** 'look after', Klyčev 1995: 277)

χ'ə-nə- 'down a vertical surface' (***χ'-nə-ha-ra*** 'hang on a vertical surface', Klyčev 1995: 279)

ʒa- 'cheek', 'side' (***ʒa-s-ra*** 'hit in the face', Klyčev 1995: 98)

ʒqa- 'side, near' (***ʒqa-ha-ra*** 'lie down near smth.', Klyčev 1995: 104) < 'side'

ʁra- ~ *ʁər/ʁrə-* 'inside (with strong contact)' (***ʁra-ẑagʷa-ra*** 'fill, stuff', Klyčev 1995: 80; ***ʁər-ṗla-ra*** 'spill out', Klyčev 1995: 81)

ʕʷə- 1) 'in two parts', 'into pieces' (with gemination of the root: ***ʕʷ-ẑa-ra*** 'tear apart' ~ ***ʕʷ-ẑẑa-ra*** 'tear into pieces', Klyčev 1995: 82) < 'two'

ʕʷə- 2) 'past' (***ʕʷ-pssʕa-ra*** 'fly past', Klyčev 1995: 84)

Direction of motion with respect to the landmark is sometimes expressed by directional suffixes, none of which appears to be productive (see Klyčev 1972):

– elative *-ʕa*: *j-a-l-ʕʷ-ʕa-ṗ* 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.mass-write-ELAT(RES)-NPST.DCL 'it is written out from there' (Klyčev 1972: 31);

– lative *-l(a)*: *j-a-nə-j-ʕʷə-l-ṭ* 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.horizontal-3SG.M.ERG-write-LAT-DCL 'he inscribed it there' (Klyčev 1972: 100);

– *-l-ʕa* 'across, over', a lexicalized combination of lative and elative: *qə-ĉahʷa-l-ʕa* LOC.over.ELAT-tie-LAT-ELAT(IMP) 'tie it up' (Klyčev 1972: 154);

– 'around' *-ša*: always with the preverb *ḳʷə-*, see above.

The verb root *ŝa* 'throw, fall' has a special elative variant *ŝtə-*: *a-ça-ŝa-ra* 3SG.N.IO-LOC.down-throw-MSD 'throw down' ~ *a-ç-ŝt-ra* 3SG.N.IO-LOC.down.ELAT-throw.ELAT-MSD 'throw from below' (Klyčev 1972: 164)

Direction of motion with respect to the speaker or deictic center is expressed by directional preverbs *ʕa-* 'hither' (cislocative) and *na-* 'thither' (translocative) occupying slot –7 between applicatives and locatives. Of the two, the cislocative is by for the most frequent and productive, which is due to it having a number of lexicalized and extended uses. Examples in (161) show the deictic uses of the preverbs.

(161) a.   ***b-ʕá-j***   *r-hʷa-rə́kʷən*
            2SG.F.ABS-CISL-go(IMP)   3PL.ERG-say-COND
            'When they invite me (lit. when the say "come here").' (T)

      b.   ***s-g'-na-j-χ-wa-šə-m***   *h-pnə*
            1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-TRAL-go-RE-IPF-FUT-NEG   1PL.IO-at
            'I won't go back home.' (T)

The deictic center need not always coincide with the speaker even when the latter is a participant, cf. (162), where the cislocative is addressee-oriented.

(162) *a-χabár*   *ŝə-z-ʕá-z-g-χ-ṗ*
         DEF-news   2PL.IO-BEN-CISL-1SG.ERG-carry-RE-NPST.DCL
         'I'll bring you the news.' (T)

The cislocative has many extended, semi-lexicalized and fully lexicalized uses not directly connected with motion. It normally occurs in verbs denoting aquisition of something or appearance of something in the subject's sphere or field of perception, e.g. ***ʕa-ḳ-ra*** 'catch, gather', ***ʕ[a]-aw-ra*** 'find', ***ʕa-χʷʕa-ra*** 'buy', ***ʕa-gʷənʕʷ-ra*** 'understand' and many others. Sometimes the cislocative expresses inception, cf. ***ʕa-š-ra*** 'start boiling' or ***ʕa-ĉəw-ra*** 'start crying'. Lexicalized uses include such verbs as ***ʕa-hʷ-ra*** 'dance', where the prefix no longer expresses any tangible deictic meaning. The traslocative is very often lexicalized and desemanticized, which sometimes even leads to verbs containing both prefixes, cf. ***ʕa-na-ḳ-ra*** 'catch' or ***ʕa-na-χʷa-ra*** 'reflect itself'.

The cislocative is systematically used as a quasi-inverse marker in verbs with indirect objects when the latter outrank the subject (absolutive or ergative) on the hierarchy 1 > 2 > 3, see the paradigms of 'look' and 'give' in tables 9 and 10 above and examples (163a,b) vs. (163c). In this use the cislocative appears to the left of the applicatives in slot –8, cf. (162) vs. (163b).

(163) a.   *ḳaṗejḳa-ḳ-g'əj*   *j-g'-ʕa-hə-rə-m-t-χ-wa-z-d*
           penny-INDF-ADD   3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-CISL-1PL.IO-3PL.ERG-NEG-give-RE-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
           'they wouldn't give us a penny' (T)

      b.   *d-ʕa-sə-z-çʕa-ṭ*
           3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-BEN-ask(AOR)-DCL
           'He asked me.' (T)

      c.   *hə-j-çʕa-ṗ*
           1PL.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask-NPST.DCL
           'We'll ask him.' (T)

The cislocative sometimes also occurs in verbal forms where both the subject and the indirect object are third person, cf. (164a,b) vs. (164c); the semantic and pragmatic factors guiding this use are not yet well understood.

(164) a.   *awə́j*   *garód–ṭaḳʷ*   ***ʕa-ló-r-tə-n***
           DIST   orchard(R)–little   CISL-3SG.F.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST
           'They gave her a little orchard.' (T)

      b.   *wadər.ʕʷána*   *a-pajʕambár*   ***d-ʕa-rə́-z-çʕa-ṭ***
           then   DEF-prophet   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-BEN-ask(AOR)-DCL
           'Then the prophet asked them.' (T)

      c.   *áχč'a*   *h-pnə*   *á-pš-ta*   *a-q̇ʷabəz.č'ə́*
           def+money   1PL.IO-at   3SG.N.IO-similar-ADV   DEF-accordion.player
           jə-g'-ló-r-t-wa-m
           3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.F.IO-3PL.ERG-give-IPF-NEG
           'They don't give the money to the accordion player, as we do.' (T)

The translocative sometimes occurs in combinations of 1ˢᵗ person subject with a 2ⁿᵈ person indirect object (165a), but this use is rare and optional, cf. (165b).

(165) a.   *s-**na**-wə-ça-pš-əj-ṭ*
         1SG.ABS-TRAL-2SG.M.IO-LOC-look-PRS-DCL
         'I am looking at you.' (AbPo)

     b.   *dača–warád-ḳ*   ***w-a-s-hʷ***   *j-a-wá-š-ma*
         other–song-INDF   2SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say   3SG.N.ABS-be.allowed-IPF-FUT-Q
         'May I sing another song for you?' (T)

3.6.11. Verbal derivation

Derived verbs are mainly formed by means of valency-changing affixes (applicatives, causative, reciprocal and reflexives, §3.6.8) and locative preverbs (§3.6.10), both of which are prone to lexicalization. Of the aspectual suffixes described in §3.6.4, only the refactive *-χ* can be regarded as able to form new lexemes. The primary means of forming verbs from other parts of speech is conversion (recall that almost any content word can take stative verbal inflection); dynamic verbs can be formed from nominals by means of the inceptive suffix *-χa* (§3.6.4) and again by causativization. On the intensive/distributive gemination in verbal roots see §3.6.1. Verb-forming compounding is attested (e.g. ***ʒ-ca**-ra* water-go-MSD 'swim', ***na-ʕʷ-ʕa-ʕʷ**-ra* TRAL-run-CISL-run 'run to and fro'), but is not productive.

3.7. Adverbs

Most adverbial expressions are inflectional forms of nominals or verbs formed by means of the adverbial ending *-ta* (e.g. *lasə́-**ta*** 'quickly') or the instrumental ending *-la* (e.g. *lasə́-**la*** 'soon'), see Tabulova (1976: 263–267). Redulpication is also productive (e.g. *lasə́~las* 'quickly', *znə́~zən* 'from time to time'); on special adverbial forms of demonstratives see §3.4.3. Underived adverbs form a closed class and mostly denote time (e.g. *wẑə* 'now', *jacə́* 'yesterday' or *çəpχ* 'last year').

Many adverbs are formed by compounding, e.g. *qa-m-ḳə-χ-la* head-NEG-hold-RE-INS 'headlong', *jara-zə-n-la* it-one-time-INS 'at once', *wẑ-ʕan-ʒa.ra* now-time-LIM 'until now' etc. (see Tabulova 1976: 256–258), *mš-əj-ʕa-ʒa* day-ADD-CISL-reach 'every day' (Tabulova 1976: 253).

Some adverbs are formed by attaching converb suffixes (§3.6.9) to nominals, e.g. *awəj-**naçḳ'a.ra*** DIST-UNTIL 'meanwhile' and *awəj-**pχ'aʒa*** DIST-EACH 'each time' (Tabulova 1976: 259), *mač'~mač'ə-**mca*** little~RED-CVB 'gradually' (Tabulova 1976: 261–262), *wẑə~wẑə-**bərg*** now~RED-JUST 'immediately' (Tabulova 1976: 253). On relativization-based free-choice expressions with the universal concessive conditional suffix *-laḳg'əj* see §3.4.6.

Dedicated affixes forming adverbs are few; the one is *-n(ə)* denoting temporal intervals and attaching to verbs, cf. *a-n-χa-**n*** DEF-LOC-work-time 'at the time of work' (Tabulova 1976: 266); given that such adverbs take the definite article and that the same element occurs in such nouns as *ʕap-nə́* 'spring', it remains unclear whether formations with *-nə* are adverbs and not nouns. The other adverbial affixes are *-raḳ* 'whole' (*jacə-**raḳ*** 'for the whole of yesterday', Tabulova 1976: 251), *-rḳʷaχ* 'again' (?< continuative + refactive; *waç̂a-**rḳʷaχ*** 'tomorrow again', *j.ata-**rḳʷaχ*** 'again', Tabulova 1976: 252), *-əjnas* 'further' (*wẑ-əjnas* 'henceforth'), *ansəj-* 'each' (***ansəj**-mšə* 'every day'), *jənəj-* 'whole' (***jənəj**-ʁən-ḳ* 'for the whole winter', Tabulova 1976: 252).

Adverbs may combine with the intensifying suffix *-ʒa*, e.g. *š'əmta-**ʒa*** 'early in the morning' (Tabulova 1976: 267), sometimes with the attenuative rather than intensifying semantics, cf. *ajša-**ʒa*** 'somewhat bitterly' (Tabulova 1976: 266).

3.8. Postpositions and locationals

Postpositions are mostly grammaticalized nominals with possessive prefixes, more rarely fossilized converbs. The following postpositions are attested:

– *-pnə* 'at', used in spatial (166a), temporal (166b) and more abstract (166c) meanings:

(166) a.   *h-babuška*   ***l-pnə***   *h-ʕa-n-χa-n*
       1PL.IO-granny(R)   3SG.F.IO-at   1PL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PST
       'We remained at our granny's place.' (T)

     b.   *s-aba*   *j-bž'ə*   *ʕa-s-ʕa-ṭ*
       1SG.IO-father   3SG.M.IO-voice   CISL-1SG.ERG-hear(AOR)-DCL
       jara   *awəj*   *a-daqəjq̇a*   ***a-pnə***
       3SG.N   DIST   DEF-moment   3SG.N.IO-at
       'At that very moment I heard my father's voice.' (Tabulova 1976: 270)

     c.   *a-təwmán*   ***a-pnə́***   *j-hʷá-z*
       DEF-ten.roubles   3SG.N.IO-at   REL.ABS+3SG.ERG-say-PST.NFIN
       'what he said about the ten roubles' (T)

The postposition can attach suffixes, e.g. *j-pnə́-ʒa* 3SG.M.IO-at-LIM 'towards him' (T). The pronominal possessor prefix is referentially autonomous, so the postposition can freely occur without any overt nominal complement (167).

(167) ***j-pnə***   *w-a-n-jə-r-pχ'a-wa*
       3SG.M.IO-at   2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-spend.night-IPF
       'He lets you spend night at his place, and...' (AbPo)

     – *a-qaz(-la)* 'because, for', expresses cause (168a) and purpose (168b)

(168) a.   *awə́j*   *bzə́j-ta*   *w-ʔa-ʕa-hʷə-z*   ***á-qaz***
       DIST   good-ADV   2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-CISL-dance-PST.NFIN   3SG.N.IO-for
       j-ʕa-wə́-r-t-ṭ
       3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL
       'They gave it (the money) to you because you had danced well.' (T)

     b.   *s-ps.adg'əl*   ***a-qaz-la***   *s-aŝa-kʷa*   *s-hʷ-əj-ṭ*
       1SG.IO-homeland   3SG.N.IO-for-INS   1SG.IO-song-PL   1SG.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
       'I sing my songs for my homeland.' (AbPo)

     – *-wa* 'among', expresses belonging to a group or set (169)

(169) *awat*   ***rə-wa***   *š'arda-ʕʷə*   *a-ʕʷəma–q̇raɮ-kʷa*   *j-aʔa-ta*
       DIST.PL   3PL.IO-among   many-CLH   DEF-foreign–country-PL   3PL.ABS-be-ADV
       'Many of them being from foreign countries...' (Abazašta 2017)

     – *aʕan* 'at the time': *a-pχən aʕan* 'in the summer' (T);
     – *-aχ'ə-la* 'towards': *a-č'k̇ʷən-ĉa r-aχ'ə-la* DEF-guy-PLH 3PL.IO-towards-INS 'towards the guys' (Tabulova 1976: 271);
     – *-ala-la* 'compared to':

(170) *awat*   ***r-ala-la***   *hara*   *hə-mč'əmqa-ṗ!*
       DIST.PL   3PL.IO-comparison-INS   1PL   1PL.ABS-strong-NPST.DCL
       'Compared to them, we are strong!' (Tabulova 1976: 272)

     – *-ack̇ə́s* 'than', marks the standard of comparison, see §4.6.
     – *-nəs(-la)* 'for the sake of', used in oaths (cf. the purposive converb *-(r)nəs*, §3.6.9):

(171) *sawsrəq̇ʷa*   *an*   ***j-nəs-la***   *nəχa*   *j-hʷa-ṭ*
       PN   god   3SG.M.IO-sake-INS   oath   3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
       'Sosruko swore to God.' (Tabulova 1976: 272)

– *-aḳʷə-m-ḳʷa* COP-NEG-CVB.NEG 'except, besides':

(172) *awat-əj*   *j-dəw-ĉa-m*   *a-wasa–hʷəč'-əj*   **r-aḳʷə.m.ḳʷa**
     DIST.PL-ADD   REL.ABS-big-EXC-NEG   DEF-sheep–herd-ADD   3PL.IO-besides
     dača–mləkʷ-ḳ-g'əj   *g'-ʕa-r-da-mə-hʷ-ṭ*
     other–possession-INDF-ADD   NEG.EMP-CISL-3PL.IO-LOC-NEG-get(AOR)-DCL
     'They did not gain any booty besides those things and a small herd of sheep.' (AbRus)

– *-qq'aĉəla* 'because of, instead of':

(173) *a-č'əmaza-ʕʷ*   **j-qq'aĉə-la**   *adg'əl*   *jə-ça-r-ž-əj-ṭ*
     DEF-be.ill-NAG   3SG.M.IO-instead-INS   DEF+earth   3SG.N.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-bury-PRS-DCL
     'They bury it (the doll) instead of the sick person.' (AbRus)

– *-cənqʷə* 'instead of': *w-cənqʷə* 'instead of you' (Tabulova 1976: 272);
– ABS-*ʕa-l-ç-la* CISL-LOC.ELAT-pass-INS 'because of': *a-pχa-ra j-ʕa.l.ç.la* DEF-hot-NML 3SG.N.ABS-because 'because of the heat' (Tabulova 1976: 272);
– *-apš(-ta)* 'like' (< 'similar'):

(174) *awasa*   *abaza–bəẑśa*   *awəj* **a-pš-ta**   *jə-g'-bajrg'ɠ̣ə-m*
     but   Abaza–language   DIST   3SG.N.IO-similar-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-well.known-NEG
     'But the Abaza language is not so (lit. like this) well know.' (Abazašta 2017)

     Locationals are originally nominal lexical items denoting spatial regions and functioning as nominals, adverbs and postpositions (Tabulova 1976: 274–279); some of them can also occur as locative preverbs. They are listed below:
– *-paχ'* 'front' (< *paχ'* 'frontal part of a yard') (175a);
– *-š'taχ'* 'behind' (175b), *-mš'taχ'* 'after' (see also §3.9);
– *-qaχ'* 'on top of, over' (<*qaχ'* 'surface') (175c);
– *-çaχ'* 'below', cf. its adverbial use in (175d);
– *-ʒqa* 'beside' (< *ʒqa* 'side') (175e);
– *-çəqʷa* 'after' (< *çəqʷa* 'tail'), (175f); the derived adverbial meaning 'after that, then' is more common, (175g);
– *-argʷan* 'near' (< *argʷanə́* 'located nearby') (175h);
– *-š'apə́* 'under' (< *š'apə́* 'foot'), (175i);
– *-waça* 'inside' (< *waça* 'intestines'), note the temporal use in (175k);
– *-tará* 'instead' (< *tará* 'container'), *l-tara-la* 'instead of her' (Tabulova 1976: 278);
– *-g'ag'ara* 'around' (< *g'ag'a* 'circle'), (175l);
– *-bž'ara* 'between' (<*bž'ara* 'chink'), (175m).

