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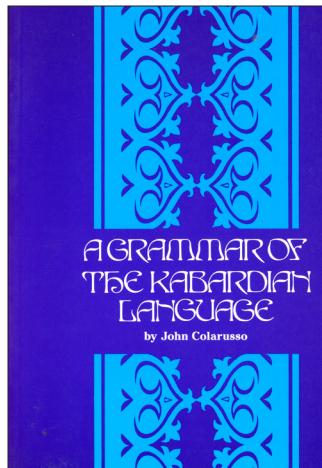
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## THE GRAMMAR OF THE KABARDIAN LANGUAGE

by John Colarusso

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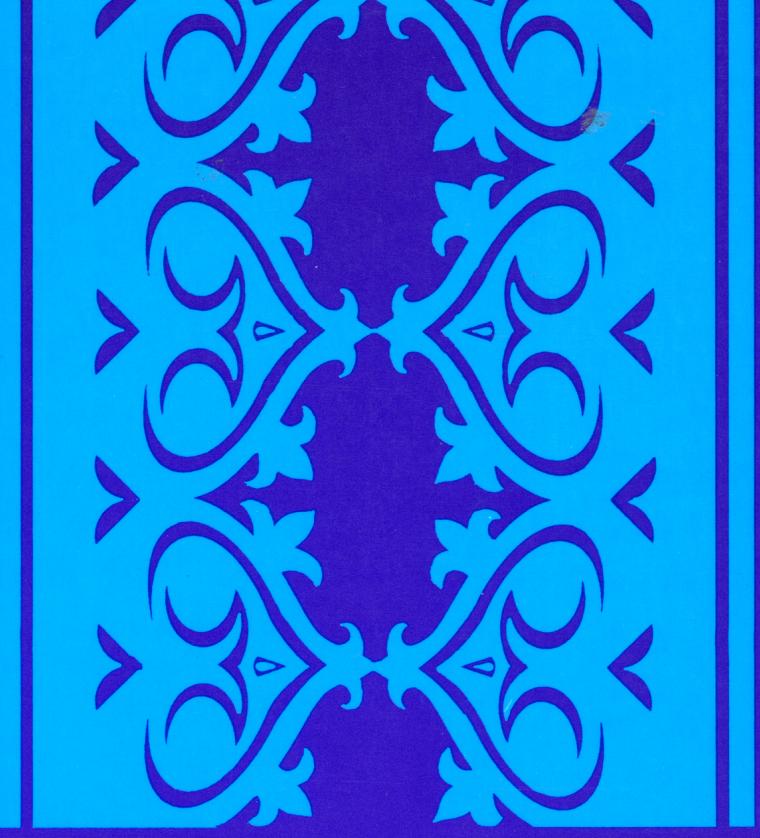
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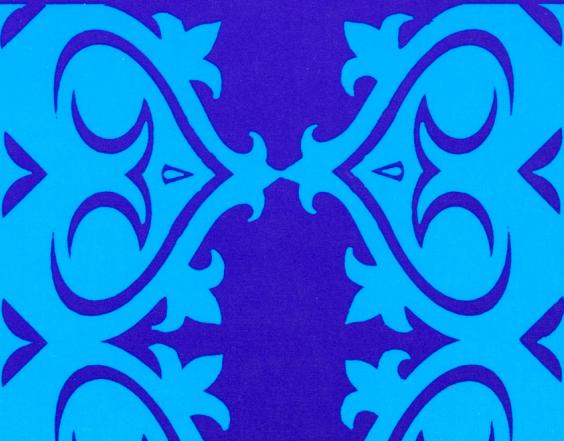
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*A Grammar of the  
Kabardian Language*

*A Grammar of*

# THE KABARDIAN LANGUAGE

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*John Colarusso*

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## *Preface*

The present work is the first full grammar of Kabardian to appear in any language other than Russian. This language of the Russian Federation, a member of the Northwest Caucasian language family, has been of considerable interest to theoretical linguists because of the controversy surrounding the status of its vowels. The eminent Dutch linguist and Caucasologist, Aert H. Kuipers, brought this language into modern linguistic debate by arguing that it had no underlying vowels (Kuipers 1960). The debate was joined by two of the most influential theorists in phonology, with Morris Halle opposing Kuipers (Halle 1970) and Stephen Anderson supporting Kuipers' position, but recasting it in a modern syllabic form (Anderson 1978). The present volume also takes up this issue.

The vowels, however, are only the beginning of the typological treasures to be found within Kabardian. There are forty-eight consonants in most dialects, and while this is a minimum for Northwest Caucasian consonantal inventories, it is nevertheless a huge number by ordinary standards. Unusual contrasts and complex clusters abound. The phonological rules of the language are complex and highly ordered. The result is that many Kabardian surface forms appear far removed from their underlying sources. Alternative analyses, however, simply do not describe the language efficiently or accurately.

The morphology of the language is highly complex, especially in the case of the verb. The verb can inflect for every noun in the sentence as well as for a range of subtle geometrical, aspectual, temporal, and pragmatical features. The complex verbal use of several distinct temporal and adverbial positions, as well as the intermixing of personal indices with geometrical and pragmatical ones, strongly suggests that multiple layers of morphology and distinct morphological processes are at work. Such complexity is not restricted to the verb, but appears in word formation in general. As with its sister languages, Kabardian constructs the vast majority of its vocabulary from a relatively small number of basic roots. This language not only has a wealth of word formation processes, but also provides an opportunity to see a semantic component working virtually at the surface, creating meanings from smaller components.

Finally, in its syntax Kabardian is highly unusual. It is ergative (the subject of an intransitive and the direct object of a transitive bearing the same case) and shows rich anti-passive and passive formation. Further, the language seems to have right-hand complementisers, so that movement rules, such as clefting, and question formation, tend to show (unbounded) rightward movement. Embedding processes show striking parallels with more familiar languages such as English, but, because of right-hand complementiser placement, also show exotic processes of raising or “flattening out” of structure.

The present grammar is by no means exhaustive, but it does aspire to cover all features of interest in the language. I have avoided couching the grammar in terms that reflect some of the more recent schools of linguistic theory. To do so would have tied the grammar’s usefulness to the lifetime of that particular school of thought or to a developmental stage of a particular paradigm, and would have provided an overburden of theoretical machinery that might have made Kabardian inaccessible to some readers. This grammar is intended to be descriptive and to that end I have used theory only to the extent that it provides a clearer access to the phenomena of the language.

The grammar, therefore, has a distinct post-taxonomic, generative transformational orientation. It is dense. I have organised the data so as to exhibit certain interpretations of the grammar, and have refrained from holding forth about these interpretations with little substantiating fact, as is so often done in linguistics. I have also not shied away from a degree of what might appear to be repetition. The grammar is an abstract organism with its various components or organs functioning synergistically to meet certain ends. Thus, the reader will find certain matters of verbal morphology appearing again in syntax, because the morphology and syntax of the language are interdependent, as are the phonology and morphology.

A list of abbreviations used throughout the book is to be found in Appendix B.

I have demanded much of the reader. Readers will have to be diligent and work through the Kabardian examples, but they will then come away from this work with an intimate knowledge of this remarkable language.

### *Acknowledgements*

In the following grammatical sketch I have relied heavily upon the reference grammars by Kardanov (1957) and Abitov et al. (1957), the dictionaries by Kardanov and Bichoev (1955) and Kardanov et al. (1957), and the theoretical study by Kuipers (1960). All these works deal with the literary dialect. I have supplemented

them with material provided by native speakers, Ms. Majdalin Hilmi of Amman, Jordan, whose Kabardian appears to be close to the literary dialect, and Mr. Hisa Torkacho of Hillside, New Jersey, who was born in the Caucasus in a village containing displaced Circassians from the entire homeland region and who, as a result, is fluent in all the Circassian dialects and languages. I have also drawn from texts in Hadaghat'la (1968–71). I owe a debt of gratitude to my old friend, Rashid Dahabsu, a speaker of Bzhedukh West Circassian, for first teaching me this marvelous language. Photographs of these Circassians follow this preface.

I wish to thank my friend and colleague, B. George Hewitt, of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, without whose prompting and criticism this grammar would never have come into being. George was the editor for a volume, *Northwest Caucasian Languages* (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1989), for which I prepared a shorter grammatical sketch of Kabardian. The present volume, more than twice the length of the sketch, has grown out of that work and benefits directly from much of his guidance. Nevertheless, I am solely responsible for the contents of this monograph, its biases and interpretations, many of which George would not support.

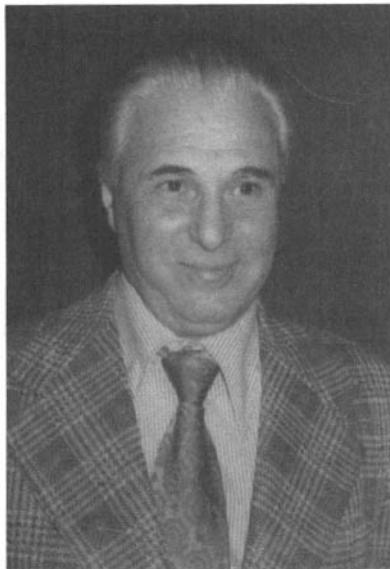
I wish also to thank Linda Cameron, John King, and Lois Thomas of the University of Calgary Press for their help and patience in the process of publication. My gratitude goes out also to Joyce Hildebrand for her copy-editing and proof-reading efforts, and to Windsor Viney for his book-making skills. Without them this book would not exist. This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Finally, I must thank my wife, Linda, for her endless patience and support over the years while I laboured on what must have seemed to her to be an endless task.

*Circassian Colleagues*



**Majdalin Hilmi (Habjoqua)**



**Hisa Torkacho (T'harquakho)**

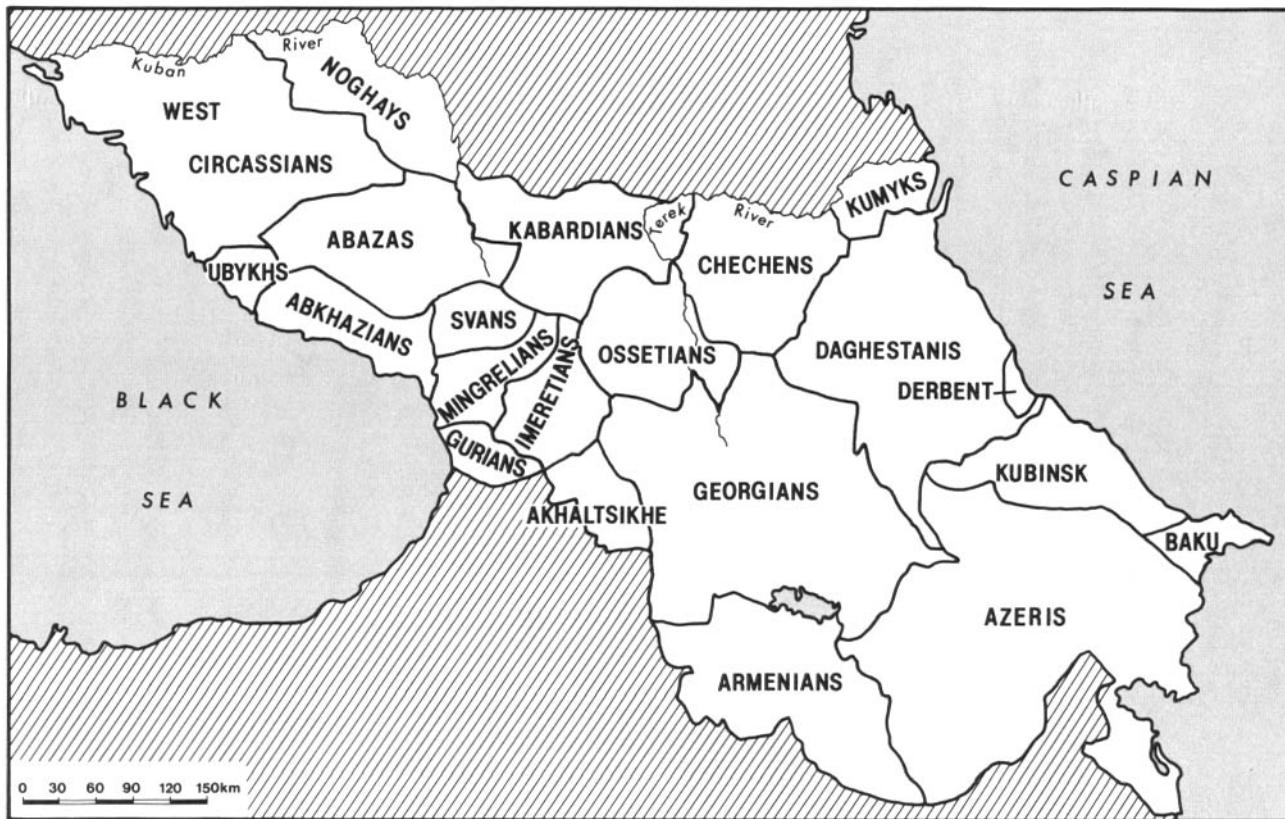


**Rashid Dahabsu (T'haghapsaw)**



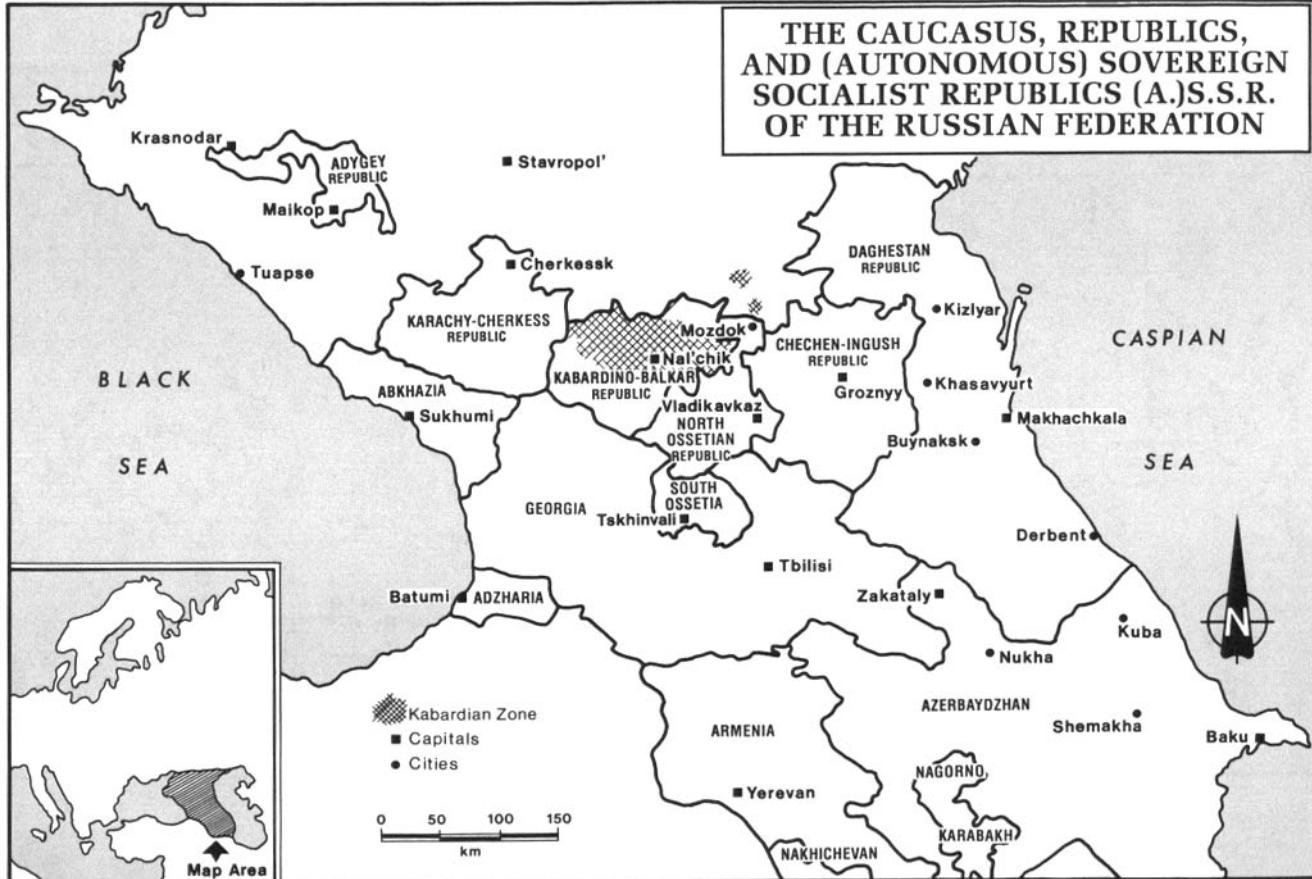
**Asker Hadaghat'la**

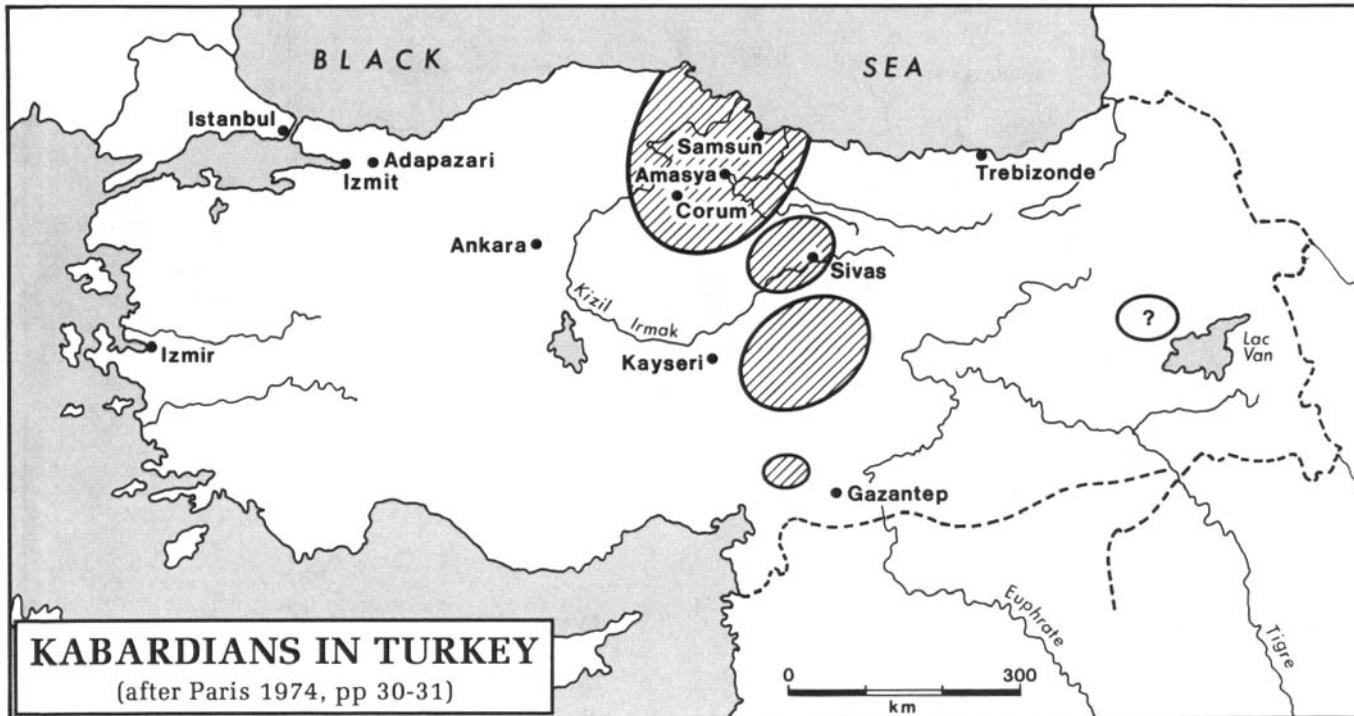
*Maps*



CAUCASIAN PEOPLES AND DISTRICTS, END OF THE 18th CENTURY

# THE CAUCASUS, REPUBLICS, AND (AUTONOMOUS) SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (A.)S.S.R. OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION





## *Ethnographic Introduction*

### **1.1 Background**

During the past five thousand years Eurasia has been swept by three major language expansions: the Semitic expansion of the Middle East, the Indo-European expansion further north, and later the Altaic expansion, most of it at the expense of the Asiatic regions of Indo-European. What earlier traces we have of linguistic diversity outside of these three families show that a heterogeneous linguistic world has been submerged. The boreal, arctic, and Far Eastern zones have escaped these inundations. Elsewhere only Basque in the Pyrenees and the languages of the Caucasus survive as relics of the earlier diversity.

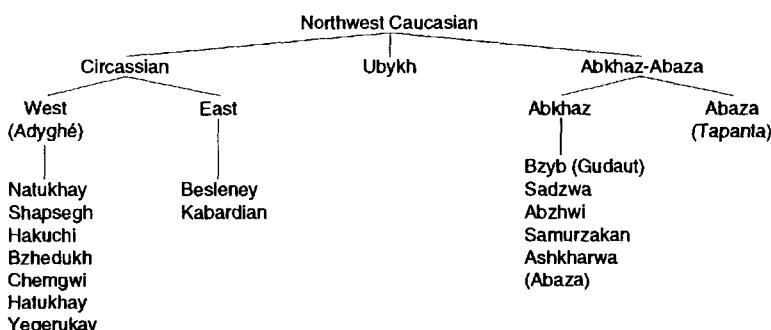
**1.1.2 Diversity** The Caucasus itself, long known as the Mountain of Tongues, is the most remarkable enclave of this older linguistic world. There are nearly fifty languages still spoken in and around the Caucasus that have no obvious cognates anywhere else on earth. More astonishing still, these indigenous languages fall into three distinct families: the South Caucasian or Kartvelian family, of which the best known is Georgian; the Northeast Caucasian family, consisting of Nakh and Daghestani, the latter itself being divided into three distinct branches; and the Northwest Caucasian, again divided into three branches. A good case can be made that the Northwest and the Northeast families are remotely related. If there is any connection between these two and the South Caucasian family, however, it is a very remote one. Even more surprisingly, the three families all present divergent linguistic features, though as one would expect areal trends also provide for certain vague similarities as well. What is most surprising about the Caucasus is how the linguistic standards that provide broad patterns to the Indo-European, Altaic, and Semitic worlds, abruptly end at the Caucasus. Despite millennia of contact and obvious borrowing into the languages of the Caucasus, little has happened to alter their distinctive character. Quite the contrary, the various external languages that have wandered into the region have become Caucasianised, acquiring features normally alien to their families. The best examples of this are Armenian and the Iranian Ossetic.

**1.1.3 Importance** The full significance of the Caucasian languages for the linguistic history of western Eurasia has yet to be fully explored, although some efforts have been made to link various ancient languages to one or the other Caucasian family, and it is even possible that Indo-European itself is an aberrant outlier of Caucasian (Colarusso 1991a). The reasons for this are twofold. First, the languages themselves are not only alien in the extreme from the standpoint of the three widespread families, but they are all extraordinarily complex by any linguistic standard. Thus, gaining control over one or more of them is a long and arduous task. Second, this task is made even harder by the difficulty of obtaining studies of the languages. The vast majority of work on these languages has been done in Soviet media, much of it hard or impossible to obtain. The work that has been done in the West has often been excellent, but incomplete, only covering some portion of the languages or some area within a language.

## 1.2 Northwest Caucasians

Kabardian is a northern member of a language family called Northwest Caucasian (1), that once occupied the western littoral of the Caucasus massif, up to the Sea of Azov and the Taman peninsula, then eastward south of the Kuban river until it met the territory of the Ossetians, then southward up into the mountains to the territory of the Svans, a South Caucasian people, thus forming a very rough triangle (see Colarusso, in press, b). The southern portion of this region was occupied by speakers of Abkhaz, which graded into Abaza when it spilled over the mountains. To the north were the Circassians, with the Ubykhs forming a transitional group between the Circassians and the Abkhaz-Abaza. Those Circassians who wandered farthest east toward Ossetian territory are the Kabardians. Their kinsmen to the west are known by contrast as Circassians, Kyakh (Kabardian /kʰaχ/ low-land) or Adyghé, though the Kabardians, Adyghé, and Ubykh all call themselves Adyghé (Kabardian /adəχa/). ‘Kabardian’ is merely a tribal designation.

### (1) Northwest Caucasian language family (alternate names in parentheses)



### 1.3 Demography and Political Units

At present there are more than 300,000 Kabardians living in the Caucasus, most in the Kabardino-Balkar SSR (upgraded in 1991 from an ASSR) and adjacent areas (Wixman 1984: 88–89). Following the Russian conquest of the eastern Caucasus in 1859 (Baddeley 1908: 470ff), the Northwest Caucasian peoples offered stiff resistance for another five years, only succumbing in 1864 (Henze, *in press*). In this year some Kabardians chose to stay in their homeland. The so-called ‘Fugitive Kabardians,’ those who had offered the greatest resistance to the Russians and had fled to the upper reaches of the Kuban and Zelenchuk rivers (Kuipers 1960: 8–9), emigrated to the Ottoman Empire in 1864, along with their kinsmen the West Circassians. Their descendants may be found today in the Middle East, principally in Jordan.

Speakers of a dialect transitional between Kabardian and the West Circassian dialects, Besleney (Paris 1974a; 1974b: 6), form a minority in the Karachay-Cherkess SSR. The West Circassians are centred about the Adyghe ASSR, with the majority living outside of it in the surrounding territory.

### 1.4 Kabardian

Kabardian’s exotic (from an Indo-European, Altaic, or Semitic standpoint) aspect will become immediately apparent to the reader. Despite frequent claims that Kabardian is merely a dialect of Circassian (Wixman 1984: 88), it in fact diverges sufficiently from the other Circassian dialects to warrant status as a distinct language. One might thus view Kabardian along with the closely related Besleney and the West Circassian dialects as forming one of three distinct Circassian languages, an example of linguistic diversity prevailing among an otherwise highly homogeneous ethnic group.

### 1.5 Dialects

Kabardian itself is remarkably uniform, consisting of roughly five dialects: Baksan, Mozdok, Malka, Terek, and Kuban. These are all very close to one another, their variation being merely a geographical phenomenon devoid of ethnic or tribal significance. The Baksan dialect (Wixman 1984: 88) served as a basis for a literary language which arose in the nineteenth century. After several changes of alphabet this literary language still flourishes, today utilising a modified cyrillic script.

### 1.6 History of the Kabardians

There was a Circassian Mameluke dynasty which ruled over Egypt from A.D. 1379 to 1516. There is some native tradition linking the Kabardians with this dynasty, specifically with refugees who fled Egypt when the dynasty was overthrown. In any event, the Kabardians seem to represent an eastward expansion of the Circassians which occurred within the last five or six hundred years. They established political ties with Moscow as early as the sixteenth century, though this was not viewed by the Kabardians or any of the other Circassians as an act of political

submission. Such ties were used, however, as the basis of vague political claims when an expansionist Tsarist empire made encroachments into the Caucasus at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. There then ensued a prolonged, bloody, if sporadic, conflict which culminated in the devastation of the Kabardians and their kinsmen and the mass emigration of most of them from their old haunts into the border regions of the Ottoman Empire.

### 1.7 Traditional Culture

The Kabardians in the Middle East have assimilated to Turkish or Arab culture in material terms of housing and urban life. Those scattered in the countryside, particularly in Turkey, have clung more closely to their fashions and habits of housing. The Kabardians living in the Caucasus territory have also assimilated in urban settings to former Soviet standards. Those in the countryside have been in many cases relocated from more remote mountain areas, and subjected to collectivisation. With the collapse of communism and the devolution of the Soviet empire, their future may be brighter. Traditional cultural aspects, both in the Middle East and the Caucasus, can still be discerned to an extent that permits some reconstruction of earlier patterns.

**1.7.1 Settlement Patterns** The traditional Circassian house, the *wuna*, was single story, long and low, with a porch across its front. Often it had an enclosure around it to house livestock. A separate guest-house was usually on the margins of the property.

The West Circassians lived scattered in small villages (Kuipers 1956), many of these running like strings of beads along river courses. By contrast, the Kabardians had begun to organise into larger urban units, many of them serving as forts. Their integration into bands headed by chieftains was accordingly stronger than that of their kinsmen or of the Ossetians and Chechens to their east and southeast. They practised a mixed economy of farming and animal husbandry. Their breeding of horses was outstanding and widely known. Along with this went great skill in horsemanship. Apiculture was also practised, and hunting was carried out up in the mountains.

**1.7.2 Clothing** For special occasions Circassian women wore elegant, gown-like dresses which were cinched at the waist, often with long, false sleeves, and high hats, usually with scarves hanging from them. The men wore a caftan-like coat over a collarless shirt and loose riding pants. This caftan, called the 'cherkesska,' was widely copied by other groups, including the Cossacks. It was open down to a cinched belt and had a row of silver, filigreed powder cartridges on either side of the chest. Its sleeves were loose and ended halfway down the forearm. The uniform was completed with a karakul hat, wider side to side than front to back, and a pair of

Caucasian boots, a sort of knee-high combination boot and moccasin. Daggers were always carried at the belt, along with sabres and other weapons. Codes of dress were strict and even today Kabardians will refer to their cherkesska as a “uniform.” This reflects the almost military-like organisation of their society.

The strong sense of aesthetics exhibited in clothing carries over into design in general. The chief decorative motif is a simple foliate pattern of leaves and vines. Unlike typical Middle Eastern patterns, these designs do not fill space so much as they demarcate pleasing zones of space on items such as books, furniture, and clothing.

**1.7.3 Social Organisation** Circassian society as a whole and that of the Kabardians in particular was organised in something almost like a caste system. The princes (Kabardian /pʂə/) were at the pinnacle. They exercised control over their clans and saw to relations between clans and outsiders. Their rule was enforced by the next stratum, the nobles (Kabardian /wahrq/). Trade, manufacture, and agriculture were carried out by the Freemen (Kabardian /ɬxʷ-a-qʷ/a-ɬʷ/born-free-man). Prisoners of war became the retainers or servants of the princes and nobility, and were known as prince's men (Kabardian /pʂə-ɬʷ/ prince-man). There were complex rankings within each stratum and movement within or between strata, though possible, was extremely difficult. Cutting across this system was one of clans or “blood frames” (Kabardian /ɬ-a-pq/ blood-connective-frame). Members of a clan all shared a common surname (which came before the given name). The ranks of various members of the clan was determined by the prestige of an ancestor within it. These groups of ranking were called “sons of a man” (Kabardian /ɬ'-a-qʷ/ man-connective-son). This was opposed to “traces of a man” (Kabardian /ɬ'ə-wəʐə/ man-trace), any descent grouping, irrespective of rank.

**1.7.4 Custom** The whole social structure was held together by a set of customs, the Adyghé Khabza (Kabardian /adəɣa-ħaabza/ Circassian-custom), which was interpreted and expanded upon by a council of elders, the Khasa (Kabardian /ħa-a-s-a/ mass-in-sit-in = ‘a sit-in,’ ‘a council’). Disputes were resolved, when possible, by a body of codified law universal throughout the Caucasus, the *adat* (Luzbetak 1951). Despite such an elaborate social structure, disputes often turned to bloodshed, and this sparked the curse of the Caucasus—the blood feud. Such feuds were interminable, ceasing only during times of war and general conscription. Vengeance for a killing of a kinsman was an obligation that was marked as inalienably possessed in West Circassian dialects. The term in Kabardian and the other dialects is /ɬə-ʂə-ʐə-n/ blood-make-again-infinitive, ‘to make blood again.’

**1.7.5 Kinship** The Kabardians shared with their kinsmen a type of kinship system that has become an archetype within anthropology, the “Cherkess-Trobriand”

kinship system. In this system the husband and wife have a socially formal relationship (whatever its qualities in private). This formality extends to a father and his sons, but not to his daughters. The wife has a spontaneous, unfettered relationship with her brother and this extends to this brother and his nephew, his sister's son but not her daughter. One might add that a brother's children are ego's children. In other words, one's fraternal nephews and nieces are considered to be one's children as well.

**1.7.5.1 Fictive Kinship** The fictive kinship of milk-brother also existed. This form of adoption was also used in desperate straits to stop a blood feud. A man could put his mouth to the breast of a woman of a warring clan and thereby gain fictive membership in that clan. This would stop the bloodshed.

**1.7.5.2 Kin Terminology** The kinship terminology is of interest. It reads like a direct gloss of an elicitation list: father's father, father's elder brother, mother's sister's daughter, and so forth. Hypocoristic (baby-talk, terms of endearment) kin terms also occur.

**1.7.6 Religion and Myth** Kabardians are Sunni Moslems and have been since at least the beginning of the nineteenth century and the onset of the Tsarist invasion of their homeland. When Islam entered their society is unclear, but there is evidence that it did so in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Certainly it could not have been earlier than the thirteenth, for at that time Circassians were still conscripted as *mamelukes*, non-Moslem mercenary soldiers. This is consistent with the persistence of many pre-Islamic features in their society. A large corpus of myth, the Nart sagas, enshrines traditions and beliefs of extreme antiquity, with many parallels to the ancient lore of Vedic India, pagan Scandinavia, and Classical Greece. The ideals of conduct exemplified in these myths are still largely seen as desirable goals. The social patterns depicted therein are still often adhered to.

**1.7.7 Social Etiquette** A strong sense of restraint and decorum dominate the social arena. Utterances made and positions taken cannot be withdrawn without the loss of face. Thus, compromise and dialogue are difficult to establish, and most energy is directed to staving off discord rather than handling it once it has begun.

**1.7.7.1 The Elderly** One must show respect to elders; especially the young must do so. Elders are not merely shown respect, but are expected in turn to show a full range of passions and activities in their advanced years, albeit of a somewhat reduced form. No one thinks an elder person foolish if they fall in love or seek a mate. For a young person to wait upon an elder is considered a great honour. Similarly one must show respect to one's parents. The father arbitrates in matters outside the house and in cases of serious dispute, while the mother sets the tone and tempo of events within the home. There is usually only one wife, though in times past more than one,

either simultaneously or by a series of marriages, seems to have been possible upon occasion.

**1.7.7.2 *Romance*** Young people are to postpone serious romantic involvement until their late twenties or thirties, at which time they are expected to settle down into a career and family. Marriage was and still is by mock abduction. Actual abductions also counted as marriages, though they were frowned upon.

**1.7.7.3 *Fosterage*** The young of princes and nobles were often fostered out to trusted retainers to raise as their own children. When coming of age in their teens, they were to be returned to their biological parents. It was a great honour for a retainer to serve as such a foster parent, but the greatest honour was for such a foster child to choose to remain with his foster parents. Such a child was called a *qana* (Kabardian /q'a-a-n-a/ hither-in-remain-in = ‘the one who remained’). The children of poor families were often sold as mamelukes or servants to wealthy members of the Ottoman Empire. In effect this was a sort of conscription with a compensatory sum being paid to the parents, rather than a slave market as is often depicted. This fate was preferable to that of the grinding poverty which must have been the lot of many of the poor in the Caucasus. As has been mentioned, one such group even became the lords of Egypt for a while.

**1.7.7.4 *Feasting and Dancing*** The community as a whole cemented its relationship by means of large feasts and dancing. The feasts are depicted in the Nart sagas as Olympian banquets, with the head god leading the toasts and festivities. The same ideal is carried out in life, and the greatest honour is to be selected a *tamada* (Kabardian /thaamada/), which might originally have meant ‘father of the gods’ (Knobloch 1989: 52). This term has been borrowed into Russian to the north and Persian to the south.

Integral to the feasts is dancing. Both young and old dance and sing at such festivities. Women’s dances emphasise gliding movements and overall gracefulness. The men’s dances at times seem to verge on the physically impossible: enormous leaps, dancing on the toes without padding, dancing on the knees, and dancing with a blur of daggers or sabres. Horsemanship reaches one of its peaks in a round dance, the *wugya* (Kabardian /wə-g'-a/ many (= a valence affix)-turn-intransitive), in which the horsemen dance in a circle on their horses, each horse facing inward.

**1.7.7.5 *Hospitality*** Universal in the Caucasus was a strong tradition of offering hospitality to a guest, and the Kabardians are no exception in this regard. The arrival of a guest, whether anticipated or not, is often the excuse for a major feast. Traditionally the guest was housed in a special building, and while there domiciled was the responsibility of his host. A host had to defend his guest even in a blood feud. One of the most poignant tales is of a host giving his life in defence of a guest.

## **1.8 Present Culture and Future Prospects**

**1.8.1 The Russian Federation** In the Russian Federation the Kabardians and their kinsmen enjoy a modern style of life, with urban centres, publishing houses, folklore institutes, theatres and symphonies, schools and universities. Instruction in Kabardian or Adyghean (as the West Circassian standard is called) seems to be possible in ever higher grades, reaching now to the university level. A similar degree of enfranchisement is sadly lacking among the diaspora Circassians.

**1.8.2 The Middle East** In the Middle East the Kabardians and other Circassians enjoy mixed blessings. The West Circassians in Israel enjoy substantial freedom, as do the various Kabardians and West Circassians in Jordan. Those in Jordan, centred about Amman, are often relatively wealthy, even if their long-term political position is less than secure. Those in Turkey are just beginning to enjoy a modicum of recognition and ethnic enfranchisement. Those in Syria are suppressed and denied ethnic institutions.

**1.8.3 Repatriation** In general, however, the Circassians find life in the Middle East at odds with many of their traditional values. This has given rise to a repatriation movement (Colarusso 1991b). To date (1992) three international congresses have been held to discuss the prospect of returning to the homeland. The last conference was held in Nal'chik, a Kabardian city. The Soviet authorities permitted the Circassians to fly their national flag, and also agreed to allow repatriation. The exact mechanism of such repatriation has yet to be worked out and there are, as one might imagine, many difficulties, not the least of which is the transmission of information to Circassians scattered throughout the Middle East. Further, the prospect of repatriation raises the issues of what constitutes Circassian identity, of what social and political institutions would best embody such an identity, and of which language or languages would best encode these institutions.

**1.8.4 Recent Changes in Circassia** Certainly, the Soviets seemed willing to help, but their power did not continue to hold in this region. They elevated the three Circassian political units one notch up on their administrative hierarchy, and extended the power of the Circassian Cultural Council over all things Circassian not only by granting them new powers, but by infusing large sums of money into their efforts as well. The long-term intentions of the Russian Federation remain to be seen.

**1.8.5 The Future** The coming decades may well witness the elevation of Kabardian and one or more of its sisters to the status of national languages. Set in this context, this grammar may take on greater significance than originally intended.

## *Phonetics and Phonology*

There have been two studies devoted exclusively to the phonetics of Kabardian (Catford 1942; Henderson 1970). I shall give here only a brief survey of the phonetics of this language, taking as my point of departure the phonemic inventory, rather than starting from a direct phonetic examination. The phonetics of the consonants is relatively straightforward and will be dealt with first. That of the vowels and glides is interrelated and more complex and will be dealt with second, where it is treated as part of the phonology.

### 2.1 Segmental Inventory

The phonological inventory of the consonants of Kabardian (Baksan dialect) is shown in (2). Dashes indicate where appropriate segments that are found in other dialects occur.

#### (2) Kabardian phonemes: consonants and glides

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
labial	p	b	p'	f	v	f'	m	
alveolar	t	d	t'				n	r
	c	z	c'	s	z	-		
(laterals)				χ	λ	χ'		
alveo-palatal				š	ž	š'		
palato-alveolar				š	ž	-		
palatal	k <sup>y</sup>	g <sup>y</sup>	k <sup>wy</sup>	χ̂	ĝ			y
velar	k <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>wy</sup>	χ̂ <sup>w</sup>				w
uvular	q		q'	χ̂	Y			
	q <sup>w</sup>		q <sup>wy</sup>	χ̂ <sup>w</sup>	Y <sup>w</sup>			
pharyngeal				ĥ		Ŷ		
laryngeal			?	ĥ				
				?				

**2.1.1 Source Features** There is a three-way contrast between voiceless (aspirated for stops, unaspirated for fricatives), (fully) voiced, and ejective segments.

**2.1.1.1 Voiceless Aspirated** Column 1 = voiceless, aspirated stops: plain and affricated. /k'/ and /kʷ/ can have affricated release as a realisation of their aspiration, while /q/ and /qʷ/ invariably do, as is usual with uvular aspirated stops.

**2.1.1.2 Voiceless Unaspirated** Column 4 = fricatives that are also voiceless, but tend to lack aspiration. The odd aspirated spirants of some West Circassian dialects are totally absent from East Circassian.

**2.1.1.3 Fully Voiced** Columns 2 and 5 = stops and fricatives, respectively, that are fully voiced.

**2.1.1.4 Glottal Ejective** Columns 3 and 6 = glottal ejective stops and fricatives. This glottalisation is that of creaky voice, in feature terms [+closed glottis, -stiff glottis, -lax glottis] (Halle and Stevens 1971). Only /ʔ/ and /ʔʷ/ are [+stiff glottis], that is, made with distinct glottal closure.

**2.1.1.5 Sonorant** Columns 7 and 8 = voiced sonorants: [+nasal] /m/ and /n/, and [-nasal] /r/, usually a trill (sometimes a tap). The glides [-consonantal, +continuant, +sonorant] (Chomsky and Halle 1968) pattern as consonants.

**2.1.2 Points of Articulation** There are eleven of these, one short of the theoretical maximum of twelve.

**2.1.2.1 Labial** /p, b, p', m/, [+labial] (Anderson 1971).

**2.1.2.2 Labio-dental** /f, v, f',/, [+labial]. At the phonological level these are not distinguished from the labials.

**2.1.2.3 Dental** /t, d, t', n/, [+coronal, +anterior] (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 293–329). These are dental at the phonetic level, but at the phonological one are not distinguished from the following alveolar series.

**2.1.2.4 Alveolar** /c, չ, c', s, z, ՚, ՚, ՚, r/, [+coronal, +anterior, -high, ±continuant, ±lateral, ±sonorant]. Only /՚, ՚, ՚/ are [+lateral], only /r/ [+sonorant], and /c, չ, c'/ [-continuant]. The non-sonorant laterals are typologically very unusual, the more so in the absence of any sonorant lateral. Kuipers (1960: 20) has detected a [+high] component in the laterals. Some speakers may thus group them with the next series. I did not hear this high articulation. /r/ does not occur initially in native words.

**2.1.2.5 Alveo(*lo*)-palatal** /š, ՚, ſ/, [+coronal, +anterior, +high]. These are also made with the tongue tip against the lower teeth and the whole tongue tensed and advanced. The resulting laminal constriction runs from the lower teeth up along most of the front of the hard palate. Kuipers (1960: 20) hears this articulation as having “slight velarisation or pharyngealisation.” These sounds have more low frequency noise than one might normally expect. This appears to be due to advancing of the tongue root with subsequent expansion of the pharynx (Halle and

Stevens 1969). Hence, these sounds are [+ATR] ([ATR] = advanced tongue root).

2.1.2.6 ***Palato-alveolar*** /š, ž/, [+coronal, -anterior, +high]. These are usually laminal.