(175) a.   *a-waʕa*   **r-paχ'**   *s-ʕa-gəl-ta*
       DEF-people   3PL.IO-front   1SG.ABS-CISL-stand-ADV
       'when I stand before the people' (AbPo)

     b.   *awát-g'əj*   **wə-š'taχ'ə́-la**   *jə-w-g-əj-ṭ-ta*
       DIST.PL-ADD   2SG.M.IO-behind-INS   3PL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-carry-PRS-DCL-ADV
       'leaving those things behind you' (T)

     c.   *a-karbəž'-kʷa*   **r-qaχ'**   *sə-kʷ-lə-n*
       DEF-brick -PL   3PL.IO-top   1SG.ABS-LOC-go.in-PST
       'I lay down on the bricks.' (T)

     d.   *a-š'qa–ʒəʕʷ*   **çaχ'ə-la**   *j-t-rə.s-əj-ṭ*
       DEF-mountain–river   below-INS   3SG.N.ABS-LOC-run-PRS-DCL
       'A mountain river runs down.' (AbPo)

     e.   *sara*   *a-ləgaẑ–hamzat*   **jə-ʒqa-la**   *s-ʕa-ĉa-ṭ*
       1SG   DEF-old.man–PN   3SG.M.IO-side-INS   1SG.ABS-CISL-sit(AOR)-DCL
       'I sat down near old Hamzat.' (Tabulova 1976: 278)

f.   *zəmʕʷa*   **r-çəqʷa**   *hʷsəjn*   *d-ʕa-ĉaẑa-ṭ*
     all   3PL.IO-after   PN   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-speak(AOR)-DCL
     'Husin was the last one to speak (lit. spoke after everybody).' (Tabulova 1976: 277)

g.   **w.a.çəqʷa.n**   *s-aš'a*   *j-a-s-hʷ-ṭ*
     then   1SG.IO-brother   3SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
     'Then I told my brother.' (T)

h.   *a-la–dəw-g'əj ...*   *awat ...*   **r-argʷan**   *j-gəla-n*
     DEF-dog–big-ADD   DIST.PL   3PL.IO-near   3SG.N.ABS-stand-PST
     'The huge dog ... was standing near them.' (Tabulova 1976: 276)

i.   *a-kʷəž'ma*   *a-çla*   **a-š'aṗə**   *jə-ça-ĉa*
     DEF-wolf   DEF-tree   3SG.N.IO-under   3SG.N.ABS-LOC-sit.down
     'the wolf having sat under the tree...' (Tabulova 1976: 277)

k.   *s-ĉərqa-χ'a-ṭ*   *skʷš–ʕʷə-n-ʕʷa-ẑ-əj-ẑa-ba*   **r-waça**
     1SG.ABS-walk-IAM-DCL   year–two-time-two-ten-ADD-ten-CLN   3PL.IO-inside
     'I have walked thus for fifty years already.' (AbPo)

l.   *j-aba–dəw*   *j-g'ag'a.ra*   *d-na-ʕʷ–ʕa-ʕʷ-wa-n*
     3SG.M.IO-father–big   3SG.M.IO-around   3SG.H.ABS-TRAL-run–CISL-run-IPF-PST
     '[The child] was running around his grandfather.' (Tabulova 1976: 279)

m.   *h-ʕʷə-ž'*   **h-bž'ara**
     1PL.IO-two-CLH   1PL.IO-between
     'between the two of us' (Tabulova 1976: 279)

3.9. Minor word classes

The coordinating conjunctions in Abaza include *jg'əj* 'and' coordinating nominals (176a) and predicates (176b), and *awasa* (176c) and *ma* (176d) 'but' coordinating clauses.

(176) a.   *abχaz*   **jg'əj**   *abaza*   *bəzŝa-kʷa*
      Abkhaz   and   Abaza   language-PL
      'the Abkhaz and Abaza languages' (Abazašta 2017)

b.   *zəmʕʷa-ʒ-əw-g'əj*   *bzəjə-n*   **jg'əj**   *bzəj-ṗ*
     all-INT-PRS.NFIN-ADD   good-PST   and   good-NPST.DCL
     'They all were and are good.' (T)

c.   *wəʕa.qá-ḳ*   *ʕa-n-χá-ṭ*   **awása**   *awát*
     nation-INDF   CISL-remain-INC(AOR)-DCL   but   DIST.PL
     g'ə-z-ʕa-tə́-m-ç-ṭ
     NEG.EMP-POT-CISL-LOC.ELAT-NEG-pass(AOR)-DCL
     'Only one nation was left, but they could not get out of there.' (T)

d.   *d-ʕa-ḳʷ-ša-ṭ,*   **ma**   *w-qa-pssʕa-l!*
     3SG.H.ABS-CISL-LOC-go.around(AOR)-DCL   but   2SG.ABS-LOC-fly-LAT(IMP)
     'He went around (the rock), but one can't climb it up!' (Tabulova 1976: 285)

The conjunction *jg'əj* can attach the plural suffix (177a) and function as an additive particle (177b):

(177) a.   *h-án-ĉa-kʷa*   **jg'áj-kʷa**   *h-ába-ĉa-kʷa*
      1PL.IO-mother-PLH-PL   ADD-PL   1PL.IO-father-PLH-PL
      'our mothers and fathers' (T)

b.   *wara*   **jg'əj**   *wə-bəzŝa-ta*   *ʕʷ-ba*   *ʕa-w-g-wa-ta*
     2SG.M   and   2SG.M.IO-language-ADV   two-CLN   CISL-2SG.M.ERG-get-IPF-ADV
     'And you get a poor mark even in your native language...' (T)

There is also a co-ordinating conjunction *wa* occurring before each conjunct (178):

(178) **wa** *kʷa–ṭáḳʷ,* **wa** *ʒ–ṭaḳʷ* *jálah* *hʷa* *h-nə́q̇ʷ-əw-n*
and rain–little and water–little god QUOT 1PL.ABS-walk-IPF-PST
'We were going around saying, God, a little rain, a little water!' (T)

      Conjunctions denoting alternatives include *ja* 'or' coordinating both nominals (179a) and clauses (179b), *znə ... znə* 'either ... or' coordinating both nominals and clauses and occurring before each conjunct (179c) and *maw.m.ḳʷa* 'or' coordinating clauses and requiring the interrogative form of the predicate (179d).

(179) a.   *sará* *waʕa.qá-ta* *eseseser* *j-t-əw* *zəmʕʷá* *r-pnə*
       1SG nation-ADV USSR(R) REL.ABS-be.in-PRS.NFIN all 3PL.IO-at
       za-ḳə́~zaḳ *warád* **ja** *kuplét-ḳ* *z-də́r-əj-d*
       one-INDF~DISTR song or verse-INDF 1SG.ERG-know-PRS-DCL
       'I know one song or verse from all nations of the USSR.' (T)

     b.   *w-á-ʒ.qa-gəla-ta* **ja** *w-á-ʒ.qa-gəla-mə-ztən*
       2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-stand-ADV or 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-stand-NEG-COND.REAL
       'either while you are standing there or while you are not there' (T)

     c.   **ʒ-nə** *j-ʕa-sə-kʷ-ḳʷḳʷa-wa,*
       one-time REL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-LOC-drip.INT-IPF
       ʒ-nə *j-ʕa-sə-kʷ-χʷχʷa-wa,*
       one-time REL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-LOC-splash.INT-IPF
       ʒ-nə *j-ʕa-sə-kʷ-čča-wa* *a-laʒ-kʷa*
       one-time REL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-LOC-seethe-IPF DEF-tear-PL
       'the tears that either drip, or splash, or seethe upon me' (AbPo)

     d.   *š'ard-əw-ma* **maw.m.ḳʷa** *mač̣'-əw-ma* *skʷšə–40?*
       many-PRS.NFIN-Q or few-PRS.NFIN-Q year–40
       '40 years, is to much or few?' (AbRus)

      Subordinating conjunctions are few and mostly coincide with postpositions; they include *ásqan*, *áʕan* 'time, when' (180a) and *amš'taχ'* 'after' (180b), both requiring the temporal relativization of the subordinate predicate.

(180) a.   *a-q̇ʷərǯə́q̇ʷ-χa-ra* *h-a-l-gá-ta* *h-an-ʕá-j-χ*
       DEF-service-INC-MSD 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.ELAT-finish-ADV 1PL.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-go-RE
       ásqan *sará* *sarátov* *s-ca-ṭ*
       time 1SG Saratov(R) 1SG.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL
       'When we returned from military service, I went to Saratov.' (T)

     b.   *č-an-hə-r-pχá* *á-mš'taχ'* *a-ʒə́*
       RFL-REL.TMP-1PL.ERG-CAUS-warm 3SG.N.IO-after DEF-water
       č-atá-ta-h-psa-χə-n
       RFL.ABS-REP-LOC-1PL.ERG-pour-RE-PST
       'After we had warmed ourselves we went into water again.' (T)

      Another subordinator is the quotative marker *hʷa* (< 'say') introducing reported speech (181a) (see §4.4.2) and proper names (182b):

(181) a.   *q̇rəm* *wará* *w-górec-əw-ma* *hʷa*
       PN 2SG.M 2SG.M.ABS-mountaineer(R)-NPST.NFIN-Q QUOT
       jará *awá.sa-bərg* *d-ʕa-sə-z-çʕa-ṭ*
       3SG.M DIST.ADV-JUST 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-BEN-ask(AOR)-DCL
       'Krym, are you a mountaineer? — that's exactly what he asked me.' (T)

     b.   *atájev–abdulgamíd–abdulatípovič'* *hʷá*
       PN–PN–PN(R) QUOT
       'His name is Ataev Abdulgamid Abdulatipovich.' (T)

Numerous particles, interjections and onomatopoetic words are described in Tabulova (1976: 289–332). The most important of these are *š'ta* 'yes, so, well' used both as an affirmative answer to a polar question (182a) and as a polyfunctional discourse particle (182b), and *mawmaw* 'no'.

(182) a. **š'ta,** *j-ʕa-z-g-d,* *s-hʷa-d.*
yes   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-1SG.ERG-get(AOR)-DCL   1SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
'Yes, I got it (the poor mark), I said.' (T)

   b. *sar-g'ə́j*   *sə́-ĉə-n*   *jə́-g'-sə-m-dər-χ-ṭ*   **š'ta**
1SG-ADD   1SG.ABS-sleep-PST   3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.ERG-NEG-know-RE(AOR)-DCL PTCL
'And I fell asleep and forgot about it, that's how it was.' (T)

Tabulova (1976: 321–332) lists numerous onomatopoetic expressions such as *dəgʷ–dəgʷ* 'like a child walks' (Tabulova 1976: 322) or *sərχ* 'when something is chopped suddenly' (Tabulova 1976: 328); they are not attested in our corpus of oral narratives, which tentatively implies that such expressions are not frequently used in contemporary speech.

4. Syntax

4.1. Noun phrase and Postpositional phrase

The core of the noun phrase is constituted by the nominal complex, a morphosyntactic unit consisting of a head (usually a noun) and its modifiers and showing some properties of a grammatical word. The nominal complex inflects as a whole for definiteness, possession, number and case; see the general and somewhat simplified structure of the nominal complex in Table 19, and compare it with (17) in §3.2.1.

Table 19. Structure of the nominal complex

DEF/POSS	numerals 1–19	nominal modifiers	head (+PL.H)	property modifiers	higher numerals	PL	INDF	CASE	ADD

It is unclear to what extent the nominal complex forms a phonological unit, however, at least some modifiers (monosyllabic numerals and adjectives) clearly form a single stress domain with the head noun (e.g. *truba–ʕʷáž'-kʷa-ḳ* pipe(R)–yellow-PL-INDF 'yellow pipes', Fedorenko 2017: ex. 3). Tabulova (1976: 68) writes that in the nominal complex stress falls on the last lexical unit, however, this remains to be tested empirically.

The syntactic integrity of the nominal complex manifests itself in that its elements cannot inflect on their own, apart from the plural of human nouns, which always occurs on the noun itself whereas the general plural suffix attaches to the right of the whole complex (183a). It is impossible to embed into a nominal complex a noun with a marker of case or additivity (183b); such modifiers necessarily occur outside the nominal complex (183c), even if semantically they modify only a part of it (183d). Nominal complex can also attach predicate morphology, which also modifies it as a whole (183e).

(183) a. *a-bəzŝa–dərə-ʕʷ-ĉa–dəw-kʷa*
DEF-language–know-NAG-PLH–big-PL
'the great linguists' (Abazašta 2017)

   b. **arqa-la–truba-kʷa*
field-INS–pipe-PL
intended: 'pipes going through the field' (Fedorenko 2017: 4)

   c. *lingvistika-la*   *a-qʷšara*
linguistics(R)-INS   DEF-department
'the linguistics department' (Abazašta 2017)

d. *h-ʔa-n-χa-wá*   *á.pχ'a.rta... ŝábəž-ta   a.pχ'a.rta–bzə́j-ṗ*
    1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-LOC-work-IPF DEF+school   strong-ADV school–good-NPST.DCL
    'The school we work at ... is a very good school.' (T)

e. *púškin   jə́-nbž'aʕʷ-ĉa   jə-r-də́r-wa-n*
    PN   3SG.M.IO-friend-PLH   3SG.N.IO-3PL.ERG-know-IPF-PST
    awə́j   d-š-wə́sa-ʕʷ–haraḳə́-z
    DIST   3SG.H.ABS-REL.MNR-verse-NAG–high–PST.NFIN
    'Pushkin's friends knew he was a great poet.' (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 10)

The elements of a nominal complex normally cannot be coordinated alone; at least, this concerns heads (184a) and postpositional modifiers, in which case the whole complex must be repeated (though head ellipsis is possible, as in (184b)). However, prepositional modifiers can be coordinated by the conjunction *jg'əj* (184c); that at least the second modifier forms a complex with the head noun is evidenced by the absence of the definite marker on the latter, cf. the structure with an unequivocal external modifier in (183c).

(184) a. *a.pχ'a.rta–klás   ajŝa–də́w-kʷ-əj   a-rəmʒa–də́w-kʷ-əj*
          DEF+school–class(R) table–big-PL-ADD DEF-chair–big-PL-ADD
          j-ʕʷna-gəla-b
          3PL.ABS-LOC-stand-NPST.DCL
          'Big tables and chairs stand in the classroom.' (Fedorenko 2018: ex. 14)

b. *a- q̇aӡamᵢ–č'əχʷ-kʷ-əj   a-∅ᵢ-q̇apš'-kʷ-əj j-ʕa-sə-t*
    DEF-pen–blue-PL-ADD   DEF-red-PL-ADD   3PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-give(IMP)
    'Give me the blue and the red pens.' (E)

c. *[abχaz   jg'əj   abaza]–bəzŝa-kʷa*
    Abkhaz   and   Abaza–language-PL
    'the Abkhaz and Abaza languages' (Abazašta 2017)

A nominal complex can itself be emdedded into a larger nominal complex, cf. *la–č'əχʷ* eye–blue 'blue-eyed' in (185):

(185) *a-phʷəspa–[la–č'əχʷ]–č'ḳʷən*
      DEF-girl–eye–blue–little
      'A little girl with blue eyes.' (Fedorenko 2017: ex. 8)

A human noun with a human plural suffix *-ĉa* can function as a prepositional modifier in a nominal complex (186a), but a noun with the general plural suffix *-kʷa* cannot (186b):

(186) a. *h-č'ḳʷən-ĉa–qʷmár-ga-kʷa*
          1PL.IO-boy-PLH–play-NINS-PL
          'our toys for boys' (Fedorenko 2017: ex. 8a)

b. **h-č'ḳʷən-kʷa–qʷmár-ga-kʷa*
    1PL.IO-boy-PL–play-NINS-PL
    intended: '=a' (Fedorenko 2017: ex. 8b)

Any lexical part of the nominal complex that includes the head noun can be subsituted by the proform *-ĉə* (Testelets 2018), cf. (187), which is ambiguous because the proform can correspond to substrings of different sizes.

(187) *sara [[s-as]–[məʁra–awəra]]   ara.ʔa   j-aʔa-ṗ,*
      1SG   1SG.IO-shirt–sleeve–long   PROX.LOC   3SG.N.ABS-be-NPST.DCL
      wara   w-[[ĉə]–ajšəs]   awa.ʔa   j-aʔa-ṗ
      2SG.M   2SG.N.IO-belong–short   DIST.LOC   3SG.N.ABS-be-NPST.DCL
      'My shirt with long sleeves is here, and yours i. with short ones | ii. which is short is there.' (Testelets 2018: ex. 12)

The hesitation marker *dəna* can also replace modifiers in the nominal complex without affecting the head (Testelets 2018):

(188) *ʔaχʷtan–dəna   lara   jə-l-χʷʕa-d*
　　　 dress–HES　　　 3SG.F　　 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-buy(AOR)-DCL
　　　 'She bought a dress of I-don't-remember-what colour (or other quality).' (Testelets 2018: ex. 42b)

Adjectival modifiers can be extraposed and occur as clause-level adverbials or secondary predicates (189):

(189) *sa   s-č'ʕʷə́č'a-kʷa-g'əj   ck'á-ta   j-ḳ.na-há-n*
　　　 1SG　 1SG.IO-clothes-PL-ADD　 clean-ADV　　 3PL.ABS-LOC-hang(RES)-PST
　　　 'My clean clothes were hung there as well (lit. were hung clean).' (T)

The modifiers external to the nominal complex include demonstratives (190a), possessor phrases (190b), case-marked nominals (183c), relative clauses (190a,c), quantifiers (190c) and complex numerals (190d), which together with the nominal complex form a complete noun phrase. The tentative order of the elements of the noun phrase is "demonstrative – relative clause – NP-modifier – nominal complex – quantifier/numeral – relative clause".

(190) a.　 ***awát***　 [*j-ʕa-n-χá-z*]　　　　　　　　　 *a-wʕa-kʷá*
　　　　　　 DIST.PL　 REL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PST.NFIN　 DEF-people-PL
　　　　　　 'those people who remained'　(T)

　　　 b.　 [*jacə́   s-z-á-ĉaẑa-z*]　　　　　　　　 ***wara***　 *w-aš'á*
　　　　　　 yesterday　 1SG.ABS-REL.IO-SOC-talk-PST.NFIN　 2SG.M　 2SG.M.IO-brother
　　　　　　 'your brother, with whom I talked yesterday' (Fedorenko 2017: 9)

　　　 c.　 [*hə-r.qʷəχ-ra-kʷa   j-ʕa-rə-la-lə-z*]
　　　　　　 1PL.IO-investigate-MSD-PL　 REL.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-LOC-go.in-PST.NFIN
　　　　　　 a-bzaza-ʕʷ-ĉa   zəmʕʷa
　　　　　　 DEF-live-NAG-PLH　 all
　　　　　　 'all the inhabitants (of the village) who participated in our studies' (Abazašta 2017)

　　　 d.　 *á-skʷš   zk'ə́–ẑ-ŝə́–pš'ə-n-ʕʷa.ẑ-əj–ẑa-bá*
　　　　　　 DEF-year　 thousand–nine-hundred–four-time-twenty-ADD–ten-CLN
　　　　　　 'the year 1990' (T)

Relative clauses can be both prenominal (191a) and post-nominal (191b); in the latter case they are internally-headed (for more details on the syntax of relative clauses, see §4.4.1).