2.1.2.7 ***Palatal*** /k<sup>v</sup>, g<sup>v</sup>, k<sup>v̥</sup>, ځ̥, ځ̥̥, y/, [-coronal, -anterior, +high, ±continuant]. Only /ځ̥, ځ̥̥, y/ are [+continuant]. The stops can have unconditioned coronal (affricate) allophones: [č, ڇ, č̥], respectively. One of my informants (Ms. Hilmi) had non-affricated coronal allophones. /y/ is non-consonantal and continuant, and is grouped with the consonants because its vocalic realisation can be shown to be merely an allophone of an underlying non-syllabic form. In (3a) a rounded allophone of /ځ̥/ ([ځ̥̥]) is found. This contrasts with /ځ̥̥/ ([ځ̥̥̥]) from §2.1.2.8, cf. (3b) (Kuipers 1960: 26–27).

### (3) Rounded palatal versus rounded velar

- a. /ø-ځ̥-a-a-w-pλə-a/ → [ځ̥̥̥́, pλə̥]  
3-mass-dat(ive)-pres(ent)-prog(ressive)-look-in  
'He always looks into it.' or 'He is looking into it.'
- b. /ø-ø-ځ̥̥-a-w-pλə-a/ → [ځ̥̥́, pλə̥]  
3-3-for-pres-prog-look-in  
'He always looks (in) for his sake.' or  
'He is looking in for his sake.'

2.1.2.8 ***Velar*** /k<sup>v</sup>, g<sup>v</sup>, k<sup>v̥</sup>, ځ̥, w/, [+high, +back, +round, ±continuant]. Only /ځ̥/ and /w/ are [+continuant]. /ځ̥/ can be realised either with rounding or bilabial friction: [ځ̥̥] or [ځ̥̥̥]. /w/ is grouped with the consonants for the same reasons that apply to /y/. It is non-consonantal and continuant. Plain unrounded velars are absent.

2.1.2.9 ***Uvular*** Plain /q, q̥, څ, ګ/, and rounded, /q<sup>v</sup>, q<sup>v̥</sup>, څ̥, ګ̥/, [-high, +back, ±continuant, ±round]. /q/ and /q<sup>v</sup>/ have substantial fricative offset as part of the realisation of their aspiration: [qڅ<sup>h</sup>] and [q<sup>v</sup>څ̥<sup>h</sup>], respectively. In non-initial position /ګ/ and /ګ<sup>v</sup>/ tend to have open sonorant allophones.

2.1.2.10 ***Pharyngeal*** /h, ڻ/, [+constricted pharynx] (Halle and Perkell 1969). These two continuants, voiceless and voiced, respectively, are actually made by lowering the epiglottis over the adytus (opening of the larynx) (Sergo V. Kodzasov, personal communication). Occasionally, conventional pharyngeal occlusion also appears to be present. In both cases a raucous, turbid sound is produced, quite distinct from that of an ordinary pharyngeal. /ڻ/ occurs in baby words, interjections, and Arabic loans. In the last it can often be replaced by /h/, as in (4b).

(4) Voiced pharyngeal and its voiceless substitute

- a. voiced /səʃat/ 'hour, time of day'
- b. voiceless /səħat/ 'hour, time of day'

2.1.2.11 *Laryngeal* /ɺ, ɻʷ, h/. The two glottal stops behave like consonants and are made at the glottis only as a sort of null or default point of articulation. They are therefore [+consonantal, ±round] and minus all else, save perhaps [+sonorant]. /h/ is underlyingly voiceless, but will take on the voicing of a preceding segment. It behaves as a glide (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 303) and lowers vowels, so that it is [–consonantal, +low, +continuant, +sonorant]. Its full behaviour is complex and will be discussed at length later.

2.1.3 **Typologically Interesting Features** Kabardian exhibits some highly unusual sounds.

2.1.3.1 *Ejective Fricatives* /š, ɬ, f/ are rare among the world's languages, /f/ especially so being found only in Kabardian, in the Abzwi and Ashkharwa dialects of Abkhaz in one word, /f'a/ 'thin,' and some North American Indian languages. /š/ and /f/ are made with extreme supra-glottal articulatory tension, all other ejectives being lenis.

2.1.3.2 *Lateral Spirants* /ɬ, λ, ɬʷ/ are unusual in the absence of a sonorant lateral. This is especially true for the voiced member, /λ/. For my informants these were made with no trace of affrication, though this has been occasionally reported (Kuijpers 1960: 45–46, n. 7).

2.1.3.3 *Bilabialisation* The bilabial allophone of the voiceless rounded velar fricative /χʷ/ is highly unusual among the world's languages. It also occurs in the related Abaza.

2.1.3.4 *Adytals* The adytal pharyngeals /ħ, ʕ/ do not accord with the usual account of pharyngeals (Catford 1977: 163), but may not be as unusual as generally thought (Colarusso 1985).

## 2.2 Dialect Variations

Within Kabardian there is remarkable uniformity, the only large divergence coming between Besleney and Kubano-Zelenchuk, on the one hand, and the rest of Kabardian on the other.

2.2.1 *Besleney* This highly divergent dialect retains two full palato-alveolar series, laminal and retroflexed apical: /č, ȝ, čʷ, ȝʷ, ɬ, ɬʷ/ and /č, ȝ, č, ȝ, š, ȝ/ respectively (Jakovlev 1930). To these the sub-dialect Kubano-Zelenchuk adds /šʷ/ and /š/ (Bagov 1968). Immigrant communities of Besleney in Turkey have only the laminal series (Alparslan and Dumézil 1963: 340–41), and this shift is sporadic in Kubano-Zelenchuk (Bagov 1968: 38–39). Further, the palatals /χ, ȝ/ have been fronted

(Alparslan and Dumézil 1963: 341; Paris 1974). Paris even represents /ŷ/ by /y/.

**2.2.2 Terek Kabardian** This dialect adds /s'/ (Abitov et al. 1957: 21). Some speakers have merged /š, ž/ with /s, z/ (Kuasheva 1969).

**2.2.3 Kuban Kabardian** This has retained a contrast /š/, ž/ - /š, ž/ (Kumakhov 1961, 1969).

### 2.3 Consonantal Clusters

Bi-consonantal and tri-consonantal clusters occur. Only underlying clusters, those without internal boundary, are considered.

**2.3.1 Bi-consonantal Clusters** (5) lists the bi-consonantal clusters, after Kuipers (1960: 57). The table is laid out in the same manner as (2), save that lines are repeated as the character of the initial member of the cluster changes in series. The source feature of the initial member always agrees with that of the final. Forms in parentheses occur only in loan words. Kuipers' /λh/ and /sh/ occur only in /λha/ 'to lie down' and /sha/ 'to sit down.' They are therefore built upon /λ-ha/ to be prone-enter, and /s-ha/ to be seated-enter. I have therefore omitted them. As the dashes suggest, not all expected combinations are realised.

#### (5) Kabardian bi-consonantal clusters

##### Final element

labial	(λp)	-	-	-	-	
alveolar	ft	-	-	-	-	
	st	zd	-	-	-	
	-	bʒ	p'c'	ps	bz	
	čč	-	-	(čs)	-	
				pλ	bλ	p'λ'
alveo-palatal				pš	bž	p's'
palato-alveolar				pš	bž	
				čš	-	
palatal	-	(bg̊)	p'k̊y	p'x̄	bŷ	
	-	-	t'k̊y	t'x̄	-	
	-	zg̊y	s'k̊y	-	-	
	-	žg̊y	š'k̊y	š'x̄	-	
velar	-	-	t'kʷ	t'xʷ	-	
	skʷ	-	s'kʷ	-	-	
	(λkʷ)	-	-	λxʷ	-	
	-	-	š'kʷ	š'xʷ	-	

uvular	-	-	p'q'	pχ	bγ
	-	-	-	sχ	-
	-	-	-	šχ	žγ
	-	-	-	χχ	-
	-	-	-	pχʷ	bγʷ
	-	-	-	tχʷ	-
	-	-	-	šχʷ	-
pharyngeal				th	-
				sh	-
				šh	-
				χh	-
laryngeal			tʔʷ		

**2.3.2 Stability** All the clusters in (5) are stable save for /tʔʷ/. This cluster occurs only in the numeral ‘two’ and derived terms. It is realised as [tʷ] with prolonged glottal closure, as opposed to the other ejectives, which are realised with creaky voice glottalisation. It is preserved in list-like enumerations, but is simplified when used as a simple counter, as in (6).

(6) Behaviour of /tʔʷ/

- a. /k'-əy-tʔʷ fəz-əy-š s'aal-əy-p'χ' p'saaš-əy-tχʷ/ /  
man-num(eral connective)-two woman-num-three boy-num-four  
girl-num-five  
‘two men, three women, four boys, five girls...’
- b. /k'-əy-tʔʷə-r/ → /k'-əy-t'ə-r/ /  
men-num-two-abs(olutive)  
‘the two men’

**2.3.3 Tri-consonantal Clusters** (7) lists the few tri-consonantal clusters found (Kuipers 1960: 57).

(7) Kabardian tri-consonantal clusters

pst	pšt
pskʷ	p'skʷ
pškʷ	
stχ	
pšh	

There are far fewer of these than of the bi-consonantal variety.

**2.3.4 Distribution** In general, both types of cluster can begin or end a syllable, though the latter case generally arises through vowel deletion. A few clusters are confined to the onset of the second syllable of bi-syllabic words. Apart from clusters in borrowings, these are: /zd, žg<sup>w</sup>, īq<sup>w</sup>, st, s'k<sup>w</sup>, sk<sup>w</sup>, īx, īc, īs, īš/, the last three standing apart from the others in that no comparable clusters can be found in initial position (Kuipers 1960: 86).

#### 2.4 Syllable Canon

**2.4.1 Sonorant Syllables** Syllables can begin or end in virtually any consonant or consonant cluster. Final syllables can be open (8a), but medial syllables are closed, either by an overt coda (8b) or by utilising the following onset as a coda (8c) to produce a slight gemination. This is distinct from true gemination (8d). Open medial syllables are long and are built upon underlying glides. Such open syllables will be treated in the sections dealing with vowels.

#### (8) Syllables

##### a. Open final

/bža/ 'horn, nail'

##### b. Closed medial with overt coda

/ø-žə-f-?a-n-š/ → [žɪf, ?éns]

3-back-you(pl(ural))-say-fut(ure)-aff(irmative)

'You (pl) will say it.'

##### c. Medial with copied coda

/dəda/ → [díd,dé]

'just, exactly'

##### d. True geminate ([d', d])

/wə-q'ə-t-da-k''ə-a-ä-š/ → [wuq'', q'ɪd'', dok'', k''áš]

you-hor(izon of interest)-us-with-move-intr(ansitive)-past-aff

'You came with us.'

**2.4.2 Non-sonorant Syllables** The near minimal pairs in (9) offer evidence that Kabardian, like the West Circassian dialects, has non-sonorant syllables (9b, d).

#### (9) Near minimal pairs showing non-sonorant syllables

##### a. /čə/ → [čɪ]

'hair'

##### b. /ø-d-sə-n-š/ → [t<sup>b</sup>,sɪnš]

it-we-burn-fut-aff

'We will burn it.'

- c. /ø-ø-zɔ/ → [ʒɪ]  
it-you-throw out  
'Throw it out!'
- d. /ø-d-zə-n-ʂ/ → [d,zɪnʂ]  
it-we-decant, filter-fut-aff  
'We will decant, filter it.'

Such syllables are hard to hear, but my informant reliably made them.

### 2.5 Stress

Stress is a mixture of strong percussion and a slight rise in pitch.

**2.5.1. Nouns and Pronouns** On nouns and pronouns it is confined to the last stem morpheme (10a, b, c, f), and does not shift back to most affixes (10d). A few affixes, however, as with (10e), can occur with a distinct secondary stress.

#### (10) Stress assignment on nouns

- a. /pʂáaʂa/  
'girl'
- b. /pʂáaʂa-dáaʂxa/  
girl-beautiful  
'beautiful girl'
- c. /pʂáaʂa-daʂxá-f/  
girl-beautiful-good  
'beautiful, good girl'
- d. /pʂáaʂa-ha-m-ra/  
girl-pl-conn(ective)-and  
'and the girls'
- e. /pʂááʂa-ha-m-r-ʂy/  
girl-pl-conn-and-even  
'and even the girls'
- f. /á-bə-ha-m/  
3 (distal)-obl(ique case)-pl-obl  
'those things (distal, obl)'

**2.5.2 Stress Assignment on Verbs** Stress assignment on verbs is recessive, as long as the affixes are of a purely verbal character (11a–c), and not gerundive (11d), or a plural or predicative/complementiser (11e). Also, the affirmative suffix /-ʂ/ does not attract stress. Often a secondary stress can be heard either on the root or the syllable before the primary stress. Secondary stress is noted by a grave accent.

## (11) Recessive stress assignment on verbs

- a. /ø-ø-y-á-a-w-pλə/ ([yó'pλɪ], [yó'pλ])  
3-3-dir(ection)-dat-pres-prog-look  
'He always looks at it.' or 'He is looking at it.'
- b. /ø-ø-y-à-pλ-áḡ-ʂ/ ([yèpλá'ʂ])  
3-3-dir-dat-look-past-aff  
'He looked at it.'
- c. /s-ø-y-a-pλə-ʐ-aḡ-ʂará-t/ ([se'pλiʐa'ʂaré:t])  
I-3-dir-dat-look-again-past-past-opt(ative)-irreal(is)  
'If only I had looked again at him (long ago)!'
- d. /á-ha-r ø-ø-y-a-á-w-pλə-ha-r/ ([yó'pλher])  
3-pl-abs 3-3-dir-dat-pres-prog-look-pl-pres  
'They always look at it.' or  
'They are looking at it.'
- e. /à-ha-r ø-ø-y-a-á-w-pλə-a-hə-wa/ ([yó'pλafiuwo])  
3-pl-abs-3-3-dir-dat-pres-prog-look-in-pl-pred(icative)/comp(lement)  
'their always looking inside it' or  
'that they always look inside it' or  
'that they are looking inside it'

In either (10) or (11) stress must always fall before a coda that is overtly filled; that is, final vowels cannot receive normal stress.

**2.5.3 Citation Stress and Underlying Vowels** There is a separate form of stress that I term "citation stress." This stress has nothing to do with the effects in (10) or (11), but rather seems to be used to teach children and others about underlying vowels in roots, as in (12). The last underlying vowel bears primary stress while all other underlying vowels bear equal secondary stresses. This stress has been used explicitly in an account of West Circassian (Rogava and Kerasheva 1966: 22–28). Phonetically, it seems to make greater use of pitch than normal percussive stress, with primary stress being highest in tone.

## (12) Citation stress (ordinary stress in parentheses)

- a. /màzé/ (/mázə/)  
'forest'
- b. /màzə-ñé/ (/mazəñé/)  
forest-man  
'wild man' (mythical forest-dwelling man-like being)
- c. /məλ/ (/méλ/)  
'ice'

- d. /məλ-ə-psé/ (/məλəps/)  
ice-ep(enthetic) v(owel)-water  
'melt water'
- e. \*/məλə/ (/məλ/)  
'ice'

Thus, even though the normal stress for 'wild man' (12b) and 'melt water' (12d) is the same, the citation stress forms of (12a) and (12c) show that 'forest' ends in an underlying /ə/ whereas 'ice' (12c, e) does not. The normally stressed syllable of 'melt water' (parenthetical form of (12d)) is thus built upon an epenthetic vowel. Citation stress will play a crucial role in dealing with the status of /ə/ in the next section.

## 2.6 The Vowels

I have taken the conservative position that Kabardian has two vowels (13).

### (13) Kabardian vowels

[-high, -low, -back]	ə
[+low, -back]	a

**2.6.1 Controversy** There is an enormous amount of controversy surrounding the predictability of /ə/. In many cases /ə/ can be said to be epenthetic (see (12d)), but in many others it appears best to take /ə/ as underlying (see Colarusso (1982) for full references).

**2.6.1.1 Internally Structured Segments** If one wishes to predict all instances of /ə/, then one must postulate complex, internally structured consonants of the sort in (14) (bracketed by a consonant node, {...}) (Anderson 1978).

### (14) Contrasts requiring complex consonants for wholly predictable /ə/

(Conventional representation with underlying /ə/)

- a. /p̥λ/ → \*[p̥əλə] (/pə-λ/ → [p̥əλ])  
(i) nose-lie  
'to lie near (before) something'  
(ii) down-dangle  
'to hang from something'
- b. /{pλ}/ → [pλə] (/pλə/)  
'to look'
- c. /š-ħ-a/ → [šéħæ] (/šə-ħə-a/)  
there-enter-in  
'to enter (there)'

- d. /ʃha/ → [ʃéhæ] (/ʃəha/)  
‘to provoke (someone)’ or ‘to reach (someone)’
- e. /{ʃ}a/ → [ʃæ] (/ʃa/)  
‘head’

It should be noted that the form in (14d) ‘to provoke’ is given erroneously by Kuipers (1975: 33) as /ʃəha/, whereas my informant and two dictionaries (Kardanov and Bichoev 1955: 805; Kardanov 1957: 449) all give /ʃæha/.

**2.6.1.2 Predictable Schwa Hypothesis** The hypothesis that treats all /ə/’s as predictable is highly appealing, amounting to a formalisation of the command: “Pronounce consonant ‘C’!” to which the Kabardian replies: “[Cə].” Nevertheless, this highly natural account makes erroneous predictions in several areas.

**2.6.1.2.1 Minimal Pair with Schwa** First, /ə/ forms the basis of a minimal pair in two common words, as in (15).

- (15) Minimal pair with /ə/
- a. /psaw/ → [psɔ:] (literary dialect)  
‘all, whole’
  - b. /psa-wə/ → [psó:wu]  
life-adj(ective)  
‘living, live, alive’

**2.6.1.2.2 Conflict with Citation Stress** Second, the analysis is at odds with citation stress (§2.5.3), as in (14a) and in (16).

- (16) Violations of citation stress by predictable /ə/ analysis (correct form)
- a. /mλ/ → \*[míλí] ([míλ])  
‘ice’
  - b. /fz/ → \*[fízí] ([fíz])  
‘woman’
  - c. /yarś/ → \*[yeríśí] ([yeríś])  
‘stubborn, persistent’
  - d. /ckʷ/ → \*[c'ukʷú] ([c'ukʷ])  
‘small’
  - e. /t'akʷ/ → \*[t'okʷú] ([t'okʷ])  
‘small,’ ‘few,’ ‘a little’

**2.6.1.2.3 Problems with Non-sonorant Syllables** Third, the predictable /ə/ analysis fails to capture the non-sonorant syllable contrasts seen in (9). The personal index immediately before the root of transitive verbs is taken to be a “sub-segmental” index (Kuipers 1960: 30–31, 56). Kuipers’ assertion that no contrast of this sort is ever made, “even in artificially slow and careful speech” (Kuipers 1960: 31), seems not only to be wrong, but also to be inconsistent with his own account of a contrast between the items in (17a, b) (Kuipers 1960: 19, n. 2). The forms in (17) show that this analysis of Kabardian fails to capture ambi-syllabic behaviour of root syllables in verbs.

(17) Ambi-syllabic errors of the predictable /ə/ analysis (correct forms in parentheses)

- a. /ø-y-w-ʔ-ay-ʂ/ → /ø-y-[p'-ʔ]-ay-ʂ/ → \*[yip<sup>b</sup>, p'áʂ] ([yip, ?áʂ])  
3-cont(ainer)-you-dye-past-aff  
'You dyed it.'
- b. /ø-y-p'-ay-ʂ/ → [yip<sup>b</sup>, p'áʂ]  
3-3-educate (rear)-past-aff  
'He educated (reared) him.'
- c. /ø-p-w-ځ-aγ-ʂ/ → /ø-p-[p-ځ]-ay-ʂ/ → \*[p<sup>b</sup>ɛp<sup>b</sup>, pڅáʂ] ([p<sup>b</sup>ɛp<sup>b</sup>, ځáʂ])  
3-sever-you-fall-past-aff  
'You sawed it off.'
- d. /ø-y-[p-ځ]-ay-ʂ/ → [yip<sup>b</sup>, pڅáʂ]  
3-3-bind-past-aff  
'He bound it up.'
- e. /ø-ڙ-f-ڙa-ay-ʂ/ → /ø-ڙ-[f-ڙ]a-ay-ʂ/ → \*[ڙif, fáʂ] ([ڙif, ?áʂ])  
3-back-you(pl)-say-past-aff  
'You (pl) said it.'
- f. /bڙ-f-ø-ay-ʂ/ → [bڙif, fáʂ]  
spear-good-be-past-aff  
'It was a good spear.'

The contrasts in (17), as in (9), are real, even if subtle and if neutralised in final position (Kuipers 1960: 54). To salvage predictable /ə/ analysis, one would have to treat verb root adjacent personal indices as exceptions to the overall phonological patterns of the language.

**2.6.1.2.4 Exceptions** Fourth, Kuipers (1960: 28–29, 41) recognises that he must mark a number of forms as exceptions to his treatment of /ə/, as in (18a–c). Forms (18d) and (18e) (Hadaghat'la 1968, vol. 1, §76: 264) show, however, that his inventory of exceptions must include such morphemes as /-ʂ/ 'place' and stative

positional verbs such as /-λ-/ ‘to be prone,’ and most likely /-s-/ ‘to be seated, situated’ as well, not to mention pre-root verbal indices.

(18) Exceptions to /ə/ realisation

- a. /fz-∅-s/ → [fɪzɛ] (\*[fɪz,zíš], \*[fɪz,zíš,sɪ], \*[fíz,šɪ])  
woman-be-aff  
'She is a woman.'
- b. /fz-∅-t/ → [fɪzt̪] (\*[fɪz,zít̪], \*[fɪz,zít̪,t̪ɪ], \*[fíz,t̪ɪ])  
woman-be-stand (= past stative)  
'She was a woman.'
- c. /fz-∅-q'm/ → [fíz,q'əm] (\*[fɪz,zíq'',q'əm])  
woman-be-not  
'It is not a woman.'
- d. /x-a-s-s/ → [xɛss] (\*[xɛs,síš], \*[xɛs,síš,sɪ], \*[xéš,sɪ])  
mass-dat-sit-place  
'nest'
- e. /(w-y-?amš'a) ∅-y-a-s-λ-ħa-n-s/ → [(wi,?æm,míš',s'e) yes,λħánš]  
(\*[yes,λəħ,ħánš], \*[yes,sıλ,ħánš], \*[yes,sıλ,λəħ,ħánš])  
you-poss(essive)-handful 3-3-dat-I-lie-act(ive)-fut-aff  
'I shall put it in your hand.'

The parenthetical forms in (18a, b) show, however, that the present and past statives must be exceptions in two ways, both fore and aft, lest they be in violation of citation stress forms.

2.6.1.2.5 *Sonority Arguments* Fifth, Kuipers might answer the objections in the preceding paragraph by resorting to an elaborate discussion of sonority types and syllable structure (1960: 41–42), but from the forms in (19) it is hard to see how such explanations can be consistently applied. These forms show variant realisations of the same underlying sonorant sequences (19a–c), or realisations with persistent schwa (19d).

(19) Inconsistencies in syllable structure using Kuipers' sonority arguments

- a. /λ'-y-y/ → [λ'i'y], [λ'i'']  
man-num-eight  
'eight men'
- b. /sahby-y-y/ → [sa',bí'yí'y], [sa',bí'yí''] (\*[sa',bí'y], \*[sa',bí''])  
baby-num-eight  
'eight babies'

- c. /ø-ø-t-y-a-y-ŷ-aŷ-s/ → [tʰri', ũá's] (also [tʰər, ri', ũá's])  
3-3-surf(ace)-dir-dat-3-take-past-aff  
'He stole it from him.'
- d. /d-y-y-{th}a-?a-ŷ'a-d-ŷ/ → [dər, ri', thɔ?\*, ?\*oŷ\*, ũ\*édŷ]  
(\*[dri', thɔ?\*, ?\*oŷ\*, ũ\*édŷ])  
we-cont-dir-god-before-bend-down-aff  
'We are the devotees of a god.' or 'We are fairies.'

The /r/'s in (19c, d) are intercalated and will be discussed below (§2.7.3).

**2.6.1.2.6 Third Person Oblique** Finally, Kuipers makes an exception in stress assignment for the oblique form of the singular third person pronoun, in violation of (10). This is shown in (20a). It is easy, however, to elicit phrases in which this supposedly stressed final syllable is elided, just as though it were not stressed (20b, c).

(20) The third person singular oblique

- a. Kuipers' treatment  
/a-b/ → [ɑ̄, b̄]  
3(distal)-obl  
'he/him; she/her; it; (all distal)'
- b. Elided variant  
/a-bə dayž/ → [á'b dě'ž] (or [á', bə dě'ž])  
3(distal)-obl near  
'near this (distal)'
- c. Elided variant  
/mə-bə dayž/ → [má'b dě'ž] (or [má', bə dě'ž])  
this(near speaker)-obl near  
'near this (near speaker)'

Thus, these forms do not act as exceptions to stress and Kuipers cannot explain those variants with final /ə/.

**2.6.1.3 Core and Epenthetic Schwä** Despite the seductive appeal of the /ə/-less theory, /ə/ appears to be underlying at least in the core vocabulary. Epenthetic /ə/'s do exist and they tend to follow complex rules of sonority and syllable structure, but an account of the data that would be full enough to establish these rules in a convincing manner is beyond the scope of this grammar. Thus, I shall record all /ə/'s and occasionally gloss those as epenthetic (ep v) when it is entirely evident that they are due to rules.

**2.6.1.4 Isolated Schwa** In isolation /ə/ is [ɛ>] or [ə<] (see (40a, c)). In final position, however, it is often nasalised (21).

(21) Nasalisation of final /ə/

- a. /kə/ → [k'ə̃], [k'ə̄], (or [k'ə̄])  
‘man’
- b. /a-bə/ → [á',bə̄], (or [á',bə̄])  
3-obl  
‘that (distal, obl)’

**2.6.2 The Open Vowel** Once /ə/ was eliminated by some scholars, /a/ was reduced to the status of a feature characteristic of the syllable as a whole. When vowel-colouring is examined in section 2.6.5, it shall be shown that such an analysis is untenable.

**2.6.2.1 Reduction Phenomena** /a/ in unstressed final syllable can undergo reduction to /ə/ before the predicative ending or suffixed complementiser /-w(a)/ (22).

(22) Reduction of /a/

- a. /wəna-w/ → /wənə-w/ ([wún,nū])  
house-pred/comp  
‘being a house’ or ‘that it is a house’
- b. /ø-x̄ə-ha-w/ → /ø-x̄ə-hə-w/ ([x̄ə̄fi,fū])  
3-happen-pl-pred/comp  
‘those things having happened’ or  
‘that those things came to pass’
- c. /ø-q'a-y-ə-faŷ"-á-žə-ha-w/ → /ø-q'-ə-faŷ"-á-žə-hə-w/  
([q'əf,fəŷ", ţéž, žəfi,fū])  
3-hor-3-non pres(ent)-don-in-again-pl-pred/comp  
‘he having donned them again’ or  
‘that he donned them again’ (as with a pair of shoes)

**2.6.2.2 Sequences of Open Vowels** In verbal morphology sequences of /a-a/ can arise, as in (23a–c). In (23f) the noun for ‘god’ can also show a type of emphatic lengthening.

## (23) /a-a/ sequences in verbs

## a. Present tense

/má-a-w-a/ → [má'wo]

3-pres-strike-in

'It is a tumult.' or 'It hurts.'

## b. Present tense

/sa-rá-a-ø-ʂ/ → [sər, rá'ʂ]

I-pro(nominal suffix)-pres-be-aff

'It is I.'

## c. Dative of interest

/ø-q'á-a-s-ʂta-ʂ/ → [q'á's, ʂt̚eʂ]

3-hor-dat-I-take up-then

'I picked it up, then...'

## d. Imperative

/ø-q'á-a-n-a/ → [q'á'næ]

you(imperative))-hor-imp-remain-in

'Stay (in) here!'

## e. Optative

/də-yá-a-kʷə-a-t/ → [dəyá, yá', kʷót̚]

we-let-opt-move-intr-irreal

'Let's go!'

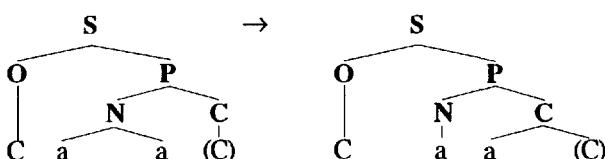
## f. /θa-a-m/ → [θəm]

god-emph(atic)-obl

'(By) God (!)'

The forms in (23) show that /a-a/ is realised as an open [a̚], filling the coda of its syllable, rule R1 (24). It can be long in citation or careful speech, as noted in the examples. (In the following, the order of presentation of the rules has been chosen for expository reasons, whereas the numbering of the rules reflects their order of application in the phonological component.)

## (24) R1, Coda-filling by /a-a/ nucleus



2.6.2.3 **Reduction Rule** R2 reduces /a-a/ in unstressed position, as the counterparts to (23) show in (26).

(25) R2, /a-a/ reduction in unstressed syllables

$$\text{aa} \rightarrow \text{a/} \quad \begin{matrix} \text{C} \\ \langle_{\downarrow} [+C.P.] \rangle \end{matrix} \quad \text{_____} \quad \begin{matrix} \text{C}_{\downarrow} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{C}_{\downarrow} \\ [-\text{stress}] \quad [-\text{stress}] \end{matrix}$$

(‘⟨1⟩...⟨2⟩’ = ‘if 1, then 2’)

(26) Reduction of unstressed /a-a/

- a. /ma-a-w-á-žə/ → [mo, wýž]   
 3-pres-strike-in-again  
 ‘It is a tumult again.’ or ‘It hurts again.’
- b. /sa-ra-a-ø-žə-ay-š/ → [ser, rež, žáš]   
 I-pro-pres-be-again-past-aff  
 ‘It was I again.’
- c. /ø-q'a-a-s-sta-žə-š/ → [q'ës, st'ëžiš]   
 3-hor-dat-I-take up-again-then  
 ‘I picked it up again, then...’
- d. /ø-q'a-a-n-a-žə/ → [q'ën, nëž]   
 you(imper)-hor-dat-remain-in-again/finally  
 ‘Stay (in) here again/for good!’
- e. /də-ya-a-k"ə-a-žə-t/ → [dəy, yok", k"ëž, žít"]   
 we-let-opt-move-intr-again-strong opt  
 ‘Let’s go again!’
- f. /tha-a-maañ"ə-a-m/ → [thə', má', ñ"ëm]   
 god-emph-blessed-obl  
 ‘(By) blessed God (!)’
- g. /tha-a-maañ"ə-a-dəda-m/ → [thæm, mo<ñ", ñ"ëd', díd', ðem]   
 god-emph-blessed-very-obl  
 ‘(By) most blessed God (!)’

As (26f, g) show, /a-a/ is preserved next to a pharyngeal unless the stress is shifted at least two syllables away.

2.6.2.4 **Dominance of/a/** In verbal morphology, sequences of two dissimilar vowels are simplified in favour of the low one, rule R3 (27), as in (28).

(27) R3, Vowel-deletion in verbs

$$\text{ə} \rightarrow \emptyset \% \text{_____} \text{-a},$$

(‘-’ = a morpheme boundary; ‘%’ = before or after)

## (28) Vowel-deletion in verbs

/ɸ-y-ha-ə-ʂ̥ə-aγ-ʂ/ → /ɸ-y-ha-ʂ̥-aγ-ʂ/ → [yɑ',ʂ̥ɑ'ʂ]

3-3-pl-non pres-eat-past-aff

'They ate it.'

**2.6.3 Vowel-Deletion in Nouns** In nominal morphology, rule R4 (29) operates to simplify vowel sequences, as in (30). The rightmost vowel is dominant, vowel quality being immaterial.

## (29) R4, Vowel-deletion in nouns

V → ɸ/ \_\_\_\_ V

## (30) Vowel-deletion in nouns

a. /ʂə/

'horse'

b. /ʂə-a-ʂ/ → /ʂ-a-ʂ/ → [ʂɛʂ]

horse-conn-shelter

'stable'

c. /qʷa/

pig

d. /qʷa-a-ʂ/ → /qʷ-a-ʂ/ → [qʷɛʂ]

pig-conn-shelter

'pigsty'

e. /qʷa/

'son'

f. /qʷa-əy-p'χə/ → /qʷ-əy-p'χə/ → [qʷi:p'χ]

son-num-four

'four sons'

Only abstract nouns built with the suffixes /-a-γ(a)/ -conn-ness appear to be exceptions to (29). Examples may be seen in §3.1.2.6, (85c).

**2.6.4 Full-Grades in Nouns and Adjectives** In bisyllabic nouns and adjectives unanalysable long [ɑ']'s (/aa/), as in /maaχʷa/ 'blessed,' tend to exhibit the same behaviour under stress as do sequences of /a-a/ found in verbs (31), though this reduction effect can be suspended in careful or pedagogical speech.

## (31) Behaviour of unanalysable /aa/ in nouns and adjectives under stress

a. /pʂaaʂa/ → [pʂá:ʂɛ]

'girl'

- b. /p̥saaša-daača/ → [p̥sεš, šed', dá', čə]  
girl-beautiful  
'beautiful girl'
- c. /p̥saasá-daača-maač'a/ → [p̥sεš, šed', dəč, čæm, má', č'ə]  
girl-beautiful-lucky/blessed  
'lucky/blessed beautiful girl'

Thus, I have recorded such reducible long vowels as /aa/.

**2.6.4.1 Predictability** Sequences of /aa/ are predictable in these bisyllabic nouns and adjectives, representing a sort of “vrddhi,” “dehnstufe,” or full-grade phenomenon, even when the morphology points to only one /a/ in the first syllable, as in (32a, b). The full-grade is quite automatic if the first member of the compound is a noun (32b). If a postposition (pre-verb) is the first member, however, then the stem shows only an/a-/grade (32c) (Kuipers 1975: 36, §43). Otherwise the /a/-grade is lexically conditioned (cf. Chapter 5).

(32) Predictable full-grade in nouns

- a. /čə-fa/ → [čé>f, fæ>]  
sea-skin  
'surface of the sea'
- b. /wa-fa/ → /waafa/ → [wá', fæ>]  
sky-skin  
'heaven, sky'
- c. /š'ə-a-čə-a/ → /š'aza/ → [š'εčæ>]  
under-conn-throw-dat  
'lining (of a garment)'

Rule R8 (33) would account for such full-grades.

(33) R8, Full-grades in nouns and adjectives

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{+syllabic} \\ \text{+low} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{+long} \\ \text{+noun/adjective} \end{array} \right] / \# \underline{\quad} \text{C(C)a}$$

**2.6.4.2 Exceptions** Only a few forms appear to be irregular exceptions, as in (34).

(34) Some unpredictable exceptions to full-grade

- a. /baaš/  
‘walking stick’
- b. /?aay/  
exclamation, ‘oho!’ ‘well then!’
- c. /?a-bža/ → ([?\*ɔ>b', bžε])  
cattle pen-door  
‘gate to the cattle yard or pen’

Apart from (34b) all nouns beginning in /?/ are systematic exceptions to the full-grade rule. A few examples are given in (35).

(35) Nouns and adjectives with initial /?/

- a. /?aša/ ‘tool, weapon’
- b. /?abya/ ‘herd of beef cattle’
- c. /?asa/ ‘tame, quiet’
- d. /?aza/ ‘skillful,’ ‘master, doctor’

**2.6.5 Vowel-Colouring** The two-vowel system of Kabardian is typologically of great interest, but is also known from other regions beyond the Northwest Caucasian family (in the Ndu family of Papua New Guinea (Allen and Hurd 1972; Laycock 1965; Pike 1965), Mandarin Chinese (Chao 1934; Liu Fu 1932), Ethiopic Ge'ez (Colarusso 1975: 380), and perhaps one stage of Proto-Indo-European (Colarusso 1981: 499–502)). For a general discussion of Kabardian vowel-colouring (assuming three vowels), see Catford (1984: 30–47).

**2.6.5.1 Schwa** /ə/ merely denotes a sonorant syllable, so that /C<sub>1</sub>əC<sub>2</sub>/ means “go from onset 1 to coda 2 by the shortest possible sonorant path.”

**2.6.5.2 The Open Vowel** /a/ denotes a sonorant syllable in which the transition from onset to coda is made with some opening of the oral cavity; that is, /a/ is [+low] and involves lowering the tongue body. Such a lowering of the tongue body is antagonistic to the gesture underlying consonantal articulations, [+consonantal], which is a gesture of radical constriction in the sagittal plane of the oral cavity (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 302).

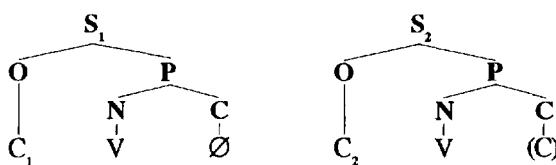
**2.6.5.3 Historical Source** The two-vowel system of Kabardian has arisen by a historical process in which the normal vowel colourings of the syllable peak have been reinterpreted as belonging to the consonants and glides of the syllable margins.

Only [+low] cannot be so reinterpreted, and so the process stopped at two vowels, with core vocabulary at least retaining instances of unpredictable /ə/.

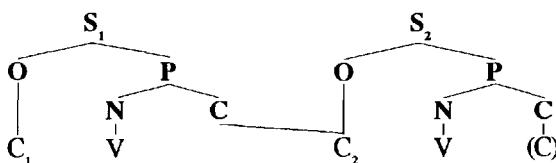
**2.6.5.4 Syllable Closure** The syllable closure rule, R13 (36), applies before the vowel-colouring rule, R14 (37). R13 thus provides the vowels with codas to which they may assimilate, as anticipatory assimilation (to a coda) predominates over lagging assimilation (to an onset).

(36) R13, Syllable closure rule

a. Input



b. Output



(37) R14, Vowel-colouring by coda (disjunctively ordered with R17)

(x, y, z, u, v = ±)

$$[\text{+syllabic}] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{xback} \\ \text{yhigh} \\ \text{zround} \\ \text{ulow} \\ \text{vATR} \end{array} \right] / \text{_____} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{xback} \\ \text{yhigh} \\ \text{zround} \\ \text{ulow} \\ \text{vATR} \end{array} \right]$$

The (universal) redundancy rule R15 (38) turns low vowels into mid before a high coda.

## (38) R15, Redundancy rule

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+high} \\ \text{+low} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-high} \\ \text{-low} \end{bmatrix}$$

2.6.5.5 *Vowel-Colouring* The effects of R14 may be seen in (39).

## (39) Effects of vowel-colouring by coda (R14)

## a. Fronting

- (i) /ʃəd/ → [ʃɛd] ‘donkey’
- (ii) /zaz/ → [zæz] ‘gall, bile’

## b. Backing

- (i) /bzəy̥a/ → [bzəy̥, y̥a] ‘slice, piece’
- (ii) /baq/ → [baqʰ] ‘cow-shed’

## c. Raising

- (i) /žəŷ/ → [ži>ŷ] ‘tree’
- (ii) /zaš/ → [zeš] ‘(to) be bored, tired’

## d. Rounding

- (i) /dəy"/ → [doy"] ‘thief’
- (ii) /day"ə/ → [dɔy"y"u] ‘good’

## e. Rounding and raising

- (i) /c'ək"/ → [c'uk"] ‘small’
- (ii) /t'ak"/ → [t'ok"] ‘small,’ ‘few,’ ‘a little’

The allophone of /ə/ in (39d, (i)) overlaps with that of /a/ in (39e, (ii)). Consonantal cues are therefore crucial in distinguishing between the vowels.

2.6.5.6 *Underlying Vowels* The underlying vowels may be seen before labials and the laryngeal /R/ (40). They tend to be front (note coincidental fronting in (39a)).

## (40) Underlying vowels (no colouring)

- a. /bəbə/ → [bé>b, bɛ>(")] ‘(to) fly, flutter’
- b. /q'ab/ → [q'á>b] ‘pumpkin’
- c. /psə?a/ → [psé>?, ?æ>] ‘wetness’
- d. /na?a/ → [ná>?, ?æ>] ‘attention, care’

2.6.5.7 *Rounded Glottal Stop* /?<sup>r</sup>/ merely rounds a vowel, as in (41).

(41) Lip-rounding due to /?<sup>r</sup>/

- a. /s'ə?<sup>r</sup>/ → [s'ö>?<sup>r</sup>] ‘upper part, top side’
- b. /ʃa?<sup>r</sup>/ → [ʃö>?<sup>r</sup>] ‘(to) moan’

2.6.5.8 *Vowels and Pharyngeals* The contrast /ə/-/a/ is not neutralised before /h/. Witness (42).

(42) Maintenance of the vowel contrast before pharyngeal

(V<sup>†</sup> = pharyngealised vowel)

- a. /k"<sup>ə</sup>h/ → [k"<sup>ə</sup>h] ‘long’
- b. /q"<sup>ə</sup>h/ → [q"<sup>ə</sup>h] ‘ship, vessel’
- c. /da-hə-n/ → [da'h, hē'n]  
with-carry out-inf(initive)  
‘to carry something out with someone’s help’
- d. /də-hə-n/ → [də'h, hæ'n]  
opening-enter-inf  
(i) ‘to enter (as into a door)’; (ii) ‘to call upon someone’

The pharyngealisation of the vowels alters their colours, but not so much that they are neutralised.

2.6.5.9 *Syllable Onset* In words with a final vowel, syllable onset colours the vowel by rule R17 (43) as may be seen in (44). These lagging effects are less reliable than those produced by R14. Backing (44a, c) seems to be more reliable than raising or rounding, suggesting that R17 is really a collection of independent phonetic detail rules. Final /ə/ is frequently nasalised, apparently because empty coda is equivalent to rest position (see §2.6.5.1).

(43) R17, Vowel-colouring by onset

[+syllabic]	→	$\begin{array}{c c} \text{xback} & / \\ \text{yhigh} & \left[ \begin{array}{c c} \text{xback} & \\ \text{yhigh} & \\ \text{zround} & \\ \text{ulow} & \\ \text{vATR} & \end{array} \right] \\ \hline \end{array}$	—
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## (44) Variable vowel-colouring due to onsets

(by descending frequency of occurrence)

- a. /kʷə-a/ → [kʷwa], [kʷwæ], [kʷo]  
move-intr  
'(to) move'
- b. /ša/ → [še], [šæk], [šæ]  
'hundred'
- c. /kʷə/ → [kʷʷwə(")], [kʷʷwɛ(")], [kʷʷu(")]  
'core, middle'
- d. /šə/ → [ši(")], [šiɛ(")]  
(i) 'to shear (sheep)'; (ii) 'to measure'

**2.6.6 Glide Codas and Vowel-Colouring** When a glide, such as /y, w, h/, occupies a coda, rule R14 completely assimilates the vowel peak to the glide coda. When that coda is explicitly filled by a glide, that is, when the glide is not the result of the syllable closure rule R13, then rule R18 (45) optionally applies (almost always, except in careful speech). R18 is simply a case of loss with compensatory lengthening. If the syllable closure rule R13 has filled the coda with a glide from the following onset, then there is no independent segment to be lost and compensated for by R18.