\(191)a.　 ***awát***　 *z-la-ĉáẑa-wa*　　　 *á-bəzŝa*
　　　　　　 DIST.PL　 REL.IO-INS-speak-IPF　 DEF-language
　　　　　　 'the language they speak' (T)

　　　 b.　 *a-sabə́j–χʷəc   z-má-kʷ-əw*
　　　　　　 DEF-child–little　 REL.IO-have-PL-PRS.NFIN
　　　　　　 'the small children that they have' (T)

In general, in order to be able to take external modifiers the nominal complex should be marked for definiteness or indefiniteness (see Testelets 2017a), which may suggest that Abaza has some sort of NP/DP distinction. However, the data collected so far is not fully conclusive. An interesting asymmetry exists between bare common nominals on the one hand and pronouns, proper names, and nominals with determiners or (in)definiteness markers in the predicate position: while bare nominals must take stative verbal inflection (see 14a) and cannot occur with the copula (192a), all other kinds of nominals show the opposite behaviour (192b).

(192) a.　　***phʷəspa–gʷəbzəʁa**　　l-aḳʷ-ṗ　　　　　　bzəj　jə-z-ba-wa
　　　　　　girl–clever　　　　　　3SG.F.IO-COP-NPST.DCL　good　REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-IPF
　　　　　　intended: 'It's clever girls whom I love.' (E)

　　　b.　　*phʷəspa–gʷəbzəʁa-ḳ / a-phʷəspa–gʷəbzəʁa / awəj* a-phʷəspa /
　　　　　　girl–clever-INDF /　　　　DEF-girl–clever /　　　DIST　　DEF-girl
　　　　　　***zaləjna**　l-aḳʷ-ṗ　　　　　　　　bzəj　jə-z-ba-wa
　　　　　　PN　　　　　3SG.F.IO-COP-NPST.DCL　good　REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-IPF
　　　　　　'It is a clever girl / the clever girl / that girl / Zalina whom I love.' (E)

　　The postpositional phrase has the structure [noun phrase IO-postposition] (193), which is actually identical to the structure of a noun phrase with a possessor.

(193) [a-*karbəʒ'-kʷa*　ʔa-də-r-ba.χ-wa-z　　　　　　　　a-baq̇] **a-pnə**
　　　DEF-brick-PL　　REL.LOC-3PL.ERG-CAUS-dry-IPF-PST.NFIN　DEF-barn　3SG.N.IO-at
　　　'in the barn where they used to bake bricks' (T)

4.2. Clause structure
4.2.1. Word order

　　The basic order of clausal constituents is SOV (194a), but NPs are usually omitted, so clauses with more than one overt argument are rare in texts. While dependent clauses are usually head-final, in main clauses various permutations of word order are in principle possible, cf. OSV in (194b), and postverbal arguments are not prohibited, either (194c).

(194) a.　　*wadərʕʷána*　phʷəs-ḳ　l-sabə́j　　d-ʕa-l-q-áštələ-n
　　　　　　later　　　　　woman-INDF　3SG.F.IO-child　3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3SG.F.IO-LOC-forget-PST
　　　　　　'Later one woman forgot about her child.' (T)

　　　b.　　*š'qa–warad-ḳ*　　awəj　j-a-hʷ-əj-ṭ
　　　　　　mountain–song-INDF　DIST　3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
　　　　　　'It (the river) is singing a mountain song.' (AbPo)

　　　c.　　*abar-awə́j　á-pš-ta*　　j-bzáza-kʷa-d[1]　　　a-waʕá
　　　　　　EMP-DIST　3SG.N.IO-similar-ADV　3PL.ABS-live-PL(AOR)-DCL　DEF-people
　　　　　　'Thus lived the people.' (T)

　　In constructions with a direct and an indirect object either one may follow the other, cf. (195a,b):

(195) a.　　*abaza-kʷa　a-mg'al-g'əj*　　rə-s-ta-ṭ
　　　　　　Abaza-PL　DEF-millet.bread-ADD　3PL.IO-1SG.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL
　　　　　　'I gave Abaza the millet bread.' (T)

　　　b.　　*sar-g'ə́j　a-vóžd'*　　s-jə́-j-tə-n
　　　　　　1SG-ADD　DEF-chief　1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PST
　　　　　　'He handed me over to the chief.' (T)

　　Bare nominals must normally immediately precede the verb (Testelets 2017a: 315–316) (196a), however, this is not an absolute requirement (196b).

(195) a.　　*ana.ʔa　čə　ḳa-ha-ṭ*
　　　　　　MED.LOC　horse　LOC-fall(AOR)-DCL
　　　　　　'There fell a horse.' (Testelets 2017a: 315)

　　　b.　　*%čə　a-bna　j-la-l-ṭ*
　　　　　　horse　DEF-forest　3SG.N.ABS-LOC-go.in(AOR)-DCL
　　　　　　'A horse went into the forest.' (Testelets 2017a: 315)

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[1] Note the unexpected plural suffix in a declarative form.

The position of adverbials is also free; they may be placed clause-initially (194a,c), before the verb (197a), between the nominal constituents (197b), or clause-finally (197c).

(197) a.　*jará*　　**awá.ʔa**　　*də́-ça-r-ça-χ-ṭ*
　　　　　3SG.M　　DIST.LOC　　3SG.H.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-bury-RE(AOR)-DCL
　　　　　'They buried him there.' (T)

　　b.　*h-sabə́j-kʷa*　*χʷábəž-ta*　*ʔadáb-əj*　*naməs-ə́j*　*rə́-ma-ṗ*
　　　　　1PL.IO-child-PL　strong-ADV　manner-ADD　modesty-ADD　3PL.IO-have-NPST.DCL
　　　　　'Our children are very modest and mannered.' (T)

　　c.　*hə́-kʷə-n*　　*awá.ʔa*
　　　　　1PL.ABS-be-on-PST　DIST.LOC
　　　　　'We were there.' (T)

All of this points towards a flat constituent structure on the clause level.

4.2.2. Case alignment and grammatical relations

There is no case marking on any core nominals, so the case alignment of core grammatical roles is neutral, see examples above. Alignment of verbal indexing is ergative-absolutive if just monovalent intransitive and transitive verbs are considered, and split ergative-accusative if bivalent intransitive verbs are also taken into account, see §3.6.3. There are no productive voice operations.

In the domain of reflexive and reciprocal anaphora it is important to distinguish between verbal marking (see §3.6.8) and expression by independent pronouns (see Arkadiev & Durneva 2020). The latter is oriented toward the more agentive participant and is in general controlled by the S/A argument and cannot be bound by a lower grammatical role, cf. (198) for a transitive verb and (199) for a bivalent intransitive one.

(198) a.　*a-phʷəspa$_i$*　*a-ʕʷəga*　*a-pnə*　**l-qa$_i$**　　*l-ba-χ-əj-d*
　　　　　DEF-girl　　DEF-mirror　3SG.N.IO-at　3SG.F.IO-head　3SG.ERG-see-RE-PRS-DCL
　　　　　'The girl sees herself in the mirror.' (Testelets 2017b: ex. (10a))

　　b.　#**l-qa$_i$**　　*a-phʷəspa$_{j/*i}$*　*a-ʕʷəga*　*a-pnə*　*d-a-ba-χ-əj-d*
　　　　　3SG.F.IO-head　DEF-girl　　DEF-mirror　3SG.N.IO-at　3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-see-RE-PRS-DCL
　　　　　'Her head again sees the girl in the mirror.' (*=a) (Testelets 2017b: ex. (10b))

(199) a.　**l-qa$_i$**　　*d$_i$-a-ĉ-ŝ-əj-ṭ*
　　　　　3SG.F.IO-head　3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DCL
　　　　　'She fears herself.' (E)

　　b.　***l-qa**　*jə-l-ĉ-ŝ-əj-ṭ*
　　　　　3SG.F.IO-head　3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DCL
　　　　　#'Her head is afraid of her.' (E)

Subject-object asymmetries grouping together S and A as opposed to P and IO are also observed in the so-called weak crossover effects, which in Abaza are manifested in the use of the 3rd person vs. relative possessive markers in relativizations and questions with coreference between the possessor and the relativized or questioned participant (Testelets 2017b). Thus, in (200a) with a question targeting the agent of a transitive verb the relative prefix must be used on the object to indicate coreference between its possessor and the agent, while in (200b) with a question about the object coreferential with the possessor of the agent only the 3rd person possessive prefix is allowed. Examples (201a,b) from Testelets (2017b: 4) show that the arguments of bivalent intransitive verbs behave in the same way.

(200) a.　**zə$_i$-wnaʔwasa**　*d-ʕa-z$_i$-də-z*　　　　　*d-z-aĉə-ja$_i$?*
　　　　　REL.IO-acquaintance　3SG.H.ABS-CISL-REL.ERG-lead-PST.NFIN　3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-belong-QN
　　　　　'Who$_i$ brought his$_i$ acquaintance?'

b.   *jə$_i$/*zə$_i$-wnaʔwasa*   *j$_i$-ʕa-j-də-z*
         3SG.M.IO/*REL.IO-acquaintance   REL.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.ERG-lead-PST.NFIN
         d-z-aĉə-ja$_i$?
         3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-belong-QN
         'Whom$_i$ did his$_i$ acquaintance bring?'

(201) a.   *z$_i$-aš'a*   *j$_i$-c-qraʕa-wa*   *d-z-aĉə-ja$_i$?*
         REL.IO-brother   REL.ABS+3SG.M.IO-COM-help-IPF   3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-belong-QN
         'Who$_i$ helps his$_i$ brother?'

      b.   *j$_i$/*z$_i$-aš'a*   *də-z$_i$-c-qraʕa-wa*   *d-z-aĉə-ja$_i$?*
         3SG.M.IO/*REL.IO-brother   3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-COM-help-IPF   3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-belong-QN
         'Whom$_i$ does his$_i$ brother help?'

4.2.3. Gender/person agreement and cross-reference

As has been described in §3.6.2, there is obligatory person-number-gender cross-reference for all arguments: for the absolute S (202a) and P of monotransitive (202b) and ditransitive (202c) verbs, for the ergative A of transitive (203a) and ditransitive (203b) verbs, as well for various indirect objects, such as the recipient/addressee with ditransitives (204a), the second argument of bivalent intransitive verbs (204b) and with various applicatives (204c). In all cases the cross-reference marker can be referential on its own and does not require an overt co-nominal in the same clause.

(202) a.   *dawɮatmárza-g'əj*   *d-an-psə́*
         PN   3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-die

      b.   *awá.ʔa*   *də-r-gá-n*   *də́-ça-r-ça-χ-ṭ*
         DIST.LOC   3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-carry-PST   3SG.H.ABS-LOC-3SG.ERG-bury-RE(AOR)-DCL
         (a+b) 'When Dolyatmurza died, they brought him there and buried.' (T)

      c.   *mhamatg'aró́j*   *j-ʕa-jə-r-t-ṭ*   *ádg'əl*
         PN   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL   DEF+land
         'They gave land to Muhamat-Girey.' (T)

(203) a.   *wadərʕʷána*   *hə́-nbž'aʕʷ-ḳ*   *j-hʷá-ṭ*
         then   1PL.IO-friend-INDF   3SG.N.ABS+3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
         'Then one of our friend said.' (T)

      b.   *j-ʕa-h-rə-sabap-wa*   *amaɮ-kʷa ...*
         REL.ABS-CISL-1PL.ERG-CAUS-useful-IPF   DEF+method-PL
         h-a-z-çʕa-ra-kʷa   *ž'awap*   *ʕa-rə-r-t-wa-n*
         1PL.IO-3SG.N.IO-BEN-ask-MSD-PL   answer   CISL-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-IPF-PST
         'The methods that we used gave answers to our questions.' (Abazašta 2017)

(204) a.   *h-án*   *j-l-á-s-hʷ-əj-ṭ*
         1PL.IO-mother   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
         'I say to our mother.' (T)

      b.   *a-čəʕʷrá*   *j-g'-a-pš-wá-m*
         DEF-crops   3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.N.IO-look-IPF-NEG
         'They (the cows) don't look at the crops.' (T)

      c.   *abdulgamíd*   *telegráma*   *j-zə-s-š'táj-ṭ*
         PN   telegram(R)   3SG.M.IO-BEN-1SG.ERG-send(AOR)-DCL
         'I sent a telegram to Abdulgamid.' (T)

The only cases where cross-reference can be lacking is (i) the omission of the unstressed absolutive 3SG non-human and 3PL *j-* (205a), of the 2SG ergative in the imperative (205b) and (ii) the indirect object introduced by certain locative preverbs (205c), see §3.6.10.

(205) a.   *awá.ʔa*   **šə́la**   [*j-*]*ʕa-rə́-r-t-əj-ṭ*
       DIST.LOC   flour   [3SG.N.ABS-]CISL-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PRS-DCL
       'There they give them flour.' (T)

   b.   *b-sabə́j-kʷa*   *za-ḳ*   *r-á-hʷa*
       2F.SG.IO-child-PL   one-INDF   3PL.IO-DAT-say(IMP)
       'Tell your children something.' (T)

   c.   *a-χabar-kʷa*   **internet**   *j-ta-z-ca-wa*
       3SG.N.IO-story-PL   internet(R)   3PL.ABS-LOC-REL.ERG-put-IPF
       'the one who posts news on the internet' (T)

Sometimes the 3SG non-human cross-reference marker does not correspond to any referential argument and can be considered 'expletive', cf. the absolutive in *j-qʷla-n* 3SG.N.ABS-get.dark-PST 'it got dark', the indirect object in *j-a-z-ha-ṭ* 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-grow(AOR)-DCL 'it grew (lit. for it)', the ergative in *h-a-r-gʷanə́-ta* 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-CAUS-near-ADV 'so that we approach (it), lit. it puts us near (it)'.

The 2SG masculine marker and overt pronoun (206a) can be interpreted as generic (often including the speaker), and the 3PL marker can be interpreted as indefinite (206b).

(206) a.   *awat*   *anə-**w**-ba-ra*
       DIST.PL   REL.TMP-2SG.M.ERG-see-FUT.NFIN
       war-g'əj *rəca*   **w**-hak̮ak̮-χa-ra   **w**-taq-χ-əj-ṭ
       2SG.M-ADD   more   2SG.M.ABS-kindhearted-INC-MSD   2SG.M.IO-want-INC-PRS-DCL
       'When one (lit. you) sees them, one starts to wish to become better, too.' (Abazašta 2017)

   b.   *l-abá*   *zk'əj–ẑ-ŝ-əj–ʕʷaẑə́-ẑa-χ*   *ásqan*
       2SG.F.IO-father   thousand–nine-hundred-ADD–twenty–ten-three   time
       *də-**r**-š'-ə́j-ṭ*
       3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-kill-PRS-DCL
       'Her father was killed (lit. they killed her father) in 1933.' (T)

Agreement in number is obligatory for animate (inluding both humans and animals) arguments (207a) and optional for inanimate ones (207b).

(207) a.   *a-wasa-kʷá*   ***r-pnə́/*a-pnə́***   *h-ca-ṗ*
       DEF-sheep-PL   3PL.IO-at/3SG.N.IO-at   1PL.ABS-go-NPST.DCL
       'We will go to the sheep.' (example courtesy of Yury Lander)

   b.   *a-háqʷ-kʷa*   ***r-pnə́/a-pnə́***   *ẑʷəmp*   *ʕa-j-ə́j-ṭ*
       DEF-stone-PL   3PL.IO-at/3SG.N.IO-at   strawberry   CISL-go-PRS-DCL
       'Near the stones, strawberries grow.' (example courtesy of Yury Lander)

4.3. Major sentence types

4.3.1. Affirmative declarative clauses

The most notable feature of Abaza independent affirmative (as well as some negative) declarative clauses is the presence of declarative marking on the main verb, as opposed to all other sentence types. Otherwise, declarative clauses do not show any singificant syntactic differences from non-declarative and most subordinate clauses, at least in what concerns expression of arguments and their cross-reference on the verb. With respect to word order, declarative clauses do not differ from other types of independent clauses.

4.3.2. Imperative and optative clauses

Imperative and optative clauses do not show and special syntax; on the morphology of the imperative, prohibitive and optative, see §3.6.6. The addressee of the imperative can be expressed by an overt nominal (208).

(208) *w-ʕa-j*   ***wara***
    2SG.M.ABS-CISL-go(IMP)   2SG.M
    'You go with me!' (T)

4.3.3. Interrogative clauses

Polar interrogative clauses feature the dedicated interrogative suffix *-ma* on the verb and otherwise do not show any syntactic peculiarities (209), see also §3.6.6. A special type of polar interrogative is formed by attaching the additive suffix *-əj* to a declarative verbal form (Tabulova 1976: 175–176). These forms are employed when the speaker presupposes a positive (210a) or a negative (210b) answer and uses the utterance to confirm the presupposition rather than to seek information.

(209) ***w-na-ʒ-ə́w-ma***   *a-ẑ̂ʕʷánd*   *a-qáχ'*
    2SG.M.ABS-TRAL-treach-IPF-Q   DEF-sky   3SG.N.IO-surface
    'But can one reach the sky?' (T)

(210) a.   *šura*   ***w-ak̫ʷ-ṗ-əj?***
            PN(R)   2SG.M.IO-COP-NPST.DCL-ADD
            'Isn't that you, Shura?' (Tabulova 1976: 175)

    b.   *j-g'ə́-w-zə-m-č'pa-ṭ-əj?*
            3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-2SG.M.IO-POT-NEG-do(AOR)-DCL-ADD
            'You did not manage to do it, did you?' (Tabulova 1976: 176)

Content interrogatives, by contrast, show special syntax, being based on pseudo-clefted sructures with relativization (again see §3.6.6 on their morphology, and Arkadiev 2020 for a detailed description). Content questions targeting arguments are built by attaching one of the interrogative suffixes, *-da* for humans and *-ja* for non-humans, to verbal forms with a relative prefix corresponding to the questioned argument, cf. (211a) for the absolutive S, (211b) for the absolutive P, (211c) for the ergative, (211d) for the indirect object and (211e) for the object of an applicative.

(211) a.   ***j-ʕa-ḳa-ŝá-da?***
            REL.ABS-CISL-LOC-fall(AOR)-QH
            'Who fell?' (E)

    b.   ***j-ʕá-b-g-ja?***
            REL.ABS-CISL-2SG.F.ERG-bring(AOR)-QN
            'What did you bring?' (E)

    c.   *w-ʕa-ʒ-rə-há-ja?*
            2SG.M.ABS-CISL-REL.ERG-CAUS-fear(AOR)-QN
            'What frightened you?' (E)

    d.   *arə́j*   *a-k'táp*   *zə-b-tə́-da?*
            PROX   DEF-book   REL.IO-2SG.F.ERG-give(AOR)-QH
            'Whom did you give this book?' (E)

    e.   *bə-ʒ-c-nə́q̫ʷa-wa-da?*
            2SG.F.ABS-REL.IO-COM-walk-IPF-QH
            'With whom do you go for a walk?' (E)

By attaching the plural suffix *-k̫ʷa* it is possible to indicate that a non-singular answer is sought (212).

(212) *j-wə́-c-k̫ʷa-z-da*   *l-hʷá-n*
    REL.ABS-2SG.M.IO-be.with-PL-PST.NFIN-Q.H   3SG.F.ERG-say-PST
    'Who was with you? she asked.' (T)

Identity questions are based on the lexical stem *maʕnə* 'role, content' and target its absolutive argument (213), the interrogative suffix being always non-human.

(213) a. *wará*   *jə-w-maʕnə́-ja?*
       2SG.M   REL.ABS-2SG.M.IO-role-QN
       'Who are you (man)?' lit. 'What is your role?' (E)

    b. *arə́j*   *j-a-mʕanə́-ja?*
       PROX   REL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-role-QN
       'What does this mean?' (T)

To question the object of a postposition, the relative prefix is attached to the postposition while the interrogative suffix appears on the verb (214).

(214) *z-acḳə́s*   *lasə́*   *wə́-ʕʷ-wa-da?*
     REL.IO-than   fast   2SG.M.ABS-run-IPF-QH
     lit. 'You run faster than who?' (E)

Questioning the adnominal possessor involves first forming a pseudocleft construction with the nominal as the predicate, and then forming a question targeting the possessor (=indirect object) of the latter (215).

(215) *jə-z_j-sabə́j_i-əw-da_j*   *[a-páχ'*   *j_i-na-ʕʷ-ʕá-wa]?*
     3PL.ABS-REL.IO-child-PRS.NFIN-QH   DEF-yard   REL.ABS-LOC-run-ELAT-IPF
     'Whose children are running in the garden?' (lit. Who is the one whose children are those who are running in the garden?) (E)

Questions like 'Which book did you read?' are based on predicates 'be like' or 'belong', which occur as prenominal modifiers to the head noun. The question targets their indirect object, and the non-human interrogative suffix occurs at the end of the whole complex. The sentence, like in questions about the possessor of an argument, forms a pseudocleft with the main predicate relativized (216).

(216) *abaza–bəzŝa*   *z-a.pš–bəzŝa-ja*   *j-z-a.pš-əw*
     Abaza–language   REL.IO-similar–language-QN   3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-similar-PRS.NFIN
     'Which language is the Abaza similar to (lit. What is the language like that the Abaza language is similar to)?' (Abazašta 2017)

Questions about quantity are formed by means of a lexical item *ʔara* 'as much', which takes an indirect object relative prefix and either forms a nominal complex with its head noun, the remainder of the clause being relativized (217a), or functions like a postposition (217b).

(217) a. *z-ʔara–á.pχ'a.ga-ja*   *bə-z-pχ'á-z?*
       REL.IO-as.much–book-Q.N   2SG.F.ABS-REL.IO-read-PST.NFIN
       'How many books have you read?' (lit. How many books are such that you read?) (E)

    b. *abaza–alfavit a-harəf-kʷa*   *z-ʔara*   *j-na-ʒa-wa-ja?*
       Abaza–alphabet(R) 3SG.N.IO-letter-PL   REL.IO-as.much   3PL.ABS-TRAL-reach-IPF-Q.N
       'How many letters are there in the Abaza alphabet?' (AbRus)

The same morphological strategy is used to form questions about purpose (218a) and cause (218b), both featuring the reason relativization prefix *zə-* and the non-human interrogative suffix.

(218) a. *qáça*   *də-z-lə́-ma-χ-ja*
       man   3SG.H.ABS-REL.RSN-3SG.F.IO-have-RE-QN
       'What does she need a man for?' (T)

b. *awása   wə́-nbǯ'aʕʷ-ĉa-kʷa   z-ʕá-wə-m-d-ja*
   but   2SG.M.IO-friend-PLH-PL   REL.RSN-CISL-2SG.M.ERG-NEG-lead(AOR)-QN
   'But why didn't you come with your friends?' (T)

Argument questions can contain independent interrogative words (corresponding to 'what' and 'who') occurring as predicates in pseudocleft structures and being either genuine interrogative verbal forms based on the root 'belong' (see e.g. Genko 1955: 105), like *d-z-aĉə́-ja* 'who', lit. "what does s/he belong to" (218a), or transparently historically going back to such forms, like the slightly decategorized *aĉə́-ja* 'what' in (218b) or the phonologically eroded *də́-z-da* 'who' (218c), historically based on the root *-wa-* 'be part of' (Pazov 2016). The argument question markers occur on these interrogative words rather than on the lexical predicate, which reflects the pseudoclefted structure of these constructions: the main predicate of the pseudocleft is the interrogative word with the question marker, while the remainder of the sentence is a headless relative clause.

(218) a. *š'ta awə́j aʕán   d-z-aĉə́-ja*
      PTCL DIST DEF+time   3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-belong-QN
      j-z-lə-r-b-ə́w-š?
      3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-see-IPF-FUT
      'Whom will she show it then?' (T)

   b. *aĉə́-ja, š'ta, wẑə́-g'əj   j-ʕa-wə́-z-t-wa   gʷərʕʷará?*
      belong-QN PTCL now-ADD   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-REL.ERG-give-IPF grief
      'What makes you grief?' (lit. What is it that gives you grief?) (AbPo: 15)

   c. *jə-z-də́r-ra   a-taq-ə́w   də-z-dá?*
      3SG.N.ABS-REL.ERG-know-MSD   3SG.N.IO-need-PRS.NFIN   3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-Q.H
      'Who should know it?' (T)

Such interrogative words can inflect for tense (219).

(219) *jə-h-č'p-ə́w-šə-z   aĉə́-z-ja   š'ta?*
   REL.ABS-1PL.ERG-do-IPF-FUT-PST.NFIN   belong-PST-Q.N PTCL
   'What would we have done?' (lit. What was it that we would have done?')

Questions about adverbials such as 'when', 'where' and 'how' are formed differently, i.e. by means of the prefix *-ba- ~ -pa-* attaching to the adverbial relativization prefixes in slot −11. See a question about time with the temporal relativizer *(a)n-* in (220a), a question about location in (220b) and a question about spatial goal in (220c), both with the locative relativizer *(ʔ)a-*; in (220d) the locative relativizer occurs with an additional lative marker in a question about spatial source, and (220e) illustrates a question about manner with the manner relativizer *š-*.

(220) a. *šamíɮ arə́j áχč'a   n-bá-ʕa-z-ʁəč'*
      PN   PROX DEF+money   REL.TMP-QADV-CISL-1SG.ERG-steal(AOR)
      'Shamil, when did I steal this money?' (T)

   b. *j-a-bá-ʕa-z-ʁəč'   arə́j áχč'a*
      3SG.N.ABS-REL.LOC-QADV-CISL-1SG.ERG-steal(AOR)   PROX DEF+money
      j-sə́-m-əw?
      REL.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PRS.NFIN
      'Where did I steal this money that I have?' (T)

   c. *ŝ-a-ba-ca-χ,   aẑa-ta j-aʔ-əw?*
      2PL.ABS-**REL.LOC-Q.ADV**-go-RE   word-ADV   REL.ABS-be-PRS.NFIN
      'Where have you gone, the words that there are?' (Vysotsky)

d.   *w-a-χ'-pá-ʕa-j-wa?*
    2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-LAT-Q.ADV-CISL-go-IPF
    'Where are you coming from?' (E)

e.   *ajŝa–baja-ta*   *j-š-h-zə-qə-r-ʕʷa-z*
    table–rich-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-1PL.IO-BEN-LOC-3PL.ERG-cover-PST.NFIN
    š-pa-w-q-aštəl-wa-š?!
    REL.MNR-QADV-2SG.M.IO-LOC-forget-IPF-FUT
    'How will we (lit. you) forget that they laid a rich table for us?!' (Abazašta 2017)

Independent adverbial interrogative words are based on the copula with the remaining part of the clause encoded as the corresponding adjunct relative (221); they are attested in elicitation, but used only rarely.

(221) *j-a-bá-ḳʷ-əw*   *w-ʔa-bzáza-wa?*
     3SG.N.ABS-REL.LOC-Q.ADV-COP-NPST.NFIN   2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-live-IPF
    'Where do you live?', lit. 'Where is it where you live?' (example courtesy of Anastasia Panova)

Multiple interrogatives of the kind *Who bought what?* or *Where did who go?* are not possible in Abaza, being obviously ruled out by the relativization-based morphological strategy of question formation.

It is possible to question arguments and adjuncts in certain kinds of complement clauses. This topic is not yet sufficiently studied, but the elicited data suggests that with respect to questions about arguments of embedded clauses there is a difference between complement clauses occupying the absolutive position in the matrix clause and those occupying a non-absolutive (e.g. indirect object) position. In the former case, the matrix verb simply attaches the interrogative suffix and the embedded verb takes the relative prefix, as with the verb 'want, need' in (222) and (218c) above. In the latter case, however, both the embededd and the matrix verbs are relativized, and the matrix verb can even take an applicative hosting the appropriate relative prefix, cf. (223b) with the question into a purpose clause, where the matrix verb takes a benefactive.

(222) [*a-saǥámŝʔa*   *z-ʕʷ-ra*]   *a-taq-ə́w-da?*
     DEF-letter   REL.ERG-write-MSD   3SG.N.IO-need-QH
    'Who should write the letter?' (E)

(223) a.   *jacə́*   *wə-z-pχ'a-wá*   *wə-*(z)-la-gá-ja?*
     yesterday   2SG.M.ABS-REL.IO-read-IPF   2SG.M.ABS-*(REL.IO)-LOC-begin(AOR)-QN
    'What did you start reading yesterday?' (E)

b.   [*jə-w-ba-rnə́s*]   *á.pχ'a.rta*   *w-zə-z-ca-wá-da?*
    REL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-see-PURP DEF+school 2SG.M.ABS-REL.IO-BEN-go-IPF-QH
    'In order to see whom do you go to school?' (lit. For whom do you go to school to see (them)?' (E)

In questions about adjuncts of embedded clauses, it is always the matrix verb that bears interrogative inflection (224a), however, it can also occur on the embedded verb as well, thus yielding a peculiar pattern of double marking (225a).

(224) a.   *wə-n-χa-wá*   *w-a-bá-la-ga?*
    2SG.M.ABS-LOC-work-IPF   2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-Q.ADV-LOC-begin(AOR)
    'Where did you start working?' (E)

b.   *ruslán*   *d-an-bá-ʕa-gəl-ra*   *an-bá-taq-əw?*
    Ruslan   3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-Q.ADV-CISL-stand-MSD   REL.TMP-QADV[3SG.N.IO]-need-PRS.NFIN
    'When should Ruslan get up?' (E)

Echo-questions are formed by attaching the additive suffix *-əj* to the interrogative form (225).

(225) *aĉə-ja   j-s-č'p-əw-š,   gʷaš'aməda? — jə-w-č'p-əw-š-əj?..*
 belong-QN REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-do-IPF-FUT   PN   REL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-do-IPF-FUT-ADD
 'What shall I do, Goshamida? — What will you do?..' (Tabulova 1976: 175)

4.4. Complex sentences
4.4.1. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are based on relative verbal forms whose structure has been described in §3.6.9; this section is largely based on Sorokina (2017, 2018) and Rossius (2017). Relative clauses in Abaza can be internally and externally headed as well as headless; externally headed relative clauses are always prenominal (226a), while internally headed ones can be both postnominal (226b) and circumnominal (226c). The prenominal construction is by far the most frequent in texts, while the circumnominal one is so far attested almost only in elicitation (Sorokina 2017: 14).

(226) a. [*j-gʷə   ara.ʔa   j-ta-ŝa-z*]   *a-χə*
     3SG.M.IO-heart   PROX.LOC   REL.ABS-LOC-fall-PST.NFIN   DEF-bullet
     arə-la   jə-qʷda   ja-ʕa-l-ç-χə-n
     PROX-INS   3SG.M.IO-neck   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-LOC.ELAT-pass-RE-PST
     'The bullet that hit his heart passed through the neck.' (T)

 b. [*a-ʒəjwára   jə-nq́ʷə-r-gá-z-g'əj*]   *a-ʒə́*
     DEF-idol   REL.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-carry-PST.NFIN-ADD   DEF-water
     d-a-r-t-χ-əj-ṭ-ta
     3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3PL.ERG-give-RE-PRS-DCL-ADV
     'Then they finally throw the idol that they had carried around into the water.' (T)

 c. [*jacə   a-cgʷə   χ-cgʷə-ḳ   ʕa-z-rə-j-z*]
     yesterday   DEF-cat   three-cat-INDF   CISL-REL.ERG-CAUS-go-PST.NFIN
     jə-sə-r-č'a-ṭ
     3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-eat(AOR)-DCL
     'I fed the cat that yesterday gave birth to three kittens.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 61)

A relative clause can be extraposed to the right of the main clause verb (227).

(227) *sə́-nbʒ'aʕʷ-ĉa-kʷa   sə́-cə-n ...*
 1SG.IO-friend-PLH-PL   1SG.ABS-go-PST
 [*á.pχ'a.rta   j-sə-c-a-pχ'a-kʷ-ə́w-z*]
 DEF+school   REL.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-3N.IO-study-PL-IPF-PST.NFIN
 'I went with my friends, with whom I study at school.' (T)

Normally both the external and the internal head of relative clauses must be a DP, i.e. contain a marker of (in)definiteness or possessor cross-reference. An exception to this is constituted by internally-headed relative clauses with the bare head marked by the adverbial ending *-ta*; semantically, they belong to the so-called maximalizing type of relative clauses, see (228).

(228) *a-pqá   a-zamán   [waʕa.qá-ta   a-dəwnáj   jə-kʷə́-z*]
 3SG.N.IO-before   DEF-time   nation-ADV   DEF-world   REL.ABS-be.on-PST.NFIN
 š-abgá-z   j-a-z-ḳḳə́-ta   zʒ'ára   j-bzáz-əw-n
 REL.MNR-whole-PST.NFIN   3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-gather-ADV   somewhere   3PL.ABS-live-IPF-PST
 'In former times all the nations that there were in the world lived in some place together.' (T)

Perhaps the most frequently occurring type of relative clauses is the headless one (229); into this type I also tentatively include relatives modified by a demonstrative (229c):

(229) a.   [*wẑə́   jə-r-čpa-wá*]   *mač'-ṗ*   *awə́j*
             now   REL.ABS-3PL.ERG-do-IPF   little-NPST.DCL   DIST
             'What they do now is not enough.' (T)

      b.   [*alláh   jə-z-la-jə́-hʷa-z*]   *ʕa-rə́-da-hʷ-ṭ*
             God   3PL.ABS-REL.IO-INS-3SG.M.IO-ask-PST.NFIN   CISL-3PL.IO-LOC-arrive(AOR)-DCL
             'They got what they had asked God about.' (T)

      c.   [*awəj   j-h-č'pá-z*]   *a-pən-g'ə́j*   *sə-r-c-qráʕa-n*
             DIST   REL.ABS-1PL.ERG-do-PST.NFIN   3SG.N.IO-at-ADD   1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-COM-help-PST
             'I also helped them in that what we had done.' (T)

        Both externally-headed and internally-headed relative clauses can be restrictive (226a,c) and appositive (226b), although the latter prefer the postnominal position (Sorokona 2018: 4). The head of the relative clause can be a pronoun (230a), a proper name (230b) or denote a unique referent (230c).

(230) a.   [*ŝ-pnə́   jacə́   **hará**   sas-rá   j-ná-j-kʷa-z*],
             2PL.IO-at   yesterday   1PL   guest-NML   REL.ABS-TRAL-go-PL-PST.NFIN
             waχ'ĉa-g'ə́j   h-ná-j-wa-š-ṭ
             today-ADD   1PL.ABS-TRAL-go-IPF-FUT-DCL
             'We, who visited you yesterday, will come today, too.' (Sorokina 2018: ex. 7a)

      b.   [*a-kət   ahba-ĉa   r-sovet   wənaŝa   a-qə-z-ĉa-wa*]
             DEF-village elder-PLH 3PL.IO-council order   3SG.N.IO-LOC-REL.ERG-put-IPF
             ǯ'ǯ'əw–q̇rəm
             PN–PN
             'the president of the village's elders' council Krym Dzhuzhuev' (Abazašta 2017)

      c.   *a-tʒɜ–č'ḳʷən   š'arda   ĉ-wa-ta   j-g'-ta-gəla-χə-m*
             DEF-house–little   many   pass-IPF-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-LOC-stand-RE-NEG
             [*j-ʕa-s-gʷa.la.ŝa-z*]   **a-χakʷ**
             REL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-miss-PST.NFIN   DEF-homeland
             'The little house has long ago disappeared from my homeland, which I miss.'
             (AbPo)

        That postnominal relatives are in fact internally-headed is revealed by their syntactic behaviour common with circumnominal ones, suggesting that in both cases the nominal head is embedded into the relative clause; by contrast, the head of prenominal relatives forms an NP on its own (Sorokina 2018: 2–3). This is manifested in that only the external head can take case markers induced by the matrix clause (231a), which are otherwise attached to the relative clause predicate (231b,c), and expecially by the fact that the whole internally-headed relative clause must attach the copula in the predicative position (232b,c), while the external head can take on stative verbal inflection (232a).