(45) R18, Glide coda loss ( $[_o X_o]$  = independent onset, perhaps =  $\emptyset$ )

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-consonantal} \\ \text{+syllabic} \\ \text{xother} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-consonantal} \\ \text{-syllabic} \\ \text{xother} \end{bmatrix}$	$[_o X_o] \rightarrow$	1	$\emptyset$	$[_o X_o]$
1	2			[+long]	

**2.6.6.1 Examples** The effects of R13, R14, and R18 are all seen in the forms in (46).

## (46) Open syllables from glide codas (R13, R14, R18)

- a. /q'əw/ → [q'u']  
'swan'
- b. /psa-w/ → [psɔ']  
life-pred  
'alive, living'

- c. /bəy/ → [bi']  
‘enemy’
- d. /cə-ya/ → /c-ay/ → [c<sup>b</sup>e']  
wool-one of  
‘cherkesska’ (national coat, lit., ‘the one of wool’)
- e. /ø-y-ha-λaay<sup>\*</sup>ə-n-ʂ/ → /ø-y-ah-λaay<sup>\*</sup>ə-n-ʂ/ → [ya', λɔy<sup>\*</sup>, y<sup>\*</sup>ɪns]  
3-3-pl-see-fut-aff  
‘They will see it.’

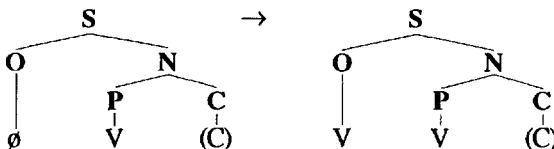
**2.6.6.2 Unreducing Long Open Vowel** Form (46e) shows the plural personal index form on verbs. It is identical to that which appears as a suffix, /-ha/. In (46e), however, it has undergone metathesis when attached to an index (in pre-root position). This metathesis will be dealt with below. Here, it suffices to point out that /h/ is a glide (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 303) and that as such it behaves analogously to the /y/ in (46d), which has also undergone metathesis. /h/ is [+low] and when put into a coda serves to make any preceding vowel [+low] as well. Such resulting long [ɑ']'s, which do not reduce when stressed is shifted off of them, are represented as /ah/ (if preceded by a segment), or /ha/ (if the plural), even if they are not related to the plural suffix. Note by contrast that /aa/ in the second syllable in (46e) has reduced because of stress shift even though /ah/ has not. Such unreducing long vowels are often found in loan words, as in (47).

(47) Loan words with unreducing /ah/

- a. /sahbəy/ → [sa', bɪ']  
‘baby’ (from Arabic)
- b. /nahrt/ → [nɑ'r<sup>b</sup>t]  
‘Nart’ (a race of heroes)  
(from an Iranian language, perhaps Ossetic)
- c. /nahrt-χ<sup>\*</sup>/ → [nɑ'r<sup>b</sup>t'úχ<sup>\*</sup>]  
Nart-millet  
‘corn, maize’ (both roots of Iranian origin)

**2.6.6.3 Empty Initial Onset** There is another source of irreducible [ɑ'] that is associated with initial syllables. There is a rule R16 (48) which fills empty onsets of initial syllables.

(48) R16, Empty initial onset-filling rule



**2.6.6.4 Initial Schwa** If the initial vowel is /ə/, then the realisation is as in (49a). If it is /a/, then the results are as in (49b-e), with (49e) showing one of two possible vowel sequences.

(49) Effects of filling empty initial onset (by decreasing frequency) (R16)

- a. /ə/ → [ə̥], [fiə̥] ([fi] [-low])  
     pronunciation of letter for /ə̥/  
 b. /a-pšaaša/ → [a'p̚, pšá', še], [aqp̚, pšá', še], [fiap̚, pšá', še]  
     ‘the girl’

c. /a-da/ → [á'd̚, d̚e], [aád̚, d̚e], [fiád̚, d̚e]  
     inh(erent) poss(ession)-father  
     ‘(someone’s) father’

d. /adéğə/ → [a', díğ, ğə<], [aqd̚, díğ, ğə<], [fiad̚, díğ, ğə<]  
     ‘Adyghé, Circassian’

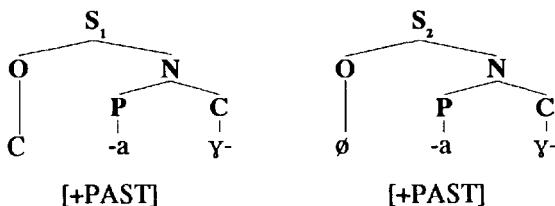
e. /mə-aža/ → [meá', že], [meağáz, že], [meħáž, že]  
     ‘this billy goat’

As the forms in (49b, d) show, the resulting [a'] is not reduced by shift in stress. The most frequent realisation, [a'], is the result of something like a mirror image version of R18, with initial glide and homorganic vowel melding into a long segment (with filled onset and coda).

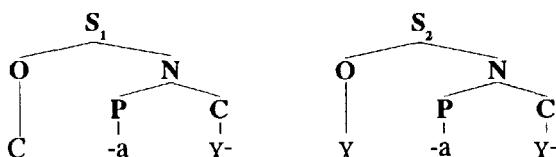
**2.6.6.5 The Past Tense** There is one further source of irreducible [ə']. This arises from the past tense morpheme through a rule strictly limited to it, R5 (50).

(50) R5, Onset-filling with past tense

### a. Input



### b. Output



R6 (51) then sonorises /χ/ in the codas.

(51) R6, Sonorisation of past tense codas

/χ/ → /f/

Then R18 (45) applies to give forms such as those in (52).

## (52) Remote past tense forms

It is only with such a concatenation of rules that one can give a coherent account of the past and the past of the past (the remote past) and still account for the phonology in a natural way. Henceforth, all instances of past tense will be transcribed underlyingly as /-ay/.

**2.6.6.6 Stress and the Past Tense** There are two independent forms of evidence that confirm the analysis of irreducible [ə'] as /ah/, or /af/ from /-ay/. That regarding /ah/ must await the section on verbal phonology. That involving the past tense is based upon stress assignment. Stress is recessive in verbs (§2.5.2 (11b)). It falls before the last filled coda of purely verbal suffixes (no plural or participial endings). The forms in (53) show “naked” past tenses. These are passives exhibiting semantics much like English passives (see Kardanov (1955: 1025) for these relatively rare constructions). These are stressed as though [ə'] ended in a glide or consonant.

(53) Passives built with present auxiliary verb (unstressed) and past tense suffix

- a. /ø-?ʷə̂xə-ž-ay ma-a-χʷə/ → /ø-?ʷə̂xə-ž-áfi m-a-χʷ/ → [ʔʷŷx̄, ̂x̄iž̄, ž̄á' moχʷ]  
3-harvest-finally-past 3-pres-happen  
'It is being harvested.'
- b. /ø-s-λaaža-ay ø-χʷə-aγ-š/ → /ø-z-λaž-áfi ø-χʷ-afí-š/ → [z, λež, žá' χʷa's]  
3-I-work-past 3-happen-past-aff  
'It was done by me.' or 'It has been done by me.'

**2.6.6.7 Otiose Third Vowel** All the cases of [ə'] have thus been accounted for and there is no need to postulate a third vowel, [+low, +back, (+long)], as some linguists have done.

## 2.7 Phonology

There are a number of phonological processes, some of which have already been presented. In isolation these are simple, but feeding into one another the output can be exceedingly complex.

**2.7.1 Vowel-Deletion before Glide Onset and Glide-Vowel Metathesis** These two phenomena are captured by rules R7 (54) and R10 (55). While the two effects are never seen apart from one another, the two rules are nevertheless distinct, since one other rule, R9 (58), can intervene between them (and R8 must follow R7). In (62) (§2.7.5), R10 applies recursively starting before the verb root and working leftward across the verbal indices.

## (54) R7, Vowel-deletion before glide onset

C V G (G) V → 1 ø 3 4 5,    G = [-round]  
 1 2 3 4 5

## (55) R10, Glide-vowel metathesis after non-syllabic

C G V → 1 3 2,    G = [-round]  
 1 2 3

R7 must apply before the rule that gives full-grades, R8. R7 and R10, applying in that order, are responsible for the so-called “fused” forms of (56) (Kuipers 1960: 36).

## (56) Fused forms

- a. /mə-ya/ → /m-ya/ → [me'y]  
 wild apple-one of  
 ‘wild apple tree’
- b. /da-ya/ → /d-ya/ → [de'y]  
 nut-one of  
 ‘nut tree’
- c. /na-ya/ → /n-ya/ → [ne'y]  
 eye-bad  
 ‘malice’
- d. /ø-y-ha-a-λaaγʷə/ → /ø-y-ha-ə-λaaγʷ/ → /ø-y-ah-ə-λaaγʷ/ →  
 [ya; λá'yʷ]  
 3-3-pl-pres-see  
 ‘They see it.’

R7 and R10 ( feeding into R14 and R18) account for the [ə'] of the third person plural verbal index (§2.6.6.1, (46e)).

2.7.2 Rounded Glide The glides in (54) and (55) must not be /w/, since, as (57) shows, this glide does not undergo the processes in (56).

## (57) Stability of /w/

- a. /da-a-w-a/ → /dáawa/ (\*/daw/ by R7 → R10)  
 with-conn-strike-at  
 ‘to quarrel’
- b. /z-a-a-w-a/ → /záawa/ (\*/zaw/ by R7 → R10)  
 recip(rocal)-dat-conn-strike-at  
 ‘battle’

- c. /ʃaawa/ → /ʃáawa/ (\*/ʃaw/ by R7 → R10)  
‘youth, pageboy (in the sagas)’
- d. /ʃə-a-wa/ → /ʃáawa/ (\*/ʃaw/ by R7 → R10)  
horse-conn-person  
‘horseman,’ ‘teamster’

**2.7.3/r/-Intercalation** One of the more unusual rules of Kabardian intercalates an /r/ between two /y/’s in a verbal index sequence (/y/ in a verbal root does not count). This phenomenon is represented by rule R9 (58).

(58) R9, /r/-intercalation in sequences of verbal indices

$\emptyset \rightarrow r / y (h) \_ \_ \_ y$

R9 must come between rules R7 and R10 in order to give a coherent account of the forms in (59) (see Dumézil (1975: 99) for full details of the verb ‘to give’).

(59) Forms showing the effects of the rule sequence

a. Form of indirect object index

- (i) /ø-q'ə-s-a-w-tə-aγ-ʂ/  
3-hor-me-dat-you-give-past-aff  
‘You gave it to me.’ or ‘You loaned it to me.’
- (ii) /ø-q'ə-z-a-p-t-afi-ʂ/ (by R3, R6, R20, R24: s→z, w→p)
- (iii) [q'ɪz, zæp<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>áʂ] (by R13, R14, R18)

b. With R7 → R10

- (i) /ø-q'ə-s-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-ʂ/  
3-hor-me-dat-3-non pres-give-past-aff  
‘He gave it to me.’
- (ii) /ø-q'ə-z-a-y-ə-t-afi-ʂ/ (by R3, R6, R24)
- (iii) /ø-q'ə-z-y-ə-t-afi-ʂ/ (by R7)
- (iv) /ø-q'ə-z-ə-y-t-afi-ʂ/ (by R10)
- (v) [q'ɪz, zi<sup>h</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>áʂ] (by R14 and R18)

c. With R7 → R10

- (i) /ø-q'ə-y-a-s-tə-aγ-ʂ/  
3-hor-3-dat-I-give-past-aff  
‘I lent it to him.’
- (ii) /ø-q'ə-y-a-s-t-afi-ʂ/ (by R3 and R6)
- (iii) /ø-q'-y-a-s-t-afi-ʂ/ (by R7)

- (iv) / $\emptyset$ -q'-a-y-s-t-af-i-\$/ (by R10)  
 (v) [q'e's, t<sup>b</sup>a's] (by R14 and R19)

d. Form with /r/-intercalation: R7 → R9 → R10

- (i) / $\emptyset$ -y-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-\$/  
 3-3-dat-3-non pres-give-past-aff  
 'He (she) gave it to him (her).'  
 (ii) / $\emptyset$ -y-a-y-ə-t-af-i-\$/ (by R3 and R6)  
 (iii) / $\emptyset$ -y-y-ə-t-af-i-\$/ (by R7)  
 (iv) / $\emptyset$ -y-r-y-ə-t-af-i-\$/ (by R9)  
 (v) / $\emptyset$ -y-r-ə-y-t-af-i-\$/ (by R10)  
 (vi) [yir, ri', t<sup>b</sup>a's] (by R14 and R18)

**2.7.4 Schwa-Epenthesis for Initial Glides** In (59d, (vi)) a rule of /ə/-epenthesis has been at work. I have already abrogated any commitment to an exact account of this process (§2.6.1.3), since the full lineaments of the phenomenon are as yet too complex. R11 (60) merely accounts for the syllabification of initial glides.

(60) R11, /ə/-epenthesis for initial glides

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \textcircled{ə} / \# \text{ [-consonantal]} \text{ _____ } \text{ [+consonantal]}$$

This rule follows R10.

**2.7.5 /y/-Deletion** There is a rule that deletes a /y/ when it is immediately followed by a glide or a sonorant consonant, R12 (61).

(61) R12, /y/-deletion

$$y \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ _____ } \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ [+sonorant]} \\ \text{ [-syllabic]} \end{array} \right]$$

This rule applies recursively. It follows R11. R12 accounts for the forms in (62).

(62) /y/-deletion before sonorants

a. With loss before /r/

- (i) / $\emptyset$ -q'ə-y-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-\$/  
 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-give-past-aff  
 'He gave it to him (act of interest to speaker).'

- (ii) /ø-q'ə-y-a-y-ə-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R3 and R6)
  - (iii) /ø-q'ə-y-y-ə-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R7)
  - (iv) /ø-q'ə-y-r-y-ə-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R9)
  - (v) /ø-q'ə-y-r-ə-y-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R10)
  - (vi) /ø-q'ə-r-ə-y-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R12)
  - (vii) [q'ə<ɾ, rɪ', t̪áʂ]
- (by R14 and R18)

b. With loss before /h/

- (i) /ø-y-ha-a-y-ha-ə-tə-ay-ʂ/  
3-3-pl-dat-3-pl-non pres-give-past-aff  
'They gave it to them.'
  - (ii) /ø-y-ha-ə-y-ha-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R1, R3, and R6)
  - (iii) /ø-y-h-a-y-ha-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R7)
  - (iv) /ø-y-h-a-r-y-ha-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R9)
  - (v) /ø-y-h-a-r-y-ah-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R10 first time)
  - (vi) /ø-y-h-a-r-ayh-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R10 second time)
  - (vii) /ø-y-a-h-r-ayh-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R10 third time)
  - (viii) /ø-y-a-h-r-ah-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R12)
  - (ix) [yá, rá, t̪áʂ]
- (by R14 and R18)

c. With loss before /h/ twice

- (i) /ø-q'ə-y-ha-a-y-ha-ə-tə-ay-ʂ/  
3-hor-3-pl-dat-3-pl-non pres-give-past-aff  
'They gave it to them (act of interest to the speaker).'
  - (ii) /ø-q'ə-y-ha-ə-y-ha-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R1, R3, and R6)
  - (iii) /ø-q'ə-y-h-a-y-ha-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R7 first time)
  - (iv) /ø-q'ə-y-h-a-y-ha-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R7 second time)
  - (v) /ø-q'ə-y-h-a-r-y-ha-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (by R9)
  - (vi) /ø-q'ə-a-y-h-r-ayh-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (successive applications of R10)
  - (vii) /ø-q'ə-a-h-r-ah-t-əfɪ-ʂ/ (successive applications of R12)
  - (viii) [q'a, rá, t̪áʂ]
- (by R14 and R18)

**2.7.6 Schwa-Epenthesis and Deletion** The phenomena of /ə/-epenthesis and deletion are complex. The following is not an exhaustive account, but must be considered a substantial start toward a complete understanding of these matters.

**2.7.6.1 General Schwa-Epenthesis** Another epenthesis rule, R19(63), accounts for the forms, both verbal and nominal, in (64).

## (63) R19, General /ə/-epenthesis rule for sonorants

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ə} / [\text{+consonantal}] \longrightarrow \begin{cases} \text{+consonantal} \\ \text{+sonorant} \end{cases}$$

## (64) Forms showing epenthesis

## a. Verbs

- (i) /ɸ-ɸ-t-y-a-y-ə-χə-aγ-ʂ/  
3-3-surf-dir-dat-3-non pres-take-past-aff  
'He stole it from him.'
- (ii) /ɸ-ɸ-t-y-a-y-ə-χ-aɦ-ʂ/ (by R3 and R6)
- (iii) /ɸ-ɸ-t-y-y-ə-χ-aɦ-ʂ/ (by R7)
- (iv) /ɸ-ɸ-t-y-r-y-ə-χ-aɦ-ʂ/ (by R9)
- (v) /ɸ-ɸ-t-y-r-ə-y-χ-aɦ-ʂ/ (by R10)
- (vi) /ɸ-ɸ-t-r-ə-y-χ-aɦ-ʂ/ (by R12)
- (vii) [tʰri:, χɑ́ʂ] (by R14 and R18)
- or (viii) /ɸ-ɸ-tə-r-ə-y-χ-aɦ-ʂ/ (optionally from (vi) by R19)
- (ix) [tʰər, ri:, χɑ́ʂ] (by R14 and R18)

## b. Nouns

- (i) /fəz-ɪ/ → /fəz-ər/ (by R19)  
woman-abs  
'the woman (abs)'
- (ii) /məλ-m/ → /məλ-əm/ (by R19)  
ice-obl  
'ice (obl),' 'on the ice'

R19 appears to be optional in verbs in pre-root position. In post-root position it is obligatory (65), just as in nominals.

## (65) Obligatory /ə/-epenthesis in post-root position in verbs

- a. /ɸ-kʷ-a-n-w-ʂ/ → /ɸ-kʷ-a-nə-w-ʂ/ → [kʷy>n, núʂ]  
3-come-intr-fut-definite time)-aff  
'He will come (at some definite time).'
- b. /ɸ-χʷə-ʐə-n-q'm/ → /ɸ-χʷə-ʐə-nə-q'əm/ → [χʷiʐ, ʐin, nəqʷ, q'əm]  
3-happen-again-fut-not  
'It will not happen again.'

**2.7.6.2 Schwa-Epenthesis in Compounds** There is a distinct rule of epenthesis, R20 (66), that operates in nominal and adjectival agglutinated phrases or compounds in order to avoid consonant clusters of undue length.

(66) R20, Epenthesis in nominal or adjectival phrases or compounds

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ə} / [-\text{syllabic}] \_\_\_ [-\text{syllabic}](-[\text{syllabic}])[\text{+syllabic}] \#$$

R20 inserts a /ə/ before a final member of a phrase or compound when the preceding stem ends in a consonant or glide, if that final member is an open monosyllable. These effects can be seen in (67a–c), and are to be contrasted with (67d, e).

(67) Epenthesis in phrases or compounds

- a. /warad-p'qə/ → /warad-ə-p'qə/  
song-frame  
'melody'
- b. /məλ-psə/ → /məλ-ə-psə/  
ice-water  
'melt water'
- c. /fəz-žə/ → /fəz-ə-žə/  
woman-old  
'old woman'
- d. /{x-a-mə-s'}-{?á-a-wa}/ (\*/{x-a-mə-s'}-ə-{?a-a-wa})/  
{mass-dat-not-need}-{exist-conn-adj}  
'without loss, wholly'
- e. /{?\*àx\*}-{s'-á-a-p'a}/ (\*/{?\*a x\*}-ə-{s'a-a-p'a})/  
{business}-{do-intr-conn-place}  
'institution, place of business'

**2.7.6.3 Final Schwa-Deletion in Verbs** There is a rule of /ə/-deletion, R21 (68), that can lop off a final /ə/ of a verb if the original form would have been longer than two syllables (69). Its application is marginally optional.

(68) R21, Final /ə/-deletion in long verbal forms ( $\Sigma$  = a sonorant syllable)

$$\text{ə} \rightarrow \emptyset / \Sigma \Sigma C \_\_\_ \#$$

## (69) Examples of final /ə/-deletion in verbs

## a. Undeleted

/ø-s-a-w-š̩ə/ → [s̩y>, š̩ɪʳ]

3-I-pres-prog-eat

'I always eat it.' or 'I am eating it.'

## b. Deleted

/ø-q'a-s-a-w-š̩ə/ → [q'εz, z̩y>, š̩] ([q'εz, z̩y>, š̩ɪʳ>])

3-hor-I-pres-prog-eat

'I always eat it (at my place).' or 'I am eating it (my food).'

**2.7.6.4 Final Schwa-Deletion in Nouns and Adjectives** R21 is generalised to R22 (70) in nominals and adjectives. R22 produces monosyllabic forms, unlike the case with verbs.

## (70) R22, Final /ə/-deletion in nominals and adjectives

ə → ø / Σ C \_\_\_\_\_ #

The results of R22 are seen in (71).

## (71) Examples of final /ə/-deletion in nominals and adjectives

a. /na-g"ə/ → /na-g"/ → [nog"]

eye-zone

'face (around the eyes)'

b. /λ'ə-žə/ → /λ'ə-ž/ → [λ'ɪž]

man-old

'old man'

c. /warad-ə-p'q'ə/ → /warad-ə-p'q'/ → [wòr, rəd, dəp'q']

song-ep v-frame

'melody' (67a)

d. /məλ-ə-psə/ → /məλ-ə-ps/ → [mɪλ, λíps]

ice-ep v-water

'melt water' (67b)

e. /fəz-ə-žə/ → /fəz-ə-ž/ → [fɪz, zíž]

woman-ep v-old

'old woman' (67c)

f. /na-p'c'ə/ → /na-p'c'/ → [nep'c']

eye-falsehood

'false'

**2.7.7 Rounding and Labialisation** An unusual rule is R23 (72), with a shift of [+round] to [+labial]. This assimilates the glide index /-w-/ 'you (sg)' to the consonant of a following morpheme (73).

(72) **R23, /-w-/ assimilation**

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-consonantal} \\ \text{+round} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+consonantal} \\ \text{+labial} \end{bmatrix} / \text{—} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{(+)consonantal} \\ \text{-sonorant} \end{bmatrix}$
---

(73) Effects of R23

- a. /ø-q'ə-w-λaaγ"ə-aγ-ʂ/ → /ø-q'ə-p-λaaγ"ə-aγ-ʂ/ →  
 $[q'\epsilon>p^h, \lambda a \gamma^*, \gamma^{\acute{a}} \cdot \dot{s}]$   
 3-hor-you-see-past-aff  
 'You saw him.'
- b. /sə-q'ə-w-da-k"ə-a-n-ʂ/ → /sə-q'ə-p-da-k"ə-a-n-ʂ/ →  
 $[səq'', q'\epsilon>b, dok''^h, k''^h \acute{e}ns]$   
 I-hor-you-com(itative)-move-intr-fut-aff  
 'I shall go with you (sometime).'
- c. /ø-q'ə-w-t-y-a-s-χə-a-ʂ/ → /ø-q'ə-p-t-y-a-s-χə-a-ʂ/ →  
 $[q'\epsilon>p^h, t^h e^s, \hat{x} \acute{a} \cdot \dot{s}]$   
 3-hor-you-surf-dir-dat-I-take-past-aff  
 'I stole it from you.'
- d. /ø-q'ə-w-ʔ"ə-a-w-ħa/ → /ø-q'ə-p-ʔ"ə-a-w-ħa/ → [q'\epsilon>p, ?"o', ħǣ]  
 3-hor-you-edge-pres-prog-enter  
 'He is approaching you.'
- e. /ø-w-a-w-ʂə/ → /ø-b-a-w-ʂə/ → [bó'ʂ] (or [wó'ʂ])  
 3-you-pres-prog-do  
 'You are doing it.'

Noteworthy in (73d) is the behaviour of /ʔ"/ as [+consonantal] (see §2.1.2.11), rather than as an expected glide (Chomsky and Halle 1968: 303). (73e) shows optional dissimilation of ergative subject index /-w-/ before present progressive /-a-w-/ (Abitov et al. 1957: 110).

**2.7.8 Voice Assimilation** In (73a, c) a rule of voice assimilation was also at work upon the index /-w-/ to produce [p<sup>h</sup>]. This voicing rule is R24 (74).

(74) R24, Voice-assimilation of verbal indices ( $\alpha = \pm$ )

$$[+\text{consonantal}] \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \alpha \text{ stiff glottis} \\ -\alpha \text{ lax glottis} \\ (\langle \alpha \text{ closed glottis} \rangle) \end{array} \right] \% \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \alpha \text{ stiff glottis} \\ -\alpha \text{ lax glottis} \\ \langle \alpha \text{ closed glottis} \rangle \end{array} \right]$$

In R24, aspiration ([+stiff glottis], redundantly [+open glottis]) is opposed to voicing ([+laxed glottis]). Most accounts of Kabardian also represent the indices as assimilating in glottalisation ([+closed glottis], [+laxed glottis]) and I have included this for such dialects, even though my informant did not show a great tendency in this direction (hence the parentheses around this change in the rule output). Examples of R24 are given in (75).

## (75) Verbal index voicing

## a. Voicing between vowels

/ø-w-a-s-a-w-tə/ → [wö>z, zó't<sup>b</sup>]

3-you-dat-I-pres-prog-give

'I am giving it to you.'

## b. Devoiced form

/ø-w-a-d-tə-ay-\$/ → [wöt<sup>b</sup>, t<sup>b</sup>á's]

3-you-dat-we-give-past-aff

'We gave it to you.'

## c. Underlying form of personal index

/ø-s-a-w-a-w-tə/ → [so>, wó't<sup>b</sup>] (also [səb, ó't<sup>b</sup>], see (73e))

3-me-dat-you-pres-prog-give

'You are giving it to me.'

## d. Devoiced form

/ø-s-a-w-tə-ay-\$/ → [sep<sup>b</sup>, t<sup>b</sup>á's]

3-me-dat-you-give-past-aff

'You gave it to me.'

## e. Underlying form of personal index

/ø-d-a-w-txə/ → [dó<', txír']

3-we-pres-prog-write

'We are writing it.' or 'We always write it.'

## f. Devoiced form

/ø-d-txə-ay-\$/ → [t<sup>b</sup>, txá's]

3-we-write-past-aff

'We wrote it.'

## g. Underlying form of personal index

/ø-f-a-w-t̪ə/ → [fó', t̪ɪr̩]

3-you(pl)-pres-prog-write

‘You(pl) are writing it.’ or ‘You(pl) always write it.’

## h. Glottalised form (reported by some linguists)

/ø-f-a-d-a-w-t̪ə/ → [f, f̥ed', dó·t̪ɪ] (?[f, f̥ed', dó·t̪ɪ])

3-you(pl)-despite-we-pres-prog-write

‘We are writing it (against your(pl) wishes)/(despite you(pl)).’

**2.8 Morphophonological Rule**

One process of a phonological character is conditioned by the position of certain morphemes. In effect the prefixes on a verb come only in schwa-grades when such prefixes have two or more indices between them and the stem (76).

## (76) Schwa-grade prefixes in the verb

## a. Full-grade

/sa a-r ø-q'ə-w-ə"a-s-s'ə-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'ɛpəwəsəs'səʂ])

I 3-abs 3-hor-you-for-I-do-past-aff

‘I did it for you.’

## b. Schwa-grade

/sa a-r ø-q'ə-w-ə-ø-da-s-s'ə-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'ɛpəwədəs'səʂ])

I 3-abs 3-hor-you-for-3-with-I-do-past-aff

‘I did it for you with his/her help.’

## *Morphology of the Noun, Adjective, and Pronoun*

### 3.1 The Noun

I shall discuss gender, number, case, articles and quantification, and postpositions, in that order.

**3.1.1 Gender** There is no grammatical gender, but limited distinctions with regard to sexual gender can be made. The forms in (77) provide a few examples of productive distinctions.

#### (77) Gender distinctions

- a. /c'əχ\*-ə-χ\*/  
people-ep v-male  
'men'
- b. /c'əχ\*-ə-bz/  
people-ep v-female  
'women'
- c. /ʃə-χ\*/  
horse-male  
'stallion'
- d. /ʃə-bz/  
horse-female  
'mare'

The forms in (78) show specialisations. Form (78a) shows the use of the word for 'mother' in a form that looks very much like an old taboo form, while (78c) shows the use of 'male' in a more metaphorical sense, as 'manly.'

#### (78) Specialised gender-like distinctions

- a. /dəγ\*ə-ž-hana/  
thief-old, wicked-mother  
'female wolf'

b. /dəy"ə-ž/

thief-old

'wolf'

c. /k'ə-χ"/

man-male

'hero'

**3.1.2 Number** Two numbers are distinguished: singular (unmarked) and plural (usually marked) (79). Plurals that are marked are definite ('the X') or are indefinite but specific ('a certain X,' that is, known to the speaker but not yet to the hearer), and are cited in the specified absolutive case /-r/.

(79) Singular-plural

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
a. /k'ə/	/k'ə-ha-r/
man	man-pl-abs
	'the men,' 'certain men'
b. /fəz/	/fəz-ha-r/
woman	woman-pl-abs
	'the women,' 'certain women'
c. /wəna/	/wəna-ha-r/
house	house-pl-abs
	'the houses,' 'certain houses'

**3.1.2.1 Plural Groups** Occasionally the plural suffix can be used to denote social groups, such as families (80). In such a function the definite oblique ending is absent.

(80) Plural as a social collective

- a. /məwħamad-ha y-ha-dayž/
- Muhammed-pl 3, poss-pl-near
- 'to the Muhammeds'
- b. /nay"ay-ha y-ha-wəna/
- Noghwey-pl 3, poss-pl-house
- 'house of the Noghweys'

**3.1.2.2 Special Particle for Groups** Looser social groupings do not exhibit the plural, but use an odd particle (81).

- (81) Loose social grouping without plural (use of particle /səma/)

/dəwdahr-səma/

Dudar-bunch(?)

‘Dudar and his cohorts, friends’

**3.1.2.3 Indefinite Quantities** When nouns are indefinite and unspecified, ‘an X of some sort,’ as opposed to indefinite and specific, ‘a certain X,’ or generic, no plural expression exists. Indefinite quantities of countable nouns are also unmarked for plurality, as in (82), and do not exhibit plural concord (82c).

- (82) Indefinite quantities unmarked for plurality

a. /ʃə kʷad/

horse many

‘many horses’

b. /ʔana q'am ɸ-q-ɸ-ha-š-a-a-y-s/

serving table (= /ʔana/) many 3-hor-3-pl-bring-in-past-aff

‘They brought in many tables.’

c. /ɬə zə-bžaana/

man a-few

‘several men’

**3.1.2.4 Counted Nouns** The expression of plurality on the noun itself is suppressed in counted nouns as well, even though these are marked as specified (83), but is maintained on the verb.

- (83) Suppression of plurality in counted nouns

a. /ɬə-əy-ʂə-r ɸ-qa-a-kʷə+a-ha(-r)/

man-num-three-abs 3-hor-pres-move+intr-pl(-pres)

‘Three men are coming.’

b. /pʂaaʂa-əy-p'ɬə-r ma-a-də+a-ha(-r)/

girl-num-four-abs 3-pres-sew+intr-pl(-pres)

‘The four girls are sewing.’

In this regard the plural suffix /-ha/ appears to be in complementary distribution with the counting numerals and so to act as a default numeral.

**3.1.2.5 Possessed Nouns** The expression of plurality is suppressed in possessed nouns, even though they show plurality in verbal concord (84). (Henceforth, the

surface form of the verb is given within parentheses in a broad phonetic transcription when it might aid the reader with the complexities of verbal phonology.)

(84) Lack of plural on possessed plurals

- /θ-yə-vaaq'a-r ɸ-q'a-y-ə-fa᷑"a-žə-hə-w/ ([q'efó᷑"ežafiu·])  
 3-poss-shoe(s)-abs 3-incept(ive)-3-non pres-don-again-pl-comp  
 'that he donned his shoes once more (and)...'

**3.1.2.6 Exceptions** A number of nouns fall outside the normal singular ~ plural contrast by nature of their semantics. Examples of these mass, collective, abstract, generic, and inherently plural nouns are given in (85). Only the inherently plural nouns show plural concord.

(85) Nouns that do not exhibit plurality

a. Mass nouns

- (i) /ha᷑əyɑ/  
     'flour'
- (ii) /ʃa/  
     'milk'
- (iii) /ʃaaq'a/  
     'ink'
- (iv) /᷑"an᷑'ay/  
     'bran'

b. Collective nouns

- (i) /s'aalɑ-y"aaλa/  
     youth-group (?) (/y"aaλa/ a bound morpheme)  
     'youth (people),' 'young people'
- (ii) /c'ə᷑"/  
     'people'

c. Abstract nouns

- (i) /s'aalɑ-a-yɑ/  
     youth-conn-ness  
     'youth (as an age)'
- (ii) /by"a-a-y/  
     broad-conn-ness  
     'breadth, width'
- (iii) /᷑"ə-ža-a-y/  
     white-colour-conn-ness  
     'whiteness'

## d. Generic nouns (almost any noun can be used generically)

- (i) /ʌə/  
‘meat’ (as in ‘eating meat’)
- (ii) /wa-f/  
sky-good  
‘good weather’
- (iii) /kʷəf/  
‘(the) dark, darkness’

## e. Inherently plural nouns

- (i) /z-a-ʂx-a-y\*/  
recip-dat-eat-intr-companion  
‘school fellows’ (lit., ‘companions in eating together’)
- (ii) /z-a-ʔʷə-pa-f-a-y\*/  
recip-dat-lip-nose-good-conn-companion  
‘comrades, confederates’  
(lit., ‘those who “good face” one another , that is, speak well of one another’)
- (iii) /z-a-psaɬ-a-y\*/  
recip-dat-word-conn-companion  
‘company, people who are talking together’

**3.1.3 Cases** Specified (definite or indefinite) nouns in Kabardian can take four cases: absolute, oblique, instrumental, and predicative. Two of these, however, the instrumental, and the predicative, might be considered to be other than cases. The instrumental is actually a suffix on the oblique, while the predicative has a multitude of roles but can generally be seen as an adverb suffix or a complementiser, a sign that the noun comes from an underlying absolute or oblique which has been lost due to syntactical complexities.

**3.1.3.1 Declension of Specified Nouns** The declension of two specified (slightly definite) nouns is given in (86) (inst = instrumental).

## (86) Declension of specified nouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
a. Vowel final stem (/gʷaata/ ‘sword’)		
abs	gʷaata-r	gʷaata-ha-r
obl	gʷaata-m	gʷaata-ha-m
inst	gʷaata-m-kʷa	gʷaata-ha-m-kʷa
pred	gʷaata-w	gʷaata-ha-w

b. Consonant final stem (/šəd/ 'donkey')

abs	šəd-ə-r	šəd-ha-r
obl	šəd-ə-m	šəd-ha-m
inst	šəd-ə-m-kʷa	šəd-ha-m-kʷa
pred	šəd-ə-w	šəd-ha-w

3.1.3.2 *Unspecified, Generic, and Possessed Nouns* For unspecified (highly indefinite) and generic nouns, only the instrumental case is marked, all the other cases collapsing into one unmarked form, as in (87). Strangely, possessed nouns often inflect like unspecified or generic nouns.

(87) Declension of unspecified or generic nouns

	Singular	Plural	Possessed (my-poss-)
--	----------	--------	----------------------

a. Vowel final stem (/gʷaata/ 'sword')

abs	gʷaata	-	s-yə-gʷaata
obl	gʷaata	-	s-yə-gʷaata
inst	gʷaata-kʷa	-	s-yə-gʷaata-kʷa
pred	gʷaata	-	s-yə-gʷaata

b. Consonantal final stem (/šəd/ 'donkey')

abs	šəd	-	s-yə-šəd
obl	šəd	-	s-yə-šəd
inst	šəd-kʷa	-	s-yə-šəd-kʷa
pred	šəd	-	s-yə-šəd

One maintains the cases in the unspecified or generic declension only because of their existence in the specified. If one considers the instrumental to be a suffix, then the expression of all case is simply suppressed in unspecified or generic nouns.

3.1.3.3 *Case Function* Kabardian is ergative at a deep level. The function of the absolute case is straightforward: the subject of intransitives and predicatives and the direct object of transitives. That of the oblique is more complex, covering all other grammatical roles, sometimes with the addition of the instrumental. Only when syntactical complexity has led to the loss of underlying structure (grammatical relationships) in the surface, does the predicative then emerge as a default case for a lost underlying absolute or oblique. This is also the most likely source for those uses of the predicative in which it marks a predicate or adverb. Examples of the most important functions follow.

**3.1.3.3.1 Absolutive** The absolutive is the subject of a predicative in (88a) and an equational in (88b).

(88) The absolutive in copulas

- a. Subject of a predicate complement

/k'ə-r yən-θ-\$/

man-abs big-be-aff

‘The man is big.’

- b. Subject of an equational sentence

/a k'ə-r a-wək"ə-a-k"ə-a-θ-\$/

that man-abs the-murder-conn-ag(ent)-be-aff

‘That man is the murderer.’

In (89) the absolutive marks the subject of an intransitive.

(89) Subject of an intransitive

/k'ə-r ma-a-k"ə+a/

man-abs 3-pres-move+intr

‘The man is coming.’

**3.1.3.3.2 Oblique** In (90) examples are given of the uses of the oblique.

(90) Uses of the oblique

- a. Subject of a transitive

/k'ə-m p'saaša-r θ-y-ə-λaaγ"ə-aγ-\$/

man-obl girl-abs 3(abs)-3(obl)-non pres-see-past-aff

‘The man saw the girl.’

- b. Agent of a causative

/k'ə-m sa a-r θ-s-a-y-ə-γa-s'a-aγ-\$/ ([si'yəs'a·s])

man-obl me 3-abs 3(abs)-me-dat-3(obl)-non pres-caus(ative)-do-past-aff

‘The man made me do it.’

- c. Indirect object of three-place verbs

/sa p'saasá-m ha-r θ-y-a-s-tə-aγ-\$/

I girl-obl dog-abs 3-her-dat-I-give-past-aff

‘I gave the dog to the girl.’

- d. Indirect object of benefactive

/sa λ'ə-m (pap's'a-k"ə)a vaaq'a-ha-r θ-θ-λ"ə-a-s-s'a-aγ-\$/

I man-obl (for-inst) shoe-pl-abs 3(abs)-3(obl)-for-I-make-past-aff

‘I made the shoes for the man.’

## e. General locative of a stative verb

/ñ'ə-r q"aaža-m ø-ø-yə-s-š/  
 man-abs village-obl 3(abs)-3(obl)-cont-be situated-aff  
 'The man lives in the village.'

## f. General goal of a dynamic verb

/ñ'ə-r q"aaža-m ø-y-a-ža-aγ-š/  
 man-abs village-obl 3(abs)-3(obl)-dat-go/set off-past-aff  
 'The man went to/set off for the village.'

## g. Locus of activity

/pšaaša-r ɬana-m ø-ø-q'a-f-a-aγ-š/  
 girl-abs serving table-obl 3(abs)-3(obl)-hor-dance-on-past-aff  
 'The girl danced on the table.'

## h. Restrictive locus of an "anti-passive"

/pšaaša-r g'aana-m ø-y-a-də-a-aγ-š/  
 girl-abs shirt-obl 3(abs)-3(obl)-dat-sew-intr-past-aff  
 'The girl was sewing at the shirt.' (action incomPLETED)

### 3.1.3.3.3 Instrumental

The forms in (91) illustrate a few of the uses of the instrumental case (suffix).

## (91) Uses of the instrumental case (suffix)

## a. Definite instrument

/ñ'ə-ñ'ə-m g'aata-m-k"a yənə-žə-r ø-y-ə-wək"ə-aγ-š/  
 man-male-obl sword-obl-inst giant-evil-abs 3(abs)-3(obl)-non pres-kill-  
 past-aff  
 'The hero killed the giant with the sword.'

## b. Indefinite instrument

/ñ'ə-ñ'ə-m g'aata-k"a yənə-žə-r ø-y-ə-wək"ə-aγ-š/  
 man-male-obl sword-inst giant-evil-abs 3(abs)-3(obl)-non pres-kill-past-  
 aff  
 'The hero killed the giant with a sword.'

## c. Direction

/da ñanəq"ə(-m)-k"a d-a-w-k"ə+a/  
 we side-obl-inst we-pres-prog-move+intr  
 'We are moving to the side.'

## d. Restrictive predicate

/s'aala-r wərəs-ə-bza-k"a t̪əλ ø-y-a-w-g"-a/  
 boy-abs Russian-ep v-tongue-inst book 3(abs)-3(obl)-dat-prog-call-to  
 'The boy reads Russian books.' or  
 'The boy is reading Russian books.'

3.1.3.3.4 *Predicative* In (92) some uses of the predicative are given. This case will be discussed further in the sections dealing with syntax.

(92) Some uses of the predicative

a. Predicative

/žə̄ḡ Ø-v-a-rə-y-ha-mə-š'a-žə Ø-šə-t-š, žə̄ḡ-w-y mə-žə̄ḡ-w, c'ə̄x"-w-y mə-c'ə̄x"-w/ (Hadaghat'la 1968, vol. 1: 263)

tree 3-you(pl)-dat-inst-3-pl-not-know-again 3-loc(ative)-stand-stat(ive affirmative) tree-pred-and not-tree-pred person-pred-and not-person-pred

'The tree that stood there would not have been recognisable to you—a tree and yet not a tree, a person and yet not a person.'

b. Interrogative adverbials

(i) /xat-w/  
who-pred  
'by whom, to whom' (interrogative)

(ii) /sət-w/  
what-pred  
'by what, how, to what' (interrogative)

c. Partitive

/g"az-w zə-?aməš'a Ø-q'a-s-šāx"-aγ-š/  
wheat-pred one-handful 3-hor-I-buy-past-aff  
'I bought one handful of wheat.'

d. Lost underlying case

(i) Underlying structure  
/[sa [sa γ"əš'-r Ø-s-yə-?a-š] γ"əš'-r Ø-s-wəp'aš'ə-aγ-š]/  
[I [I iron-abs 3-me-poss-belong-stat] iron-abs 3-I-flatten-past-aff]  
'I flattened (= pounded out) the iron which I had.'

(ii) Derived structure

/sa γ"əš'-w Ø-s-yə-?a-r Ø-s-ə-wəp'aš'ə-aγ-š/  
I iron-pred it-I-poss-belong-abs it-I-ep v-flatten-past-aff  
'I flattened (= pounded out) the iron which I had.'

As the negation /mə-/ and the verbal conjunction /-əy/ in (92a) indicate, the true predicative use of this case appears to come from an underlying verbal use of a noun. The predicative forms in (92a) may thus have had an underlying origin such as that in (93).