(231) a.   [*jacə   j-s-χʷʕa-z(*-la)*]   **a-mašina-la** *s-ʕa-j-χ-d*
             yesterday   REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-buy-PST.NFIN(*-INS)   DEF-car(R)-INS   1SG.ABS-CISL-go-RE-DCL
             'I came in a car that I bought yesterday.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 77a)

      b.   [*jacə   **a-mašina(*-la)**   j-s-χʷʕa-z*(-la)*]
             yesterday   DEF-car(R)(*-INS)   REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-buy-PST.NFIN*(-INS)
             s-ʕa-j-χ-d
             1SG.ABS-CISL-go-RE-DCL
             '=b' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 77bc)

c. [**aχč'a(*-la)** *j-sə-m-əw*(-la)*] *kvartira*
DEF+money*(-INS) REL.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PRS.NFIN*(-INS) flat(R)
g'ə-w-zə-χʷʕ-əw-šə-m
NEG.EMP-2SG.M.IO-POT-buy-IPF-FUT-NEG
'One can't buy a flat with the money I have.' (Sorokina 2018: ex. 5cd)

(232) a. *aslán* [*j-an-áḳʷ-əw-z-la-ḳ-g'əj* *j-ʕá-χ'ša-wa*
PN 3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-COP-PRS.NFIN-PST.NFIN-CNC-INDF-ADD REL.ABS-CISL-come.late-IPF
d-ʕʷĉʕʷə́s-ṗ]/ *á-ʕʷĉʕʷəs*] *áḳʷ-ṗ*
3SG.H.ABS-person-NPST.DCL / DEF-person COP-NPST.DCL
'Aslan is a/the person who always comes late.' (Sorokina 2018: ex. 4a)

b. *aslán* [*j-an-áḳʷ-əw-z-la-ḳ-g'əj* *á-ʕʷĉʕʷəs*
PN 3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-COP-PRS.NFIN-PST.NFIN-CNC-INDF-ADD DEF-person
(*d-ʕʷĉʕʷə́s-ṗ) *j-ʕá-χ'ša-wa*] *j-áḳʷ-ṗ*
(*3SG.H.ABS-person-NPST.DCL) REL.ABS-CISL-come.late-IPF 3SG.M.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
'Aslan is the person who always comes late.' (Sorokina 2018: ex. 4b)

c. *aslán* [**á-ʕʷĉʕʷəs** **(*d-ʕʷĉʕʷə́s-ṗ)**
PN DEF-person (*3SG.H.ABS-person-NPST.DCL)
j-an-áḳʷ-əw-z-la-ḳ-g'əj *j-ʕá-χ'ša-wa*]
3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-COP-PRS.NFIN-PST.NFIN-CNC-INDF-ADD REL.ABS-CISL-come.late-IPF
j-áḳʷ-ṗ
3SG.M.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
'=b.' (Sorokina 2018: ex. 4c)

In internally-headed relatives, the head may be preceded by adverbials (226c), (232b), and, if the relativized position is the absolute, by the ergative subject (233a) or by an indirect object (233b).

(233) a. [*zəmʕʷa-g'əj* **a-χaṭ-kʷa** *jə-r-dər-wa*] *j-aʔa-b*
all-ADD DEF-rule-PL REL.ABS-3PL.ERG-know-IPF 3PL.ABS-be-NPST.DCL
'There are rules that everyone knows.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 63)

b. [*sara* *jacə* **a-hʷrapšʒa-kʷa** *j-ʕa-sə-r-tə-z*]
1SG yesterday DEF-flower-PL REL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST.NFIN
j-ʕʷa-χ-ṭ
3PL.ABS-dry-RE-DCL
'The flowers that I was given yesterday withered.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 65)

However, when the ergative position is relativized upon, the absolutive cannot precede the head (234a); in adverbial relativization, the position of the absolute is not constrained (234b).

(234) a. *[*jacə* *h̲ʷ̲ə̲n̲a̲p̲* **a-cgʷə** *j-ʕa-zə-ḳə-z*]
yesterday mouse DEF-cat 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-REL.ERG-catch-PST.NFIN
χ-cəgʷ-č'ər-ḳ *ʕa-na-rə-j-ṭ*
three-cat-baby-INDF CISL-3SG.N.ERG-CAUS-go(AOR)-DCL
intended: 'The cat that had caught a mouse yesterday, gave birth to three kittens.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 66)

b. [*s̲-̲a̲n̲-̲d̲ə̲w̲* **a-tʒə** *d-ʔa-bzaza-z*] *h-təj-d*
1SG.IO-mother-big DEF-house 3SG.H.ABS-REL.LOC-live-PST.NFIN 3PL.ERG-sell(AOR)-DCL
'We sold the house where my grandmother lived.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 69)

In relativization of the possessor of the internal head, the latter cannot occur between the element containing the relative prefix and the verb:

(235) a. ***a-cgʷə***   *z-çəqʷa*   *a-ŝ*   *j-bž'a-χa-z*
           DEF-cat   REL.IO-tail   DEF-door   3SG.N.ABS-between-INC-PST.NFIN
           'the cat whose tail stuck in the door' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 70c)

     b. **z-çəqʷa*   ***a-cgʷə***   *a-ŝ*   *j-bž'a-χa-z*
           REL.IO-tail   DEF-cat   DEF-door   3SG.N.ABS-between-INC-PST.NFIN
           intended: '=a' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 70a)

Relativizable positions include the absolutive S (236a), the absolutive P (236b), the ergative A (236c), the indirect object (236d), the applicative objects (236e), the demoted agent in potential forms (236f), the possessor (236g) and the postpositional object (236h), including the standard of comparison (236i).

(236) a. *a-dawəŝa-ra*   *a-pnə*   *j-ʕa-n-š-əj-ṭ*
           DEF-quiet-NML   3SG.N.IO-at   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-LOC-appear-PRS-DCL
           [*s-gʷə*   *j-ʕa-l-ç-wa*]   *a-satər-kʷa*
           1SG.IO-heart   REL.ABS-CISL-LOC.ELAT-pass-IPF   DEF-verse-PL
           'In the stillness are born the verses that pass through my heart.' (AbPo)

     b. [*a-ĉərʁʷə́*   *jə́-nq̇ʷə-r-ga-wa*]   *də́²-g'-ʕʷəĉʷʕʷəsə-m*
           DEF-spade   REL.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-carry-IPF   3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-person-NEG
           'The spade they are carrying around is not a person.' (T)

     c. ***s-zə-r-pχ'a-z***   *s-jə-z-hʷahʷ-əj-ṭ*
           1SG.ABS-REL.ERG-CAUS-spend.night-PST.NFIN   1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-BEN-praise-PRS-DCL
           'I praise him who let me spend night at his place.' (AbPo)

     d. [*a-ʕʷə*   *a-bajǯ*   *zə-r-tə-z*]
           DEF-person   DEF-spade   REL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST.NFIN
           n-χa-ra   *d-a-la-ga-d*
           LOC-work-MSD   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
           'The person who they gave the spade started working.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 27)

     e. *r-vožd'*   *j-ák̇ʷə-n*   [*kʷərmə́š*   *z-zə́-r-č'p-əw-z*]
           3PL.IO-chief(R)   3SG.M.IO-COP-PST   bow   REL.IO-BEN-3PL.ERG-do-IPF-PST.NFIN
           'It was their chief whom they made a bow.' (T)

     f. ***čə-z-zə́-k̇ʷaba-kʷ-əw-z ...***   *č-a-zá-h-ça-n*
           RFL.ABS-REL.IO-POT-bathe-PL-IPF-PST   RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-1PL.ERG-put-PST
           'Those who could bathe ... we went there.' (T)

     g. *aj*   *a-bzəj–bá-ra*   [*j-dəw-əw*   *zə-lšá-ra*]
           PTCL   DEF-good–see-MSD   3SG.N.ABS-big-PRS.NFIN   REL.IO-be.able-MSD
           'Oh love, whose power is great!' (T)

     h. [*z-pnə*   *s-aʔá-z-g'əj*]   *də-g'-sə-z-də́ra-m*
           REL.IO-at   1SG.ABS-be-PST.NFIN-ADD   3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-NEG
           'I don't know at whose place I was.' (T)

     i. [*a-ḳarṭóf*   *z-ácḳəs*   *qaʕá*   *g'-áʔa-m*]   *a-stól*   *jə́-kʷ-ṗ*
           DEF-potato(R)   REL.IO-than   tasty   NEG.EMP-be-NEG   DEF-table(R)   3SG.N.ABS-be.on-NPST
           'The potatoes, whose taste is not surpassed by anything, are on the table'. (Rossius 2017: ex. 30)

According to Rossius (2017: 6–11), there are several strategies of relativization of the adnominal possessor. The possessor of the absolutive S of an intransitive verb is relativized by subsituting its own personal prefix by the relative one without relativizing the verb (236g), (237a), and likewise is relativized the possessor of an indirect object (237b). By contrast,

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² Note the unexpected human absolutive prefix cross-referencing an inanimate participant.

when the possessor of the ergative argument is relativized, the verb must also obligatorily take the relative prefix (237c). Finally, the relativization of the possessor of the absolutive P of a transitive verb shows variation between these two strategies (237d).

(237) a. *d-abár*   [*awə́j*   *a-phʷə́s*   **z-phá**   *fatə́jma*
        3SG.H.ABS-here.is   DIST   DEF-woman   REL.IO-daugther   PN
        də-l-pš-wá]
        3SG.H.ABS-3SG.F.IO-look-IPF
        'Here is that woman whose daugther is looking at Fatima.' (Rossius 2017: ex. 12a)

     b. [*a-phʷə́s*   **z-sabə́j**   *təwrə́χ*   **j-a-s-hʷə́-z**]
        DEF-woman   REL.IO-child   fairytale   3SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PST.NFIN
        d-č'mazaʕʷ-χá-ṭ
        3SG.H.ABS-sick-INC(AOR)-DCL
        'The woman whose child I told fairytales to fell ill.' (Rossius 2017: ex.24)

     c. [**z-án**   *ʔaχʷtán–pšʒá*   **z-ʒaχə́-z**]   *a-sabə́j*
        REL.IO-mother   dress–beautiful   REL.ERG-sew-PST.NFIN   DEF-child
        'the child whose mother has sown a beautiful dress' (Rossius 2017: ex. 23)

     d. [*a.rə.pχ'á-ʕʷ*   **z-phʷə́s**   *bzə́j*   **jə/də-z-ba-wá**]
        DEF+teach-NAG   REL.IO-woman   good   REL.ABS/3SG.H.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-IPF
        sará   *bzə́j*   *s-g'ə-j-b-əw-m*
        1SG   good   1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.ERG-see-IPF-NEG
        'The teacher whose wife I like does not like me.' (Rossius 2017: ex. 18)

Time, place and manner adverbials can also be relativized by means of special adverbial relativization prefixes described in §3.6.9, see examples in (238).

(238) a. [* q̇ajdəχʷ–bašnja*   **ʔa-kʷ-gəl-əw**]   *a-haʕa-ra*
        PN–tower(R)   REL.LOC-LOC-stand-PRS.NPST   DEF-high-NML
        h-qa-l-ṭ
        1PL.ABS-LOC-go.in(AOR)-DCL
        'We climbed the hill where the Adiyukh tower stands.' (Abazašta 2017)

     b. ***j-an-ʕa-s-da-hʷ-wa-z***   *š'arda-n*
        3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-1SG.IO-LOC-succeed-IPF-PST.NFIN   many-PST
        'There were many times when I was lucky.' (AbPo)

     c. *awa-sa*   *ak̇ʷ-ṗ*   [*jənǯ'əg'.č'k̇ʷən-g'əj*   **j-š-ʕa-jə-z**]
        DIST.ADV   COP-NPST.DCL   PN-ADD   3PL.ABS-REL.MNR-CISL-go-PST.NFIN
        'That's how they came to Inzhich-Chukun.' (Abazašta 2017)

In those cases when the construction contains several personal prefixes co-indexed with the relativized argument, all of them must be substituted by the relative prefix in all relativization-based structures (cf. O'Herin 2002: 264–265). This occurs in indirect object reflexive constructions (239a), in constructions with adnominal possession (239b) and even in multi-clausal constructions (240a). Note that if one of the "subordinate" personal prefixes is not changed into the relative one, only the referentially disjoint interpretation is possible (240b), in contrast to constructions without relativization (240c).

(239) a. *awəj*   *z$_i$-**zə**$_i$-r-də́r-wa-z-**da**?*
        DIST   **REL.IO-REL.ERG**-CAUS-know-IPF-PST.NFIN-QH
        'Who learned that?' (E)

     b. *áẑa-ĉ-kʷa$_i$*   *z$_i$-qa*   *z$_i$-zə́-nq̇ʷə-m-ga-χ-kʷa-wa*
        DEF+old-NPRO-PL   REL.IO-head   REL.IO-POT-LOC-NEG-carry-RE-PL-IPF
        'The old ones, who cannot take care of themselves (lit. carry their head around) any more.' (T)

(240) a. **j**_{i/*j}-*sə́-c-na-jə-rnəs*   *jə-z*_i-*taq-ə́w-da?*
      REL.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-TRAL-go-PURP   3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-need-PRS.NFIN-QH
      'Who wants to go with me?' (E)

   b. **d**_{j/*i}-*sə́-c-na-jə-rnəs*   *jə-z*_i-*taq-ə́w-da?*
      3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-TRAL-go-PURP   3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-need-PRS.NFIN-QH
      'Who_i wants him/her_{j/*i} to go with me?' (E)

   c. **d**_{i/j}-*sə́-c-na-jə-rnəs*   *jə-l*_i-*taqə́-b*
      3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-TRAL-go-PURP   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-need-NPST.DCL
      i. 'She wants to go with me.'
      ii. 'She wants him/her to go with me.' (E)

Elements of certain embedded clauses can also be relativized, see the complement of the modal 'must' in (241) showing the same pattern as described for questions in §4.3.3.

(241) [**s-ʔa-ʕa-čá-s-ra**   *a-taq-χá-z*]   *j-sə-m-də́r-wa-ta*
     1SG.ABS-REL.LOC-CISL-hit-MSD   3SG.N.IO-need-INC-PST.NFIN   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-NEG-know-IPF-ADV
   'I didn't know where I had to stop.' (T)

4.4.2. Complementation

There are numerous strategies of marking sentential complements, determined partly by their semantics and partly by the matrix verb. The following description, largely based on Letuchiy (2018), is very preliminary and mainly just lists the attested patterns. The normal position of the complement clause is before the main clause, however, the opposite order is also found, both in elicitation and in texts, see (246b) below.

– Bare (imperfective) complements without any tense or subordination markers are primarily attested with phasal verbs ('begin', 'finish') (242a), but also with verbs like 'get used to' (242b), 'get tired of' and 'learn'. The bare form in complement clauses can also attach the converb suffix *-mca* (242c). When embedded under the imperative form of 'begin', the bare form of transitive verbs can lack the 2SG ergative prefix (242d).

(242) a. **h-ʒca-wá**   *h-á-la-ga-ṭ*
      1PL.ABS-swim-IPF   1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
      'We started swimming.' (T)

   b. *azamát* [*zəmʕʷa-g'ə́j* **j-ʕá-j-pš-wa**]
      PN   all-ADD   3PL.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.IO-look-IPF
      d-á-š'ca-ṭ
      3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-get.used(AOR)-DCL
      'Azamat got used to everyone looking at him.' (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 2)

   c. [*awat*   **s-č'pa-wa-mca**]   *č-a-s-rə-š'ca-n*
      DIST.PL   1SG.ERG-do-IPF-CVB   RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-get.used(AOR)-PST
      'I got used to making them (i.e. knitting socks).' (T)

   d. [*w-dájrs-kʷa*   *(w-)č'pa-wá*]   *w-á-la-ga*
      2SG.M.IO-assignment-PL   (2SG.M.ERG-)do-IPF   2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(IMP)
      'Start doing your homework!' (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 79)

– The masdar in *-ra* is the primary means of marking irrealis complements and occurs with verbs like 'want', 'must' (243a) and 'like' (243b), but also with phasal verbs (243c). In all such cases both the verbal masdar with full verbal cross-reference (243a) and nominal masdar with possessive or definiteness marking (243b,d) or even without any marking (243c) is possible, and the choice between the two strategies is not yet fully understood. The nominal masdar can also denote definite events and thus occur with factive verbs as well (243d).

(243)a.   [*a-garod*   **h-χč'a-ra**]   *a-taqə-n*
          DEF-orchard(R)   1PL.ERG-guard-MSD   3SG.N.IO-need-PST
          'We had to guard the orchard.' (T)

      b.   **a-qʷamar-ra**   *h-qnaχə-n*
          DEF-play-MSD   1PL.ABS-like-PST
          'We liked to play.' (T)

      c.   **č-ḳʷaba-rá**   *h-a-l-gá-ṭ*
          RFL.ABS-bathe-MSD   1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.ELAT-finish(AOR)-DCL
          'We finished bathing.' (T)

      d.   [*a-phʷə́spa*   **l-las–ʕá-j-ra**]   *s-aj-gʷərʁ'-ə́j-ṭ*
          DEF-girl   3SG.F.IO-quick–CISL-go-MSD   1SG.ABS-SOC-rejoice-PRS-DCL
          'I rejoice at the girl's quick coming.' (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 58)

     – The purposive in *-(r)nəs* also marks irrealis complements with modal verbs like 'want' (244a) and deontic 'must' as well as with the verbs 'hope' (244b), 'fear' (244c), 'like' and manipulative verbs like 'ask' and 'order' (244d).

(244) a.   *sará*   *j-ŝ-á-s-hʷə-rnəs*   *j-s-taqə́-ṗ*
          1SG   3SG.N.ABS-2PL.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PURP   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-want-NPST.DCL
          s-š-a.rə́.pχ'a-ʕʷ-χa-z
          1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-teach-NAG-INC-PST.NFIN
          'I'd like to tell you how I became a teacher.' (T)

      b.   *sarátov* *s-ca-ṭ*   [*a-pχ'a-rá*   **sə-çá-lə-rnəs**]
          Saratov(R) 1SG.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL   DAT-learn-MSD   1SG.ABS-LOC-go.in-PURP
          s-gʷə́ʁa-ta
          1SG.ABS-hope-ADV
          'I went to Saratov hoping to enter studies.' (T)

      c.   **h-rə-χa-m-ʒa-rnəs**   *h-ŝ-əj-ṭ*
          1PL.ABS-3PL.IO-LOC-NEG-reach-PURP   1PL.ERG-fear-PRS-DCL
          'We fear not being able to fulfill them.' (Abazašta 2017)

      d.   *zalə́jna*   *aslán*   *d-jə́-hʷa-ṭ*
          PN   PN   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask(AOR)-DCL
          [*a-tʒá.kʷ*   **j-rə́-taraz-χ-nəs**]
          DEF-roof   3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-right-RE-PURP
          'Zalina asked Aslan to fix the roof.' (E)

     – The adverbial *-ta* occurs on indirect speech complements of verbs of speech (245a) and with negated verbs of cognition (245b) and modality (245c).

(245) a.   *azamát*   *j-hʷa-ṭ*   [*j-χaĉ-kʷá*   **j-č'pá-ta**]
          PN   3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL   3SG.M.IO-assignment-PL   3SG.ERG-do-ADV
          'Azamat said that he had done his homework.' (E)

      b.   *jə-g'-sə-z-də́r-χ-wa-m*
          3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-RE-IPF-NEG
          [*a.rə́.pχ'a-ʕʷ-ĉa*   *ḳára-zə-n*   **j-ʕa-χ'ŝá-ta**]
          DEF+teach-NAG-PLH   some-one-time   3PL.ABS-CISL-be.late-ADV
          'I don't remember the teachers ever coming late.' (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 84)

      c.   **w-a-m-aj-gʷərʁ'-əw-š-ta**   *j-g'-aʔa-m*
          2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-NEG-SOC-rejoice-IPF-FUT-ADV   3PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-be-NEG
          'It is impossible not to be happy about it.' (Abazašta 2017)

     – Relativization is used in complements denoting open propositions with variables ("indirect questions") (246a,b).