## (93) Underlying source for predicative use of /-w/ case

- a. /ø-(mə-)žə̂-ø-š/ → /ø-(mə-)žə̂-w/  
3-(not-)tree-be-stat  
'It is (not) a tree.'
- b. /ø-(mə-)c'ə̂x"-ø-š/ → /ø-(mə-)c'ə̂x"-w/  
3-(not-)person-be-stat  
'It is (not) a person.'

If the analysis in (93) is correct, then the predicative use of /-əw/ is in fact a subordinating complementiser to an underlying copular sentence. This would be in accord with the use of /-əw/ as a complementiser with predicative or adverbial force, as in (94) (see §§6.1.2, 6.5.3, 6.7.3–4 in syntax).

## (94) Complementiser character of /-w/

/yə-šha-cə-r pša-m ø-ø-ž"a-da-w wa-g"-m ø-ø-yə-t-w ø/  
her-head-hair-abs cloud-obl 3(abs)-3(obl)-for-agree-pred sky-surf-  
obl 3(abs)-3(obl)-cont-stand-pred be  
'Her hair was like a cloud and reached to heaven.'

**3.1.4 Articles and Specificity** The expression of definiteness, indefiniteness, genericness, and such in Kabardian is complex. The chief distinction is between referential and non-referential nouns, rather than definite and indefinite as in English. This distinction is based upon one of specified referentiality (overt or implied) as opposed to unspecified referentiality (non-referential or uncertain referential status) (§3.1.2.3).

**3.1.4.1 Referential Nouns** Referential nouns are expressed by case endings (86). Such a noun may be either definite or indefinite in its English sense. Indefinite but referential nouns can be further specified by the use of a referential suffix, as in (95b). Plurals (95c) are weakly referential.

## (95) Referential nouns

- a. /žə-r/  
man-abs  
'the man, a man, some man'
- b. /zə-žə-g"ar/  
one-man-certain  
'a (certain/particular) man'
- c. /žə-ha-r/  
man-pl-abs  
'men'

**3.1.4.2 Non-referential Forms and Quantifiers** Kabardian further makes the following non-referential contrasts (96). Some of these correspond to familiar English quantifiers.

(96) Non-referential contrasts in the noun

a. Generic noun

/k'ə φ-y-a-ś'ə-f/

man 3-3-pres-do-able

‘A (any) man (men) can do it.’ (any number of men)

b. Restricted generic noun

/zə-k'ə φ-y-a-ś'ə-f/

one-man it-3-pres-do-able

‘A (one, any) man can do it.’ (any one man)

c. Multiple generic noun

/k'ə-zahwəλ (zə-bžaana) φ-y-a-ś'ə-f/

man-several (a-few) it-3-pres-do-able

‘Several men can do it.’ (more than one)

d. Generic group noun

/k'ə-q"əp φ-y-a-ś'ə-f/

man-group it-3-pres-do-able

‘Some men can do it.’ (a group)

e. Exhaustive multiple generic noun

/k'ə-q'as φ-y-a-ś'ə-f/

man-each it-3-pres-do-able

‘Each man can do it.’ (general rule for any men)

f. Exhaustive generic group noun

/k'ə-ps(t)aw φ-y-a-ś'ə-f/

man-all it-3-pres-do-able

‘All men can do it.’ (general rule applied to the class of men)

In (96c) /zahwəλ/ is acceptable to my informant for /zə-bžaana/ ‘a-few,’ ‘several,’ but in the literary standard it is restricted in sense to ‘several times.’ In (96f) my informant has /pstaw/ for the literary /psaw/.

**3.1.4.3 ‘Any’** One may note that the non-referential, indefinite quantifier equivalent to English ‘any’ is represented in Kabardian by the bare generic noun (96a), as in (97).

(97) Non-referential, indefinite quantifier (English ‘any’)

/λ'ə φ-šə-ʔ-ah/

man 3-deixis-exist-Q(uestion complementiser)

‘Is any man there?’

**3.1.4.4 Quantification by Rightward Pseudo-Clefting** The quantifiers in (96e, f) also appear in referential functions (98). The exhaustive multiple referential noun construction of (98a) appears in my informant’s speech, though I have been unable to find its counterpart in the literary dialect. These sentences are rightward pseudo-clefted forms that specify the argument of the predicate, precisely like the formalism of modern predicate calculus, for example ‘Fa,’ property ‘F’ exhibited by ‘a.’ The deletion of the final vowel of (98b) seems to be a phonological mark of this specifical function, and is paralleled by similar vowel deletion in the vocative (99), which may also be seen as a specification of topic.

(98) Referential quantifiers

a. Exhaustive multiple referential noun (intransitive predicate)

/sət (yə-)šə-a-n-ah λ'ə-r φ/

what who-eat-intr-fut-Q man-abs be

‘Each man will eat.’

(lit., ‘What (the one) who eats is is a man.’)

b. Exhaustive multiple referential noun (transitive predicate)

/sət φ-yə-šə-m-əy λ'ə-m λa φ-yə-šə φ/

([sɪt yɪšəm̩ λ'əm λæ yɪšə])

what which-3-eat-if-even man-obl meat 3-3-eat be

‘Each man will eat meat.’

(lit., ‘What it is if some one eats is a man eating meat.’)

c. Exhaustive referential group noun

/λ'ə-ps(t)aw-r-əy φ-y-a-š'ə-f/

man-all-abs-even 3-3-pres-do-able

‘All the men can do it.’

Whatever the ultimate underlying sources of (98a, b), they, like (98c), make use of the referential case endings.

**3.1.4.5 Vocative** For nouns ending in a consonant the vocative has no special form, but for those ending in a vowel that vowel is deleted (99).

## (99) Vocative

- /yə ſ'aaλ/ ← /yə ſ'aaλa/  
 ‘O, boy!’

## 3.1.5 Postpositions These are of two sorts.

3.1.5.1 *Postpositions with the Oblique Case* The first and most common shows a pattern of NP-obl postp(osition). These appear to be predominantly genuine postpositions, but include two nouns (100h, i), two verbs (100g, k), and one conjunction (100j).

## (100) Postpositions

- a. /ʃaanda-ra/ since-adv(erb) = ‘since that time’
- b. /p'ſawnda/ ‘up until that time’
- c. /naməſ/ ‘apart from, besides’
- d. /day/ ‘at, by, near, to’
- e. /dayž/ variant of (d)
- f. /q'a/ ‘on, along, to, up to’
- g. /na-s/ thither-be situated, reach = ‘thither, up to, to’
- h. /ſha-k"a/ head-inst = ‘after the start, after’
- i. /ſha-a-ya/ head-conn-ness = ‘above, over head’
- j. /paap'ſ'a/ ‘because of, for the sake of’ (usually a clausal conjunction)
- k. /x"a-d-əy-z/ for-agree-num-one/all = ‘like’
- l. /z-a-x"a-k"ə/ recip-dat-for-core = ‘between’

3.1.5.1.1 *Syntax of Postpositions* Typical examples of their syntax are shown in (101). The pronoun takes an oblique /-r-/ followed by the postposition and then the instrumental /-k"a/.

## (101) Syntax of true postpositions

- a. /sa wa-r-ſha-k"a ſə-q'a-k"ə+a-aγ-ſ/  
 I you-inst-head-inst I-hor-move+intr-past-aff  
 ‘I came after you.’
- b. /sa wa-r-paap'ſ'a-k"a ø-(w-xf"a-)s-ſ'a-aγ-ſ/ ((pxf"y)ſſ'č'ſ)  
 I you-obl-for(benefactive)-inst 3-(you-for-)I-do-past-aff  
 ‘I did it for your sake.’
- c. /q'aaλa-m na-s ma-a-k"ə-a/  
 town-obl thither-reach 3-pres-move-intr  
 ‘He is going to (as far as) the town.’

**3.1.5.1.2 Inherently Possessed Postpositions** Such postpositions can exhibit an inherent possessed form, as in (102).

(102) Inherent possessed form of postpositions

- a. /ø-yə-ʂha-m ø-y-ah-ʂhaaya ø-yə-t-ʂ/  
3-poss-head-obl 3-poss-inh poss-above it-dir-stand-aff  
'It is above his head.'
- b. /ø-y-ah-λandara ø-q'a-k"ə+a-r-q'm/  
3-poss-inh poss-since 3-hor-move+intr-pres-not  
'Since that time he does not come.'
- c. /λ'ə-r q'aalə-m ø-y-ah-dayž ø-q'a-k"ə+a-ay-ʂ/  
man-abs town-obl 3-poss-inh poss-near 3-hor-move+intr-past-aff  
'The man drew near the town.'

**3.1.5.1.3 Plural Possessives** The forms in (102) must not be confused with the obligatory plural possessives seen in (103).

(103) Plural possessive forms of postpositions

- a. /ø-y-ha-ʂha-m ø-y-ha-ʂhaaya ø-yə-t-ha-ʂ/  
3-poss-pl-head-obl 3-poss-pl-above 3-dir-stand-pl-aff  
'It is above their heads.'
- b. /pʂaaʂa-r λ'ə-ha-m ø-y-ha-dayž ø-q'a-k"ə+a-ay-ʂ/  
girl-abs man-pl-obl 3-poss-pl-near 3-hor-move+intr-past-aff  
'The girl drew near to the men.'
- c. /t-y-a-pλ-a-r ʂha+y"ə+bʐa-ha-m ø-y-ha-zaχ"ak"ə  
surf-dir-dat-look-at-abs head+goal+door-pl-obl 3-poss-pl-between  
ø-k"ə-y-ə-λ+ha-ay-ʂ/ ([k"i·λħaʂ])  
3-core-3-non pres-lie+act-past-aff  
'He placed the picture between the windows.'

**3.1.5.2 Clitics** Members of this smaller group, consisting of one verb (104a) and two nouns (104b, c), behave like cliticised elements: N-postp-obl.

(104) Clitic postpositions

- a. /na-wə-ʐ/  
thither-prog-go  
'after, on the trail of'
- b. /q"ə-a-a-γə/  
corner/niche-conn-ness  
'behind, in the lee of'

- c. /s'a-a-yə/  
 ground-conn-ness  
 'under, underneath'

**3.1.5.2.1 Syntax of Clitics** Typical patterns for (104) are shown in (105). I have marked the forms in (105) for stress to show that the resulting form in (105a) retains its long /a-a/ by means of a secondary stress.

(105) Cliticised postpositions

- a. /ʃag'á-a-y"á-nawéž-əm ø-q'á-a-k"ə+a/  
 dinner-conn-time-after-obl 3-hor-pres-move+intr  
 'He is coming after dinner time.'  
 b. /ø wəna-q"áayə-m ø-q"á-a-w-ha/  
 he house-behind-obl 3-lee-pres-prog-enter  
 'He is going behind the house (so as to take shelter in its lee).'

**3.1.5.2.2 Possessed Variants of the Clitics** The forms in (104) can also occur in simple possessed constructions, as in (106). This non-clitic formation appears to be obligatory for plural nouns (106c).

(106) Simple possessed construction

- a. /ʃag'á-a-y"á-m ø-yə-nawéž-əm ø-q'á-a-k"ə+a/  
 dinner-conn-time-obl 3-poss-after-obl 3-hor-pres-move+intr  
 'He is coming after dinner time.'  
 b. /ø wəna-m ø-yə-q"áayə-m ø-ø-q"á-a-w-ha/  
 he house-obl 3-poss-lee-obl 3-3-lee-pres-prog-enter  
 'He is going behind the house (so as to take shelter in its lee).'  
 c. /ø wəna-ha-m ø-y-ha-q"áayə-m ø-ø-ha-q"á-a-w-ha/  
 he house-pl-obl 3-poss-pl-lee-obl 3-3-pl-lee-pres-prog-enter  
 'He is going behind the houses (so as to seek shelter).'

The verb in (106c) also shows that these cliticisable postpositions are reflected in verbal morphology as nominal prefixes, /...-ø-ha.../, in contrast with the behaviour of true postpositions in (102a) and (103a).

**3.1.5.3 Postpositions and Pre-verbs** Both types of postpositions are rare in use, their role being predominantly taken by geometric pre-verbs in verbal inflection. Some verbs, such as /-k"ə+a-/ move+intr, take virtually no spatial pre-verbs and require postpositions for geometric specification, as in (100a, c), (102b, c), (103b),

(105a), and (106a). Both types of postpositions, however, can occur with corresponding pre-verbs, as in (106b, c), though this is quite rare. It is only with benefactives, such as (101b), that a postposition precludes the occurrence of a pre-verb and conversely. This is because these non-geometric postpositions are cliticised to form such pre-verbs (§4.2.4.1).

### 3.2 Adjectives

The morphology of adjectives is surprisingly complex.

**3.2.1 Predicate Adjectives** Predicate adjectives make use of an equational copular sentence.

**3.2.1.1 Present Tense Forms** Kabardian makes use of the zero copula with the affirmative suffix /-ʂ/, which, in non-dynamic verbs, has a stative force (107).

(107) Predicate adjectives

- a. /pśaaša-r daaħħa-∅-ʂ/  
girl-abs beautiful-be-aff  
'The girl is beautiful.'
- b. /q'əp'c'a-ha-r fəc'a-∅-ʂ/  
plum-pl-abs black-be-aff  
'The plums are black.'
- c. /q'əp'c'a-r fəc'ə-w-əy x" + aγ-∅-ʂ/ ([x"ayʂ])  
plum-abs black-pred-and become+ness-be-aff  
'The plum is black and ripe.'

**3.2.1.2 Past Tense Forms** In the past copular constructions, the predicate adjective takes the past tense.

(108) Past predicates

- a. /pśaaša-r daaħħa-∅-aγ-ʂ/ ([dəħħa's])  
girl-abs beautiful-be-past-aff  
'The girl was beautiful.'
- b. /q'əp'c'a-ha-r fəc'a-∅-aγ-ha-ʂ/ ([fəc'a-ʂ])  
plum-pl-abs black-be-past-pl-aff  
'The plums were black.'
- c. /q'əp'c'a-r fəc'ə-w-əy x" + aγ-∅-aγ-ha-ʂ/ ([x"ayā-ʂ])  
plum-abs black-pred-and become+ness-be-past-pl-aff  
'The plum was black and ripe.'

**3.2.2 Dependent Adjectives** Those adjectives dependent upon a noun are suffixed directly to that noun. All the inflection of a noun phrase appears suffixed to the adjective, as in (109).

## (109) Dependent adjectives

- a. /pśaaša-daa̚x̥a/ (→ [pśesedá'x̥ə])  
girl-beautiful  
'beautiful girl (generic sense)'
- b. /pśaaša-daa̚x̥a-r/ (→ [pśesedá'x̥er])  
girl-beautiful-abs  
'the beautiful girl'
- c. /pśaaša-daa̚x̥a-ha-r/ (→ [pśeśedá'x̥ahar])  
girl-beautiful-pl-abs  
'the beautiful girls'
- d. /pśaaša-daa̚x̥a-qʷaaγə-m/ (→ [pśeśedá'x̥aqʷáγəm])  
girl-beautiful-behind-obl  
'behind the beautiful girl'
- e. /pśaaša-daa̚x̥a-dəda-ha-r/ (→ [pśeśedəx̥edídafar])  
girl-beautiful-very-pl-abs  
'the very beautiful girls'
- f. /pśaaša-daa̚x̥a-c'ekʷ-ər/ (→ [pśeśedəx̥ec'ukʷər])  
girl-beautiful-little-abs  
'the small beautiful girl'
- g. /pśaaša-daa̚x̥a-c'ekʷ-əy-p'λ'ə-r/ (→ [pśeśedəx̥ec'ukʷi'p'λ'er])  
girl-beautiful-little-num-four-abs  
'the four small beautiful girls'

One should note the behaviour of the double vowels under regressive stress in (109).

**3.2.3 Possessive Adjectives** These adjectives, both attributive and predicative, will be treated along with the possessive pronouns.

**3.2.4 Demonstrative Adjectives** There are three degrees of deixis (110). The most distant, /a-/ , can also be used for items not visible but perhaps close at hand. It is the most frequent deictic adjective in narrative discourse. Also, in such narrative or in conversation the deictic adjectives serve to rank referents, much as 'this,' 'that,' and 'the other' do in English, but in Kabardian the order is /a-/ , /mə-/ , /a-d-ray/ that-other-pro, that is to say 'that,' 'this,' and 'the other' (Mithun 1987; Colarusso 1979b).

## (110) Demonstrative adjectives

- a. /mə-žəğ-ər/  
this-tree-abs  
'this tree' (not too far from the speaker)

- b. /maw-žə̄-ha-r/  
that-tree-pl-abs  
'those trees' (at a distance from the speaker, but still visible)
- c. /a-žə̄-ha-r/  
this/that-tree-pl-abs  
'these/those trees' (not visible to the speaker)
- d. /a-də-ray žə̄-ər/  
that-other-pro tree-abs  
'that other tree' or 'the other tree'
- e. /mə-də-ray žə̄-ər/  
this-other-pro tree-abs  
'this other tree'

Unlike other adjectives, demonstratives precede the noun. They can also serve as demonstrative pronouns, but this function will be covered below in §3.3.

**3.2.5 Gradations of Adjectives** There are three forms of gradation to an adjective: the comparative, a periphrastic superlative, and a periphrastic proximate.

**3.2.5.1 Comparatives** Comparatives are formed using /na᷑/, usually both as an independent word and as a prefix (111a, b), but sometimes as a word only (111c).

### (111) Comparatives

- a. /pśaaša-r ſ'aala-m na᷑-ra na᷑-ə-yəna-ø-ʂ/  
girl-abs boy-obl more-adv more-ep v-big-be-aff  
'The girl is bigger than the boy.'
- b. /sa a-bə na᷑-ra na᷑-ə-fə-w s-a-w-g'-a/  
I 3-obl more-adv more-ep v-good-adv I-pres-prog-read-to  
'I read better than he does.'
- c. /d-əy-q"aaža-r maaž"a ø-q'a-s na᷑ daaža ma-ž"/  
our-poss-village-abs day 3-hor-reach more pretty 3-happen  
'Our village grows prettier with each day.'

**3.2.5.2 Superlatives** Superlatives are formed by using /dəda/ 'just, exactly, very' appended to the comparative (112).

### (112) Superlatives

- a. /pśaaša-r a-bə-ha-m-əy na᷑-ra na᷑-ə-daaža dəda-ø-ʂ/  
girl-abs 3-obl-pl-obl-even more-adv more-ep v-beautiful just-be-aff  
'The girl is the most beautiful of them all.'

- b. /sa fə dəda-ø-ʂ/  
 I good just-be-aff  
 'I am the best.'

**3.2.5.3 Proximates** Forms such as 'nearly adj' are made by use of a special verb (113).

(113) Proximates

- a. /sa wa naʂ-ʂ-ra naʂ-ʂ-yəna-w ø-qʷa-s/  
 I you more-adv more-ep v-big-adv 3-corner-reach  
 'I am nearly as big as you.'  
 b. /sa fə dəda-w ø-qʷa-s/  
 I good just-adv it-corner-reach  
 'I am nearly the best.'

**3.3 Pronouns**

Kabardian shows a first and second person pronoun and a variety of third person pronouns built upon the demonstrative adjectives (§3.2.4).

**3.3.1 Personal Pronouns** The absolute forms of the personal pronouns are given in (114). The third person pronoun in (114) is that unspecified for deixis (§3.2.4 (110c)).

(114) Personal pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1	sa	da
2	wa	fa
3	a-r	a-ha-r

**3.3.1.1 Case Inflection** These forms have the following case inflections.

(115) Inflection of first person pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
abs	sa	da
obl	sa	da
inst	sa-r-kʷa	da-r-kʷa
pred	sa-r-əw	da-r-əw

## (116) Inflection of second person pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
abs	wa	fa
obl	wa	fa
inst	wa-r-k <sup>y</sup> a	fa-r-k <sup>y</sup> a
pred	wa-r-əw	fa-r-əw

## (117) Inflection of third person pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
abs	a-r	a-ha-r
obl	a-bə	a-bə-ha-m
inst	a-bə-k <sup>y</sup> a	a-bə-ha-m-k <sup>y</sup> a
pred	a-r-əw	a-ha-r-əw

The instrumental and predicative of the first and second persons seem to show an old instrumental suffix /-r-/ between the root and the case. This suffix is also seen in the third person predicative.

3.3.1.2 *Demonstrative Adjectives as Pronouns* The demonstrative adjectives (§3.2.4 (110)) can also serve as third person pronouns with their usual deictic sense added to a referential pronominal function. They are inflected like the unmarked deictic pronoun in (117).

## (118) Inflection of proximal pronoun

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
abs	mə-r	mə-ha-r
obl	mə-bə	mə-bə-ha-m
inst	mə-bə-k <sup>y</sup> a	mə-bə-ha-m-k <sup>y</sup> a
pred	mə-r-əw	mə-ha-r-əw

## (119) Inflection of distal pronoun

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
abs	maw-r	maw-ha-r
obl	maw-bə	maw-bə-ha-m
inst	maw-bə-k <sup>y</sup> a	maw-bə-ha-m-k <sup>y</sup> a
pred	maw-r-əw	maw-ha-r-əw

The third person pronouns or demonstrative adjectives may be suffixed by /-d-ray/ other-pro to produce a deictic pronoun (120). These forms do not seem to inflect.

## (120) Forms of 'other'

- a. /a-dray/  
this/that-other  
'the other one'
- b. /mə-dray/  
this-other  
'this other one'
- c. /maw-dray/  
that-other  
'that other one (visible)'

**3.3.1.3 Dependent Possessive Pronouns** The dependent possessive forms of the personal pronouns are written as separate words from the forms which they govern. I have ignored this practice because it is merely an orthographic convention. The stress patterns indicate that the possessive pronoun is a prefix.

## (121) Dependent possessive pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1	s-yə (→ /s-əy/)	d-yə (→ /d-əy/)
2	w-yə (→ /w-əy/)	f-yə (→ /f-əy/)
3	ø-yə	ø-y-ha (→ /y-ah/)

The possessive pronoun reflects the plurality of the possessor, not of the object possessed (122).

## (122) Plurality of possessor

- a. /ø-yə-y-a-ya-gʷ-a-a-kʷ-a-r/
- 3-poss(essed)-dir-dat-caus-read-to-conn-ag-abs
- 'his (her) teacher'
- b. /ø-yə-y-a-yagʷ-aakʷ-a-ha-r/
- 3-poss-teacher-pl-abs
- 'his (her) teachers'
- c. /ø-y-ha-y-a-yagʷ-aakʷ-a-r/
- 3-poss-pl-teacher-abs
- 'their teacher'

**3.3.1.4 Possessive Adjectives** Possessive adjectives (§3.2.3) make use of the third person possessive (123).

## (123) Possessive adjectives

- a. /ʔana-m ɸ-yə-taypχ'a/  
table-obl 3-poss-cover  
'the table's cover,' 'tablecloth'
- b. /tχəλ-əm ɸ-yə-tχəλ-əm-p'a/  
book-obl 3-poss-book-obl-place  
'the book's dust jacket'

**3.3.1.5 Pronouns as Predicates** The independent possessive pronouns function as nouns or predicative adjectives ('mine,' 'yours,' etc.). In the first and second persons they have a reduplicated structure. All forms are built from the dependent possessives by use of the attributive suffix /-ya/ 'the one of, the one pertaining to' (46d).

## (124) Inflection of independent first person possessive pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
abs	sə-s-ya(-r)	də-d-ya(-r)
obl	sə-s-ya-m	də-d-ya-m
inst	sə-s-ya(-m)-kʷa	də-d-ya(-m)-kʷa
pred	sə-s-ya-wa	də-d-ya-wa

## (125) Inflection of independent second person possessive pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
abs	wə-w-ya(-r)	fə-f-ya(-r)
obl	wə-w-ya-m	fə-f-ya-m
inst	wə-w-ya(-m)-kʷa	fə-f-ya(-m)-kʷa
pred	wə-w-ya-wa	fə-f-ya-wa

## (126) Inflection of independent third person possessive pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
abs	y-ya(-r) (→ [ye·(r)])	y-ha-ya(-r) (→ [ya·y(r)])
obl	y-ya-m	y-ha-ya-m (→ [ya·ym])
inst	y-ya(-m)-kʷa	y-ha-ya(-m)-kʷa
pred	y-ya-wa	y-ha-ya-wa

These forms can take the plural suffix, which comes before any of the case endings, to yield forms such as those in (127), with suitable vowel reduction before the predicative (127c) (see Kuipers (1960: 60–61) and §2.6.2.1 (22) above). As is

usually the case with plural nouns and in contrast with the verbs, the rule which deletes /y/ before a sonorant, R12 (61), does not apply in these forms.

(127) Some plural independent possessive pronouns

- a. /sə-s-ya-ha-r/ → [sɪsé·fier]  
my-my-one of-pl-abs  
'my things'
- b. /fə-f-ya-ha-m-kʷa/ → [fəfē·fiæmkʷɛ]  
your(pl)-your(pl)-one of-pl-obl-inst  
'with your(pl) things'
- c. /y-ha-ya-ha-wa/  
3-pl-one of-pl-pred  
'being their things' or 'as their things'  
/y-h-ya-ha-wa/      by R7 (54)  
/y-ahy-ha-wa/      by R10 (55) twice  
[yá'yfiwu]      by R14, R18, and reduction of /a/ before  
/-wa/, see (22)

3.3.2 **Interrogative Pronouns** There is a wealth of interrogative forms, many built upon the root /da-/ (128) (compare the Abaza rational question suffix /-da/ 'who').

(128) Interrogative pronouns

- a. /xat/      'who'
- b. /xat y-ya/      who his-one of = 'whose'
- c. /z-ya/      who-one of = 'whose'
- d. /sət/      'what'
- e. /datxana/      'what (way),' 'how'
- f. /dahrah/      variant of (e)
- g. /dahpša/      'how much,' 'how many'
- h. /dahp̩ʷada/      'what sort'
- i. /sət ūha-kʷa/      what head-inst = 'after what,' 'why'
- j. /dahpša-ʂ/      how much-then = 'when'
- k. /dana/      'where'

3.3.2.1 **Definite and Indefinite Interrogative Pronouns** The interrogative pronouns have both definite and indefinite declensions (129). A definite interrogative means that the inquirer has some definite instance in mind or expects an exact

referent as an answer, whereas an indefinite interrogative means that the inquirer has a more general context in mind or expects a whole class as an answer. For example, a definite question like “Who ate the meat?” might presume an expected answer such as “That man ate the meat.” An indefinite question, “Who goes to war?”, on the other hand, might presume an expected answer, “Men go to war.” All interrogative pronouns are singular.

**3.3.2.2 Declension** /dahrah/ ‘what (way), how’ does not decline. The declension of the other interrogative pronouns follows that of the nouns (§§3.1.3.1 (86), 3.1.3.2 (87)).

(129) Declensions of /ħat/ ‘who’

	<u>Definite</u>	<u>Indefinite</u>
abs	ħat-ər	ħat
obl	ħat-əm	ħat
inst	ħat-əm-kʷa	ħat-kʷa
pred	ħat-əw	ħat-əw

**3.3.3 Indefinite Pronouns** Indefinite pronouns are a distinct set. They form restrictive forms by means of /zə-/ ‘one’ (130).

(130) Indefinite pronouns

- a. /gʷar/ ‘someone, anyone, something, anything’
- b. /zə-gʷar/ ‘one-some = ‘a certain one (thing)’
- c. /qʷam/ ‘several’
- d. /zə-qʷam/ ‘a certain few’
- e. /taλahy/ ‘sometime(s), anytime’
- f. /zə-taλahy/ ‘sometimes, certain times’
- g. /zə-bžaana/ ‘some (times), certain (times)’
- h. /zahwəλ/ variant of (g)

**3.3.4 Relative Pronouns** Relative pronouns are of a highly restricted occurrence, their role almost always being taken by personal indices on the verb. Indefinite relatives, however, can occur independently, for example, as a possessive head (131a), as an indefinite subject head (131b), or as an indefinite direct object head (131c), the latter two usually with the emphatic suffixes /-əy/ ‘even’ or /-rəy/ ‘emphatic’ (<- /-əy-əy/ -and-even, by R9 and R12).

## (131) Independent relative pronouns

- a. /z-əy-ʂha ɸ-y-a-w-a-m-əy a-r ɸ-ƛ'a-n-ʂ/ ([ɬ'ənʂ])  
who-poss-head 3-3-dat-strike-to-if-even 3-abs 3-die-fut-aff  
'He whose head is struck will die.'
- b. /ʃat(-r)əy ɸ-mə-λaaʐa-m-əy a-r ɸ-ʂ̣a-r-q'm/ ([ʂ̣ərəq'm])  
who-(emph)ever 3-not-work-obl-even 3-abs 3-eat-intr-pres-not  
'Whoever does not work, he does not eat.'
- c. /sət(-r)əy ɸ-q'a-s-ʂ'a-m-əy sa wa ɸ-w-ʂ̣a-s-ʂ'a-aʂ-ʂ/ ([pʂ̣'əsʂ'saʂ])  
what-(emph)ever 3-hor-I-do-if-even I you 3-you-for-I-do-past-aff  
'Whatever I did, I did for you.'

**3.3.5 Reflexive** The reflexive pronoun is /yazə/ 'self' (132). Occasionally /ɸ-yə-ʂha-k'ʷa/ his-poss-head-inst, 'by his head,' is used instead.

## (132) Declension of 'self'

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
abs	yazə-r	yazə-ha-r
obl	yazə-m	yazə-ha-m
inst	yazə-m-k'ʷa	yazə-ha-m-k'ʷa
pred	yazə-r-əw	yazə-ha-r-əw

**3.3.6 Negative Pronouns** A special class of negative pronoun, used with negative verbs, is built upon the root /zə-/ 'one,' a case ending, and the suffix /-əy/, which has an emphatic or concessive value ('even,' sometimes equated with 'and') and here emphasises the negative sense of the verb. When /-gʷar-/ is suffixed to the root, no case endings appear. The resulting form, /zə-gʷar-əy/, means 'no one,' 'nothing,' but carries a sense of totality, that is to say 'no one at all,' 'nothing at all.' The meanings of the declined forms are given in (133).

## (133) Sense of the declined forms of the negative pronoun

abs	/zə-r-əy/	'no one, nothing' (absolutive role)
obl	/zə-m-əy/	'no one, nothing' (oblique role)
inst	/zə-k'ʷ-əy/	'with no one, with nothing, no amount'
pred	/zə-w-əy/	'by no means, in no way'

**3.3.7 Reciprocal** The reciprocal rarely exists as a word and does not have a distinct form, /zə/ 'one' being used. Rather, a distinctive verbal index is usually used.

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## *The Morphology of the Verb*

The verb rivals the sentence in expressive power, apparently by making extensive use of a “syntactical” morphology that reflects both deep and surface syntactical structure. To render such a grammatical marvel comprehensible to the reader it will be necessary to depart from the general tone of this grammar and to provide a theoretical overview. In this I have adopted autolexical syntax (Sadock 1991) in spirit without necessarily adhering to generalised phrase structure grammar (Sadock’s preference) in technique. Autolexical syntax (“autolexical grammar” would be better) is a simple and yet powerful theory in which various grammatical components work in parallel, subject to simple constraints, to parse a given string in a variety of ways simultaneously. Thus, a string’s components have at one and the same time distinct linguistic significance, much as a note of music may enter simultaneously into melodic and harmonic structures. Symbolically one might represent such parallel processing as a Cartesian product of grammars,  $G_1 \times G_2 \times \dots \times G_n$ , but because these are rule systems acting upon strings, the net result of such a product is a restricted set of acceptable grammatical forms (see Sadock (1991: 43–47), where a different representation of this process is given), rather than an expanded field of data as would be the result from a Cartesian product of sets. Because the morphology of a language seems to be one component with at most sub-components in it, we shall see that despite several types of morphology acting to make up a verb simultaneously no element belongs to more than one sub-component at a time. The Cartesian product of grammars does not hold, therefore, and instead one has a union of “sub-grammars” operating under complex informational and logical constraints of order to produce an intercalation of elements (Colarusso 1991). The Kabardian verb is of great interest to the contemporary linguistic theorist because it tells us what sort of information morphology must handle.

### 4.1 Theoretical Account

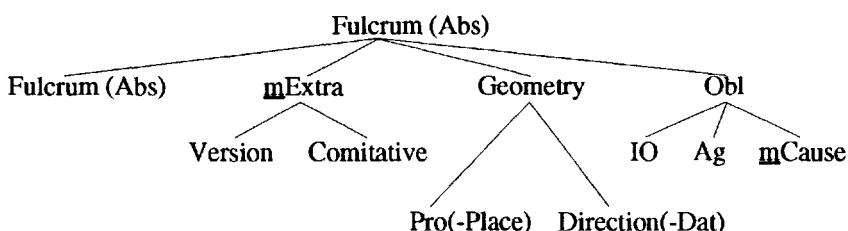
I shall first present the sub-components of morphology that are needed to characterise the Kabardian verb. In doing so I shall give only enough data to illustrate these sub-components without obscuring the theory. In the next section,

however, I shall give an ample survey of data in order to give a representative range of the expressive power of the verb.

**4.1.1 Argument Structure** The Kabardian verb wears its theta roles or argument structure (Sells 1985: 37–38; Haegeman 1991: 35–47, 286–94) on its sleeve. In (134) I have denoted the topmost node as either “fulcrum” or “absolutive.” This is the head of the argument structure in that the sense of the verbal action is determined by the noun in the absolutive for both transitive and intransitive verbs. That noun is the *fulcrum* upon which the verbal action is based and around which it pivots.

The fact that it is a head also implies that the other arguments will stand in an implicational hierarchy with regard to it. In other words the noun in the oblique, denoted by “obl,” will imply that in the absolutive, *obl* → fulcrum (abs), and similarly for the other nodes. In this diagram and others to follow, unusual or special elements (perhaps derived from more complex structures), that is, nodes that are marked, will be marked by “m.” Thus, in (134) the causative node is marked to reflect the rarity, complexity, or difficult semantics of causative verbs. Such causatives may also be derived from a higher matrix verb, but arguments for this have yet to be found. I make the claim here that deep ergative languages, such as Kabardian, are ergative precisely because the argument structures of their verbs has the headed structure of (134).

(134) Argument structure



**4.1.1.1 Fulcrum and Oblique Indices** The ergative fulcrum is the initial index and is in the absolutive (135). To aid the reader I have underlined the relevant morphemes in this and the following sections.

It should be noted in all the following examples that once two or more arguments come between a prefix (of whatever type) and the stem, that prefix shows a schwa-grade form (see §2.8, (76)). For example, in the strings, prefix-*io*-*s*-stem, prefix-*ag*-caus-stem, or prefix-*io*-*ag*-caus-stem, the prefix will be in a schwa-grade. Contrast

/-q'a-/ 'horizon of interest' in (135b, (i)) with /-q'ə-/, its schwa-grade in (135c, (i) and (ii)).

(135) Fulcrum and oblique indices

a. Simple intransitives

- (i) /k'ə-ha-r ma-a-pλə+a-ha/ ([maepλáha])

man-pl-abs 3-pres-look+intr-pl

'The men are looking.'

- (ii) /sa s-a-w-pλə+a/ ([so'pλə])

I I-pres-prog-look+intr

'I am looking.'

b. Two-place transitives

- (i) /k'ə-m-a sa sə-q'a-y-ə-λaaγ"ə-aγ-ha-š/ ([səq'eλáγ'afiéš])

man-obl-pl me me-hor-he-non pres-see-past-pl-aff

'The men saw me.'

- (ii) /sa wa wə-s-λaaγ"ə-aγ-š/ ([wusλáγ'aš])

I you you-I-see-past-aff

'I saw you.'

c. Three-place transitives

- (i) /a-bə wa sa sə-q'ə-w-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-š/ ([səq'wi'táš])

3-obl you me me-hor-you-to-he-non pres-give-past-aff

'He gave me to you.'

- (ii) /wa sa a-r ø-q'ə-s-žə-w-?a-aγ-š/ ([q'əzžep?áš])

you me 3-abs 3-hor-me-again (= back)-you-say-past-aff

'You said it to me.'

d. Causatives

- (i) /sa wa wə-s-ya-a-pλə+a-aγ-š/ ([wizγ...æpλáš])

I you you-I-caus-conn-look+intr-past-aff

'I made you look.'

- (ii) /sa a-bə wa wə-q'a-y-ə-s-ya-a-λaaγ"ə-aγ-š/ ([wuq'e.zγəλáγ'aš])

I 3-obl you you-hor-3-non pres-I-caus-conn-see-past-aff

'I showed you to him.'

- (iii) /sa a-bə-ha-m wa a-r ø-q'ə-w-a-y-ha-s-ya-a-tə-aγ-š/ ([q'wə.zγətáš])

I 3-pl-obl-pl you 3-abs 3-hor-you-to-3-pl-I-caus-conn-give-past-aff

'I made them give it to you.'

In many of the forms of (135) both pronouns and their corresponding indices can occur, though a rule of pro-drop often applies in discourse. Nevertheless, it seems

that these indices cannot be viewed as mere clitics that have been incorporated into the verb. Nor can they be seen as echo pronouns (“*You, (you) come here!*”), since only one echo pronoun can occur in a sentence and by contrast there is no limit to the number of pronouns that can persist in the forms depicted in (135).

**4.1.1.2 Geometric Indices** These provide information about the physical or metaphorical stage upon which the action takes place. In (136c) a discontinuous stem is set off in brackets. These take /-ø(-ha)-/ third person indices.

(136) Geometric

- a. /sa psə-?\*ə-fa-m sə-ø-?\*ə-a-λ-ʂ/ ([soʔ\*əλʂ])  
I river-edge-skin-obl I-3-edge-pres-lie-aff  
'I lay on the river bank.'
- b. /t̥ə-λ-r ɻaana-m ø-ø-t-y-a-λ-ʂ/ ([teλʂ])  
write-lie-abs table-obl 3-3-surf-dir-dat-lie-aff  
'The book lies on the table.'
- c. /fə-za-b̥ə-rə-[xə-]t-ya-a-[k'ə]-aγ-ʂ/ ([fəzəb̥ɪrɪxədγək'əʂ])  
you(pl)-recip-middle-distr(ibuted)-mass-we-caus-conn-exit-past  
'We made you (pl) scatter.'

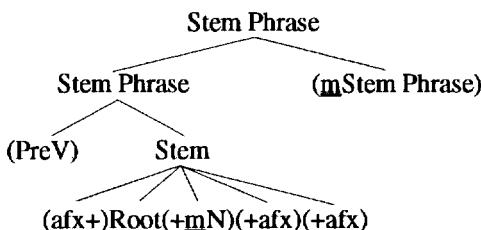
**4.1.1.3 Extras** These are a benefactive (or a detrimental) and a comitative. They are not an obligatory part of the argument structure of any verb, but rather are merely extra referents which can be reflected in the verb (syntactic adjuncts). With the benefactive there exists a separate postposition /paap's'a/, which can be used with a pronoun to preclude a verbal index, but with the detrimental, adversative, and comitative separate postpositions do not exist and the verbal indices must be used. Thus, while obligatory arguments seem to trigger their indices in the verb, non-obligatory ones seem to rely upon the distinct mechanism of cliticisation or incorporation to appear in the verb. Version governs overt third person indices, /-y(-ha)-/, which need not show metathesis.

(137) Version

- a. /p̥saasə-r ø-q'ə-f-ɻ'a-s-ʂə-aγ-ʂ/  
girl-abs 3-hor-you(pl)-for-I-lead off-past-aff  
'I led the girl off for you(pl).'
- b. /p̥saasə-r ø-q'ə-y-ha-fə-w-da-s-ʂə-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'yáfəbdəsʂáʂ])  
girl-abs 3-hor-3-pl-despite-you-with-I-lead off-past-aff  
'I led the girl off with your help despite them.'(said of marriage by abduction)

**4.1.2 Stem Formation (Derivational Morphology)** The verb stems that determine the argument structure show a wide range of derivational morphology. There is suffixation and prefixation, but there is also context-sensitive circumfixation, transparent pre-verb–root combinations, and even rare instances of verbal compounding (marked and somewhat poetic in tone). This derivational sub-component is diagrammed in (138). Nodes within parentheses are optional. In (138) N = noun, PreV = pre-verb, m = marked, and afx = affix (see appendix B).

(138) Derivational morphology



**4.1.2.1 Suffixation** This is an important process. Four of the six suffixes are highly productive. The other two suffixes occur rarely (139d). In some instances an incorporated noun (whence mN of (138)) comes between the root and two suffixes (see (211)).

(139) Suffixation

- /ø-w-a-s-?a+ta-ay-š/ ([wes?\*etá·š])  
3-you-dat-I-say+prolonged-past-aff  
'I told it to you.'
- /sa šxə-n-əm sə-y-a-šxə+a-ay-š/ ([se·šxá·š])  
I eat-inf-obl I-3-dat-eat+intr-past-aff  
'I am trying to eat the food.'
- /sahbəy-r ø-q'ə-w-?a-s'a-s-λ+ha-ay-š/ ([q'ep?eš'esλħá·š])  
infant-abs 3-hor-your-arm-inst-I-lie+act-past-aff  
'I laid the baby in your arms.'
- /yənə-žə-r ø-zə-ħa-t-ya-wək"a+rə+yə-ay-š/ ([zħədħowuk"eriyá·š])  
giant-evil-abs 3-all-mass-we-caus-fall+smooth+down-past-aff  
'We made the evil giant topple over.'

**4.1.2.2 Prefixation** Prefixes can be familiar morphemes that appear elsewhere in other functions, as in (140a), or they can be forms that while transparent are nevertheless restricted in use, as in (140b).

(140) Prefixes

- a. /tə-za-a-w-za+a+w-a/ ([tɪzo'zɑ'wo])  
we-recip-pres-prog-recip+conn+hit-dat  
'We are fighting with each other.'
- b. /sə-w-a-g"ə+pəsa-aγ-\$/ ([suwog"ɛpsɪsɑ'ʃ])  
I-you-dat-heart+think-past-aff  
'I was thinking about you.'

**4.1.2.3 Circumfixation** The occurrence of both a prefix and suffix is called a circumfix. Since one requires the other, this is an instance of context-sensitive morphology (141). The suffix which converts a stative root into an active stem, /-ha-/ in (141a), is the same verb root as /-ha-/ 'to enter'.

(141) Circumfixation

- a. /sə-q'a-tə+s+ha-aγ-\$/ ([səq'ətɪshɑ'ʃ])  
I-incept-down+sit+act-past-aff  
'I sat down.'
- b. /tə-t-y-a-y"ə+a+λ+ə/ ([tətə'y"əλə])  
we-surf-dir-dat-purpose+lie+dyn(amic)  
'We are lying down.'

**4.1.2.4 Pre-verbs** As in most languages, basic verbal action in Kabardian can be modified by preposition-like particles affixed to the verb. Unlike many languages, however, the geometric sense of such "pre-verbs" is almost invariably maintained. I have placed these discontinuous elements in brackets. As (142c) illustrates, these can occur with the more ordinary geometric forms of the fulcrum. These derivational pre-verbs differ from the fulcrum or argument structure ones in that the former have no personal index referent whereas the latter do (§4.1.1.2 (136)).

(142) Pre-verbs

- a. /psə-r ø-q'ə-[xə-žə]-aγ-\$/ ([q'ɪxəžə'ʃ])  
water-abs 3-hor-mass-flow out-past-aff  
'The water flowed out (as from a mass in a bucket or pot).'

- b. /psə-r ø-q'ə-[də-žə]-ay-ʂ/ ([q'ıdɪžá·ʂ])  
water-abs 3-hor-opening-flow out-past-aff  
'The water flowed out (as from a hole or breach).'
- c. /fə-za-bğə-rə-[xə]-t-ya-a-[k"ə]-ay-ʂ/ ([fızæbğırıxədyək"á·ʂ])  
you(pl)-recip-middle-distr-mass-we-caus-conn-exit-past-aff  
'We made you(pl) scatter.'

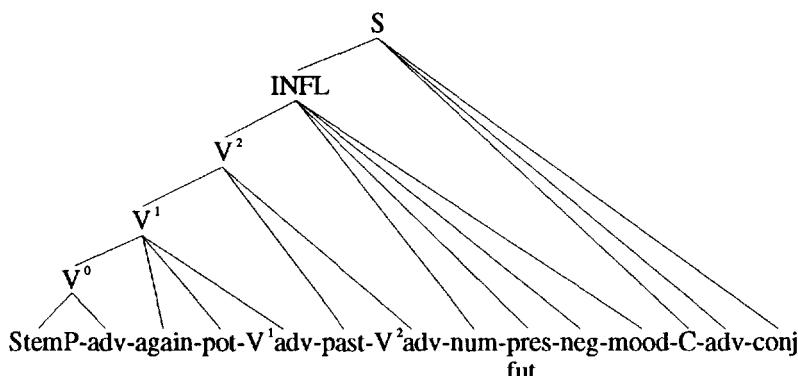
#### 4.1.2.5 Verb Compounding Verb compounding is rare.

##### (143) Verb compounding

- a. /ø-za-bğə-rə-[y"ə+λ+ə]+[k"ə]-ay-ha-ʂ/ ([zæbğıroy"eλək"ə·ħaʂ])  
they-recip-middle-distr-[purpose+lie+dyn]+[exit]-past-pl-aff  
'They scattered and took up positions lying down.'
- b. /ʃə-r psə-m ø-ø-ʂ'-a-[t'ə+s+ə]+[k"ə]-n-w-ʂ/ ([ʃ'ıt'ısək"ınuʂ])  
horse-abs water-obl 3-3-under-dat-[down+reach+dyn]+[exit]-fut-def-aff  
'The horse will drown in the water (river).'

**4.1.3 Post-Stem Clitics** The suffixes following the stem are clitics that attach to various parts of the syntactical tree (144).  $V^0$  is the simple verb. It is the same as the stem phrase.  $V^1$  is a verb-like node between the simple verb and the verb phrase.  $V^2$  is the old verb phrase node. INFL is short for "inflection" and represents the various moods and tenses that can modify the verb phrase. S is the sentence node which is itself subject to adverbial and conjunctional modification. I shall present examples of the various elements going from left to right in (144). In (144) pot = potential, neg = negative, and conj = conjunction.

##### (144) Clitic train of inflectional morphology (herein C = Complementiser)



**4.1.3.1 Stem Phrase Adverbs** Stem phrase adverbs or V<sup>0</sup> adverbs are numerous and productive. They can occur with stem affixes to yield two adverb affixes in a row (145a) and can come with dative affixes of their own (145c). They often require particular pre-verbs and are hence context-sensitive morphology.

(145) Stem phrase (V<sup>0</sup>) adverbs

- a. /sə-da-k"ə+a+ta-yə-žə-aγ-\$/ ([s ɪdok"ətəy ižá'š])  
I-vertical-move+intr+prolonged-up-ref(erential) (self)-past-aff  
'I improved.' or 'I improved again.' or 'Finally, I improved.'
- b. /də-w-t-y-a-psaλə-ah-fə-aγ-\$/ ([dəpte'psaλ aħfá'š])  
we-you-surf-dir-dat-talk-around-able-past-aff  
'We were able to talk all about you.'
- c. /yənə-žə-r q"əšha-λaaħa-m ø-y-a-?"ə-λ'-a-aγ-\$/ ([ye? "yħá'č] )  
giant-evil-abs mountain-high-obl 3-3-dat-stick-near-dat-past-aff  
'The evil giant was stuck (nailed) to the high mountain.'

**4.1.3.2 Reference, Potential, and Self** Next come two morphemes with distinct roles. The first, reference (146), is glossed as 'again,' and less commonly as 'at last,' or 'self.' It can express the fact that the verb implicitly assumes some earlier instance of the action or state. For its final or 'at last' sense the action or state referred to is an intended or anticipated one. A seemingly homophonous affix denotes self. The second, potential (147), is best rendered as 'can.' Both morphemes seem to modify a V<sup>1</sup> node, since the following adverb does (§4.1.3.3 (148)). One might also argue on semantic grounds that they should be included in the pragmatic morphology (157), but a resolution of this matter awaits more work.

(146) Reference

- /ø-q'ə-ø-t-y-a-y-ha-ħə-žə-aγ-\$/ ([q'itera'ħ ižá'š])  
3-hor-3-surf-dir-dat-3-pl-take-again-past-aff  
'They took it back from him.' or  
'Finally, they took it from him.'

(147) Potential

- /ø-q'ə-ø-t-y-a-y-ha-ħə-žə-fə-aγ-\$/ ([q'itera'ħ iżefá'š])  
3-hor-3-surf-dir-dat-3-pl-take-again-pot-past-aff  
'They were able to it back from him.' or  
'Finally, they were able to take it from him.'

**4.1.3.3 Antepenultimate Adverb** After reference and potential comes an adverb that seems to modify a verb node intermediate between the simple verb stem and what was traditionally called a verb phrase node.

(148) Antepenultimate adverbs

- a. /ø-y-a-šxə+ə-žə-fə-pa-aγ-ha-ʂ/ ([yešxəz̥əfəpá·haʂ])  
3-3-dat-eat+intr-again-able-utmost-past-pl-aff  
'They were able to feast again on it.' or  
'Finally, they were able to feast on it.'
- b. /ø-s-šxə-fə-q"ə-aγ-q'm/ ([sšxəfəq"ə·aγ·q'm])  
3-I-eat-able-excess-past-not  
'I was not able to eat too much.'

**4.1.3.4 Past Tense and Penultimate Adverb** Numerous examples of the past tense have already been given. Since the following adverb clearly modifies V<sup>2</sup>, it seems that the past tense suffix does too. This sets it in contrast, however, with the present and future affixes, which modify the inflection node.

(149) Penultimate adverbs

- a. /ø-k"ə+a-ay-ay-k"ə-a-ha-ʂ/ ([k"ə·a·γa·k"əfieʂ])  
3-move+intr-past-past-already-pl-aff  
'They already left long ago.'
- b. /ø-s-š"ə-fə-ay-k"ə-a-ha-ʂ/ ([sš"əfə·a·k"əfieʂ])  
3-I-do-able-past-exhaustive-pl-aff  
'I was able to do it (the tasks) completely.'

**4.1.3.5 The Inflection Node** This node resembles the old aux(iliary) one. Plural number, future and (a rare) present tense, negation, and mood are daughters of this node. As one might expect because of its semantics, it is not bounded by an adverb, thus distinguishing it from the other nodes in (144).

(150) Negation and number

- /ø-q"ə-ø-t-y-a-y-ə-šxə-žə-fə-ay-ha-q'm/ ([q"ətəri·x̥ižəfə·fiaq'ém])  
3-hor-3-surf-dir-dat-3-non pres-take-again-able-past-pl-not  
'He was not able to take them back from him.' or  
'Finally, he was not able to take them from him.'

## (151) Present, future, and moods

- a. /ma-a-k"ə+a-ha-ṛ(-q'əm)/ ([má·k"əħər(-q'ém)])  
3-pres-move+intr-pl-pres(-not)  
'They are (not) going.'
- b. /ø-k"ə+a-ha-n-w-ś/ ([k"əħenú·ś])  
3-move+intr-pl-fut-def-aff  
'They will be going.'
- c. /sə-k"ə+a-aγ-śara/ ([suk"əsäræ])  
I-move+intr-past-opt  
'I would like to have gone.'
- d. /wə-q'ə-s-da-mə-?a+pəq"ə-aγ-ṭa-ma sa ø-q'ə-s-a-ħaħla-k"ə-n-ṭa/  
([wuq'izdæme?əpoq"atæmæ se q'izħeħeħək"intæ])  
you-hor-me-with-not-hand+help-past-irreal-if I 3-hor-me-dat-  
hard-exhaustive-fut-irreal  
'If you had not helped me, it would have been very hard for me.'
- e. /wa a-bə wə-ø-ħə-s-ħaaγ"-aγ-śara-t/ ([wuħisħħa·γ"əsäréħt])  
you 3-obl you-3-deixis-I-see-past-opt-irreal  
'If only I had seen you there!'

**4.1.3.6 Complementisers, Sentential Adverbs, and Conjunctions** The S-node itself can be modified by complementisers, adverbs, and conjunctions. The latter two, with conjunctions being very adverb-like in their syntactical function, bound the node on the right, just as other adverbs have done for the other nodes. The parallel between the S-node and the other V-nodes is, therefore, very close and tempts one to suggest that the S-node is mislabelled. Instead it might better be termed a "maximal V."

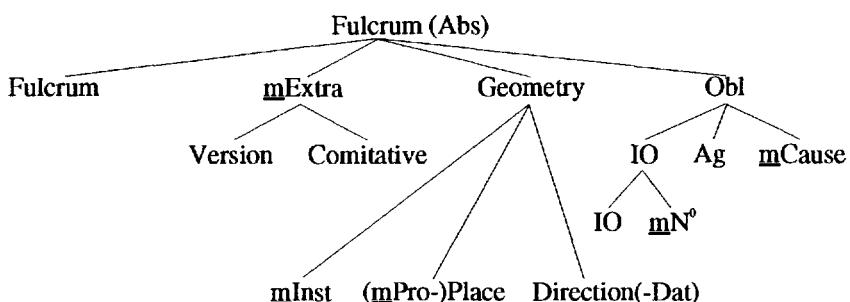
## (152) Complementiser, sentential adverb, and conjunctions

- a. /ø-q'a-k"ə+a-aγ-ṭa-ma/ ([q'ok"ətæmæ])  
3-hor-move+intr-past-irreal-if  
'If he had come...'
- b. /ø-q'a-k"ə+a-aγ-ṭa-ma-əy/ ([q'ok"ətæmí·])  
3-hor-move+intr-past-irreal-if-even  
'Even if he had come...'
- c. /ø-q'a-k"ə+a-aγ-ṭa-ma-əy-əy/ ([q'ok"ətæmæři·])  
3-hor-move+intr-past-irreal-if-even-and  
'And even if he had come...'

**4.1.4 Incorporation** Three sites permit incorporation of a noun (Sadock 1991: 78–110; Baker 1988a).

**4.1.4.1 Sites** Nouns may be incorporated as stem suffixes (mN of (138)), as pre-verbs with an instrumental sense, or as elements that can modify indirect objects. For the last two functions the argument structure in (134) must be enlarged to that in (153). These incorporated nouns can take overt third person indices, the indirect objects whose direction or locus they can serve to elaborate, whereas pre-verbs take zero third person indices.

(153) Enlarged argument structure with incorporation



(154) Pre-root incorporated N

- a. /sə-y-a-λa-ʔʷa-ay-š/ ([se.λoʔʷa.ɪ̥ʃ])  
I-3-dat-footpath (leg)-say-past-aff  
'I asked him.'
- b. /sə-χə-a-psaλə-ħə-n-w-š/ ([sɪχæpsəλæħɪnú.ʃ])  
I-mass-dat-word-enter-fut-def-aff  
'I shall enter the conversation.'
- c. /də-yə-yə-tha+ʔə-χə+d-š/ ([di.ri'thəʔəχəd.ɪ̥ʃ])  
we-dir-poss-god+front-bend+down-aff  
'We are the servants of a god.' (pagan worshippers)  
(Hadaghat'la 1968, vol. 1, §76: 263–65)
- d. /də-ø-yə-rə-yə-da+zə-a-w-kʷə+a/ ([deři'dežó.kʷəa])  
we-3-groove (= path)-distr-dir-out+turn(= circuit)-pres-prog-move+intr  
'We are going for a long walk.'

**4.1.4.2 Stem Noun Incorporation** The stem adverb position (138) is already marked with mN to reflect incorporation (155).

## (155) Stem phrase noun incorporation into adverb position

/sə-q'a-wə+q"ə+a+dəy-ay-š/ ([səq'owuq"ədiyá's])

I-incept-multiple+stretch-joint-past-aff

'I stretched (flexed) myself.'

**4.1.4.3 Instrumental** The instrumental nouns that are incorporated appear to occupy a position reserved for adverbial information. Incorporated nouns in this position can not only be referential (as opposed to the claim that incorporated nouns must always be generic), but can even show possession. Other affixes of this category are examined in §4.2.4.3.

## (156) Instrumentals

/wə-s+?a+s'a-k"ə+a+də-n-w-š/ ([wus?əs'ok"ədīnū's])

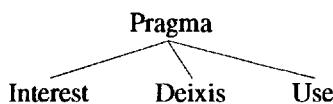
you-my+arm/hand+inst-move+intr+out-fut-def-aff

'You will die by my hands.' or

'You are about to die by my hands.'

**4.1.5 Pragmatical Morphology** Pragmatical morphological affixes need not have an independent correlate anywhere in the sentence. Rather, they reflect the speaker's pragmatical stance with regard to the affairs expressed by the utterance or to the utterance itself (cf. Scancarelli 1986). For example, is it merely a parenthetical adverbial phrase rather than a full sentence? These affixes occupy a position after the initial index (if overt) and appear to be an important "signpost" in the trek across the verb. They are highly productive and of diverse significance. Their structure is that in (157). I have labelled the maximal node "pragma."

## (157) Pragmatical structure



**4.1.5.1 Horizon of Interest** Verbs reflect the speaker's (by polite extension, sometimes the hearer's) physical, social, or emotional stake in the noun in the absolute. Hence, it is an ergative morpheme. Verbs carrying this affix are termed /Pa-k"əc'ə/ arm (hand)-inside = 'in the hand,' as opposed to those without, which are termed /Pa-š'əb/ arm (hand)-back = 'outside the hand.' Their range of meanings is

fascinating, progressing from a least marked personal sense of territory upon which an action takes place, to a marked expression of kinship involvement. This affix (158) is homophonous with a change of state or inceptive one (159) (see Colarusso (1984) for a full discussion). In its kinship sense (158d) /-q'a-/ is context-sensitive and requires an illative stem affix /-a-/.

(158) *Horizon of interest*

- a. /sa wa t̪xəλ̪ə-r ø-w-a-s-tə-aγ-ʂ/ ([wostáʂ])  
I you book-past 3-you-dat-I-give-past-aff  
'I gave you the book.'
- b. /sa wa t̪xəλ̪ə-r ø-q'ə-w-a-s-tə-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'wostáʂ])  
I you book-abs 3-hor-you-dat-I-give-past-aff  
'I loaned the book to you.'  
that is to say,  
'I gave the book to you, but have retained an interest in it.'
- c. /ʃə+wə-m ɬ'ə-r ø-y-a-wək"ə/ ([yewúk"ɪ])  
horse+man-obl man-abs 3-3-pres-kill  
'The horseman is killing the man (a stranger).'
- d. /ʃə+wə-m ɬ'ə-r ø-q'a-y-a-wək"ə+a/ ([q'e'wúk"ɛ])  
horse+man-obl man-abs 3-hor-3-pres-kill+in  
'The horseman is killing the man (speaker's kinsman).'

(159) *Change of state (inceptive)*

- a. /ɬ'ə-r ʂə-m ø-ø-ya-psə-ɬə-aγ-ʂ/ ([yepsɪɬáʂ])  
man-abs horse-obl 3(man)-3(horse)-vertical-descend-down-past-aff  
'The man dismounted (but may soon remount).'
- b. /ɬ'ə-r ʂə-m ø-q'a-ø-ya-psə-ɬə-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'e'psɪɬáʂ])  
man-abs horse-obl 3(man)-incept-3(horse)-vertical-descend-down-  
past-aff  
'The man dismounted (and is finished riding).'

**4.1.5.2 *Adverbial Subordination*** The same pragma tree seems to contain affixes that relegate the entire sentence to one of a sentential adverb. These may be translated into English as sentences with 'how,' 'when,' or 'why.'

(160) *Embedding adverb (control of S')*

- a. /yə-ɬas ø-x"ə-aγ-k"ə-a-ʂ də-z-a-r-a-za-r-a-mə-ɬaaγ"ə-aγ-ra ø/  
([x"ək"əʂ dɪzərəzərəmɪɬə'y"əræ])  
gen(itive)-year 3-pass-past-already-aff we-how-dat-inst-dat-recip-loc-dat-  
not-see-past-part(iciple) copula  
'A year has already passed without our seeing one another.'

- b. /ø-q'ə-z-ñ"ə-z-a-t-y-a-wəva+?a-aγ-ra-ra/ ([q'izñ"izəte:wuvæ?á:ræræ])  
3-incept-what-for-self-dat-surf-dir-dat-stop+there(upright)-past-part-def  
'the reason why he stopped'
- c. /ø-q'ə-zə-z-a-t<sup>h</sup>-y-a-wəva+?a-aγ-m/ ([q'izizete:wuvæ?á:m])  
3-incept-when-self-dat-surf-dir-dat-stop+there(upright)-past-obl  
'when he stopped'

**4.1.5.3 Verbal Deixis** The verb can also denote a particular place where the action took place, quite apart from any details regarding geometric information. This can govern a pronominal index (/ø-(ha-)/) which is then reflected by a deictic pronoun in the syntax.

(161) Deixis of verbal action

/a-bə sa ū'aλa-ha-m sə-ø-ñə-y-ha-ñ"a-zə-aγ-š/ ([s1ñɑ'ñ"ezá's])  
3-obl I child-pl-obl I-3-deixis-3-pl-for-turn-past-aff  
'I met the children there.'

**4.1.5.4 Order** The order of the three nodes is demonstrated in (162), which though awkward can still be elicited.

(162) Order of pragmatic affixes

/sə-q'ə-z-ñ"ə-ñə-y-ha-ñ"a-zə-aγ-ra/ ([səq'izñ"izəñ"ezə:ræ])  
I-hor-what-for-3-deixis-3-pl-for-turn-past-part  
'the reason why I met them there (on my territory)'

**4.1.6 The Nature of the Verb** There are features exhibited by the Kabardian verb which suggest that it is more than a word by the standards of English and yet less than a sentence. I shall briefly examine five such features: variable ordering and scope, differing roles, homophony, transformations, and the cross-over constraint. All of these apply to whole words or sentences as well. Their occurrence at or below the word level is rare, but strongly suggests that the morphological component is not formally different from the syntactical one, merely that it is under-utilised.

**4.1.6.1 Variable Ordering and Scope** Some clitic adverbs can occur in differing orders. This is to be expected from their sense and semantic scope, as well as from their simultaneous role in syntax. Morphology here reflects syntactical freedom.

## (163) Variability (differing orders, differing scopes)

- a. /ø-wə-λa+k"ə-ya-ma-əy/ ([pλæk"ə'mi])  
3-you-PreV+can-past-if-even  
'Even if you could do it...'
- b. /wə-q'a-pλ+a-n ø-w-λa+k"ə-ay-ya-ma/ ([pλæk"ə'yimæ])  
you-hor-look+at-inf 3-you-PreV+can-past-even(= only)-if  
'If only you could look at (it).'
- c. /də-ø-yə-rə-yə-da+zə-a-w-k"ə+a/ ([dəri'dezó'k"æ])  
we-3-groove-distr-dir-out+turn(= circuit)-pres-prog-move+intr  
'We are going for a long walk.'
- d. /də-da+zə-y-a-k"ə+a-ay-š/ ([dideze'k"ə's])  
we-out+turn-dir-dat-move+intr-past-aff  
'We acted in that matter.'
- e. /sa wa a-r ø-q'ə-w-žə-s-žə-a y-š/ ([q'ibžisžežó's])  
I you 3-abs 3-hor-you-again (= back at)-I-say-again-past-aff  
'I said it to you again.'

4.1.6.2 *Differing Roles* The verbal morphemes show differing roles. These maintain their semantics pretty much unaltered, but change their behaviour with regard to position and index government.

## (164) Differing roles

- a. Horizon as a pre-verb  
*/s-ø-ha-q'ə-pa-a-n+a-ma ø-χ"ə-tə-ba-ah/*  
I-3-pl-hor-nose-dat-remain+in-if 3-happen-durative-much-Q  
'Of course isn't it possible if I stand guard over them at their place?'
- b. Deixis as pre-verb and a verb root  
*/s-ø-ha-šə-š-š/ ([sa'síšš])*  
I-3-pl-deixis (= loc)-belong (= deixis as a root)-aff  
'I belong to them.' (am a member of their group)

4.1.6.3 *Homophony* Affixes, just like words, can show homophony.

## (165) Homophones

- a. /ø-z-a-pλ+a-k"ə-Y"a ø-y-ə-mə-χ"ə-a y-wa/  
3-self-dat-look+at-behind (or) exhaustive-time 3-3-non pres-not-fit-past-comp  
  - (i) 'that he did not find the time to look behind himself'
  - (ii) 'that he did not find the time to look himself all over'

- b. /də-z(-)a-r-a-λaaγ"ə-k"a/  
 we- recip (or) how(-)dat-inst-dat-see-inst  
 (i) 'how we saw (something)'  
 (ii) 'with our seeing one another'

**4.1.6.4 Transformations** Most dramatically, the Kabardian verb can show a limited amount of shuffling due to transformations. The most extensive amount is in the present tense, jussive, and negative of subordinated, optative, and irrealis forms, where these elements, normally expected to be suffixes, appear before the verb stem. Sometimes scrambling is accompanied by suppletion, as in (166b), the disability forms (see also §4.2.10.5 (235)).

#### (166) Transformations

##### a. Negative flip in optative and irrealis

- (i) /wa a-bə wə-ø-šə-sə-mə-λaaγ"-ay-...-śara-t/  
 you 3-obl you-3-deixis-I-not-see-past-...-opti-irreal  
 'If only I had seen you there!'  
 (ii) /wə-q'ə-s-da-mə-?a+pəq"ə-aγ-ta-ma sa ø-q'ə-s-a-ħaλa-k"ə-n-ta/  
 you-hor-me-with-not-hand+help-past-irreal-if-I-3-hor-me-dat-hard-  
 exhaustive-fut-irreal  
 'If you had not helped me, it would have been very hard for me.'

##### b. Disability

- (i) /ø-q'ə-w-ħ"ə-ø-t-y-a-s-ħə-žə-fə-aγ-ha-q'm/([q'əpfite'sħižəfā'fiaq'əm])  
 3-hor-you-for-3-surf-dir-dat-I-take-back-able-past-pl-not  
 'I was not able to take them back from him for you.'  
 (ii) (\*)/ø-q'ə-w-ħ"ə-ø-t-y-a-s-ħə-a-ħə-žə-...-aγ-ha-q'm/  
 ([q'əpħ"ite'sħəħəžəfā'fiaq'əm])  
 3-hor-you-for-3-surf-dir-dat-I-for-take-back-...-past-pl-not  
 'I was not able to take them back from him for you.'  
 (iii) /ø-q'ə-s-ħə-w-ħ"ə-ø-t-y-a-ħə-žə-aγ-ha-q'm/  
 ([q'isħ"epħ"ite'ħiħəžəfā'fiaq'əm])  
 3-hor-I-for-you-for-3-surf-dir-dat-take-back-past-pl-not  
 'I was not able to take them back from him for you.'

##### c. Contrastive scrambling

- (i) /a-bə sa ſ'aλa-ha-m sə-q'ə-ø-šə-y-ha-ħ"ə-zə-aγ-ſ/([səq'isħaħəzə'ʃ])  
 3-obl I child-pl-obl I-hor-3-deixis-3-pl-for-turn-past-aff  
 'I met the children there.'  
 (ii) /sa ſ'aλa-ha-m a-bə sə-q'ə-y-ha-šə-...-ħ"ə-zə-aγ-ſ/  
 ([səq'əħuħəzə'ʃ])  
 I child-pl-obl 3-obl I-hor-3-pl-deixis-...-for-turn-past-aff  
 'I met *the children* there.'

The scrambling in disability forms (166b) is sensitive to ergative forms, since it does not occur when the relevant index is an absolutive (that is, co-referential with a nominal in the absolutive) (167).

(167) Blocking of disability scrambling

- a. \*/sa t̪xəλ̪ə-m sə-χ\*ə-y-a-mə-g'a/ ([seχ\*ə-míg'ə])  
I(abs) book-obl I-for-3-dat-not-read  
'I cannot read the book.'
- b. /sa t̪xəλ̪ə-m sə-y-a-mə-g'a-fə/ ([se'mɪg'əfə])  
I(abs) book-obl I-3-dat-not-read-able  
'I cannot read the book.'

**4.1.6.5 Cross-over Constraint** The cross-over constraint reaches across a sentence and down into the morphology of the verb. In this regard the argument component of the morphology is globally sensitive to the syntax, and might in fact be called syntactical morphology. The cross-over constraint explains why the absolute relative index /yə-/ is so rarely used: it complicates things for the speaker. In (168) traces are noted by the customary *e*.

(168) Cross-over and zero

- a. English form (from the jacket of an old Beatles album)

\*He sang a song which I forgot how it goes *e*.

- b. Form with overt relative index in the absolute

\*e, e, Ø, -z-a-r-a, -z-a-χa-λ+ha-aγ-wa daana-wa,  
(how), (song), 3, what-dat-inst-dat, -self-dat-mass-lie+act-past-comp how,  
yə, s-sə-g\*ə+pša-žə-aγ-wa zə-warad-g\*ara-r Ø-ž-ø-ə-?a-aγ-ś  
which, -me-deixis-heart+forget-past-self-pred one-song-certain-abs3-against-  
3-non pres-say (= sing)-past-aff

\*'He sang a song which I forgot how it goes.'

- c. Form with zero-relative index in the absolute

e, e, Ø, -z-a-r-a, -z-a-χa-λ+ha-aγ-wa daana-wa,  
(how), (song), 3, what-dat-inst-dat, -self-dat-mass-lie+act-past-comp how,  
Ø, s-sə-g\*ə+pša-žə-aγ-wa zə-warad-g\*ara-r Ø-ž-ø-ə-?a-aγ-ś  
which, -me-deixis-heart+forget-self-past-pred one-song-certain-abs3-against-  
3-non pres-say (= sing)-past-aff

'He sang a song, I forgot how it goes.'

**4.1.7 Conclusions** A number of conclusions should be enunciated here. They offer important challenges for further linguistic research into morphological theory.

**4.1.7.1 Autolexical Theory** Autolexical syntax brings simplicity to such verbs if taken down into lexical structure. Verb morphology for languages such as Kabardian is made up of interacting autonomous sub-levels. As noted at the outset, there is no  $G_a \times G_b$  interaction (multiple parsing) as one has between two autonomous levels, but merely a union of sub-components. These sub-levels are: argument structure (syntactical morphology), derivational morphology (including compounding), clitic-like trains (inflectional morphology, including compounding), incorporation, and pragmatical morphology.

**4.1.7.2 Governing Principles** The interaction of these sub-levels seems to be controlled by four principles. First, what might be called “information protocols” rank morphemes by their content, so that time precedes manner precedes place. Second, position of head morphemes determines the direction in which an information protocol runs. Thus, the clitic train is right-headed because the syntax is right-headed, with place preceding manner preceding time, whereas the argument structure, being ergative, is left-headed, and thus the mirror image of syntax. Third, the cross-over constraint is true of syntax and morphology, indeed of information encoding at all levels. Fourth, scope constraints on logic and sense work on all levels as well. Thus, constraints become overall features of information encoding in all levels of grammar. This is predicted by autolexical theory, which says that no one level can control it all.

**4.1.7.3 Zero Morphemes as Defaults** The results in (168) also strongly suggest that zero morphemes are not real (have no theoretical status) and that such forms might be best seen as default values of forms in a system of interpretation. If morphological zeros may not be real, then the same negative conclusion may be held for syntactical traces as well (for traces see Haegeman (1991: 393–436)). This would require a radical rethinking of current syntactical theories, somewhat along lines suggested by Mithun (1986) or Cooper (1982).

**4.1.8 Word Phrases** The study of the Kabardian verb makes it useful to coin a new notion for morphology, that of the “word phrase.”

**4.1.8.1 Morphological Features** The complex verbs can show eight features that make them similar to whole sentences: (1) ordering/scope variation, (2) variation in roles for morphemes, (3) internal (hierarchical or linear) structure within words, (4) homophony of morphemes, (5) transformations (or some topologically equivalent mechanism), (6) context-sensitivity, (7) referential function (variables and generalised quantifiers), and (8) information constraints similar to those operating on syntax.

**4.1.8.2 Global Features of the Verb** The verbs are phonologically and cognitively a unit. They have an expressive capacity rivalling a sentence (lacking only the full referential power of a sentence). They have hierarchical or linear structure within their morphemes. They have a modicum of syntax-like flexibility, namely, varying morpheme order. They are best described by a G<sub>2</sub> PS grammar with a dash of G<sub>1</sub> and G<sub>0</sub> (Wall 1972). Nevertheless, they have extreme productivity. They can even surpass the sentence in so far as they can contain pragmatical material not necessarily found in the sentence. Therefore, such verbs are better termed “word phrases” or WPs. In a most general sense we may therefore look upon morphology as biologically distinct from syntax, but not formally distinct from it (both are G<sub>0</sub>’s).

**4.1.8.3 Effects of Complex Verbs** Such verbs are virtual microcosms of the sentence. They enrich the expressive capabilities of the language in that they alter discourse structure. Typically a discourse proceeds by laying out the referents by full sentences with nouns. Once the referential world is delineated, one then proceeds largely by verbs. As the inter-relationships within a discourse grow more complex, so do these verbs until they reach a rhetorical climax which is usually coincident with that of the narrative. These verbs provide an enormously efficient (rapid) means of delivering information. They therefore offer a degree of cognitive force and facility lacking in less endowed languages.

## 4.2 Descriptive Account

I shall now commence with an account of the range of morphemes available to the verb that has been described in §4.1.

**4.2.1 Order** From the theoretical account it is clear that the general order of morphemes is as in (169). This is a discontinuous interplay of various types of information and no simple layering theory of morphology can characterise it.

### (169) Order of verbal morphemes

argument-pragma-argument-stem pre verb-argument-stem-clitics

I shall now proceed to discuss these elements briefly in the order of their appearance, starting at the front of the verb. The “zones” in (169) will be further broken down into actual morphemes. The behaviour of the personal pronoun indices can be observed in some of the broad phonetic renderings provided for the verbs. A full discussion of personal inflection will appear at the end of this section.

**4.2.2 Argument** The first element of a verb will always be co-referential with the noun or pronoun in the absolute case (170), whether the verb is transitive or intransitive.

## (170) Direct object of transitives or subject of intransitives

## a. Transitives

- (i) /sa wa wə-q'a-s-λaaγ"-aγ-ʂ/ ([wuq'εsλàγ"άʂ])  
I(obl) you(abs) you-hor-I-see-past-aff  
'I saw you.'
- (ii) /sa λ'ə-r ʂ-q'a-s-λaaγ"-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'εsλàγ"άʂ])  
I man-abs 3-hor-I-see-past-aff  
'I saw the man.'

## b. Intransitives

- (i) /sa s-a-w-pλə+a/ ([só·pλε])  
I(abs) I-pres-prog-look+intr  
'I am looking.'
- (ii) /λ'ə-r ma-a-pλə+a/ ([má·pλε])  
man-abs 3-pres-look+intr  
'The man is looking.'

**4.2.3 Pragma** Pragma (157) consists of horizon of interest (or inceptive)-subordinating adverb-deixis.

**4.2.3.1 Horizon of Interest** An important pragmatic and deictic function is played by the horizon of interest prefix, which is /-q'a-/ when followed by subject or agent, but is /-q'ə-/ when morphemes intervene between it and subject or agent. Only a few of its subtle senses can be conveyed here (171). It should be noted that when there is a choice as to which noun determines the horizon of interest, as in (171c), the noun in the absolute is always the determiner. This pre-verb can also govern what appears to be a third person index that exhibits inherent locus (171e).

## (171) Horizon of interest

## a. Horizon = 'hither'

- (i) In hand  
/ʂ-q'a-a-k"ə+a/ ([q"ά·k"ə])  
3-hor-pres-move+intr  
'He is coming (hither).'
- (ii) Outside the hand  
/ma-a-k"ə+a/ ([má·k"ə])  
3-pres-move+intr  
'He is moving (travelling).'

b. Horizon = area of interest

(i) In hand

/sə-q'ə-w-ŷ'a-a-w-k"ə+a/ ([səq'əpŷ'ó'k"ə])

I-hor-you-for-pres-prog-move+intr

'I am coming for you (to your place).'

(ii) Outside the hand

/sə-w-ŷ'a-a-w-k"ə+a/ ([səpŷ'ó'k"ə])

I-you-for-pres-prog-move+intr

'I am going for your sake.'

c. Horizon = kinsmen

(i) In hand

/wa ũ'ə-r Ø-q'a-w-wək"ə-a-žə-aγ-š/ ([q'obwük"ežá's])

you(obl) man-abs 3-hor-you-kill-illative-final-past-aff

'You finally killed the man (my kinsman).'

(ii) Outside the hand

/wa ũ'ə-r Ø-w-wək"ə-žə-aγ-š/ ([bwük"ižá's])

you(obl) man-abs 3-you-kill-final-past-aff

'You finally killed the man (a stranger to the speaker).'

d. Horizon = proprietary interest

(i) In hand

/sa wa tŷəλ-ər Ø-q'ə-w-a-s-tə-aγ-š/ ([q'uwoſtá's])

I(obl) you(obl) book-abs 3-hor-you-dat-I-give-past-aff

'I loaned the book to you (and expect it back).'

(ii) Outside the hand

/sa wa tŷəλ-ər Ø-w-a-s-tə-aγ-š/ ([woſtá's])

I(obl) you(obl) book-abs 3-you-dat-I-give-past-aff

'I gave the book to you (to keep).'

e. Horizon = inherent locus or group membership

/s-(Ø-)ha-q'a-a-nə-a-š/ ([sa'q'á'nəš])

I-(3-)inh poss-hor-dat-remain-in-aff

'I am staying here (with someone).'

f. Horizon = atmospheric phenomena (from heaven hither to earth?)

/wa-šŷ Ø-q'a-a-w-šŷə/ ([q'o'šŷ])

sky-rain(-abs) 3-hor-pres-prog-rain

'It is raining.'

g. Horizon-dative = 'in hand' (literally)

/Ø-q'a-a-s-šta-š .../ ([q'á'sſteš])

3-hor-dat-I-seize-then...

'I picked it up and then...'

4.2.3.1.1 *Thither* Standing in opposition to /-q'a-/ is /-n-/; usually glossed as 'thither' (172) (see Kardanov (1955: 1034)). For some speakers this morpheme appears to be a sort of geometric index or perhaps a pre-verb.

(172) Thither

a. Purely geometric (with dative suffix)

- /a-r w-əy dayž **ø-nə-a-k"**ə+a-aγ-ʂ/ ([nok"á·ʂ])  
3-abs you-poss near 3-thither-dat-move+intr-past-aff  
'He came toward you (over there).'

b. Social (no exact locus, no dative suffix)

- /a-r w-əy dayž **ø-nə-ʂəħa-ağ-ʂ/** ([nɪsəħá·ʂ])  
3-abs you-poss near 3-thither-catch up to-past-aff  
'He called upon you.' or 'He reached you.'

4.2.3.1.2 *Change of State or Inceptives* Homonymous with the horizon of interest is the pre-verb for change of state, often denoting inchoatives (173).

(173) /-q'a-/ as change of state

a. Inceptive

- (i) Change  
**/ø-q'a-ʂə-s-aγ-ʂ/** ([q'ɪsá·ʂ])  
3-incept-deixis-sit-past-aff  
'He sat down there.'

(ii) Stative

- /ø-ʂə-s-aγ-ʂ/** ([ʂɪsá·ʂ])  
3-deixis-sit-past-aff  
'He sat there.'

b. Terminative

(i) Change

- /yag'aap'a ø-q'a-y-ə-wəħə-aγ-ʂ/** ([q'i'wūħá·ʂ])  
school(-abs) 3(school)-incept-3-past-finish-past-aff  
'He graduated from school (once and for all).'

(ii) Stative-like

- /yag'aap'a ø-y-ə-wəħə-aγ-ʂ/** ([yiwūħá·ʂ])  
school(-abs) 3(school)-3-past-finish-past-aff  
'He finished school (only for the term).'

## c. Inchoative

## (i) Inchoative

/ø-q'a-dəħašħə-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'edħeħešħā's])

3-incept-laugh-past-aff

'He started to laugh.'

## (ii) Ordinary

/ø-dəħašħə-aγ-ʂ/ ([dħeħešħā's])

3-laugh-past-aff

'He laughed.'

Periphrastic inchoatives, to be covered below in syntax, can only show /-q'a-/ as horizon of interest.

**4.2.3.2 Subordinating Adverb** This adverb is a relative person index which, together with the oblique case, can convert the entire verb into an adverb. Without the oblique the verb maintains its finite role, though forms with /-z-a-/ wh-dat, 'when,' tend to lose their tense. The relative index /-z-/ may or may not refer to an overt noun. The adverbs so formed are 'how,' 'why,' and 'when.' The form for 'where' is analogous, but falls under argument pre-verbs (see below). In (174) and henceforth 'wh' stands for an interrogative index.

## (174) Subordinating adverb

- a. /daawa) wə-q'ə-z-a-rə-k"ə+a-r/ ([wuq'izerúk"ər])  
(how) you-hor-wh-dat-inst-move+intr-pres(non-affirmative)  
'How are you coming?'
- b. /ø-q'ə-z-ħ"ə-z-a-t-y-a-wəva+?a-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'izħ"əzete:wuvæ?á'r])  
3-incept-wh-for-self-dat-surf-dir-dat-stop+there-past-ger(und)  
'the reason why he stopped'
- c. /wə-q'a-z-a-k"ə+a-m/ ([wuq'ezók"əm])  
you-hor-wh-dat-move+intr-obl  
'when you come' or 'when you came'
- d. /wə-q'ə-z-a-t-y-a-wəva+?a-aγ-ʂ/ ([wuq'izizete:wuvæ?á'r])  
you-hor-wh-self-dat-surf-dir-dat-stop+there-past-ger  
'(the time) when you stopped'

As (174d) shows, two datives are not tolerated, the first being suppressed.

**4.2.3.3 Deixis** The frequently used general deictic particle is /-ħə-/ 'there,' 'here,' or 'place of,' with the notion of some inherent locus. Rarely, it can take a

pronominal index, as in (175c) where /-s-/ occurs first as the deictic pre-verb and second as a root, or (175d) where the whole verb serves as an adverb (contrast (186a)).

(175) Verbal deixis

- a. /sə-šə-s-š/ ([sɪsɪss])  
I-deixis-sit-aff  
'I sit here (there) (stative).'
- b. /sə-šə-w-ŷ'a-zə-a-y-š/ ([sɪsəpŷ'ezá's])  
I-deixis-you-for-turn (meet)-to-past-aff  
'I met you there.'
- c. /sə-f-šə-š-š/ ([səfšɪss])  
I-you(pl)-deixis-be located-aff  
'I belong to you (as a group).'
- d. /sa sə-z-da-šə-?a-a-y-m ŋ-f'ə-š/ ([sɪzdeši?ə'm ŋ'fɪs])  
I I-where-flat (area)-deixis-be-past-adv 3-good-aff  
'There, where I was, is good.'

**4.2.4 Oblique Argument Structure** The remaining argument morphemes are all co-referential with nominals in oblique cases.

**4.2.4.1 Extras** The elements under the Extras node of (134) are version and comitative (syntactic adjuncts).

**4.2.4.1.1 Version** As (162b) illustrated, version follows deixis. As confusing as it may seem, the benefactive /-ŷ'a-/ (176a) has a homonymous adversative (176b). The semantic scale is further extended by a detrimentive /-f'a-/ (176c), which closely resembles the incorporated adverb /fə-/ 'good, well' in such deverbal nominals as (176d). The version node governs overt third person indices, /-y(-ha)-/, which are often exceptions to metathesis (176b).

(176) Version

- a. Benefactive  
/ø-w-ŷ'a-s-š'ə-a-y-š/ ([pŷ'əsš'ə's])  
it-you-for-I-do-past-aff  
'I did it for your sake.'
- b. Adversative  
/sə-q'-y-ha-ŷ'a-psaλa-a-y-š/ ([səq'yə-ŷ'əpsaλa's])  
I-hor-3-pl-against-speak-past-aff  
'I slandered them.'

## c. Detimentive

/p'saaša-r ø-q'ø-w-f'a-s-šø-aγ-š/ ([q'øpf'esšá·š])  
 girl-abs 3-hor-you-despite-I-carry off-past-aff  
 'I carried off (= married) the girl despite you.'

## d. Incorporated adverb

/f'ø-λaaγ"ø-n-γa/ ([f'øλáγ"ønéγa])  
 well-see-inf-ness  
 'love'

**4.2.4.1.2 Comitative** Following version is the comitative, /-da-/ 'with, together' (177). The third person indices are built on zero.

## (177) Comitative

- a. /p'saaša-r ø-q'ø-w-f'ø-ø-ha-da-s-šø-aγ-š/ ([q'øpf'ødesšá·š])  
 girl-abs 3-hor-you-despite-3-pl-com-I-carry off-past-aff  
 'With their help I carried off (= married) the girl despite you.'
- b. /dø-z-a-da-šxø+a-š/ ([døzødøšxøeš])  
 we-recip-dat-com-eat+intr-aff  
 'We always eat together (stative).'
- c. /(yø)-zø-da-w-š'ø-r ø-š'až-š/ ([yø)zødøpš'er Š'ažš])  
 (what-)recip-com-you-do-ger 3-fast-aff  
 'What you do together is done quickly.'

**4.2.4.2 Geometry** The next position, the Geometric node of (134), is extremely complex.

**4.2.4.2.1 Pre-verbs** Pre-verbs are the most complex part of the verb in so far as they seem to enjoy a grammar almost unto themselves. I might add that their picture has been unduly complicated by a tendency on the part of other linguists to ignore obvious cases of homonymity in favour of seeing the same pre-verb in a wide range of utterly distinct meanings.

I shall treat them as briefly as possible, while still providing the reader with an accurate grasp of the range of this morpheme. My discussion is drawn heavily from Kardanov (1957: 1034–37).

**4.2.4.2.2 Relative Index** The relative index in locative position denotes 'where.'

## (178) Locative 'where'

/wø-z-da-k"ø+a-r/ ([wuzdøk"øer])  
 you-wh-flat-move+intr-pres(non-affirmative)  
 'Where are you going?'