(246) a. [*a-ʒə́* *j-hə-z-ná-χa-z*] *g'ə-r-də́ra-m*
DEF-water REL.ABS-1PL.IO-BEN-3SG.N.ERG-do-PST.NFIN NEG.EMP-3PL.ERG-know-NEG
'They don't know what water did to us.' (T)

b. *j-də-r-b-ə́w-šə-n* *j-hʷa-d*
3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-CAUS-see-IPF-FUT-PST 3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
[*sə-z-pχ'á-z,* *s-š-á-pχ'a-z,*
1SG.ABS-REL.IO-learn-PST.NFIN 1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-3SG.N.IO-learn-PST.NFIN
sə-z-zə́-na-ʒa-z]
1SG.ABS-REL.IO-BEN-TRAL-reach-PST.NFIN
'They wanted to show them, he said, what I had learnt, how I had learnt, what I had achieved.' (T)

– Manner relativization in *š-*, on the other hand, is a prominent means of forming propositional complements with a wide range of matrix predicates, both factive like 'know' (247a) or 'be happy' and non-factive like 'say' (247b), 'think' or 'doubt' (247c), as well as perception verbs (247d).

(247) a. *wará* *jə-w-dər-ə́w-z-ma*
2SG.M 3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-know-IPF-PST.NFIN-Q
[*azamát* *w-tʒə́* *d-š-bzáz-əw-z*]*?*
PN 2SG.M.IO-house 3SG.H.ABS-REL.MNR-live-IPF-PST.NFIN
'Did you know that Azamat had lived in your house?' (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 8)

b. [*azamát* *č'áqʷa* *šə-j-χʷ ʕa-χ'á-z*]
PN bread REL.MNR-3SG.M.ERG-buy-IAM-PST.NFIN
ʕa-s-á-j-hʷ-ṭ
CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
'Azamat told me he had already bought bread.' (E)

c. [*wẑə-g'əj* *jə-z.nə-m-ḳʷa* *ara.ʔa* *h-ʕa-jə-rnəs*
now-ADD 3SG.N.ABS-once-NEG-CVB.NEG PROX.LOC 1PL.ABS-CISL-go-PURP
š-h-taq-χ-əw-š] *k'ang'aš* *g'-a-la-m*
REL.MNR-1PL.IO-want-INC-IPF-FUT doubt NEG.EMP-3SG.N.IO-be.in-NEG
'There is no doubt that we would like to return here again.' (Abazašta 2017)

d. [*abaza–bəẑŝa-la* *dara* *š-ĉaẑa-wa*] *h-a-z-ʒərʕʷ-wa-n*
Abaza–language-INS 3PL REL.MNR-speak-IPF 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-listen-IPF-PST
'We were listening how they spoke the Abaza language.' (Abazašta 2017)

Locative relativization in *ʔa-* is also used to mark complementation, but is more restricted than manner relativization, e.g. does not occur with 'know' (248a), however, is attested with such factive predicates as 'it is good that' (248b), 'be upset' or 'rejoice' (248c).

(248) a. *#jə-z-dər-ə́j-ṭ* [*waχ'ĉá* *j-ʔa-pχaʕʷ-əw*]
3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-PRS-DCL today 3SG.N.ABS-REL.LOC-warm-PRS.NFIN
'I know where (*that) it is warm today.' (cf. Letuhiy 2018: ex. 13)

b. *j-bzə́j-ṗ* [*waχ'ĉá* *j-ʔa-pχaʕʷ-əw*]
3SG.N.ABS-good-NPST.DCL today 3SG.N.ABS-REL.LOC-warm-PRS.NFIN
'It's good that today is warm.' (Letuchiy 2018: ex. 14)

c. [*a-waʕa* *r-crəj–bəẑŝa-la* *bzəj-ta* *j-ʔa-ĉaẑa-wa*]
DEF-people 3PL.IO-native–language-INS good-ADV 3PL.ABS-REL.LOC-speak-IPF
w-a-m-aj-gʷərʁ'-əw-š-ta *j-g'-aʔa-m*
2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-NEG-SOC-rejoice-IPF-FUT-ADV 3PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-be-NEG
'It is impossible not to be happy about the people speaking their native language well.' (Abazašta 2017)

The locative relativization can optionally attach the postposition *aqaz(la)* 'because' when occurring with verbs with an emotional or evaluative component like 'be angry', 'be upset' (249a) or 'praise' (249b).

(249) a.   *fatə́jma*   *l-gʷə*   *j-a-s-ṭ*
          PN   3SG.F.IO-heart   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-hit(AOR)-DCL
          [*l-aš'á*   ***d-ʔa-ló-də-m-sələ-z***   *(a-qaz)*]
          3SG.F.IO-brother   3SG.H.ABS-REL.LOC-3SG.F.IO-LOC-NEG-touch-PST.NFIN   3SG.N.IO-for
          'Fatima got upset because her brother did not visit her.' (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 20)

     b.   *máma*   *azamát*   *d-lə-r-čqʷá-ṭ*
          mum   PN   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-be.praised(AOR)-DCL
          [***d-ʔa-l-c-qráʕa-z***   *(á-qaz)*]
          3SG.H.ABS-REL.LOC-3SG.F.IO-COM-help-PST.NFIN   3SG.N.IO-for
          'Mum praised Azamat for having helped her.' (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 18)

– Nonveridical (simulative) nominalization in *-ŝa* refers to imaginary events and occurs in complements of verbs of seeming or pretending, usually with the matrix verb 'see', cf. (250a) and (150) in §3.6.9, but in fact with a broader range of verbs, cf. (250b).

(250) a.   [*a-mŝ*   *a-çla*   ***jə-z-qa-mə-l-wa-š-ŝa***]   *j-ba-n*
          DEF-bear   DEF-tree   3SG.N.ABS-POT-LOC-NEG-climb-IPF-FUT-SML   3SG.M.ERG-see-PST
          'It seemed to him that the bear would not be able to climb the tree.' (lit. he saw as though...) (Tabulova 1976: 171)

     b.   [*zəmʕʷa-g'ə́j*   ***jə-b-dór-wa-z-ŝa***]   *b-ĉáẑ-əj-ṭ*
          all-ADD   3PL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-know-IPF-PST.NFIN-SML   2SG.F.ABS-speak-PRS-DCL
          'You speak as though you knew everything.' (E)

– The quotative complementizer *hʷa* follows direct speech complements with speech verbs (181a) above, (251a) and some emotional predicates, like 'be afraid' (251b)

(251) a.   [*arə́j* *anglíska-la*   *j-a-l-ró-pχ'-əw-š-ṭ*]   ***hʷa***
          DIST   English(r)-INS   3PL.ABS-DAT-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-learn-IPF-FUT-DCL   QUOT
          j-ʕa-s-á-j-hʷ-l-əw-n
          3SG.N.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say-HAB-IPF-PST.DCL
          'He would tell me that I (lit. "she") would become an English teacher.' (T)

     b.   [*á-š'tanĉ*   *ʕa-só-s-wa-š-ṭ*]   ***hʷa***   *s-a-ĉ-ŝ-ój-ṭ*
          DEF-snake   CISL-1SG.IO-hit-IPF-FUT-DCL   QUOT   1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DCL
          'I'm afraid that a snake will bite me.' (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 25)

A very special case is constituted by the verb *ʒ-š'a-* 'seem', which forms a single word with the head of its complement (morphologically bound complementation, see Panova 2019, 2020 for a detailed description). The two verbs retain independent argument structures and temporal reference and can be separately modified by adverbials (252a,b).

(252) a.   [*s-z-á-la-nəq́ʷa-wa*]–*ʒə-j-š'a-ṭ*
          1SG.ABS-POT-3SG.N.IO-LOC-walk-IPF–LOC-3SG.M.IO-seem(AOR)-DCL
          'It seemed to him that I could go there.' (T)

     b.   *sara*   *jacə*   [*wara*   ***waχ'ĉa***   *χabajz*
          1SG   yesterday   2SG.M   today   PN
          wə-c-əw-š]–*ʒ-s-š'-əw-n*
          2SG.M.ABS-go-IPF-FUT–LOC-1SG.IO-seem-IPF-PST
          'Yesterday I thought you would go to Xabez today.' (Panova 2019c: ex. 22)

That the two verbs form a single morphological complex is evidenced by negation and adverbial relativization, which both apply to the construction as a whole, i.e. their prefixal

parts attach to the left of the dependent verb's stem and not of that of the matrix, cf. (253) and (254) contrasting morphologically bound and ordinary complementation.

(253) a. *sara*   [*d-ʕa-j-ta*]   ***g'-qa-s-ç-əw-m***
          1SG   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-go-ADV   NEG-LOC-1SG.ERG-believe-IPF-NEG
          'I don't believe he came.' (Panova 2019: ex. 16)

      b.   [*awəj*   *d-**g'**-ʕa-j*]–*ʒə-s-š'-əw-**m***
          DIST   3SG.H.ABS-NEG-CISL-go–LOC-1SG.IO-seem-IPF-NEG
          'I don't think he came.' (Panova 2019: ex. 17)

(254) a.   [[*d-š-psə-z*]   ***anə-l-ba***]
          3SG.H.ABS-REL.MNR-die-PST.NFIN   REL.TMP-3SG.F.ERG-see
          d-ĉəwa   *d-a-la-ga-ṭ*
          3SG.H.ABS-cry+IPF   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
          'When she saw that he had died, she started crying.' (Panova 2019: ex. 18)

      b.   [[*d-**an**-psə*]–*ʒə-l-š'a*]
          3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-die–LOC-3SG.F.IO-seem
          d-ĉəwa   *d-a-la-ga-ṭ*
          3SG.H.ABS-cry+IPF   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
          'When she thought he had died, she started crying.' (Panova 2019: ex. 19)

      Recursive embedding of complement clauses is well-attested, see (255) from a spontaneous oral narrative.

(255) [[[*indéjec-kʷa*   *š-ʕa-hʷ-wá*   *j-š-bzáza-wa*]
      Indian(R)-PL   REL.MNR-CISL-dance-IPF   3PL.ABS-REL.MNR-live-IPF
      s-a-pš-rá]   *s-taqə́-ta*]   *j-hʷa-d*
      1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-look-MSD   1SG.IO-want-ADV   3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
      'He said he wanted to watch how Amercian Indians danced and lived.' (T)

      There is no evidence of any special behaviour of control constructions as opposed to other complementation patterns, neither is there any evidence of raising structures. Control of the lexical reflexive in a complement clause by the matrix subject is not ungrammatical, but dispreferred, cf. (256), which only three of six consultants accepted.

(256) *aslan*ᵢ   [*rəwslan*ⱼ   ***j***ᵢ/ⱼ-***qa***   *d-a-z-ʒərʕʷə-rnəs*]
      PN   PN   3SG.M.IO-head   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-listen-PURP
      j-a-j-hʷ-ṭ
      3SG.M.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
      'Aslan told Ruslan to listen to himself (=Ruslan / %=Aslan).' (Durneva 2020: 21–22)

     4.4.3. Adverbial clauses

      Adverbial relations are mainly marked by general and specialized converbs as well as by adverbial relativization, see §3.6.9 for greater detail. Normally, adverbial clauses precede the main clause, but they may also be center-embedded, as in (257c), and occur to the right, as in (258b).

      Temporal clauses are primarily marked by the temporal relativization in *an-*, often with the grammaticalized nominal *ásqan* 'time' (257a,d). Depending on the temporal form of the verb, this construction can indicate either simultaneity (257a) or precedence (257b) with respect to the event of the main verb. Importantly, when the matrix cause refers to the future, the temporal relativization also takes the non-finite future suffix (257c), which also apparently occurs in habitual contexts as well (257d).

(257) a.   [***d-an-ʕa-h-á-ĉaẑ-əw-z***   *ásqan*]
                3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-1PL.IO-SOC-speak-IPF-PST.NFIN   DEF+time
                ará.sa   *awə́j*   *a-pš*   *ʕʷ-ʕa.nšá.ra–čət-ḳ*   *j-hʷá-d*
                PROX.ADV   DIST   3SG.N.IO-similar   two-event–piece-UNIT   3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
                'While he talked to us, he told us two stories.' (T)

     b.   [*dawƶatmə́rza-g'əj*   ***d-an-psə́***]
                PN-ADD   3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-die(AOR)
                awá.ʔa   *də-r-gá-n*   *də́-ça-r-ça-χ-ṭ*
                DIST.LOC   3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-carry-PST   3SG.H.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-put-RE(AOR)-DCL
                'When Doljatmurza also died, they brought him there and buried.' (T)

     c.   *abaza–bəzŝa*   [*skʷšə-ŝ-ḳ*   ***an-a-qə-ç-ra-g'əj***]
                Abaza–language   year–hundred-UNIT   REL.TMP-3SG.N.IO-LOC.ELAT-pass-FUT.NFIN-ADD
                j-bzaz-əw-š-ṭ
                3SG.N.ABS-live-IPF-FUT-DCL
                'The Abaza language will live even when a hundred years have passed.' (Aba-zašta 2017)

     d.   [*a-šə́la-la*   ***j-anə́-w-ḳʷha-ra***   *ásqan*]
                DEF-flour-INS   3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-2SG.M.ERG-knead-FUT.NFIN   DEF+time
                j-wə-m-rə́-baʁ'a-n
                3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-NEG-CAUS-hard-IMP.NEG
                'When you knead with flour, don't make (the dough) hard.' (T)

Other means of encoding temporal clauses include the unmarked form (258a), the adverbial form in *-ta* (258b), the converb in *-mca* (258c), as well as the realis conditional (142c) and the general conditional (258d). Expressions of more specialized temporal relations ('while', 'as soon as', 'until' etc.) have been described in §3.6.9.

(258) a.   ***s-a-z-qʷəc-wa***   *s-ẑəl-ç-d*
                1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-think-IPF(NFIN)   1SG.ABS-LOC-pass(AOR)-DCL
                'I went away, thinking about it.' (T)

     b.   *ár.sa*   *h-š'ṭá-zl-əw-š-ma*   [*zə-ḳ-g'əj*   *h-á-m-qʷa-wa-ta*]
                PROX.ADV   1PL.ABS-lie-DYN-IPF-FUT-Q   one-INDF-ADD   1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-NEG-bend-IPF-ADV
                'Shall we keep lying like that doing nothing?' (T)

     c.   [*jə-pəc-kʷa*   ***jə-çə-r-χ-wa-mca.ra***]
                3SG.M.IO-tooth-PL   3PL.ABS-LOC.ELAT-3PL.ERG-take-IPF-CVB
                asḳolḳa-kʷa   *ʕa-qa-r-gəl-χ-ṭ*
                DEF.fragment(R)-PL   CISL-LOC-3PL.ERG-stand-RE(AOR)-DCL
                'While taking out his teeth they removed the fragments (of the missile).' (T)

     d.   [*a-rqa*   ***s-ʕá-j-χə-rḳʷən***]   *h-aj-ĉáẑ-əw-n*
                DEF-field   1SG.ABS-CISL-go-RE-COND   1PL.ABS-REC.IO-talk-IPF-PST
                'When I went back from the field we used to talk to each other.' (T)

Conditional clauses are marked by the realis conditional (259a) and by the general conditional; the latter can be used to mark realis conditionals (259b) and irrealis and counterfactual conditionals. In the latter case it is either preceded or followed by the non-finite past marker (260a,b), and the main clause verb appears in the subjunctive. The irrealis conditionals do not mark temporal reference and are compatible with various temporal interpretations, cf. (260a) with the explicit past time adverbial and (260b), which can be both (past) counterfactual and (future) hypothetical. By contrast, the realis conditional marks tense in a regular way for non-finite forms, with the exception of the past, see §3.6.9.

(259) a. [s-zə-r-pχ'a-z   j-tagʷẑa   **d-pšʒa-ztən**]
1SG.ABS-REL.ERG-CAUS-spend.night-PST.NFIN   3SG.M.IO-spouse   3SG.H.ABS-beautiful-COND.REAL
mca-ta   *s-a-la-ŝ-əj-ṭ*
fire-ADV   1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-burn-PRS-DCL
'If the wife of my host is beautiful, I am ignited.' (AbPo)

    b. [a-bəzŝa-kʷa   **d-də-r-dərə-rkʷən**]   rəca   sabap   a-la-ta
DEF-language-PL   3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-CAUS-know-COND   more   use   3SG.N.IO-be.in-ADV
'that it is more useful if they learn languages...' (Abazašta 2017)

(260) a. [jacə́   s-ába   **d-áʔa-zə-rḳʷən**]
yesterday   1SG.IO-father   3SG.H.ABS-be-PST.NFIN-COND
sə-j-zə́-na-šal-wa-šə-n
1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-BEN-TRAL-go-IPF-FUT-PST
'If my father had been at home yesterday, I would have visited him.' (E)

    b. **w-psə́-zə-rkʷənə-z**   sar-g'ə́j   s-ps-wá-šə-n
2SG.M.ABS-die-PST.NFIN-COND-PST.NFIN   1SG-ADD   1SG.ABS-die-IPF-FUT-PST
'If you (had) died, I would die / would have died, too.' (E)

Concessive and concessive conditional clauses have been described in §3.6.9. They have not been studied in sufficient detail yet.

Reason clauses are marked by temporal relativization with the suffix *-zara*:

(261) *wẑə-g'əj*   *jə-g'-rəcha-m*   [*jə-w-taq-əw*   *zəmʕʷa*
now-ADD   3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-poor-NEG   REL.ABS-2SG.N.IO-want-PRS.NFIN   all
anə-w-z-a-la-hʷa-wa-zara]
REL.TMP-2SG.M.IO-POT-3SG.N.IO-INS-say-IPF-RSN
'It (the Abaza language) isn't poor now either, since one can say whatever one wants in it.' (AbRus)

Cause and purpose clauses are marked by the purposive converb (262a), by reason relativization (156a,b), and by the postposition *á-qaz-la* 'because' attaching to the locative relativization (262b), purposive converb (262c), or masdar (262d).