**4.2.4.2.3 Simple Pre-verbs** The simplest pre-verbs consist of one geometric term, as in (179), though frequent homonymy can cause some confusion. The third person indices are /-ø-/ singular, and /-ø-hø-/ plural.

(179) Simple pre-verbs

- a. Sharp point (= detrimentalive ?) (/f'a-/)
 

/pə?̥a-ř f'a-3-a-a-p'a-m ø-ø-f'a-ž-š/ ([f'ε̥λš])  
  hat-abs sharp-throw-on-conn-place-obl 3(hat)-3(peg)-sharp-lie (hang)-aff  
  ‘The hat is on the peg.’
- b. Edge (/?"ə-/)
 

/psə-?"ə-fa-m ø-ø-?"ə-ž-š/ ([?"Ոլš])  
  river-edge-skin-obl 3-3(riverbank)-edge-lie-aff  
  ‘It lies near the riverbank.’
- c. Front (= mouth) (/?"ə-/; with ‘mouth’ ← ‘lips’ ← ‘edge,’ (b))
 

/sə-ø-?"ə-ha-aγ-š/ ([so?"γհա՛š])  
  I-3-front-enter-past-aff  
  ‘I approached him.’
- d. Toward (= for) (/x'a-/)
 

/sə-w-ŷ'a-ža-n-w-š/ ([səpŷ'eženúš])  
  I-you-toward-run-fut-def-aff  
  ‘I will run toward you (at some definite time).’
- e. Front (= nose) (/pa-/)
 

/sə-w-pa-pλə-a-n-w-š/ ([səppəpλεնúš])  
  I-you-nose-look-to-fut-def-aff  
  ‘I will wait for you (at some definite time).’
- f. Intercalate (/pə-/)
 

/sa tŷeλə-m sə-q'č-ø-pə-tŷe+a-aγ-š/ ([səq'čpətŷa՛š])  
  I book-obl I-hor-it-add-write+intr-past-aff  
  ‘I wrote more in the book.’
- g. Down (/pə-/)
 

/ø-pə-s-λ+ha-aγ-š/ ([p̥isλհա՛š])  
  it-down-I-lie+act (= enter)-past-aff  
  ‘I set it down.’
- h. Sever, cut (/pə-/) (cf. Ubykh /fá-/ ‘to sever’ ← \*/-pʰá-/)
  - (i) Actual
 

/bža-q'č-ə-r ø-pə-k"ə-aγ-š/ ([pik"əš])  
  door-handle-abs 3-sever-exit-past-aff  
  ‘The doorhandle came off.’

## (ii) Metaphorical

/ø-pə-žə-aγ-š/ ([prižá·š])

3-sever-run-past-aff

'He ran away.'

## i. Past (/bλa-/)

/ø-q'ə-s-bλa-žatə-aγ-š/ ([q'izbλεžetá·š])

3-hor-me-past-rush-past-aff

'He rushed past me.'

## j. Back (/žə-/) (with verb 'to say,' 'to tell')

/ø-q'ə-s-žə-f-?a/ ([q'izžéf?æ])

it-hor-me-back-you(pl)-say

'Say it to me!'

## k. Flat space (/da-/)

/θampa-ha-r ø-q'ə-də-s-tx"ə-a-aγ-ha-š/ ([q'idestx"ə·faš])

leaf-pl-abs 3-hor-flat-I-rake-in-past-pl-aff

'I raked up the leaves.'

## l. Narrow space (/yə-/)

/baaža-r haq"aafa-m ø-ø-yə-t-š/ ([yitš])

fly-abs trough-obl 3(fly)-3(trough)-groove-stand-aff

'The fly is in the trough.'

## m. Abstract container (/yə-/)

/vaay"a-ha-r wa-g"-əm ø-ø-yə-t-ha-š/ ([yíthaš])

star-pl-abs sky-locus-obl 3(stars)-3(sky)-cont-stand-pl-aff

'The stars are in the sky.'

## n. Underneath (/š'a-/) (= /a/-grade of /šə/ 'earth')

/sa ſ'ašə-m sə-ø-š'a-t-aγ-š/ ([ſiš'etaš])

I awning-obl I-3-under-stand-past-aff

'I stood under the awning (a tent used for shelter in a forest).'

## o. Inside (/k"ac'ə-/)

/sa ſħə?an-əm sahbəy-r ø-ø-k"ac'ə-s-ħ+ha-aγ-š/ ([k"ec'isħħaš])

I blanket-obl baby-abs 3(baby)-3(blanket)-inside-I-lie+act-past-aff

'I laid the baby in the blanket.'

## p. Through (/pħə-/)

/ħay"əbħa-m ø-ø-pħə-žatə-aγ-š/ ([pħižetá·š])

window-obl 3-3(window)-through-leap-past-aff

'He lept through the window.'

## q. Lee(ward) (/qʷa-/)

/sa ɬə̥ qʷa-a-a-ɣə-m sə-q̥-ø-qʷa-s-aɣ-š/ ([səq'øqʷesáš])

I tree lee-conn-ness-obl I-hor-3-lee-sit-past-aff

'I was sitting behind the tree on its leeward side.'

## r. Behind (= tail) (/kʷa-/)

/sə-w-kʷa-šəħa-aɣ-š/ ([səpkʷešəħáš])

I-you-behind-catch up-past-aff

'I caught up with you.'

## s. All (/za-/)

/wəzə-r ø-za-s-wətħə-aɣ-š/ ([zəzuwutħáš])

grass-abs 3-all-I-splash-past-aff

'I sprinkled the grass (with water).'

## t. /-ħə-/ (no obvious gloss; bound morpheme; unproductive)

/a-bə a-r ø-za-rə-yə-š-a-aɣ-m gʷə ø-ħə-y-ə-ta-aɣ-š/ ([ħi:táš])

3-obl 3-abs 3(abs)-all-distr-dir-lead-in-past-obl heart

3(heart)-3(sentence in obl)-pre verb-3(obl)-non pres-notice-past-aff

'He noticed that he was tired.'

## u. /-ħa-/ (no obvious gloss; bound morpheme; unproductive)

/sa a-r ø-s-šə-n sə-ħə-mə-kʷə-n ø-ħə-a-ya-š/

([səħəmikʷən ħə:aš])

I 3-abs 3-I-do-inf I-3(inf)-pre verb-not-manage-inf 3(dummy)-3(inf)-for-

be necessary-aff

'I must not be able to do it.' or

'It is necessary that I not be able to do it.'

**4.2.4.2.4 Pre-verbs with or without Dative** Next in complexity come pre-verbs that can show distinctions governed by the sense of the root and expressed by the presence or absence of a dative suffix on the pre-verb. If the root has an inherent dative sense, then the dative will be absent from the pre-verb. These pre-verbs are distinct from those in (179).

## (180) Pre-verbs with and without dative suffix

## a. In, through an opening (/də-/)

## (i) With dative

/ø-q'ə-də-a-s-ħə-a-n-w-š/ ([q'ədəħəa-nwš])

it-hor-opening-dat-I-carry-in-fut-def-aff

'I will carry it in (at a definite time).'

## (ii) Without dative

/sə-q'ə-də-ħa-n-w-š/ ([səq'ɪdəħənūš])

I-hor-opening-enter-fut-def-aff

'I will enter (at a definite time).'

## b. Into a mass (/ħə-/) (= sea)

## (i) With dative

/a-r t-əy-g"əp-əm ø-q'ə-d-ħə-a-t-š/ ([q'ɪtħətš])

3-abs our-poss-group-obl 3-hor-our-mass-dat-stand-aff

'He belongs to our group.'

## (ii) Without dative

/sa mazə-m sə-q'ə-ø-ħə-ħa-aγ-š/ ([səq'ɪħəħāš])

I forest-obl I-hor-3-mass-enter-past-aff

'I entered the forest.'

## c. Interior (/s'ə-/)

## (i) With dative (= ablative sense)

/sa pašə-m ʔana-r ø-q'ə-ø-s'ə-as-ħə-aγ-š/ ([q'ɪs'əsħāš])

I room-obl table-abs 3-hor-3(room)-inside-dat-I-take-past-aff

'I took the table out of the room.'

## (ii) Without dative

/sa pašə-m sə-q'ə-ø-s'ə-ħa-aγ-š/ ([səq'ɪs'əħāš])

I room-obl I-hor-3-interior-enter-past-aff

'I entered into the room.'

## d. Side (nominal locus suffix) (/g"ə-/)

## (i) With dative (= ablative sense)

/sə-q'ə-ø-g"ə-a-k"ə-aγ-š/ ([səq'ug"ək"əš])

I-hor-3-side-dat-exit-past-aff

'I left him.'

## (ii) Without dative

/sə-q'ə-ø-g"ə-ħa-aγ-š/ ([səq'ug"əħāš])

I-hor-3-side-enter-past-aff

'I joined him.'

## e. Direction (/yə-/)

## (i) With dative

/ħay"əbħa-m ø-ø-yə-a-pħə-aγ-š/ ([yepħħāš])

window-obl 3-3(window)-dir-dat-look-past-aff

'He looked in the window.'

## (ii) Without dative

/šhaγ"əbža-m φ-ø-yə-pλə-aγ-š/ ([yipλá·š])  
 window-obl 3-3(window)-dir-look-past-aff  
 'He looked out of the window.'

**4.2.4.2.5 Compound Pre-verbs** The greatest complexity is reached, however, with compound pre-verbs. These consist of compounds of more than one pre-verb, of compounds of adverb and pre-verb, or of incorporated nouns with suffixes. Many of the forms involved occur as simple pre-verbs in (179). For the unusual form (181e) see Abitov et al. (1957: 132).

## (181) Preverb-direction-(dative-)

- a. /ʔana-m tħəλ-ər φ-ø-t-y-a-ħ-š/ ([te·ħš])  
 table-obl book-abs 3(book)-3(table)-surf-dir-dat-lie-aff  
 'The book lies on that table.'
- b. /sə-w-p-y-a-ža-aγ-š/ ([seppe·žá·š])  
 I-you-front-dir-dat-go-past-aff  
 'I went to meet you.'
- c. /ʔ\*aħ"ə-r φ-š-ya-s-3-a-aγ-š/ ([š'iżgá·š])  
 matter-abs 3-interior-dir-I-throw-in-past-aff  
 'I started the business.'
- d. /a-r zə-maaš'a-m-əy φ-ø-yə-yə-q"ə-aγ-š/ ([yiri·q"á·š])  
 3-abs one-little-obl-even 3-3(little)-cont-dir-fill-past-aff  
 'He was satisfied with a little bit.'
- e. /sa a-bə a-r φ-ø-žə-yə-s-a-w-ʔa/ ([ži·zó·ʔæ])  
 I(obl) 3-obl 3-abs 3(abs)-3(obl)-back-dir-I-pres-prog-say  
 'I am saying it to him.'

## (182) (N- or pro-dat-)preverb-distributed geometric suffix

- a. /də-bħə-rə-s-ha-š/ ([debħiríshaš])  
 we-mountain-distr-sit (be situated)-pl-aff  
 'We are mountaineers.'
- b. /ø-z-a-bħə-rə-y"ə-a-ħə-ə-k"ə-aγ-ha-š/ ([zəbħiroy"əħik"əħiaš])  
 3-recip-dat-middle-distr-cite+lie+dyn-exit-past-pl-aff  
 'They spread out and took up positions lying down (as though for  
 an ambush).'
- c. /wəna-m φ-ø-by"ə-rə-k"ə-aγ-š/ ([by"ərik"əħiaš])  
 house-obl 3-3(house)-flank-distr-exit-past-aff  
 'He went past (and beyond) the house.'

- d. /sa mazə-m sə-q'ə-ø-k"ac'ə-rə-k"ə-aγ-š/ ([səq'uk"əc'irik"á·š])  
I forest-obl I-hor-3-inside-distr-exit-past-aff  
'I went along in the forest.'
- e. /paabža-m ø-ø-pħə-rə-pħə-aγ-š/ ([pħiřipħá·š])  
shrubbery-obl 3-3(shrubbery)-through-distr-crawl-past-aff  
'He crawled through the undergrowth.'
- f. /ø-q'ə-w-ħħa-pə-rə-k"ə-aγ-š/ ([q'əpħħepħirik"á·š])  
3-hor-you-head-tip-distr-exit-past-aff  
'It went over your head.'
- g. /sə-q'ə-ħħa-pə-rə-k"ə-aγ-š/ ([səq'oy"og"iruk"á·š])  
I-hor-road-locus-distr-move+intr-past-aff  
'I came by road.'
- h. /sa bħəħħa-m sə-q'ə-ø-pə-rə-pħə-aγ-š/ ([səq'epħiripħá·š])  
I fence-obl I-hor-3-sever-distr-look-past-aff  
'I looked through the fence.'
- i. /ħa-r sa ø-q'ə-s-t-y-a-za-rə-g"ə-a-aγ-š/ ([q'iste'zerug"á·š])  
dog-abs me 3-hor-me-surf-dir-dat-all-distr-pound-on-past-aff  
'The dog attacked me.' or  
'The dog fell upon me.'

## (183) Preverb-distributed-direction

- a. /ħəġ-əm sətħ" ø-ø-lə-rə-y-a-š'ə-a/ ([ħré'sε])  
tree-obl hoarfrost 3(harfrost)-3(tree)-surf-distr-dir-dat-make-on  
'Hoarfrost covers the tree.'
- b. /ø-yə-rə-yə-ha-ħ'-a-aγ-ha-š/ ([yiriħeħħá·ħiaš])  
3-groove-distr-dir-enter-near-in-past-pl-aff  
'They lined up in a row.'

## (184) Preverb-preverb

- a. /sə-q'ə-w-k"ə-ħħa-k"ə-a-n-w-š/ ([səq'epk"əħħuk"ənú·š])  
I-hor-you-behind-after-move+intr-fut-def-aff  
'I shall follow behind you (at some definite time).'
- b. /wəna-m ø-q'ə-ø-q'ə-q"ə-pħə-aγ-š/ ([q'əq'oq"epħá·š])  
house-obl 3-hor-3(house)-through-lee-look-past-aff  
'He peered out from behind the house (toward the speaker).'

## (185) 'All' pre-verb

- a. /psə-m wə-øza-pø-rø-s-šø-aγ-š/ ([wuzæpirisšá·š])  
river-obl you-3-all-sever-distr-I-lead (out)-past-aff  
'I led you across the river.'
- b. /wəžə-m øza-ħø-a-s-wəħħø-hø-aγ-š/ ([zəħəzuwutħəħá·š])  
grass-obl 3-all-mass-dat-I-splash-around-past-aff  
'I wet the grass all over.'
- c. /yant'ər-ər øza-t-y-a-ħ"ø-aγ-š/ ([zeteħħá·š])  
log-abs 3-all-surf-dir-dat-fall-past-aff  
'The log disintegrated.'
- d. /wə-za-fa-λaλə-š/ ([wuzæfελέλιš])  
you-all-detri(mentive)-dangle-aff  
'You are a sloppy dresser.'
- e. /ø-za-fa-k"ø-š/ ([zæføk"øš])  
3-all-good-exit-aff  
'It is solved.'
- f. /bəy-əm q'aala-r øza-bħø-rø-y-ha-ə-ħø-aγ-š/ ([zæbħirəħá·š])  
enemy-obl town-abs 3-all-middle-distr-3-pl-non pres-take-past-aff  
'The enemy pillaged the town.'

**4.2.4.2.6 Derivational Pre-verbs** Derivational pre-verbs are included in (138) and a few examples are given in §4.1.2.4 (142). They differ from the pre-verbs of the Geometric node in that they do not take personal indices. Beyond this, however, they largely coincide in complexity with the pre-verbs just surveyed. One might argue that here a true double-duty role is taken on by a class of morphemes in nearly the canonical fashion of autolexical theory with the proviso that the pre-verb has a purely derivational role if no index is apparent, and a mixed argument - derivational role when one is. Otherwise, there seems to be no principled way to distinguish one type of pre-verb from the other.

**4.2.4.3 Incorporated Nouns** Entire nouns, from generic ones up to definite possessed ones, can be incorporated as elements resembling pre-verbs (see (153)). The noun in (186a) with a deictic suffix, /-šø-/, suggests incorporation into the pragmatical component, perhaps necessitating an expansion of the tree in (157). It might also merely be a locative use of /-šø-/ outside its usual order. The other instances of incorporation go under the  $mN^0$  of the geometric node of (153) and act merely as nominal loci. These nouns are never incorporated as simple nouns, but modify person indices and always have some sort of affix, often an entire pre-verb.

## (186) N-preverb(-affix) or (-preverb)

- a. /ʔana-m ø-ø-šha-šə-λatə-aγ-š/ ([ʃheśiλetá·š])  
table-obl 3-3(table)-head-loc-leap-past-aff  
'He lept over the table.'
- b. /žəg-əm ø-ø-bya-də-ha-aγ-š/ ([byeđehá·š])  
tree-obl 3-3(tree)-breast-flat space-enter-past-aff  
'He came up against the side of the tree.'
- c. /sa ū-ə-m sə-q'ə-ø-ža-də-a-pλə-aγ-š/ ([žədæpλá·š])  
I horse-obl I-hor-3-mouth-opening-dat-look-past-aff  
'I looked at the horse's mouth.'
- d. /sa pšaaša-m sə-q'ə-ø-ža-ħə-a-pλə-a-aγ-š/ ([žəħəpλá·š])  
I girl-obl I-hor-3-mouth-mass-dat-look-at-past-aff  
'I looked at the girl (face to face).'
- e. /ø-w-?a-s'ə-s-λ+ha-aγ-š/ ([p?es'sisλħá·š])  
3-you-hand-inst-I-lie+act-past-aff  
'I laid it in your hand.'
- f. /sa a-bə sə-ø-q'ə-rə-?"a-aħ-š/ ([sug"iry?"ā·š])  
I(abs) 3-obl I-3-heart-inst-say-past-aff  
'I was in agreement with him (her).'

**4.2.4.4 Indirect Object** Following the Geometric node of (134) comes the indirect object. In this position an overt third person pronoun, /-yə-/, marks an otherwise unspecified locus or end of an action. When the locus or end is specified, then third person reverts to /-ø-/ (§§4.2.4.2.3–5). Indirect objects occur with three-place verbs (187a) or with the so-called “anti-passives” (187b, c).

## (187) Indirect object locus

- a. Three-place verb  
/ø-y-ə-s-tə-aγ-š/ ([yestá·š])  
it-3-dat-I-give-past-aff  
'I gave it to him (for keeps).'
- b. Inherent anti-passive  
/sə-y-ə-wə-a-aγ-š/ ([sowá·š])  
I-3-dat-hit-at-past-aff  
'I hit him.'

## c. Anti-passive

/sa ſ'ə-r ſə-q'ə-y-a-va-aγ-š/ ([ſəq'əvá ſ̩])

I earth-abs I-hor-3-dat-plough-past-aff

'I tried to plough the field.' or

'I was busy ploughing in the field.'

**4.2.4.5 Incorporated Nominal Pre-verb** In a few verbs another incorporated element, either a geometric pre-verb, a noun, or an adverb, follows the indirect object and other geometric pre-verbs (the *mN<sup>0</sup>* after the IO of (153)). A few of these are shown in (188). In (188b) one has the idiomatic /-yə-yə/ container-direction, meaning 'having the property of (being)...'.

## (188) Derivational pre-verbs

a. /ſə-y-a-λa-ʔ"a-aγ-š/ ([ſe·λyʔ"á ſ̩])

I-3-dat-after-talk-past-aff

'I asked him.'

b. /ſə-χə-a-psaλɔ-ḥə-n-w-š/ ([ſiχɛpsəλəhɪnú ſ̩])

I-mass-dat-word-carry-fut-def-aff

'I shall join the conversation (at a definite moment).'

c. /ø-yə-yə-tha-ʔ"ə-χ"ə-d-š/ ([yirɪ·θyʔ"uχ"ɪd ſ̩])

3-cont-dir-god-front-bend-down-aff

'He is the servant of a (his) god.' (pagan worshipper or a fairy)

d. /λa-a-γ"ə-m də-ø-yə-rə-yə-da+zə-a-w-k"ə+a/ ([dɪrɪ·dezó·k"əa])

leg-conn-road-obl we-3-groove-distr-dir-out+turn-pres-prog-move+intr

'We are going for a long walk along the path.'

**4.2.4.6 Subjects** After the indirect object and a possible incorporated noun, transitive verbs can show agent argument indices (reflecting syntactical subjects) (189a). Intransitives show initial agent indices (189b), whereas transitives place the agent index before the stem, as in (189c). The position of the intransitive agent index is due to the fact that the subject N is always in the absolute case for such verbs, and the initial index of any verbal complex always reflects the N in the absolute.

## (189) Subject agents

## a. Derivational subject

/zə maaza γ"ə-g"ə-r ø-da+zə-y-ə-k"ə-r-t/ ([dɛzɪ·k"ərt])

one forest road-locus-abs 3-out+turn-3-past-move-distr-stand

'He travelled a forest road for a long way (for a long time)(durative past).'

## b. Intransitive

/a-r zə-maaza γ"a-g"-əm q-yə-rə-yə-da+zə-k"ə+a-r-t/ ([yiri'dezuk"ərt])  
 3-abs one-forest road-locus-obl 3-cont-distr-dir-out+turn-move+intr-distr-stand

'He travelled along a forest road (for a long time)(durative past).'

## c. Transitive

/a-bə zə-maaza γ"ə-g"-ər ø-y-ə-k"ə-r-t/ ([yik"ərt])  
 3-obl one-forest road-locus-abs 3(road)-3-past-move-distr-stand  
 'He travelled a forest road (for a long time)(durative past).'

**4.2.4.7 Causatives** As one might expect, the Cause node of (134) is characteristic of causative constructions. This is the only personal index that can stand between a transitive subject and the stem. This index forces the subject agent into an indirect object form, with a dative suffix. This dative shift sets Kabardian apart from West Circassian dialects, such as Bzhedukh, which need not shift subjects of causatives in this way.

**4.2.4.7.1 Single Causatives** The causative prefix is often appended to the stem by a connective vowel, which is apparent when stressed. Also, as (190a) indicates the causative can be applied to an adjective stem with the effect of turning it into a verb.

## (190) Causatives

## a. Causative of intransitive

/xəg'a-bzə-m psə ø-y-ə-ya-a-ñ"aba-ay-\$/ ([yiyoñ"æbá's])  
 marriageable-female-obl water(abs) 3-3-non pres-caus-conn-warm-past-aff

'The young woman warmed up the water.'

## b. Causative of two-place transitive

/wa sa a-r ø-q"ə-w-a-s-ya-a-tə-ay-\$/ ([q'uwozyetə'ś])  
 you(obl) I(obl) 3-abs 3-hor-you-dat-I-caus-conn-give-past-aff  
 'I made you give it.'

## c. Causative of three-place transitive

/wa sa maw-bə-ha-m mə-r ø-q"ə-y-ha-a-w-a-s-ya-a-tə-ay-\$/  
 ([q'a'wozyatə'ś])  
 you I 3(distal)-obl-pl-obl 3(proximal)-abs 3-hor-3-pl-dat-you-dat-I-caus-conn-give-past-aff  
 'I made you give this (here) to them (over there).'

**4.2.4.7.2 Double Causatives** A few verbs can exhibit double causatives, as in (191). These verbs are most often intransitives whose transitive variants are themselves causatives.

## (191) Double causatives

- a. /sa ҳəg'a-bzə-m psə ɸ-y-a-s-ya-ya-a-᷑aba-ay-᷑/ ([yezyayox'æbá's])  
 I(obl) marriageable-female-obl water(abs) 3(abs)-3(obl)-dat-I-caus-caus-conn-warm-past-aff  
 'I made the young woman warm up the water.'
- b. /sa ſ'aala-m ɬə-ya-k'ya z-y-a-s-ya-ya-a-p'sk'ə-ay-᷑/ ([ze'zyayæp'sk'ə's])  
 I(obl) youth-obl man-ness-inst refl(exive)-3-dat-I-caus-caus-conn-be clean-past-aff  
 'By force I made the youth wash himself.'

**4.2.4.8 Disability** Both the agent and causative indices of §§4.2.4.6 and 4.2.4.7 can take a suffix of ability, /-᷑a/, in negative verbs. Because of the obligatory negation of such forms I have termed this suffix "disability." The form does not occur in intransitives. The usual ability suffix co-exists with the negative in such verbs (192a). In two-place transitives the personal indices follow what appears to be their normal sequence. When an extra element comes between the disability form and the direct object, then it is apparent that the disability form has been shifted into the version position. This disability form is the result of a morphological transformation (§4.1.6.4 (166b)).

## (192) Disability forms

## a. Intransitive

- /sə-ɸ-y-a-pλə-fə-r-q'm/ ([se'pλéfærq'em])  
 I-3-dir-dat-look-able-pres-not  
 'I was unable to look in it.'

## b. Two-place transitive

- /wə-᷑-᷑a-ɬaaγ'ə-ay-q'm/ ([wus᷑'eɬàγ'ə'q'em])  
 you-I-able-see-past-not  
 'I was unable to see you.'

## c. Three-place transitive with indirect object

- /᷑-᷑-᷑-w-a-tə-ay-q'm/ ([s᷑'uwotə'q'em])  
 it-I-able-you-dat-give-past-not  
 'I was unable to give it to you.'  
 (expected \*/᷑-᷑-᷑-w-a-s-᷑a-tə-ay-q'm/)

## d. Three-place transitive with pre-verb

- /᷑-q'-᷑-᷑-᷑-᷑-mə-?a-ɬə-n-w-m/ ([q'is᷑'iɬemə?eɬinuwum])  
 3-hor-I-able-3-back-not-tell-again-fut-def-obl  
 'as I will not be able to retell it to him'  
 (expected \*/᷑-q'-᷑-᷑-᷑-᷑-᷑-mə-?a-ɬə-n-w-m/)

## e. Causative intransitive

/wə-s-᳚a-ya-a-λaaža-aγ-q'm/ ([wus᳚əγελεžāq'əm])

you-I-able-caus-conn-work-past-not

'I was not able to make you work.'

## f. Causative intransitive with deixis

/ø-q'ə-᳚-s-᳚-w-by"-a-də-a-t-r-q'm/ ([q'is᳚ebbyədəyətirq'əm])

3-hor-deixis-I-able-you-side-dat-flat space-caus-conn-stand-pres-not

'I cannot make him stand there beside you.'

(expected \*/ø-q'ə-᳚-w-by"-a-də-᳚a-ya-a-t-r-q'm/)

## g. Causative two-place transitive

/ø-s-᳚ə-w-a-ya-a-λaay"ə-aγ-q'm/ ([s᳚uwoyελà'γ'aq'əm])

it-I-able-you-dat-caus-conn-see-past-not

'I was not able to show it to you.'

(expected \*/ø-w-a-s-᳚a-ya-a-λaay"ə-aγ-q'm/)

## h. Causative three-place transitive with indirect object

/ø-q'ə-s-᳚ə-w-a-y-a-ya-a-tə-žə-aγ-q'm/ ([q'is᳚oweγətəžāq'əm])

3-hor-I-able-you-dat-3-dat-caus-conn-give-back-past-not

'I was unable to make him give it back to you.'

(expected \*/ø-q'ə-w-a-y-a-s-᳚a-ya-a-t-ə-žə-aγ-q'm/)

## i. Causative three-place transitive with locative pre-verb

/ø-s-᳚ə-w-žə-y-a-ya-a-?a-aγ-q'm/ ([s᳚ebžeγæʔāq'əm])

3-I-able-you-back-3-dat-caus-conn-tell-past-not

'I was unable to make him tell it to you.'

(expected \*/ø-w-žə-y-a-s-᳚a-ya-a-?a-aγ-q'm/)

**4.2.4.8.1 Archaic Disability Forms** The shift of index from its expected subject or causative position to version position seen in (192) is due to the fact that this suffix is an old version suffix /-᳚a-/ 'for.' That this is so can be seen from a few old non-productive constructions which use both potential personal index suffix /-᳚a-/ and potential stem suffix /-fə-/; such as those in (193) (Abitov et al. 1957: 132). The best gloss here seems to be 'It was not possible for someone to do something.' Thus, the shift of such disability indices into version position is perfectly natural on historical grounds. Kabardian shares this feature with Abaza.

## (193) Archaic double disability

## a. Two-place transitive

/ø-s-᳚a-᳚-fə-n-w-q'm/ ([s᳚e᳚efinúq'əm])

it-I-able-do-able-fut-def-not

'I will not be able to do it (at some definite time).'

b. Three-place transitive with locative pre-verb

/a-bə ſ'ə-m žəg-ər φ-ø-᷑a-s-a-žə-fə-ay-q'm/ ([᷑i᷑e᷑e᷑e᷑fá'q'em])  
 3-obl ground-obl tree-abs 3(tree)-3-able-3(ground)-mass-dat-sit-in-again-  
 able-past-not

'He was not able to plant the tree back in the ground again.'

**4.2.4.8.2 Double Version** Given the interpretation of disability as deriving from an old version suffix, one would expect to be able to elicit verbs with double version, and indeed one can (194).

(194) Double version

a. Normal two-place transitive with version

/ø-w-᷑a-s-ſ'ə-ay-ſ/ ([p᷑e᷑e᷑a᷑e᷑])

3-you-for-I-do-past-aff

'I did it for your sake.'

b. Disability two-place transitive with double version

/ø-ſ-᷑ə-w-᷑a-ſ'ə-ay-q'm/ ([s᷑e᷑w᷑e᷑a᷑e᷑q'em])

3-I-able-you-for-do-past-not

'I was not able to do it for you.'

**4.2.5 Transformational Fronting of Tense, Aspect, and Mood** Complicating the picture of the subjects and causatives in §§4.2.4.6 and 4.2.4.7 is the possibility of an auxiliary-like complex of affixes coming between them and the stem or causative prefix. These affixes, present tense, progressive aspect, the jussive, and negation, would appear to be typical of the post-stem clitics (144). Only the negative and present tense, however, ever appear in post-stem position. Nevertheless, I shall assume that all of these affixes are placed in pre-stem position by transformational morphology and trust that sound arguments for all of them will eventually be found.

**4.2.5.1 Present Tense and Progressive Aspect** One form of this pre-stem "auxiliary" consists of a present tense /-a-/ and a progressive or habitual /-w-/ for dynamic verbs intervening between the personal index and a causative prefix or bare stem. This is complicated by the fact that the progressive/habitual aspect can occur only with first or second persons, not with third person forms of verbs without locative prefixes. In third person intransitives without locative prefixes the present tense vowel occurs, but not the aspectual affix (23a). In third person intransitives with locative prefixes, however, the present tense vowel is absent, while the aspectual prefix persists. Present forms that lack both of these prefixes carry an optative nuance (Dumézil 1975: 101).

## (195) Complexities of auxiliary prefix

## a. Present dynamic intransitive

/sə-š-a-w-λ/ ([sɪsó·λ])

I-deixis-pres-prog-lie

'I am lying down here (for the moment).' or

'I always lie down here.'

## b. Present stative intransitive

/sə-šə-λ-š/ ([sɪsíλš])

I-deixis-lie-aff

'I am lying here (for an indefinite time).'

## c. First person present dynamic transitive

/sa t̪xəλ-ər ø-s-a-w-g'ə/ ([só·g'ə])

I(obl) book-abs 3-I-pres-prog-read

'I am studying the book.'

## d. Third person present dynamic intransitive

/ma-a-k"ə+a/ ([má·k"ə])

3(pres, intr)-pres-move+intr

'He (she) is coming (going).'

## e. Third person present dynamic transitive

/a-bə t̪xəλ-ər ø-y-a-g'ə/ ([yég'ɪ])

3-obl book-abs 3(book)-3-pres-read

'He is studying the book.'

## f. First person present dynamic intransitive with locative

/sa t̪xəλ-əm s-y-a-w-g'ə-a/ ([só·g'e])

I(abs) book-obl I-3-dat-prog-read-at

'I am reading the book.'

## g. Third person present dynamic intransitive with locative

/a-r t̪xəλ-əm ø-y-a-w-g'ə-a/ ([yó·g'ə])

3-abs book-obl 3-3(book)-dat-prog-read-at

'He is reading the book.'

## h. Present optative

/ø-w-a-sə-t/ ([wozít])

3-you-dat-I-give

'May (might) I give it to you!'

**4.2.5.2 Non-present Tense Schwa** The third person singular shows a "non-present" tense vowel in pre-stem auxiliary position. This vowel is not a mere epenthetic one. As (196b, d) show, the underlying forms will not generate an

epenthetic vowel. In most two-place transitives, the underlying /-y-/ is usually lost, the non-present vowel remaining in its stead.

(196) Non-present tense in third person

a. Two-place transitives

/vaaq'a-ha-r ø-q'a-y-ø-fañ\*a-žə-ha-n-w-s/ ([q'εf'oñ\*εžəħanú's])  
shoe-pl-abs 3-incept-3-non pres-put on-again-pl-fut-def-aff  
'He will put the shoes on again (at some definite time).'

b. Epenthetic analysis of the preceding

/ø-q'a-y-fañ\*a-žə-ha-n-w-s/ → \*[qεf'oñ\*εžəħanú's]  
3-incept-3-put on-again-fut-def-pl-aff

c. Three-place transitive

/ø-q'a-s-a-y-ø-tø-aY-s/ ([q'iz'i'tá's])  
3-hor-me-dat-3-non pres-give-past-aff  
'He gave it to me.'

d. Epenthetic analysis of the preceding

/ø-q'a-s-a-y-tø-aY-s/ → \*[q'iz'e:tá's]  
3-hor-me-dat-3-give-past-aff

**4.2.5.3 Negatives** The negative affix can occur either as a post-stem clitic or as a pre-stem one.

**4.2.5.3.1 Absence of Present Tense and Aspect in Negation** The dynamic present vowel and progressive prefixes have an assertive force. In negatives they are absent. The contrast between statives and dynamics is lost in the negative (197b, d).

(197) Negatives with zero auxiliary

a. Positive

/w-a-w-tñə+a/ ([wó:tñə], [bó:tñə])  
you-pres-prog-write+intr  
'You are writing.'

b. Negative

/wə-tñə+a-r-q'm/ ([wutñérq'em])  
you-write+intr-pres-not  
'You are not writing.' or  
'You do not write.'

c. Positive

/ma-a-tñə+a/ ([má:tñə])  
3-pres-write+intr  
'He is writing.'

## d. Negative

/∅-t̄x-a-r-q'm/ ([t̄xérq'em])

3-write-intr-pres-not

‘He is not writing.’ or

‘He does not write.’

**4.2.5.3.2 Preposed Negative Affix** The prefixal auxiliary is replaced by a negative in embedded forms, that is, forms that have a final suffix, a participial, gerund, case, or complementiser affix, that prohibits the adjoining of the usual negative suffix /-q'm/.

## (198) Auxiliary replaced by negative prefix

## a. Negative adverbial verb

/∅-∅-žə-s-mə-?a-žə-m/ ([žizemə?ežem])

3-3-back-I-not-tell-again-obl

‘as I am not retelling it to him (her)’

## b. Negative gerund of relative clause

/∅-sə-a-zə-mə-t̄xə-r/ ([səzəmítxər])

3-me-dat-who-not-write-ger

‘He who is not writing it to me.’

## c. Negative participle

/∅-w-mə-g'ə-wa/ ([wumig'uwo])

3-you-not-read-part

‘your not learning it’

## d. Verb dominated by higher verb

/wəna-m ∅-∅-sə-mə-?a-ra ∅-q'a-a-f-s'a/ ([ʃemé?ere q'a·f's'e])

house-obl 3-3(obl)-deixis-not-be located-whether 3-hor-emph-you(pl)-know

‘Do you know if he is not at home?’

**4.2.5.4 Jussive and Hortative** Finally, the prefixal auxiliary can be replaced by a jussive prefix /-yəray/, probably cognate in part with the emphatic suffix /-r-əy/ emphatic-even, derived from /-əy-əy/ -and-even by /r/-intercalation (199a–c). This may be contrasted with a periphrastic hortative (199d), which makes use of a causative.

## (199) Prefixal auxiliary as a jussive

## a. /∅-yəray-λaaža/ ([yire·λā·žə])

3-juss(ive)-work

‘So, let him work!’

- b. /sə-yəray-kʷə+a/ ([sɪrə́kʷo])  
I-juss-move+intr  
'Let me go!'
- c. /wə-yəray-kʷə+a/ ([wuré́kʷo])  
you-juss-move+intr  
'So, go!'
- d. /χəg̩-m də-ø-y-a-f-ya-a-pλ+a+kʷ/ ([de·vχæpλákʷ])  
tree-obl we-3-dir-dat-you(pl)-caus-conn-look+dat+exhaustive (behind)  
'Let's look the tree all over.' or 'Let's look behind the tree.'

**4.2.6 Stems** The verb stem is the domain of what would traditionally be seen as derivational morphology. Starting with basic roots, complex stems can be formed (138).

**4.2.6.1 Simple Roots** Almost any part of speech can serve as a verb stem. (200) illustrates this with verbs, nouns, and adjectives.

(200) Verb roots

- a. Verbal  
/ø-s-λaaγʷə-ay-š/ ([sλà·γʷá·š])  
3-I-see-past-aff  
'I saw him.'
- b. Nominal  
/sə-γʷəkʷa-fə-aγ-š/ ([soyʷikʷæfá·š])  
I-blacksmith-able-past-aff  
'I was able to work as a blacksmith.' or  
'I was able to practice blacksmithing.'
- c. Adjectival  
/sə-yarəš-š/ ([siyeríšš])  
I-stubborn-aff  
'I am being stubborn.'

**4.2.6.2 Attributive Constructions** For identificational or attributive constructions, a zero copula is used. The attributive or identificational predicate is prefixed to this zero and no further prefixation takes place. Pronouns, by their nature, fall into this category (see (23b) and (26b)). Attributive nouns and adjectives also do.

## (201) Zero copula attributives

## a. Nominal

/sa ðə-∅-\$/ ([ðɪs])

I man-be-aff

'I am a man.'

## b. Adjectival

/sa yarə\$-∅-\$/ ([yeriʃʃ])

I stubborn-be-aff

'I am stubborn.'

**4.2.6.3 Prefixes** The root of the verb is most often simple, but even here a few prefixes of a derivational nature can be found. I shall briefly treat these here rather than in the section on word derivation. A few examples are given in (202). I here use “+” for derivational juncture.

## (202) Root prefixes

## a. /-wə+/ valence increase

(i)  $\emptyset \rightarrow 1$ ; verbaliser

[1] /bŷ"a/ ([bŷ"ɔ])

'broad'

[2] /∅-w-wə+ŷ"ə-aŷ-\$/ ([bwubŷ"ā'\$])

3-you-val(ence)+broad-past-aff

'You spread it out.'

(ii)  $1 \rightarrow 2$ ; transitiviser

[1] /ma-a-ŷ"a/ ([má'ŷ"o])

3-pres-bend

'It is bending.'

[2] /zə-y-a-wə+ŷ"a/ ([zowúŷ"o])

refl-3-pres-val+bend

'He is bending over.'

(iii) once  $\rightarrow$  multiple; multiplicative action

[1] /∅-fa-s-ʔ"ə-n-w-\$/ ([fəsʔ"ɪnū'\$])

3-despite-I-stick-fut-def-aff

'I shall chop (split) it (at some definite time).'

[2] /bzəw-ər ∅-y-a-w-wə+ʔ"ə+a/ ([yo:wóʔ"o])

bird-abs 3(abs)-3-dat-prog-val+stick+intr

'The bird is pecking at something.'

## b. /-za+/ reciprocal

/ø-za-za+a+w-a-ay-ha-ʂ/ ([zəzowá·fiaʂ])

3-recip-recip+conn+strike-at-past-pl-aff

‘They fought each other.’

## c. /-da+/ comitative

/ø-za-da+a+w-a-ay-ha-ʂ/ ([zədowó·fiaʂ])

3-recip-com+conn+strike-at-past-pl-aff

‘They argued with one another.’

## d. /-g"ə+/ ‘heart’; psychologiser

(i) /ø-g"ə+zavə-ay-ʂ/ ([g"izævá·ʂ])

3-heart+narrow-past-aff

‘He was being stingy (mean).’

(ii) /sə-y-a-w-g"ə+psəsə/ ([so·g"upsísı])

I-3-dat-prog-heart+tale

‘I am thinking about him.’

(iii) /sə-w-da-g"ə+ʂəʔa-ay-ʂ/ ([səbdog"iʂəʔá·ʂ])

I-you-com-heart+endure-past-aff

‘I was joking with you.’

## e. /-γ"ə+/ ‘site’(&lt;- road); restricted action

/p'a-m ø-yə-γ"ə+a+λ+ə-aγ-ʂ/ ([yɪγ"ɛλá·ʂ])

bed-obl 3-3-site+lie+dyn-past-aff

‘He (she) lay down in bed.’

## f. /-z+a+/ ‘self+dative’; action within self

/sə-y-a-z+a+yə-n-w-ʂ/ ([se·zayinú·ʂ])

I-3-dat-self+dat+be an accompaniment-fut-def-aff

‘I shall become accustomed to it (at some definite time).’

## g. /-t"ə+/ ‘down’

(cf. Ubykh /t"ə+s-/ -down+sit-, Abkhaz /t"-/- ‘sit (down)’)

/ø-q'ə-ʂ-a-t"ə+s+ha-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'iʂet'iʂha·ʂ])

3-incept-horse-dat-down+sit+act-past-aff

‘He mounted the horse.’

The prefix /-g"ə+/ ‘heart’ in (202d) may arise through syntactical morphology, since it seems capable of occurring as a free word with precisely the same value as it does when it is a prefix (see (179t)).

(203) Psychologiser /g"ə/ ‘heart’ as a free word

/g"aaša-m a-r yə-q"-ø ø-y-a-y-ə-hə-aγ-š/ ([yiri'há's])

princess-obl 3-abs his-heart-obl(poss) 3(abs)-3(obl)-dat-3-non pres-carry-past-aff

‘The princess cherished him.’

**4.2.6.4 Suffixes** Roots can also be modified by one or two suffixes and rarely an incorporated noun in post-root position.

**4.2.6.4.1 First Suffix** The first set of suffixes have non-geometric senses. There are six of these: an intransitiviser /+a-/ (204), a dynamic /+ə-/ (205), an active /+ha-/ (206), a marginally productive prolongation /+a+ta-/ (207), and non-productive ‘disappear’ /+a+sa-/; distributed /+a+rə-/; and ‘secretive’ /+a+k"a/ (208).

(204) Intransitiviser /+a-/

a. Transitive

/zə maaza γ"ag"-r ø-y-ə-k"ə-r-t/ ([yik"ért])

one forest road-abs 3-3-non pres-move-distr-stand

‘He travelled a forest road (durative past).’

b. Intransitive

/ħaaγ"ə-m ø-ø-yə-rə-yə-k"ə+a-r-t/ ([yiri'k"árt])

footpath-obl 3(abs)-3(obl)-groove-distr-dir-move+intr-distr-stand

‘He travelled along a footpath (durative past).’