(262) a. *j-ʕa-wə-r-š't-d*   [*bzaza-rta-š'ta*
3PL.ABS-CISL-LOC-3PL.ERG-send(AOR)-DCL   live-NLOC-SUF
j-ʕa-rə-qʷ-əw-š   *j-a-zə-pšʕa-rnəs*]
REL.ABS-CISL-3PL.ERG-bend-IPF-FUT   3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-search-PURP
'They sent them to look for a place suitable for them to live.' (AbRus)

    b. [*a-bzaza-ʕʷ-ĉa*   *a-ġabardəja–haž'rat-kʷa*   **ʔa-ġa-r-ĉaχə-z**
DEF-live-NAG-PLH   DEF-Kabardian–abrek-PL   REL.LOC-LOC-3PL.ERG-hide-RE-PST.NFIN
a-qaz-la]   *jermolov*   *a-kət*   *a-la-j-rə-qʷaša-ṭ*
3SG.N.IO-for-INS   Yermolov(R)   DEF-village   3SG.N.IO-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-break(AOR)-DCL
'Yermolov destroyed the village because its inhabitants hid some Kabardian abreks.' (AbRus)

    c. [*a-skʷš–čəc*   **də-r-λaṗa-nəs**   **a-qaz-la**]
DEF-year–new   3PL.ERG-CAUS-worthy-PURP   3SG.N.IO-for-INS
a-tʒə   *j-na-šal-χ-əj-ṭ*
DEF-house   3PL.ABS-TRAL-go-RE-PRS-DCL
'They return home in order to celebrate the New Year.' (AbRus)

    d. [*aspirantura*   **də-ça-l-ra**   **a-qaz-la**]   *ekzamen*
graduate.studies(R)   3SG.H.ABS-LOC-go.in-MSD   3SG.N.IO-for-INS   exam(R)
'exams for the enrollment in graduate stiudies' (AbRus)

Manner clauses are expressed by manner relativization, often accompanied by the deverbal subordinator *apš(ta)* 'like':

(263) *awá.sa-mca.ra*   *j-hʷa-d*   [*j-šə-ẑ-ba-wá*
 DIST.ADV-CVB   3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL   3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-2PL.ERG-see-IPF
   á-pš-ta]   *s-dəna-də́w-χa-d*
 3SG.N.IO-similar-ADV   1SG.ABS-HES-big-INC(AOR)-DCL
 'In this way, he said, as you see, I became great.' (T)

4.5. Negation

Negation is morphologically expressed on predicates, see §3.6.7; there is no constituent negation. In order to express negation on nominals or their modifiers, relative clauses are used, cf. *j-pšʒa-m* á-ʕʷəĉʕʷəs REL.ABS-beautiful-NEG DEF-person 'the unpretty person', and negative adverbials are likewese negated converbs (264).

(264) *j-qara-m-ḳʷa*   *a-ž'awra*   *də-ça-ça-ta*
 3SG.N.ABS-distant-NEG-CVB.NEG   DEF-shadow   3SG.H.ABS-LOC-sit-ADV
   awat   *j-χč'-əw-n*
 DIST.PL   3SG.ERG-guard-IPF-PST.DCL
 'He sat not far away in the shadow and guarded (sheep).' (T)

When the negated element is focused, it becomes a negative predicate:

(265) *sara* *j-a-ta-s-ḳ-wa*   *j-g'-aẑanaqa-m,*   *aẑa-b*
 1SG   REL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-hold-IPF 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-sentence-NEG word-NPST.DCL
 'I translate not sentences but words.' (Lit., 'What I translate is not a sentence, (it) is a word.') (cf. Lander 2018: ex. 24)

There are negative polarity items formed by the additive marker -*g'əj*, see §§3.2.5, 3.4.6, which may be licensed both by local (266a) and matrix (266b) negation.

(266) a.   [*za.ẑ-g'əj*   *j-ʕa-mə-jə-wa-šə-z-ŝa*]   *jə-z-b-əj-ṭ*
        one-ADD   3PL.ABS-CISL-NEG-go-IPF-FUT-PST.NFIN-SML   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
        'It seems to me that nobody will come.' (E)

   b.   [*za.ẑ-g'əj*   *də-z-ba-rnəs*]   *g'-s-taqə-m*
        one-ADD   3SG.H.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PURP   NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-want-NEG
        'I don't want to see anybody.' (E)

4.6. Comparative constructions

The standard of comparison is marked with the postposition *acḳə́s* 'than', while the parameter of comparison can be optionally preceded by the elements *rə́ça* or *rahá* 'more' (267a–b), which are usually absent. The parameter of comparison may be a verb (267c), including a negated one (267d), as well as a noun (267e). Example (268a) below shows that the parameter can also be expressed by an idiomatic expression.

(267) a.   *a-qaça*   *j-š'a*   **acḳə́s** *jə-laʒ*   *rə́ça* *j-λaṗa-ṗ*
        DEF-man   3SG.M.IO-blood   than   3SG.M.IO-tear   more   3SG.N.ABS-worthy-NPST.DCL
        'Man's tears are worthier than his blood.' (AbRus)

   b.   *awə́j sa* *sə-šə-ʕʷ-wá*   **acḳə́s rahá** *lasə́-ta* *d-pχ'aʒ-ə́j-ṭ*
        DIST 1SG   1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-write-IPF   than   more   quick-ADV 3SG.H.ABS-count-PRS-DCL
        'He counts quicklier than I write.' (Romanova 2018: ex. 15)

   c.   *aẑa–ĉg'a*   *a-χə*   **acḳə́s** *j-saç'~waç'-əj-ṭ*
        DEF+word–evil   DEF-bullet   than   3SG.N.ABS-burn~RED-PRS-DCL
        'An evil word injures more than a bullet.' (AbRus)

d.   *zəmʕʷa*   ***r-acḳəs***   *bzəj*   *j-lə-m-b-əw-z*
    all   3PL.IO-than   good   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-NEG-see-IPF-PST.NFIN
    a-sabəj-kʷa   *an-də-r-ĉəwa-z*   *aḳʷə-n*
    DEF-child-PL   REL.TMP-3PL.ERG-CAUS-cry+IPF-PST.NFIN   COP-PST
    'What she disliked most of all was when children were made cry.' (AbRus)

e.   *awəj*   ***rə́ça***   *d-sə́-ʕʷza-ṗ*   *wará*   ***w-acḳə́s***
    DIST   more   3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-friend-NPST.DCL   2SG.M   2SG.M.IO-than
    'He is more my friend than you.' (E)

The elements *rə́ça* and *rahá* are more often used in absolute comparative constructions without a standard (268).

(268) a.   *há*   ***rə́ça***   *gʷə*   *z-wáça-kʷa-z*
    1PL   more   heart   REL.IO-be.inside-PL-PST.NFIN
    'we, who were more courageous' (lit. in whom there was more heart) (T)

b.   *a-dəwnaj*   *a-waça-la*   ***raha***   *j-bargʷ-əw*   *a-bəzŝa-kʷa*
    DEF-world   DEF-inside-INS   more   REL.ABS-hard-PRS.NFIN   DEF-language-PL
    'the most complex languages in the world' (Abazašta 2017)

Superlative constructions are expressed as comparative constructions with a generic or universal standard (267d), which can be inferred from the context (268b), or by means of the intensifying suffix *-ʒʒa* (269).

(269) *a-mgʼal–dəw-ʒʒa-ḳ*   *ʕa-rə-l-h-χə-n*
    DEF-millet.bread–big-INT-INDF   CISL-3PL.IO-LOC.ELAT-1PL.ERG-take-PST
'We chose the largest piece of millet bread.' (T)

4.7. Coordination and chaining

Coordination of noun phrases by means of additive suffixes and conjunctions has been described in §3.2.5 and §3.9. To this should be added a construction with the desemanticized noun *qa* 'head' used in non-exhaustive lists ('and so on', 'and the like'):

(270) *baraχló-kʷa-g'əj*   ***qa-g'ə́j***   *zəmʕʷá*   *j-rə́-ma-b*
    clothes(R)-PL-ADD   head-ADD   all   3PL.ABS-3PL.IO-have-NPST
'They have clothes and what not, everything.' (T)

For coordination of clauses by conjunctions see §3.9. Other means of clausal coordination include the use of additive markers on the first element of the conjoined clause (271a), often involving parallel structures with the same subject; the occurrence of the additive marker as a verbal prefix in slot –11 is also reported in grammars (271c) and discussed in Pazov (2019), but is not attested in our corpus. Regarding the use of the additive marker, it appears to serve as a means of discourse cohesion rather than coordination proper, since the clauses linked in this way need not be parallel or consecutive (271b).

(271) a.   ***a-minístr-g'əj***   *d-ʕa-j-χ-d,*
    DEF-minister-ADD   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-go-RE(AOR)-DCL
    sar-g'ə́j   *a-vóžd'*   *sə-j-jə́-tə-n*
    1SG-ADD   DEF-chief(R)   1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PST
    'The minister returned and gave me over to the chief.' (T)

b.   *awə́j*   *ásqan*   *awə́j*   *aχčʼa–dəw-n*   *š'ta*
    DIST   DEF+time   DIST   money–big-PST   PTCL
    'At that time it was a large sum of money, indeed.'

awə́-g'əj *ta-s-çá-χə-n*   *wẑə́*   *awə́j*   *šamíɫ*   *d-ʕá-jə-nӡək̕*
DIST-ADD   LOC-1SG.ERG-put-RE-PST   now   DIST   PN   3SG.H.ABS-CISL-go-UNTIL

s-a-z-pš-ə́j-ṭ   *sa ...*   *š'ta*
1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-wait-PRS-DCL   1SG   PTCL

'So I put it back and waited till Shamil came.'

š'až'ə́-ta-g'əj *s-ʕá-gəl-d*
early-ADV-ADD   1SG.ABS-CISL-stand.up(AOR)-DCL

'I woke up early.' (T)

    c.   ***wə-g'-ʕa-psa-ṭ,***   *a-χ'ta-g'əj*   *w-a-š'ə-ṭ*
          2SG.M.ABS-ADD-CISL-get.tired(AOR)-DCL   DEF-cold-ADD   2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-exhaust(AOR)-DCL
          'You are tired and frozen.' (Tabulova 1976: 282)

      Turning to clause chaining, in addition to the use of the additive marker as in (271b) it is normally achieved by the following means:

      – Adding the adverbial suffix *-ta* to the appropriate declarative form; this kind of marking is compatible with both successive events (272a) and simultaneous states (272b), and is possible with any tense form (see §3.6.9).

(272) a.   *awə́j*   *á-hʷspa-la*   *a-gʷə́*   ***j-a-ʕʷ-sə-r-sa-χ-ə́j-ṭ-ta***
          DIST   DEF-knife-INS   DEF-heart   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-CAUS-split-RE-PRS-DCL-ADV
          j-a-kʷ-sə-r-ç̂-ə́j-ṭ-ta...
          3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-CAUS-press-PRS-DCL-ADV
          'I cut it in two in the middle and then press (the parts) together.' (T)

    b.   ***h-χʷəcə-n-ta***   *a-qʷamar-ra*   *h-qnaχə-n*
          1PL.ABS-little-PST.DCL-ADV   DEF-play-MSD   1PL.ABS-like-PST.DCL
          'We were children and liked to play.' (T)

      – Marking the non-final clauses with the past marker *-n* (see §3.6.4); this strategy occurs mostly with successive events when the last clause is also in the past tense, though other tenses in the main clause are also attested (273a). Both same-subject (273a,b) and different-subject (273c) chains are possible.

(273) a.   [*awat*   *s-č'pa-wa-mca*   ***č-a-s-rə-š'ca-n***]
          DIST.PL   1SG.ERG-do-IPF-CVB   RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-get.used-PST
          [*wəẑ.ʕan-ӡa.ra-g'əj*   *j-s-č'p-əj-ṭ*   *awəj*   *nask'i*]
          this.time-LIM-ADD   3PL.ABS-1SG.ERG-do-PRS-DCL   DIST   socks(R)
          'I learnt to make them (i.e. knit socks) and make them till this time, socks.' (T)

    b.   [*r-qa-kʷá*   *zəmʕʷá*   *h-aχ'k̕á-la*   ***j-ʕa-d-r-áχa-n***]
          3PL.IO-head-PL   all   1PL.IO-side-INS   3PL.ABS-CISL-3PL.ERG-CAUS-turn-PST
          [*j-ʕa-š'ṭá.l-d*]
          3PL.ABS-CISL-lie.down(AOR)-DCL
          'Everyone turned their heads towards us and prostrated themselves.' (T)

    c.   [*a-cqa*   ***h-ca-n***]   [*awa.ʔa*   *h-š-ta-z*
          DEF-river   1PL.ABS-go-PST   DIST.LOC   1PL.ABS-REL.MNR-be.in-PST.NFIN
          a-nartəχʷ   *a-kʷṭəw-kʷa*   *j-qə-r-hʷə-l-ʕa-ṭ*]
          DEF-maize   DEF-hen-PL   3SG.N.ABS-LOC.ELAT-3PL.ERG-steal-LAT-ELAT(AOR)-DCL
          'We went to the river, and while we were there the hens ate the maize.' (T)

      Chaining of declarative clauses without any special marking is also attested, cf. (274a) with the aorist and (274b) with the imperfect.

(274) a.   *a-wandər*   ***h-a-kʷə-də-r-ç̂a-χ-ṭ***
          DEF-cart   1PL.ABS-3N.IO-LOC-3PL.ERG-CAUS-sit-RE(AOR)-DCL
          'They put us on a cart.'

anə-la   h-a-kʷ-də-r-c̣a-ṭ
MED-INS   1PL.ABS-3N.IO-LOC-3PL.ERG-CAUS-sit(AOR)-DCL
'They put us there.'

anə-la   hə-r-š'təj-ṭ   ḳartof   ʕa-h-qʷŝa-ṭ
MED-INS   1PL.ABS-3PL.ERG-send(AOR)-DCL   potato(R)   CISL-1PL.ERG-gather(AOR)-DCL
'They sent us there, and we gathered potatoes.' (T)

b. [*j-aba-kʷ-χ-wa-n   dar-g'əj*], [*j-amaḳ-wa-n   aj.baš'.ra-la*],
   3PL.ABS-REC.IO-LOC-take-IPF-PST   3PL-ADD   3PL.ABS-struggle-IPF-PST   war-INS
   [*jə-mč'əmqa-z   a-wʕa-ẑlara   pχ'a-r-c-əw-n   z.ǯ'a.ra-la*]
   REL.ABS-poor-PST.NFIN   DEF-people–society   LOC-3PL.ERG-drive-IPF-PST   somewhere-INS
   'They used to kill each other, fight in wars, drive poor nations into remote places.'
   (AbPo)

4.8. Locative, existential, possessive and non-verbal clauses

Locative and existential predication is mainly encoded by specialized locational predicates coinciding with certain locative preverbs; the object whose location or existence is described is the absolutive, while the location is an oblique object, which can be cross-referenced in the verb (275a), but may also remain unindexed (275b).

(275) a.   *s-ʔa-ca-z   a-front   d-a-la-ta*
            1SG.ABS-REL.LOC-go-PST.NFIN   DEF-front(R)   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-be.in-ADV
            'The (man) I married was at the battlefront...' (T)

b.   *a-ǯ'ə́p   hǻλa-ḳ   ta-n*
      DEF-pocket   heavy-INDF   be.in-PST
      'There was something heavy in my pocket.' (T)

Location and existence can also be expressed by the generic locative-existential verb *aʔa* 'be' with the same argument frame (276a,b):

(276) a.   *awat   jənǯ'əg'.č'ḳʷən–kət   ʕʷə–mč'ə.bəž'   j-aʔa-n*
            DIST.PL   PN–village   two–week   3PL.ABS-be-PST
            'They spent (lit. were) in Inzhich-Chukun two weeks.' (Abazašta 2017)

b.   *alláh   d-aʔa-ṗ*
      god   3SG.H.ABS-be-NPST.DCL
      'There is God.' (T)

Predicative possession is mainly expressed by the inverse stative verb *-ma-* 'hold, have' with the absolutive possessee and the possessor as the indirect object:

(277) a.   *pa–za.ẑə-ḳ   d-sə-ma-n*
            son–one-INDF   3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PST
            'I had one son.' (T)

b.   *á-ʕapən   ásqan   raχʷə́   g'-hə́-ma-χ-mə-z-ṭ*
      DEF-spring   3SG.N.IO+time   cattle   NEG.EMP-1PL.IO-have-RE-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
      'In spring we didn't have cattle anymore.' (T)

There are two types of non-verbal predication:

– Direct insertion of non-verbal lexical items or full nominal complexes into stative verbal morphology, see §3.1 (278a); this mechanism is absolutely productive with nouns and adjectives and more restricted with adverbs and quantifiers. Nominals with possessive prefixes and full nominal possessors (278b) as well as external heads of relative clauses (278c), see also §4.4.1, can occur in this construction.

(278) a.   *awát   rə́-bəzŝa   ábaza–bəzŝá-ṗ*
            DIST.PL   3PL.IO-language   Abaza.PL–language-NPST.DCL
            'Their language is Abaza.' (T)

b. *a-qaċa-kʷa*   ***wə-r-qaċa-ṗ***
DEF-man-PL   2SG.M.ABS-3PL.IO-man-NPST.DCL
'You are a man of men (i.e. an honourable man).' (AbPo)

c. *murat* [*j-argʷan-əw   a-wərám   j-bzaza-wa*]
PN   REL.ABS-close-PRS.NFIN   DEF-street   REL.ABS-live-IPF
d-č'rəq̇ʷ–č'pa-ʕʷ-b
3SG.H.ABS-shoe–make-NAG-NPST.DCL
'Murat is a shoe-maker who lives at the neighboring street.' (Yury Lander's field-notes)

– Construction with the copula *ak̇ʷ(a)*, which can take as its complement (cross-referenced as an indirect object) full-fledged noun phrases with (in)definiteness, plural and/or case markers and various modifiers (see §4.1) (279a), personal pronouns (279b), adverbials (279c), and even full clauses (279d) and direct speech (279e). The copula is used as a focus marker in pseudo-clefted structures, on which see §4.9.

(279) a. *sara   j-a-l-ḳ-ʕa-ta*   *sə-z-də-n-χa-l-wa*
1SG   3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.ELAT-hold-ELAT-ADV   1SG.ABS-REL.IO-LOC-LOC-work-LAT-IPF
[*mara-ʕa-ççə-rta–ḳavḳaz   a-waʕa.qa–bəzŝa-kʷa*]   ***r-ak̇ʷ-ṗ***
sun–CISL-rise-NLOC–Caucasus   3SG.N.IO-nation–language-PL   3PL.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
'What I am particularly working on is the languages of the East Caucasus.' (Aba-zašta 2017)

b. *sar-g'ə́j   **g'-s-ák̇ʷə-m**   kʷərmə́š   z-zə́-r-č'pa-wa*
1SG-ADD   NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-COP-NEG   bow   REL.IO-BEN-3PL.ERG-do-IPF
'It's not me before whom they make a bow.' (T)

c. *wŝə́   **ak̇ʷ-ṗ**   d-an-á-la-ga*
now   COP-NPST.DCL   3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)
'He has just started (lit. it is now when he started).' (T)

d. *har-g'ə́j   [ṭák̇ʷ   h-maš'-ə́w-ta]*   ***ák̇ʷə-n***   *h-š-aʔá-z*
1PL-ADD   little   1PL.ABS-hungry-PRS.NFIN-ADV   COP-PST   1PL.ABS-REL.MNR-be-PST.NFIN
'We were a little hungry (lit. how we were was a little hungry).' (T)

e. [*urožáj   báŝ-ta   j-č'pá   hʷá*]   ***ák̇ʷ-ṗ***
harvest(R)   rich-ADV   3SG.ABS-do(IMP)   QUOT   COP-NPST.DCL
sará   j-ʕa-nə́-s-š't-wa
1SG   REL.ABS-CISL-LOC-1SG.ERG-throw-IPF
'(they said: God) make a good harvest, — that's what I have in mind.' (T)

The copula shows special behaviour with respect to person marking (Lander 2017). First, the copula almost never takes absolutive prefixes, even though it is normally preceded by its indirect object complement. Second, although usually the indirect object prefix in the copula cross-references its predicative complement, as in (279a,b), it can also cross-reference the (absolutive) subject if it is higher than the complement on the person (280a) or number (280b) hierarchy.

(280) a. *sara   w-pa-ḳ   **s-ak̇ʷa-b** / ***j-ak̇ʷa-b***
1SG   2SG.M.IO-son-INDF   1SG.IO/*3SG.M.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
'I am one of your sons.' (Lander 2017: ex. 9)

b. *χʷ-mašəna-ḳ   a-kortež   **(r-)ak̇ʷ-b***
five-car(R)-INDF   DEF-convoy(R)   (3PL.IO-)COP-NPST.DCL
'Five cars are a convoy.' (Lander 2017: ex. 15)

4.9. Information structure

Topical elements are normally clause-initial and can be integrated (281a) or non-integrated into the overall structure of the clause and resumed by a pronoun (281b). According to Lander (2018), such resumption of non-integrated topics is obligatory (281c).

(281) a. *láwəw-rʕa   mhamatg'arɨ́j ...   a-h   j-pnɨ́   də-n-χ-əw-n ...*
PN-ASSPL   PN   DEF-king   3SG.M.IO-at   3SG.H.ABS-LOC-work-IPF-PST
'Mehmet-Girey Loov served the tsar.'

mhamatg'arɨ́j   *j-ʕa-jə-r-t-ṭ*   *ádg'əl ...*
PN   3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL   DEF+land
'They gave Mehmet-Girey land ...'

awɨ́j   **ádg'əl**   *j-ájš'-ĉa-kʷa*   *jɨ́-r-ĉa-d*
DIST   DEF+land   3SG.M.IO-brother-PLH-PL   3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-sit(AOR)-DCL
'On this land he settled his brothers.' (T)

b. *[áj.s.ra   j-ʔ-ɨ́w   j-phʷɨ́s]*
DEF+war   REL.ABS-be-PRS.NFIN   3SG.M.IO-woman
awɨ́j   *garód–ṭaḳʷ   ʕa-lɨ́-r-tə-n*
DIST   orchard(R)–little   CISL-3SG.F.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST
'A soldier's wife [the wife of the one who is at war], they gave her a small orchard.' (T)

c. *arɨ́j   a-χán –   *(arɨ́-la)   a-mčɨ́   a-pɨ́-s-χ-əj-ṭ*
PROX   DEF-saw   PROX-INS   DEF-wood   3SG.N.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-cut-PRS-DCL
'This saw, I saw wood with it.' (cf. Lander 2018: ex. 4,5)

Left-dislocated topics can also be marked by the realis conditional marker *-ztən*, attached either directly to the topicalized nominal (282a) or to the copula when the nominal is definite (282b).

(282) a. **j-š'tanĉə-ztən,**   *zəmʕʷa   ĉg'a-ta   sə-r-ĉ-ŝ-əj-d*
3PL.ABS-snake-COND.REAL   all   evil-ADV   1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DCL
'As to snakes, I awfully fear them all.' (Lander 2018: ex. 14)

b. *arɨ́j   á-š'ta-kʷa*   **r-áḳʷə-ztən,**   *a-ŝɨ́r   dəw-za-ṗ*
PROX   DEF-track-PL   3PL.IO-COP-COND.REAL   DEF-animal   big-INFR-NPST.DCL
'As to these (animal) tracks, the animnal must be big.' (Lander 2018: ex. 12)

Right-diclocated (anti)topics are also attested:

(283) *də-č'ḳʷɨ́n-ta*   *d-á-la-ga-ṭ*   **žantajmɨ́r–fəwʔád**
3SG.H.ABS-young-ADV   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL   PN–PN
'He started (his carreer) young, Dzhantemir Fuadov.' (T)

There are no special constructions for predicate and sentence focus. Normally the word order in such sentences is predicate-final, cf. sentence focus in (284a) and predicate focus in (284b). NPs introducing new referents can sometimes occur postverbally (284c), but this seems to be a marked option.

(284) a. *aj.kʷá–kastjúm-ḳ-g'əj   čɨ́c-ta   j-ḳ.na-há-n*
trousers–suit(R)-INDF-ADD   new-ADV   3SG.N.ABS-LOC-hang(RES)-PST
'There hung a new suit with trousers.' (T)

b. *wadərʕʷána   a-pajʕámbar   aláh   də-j-çʕá-ṭ*
then   DEF-prophet   god   3SG.H.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask(AOR)-DCL
'Then the prophet asked God.' (T)

c. *sará   d-sɨ́-cə-n-χ–əj-ṭ*   **χʷbəj–zója**
1SG   3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-LOC-work-PRS-DCL   PN–PN
'Zoya Khubieva works with me.' (T)

Argument focus is marked by means of pseudocleft constructions with the focused element marked as a predicate with or without the copula and the rest of the sentence relativized (on copular constructions see §4.8). The order of the focus and presupposition is not fixed, cf. focus – presupposition in (285a) and presupposition – focus in (285b).

(285) a. **babuška l-aḳʷ-ṗ** hara h-za-ʕza-χə-z
   granny(R) 3SG.F.IO-COP-NPST.DCL 1PL 1PL.ABS-REL.ERG-bring-up-RE-PST.NFIN
   'It is the granny who brought us up.' (T)

  b. *awa.ʔá j-ʕa-ta-χa-kʷá-z*   *ábaza-kʷa r-áḳʷa-ṗ*
   DIST.LOC REL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PL-PST.NFIN DEF+Abaza.PL-PL 3PL.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
   'Those who remained there are the Abaza.' (T)

The choice between the copular and non-copular construction depends on the definiteness of the focused element and on the semantics of the construction. In identifying focus with a definite focused element the copula is used (285), (286a), while in ascriptive focus, where a property rather than an entity is in focus, the predicate morphology is attached direcltly to the stem (286b).

(286) a. **awat aẑa-kʷa r-aḳʷa-b** sara j-s-hʷa-wa
   DIST.PL DEF+word-PL 3PL.IO-COP-NPST.DCL 1SG REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-say-IPF
   'What I am saying is these words.' (Lander 2018: ex. 22)

  b. **aẑa-kʷá-b** sara j-s-hʷa-wá
   word-PL-NPST.DCL 1SG REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-say-IPF
   'What I am saying is words.' (Lander 2018: ex. 23)

Both copular and copulaless focus constructions show syntactic properties distinguishing them from ordinary biclausal constructions. In particular, the focused element, morhologically marked as the predicate, can occupy the position appropriate for its syntactic role in a simple sentence, thus technically being embedded into the relative clause (287a); in such cases the focused element can retain morphological marking indicating its role in the corresponding simple clause (287b).

(287)a. *s-pa* **məwradəjn** *j-áḳʷa-ṗ*
   1SG.IO-son PN 3SG.M.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
   aχš ʕa-jə́-z-tə-z
   DEF+money CISL-3SG.M.IO-REL.ERG-give-PST.NFIN
   'It is Muradin who gave money to my son.' (Lander 2018: ex. 25)

  b. *ocenka* **awəj a-ručʼka-la** *aḳʷa-ṗ*
   mark(R) DIST DEF-pen(R)-INS 3SG.N.IO+COP-NPST.DCL
   j-z-la-sə-r-gə́l-wa
   3PL.ABS-REL.IO-INS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-stand-IPF
   'It is (with) this pen that I put marks with.' (Lander 2018: ex. 27)

5. Lexicon

The lexicon of Abaza is not sufficiently studied, apart from some works on borrowings (see e.g. Šagirov 1989, Xaratokova 2010, 2011, Xaratokova et al. 2015). Dictionaries include an Abaza-Russian dictionary (Tugov 1967, ca. 14 thousand words) and a Russian-Abaza dictionary Žirov & Ekba (1956, ca. 30 thousand words); there also exists an online dictionary based mainly on Tugov (1967), available at http://www.abazinka.ru/.

The main sources of borrowed lexical items have been Arabic (most probably through Turkic languages), from where come words having to do with Islam, and later Russian, which has contributed and continues to contribute numerous words (including internationalisms) dealing with modern material culture, administration, science and education. More interesting are the numerous borrowings from Circassian, more particularly, Kabardian (see Šagirov

1989: 43–58; Xaratokova 2011; Xaratokova et al. 2015: 125–186), covering such lexical fields as bodyparts (*dáma* 'wing, shoulder' < Kab. *dame*), names of animals and plants (*bag'* 'spider' < Kab. *beẑ'*, *q̇ʷadáma* 'branch' < Kab. *q̇ʷədame*), natural objects (*psə́hʷa* 'river valley' < Kab. *psəχʷe* 'river'), artifacts (*bḳən* 'wall' < Kab. id., *pajš'* 'room' < Kab. *peš*, *fač'ə́ʕʷ* 'sugar' < Kab. *fewšəʁʷ*), cultural objects (*warád* 'song' < Circ. *wered*), as well as more abstract vocabulary (*ṭaḳʷ* 'a little' < Kab. *ṭeḳʷ*, *haλa* 'burden, heavy' < Kab. *heλe*, *χʷəjt* 'free' < Kab. *xʷ-jə-t* BEN-LOC-stand 'free, have a right to'). As in other Northwest Caucasian languages, verbs are almost never borrowed as such, at least from unrelated languages (verbal borrowings from Circassian are attested, cf. *bzaχ-* 'disappear' < Circ. *bzex-*, *pərχ-* 'snore' < id.); although any lexical item can be converted into a stative verb in Abaza, dynamic verbal roots of foreign origin are either non-existent or very rare. Russian verbal loans follow the light verb strategy, being inserted in the infinitive together with the verb *čpa* 'do' bearing the appropriate verbal morphology:

(288) *dáže   a-mašə́na-kʷa **mešát'**   jə-r-č'p-ój-ṭ*
    even(R)   DEF-car(R)-PL   disturb(R)   3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-do-PRS-DCL
    'They (cows) even create obstacles for cars.' (T)

    Among remarkable features of the Abaza lexicon the rich system of verbs denoting 'going' and 'coming' deserves mention. This system, not yet understood in full detail, includes a considerable number of verbal roots. The basic verb of going, used without locative or directional preverbs and unmarked with respect to deixis, is *-ca-*; deictically oriented motion is encoded by the root *-jə-* always occurring with one of the deictic preverbs: *ʕa-j-ra* CISL-go-MSD 'come hither' vs. *na-j-ra* TRAL-go-MSD 'go thither'. Non-deictically oriented directed motion is expressed by the root *-ç-* 'pass', which can occur with locative preverbs, cf. *ʕa-l-ç-ra* CISL-LOC.ELAT-pass-MSD 'come out of'. Finally, the root *-šəl-*, lexicalized with the translocative preverb, expresses entering houses and rooms (*na-šəl-ra* 'go in').

6. Sample text

    Narrator: Fatima Bitovna Ajsanova (b. 1959), English teacher at Inzhich-Chukun school. Recorded in July 2017, length 00'56". Transcription and primary annotation: Aleksej Koševoy.

(1) *sará s-χ'ə́z   fatájma-ṗ*
    1SG 1SG.IO-name   Fatima-NPST.DCL
    'My name is Fatima.'

(2) *sará   j-ŝ-á-s-hʷə-rnəs   j-s-taqə́-ṗ*
    1SG   3SG.N.ABS-2PL.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PURP   3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-want-NPST.DCL
    s-š-a-rə́-pχ'a-ʕʷ-χa-z
    1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-3SG.N.IO-CAUS-learn-NAG-INC-PST.NFIN
    'I want to tell you how I became a teacher.'

(3) *sará s-an-χʷə́cə-z   s-án   l-aš'á*
    1SG   1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-little-PST.NFIN   1SG.IO-mother   3SG.F.IO-brother
    arə́j anglíska-la   j-a-l-rə́-pχ'-əw-š-ṭ   hʷá
    PROX   English(R)-INS   3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-learn-IPF-FUT-DCL   QUOT
    j-ʕa-s-á-j-hʷ-l-əw-n
    3SG.N.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say-HAB-IPF-PST
    'When I was a child, my mother's brother used to say (lit. to tell me) "She will teach English".'

(4) *sar-g'ə́j awə́j s-qá   j-ta-s-ḳə́-n*
    1SG-ADD   DIST   1SG.IO-head   3SG.N.ABS-LOC-1SG.ERG-hold-PST

á-pχ'a-rta　　　　　　　　*s-ʔá-ʒ-a-pχ'-əw-z-g'əj,*
DEF+3SG.N.IO-learn-NLOC　1SG.ABS-REL.LOC-LIM-3SG.N.IO-learn-IPF-PST.NFIN-ADD

s-an-ʕá-l-ga-g'əj　　　　　　　　　　　　*awə́j*　*ák̮ʷə-m-k̮ʷa*
1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-LOC.ELAT-carry(AOR)-ADD　DIST　3SG.N.IO+COP-NEG-CVB.NEG

za-k̮-g'ə́j　　　*g'-s-taqə́-mə-z-ṭ*
one-INDF-ADD　NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-want-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL

'I remembered it, and I also didn't want anything else while I attended school and after I had finished it.'

(5)　*á-pχ'a-rta*　　　　　　　*s-an-ʕá-l-ga*
　　　DEF+3SG.N.IO-learn-NLOC　1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-LOC.ELAT-carry(AOR)

　　　a-institut　　　　*s-cá-ṭ*
　　　DEF-college(R)　1SG.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL

　　　'When I finished school I went to college.'

(6)　*j-s-gʷapχa-ʒa-wá-ta*　　　　　　　*bzəj-ʒʒá*　*jə-z-ba-wá-ta*
　　　3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-like-INT-IPF-ADV　good-INT　3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-IPF-ADV

　　　s-á-pχ'a-ṭ
　　　1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-learn(AOR)-DCL

　　　'I liked to study very much.' (lit. I studied enjoying it greatly)

(7)　*á-pχ'a-rta*　　　　　　　*s-ʕa-l-g-əjš'tára*
　　　DEF+3SG.N.IO-learn-NLOC　1SG.ABS-CISL-LOC.ELAT-carry-SINCE

　　　skʷšə́　*ʕʷə-n-ʕʷa-ẑ-ə́j*　　　　*ẑ-ə́j-χ*　　　*çə́-ṭ*
　　　year　two-time-two-ten-ADD　ten-ADD-three　pass(AOR)-DCL

　　　'Since I had finished school, 53 years passed.' (This is an error, the speaker had in mind "33 years".)

(8)　*awəj.š'tára-g'əj*　*sará*　*á-pχ'a-rta*　　　　　　*a-sabə́j-kʷa*　*ang'lə́z–bəzŝa-la*
　　　DIST.since-ADD　1SG　DEF+3SG.N.IO-learn-NLOC　DEF-child-PL　English–language-INS

　　　j-a-s-rə́-pχ'-əj-d
　　　3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-learn-PRS-DCL

　　　'Since that time I have been teaching English to children at school.'

(9)　*sará*　*a-sabə́j-kʷa*　*bzə́j*　*jə-z-b-ə́j-ṭ*
　　　1SG　DEF-child-PL　good　3PL.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PRS-DCL

　　　sə-n-χá-rta-g'əj　　　　　　*bzəj-ʒʒá*　*jə-z-b-ə́j-ṭ*
　　　1SG.IO-LOC-work-NLOC-ADD　good-INT　3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PRS-DCL

　　　'I like children, and I like my work very much, too.'

Abbreviations

1 — 1st person; 2 — 2nd person; 3 — 3rd person; ABS — absolutive; ADD — additive; ADV — adverbial; AOR — aorist; ASSPL — associative plural; BEN — benefactive; CAR — caritive; CAUS — causative; CISL — cislocative; CLH — human numeral classifier; CLN — non-human numeral classifier; CNC — concessive; CNT — continuative; COM — comitative; COND — conditional; COP — copula; CVB — converb; DAT — dative applicative; DCL — de-

clarative; DEF — definite; DIR — directional; DIST — distal demonstrative; DISTR — distributive; DPRC — depreciative; DYN — dynamic; EACH — 'each time'; ELAT — elative; EMP — emphatic; ERG — ergative; EXC — excessive; F — feminine; FREQ — frequentative; FUT — future; H — human; HAB — habitual; HES — hesitation marker; IAM — iamitive; IMP — imperative; INC — inceptive; INDF — indefinite; INFR — inferential; INS — instrumental; INT — intensive; INVOL — involuntative; IO — indirect object; IPF — imperfective; ITR — intransitive; JUD — judicative; JUST — 'just'; LAT — lative; LIM — limitive; LOC — locative (preverb or suffix); M — masculine; MAL — malefactive; MED — medial demonstrative; MNR — manner; MSD — masdar; N — non-human; NAG — agent nominal; NEG — negation; NFIN — nonfinite; NINS — instrument nominal; NLOC — locative nominal; NML — nominalization; NMNR — manner nominal; NONDUM — 'not yet'; NPRO — nominal proform; NPST — nonpast; NTMP — temporal nominal; OPT — optative; PL — plural; PLH — human plural; PN — proper noun; POT — potential; PRM — permissive; PROX — proximal demonstrative; PRS — present; PST — past; PTCL — particle; PURP — purposive; Q — polar question; QADV — adverbial question; QH — human question; QN — non-human question; QUOT — quotative; R — Russian loan; RE — refactive; REAL — realis; REC — reciprocal; RED — reduplication; REL — relativizer; REP — repetitive; RES — resultative; RFL — reflexive; RSN — reason; SG — singular; SINCE — 'since'; SML — similative; SNG — singulative; SOC — sociative; ST — stative; SUF — suffix; TMP — temporal; TRAL — translocative; UNIT — numeral unit marker; UNTIL — 'until'.

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