(205) Dynamic /+ə-/

a. /ø-q'a-s+ə/ ([q'ésɪ])

3-incept-sit+dyn

‘He has arrived.’

b. /ø-y-a-w-ħ+ə/ ([yó'ħɪ])

3-3-dat-prog-lie+dyn

‘He is jumping (out of something).’

c. /ø-z-a-bħə-rə-y"ə+ħ+ə+k"ə-aγ-ha-š/ ([zæbħɪroy"εħlik"á·fiəs])

3-recip-dat-middle-distr-site+lie+dyn+exit-past-pl-aff

‘They spread out and took up positions lying down (as though for an ambush).’

(206) Active /+ħa-/ ( $\leftarrow$  /-ħa-/ ‘enter’)

a. /ø-q'a-t'ə+s+ħa-aγ-š/ ([q'et'ɪshá's])

3-incept-down+sit+act-past-aff

‘He sat down.’

- b. /sahbəy-r ɸ-q'ə-ɸ-ʔa-s'a-y-ə-λ+ha-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'əʔəs'iλhaʂ])  
 baby-abs 3(abs)-incept-3-arm-inst-3-non pres-lie+act-past-aff  
 'She set the baby in his arms.'

(207) Prolongation /+a+ta-/ ( $\leftarrow$  /-t+a-/ 'stand-in')

- a. /sə-w-da-kʰə+a+ta-a y-š/ ([səbdokʰə+a+tá]·š) I-you-com-move+conn+prolongation-past-aff  
‘I conducted you along the way.’
  - b. /sə-da-kʰə+a+ta-yə-a y-š/ ([sɪdokʰə+a+téyá]·š) I-vertical-move+conn+prolongation-up-past-aff  
‘I went up.’ or ‘I improved.’
  - c. /gʰaata-r ø-y-a-s-pxʰa+a+ta-ay-š/ ([yespxʰə+a+tá]·š], [yespxʰə+a+tá]·š]) sword-abs 3-3-dat-I-snatch+conn+prolongation-past-aff  
‘I drew forth the sword.’

### (208) Non-productive suffixes

- a. 'Disappear' /+a+sa-/  
 /ø-q'a-kʷə+a+sa-aγ-š/ ([q'okʷəsáš])  
 3-incept-move+conn+disappear-past-aff  
 'He disappeared.'

b. Distributed /+a+rə-/  
 /ø-q'a-kʷə+a+rə-žə-aγ-š/ ([q'okʷərɪžáš])  
 3-hor-move+conn+distr-again-past-aff  
 'He wandered back.'

c. Secretive /+kʷa-/ (note /-kʷa/ the agent suffix)  
 /ø-s-a-a-w-pλ+a+kʷa/ ([so:pλókʷo])  
 3-me-dat-pres-prog-look+dat+secretive  
 'He (she) is spying on me.'

**4.2.6.4.2 Second Suffix** A second suffix, or “stage,” lends to the verb a specification of arena or stage of action that supplements the information provided by any locus pre-verb. The simplest of these is an accusative /-a/ that lends a dynamic endpoint sense to the action. This is one of the few stages that can occur with (209a, (ii)) or without (209b, (ii)) a pre-verb. I have glossed this suffix so as to convey its sense in each case, rather than to have adhered to only one gloss.

## (209) Accusative stage

## a. Without pre-verb

## (i) Unsuffixed

/ø-q'a-y-ə-wək"ə-n-w-š/ ([q'uwuk"inú's], [q'i"wuk"inú's])

3-hor-3-non pres-kill-fut-def-aff

'He will kill him (at some definite time).'

## (ii) Suffixed

/ø-q'a-y-ə-wək"ə+a-n-w-š/ ([q'uwuk"enú's], [q'i"wuk"enú's])

3-hor-3-non pres-kill+acc(usative)-fut-def-aff

'He will kill him (kin of the speaker)(at some definite time).'

## b. With pre-verb

## (i) Unsuffixed

/ø-y-a-w-pλə/ ([yó'pλ₁])

3-3-dat-prog-look

'He is looking at it.'

## (ii) Suffixed

/ø-y-a-w-pλə+a/ ([yó'pλ₂])

3-3-dat-prog-look-in

'He is looking inside it.'

**4.2.6.4.3 Incorporated Noun and Suffixes** A noun can be incorporated as a stage (see §4.1.4.2 (155) and §4.2.7.1 (211)).

**4.2.7 Clitics** After the stems comes a series of clitics that reflect syntactical structure in the sentence. All of these clitics seem to be rightward bounded by an adverb or adverb-like element, save for the clitics which are daughters of an inflection node (144).

**4.2.7.1 Adverbs to V<sup>0</sup>** The basic action of the stem (V<sup>0</sup>) can be modified by some geometric adverbs. A few of these can also take the accusative suffix. Most of these require a pre-verb.

(210) Adverbs to V<sup>0</sup>

## a. /-hə-/ 'around,' without a pre-verb

/ø-q'a-a-žə-hə/ ([q'ežéhə], [q'ežéh])

3-hor-pres-run-around

'He is running all over the area

(or over a territory or time interval).'

- b. /-hə-/ 'around,' with a pre-verb  
 $/\emptyset\text{-}\emptyset\text{-t-y-a-psaλə\text{-}hə\text{-}aγ\text{-}s/ ([te'psəλəhá's])$   
 3-3-surf-dir-dat-talk-around-past-aff  
 'He talked about it (a topic).'

c. /-xə-/ 'down,' with a pre-verb  
 $/\emptyset\text{-da-w-k''ə+a+ta-xə/ ([do'k''ətəxə], [do'k''ətəx])$   
 3-vertical-prog-move+conn+prolongation-down  
 'He is going down gradually.' or 'He is declining.'

d. /-yə-/ 'up,' with a pre-verb  
 $/\emptyset\text{-da-k''ə+a+ta-yə-ay-ha-s/ ([dok''əteyá'fis])$   
 3-vertical-move+conn+prolongation-up-past-pl-aff  
 'They rose up (gradually).' or 'They improved.'

e. /-λə-/ 'at, near,' with pre-verb

  - (i) Without accusative suffix  
 $/\emptyset\text{-y-a-s-a-w-?ə-λə/ ([yeso?'iλ'i], [yeso?'iλ])$   
 3-3-dat-I-pres-prog-stick-near  
 'I am attaching it to him.'
  - (ii) With accusative suffix  
 $/\emptyset\text{-y-a-s-ya-a-bədə-λə-a-n-w-s/ ([yezyæbidiλ])$   
 3-3-dat-I-caus-conn-be caught-near-acc-fut-def-  
 'I will catch him near her.'

It is possible to have two of these suffixes modifying the stem.

(211) Two suffixes modifying V<sup>o</sup>

/fəz-ay-éx-va-vép+a, "D+em-e-y-a-y-o-i-leveés w-z/

([veri·wugʷ·odi·vaχá·s])

woman-obl clothes-abs 3-dir-dat-3-non pres-val+bend+joint-up-down-past-

‘The woman straightened her clothing (up and down).’

**4.2.7.2 Clitics to V<sup>1</sup>** There is a class of suffix which seems to modify the stem plus the affixes immediately cliticised to the stem. These affixes, therefore, modify a larger verbal unit, which I have termed V<sup>1</sup>. The rightward delimiting affix is an adverb. There are three clitics altogether under this node.

**4.2.7.2.1 Again, Finally, Self** The first two clitics after the stem are a referential and an ability suffix. The referential suffix can refer to a previous action (state), or be an iterative, or a final suffix, glossed as ‘again’ (212a), ‘final’ (212b), or it can serve to denote ‘self’ in order to disambiguate certain complex reflexives (212c).

## (212) Reference and final

## a. Reference

/ø-da-k"ə+a+ta-yə-žə-ha-n-w-š/ ([dok"əteyižəfianu's])

3-vertical-move+conn+prolongation-up-again-pl-fut-def-aff

'They will be able to rise again (at a definite time).' or

'They will be able to improve again (at a definite time).'

## b. Final

/ø-ž'a-žə-ay-š/ ([ž'ežá's])

3-die-final-past-aff

'He finally died.'

## c. Self

/y"əg'a-m-k"a a-bə sa zə-s-a-y-ə-ya-a-žaaγ"ə-ž-ay-š/

([zisi'γežā'γ"ižá's])

mirror-obl-inst 3-obl I self-I-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-see-self-past-aff

'He let me see myself with a mirror.'

## 4.2.7.2.2 Ability The second affix is glossed in English as 'can,' 'could.'

## (213) Ability

/ø-w-žə-y-a-s-γa-a-a-žə-fə-n-w-š/ ([bže'zyæ?ežefinu's])

3-you-back-3-dat-I-caus-conn-say-again-able-fut-def-aff

'I shall be able to make him retell it to you (at some definite time).'

## 4.2.7.2.3 Other Adverbs The various senses of these forms all seem to involve concepts of duration or extent, often excessive.

(214) Other adverbs to V<sup>1</sup>

a. /ø-t̪ə+a-r-t/ ([t̪ært])

3-write+intr-distr-stand

'He was writing (stative past).'

b. /ø-y-a-š̪ə+a-žə-fə-pa-ay-š/ ([yeš̪ežəfəpá's])

3-3-dat-eat+intr-again-able-utmost-past-aff

'He was able to feast upon it completely once again.'

c. /ø-y-a-š̪ə+a-žə-fə-?"a-ay-š/ ([yeš̪ežəfo?"á's])

3-3-dat-eat+intr-again-able-small excess-past-aff

'He was able to eat just a bit too much of it once again.'

d. /ø-y-a-š̪ə+a-žə-fə-q"a-ay-š/ ([yeš̪ežəfoq"á's])

3-3-dat-eat+intr-again-able-excess-past-aff

'He was able to eat too much of it again.'

- e. /ø-y-a-š̥ə+a-žə-fə-š̥ə-ay-š/ ([yeš̥ežəfəš̥a's])  
3-3-dat-eat+intr-again-able-large excess-past-aff  
'He was able to eat far too much of it once again.'
- f. /ø-y-a-š̥ə+a-žə-fə-š̥ə-a-n-q'm/ ([yeš̥ežəfəš̥a-nq'em])  
3-3-dat-eat+intr-again-able-absolutely not-fut-not  
'He will absolutely not be able to feast upon it again.'

**4.2.7.3 Adverbs to V<sup>2</sup>** A series of affixes seem to modify all that came before. They therefore seem to modify yet a higher V-node, V<sup>2</sup>, or what at one time would have been termed the VP. The first affix is a temporal one, the past (which may also have an iterated form, the past of the past) and the second is a boundary adverb for V<sup>2</sup>.

**4.2.7.3.1 Tense** Next comes a tense affix, which can be said to include present, dynamic and stative, and past. Present is zero (marked only here). Stative present takes the affirmative suffix of mood. Present dynamic is overtly marked as part of the pre-stem affixes with a relic suffix, /-r/, under the inflection node. These tenses are as in (215).

(215) Tense on V<sup>2</sup>

- a. Stative present  
/sə-λaaža-ø-š/ ([s1λá'žεš])  
I-work-pres-aff  
'I work.'
- b. Dynamic present  
/s-a-w-λaaža-ø/ ([so'λá'žε])  
I-pres-prog-work-pres  
'I am working.'
- c. Past  
/sə-λaaža-ay-š/ ([s1λežá's])  
I-work-past-aff  
'I worked.'
- d. Remote past  
/sə-λaaža-ay-ay-š/ ([s1λežá'yá's])  
I-work-past-past-aff  
'I worked long ago.'

**4.2.7.3.2 Infinitive** The infinitive ending replaces the V<sup>2</sup> tense, and can be followed by the plural suffix. The infinitive is used in certain embedded clauses. It is inflected for person, and it attracts stress.

## (216) Infinitives

- a. /ø-sə-t̪ə-n/ ([sɪt̪ən])  
3-I-write-inf  
'(for) me to write it'
- b. /ø-y-a-g'-a-n-ha/ ([yeg'énha])  
3-3-dat-call-dat-inf-pl  
'(for) them to learn it'

4.2.7.3.3 *Bounding Adverbs of V<sup>2</sup>* Next follows a series of adverbs which bound V<sup>2</sup> on the right, and with a more varied range of meanings than those of the adverbs bounding V<sup>1</sup>: /-x̄a-/ 'first,' 'already,' /-k"y-a-/ 'exhaustive,' /-x"-a-/ 'while.'

(217) Adverbs to V<sup>2</sup>

- a. /ø-k"ə+a-aγ-aγ-x̄a-ha-š/ ([k"əγaγx̄ahəš])  
3-move+intr-past-past-already-pl-aff  
'They have already gone long ago.'
- b. /zə-ø-thəs'ə-̄x̄a-øy ø-š̄ə+a/ ([zɪθəs'əx̄øy ø-š̄əa])  
self-you(imp)-wash-first-and you(imp)-eat+intr  
'First wash yourself, then eat!'
- c. /ø-y-ha-ə-š'ə-aγ-k"y-a-ha-š/ ([yəs'ək"yahəš])  
3-3-pl-non pres-do-past-exhaustive-pl-aff  
'They did it completely.'
- d. /sə-t̪ə+a-̄x̄ə(-k"y)a/ ([sɪt̪əx̄ə(-k"yə)])  
I-write+intr-while(-inst)  
'while I write...'

4.2.7.3.4 *Adverb for Both V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>2</sup>* One adverb appears to modify both V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>2</sup> nodes, solely because of peculiarities of its past tense form (218b) (Abitov et al. 1957: 125). This form seems to utilise the future /-n-/ as a subjunctive. The form is difficult to analyse, showing always a past tense nuance in what is the morphological present (218a), and in the overt past a negative nuance (218b). (218a) might be analysed as a past, and (218b) as a remote past subjunctive, but the latter's negative sense would still remain unexplained. (218b) shows the only other vowel sequence apart from that in (49e).

(218) V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>2</sup> adverbs: 'probably' and 'probably not'

- a. /wə-k"ə+a-ya-(ø-)n-š/ ([wuk"əyənš])  
you-move+intr-probably-(pres-)subj(unctive)-aff  
'You probably went.'

- b. /wə-k"ə+a-ya-ay-n-ʂ/ ([wuk"ayɑ'ɪnʂ])  
 you-move+intr-probably-past-subj-aff  
 'You probably went nowhere.'

**4.2.7.4 Inflection Node** Plurality is the first daughter of INFL, as (218a) illustrates. It precedes tense, negation, and mood. Numerous examples have already been given.

**4.2.7.4.1 Tense** After plurality comes a modal affix, which can express a secondary tense, and a mood suffix. For tense one has a present dynamic /-ra/ (for the /-ra/ form see (220i, (i); j, (i)). This is optional (most frequent in third person plurals), but obligatory in the negative mood (219a). It does not attract stress. The future occupies this slot, either as an indefinite with a subjunctive sense /-n-/ or as a definite future /-n-w-/. Stative and durative pasts are also expressed in this tense and are based upon the old verb /-t/ 'stand.' The future, stative, and durative pasts attract stress.

(219) Tense of the inflection node

a. Dynamic present

- /ma-a-k"ə+a-ha-r-q'm/ ([má'k"əfierq'em])  
 3-pres-move+intr-pl-pres-not  
 'They are not going.'

b. Dynamic present

- /ma-a-k"ə+a-ha(-r)/ ([má'k"əfi(er)])  
 3-pres-move+intr-pl(-pres)  
 'They are going.'

c. Subjunctive future

- /sə-λaaža-n-ʂ/ ([sɪλɛzéns])  
 I-work-fut-aff  
 'I might work.'

d. Definite future

- /sə-λaaža-n-w-ʂ/ ([sɪλɛzenuʂ])  
 I-work-fut-def-aff  
 'I shall work (at a definite time).'

e. Stative past

- /k'ə-ž-m psaža-n ø-ø-f'af'-ta/ ([f'æf't])  
 man-old-obl talk-inf 3-3-love-stand  
 'The old man loved to talk.'

## f. Durative past (colloquial)

/sə-λaaža-r-ta/ ([sɪλɛ́žért])

I-work-distr-stand

‘I was working.’

## g. Durative (aorist) past (formal or poetic language)

/sə-λaaža-aγ-t/ ([sɪλɛ́žá-t])

I-work-past-stand

‘I was working.’ or

‘during the time that I was working’

As (219g) shows, the durative past can take on a virtual adverbial sense.

**4.2.7.4.2 Mood** After inflectional tense comes mood, which can be either the various mood suffixes or any non-finite morphemes. Moods denote affirmative declarative, negative, irrealis (including optatives and hortatives), interrogative, and imperative (for the jussive see (199)). Kabardian appears to be unique in the world in having a distinct mood mark for simple positive declaratives (in all but the present active tense), /-š/ (perhaps underlyingly /-ša/ (225e)). Absence of this affirmative creates a neutral irrealis (220h) (Dumézil 1975: 101, §35), or a simple interrogative (220i).

## (220) Mood suffixes

## a. Affirmative declarative

## (i) Present stative

/sə-λaaža-š(a)/ ([sɪλážéš])

I-work-aff

‘I work.’

## (ii) Other tense (future definite)

/sə-λaaža-n-w-š(a)/ ([sɪλɛ́ženúš])

I-work-fut-def-aff

‘I shall work (at some definite time).’

## b. Negative (past)

/ø-λaaža-aγ-ha-q'm/ ([λɛ́žá·haq'ém])

3-work-past-pl-not

‘They did not work.’

## c. Irrealis

/wə-q'ə-s-da-mə-?a+pəq"ə-aγ-ta-ma sa φ-q'ə-s-a-ħaħa-k"ə-n-ta/  
 ([wuq'izdæmə?æpq"ətæmæ se q'izahħeħək"intæ])  
 you-hor-me-with-not-hand+extend-past-irrealis-if I 3-hor-me-dat-be  
 hard-exhaustive-fut-irreal

'If you had not helped me, it would have been very hard for me.'

## d. Optative+irrealis

/wa a-bə wə-ø-ħə-s-ħaaγ"-aγ-ħara-t/ ([wuħisħħaġ"aħħaraħt])  
 you 3-obl you-3-deixis-I-see-past-opt-irreal  
 'If only I had seen you there!'

## e. Optative alone

/sə-k"ə+a-aγ-ħara/ ([suk"əħħara])  
 I-move+intr-past-opt  
 'I would like to have gone.'

f. Exhaustive (adverb of V<sup>1</sup>)+irrealis

/sa wasa-f' φ-q'a-s-ħ-k"ə-a-t/ ([q'eshħk"et])  
 I opinion-good 3-hor-I-carry-exhaustive-irreal  
 'If only I receive a good recommendation!'

## g. Hortative irrealis

/da-(f)-γa-k"ə+a-t/ ([da(v)γok"et])  
 we-(you (pl))-let-move+intr-irreal  
 'Let's go!'

## h. Neutral irrealis (absence of affirmative /-ħ(a)/)

/wə-y-a-s-ə-tə-ø/ ([we'zít])  
 you-3-dat-I-non pres-give-irreal  
 'I might give you to him (her).' or  
 'Were I to give you to him (her)...'

## i. Simple interrogative with overt present

(absence of affirmative /-ħ(a)/)

## (i) Present

/ha-r yəg"ə-m φ-y-a-g"-a-ra/ ([yeg"ärə])  
 3-abs school-obl 3-3-dat-call-dat-pres  
 'Is he (she) attending school?'

## (ii) Past

/ha-r yəg"ə-m φ-y-a-g"-a-ay/ ([yeg"är])  
 3-abs school-obl 3-3-dat-call-dat-past  
 'Was he (she) attending school?'

## (iii) Future

/ha-r yəg'a-m ø-y-a-g'-a-n-w/ ([yeg'ənú'])  
 3-abs school-obl 3-3-dat-call-dat-fut-def  
 'Will he (she) attend school?'

## j. Contrary interrogative

## (i) Present

/wə-k"-ə+a-ra-q'a/ ([wuk"-ərq'a])  
 you-move+intr-pres-Q  
 'Aren't you going?'

## (ii) Past

/wə-k"-ə+a-aγ-q'a/ ([wuk"-əq'a])  
 you-move+intr-past-Q  
 'Didn't you go?'

## k. Dubitative interrogative (sometimes with /-əy/ 'even' of the S-node)

## (i) Present

/wa wə-k"-ə+a-w-əy/ ([wuk"-əwí'])  
 you you-move+intr-D(ubitative)Q-even  
 'Are you really going?!'

## (ii) Past

/a-r a-bə ø-žə-y-ə-?a-aγ-w-əy/ ([ži.?a.wí'])  
 3-abs 3-obl 3-back-3-non pres-say-past-DQ-even  
 'Did he really say that?!'

## (iii) Future

/wa a-r ø-w-ŷ"-ə-za-fa-mə-k"-ə-n-w-əy/ ([pŷ"izæfæmək"-inu.wí'])  
 you 3-abs 3-you-for-all-detri-not-exit-fut-DQ-even  
 'Are you really not going to be able to do that?!'

## l. Imperative

/ø-š-a-ø/ ([ʃε])  
 you-lead-dat-imp  
 'Lead (in)!'

**4.2.7.4.3 Periphrastic Contrary Interrogative** The contrary interrogative suffix /-q'a/ (220j) can also be replaced in the future by a separate word, /p'ara/. This does not have quite the negative force that /-q'a/ alone has.

## (221) Periphrastic contrary interrogative

- a. /a-r p'saday ø-q'a-k"-ə+a-žə-n-w p'ara/ ([q'ok"-əžinú' p'æræ])  
 3-abs tomorrow 3-hor-move+intr-back-fut-def contrary Q  
 'Will he (she) come back tomorrow?'

- b. /a-r p'saday ø-q'a-mə-k"ə+a-žə-n-w p'ara/ ([q'æmuk"əžinú' p'ærə])  
 3-abs tomorrow 3-hor-not-move+intr-back-fut-def contrary Q  
 'Won't he (she) come back tomorrow?'

**4.2.7.4.4 Participles and Gerunds** In place of mood, one can find a participial /-w/ or gerundive /-ra/ in various embeddings or nominal uses. Four examples of participial forms are given in (222). These forms act to some extent as complementisers for embeddings (see (93)).

(222) Participial forms

- a. /sa s-y-a-g"-a-wə sə-šə-s-\$/ ([se'g'ó' sɪšíss\$])  
 I I-3-dat-call-dat-part I-deixis-sit-aff  
 'I am sitting studying.'
- b. /a-r fə-wa ø-y-a-g"-a-ay-wə ø-q'a-k"ə+a-ay-\$/ ([yeg'á'wu q'ok"á'\$])  
 3-abs good-adv 3-3-dat-call-dat-past-part 3-hor-move+intr-past-aff  
 'It was apparent that he had read it well.'
- c. /a-r ø-y-a-g"-a-wə-ra ma-a-k"ə+a/ ([yeg'ó'wuræ má'k"o])  
 3-abs 3-3-dat-call-dat-part-distr 3-pres-move+intr  
 'He is going away while reading.'
- d. /a-r ?ay-wa ø-y-a-g"-a-ay-ø ø-q'a-k"ə+a-ay-\$/ ([yeg'á' q'ok"á'\$])  
 3-abs bad-adv 3-3-dat-call-dat-past-part 3-hor-come+intr-past-aff  
 'It was apparent that he had read it poorly (incompletely).'

As (222d) seems to show, an embedding can have no overt complementiser.

The gerund is appended to verbs when they serve as heads for relative clauses (when the head noun is deleted as being understood) (223a, b). When the head noun is overt the gerundive ending is zero, suggesting that it is merely the definite case ending of nouns (223c). Only the persistence of an /-r/ in the predicative case (contrast normal case assignment (86)) suggests that the gerundive ending is distinct from the absolute definite case ending (223d).

(223) Gerunds

- a. /ø-y-a-g"-a-n-w-r ø-q'ə-šə-t'ə+s+ha-ay-\$/ ([yeg'ənú'wer q'išit'išhá'\$])  
 who-3-dat-call-dat-fut-def-ger 3-hor-deixis-down+sit+act-past-aff  
 'He who will read it sat down.'
- b. /s-əy-t̪əžə-ha-m sə-z-a-g"-a-(ha-)n-w-r ø-q'ə-ø-ha-ə-s-žə+ha-ay-\$/  
   ([sɪt̪əžəhəm sɪzəg'(ha)nú'wer q'a'žəsžəhá'\$])  
 my-poss-book-pl-obl I-which-dat-call-dat-(pl)-fut-def-ger 3-hor-3-pl-  
 mass-I-lie+act-past-aff  
 'I set the ones I shall read among my books.'

**4.2.7.4.5 Negative Participles and Gerunds** The participial and gerundive suffixes take the place of the mood suffixes, thus forcing the verb forms to have prefical negatives. The negative gerund may have no overt suffix (224b).

## (224) Negative participles and gerunds

### a. Participle



### b. Gerund



**4.2.8 Affixes to the Sentence** Three affixes modify the S-node: (1) complementisers, (2) adverbs, and (3) conjunctions.

**4.2.8.1 Complementisers** Similar to the participial and gerundive endings are suffixes that I have termed complementisers: /-m/ with an adverbial nuance, /-ma/ 'if, that, as,' /-ba/ 'if indeed, surely so, but of course.'

/-ba/ carries a nuance of rudeness or excess and indeed is a suffixal form of /ba/ 'much.' These complementisers differ from the participial and gerundive endings only in so far as they do not replace mood suffixes (note (220c)). They do not attract stress.

## (225) Complementisers

## a. Adverbial /-m/

/f'ə-wa wə-zə-y-a-g'-a-m wasa-f' ø-q'a-w-hə-n-\$/  
 ([f'úwo wuzé'g'æm wosæf' q'æphíns])  
 good-adv you-when-3-dat-call-dat-adv opinion-good 3-hor-you-  
 carry (off)-fut-aff

'When you read it well, you will be honoured.'

## b. Conditional /-ma/

/f'ə-wa wə-y-a-g'-a-ay-šara-ta-ma wasa-f' ø-q'a-w-hə-n-t/  
 ([f'úwo we'g'ø'særétæmæ wosæf' q'æphínt])  
 good-adv you-3-dat-call-dat-past-opt-irreal-if opinion-good 3-hor-you-  
 carry (off)-fut-irreal

'If only you had read it well, you would have been honoured.'

## c. Simple complementiser /-ma/ (with verb 'to say')

/f'ə-wa wə-y-a-g'-a-ay-ma ø-q'ə-žə-y-ə-?a-ay-\$/  
 ([f'úwo we'g'ø'ma q'iži'ʔø's])  
 good-adv you-3-dat-call-dat-past-that 3-hor-back-3-non pres-say-past-aff  
 'He said that you read it well.'

## d. Strong complementiser /-ba/ (cf. /ba/ 'much')

/sə-q'a-mə-k"ə+a-žə-fə-nə-w-ta-ba/ ([səq'əmuk"əžəfənú'tæbæ])  
 I-hor-not-move+intr-again-able-fut-def-irreal-strong  
 'I shall not be able to go back, though!'

## e. Expostulation /-\$/ (Kardanov 1955: 1052)

/day"ə-a-y-ø-ša-\$ ø-ø-t-y-a-pλ-a γ"az-g'a-\$/  
 good-conn-ness-be-aff-exp(ostulation) you(imp)-3-surf-dir-dat-look-dat  
 haze-bad-exp  
 'Marvellous! Look at the fog!'

**4.2.8.2 Adverb to S** Most of the complementisers in (225) can have an adverb /-əy/ glossed as 'even' or a concessive sense, 'even though,' suffixed to them (226a). It attracts stress. The use of /-əy/ in questions has been shown in (220k). Conjoined with /-ma/ it gives a hypothetical irrealis (226b). This suffix can also occur appended to /-wa/ in poetic language (226c), to yield an emphatic. A variant, /-ray/, yields a strong intensive of propensity (226d). Simple strong emphatics can also be expressed peripherastically with /paɪ/ 'strong, hard' (226e). A distributed adverb /-ra/ appended to the S-node was shown in (222c).

## (226) Sentential adverb

## a. Concessive

/dəwnay-r Ø-χ"aab-a-m-əy ſ'ə-r Ø-ſ'ə?a-ſ/  
 ([du'né'yɪr χ"à'bæmí ſ'ær ſ'έ?eſ])

world-abs 3-warm-comp-even earth-abs 3-cold-aff

'Even though the environment is warm, the ground is cold.'

## b. Hypothetical irrealis

/a-r Ø-q'a-mə-sə-žə-aγ-ta-ma-əy da Ø-z-a-f'a-d-ya-k"ə-fə-n-t/  
 ([ar q'əmɪsɪžətæmí de zæf'edyøk"əfɪnt])

3-abs 3-hor-not-sit-again-past-irreal-if-even we 3-self-dat-well-we-  
 caus-come out-able-fut-irreal

'Even if he were not to be back, we would be able to manage it.'

## c. Poetic emphatic

/a-ħa's'a-m a-ha-r Ø-qa-y-ə-c'əχ"-ha-wa-əy Ø-q'a-k"ə+a-aγ-t/  
 ([q'i:c'uχ"ħawí q'ok"á:t])

the-guest-obl 3-pl-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-be acquainted with-pl-pred-even  
 3-hor-move+intr-past-stand

'The guest (who) came even knew them!'

## d. Strong emphatic of propensity

/ma-a-da+a+w+a-ray/ ([mədə'woré'l])

3-pres-with+dat+strike+dat-strong emphatic

'He truly loves to argue.'

## e. Periphrastic strong emphatic (/pat-ma-əy/)

/wa-šχ Ø-q'ə-y-a-mə-šχ-ay pat-ma-əy ſ'ə-r yə-g"ə-əy-əy Ø-psə?a-ſ/  
 ([wešχ q'i:mɪšχá petmí ſ'ær yig'irí psé?eſ])

sky-rain 3-hor-dir-dat-not-rain-past strong-if-even earth-abs gen-now-  
 and-even 3-damp-aff

'Even though the rain had not come, the earth was even now damp.'

**4.2.8.3 Conjunctions** Finally, at the end of these complementisers, with the sentential adverb possibly conjoined, a conjunction can be appended, /-əy/ 'and.' Phonologically /-əy-əy/ yields /-r-əy/.

## (227) Conjunction

/ø-q'a-k"ə+a-aγ-ta-ma-əy-əy də-q'a-y-ə-λaaγ"-ay-ta-ma-əy-əy ø-q'ə-d-  
da-?a+pəq"ə-fə-aγ-q'm/  
([q'ok"ə-tæmiri dəq'iλəγ"ə-tæmiri q'edda?əpoq"əfəq'əm])  
3-hor-move+intr-past-irreal-if-even-and us-hor-3-non pres-see-past-irreal-  
if-even-and 3-hor-us-with-hand+extend-able-past-not  
‘Even if he had come and even if he had seen us, he would not have  
been able to help us.’

**4.2.9 Verbal Indices** The underlying forms of the verbal indices of person are given in (228). Most verbal index phonology has already been treated in §§2.7.7–8 (especially rules R23 (72)–(73), and R24 (74)–(75)). One should note (§6.14 (325)) that the second person index can be dropped in direct address situations.

## (228) Personal verbal indices

## a. For nouns in the absolute

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1	sə-	də-
2	wə-	fə-
3	ø-	ø-
	ma-	ma- (in intransitive dynamic present)

## b. For nouns in the oblique of ergative subjects

1	-s-	-d-
2	-b-/w-	-f-
3	-y-	-y-ha-

## c. For nouns in the oblique of other grammatical roles (indirect object, etc.)

1	-s-	-d-
2	-w-	-f-
3	-ø-	-ø-ha-
	-y-	-y-ha- (when not governed by an overt preverb)

The relationship of the first and second person forms to the corresponding pronouns (114) is obvious. The second person singular /-b-/ is optionally derived from the usual /-w-/ by dissimilation before the present progressive /-a-w-/(Abitov et al. (1957: 110), and see (73e)).

**4.2.9.1 Reflexive** The reflexive index in all positions is /(-)z-/. Direct and indirect objects, benefactive, comitative, and locative verbal indices can be reflexive

/(-)z-/ (with affixes). Only in causatives can a subject be a reflexive (Abitov et al. 1957: 133–34).

**4.2.9.2 Index Voicing** The first person singular and second person plural undergo voicing when surrounded by voiced segments (229) (rule R24 (74)).

(229) Voicing of indices

a. Voiceless (underlying)

/ø-s-a-w-tə-aγ-ʂ/ ([so·tɑ́·ʂ])

3-me-dat-you-give-past-aff

‘You gave it to me.’

b. Voiced

/ø-q'ə-s-a-w-tə-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'ɪzo·tɑ́·ʂ])

3-hor-me-dat-you-give-past-aff

‘You loaned it to me.’

(lit., ‘Gave it to me, but retained a proprietary interest in it.’)

c. Voiceless (underlying)

/ø-f-a-s-tə-aγ-ʂ/ ([fəstɑ́·ʂ])

3-you (pl)-dat-I-give-past-aff

‘I gave it to you (pl).’

d. Voiced

/ø-q'ə-f-a-s-tə-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'evəstɑ́·ʂ])

3-hor-you (pl)-dat-I-give-past-aff

‘I loaned it to you (pl).’

**4.2.10 Concord** Word order (§6.2.2) is fairly free in Kabardian, but if one takes the least marked order, usually evident in embedded clauses, the order of nouns can be seen to be a mirror image of that for their co-referential verbal indices.

**4.2.10.1 Concord in Simple Verbs** The order of concord for simple verbs is shown in (230).

(230) Concord (non-causatives)

a. Intransitive

/sa s-a-w-t̥ə+a/ ([só·t̥ə])

I I-pres-prog-write+intr

‘I am writing.’

b. Transitive (two-place)

/sa wa wə-s-a-w-λaaγ"/ ([wuso·λá·γ"])

I you you-I-pres-prog-see

‘I see you.’

## c. Transitive (three-place)

/sa a-bə wa wə-q'ə-y-a-s-t-aγ-ʂ/ ([wuq'e'stā's])  
 I 3-obl you you-hor-3-dat-I-give-past-aff  
 'I gave you to him.'

**4.2.10.2 Causatives** The order for causatives is shown in (231). The agent index forces the ergative subject index into an indirect object role (index+/a).

## (231) Concord (causatives)

## a. Intransitive

/wa sa sə-w-a-w-ya-a-txə+a/ ([suwo'γá'txə])  
 you (obl) I (abs) I-you-pres-prog-caus-conn-write+intr  
 'You are making me write.'

## b. Transitive (two-place)

/sa a-bə wa wə-q'ə-y-a-s-a-w-ya-a-λaaγ"/ ([wuq'e'zo'γελά'γ"])  
 I (obl) 3-obl you (abs) you-hor-3-dat-I-pres-prog-caus-conn-see  
 'I made him (her) see you.' or 'I showed you to him (her).'

## c. Transitive (three-place)

/sa a-bə wa a-ha-r ø-q'ə-w-a-y-a-s-ya-a-t-ay-ha-ʂ/  
 ([q'uwe'zyetá:fiaʂ])  
 I (obl) 3-obl you (obl) 3-pl-abs 3-hor-you-dat-3-dat-I-caus-conn-give-  
 past-pl-aff  
 'I made him (her) give them to you.'

## d. Double causative (of an intransitive)

/sa a-bə yazə-r zə-y-a-s-ya-ya-a-hazər-aγ-ʂ/ ([ze'zyayæħezerá's])  
 I (obl) 3-obl self-abs self-3-dat-I-caus-caus-conn-be ready-past-aff  
 'I made him make himself ready.'

**4.2.10.3 Locative Concord** Verbs with indirect objects or locatives modifying their actions can be seen to show the same mirror-image concord when they are embedded (232). Otherwise the locative or indirect object is usually moved to a preverbal position (§6.3.1). This category includes "anti-passives," normally transitive (ergative) verbs which show an intransitive pattern with a consequent lack of fulfilment of their action (293) (§6.4.1).

## (232) Verbs with locatives or indirect objects

## a. Intransitives with indirect object

/wa sa sə-q'ə-w-a-w+a-w/ ([səq'wo:wó:])  
 you I I-hor-you-dat-strike+dat-pred  
 'that I am hitting you'

b. Intransitives with locative

/wa sa sə-q'ə-w-t-y-a-χ\*+a-aγ-wa/ ([wəq'əpteχ'ā'wo])  
 you (obl) I (abs) I-hor-you-surf-dir-dat-fall+dat-past-pred  
 'that I fell on you'

c. Transitive with locative

/sa wa a-ha-ɾ ø-q'ə-w-t-y-a-s-χ-aγ-ha-wa/ ([q'əpte'sχā'fiuwo])  
 I (obl) you (obl) 3-pl-abs 3-hor-you-surf-dir-dat-I-take away-past-pl-pred  
 'that I took them away from you'

(233) Anti-passive

a. Ergative

/a-pšaaša-m g'aana-ha-ɾ ø-q'a-y-a-də-ha/ ([q'ēdəfia])  
 the-girl-obl shirt-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pres-sew-pl  
 'The girl is sewing the shirts (completing them).'

b. Anti-passive

/g'aana-ha-m a-pšaaša-ɾ ø-q'a-y-ha-a-w-də+a-wa / ([q'a'wdów])  
 shirt-pl-obl the-girl-abs 3-hor-3-pl-dat-prog-sew+intr-pred  
 'that the girl is busy sewing at the shirts (trying to sew them)'

**4.2.10.4 Passives** As noted, the anti-passive of (233b) is not passive in meaning, but rather has an incomplete sense. True passives can be made with transitive stems that have only one personal index (one-place transitives) (234b). These represent a reduction in valence without alteration of stem morphology (§4.2.6.3 (202a)). Third person plural indefinite ergative forms are read as passives, just as they are in English and Farsi (234c). There is also a periphrastic passive utilising the verb /χ\*/-, which can have a transitive embedded verb (234d) or a one-place transitive (234e). The auxiliary verb in such periphrastic passives causes the embedded verb to have a past tense affix (234d), just as is the case with passives in English (for example, 'The cake was eaten by the child'). Such a past tense affix has nothing to do with whether or not the verb is in the past. It is unaltered even in past periphrastic passives (234e).

(234) Passives

a. Active transitive

/χ'-m g'aʒə-ɾ ø-y-ə ?"əχə-žə-aγ-ʂ/ ([yō?əχižā's])  
 man-obl wheat-abs 3-3-non pres-remove-finally-past-aff  
 'The man harvested the wheat.'

## b. Passive transitive

/g<sup>\*</sup>aʒə-r ʎə-m-k<sup>\*</sup>a ɸ-?əχə-žə-aγ-s/ ([?əχɪžá's])

wheat-abs man-obl-inst 3-remove-finally-past-aff

‘The wheat was harvested by the man.’

## c. Third person plural indefinite passive

/g<sup>\*</sup>aʒə-r ɸ-y-ha-?əχə-žə-aγ-s/ ([yə'?əχɪžá's])

wheat-abs 3-3-pl-remove-finally-past-aff

‘They harvested the wheat.’ (= ‘The wheat was harvested.’)

## d. Periphrastic passive with embedded transitive

/wəna-r ɸ-d-šə-ay ma-χ\*/ ([tʃ'ɑ' mɔχ\*])

house-abs 3-we-make-past 3-happen

‘The house is being built by us.’

## e. Periphrastic past passive with embedded passive

/da-r-k<sup>\*</sup>a wəna-r ɸ-šə-ay ma-χ\*ə-ay-s/ ([ʃ'ɑ' mɔχ\*'ə's])

we-obl-inst house-abs 3-make-past 3-happen-past-aff

‘The house was built by us.’

**4.2.10.5 Index Scrambling** A feature unique to Kabardian among the North-west Caucasian languages is a small degree of personal index scrambling reflecting the surface scrambling of a deictic phrase (Kardanov 1955: 1035) (235c). The scrambling in (235c) serves to place contrastive emphasis upon ‘*the children*’ (§4.1.6.4 (166c)). This shows that personal index morphology is a (near) surface syntactical morphology in this language (last-cyclic (Akmajian and Heny 1975, chapter 10)), while it is a deep syntactical morphology in the other languages of the family.

## (235) Personal index scrambling

## a. Unmarked order in embedding

/a-bə ſ'aalə-ha-m sa sə-ɸ-šə-y-ha-χ<sup>\*</sup>a-zə-aγ-wa / ([sɪsá'χ\*əzá'w])

3-obl child-pl-obl I (abs) I-3-deixis-3-pl-for-meet-past-pred

‘that I met the children there’

## b. Simple clause without scrambling (locative preverbal position)

/a-bə sa ſ'aalə-ha-m sə-ɸ-šə-y-ha-χ<sup>\*</sup>a-zə-aγ-s/ ([sɪsá'χ\*əzá's])

3-obl I (abs) child-pl-obl I-3-deixis-3-pl-for-meet-past-aff

‘I met the children there.’

## c. Scrambled personal index order

/sa ſ'aalə-ha-m a-bə sə-y-ha-šə-ɸ-χ<sup>\*</sup>a-zə-aγ-s/ ([sə'ʃuχ\*əzá's])

I (abs) child-pl-obl 3-obl I-3-pl-deixis-3-for-meet-past-aff

‘I met *the children* there.’

**4.2.10.6 Reflexives and Index Drop** In two-place transitives the third person singular /-y-/ is usually dropped. It is retained obligatorily, however, when the index of the absolute is a reflexive, /z-/.

Reflexive forms otherwise show no deviation from the usual concord patterns. Even double reflexives are possible (236c). They do, however, show the ‘again’ or ‘self’ suffix /-ž-/.

(236) Third person index drop and reflexives

a. Non-reflexive

/a-bə a-r φ-q'a-y-ə-λaaγ"-ay-s/ → /a-bə a-r φ-q'a-ə-λaaγ"-ay-s/  
([q'iλə'γ"á's])(\*[q'iλə'γ"á's])

3-obl 3-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-see-past-aff

‘He<sub>1</sub> saw him<sub>2</sub>.’

b. Reflexive

/a-bə yazə-r z-y-ə-λaaγ"-ə-ž-ay-s/ ([zi'λə'γ"ižá's])

3-obl self-abs refl-3-non pres-see-self-past-aff

‘He saw himself.’

c. Double reflexive

/a-bə ᷇aabžə-w zə-q'ə-z-fa-y-a-wə+s'ə-ž/ ([zəq'izfə'wus'iž])

3-obl strong-adv refl-hor-refl-despite-3-pres-val+know-self

‘He thinks too much of himself.’

**4.2.10.7 Rule Ordering and Transformational Morphology in Reflexives** As an interesting example of the transformational nature of syntactical morphology, /r/-intercalation, R9, applies between third person forms in causative and three-place transitives before the controlled index /-y-/ is replaced by /-z-/ (237b) by means of a morphological substitution transformation. This intercalated /r/ is not to be confused with an instrumental /r/ which appears in reflexives in indirect object position in three-place transitives (237c). The intercalated /r/ fails to appear if the two /-y-/ indices are not adjacent (237d), whereas the instrumental /r/ must appear if the reflexive is a first or second person, regardless of any intervening material (237e).

(237) Reflexives in causatives

a. Causative of an intransitive

/z-y-a-γa-a-psa᷇"/ ([ze'γæpsó᷇"])

refl-3-pres-caus-conn-rest

‘He made himself rest.’

## b. Causative of a two-place transitive

/ø-y-a-y-a-ya-a-s'a/

3-3(self)-dat-3-pres-caus-conn-know

'He is making himself learn it.'

/ø-y-a-r-y-a-ya-a-s'a/

(by R9)

/ø-z-a-r-a-y-ya-a-s'a/

(by a reflexivising transformation)

[zere'ya's'e]

(by various other rules)

## c. Three-place transitive with instrumental

/ø-q'a-s-a-s-tə-ay-s/

3-hor-I-dat-I-give-past-aff

/ø-q'a-z-a-rə-s-tə-ay-s/

(by a reflexivising transformation)

[q'zærıstó's]

and an instrumental insertion rule)

3-hor-refl-dat-inst-I-give-past-aff

'I gave it to myself.'

## d. Causative of three-place transitive (third person reflexive)

/ø-q'a-y-a-w-a-y-ə-ya-a-tə-ay-s/

3-hor-3(self)-dat-you-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-give-past-aff

/ø-q'a-z-a-w-a-y-ə-ya-a-tə-ay-s/

(reflexivising transformation)

[q'zowi'yətá's]

3-hor-refl-dat-you-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-give-past-aff

'He made you give it to him (= himself).'

## e. Causative of three-place transitive (first person reflexive)

/ø-q'a-w-a-y-a-w-ya-a-tə-žə-n ø-w-ž'a-yə/

3-hor-you-dat-3-dat-you-caus-conn-give-back-inf 3-you-for-must

/ø-q'a-z-a-rə-y-ə-w-ya-a-tə-žə-n

(reflexivising transformation,

ø-w-ž'a-y/ [q'zəri'býetížin pž'é] instrumental insertion rule)

3-hor-refl-dat-inst-3-dat-we-caus-conn-give-back-inf 3-you-for-must

'You should (must) make him give it back to you (= yourself).'

**4.2.10.8 Reciprocals** Reciprocals are distinct from reflexives. Reciprocals show a pattern in which the subject and the target reciprocal index (direct or indirect object) switch order, so that the subject comes first. In two-place transitives with overt pronouns, an anti-passive pattern is found (238b) (see syntax §6.12). In two-place transitives this anti-passive structure yields an intransitive form (238c). In three-place transitives, however, the reciprocal pattern appears to be more complex and yields a causative-like construction with an adverb index in agent position, (238d). Furthermore, causatives (of transitives) (238f) produce patterns of three-place reciprocals when they themselves are reciprocals (238g). Since reciprocals

are inherently plural, they do not inflect for overt plurality, just as the inherently plural first and second person subject verbs do not inflect for plurality.

(238) Reciprocals and index scrambling

a. Two-place transitive

/də-q'a-y-ha-λaaγ"-ay-ʂ/ ([dəq'a·λà·γ"á·ʂ])

us-hor-3-pl-see-past-aff

'They saw us.'

b. Two-place transitive with overt reciprocal pronouns

(anti-passive structure)

/zə-r zə-m ɸ-q'ə-za-rə-λaaγ"-ay-ʂ/ ([q'ızərɪλà·γ"á·ʂ])

one-abs one-obl 3-hor-recip-inst-see-past-aff

'They saw one another.'

c. Two-place reciprocal

/ɸ-q'ə-za-rə-λaaγ"-ay-ʂ/ ([q'ızərɪλà·γ"á·ʂ])

3-hor-recip-inst-see-past-aff

'They saw one another.'

d. Three-place transitive

/ɸ-y-ha-a-d-tə-ay-ʂ/ ([yɑ́ttá·ʂ])

3-3-pl-dat-we-give-past-aff

'We gave it to them.'

e. Three-place reciprocal

/ɸ-q'ə-də-za-r-a-ya-a-tə-ay-ʂ/ ([q'ıdızərayetá·ʂ])

3-hor-we-recip-inst-dat-caus-conn-give-past-aff

'We gave it to one another.'

f. Causative of a two-place transitive

/ɸ-q'ə-w-a-d-ya-a-λaaγ"-ay-ʂ/ ([q'uwedγeλà·γ"á·ʂ])

3-hor-you-dat-we-caus-conn-see-past-aff

'We showed it to you.'

g. Reciprocal of causative of two-place transitive

/ɸ-q'ə-də-za-r-a-ya-a-λaaγ"-ay-ʂ/ ([q'ıdızərayeλà·γ"á·ʂ])

3-hor-we-recip-inst-dat-caus-conn-see-past-aff

'We showed it to one another.'

4.2.10.9 *Valence Reduction* Verbs can undergo valence reduction simply by omission of an index (239).

## (239) Valence reduction

- a. Two-place → one-place

/sə-λaay"-aγ-ʂ/ ([sɪλà·γ"á·ʂ])

I-see-past-aff

'I saw.'

- b. Three-place → two-place

/ø-q'a-s-tə-žə-aγ-ʂ/ ([q'ɛstɪžá·ʂ])

3-hor-I-give-back-past-aff

'I gave it back.' or

'I loaned it again.'

- c. Three-place → one-place

/sə-tə+a-žə-aγ-ʂ/ ([sɪtəžá·ʂ])

I-give+intr-back-past-aff

'I gave again.'

# 5

## *Word Formation*

Only the smallest hint can be given here of Kabardian's rich word grammar. All the Northwest Caucasian languages have rich word-formation rules. Typologically the rules manifested are not unusual. What is unusual about these languages, however, is the massive extent to which their vocabularies are built by compounding a small number of basic (monosyllabic) roots. In this regard Kabardian is no exception (Kuipers 1960: 82–103). Furthermore, what makes Kabardian and its sister languages of utmost importance to the theoretical linguist is the enormous opportunity presented in their vocabularies for studying semantic processes. Word-formation processes are so extensive that one may see the lexical semantic component at work in a way matched by few other languages and exceeded by none. Perhaps the most obvious semantic process at work is one of graduated abstractness: words that play affixal roles in compounding depart to varying degrees from their referential meaning in their role as head of the compound. Other semantic processes, such as systematic shifts between denotation and connotation, can be found. A full exposition of such a semantic grammar awaits further work.

One should note that word-formation rules have varying degrees of productivity. Therefore, rather than represent them as rewrite rules with an arrow, I have simply written them as equivalence rules with an equals sign. I consider such an equivalence relationship ( $X = Y$ ) as neutral with regard to productivity. Whether or not a given string of morphemes is productive will be specified independently in the grammar as information attached to that particular constellation of morphemes.

In many of the examples of this chapter the stems of the forms exhibit interesting word-formation morphology themselves. For the edification of the dedicated reader I have provided analyses of these in parentheses at the bottom of each entry whenever I have not analysed the form in its main entry.

### **5.1 Adverbs**

Adverbs usually exist as bound morphemes within the verb (see chapter 4). Nevertheless, they can exist as free forms. If they are adverbs of time, manner, or counting, they are usually independent. If they are adverbs of place or direction, they

exist chiefly as emphatics along with their counterpart adverbs cliticised in the verb.

**5.1.1 Simple Adverbs** Non-derived adverbs for time and intensity exist. These are distinct from other parts of speech in that they are often multi-syllabic, but lack any obvious internal structure.

(240) Basic adverbs

- a. /nawba/ ‘today’
- b. /dəγʷaasa/ ‘yesterday’
- c. /p̥sadəy/ ‘tomorrow’
- d. /dəda/ ‘very, exactly’ (probably an intensive reduplication)
- e. /dəda-q'a/ very-intensely = ‘very much so’
- f. /waybλama/ ‘even’

**5.1.2 Derived Adverbs** Most other adverbs show derivational patterns, such as those in (241). These endings attract stress. Apart from (241c, (i); d, (iii)) most adverbs of numerals will be treated with the numbers.

(241) Adverb formation

- a. /-wa/ adverb suffix

Adj-afx = Adv

- (i) /fəc'ɑ-wa/ ([f̥ɪc'ó])  
black-adv  
'blackly'
- (ii) /fə-wa/ ([fúwo])  
good-adv  
'well'
- (iii) /psa-wə-wa/ ([psowúwo])  
life-pred-adv  
'alive' (as in 'captured alive')

- b. /-ra/ adverb suffix (old instrumental)

Adj-afx = Adv

- (i) /ba-ra/  
many-adv  
'very, much'
- (ii) /naχ-ra/  
more-adv  
'than'
- (iii) /də-za-psaaλa-w-ra/  
we-recip-talk-pred-adv  
'as we discussed among ourselves'

## c. /-r/ 'by' distributive adverb suffix

Adj-afx-Adj-afx(-afx)= Adv

- (i) /t̪ə-r-t̪ə-θə-wa/ ([t̪ə'θərɪt̪ə'u·])  
five-by-five-adv  
'by fives,' 'in groups of five'
- (ii) /da-r-da-r-w/ ([dærdærú·])  
we-by-we-by-adv  
'by ourselves'
- (iii) /yazə-r-yazə-r-w/ ([yézəryezərú·])  
self-by-self-by-adv  
'by each one independently'

## d. /-kʷa/ instrumental suffix (case)

N-afx, V-afx,[V-Adj]-afx = Adv

- (i) /maaθə-kʷa/  
day-inst  
'by day'
- (ii) /θə-kʷa/  
run-inst  
'by running'
- (iii) /θədəy-t̪ə-kʷa/  
like-five-inst  
'five times'  
(/θə-a-də-y/ for-be like-participle = 'like')

## e. /yə-/ direction (general locus of action)

afx-N = Adv

- (i) /yə-θ̪a/  
dir-head  
'upwards' (general locus of action)
- (ii) /yə-θ̪aabža/  
dir-hoof  
'downwards' ( general locus of action)  
(/θ̪a+a+bža/ leg+conn+nail = 'hoof')

## f. /yə-...-(m-)kʷa/ direction-...-(obl)-inst, direction of action

PreV-N-(case-)afx = Adv

- (i) /yə-θ̪a-(m-)kʷa/  
dir-head-(obl)-inst  
'upwards' (direction of action)

- (ii) /yə-ɬaabža-(m-)kʷa/  
 dir-hoof-(obl-)inst  
 'downwards' (direction of action)  
 (/ɬa+a+bža/ leg+conn+nail = 'hoof')

**5.1.3 Clitic Adverbs** Many adverbs are cliticised to the adjective which they modify. These will be treated with adjective morphology (§5.2.5).

### 5.2 Adjectives

Formally akin to adverbs, adjectives are cliticised to their controlling noun unless they stand in predicate position. They differ from adverbs not only in being dominated by nouns, but also in their derivational complexity, which can be remarkable.

**5.2.1 Simple Adjectives** There are numerous adjectives that are unanalysable. As with adverbs, these are often multi-syllabic, but cannot be analysed into smaller components.

#### (242) Simple adjectives

- a. /daaχā/      'beautiful'
- b. /c'ækʷ/      'small'
- c. /maaʂ'a/      'little, few'
- d. /ʂ̥kʷa/      'big'
- e. /ba/      'much, many'

**5.2.2 Compound Adjectives** Adjectives may also be derived by processes of compounding, as in (243). For these parts of speech headless (exocentric) compounding appears to be the rule. These, and most of the compounds that follow, are taken from the invaluable works of Kuipers (1960: 82–103) and Kardanov (1955: 1003–1007). In these and all other compounds final /ə/’s are deleted.

#### (243) Compounds that yield adjectives

- a. N-Adj = Adj
  - (i) /na-f/      eye-rotten = 'blind'
  - (ii) /gʷə-ʂ̥kʷa/      heart-great = 'daring, brave'
  - (iii) /fa-γʷə/      skin-dry (yellowish) = 'pale'
  - (iv) /tħa-gʷa/      ear-docked = 'short-eared'
  - (v) /dəwnay-psaw/      world-all = 'worldwide'
- b. N-V = Adj
  - (i) /pa-s-a/      nose-sit-on = 'early'

- (ii) /kʰa-s-a/ tail-sit-on = ‘late’  
 (iii) /pa-s-a/ hand-sit-dat = ‘tame’  
 (iv) /ža-a-pša/ wind-conn-blow = ‘windy’ (/žə/ ‘wind’)
- c. N-N = Adj
- (i) /na-p'c'/ eye-lie = ‘false’
  - (ii) /psa-f/ life-appearance(?) = ‘pregnant (of animals)’

**5.2.3 Recursive Compounding** A few adjectives show recursive compounding. The same modifying element is repeated so that the form has an internal rhyme. Therefore, I have termed them and similar forms “rhyming compounds” (see (251)).

(244) Rhyming adjectival compounds

- N- $\alpha$ fx<sub>i</sub>-N- $\alpha$ fx<sub>i</sub> = Adj
- a. /ra-k"ə+a-λa-k"ə+a/ arm-move+intr-leg-move+intr  
 ‘skillful’
- b. /bza-g"ə-na-g"ə/a tongue-bad-eye-bad  
 ‘nasty’

**5.2.4 Complex Adjectives** Other adjectives merely show great internal complexity without necessarily exhibiting any recursive patterns.

(245) Complex adjectives

- a. [N-N]-Adj = Adj  
 /nak"ə-šha-pλə/  
 cheek-head-red  
 ‘red-cheeked’  
 (/na+k"ə/ eye+slope = ‘cheek’)
- b. N-[index-V] = Adj  
 /šha-zə-f'af'/  
 head (=‘self’)-who-be pleased  
 ‘smug’
- c. [N-Adj]-N = Adj  
 /c'əχ"ə-bzə-fa/  
 people-female-appearance  
 ‘feminine’ or ‘effeminate’

- d. [Adj-Adj]-conn-N = Adj  
*/mawra-f'ac'a-a-fa/*  
 brown-black-conn-appearance  
 ‘dark brown’
- e. Adv-Adj = Adj  
*/nəq<sup>m</sup>a-tx<sup>m</sup>/*  
 half-white (of fur)  
 ‘grizzled’

**5.2.5 Suffixation** The most prolific means of constructing adjectives, however, is by means of a rich system of suffixes consisting of clitic adverbs. Some of these are productive, others marginally so, and some frozen, as noted. One may include here a zero suffix for forms in which the noun and its corresponding adjective are identical (246u).

(246) Adjectives derived by means of suffixes

- a. /-a-g<sup>m</sup>a/ bad, lacking (marginally productive)  
*(Ubykh /ag<sup>m</sup>a/ ‘bad,’ Abkhaz /a-ga/ ‘silly, fool’ (/a-/ noun marker))*  
 N-conn-afx = Adj
  - (i) /šaapča-a-g<sup>m</sup>a/ example-conn-without = ‘unparalleled’  
*(/ʃə+a+a+pča/ lead+in+conn+material = ‘example’)*
  - (ii) /bza-a-g<sup>m</sup>a/ tongue-conn-without = ‘evil, cunning’
- b. /-č/ colour (non-productive)  
 Adj-afx = Adj
  - (i) /č<sup>m</sup>a-č/ white-colour = ‘white’
  - (ii) /γ<sup>m</sup>a-č/ yellow-colour = ‘yellow’
- c. /-may/ inutile (non-productive)  
*(/-mə-ya/ -not-character of (?)*  
 N-afx = Adj
  - /ča-may/ mouth-inutile = ‘taciturn’
- d. /-ray/ propensity (productive)  
*(/-ra-ya/ instrument, participle-attributive suffix)*  
 N-afx = Adj, Adj-afx = Adj
  - (i) /psaača-ray/ word-propensity = ‘talkative’
  - (ii) /paasa-ray/ early-propensity = ‘ancient’  
*(/pa+a+s+a/ nose+at+arrive+at = ‘to arrive first,’ ‘early’)*
- e. /-?a/ possessing (marginally productive)  
 N-afx = Adj
  - /psə-?a/ water-possessing = ‘damp, moist’

f. /-a-ba/ possessing (productive)

N-afx = Adj

(i) /búa-a-ba/      horn-conn-possessing = ‘horned’

(ii) /cə̄-ba/      hair-possessing = ‘hirsute’

g. /-x\*/ (overly) broad (< ? masculine) (non-productive)

N-afx = Adj

(i) /ža-x\*/      mouth-broad = ‘crude, rude’

(ii) /maaq'ə-x\*/      sound-broad = ‘crude’

(iii) /fəzə-x\*/      woman-broad = ‘crude, masculine woman’

h. /-λə/ character ('flesh' ?) (marginally productive)

N-afx = Adj

/g"əs'aγ"ə-λə/      compassion-character = ‘compassionate’

(/g"ə+š'a+γ"ə/      heart+know+companion = ‘compassion’)

i. /-šə/ character (marginally productive)

(chiefly with Arabic loans)

N-afx = Adj

(i) /ħeyλa-šə/      cunning (guile)-character = ‘cunning, guileful’

(ii) /dəyn-šə/      religion-character = ‘pious’

j. /-nad/ response (marginally productive)

N-afx = Adj

(/-na-d/ eye-in ?)

(i) /fəγ"ə-a-nad/      envy-response = ‘envious’

(ii) /ħay-nad/      sleep-response = ‘sleepy’

k. /-rəyna/ proclivity (marginally productive)

(/-yə-yə-n-a/ cont-dir-remain-dat)

V-afx = Adj

/yə-rəyna/      cry-proclivity = ‘whining, piteous’

l. /-(rəy-)λa/ natural condition (productive)

(/yə-yə-λa/ path-dir-to be extra = ‘to be prolonged in some condition’)

N-afx = Adj, Adj-afx = Adj

(i) /wabλahna-a-λa/      rain-conn-natural condition = ‘rainy’

(ii) /səmaag'a-rəy-λa/      ill-emph-natural condition = ‘ill (for a prolonged period)’

(/səma+a+g'a/ health+conn+without = ‘ill’)



u. /-ø/ “zero suffix,” (productive)

N-ø = Adj

- (i) /dəyə/
- (ii) /pša-a-y'a/

‘sunny’ ('sun')

cloud-conn-companion = ‘foggy’ ('fog')

### 5.2.6 Degree Adjectives of degree are expressed as suffixes as well.

#### (247) Adjectives of degree

a. /-?a/ slightly

Adj-Adv = Adj

- (i) /fəθə-?a/
- (ii) /f'əc'a-?a/

white-slightly = ‘whitish’

black-slightly = ‘blackish’

b. /-bza/ completely

[Adj-afx]-Adv = Adj

- (i) /f'əθə-žə-bza/

yellow-colour-completely = ‘completely

yellow’

- (ii) /pλə-žə-bza/

red-colour-completely = ‘completely red’

c. /-a-ša/ extremely

Adj-conn-afx = Adj

- /g"əbzəyə-a-ša/
- (/g"ə+bzə+yə/ heart+to cut+abstract = ‘intelligent, wise’)

wise-conn-extremely = ‘very wise’

d. /-šx'a/ huge

Adj-conn-afx = Adj

- (i) /yənə-šx'a/
- (ii) /bzaag'a-šx'a/

big-huge = ‘enormous’

evil-huge = ‘greatly evil’

e. /-ž/ extreme opinion (< /žə/ ‘old,’ ‘ugly,’ or ‘evil’)

Adj-afx = Adj

- (i) /g"əbzəyə-ž/
- (/g"ə+bzə+yə/ heart+to cut+abstract = ‘intelligent, wise’)

wise-extreme = ‘wonderfully wise’

- (ii) /f'əc'a-ž/

black-extreme = ‘horribly black’

f. /-žə-šx'a/ extreme opinion-huge

Adj-afx-afx = Adj

- /f'əc'a-žə-šx'a/

black-extreme-huge = ‘huge, black and

clumsy’

### 5.2.7 Prefixation A few adjectives are formed by prefixes. These are right-hand headed adjectives.

## (248) Adjectives derived by means of prefixes

N-Adj = Adj

- a. /qʷa-/ horn (marginally productive)  
/qʷa-χʷ/ horn-white = 'white horned'
- b. /ta-/ surface (/t-a-/ surf-dat-) (non-productive)  
/ta-χʷ/ surf-white = 'white skinned, white'
- c. /pa-/ nose, front (near to or opposed from)(productive)
  - (i) /pa-?as'a/ nose(opposed)-near = 'far removed'
  - (ii) /pa-γʷənayʷ/ nose(near)-near (bordering) = 'near to someone'

**5.2.8 Circumfixation** There is one type of adjective formed with a circumfix (morpheme that is both a prefix and suffix). The adjectival root combines with the negative prefix, usually found in verbs, /mə-/ and with /-nša/ 'without' (245n).

## (249) Circumfixed adjective

afx-N-afx, afx-V-afx = Adj

/mə-...-nša/ not... -without

- a. /mə-aqəλ-ə-nša/ ([məaqɪλɪnšə])  
(for the vowel sequence see (49e))  
not-intellect-ep v-without  
'not without intelligence'
- b. /mə-yaš'agʷan-ə-nša/  
not-to interest-ep v-without  
'not without interest'  
(/ya+S'a+gʷ+a+n/ caus+know+heart+in+inf = 'to interest')
- c. /mə-daagʷa-nša/  
not-defect-without  
'imperfect,' 'not without defects'

**5.3 Nouns**

A few hundred basic nominal roots are used to make up most of the rest of the nominal vocabulary. Such derived nouns can be formed either by compounding, an open ended process, or by the use of a limited set of affixes (§5.3.5).

**5.3.1 Compounding** Compounding is a productive and complex process. Some compounds are endocentric or headed, showing both right- and left-hand heads, whereas others are exocentric. In many cases the question as to whether a compound is headed or not has no clear answer, as with, for example, /na-gʷ/ eye-zone 'face (around the eyes),' which is both associated with 'eye' (left-hand head)

and ‘zone’ (right-hand head). Only a few examples of this rich part of the grammar can be given in (250).

## (250) Nominal compounds

## a. N-N = N

- (i) /na-psə/
- (ii) /ṛa-p'λ'a/
- (iii) /ža-p'q'/
- (iv) /λa-g"/
- (v) /λaaža-a-p'a/

eye-water = ‘tear’  
 arm-shoulder = ‘embrace’  
 jaw-bone = ‘chin’  
 leg (foot)-surf= ‘sole’ or ‘floor’  
 work-conn-place = ‘place of work’

## b. N-Adj = N

- (i) /na-᷍a/
- (ii) /na-ya/ ([ne'])
- (iii) /na-f/
- (iv) /pša-pλə/
- (v) /g"ə-zav/
- (vi) /g"ašə-rə-psa-w/

eye-white = ‘light’ (an N)  
 eye-bad = ‘malice, anger’  
 eye-good = ‘kindness’  
 cloud-red = ‘twilight’  
 heart-narrow = ‘plight’  
 work-inst-life-pred = ‘labourers’ (alive by  
 work)

## c. N-V = N

- (i) /na-?a/
- (ii) /g"ə-?a/
- (iii) /ṛa-λ+a/
- (iv) /ṛ"ə-λ+ḥa/
- (v) /mazə-λ+a/
- (vi) /p'q"ə-mə+zaaya/

eye-holding = ‘care’  
 heart-holding = ‘sorrow’  
 hand-lie+dat = ‘glove’  
 lips-lie+act = ‘bribe’  
 forest-lie+dat = ‘forest zone’  
 frame-not+be still = ‘fidgeting’

## d. Adj-N = N

- (i) /bλə-ṣha/
- (ii) /š'a-a-λa/

seven-head = ‘Monday’  
 new-conn-flesh = ‘child, youth’

## e. PreV-V = N

- (i) /da-λ̄ə/
- (ii) /x̄a-a-s-a/

with-be born = ‘brother (of woman)’  
 mass-dat-sit-dat = ‘council’

## f. [N-PreV]-V = N

- (i) /λa-rə-ža/
- (ii) /ṛa-rə-t̄xə/
- (iii) /pλ"ə-rə-λ̄ə/
- (iv) /šə-pλ"ə-rə-λ̄ə/
- (v) /y"a-g"ə-rə-k"ə+a/

leg-inst-run = ‘skis, skates’  
 hand-inst-write = ‘manuscript’  
 daughter-inst-be born = ‘grandson,  
 granddaughter by daughter’  
 sibling-daughter-inst-be born = ‘nephew by  
 sister’  
 road-zone-distr-come+intr = ‘traveller’

**5.3.2 Recursive Nouns** Some nouns are also recursively derived (see recursive adjectives (244)). These occur in two forms.

**5.3.2.1 Rhyming Compounds** The first shows parallel second elements for each half of the higher compound. A few examples are given in (251). The rhyme can be either right-hand headed (251a, c) or left-hand headed (251b).

(251) Rhyming compounds

- [N<sub>i</sub>-N<sub>i</sub>]-[N<sub>i</sub>-N<sub>i</sub>] = N
- a. /rə-p'q'-λa-p'q'/  
arm-frame-leg-frame  
'body' (viewed as a framework)
- b. /λ'a-q"r'a-λ'a-ʂ/  
[N<sub>i</sub>-N<sub>1</sub>]-[N<sub>i</sub>-N<sub>2</sub>] = N  
man-son-man-sibling  
'nobility'
- c. /rə-γ"-λa-γ"/  
[N<sub>i</sub>-Adj<sub>i</sub>]-[N<sub>i</sub>-Adj<sub>i</sub>] = N  
arm-dry-leg-dry  
'paralysis'

**5.3.2.2 Non-rhyming Compounds** A few forms can show recursion without the doubling of (251), such as that in (252b), where /-λ-/ 'to be prone, lying in a certain spot' is used twice.

(252) Recursive nominal compound without rhyme

- a. Compound noun  
V-V = N  
/t̪xə-λ/                          write-lie = 'book'
- b. Recursive compound  
[\_<sub>N</sub>V-V]-V = N  
/t̪xəλə-λ/                          book-lie = 'bookbag'

**5.3.3 Complex Compounds** A few large compounds can be created which have very little internal structure. In (253) two examples are given that are completely analysable or nearly so (Kuipers 1960: 97–98). Many other compounds of this sort are only partially analysable. A few because of their apparent antiquity have become partially frozen (254).

## (253) Complex compounds

- a. [[N-conn-afx]-conn]-[V-conn-V] = N

/ha-n-də-r-qʷa-a-qʷa/

barley-conn-formative suffix-conn-croak-conn-croak  
'frog'

- b. [[V-case-afx]-N]-Adj (V) = N

/xʷə-m-p'a-c'a-g'ə/

grazing-obl-place-louse-nasty(?) (turning(?))  
'ant'

## (254) Very old compound

/λχʷə-qʷa-χ/

be born-free(?)-man

'freeman' (an old social caste)

**5.3.4 Compounds Employing Inflected Verbs** Perhaps the most complex nouns are those with a verbal element that is inflected. Note that the relative index in the inflected verb is at the front of the verbal complex rather than before the verb root as one would expect in a pure verb.

## (255) Compound nouns employing an inflected verb

N-[<sub>v</sub>(afx)<sup>x</sup>-V] = N

- a. /ʃə-z-y-a-ʃ-a/ ([ʃizé·ʃɛ])

horse-who-dir-dat-lead-dat  
'horse nurse, groom'

- b. /χəbahr-z-y-a-h-a/ ([χəba'rzé·hæ])

news-who-dir-dat-carry-dat  
'messenger, herald'

**5.3.5 Affixation** Nouns can also be derived from other parts of speech by a well-defined set of affixes.

**5.3.5.1 Suffixation** In (256) nouns are derived from other nouns by means of suffixes. Sometimes a connective /-a-/ is required and sometimes not, even with the same suffix. The conditioning factor for the presence of this connective /-a-/ is an /a/ at the end of the last morpheme before the suffix (contrast (256a, (i)) with (256a, (ii)), or (256d, (i) and (ii)) with (256d, (iii))), but this is not always sufficient to explain the behaviour of this morpheme (note (256e, f)).

## (256) Nouns from nouns and suffixes

a. /-(a-)γ<sup>\*</sup>a/ companion, accompanying property or entity

- (i) /p'q'ə-γ<sup>\*</sup>a/ bone-companion = 'body'
- (ii) /wəna-a-γ<sup>\*</sup>a/ house-conn-companion = 'family'
- (iii) /kə-a-p'q'ə-γ<sup>\*</sup>a/ blood-conn-bone-companion = 'look, appearance'

b. /-ya/ of the character of, made of

- (i) /da-ya/ ([de·]) nut-character = 'nut tree'
- (ii) /ca-ya/ ([ce·]) wool-character = 'cherkesska' (national garment)
- (iii) /žəg-ya/ ([žiğé·]) tree-character = 'oak'

c. /-ž/ diminutive (cf. West Circassian /-žey/ suffix on baby words)

- (i) /wəna-ž/ house-diminutive = 'hut'
- (ii) /p-a-ž/ arm-diminutive = 'handle'

d. /-(a-)pča/ material for something

- (i) /vaaq'a-a-pča/ shoe-conn-material = 'shoeleather'
- (ii) /žəλa-a-pča/ seed-conn-material = 'crop seed'
- (iii) /g<sup>\*</sup>adə-g<sup>\*</sup>ə-pča/ cat-zone-material = 'fur for a fur coat'

e. /-(a-)š/ shelter (for animal or machine)

- (i) /ħa-š/ dog-shelter = 'doghouse, kennel'
- (ii) /šə-a-š/ horse-conn-shelter = 'horse stable'
- (iii) /q<sup>\*</sup>a-š/ pig-shelter = 'pigsty'
- (iv) /maq<sup>\*</sup>ə-a-š/ hay-conn-shelter = 'hayloft'
- (v) /g<sup>\*</sup>ə-a-š/ cart-conn-shelter = 'garage'

f. /-(a-)g'a/ bad (connective /-a-/ in frozen forms)

- (i) /səma-a-g'a/ health-conn-bad = 'ill' (/səma-/ a bound morpheme)
- (ii) /γ<sup>\*</sup>az-g<sup>\*</sup>a/ haze-bad = 'fog'

### 5.3.5.2 *Frozen Suffixes* A few suffixes are marginally productive or frozen.

## (257) Marginally productive or frozen suffixes on nouns

a. /ħa-way/

leg-striking place (/w-a-ya/ strike-dat-character ?) = 'roost, perch'

b. /γ<sup>\*</sup>a-g<sup>\*</sup>a-a-n-a/

road-zone-conn-remain-dat = 'way, track'

c. /bʒə-w-ma/

chisel-pred-/ma/ = 'mallet'

d. /wə-ma/

to strike-/ma/ = 'wooden club for hammering'

### 5.3.5.3 *Prefixation* There is one prefix that can apply to nouns to produce other nouns. This is the reciprocal.

## (258) Reciprocal prefix on nouns

- a. /za-š/ recip-brother = 'brothers (as a group), brethren'
- b. /za-bλaaaya/ recip-close relative = 'relatives'
- c. /za-q"aaža/ recip-village = 'fellow villagers'

**5.3.5.4 Deverbal Suffixation** There are a series of suffixes which can apply to verb roots to produce nouns. Some of these forms show remarkably complex semantics.

## (259) Deverbal nouns

- a. /a-k"a/ agent
  - (i) /y-a-p'c'ə-ža-a-k"a/ 3-dat-(tell a) lie-finally-conn-ag  
'traitor'
  - (ii) /t̪ə+a-a-k"a/ write+intr-conn-ag  
'writer'
  - (iii) /y-a-g"-a-a-k"a/ dir-dat-call-dat-conn-ag  
'pupil' (lit., 'reader')
  - (iv) /kə-x"-a-a-k"a/ leg-pass-dat-conn-ag  
'seeker'
- b. /-k"a/ method, manner, instrument
  - (i) /λaaža-k"a/ to work-inst  
'method of working'
  - (ii) /s̪ə+a-k"a/ eat+intr-inst  
'manner of eating'
  - (iii) /psaaλa-k"a/ to talk-inst  
'way of talking' or 'skill in talking'
- c. /-n-ya/ inf-abstract suffix, '-ness'
  - (i) /λaaža-n-ya/ to work-inf-abstract  
'work'

- (ii) /t̪ə+a-n-γa/  
write+intr-inf-abstract  
'(the activity of) writing'
- (iii) /s'ə-n-ə-γa/  
know-inf-ep v-abstract  
'knowledge'
- d. /-γ\*a/ time, season of an action
  - (i) /q"ə-ha-γ\*a/  
lee (corner)-enter-time  
'sunset' (the horizon is the lee or sheltered corner of the earth  
behind which the sun sets)
  - (ii) /λaaža-γ\*a/  
to work-time  
'work time'
- e. /-γ\*a/ resulting product or accompanying by-product (glossed as  
'companion' because this suffix is probably identical with (256a))
  - /pə-k"ə-γ\*a/  
sever-cut-companion  
'fragment'
- f. /-š/ shelter (note /-(a-)š/ in (256e))
  - /x̪a-s-š/  
mass-sit-shelter  
'nest'

**5.3.5.5 Nouns from Adjectives** The abstract suffix of (259c) can also apply to adjectives, producing abstract nouns. In this function it occasionally shows a zero-grade /-γ/ (260d–f), with the root taking on an unexpected /a/-grade as a final syllable or simply keeping its form (260g, h).

#### (260) Abstract nouns from adjectives

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| a. /daaža-a-γ(a)/                       | beautiful-conn-abstract = 'beauty'  |
| b. /fəc'a-a-γ(a)/                       | black-conn-abstract = 'blackness'   |
| c. /pš̪apa-a-γ(a)/                      | useful-conn-abstract = 'usefulness' |
| d. /k"əf'a-a-γ/<br>(/k"əf/ 'dark')      | dark-conn-abstract = 'darkness'     |
| e. /k"əħa-a-γ/<br>(/k"əħ/ 'long')       | long-conn-abstract = 'length'       |
| f. /c'əž"ə-a-a-γ/<br>(/c'əž"/ 'people') | people-conn-ness = 'humanity'       |

- g. /k'ə-γa/ man-ness = ‘manliness, courage’  
 h. /t̪kə-γa/ write-ness = ‘literature’

**5.3.5.6 Circumfixation** A zero-grade of the companion suffix of (256a) and (259e) can co-occur with the reciprocal prefix of (258) to yield a productive nominal category derived either from verbs or other nouns by means of the circumfix /za-...-γ\*a/ (261).

(261) Circumfix derivation of nominals

- a. /za-š̪ə+a-γ\*/  
 recip-eat+intr-companion  
 ‘schoolmates’ (ones with whom one eats)
- b. /za-psaλa-γ\*/  
 recip-talk-companion  
 ‘company’ (ones with whom one talks)
- c. /za-q"aaža-γ"/  
 recip-village-companion  
 ‘fellow villagers’

**5.3.5.7 Genitive of Time** Some nouns of time show a temporal genitive prefix, glossed as gen(itive). It is formally akin to the possessive prefix except that it never takes a pronoun index.

(262) Genitive of time

- a. /yə-λas/ gen-year = ‘year’
- b. /yə-g̪ə/ gen-now = ‘(right) now’

**5.3.5.8 Inherent Possession** Finally, a few nouns show a prefix of inherent possession (§3.1.5.1.2 (102)). In (263c) this appears only when the form is possessed. (263c) also shows the need for /h/ since it gives the long (open) vowel even when unstressed. Therefore, it is underlying and cannot be predicted from a form with mere initial vowel as one might be tempted to do from (263a, b) alone.

(263) Inherent possession

- a. /ha-ta/ inh poss-father = ‘father’
- b. /ha-na/ inh poss-mother = ‘mother’
- c. /ø-y-ha-g"aaša/ ([ya·g"aašε]) 3-poss-inh poss-princess = ‘his wife’

### 5.4 Verbs

Verbs show a stable root structure, with a few suffixes or prefixes creating other roots (§§4.2.6.3–4). A few features not covered in chapter 4 will be examined here.

**5.4.1 Nouns and Adjectives as Verbs** Verbs can be derived from nouns and adjectives by “zero” suffixes. This zero-affixation produces stative verbs.

(264) Stative verbs from nouns and adjectives

- a. /k'ə-n/ man-inf = ‘to be a man’
- b. /f'əc'a-n/ black-inf = ‘to be black’

**5.4.2 Active Verbs from Adjectives** Active verbs can be made from adjectives by means of a causative prefix and occasionally a valence prefix as well.

(265) Active verbs from adjectives

- a. /-ya-q'aabza-n/  
caus-clean-inf  
‘to cleanse’
- b. /-ya-wə+f'əc'a-n/  
caus-val+black-inf  
‘to blacken’

### 5.5 Expressive Particles

The only other parts of speech, apart from the numerals and connectives, are a few particles of an expressive character. The forms (266n, o) might be considered true ideophones, sounds which express an action without actually denoting it.

(266) Unanalysable expressive particles

- a. /q'əʔa/ ‘please!’
- b. /ħawa/ ‘no!’
- c. /rəʔəə/ ‘no!’
- d. /aq"əday/ ‘(not) at all’
- e. /nt'a/ ‘yes’
- f. /raw/ (astonishment)
- g. /anāh/ (astonishment)
- h. /aħawah/ (astonishment) (from Arabic)
- i. /dədəd-dədəd/ (pain, sorrow)
- j. /waħ"/ (sense of relief)
- k. /yawəway/ (regret, disappointment)

- l. /yə?əħə/ (regret, disappointment)
- m. /waay/ (fright, alarm)
- n. /š'aak'/ (expressive of a blow on the cheek)
- o. /t'aay/ (expressive of a fall in a struggle)  
(/-t'a-/ 'down')

## 5.6 Numerals

In almost all languages the numerals actually exhibit very rich word-formation processes because of their inherently recursive and boundless nature. Kabardian numerals are no exception in this regard. The Kabardian numerals have a base ten with no trace of the vigesimal sub-system common in the rest of the family.

**5.6.1 Cardinals** The cardinals are as follows.

### (267) Cardinals

one	/zə/
two	/t'ʔə/ (in listing), /tə/ (as a pair, §2.3.2(6))
three	/šə/
four	/p'ħə/
five	/tħə/
six	/ħə/
seven	/bħə/
eight	/yə/
nine	/bħə/
ten	/p'sə/
eleven	/p'sə-k"ə-z/ ten-and("plus")-one
twelve	/p'sə-k"ə-t'
thirteen	/p'sə-k"ə-š/
fourteen	/p'sə-k"ə-p'ħ/
fifteen	/p'sə-k"ə-tħə/
sixteen	/p'sə-k"ə-ħ/
seventeen	/p'sə-k"ə-bħ/
eighteen	/p'sə-k"ə-y/
nineteen	/p'sə-k"ə-by"/
twenty	/t'ʔə-a-s'/ double-ten (?), /t'ʔə p'sə-wa/ two ten-pred
twenty-one	/t'ʔə-aš'-ra zə-ra/ twenty-and one-and
thirty	/ša-s'/ triple-ten, /šə p'sə-wa/ three ten-pred
forty	/p'ħə-s'/ four-ten, /p'ħə p'sə-wa/
fifty	/tħə-s'/, /tħə p'sə-wa/

sixty	/χə-ʂ/, /χə p'ʂ'ə-wa/
seventy	/bλə-ʂ/, /bλə p'ʂ'ə-wa/
eighty	/yə-ʂ/, /yə p'ʂ'ə-wa/, /p'ʂ'a-y/ tenfold-eight
ninety	/bγ"ə-ʂ/, /bγ"ə p'ʂ'ə-wa/
one hundred	/ʂə/
two hundred	/ʂə-ʂy-t'/ ([ʂit']) hundred-num-two (§2.3.2)
one thousand	/məyŋ/
ten thousand	/məyŋ-ʂy-p'ʂ/, /p'ʂ'a-a-ʂ'a məyŋ/ ten-conn-fold thousand

**5.6.2 Ordinals** The ordinals have two forms. The attributive form ('the second...', etc.) is made by taking the /a/-grade of the cardinal and adding to it a genitive-like prefix, /ya-/ or /yah-/, and the ordinal suffix proper /-a-na/. The predicative or independent form is the same as the attributive with the addition of the emphatic suffix /-ray/. In these latter forms a secondary stress is retained on the root.

(268) Ordinals (predicatives in parentheses)

first	/yah-pa/ (/yah-pa-ray/), gen-first (/pa/ 'nose, front') /ya-za-a-na/ (/ya-za-a-na-ray/ ([yezà'næré'])) gen-one-conn-ordinal
second	/ya-t'ʂ'a-a-na/ (/yə-t'ʂ'a-a-na-ray/)
third	/ya-ʂ'a-a-na/ (/ya-ʂ'a-a-na-ray/)
fourth	/ya-p'λ'a-a-na/ (/ya-p'λ'a-a-na-ray/)
fifth	/ya-t'�'a-a-na/ (/ya-t'�'a-a-na-ray/)
sixth	/ya-χ'a-a-na/ (/ya-χ'a-a-na-ray/)
seventh	/ya-bλa-a-na/ (/ya-bλa-a-na-ray/)
eighth	/ya-ya-a-na/ (/ya-ya-a-na-ray/)
ninth	/ya-bγ"a-a-na/ (/ya-bγ"a-a-na-ray/)
tenth	/ya-p'ʂ'a-a-na/ (/ya-p'ʂ'a-a-na-ray/)
eleventh	/ya-p'ʂ'ə-k"ə-za-a-na/ (/ya-p'ʂ'ə-k"ə-za-a-na-ray/)
twelfth	/ya-p'ʂ'ə-k"ə-t'ʂ'a-a-na/ (/ya-p'ʂ'ə-k"ə-t'ʂ'a-a-na-ray/)
twentieth	/ya-t'ʂ'a-a-na/ (/ya-t'ʂ'a-a-na-ray/)
thirtieth	/ya-ʂ'a-a-na/ (/ya-ʂ'a-a-na-ray/)
fortieth	/ya-p'λ'ə-ʂ'a-a-na/ (/ya-p'λ'ə-ʂ'a-a-na-ray/)
one hundredth	/ya-ʂ'a-a-na/ (/ya-ʂ'a-a-na-ray/)

Ordinals of complex decades ('twenty-first', 'thirty-fifth', etc.) show a distinct pattern, surprisingly like that of English, where the first word is a cardinal and only the second is an ordinal. Attributive and predicative forms are identical.

(269) Ordinals of some complex decades

twenty-first	/t?*"a-s'-ra ya-za-a-na-ra/
	two-ten-and gen-one-conn-ordinal-and
thirty-fifth	/s'a-s'-ra ya-t?*"a-a-na-ra/
ninety-ninth	/b?*"a-s'-ra ya-by?"a-a-na-ra/

5.6.3 **Multiplicatives** Multiplicatives (five-times, five-fold) come in two forms.

5.6.3.1 **Predicative Multiplicatives** The predicative or independent form ('one time,' 'once,' 'two times,' 'twice,' etc.) is the simplest, consisting of an /a/-grade of the cardinal.

(270) Independent multiplicatives

once	/za/
twice	/t?*"a/
thrice	/s'a/
four times	/p'X'a/
twenty times	/t?*"a-s'a/
twenty-one times	/t?*"a-s'a-k?"a-za/

5.6.3.2 **Attributive Multiplicatives** The numeral one hundred /s'a/ has an inherent /a/ and so it makes its multiplicative in the manner used to form attributive (adjectival) multiplicatives ('hundred-fold,' 'two-fold,' etc.) with the suffixes /-a-s'a/ -conn-fold.

(271) Attributive multiplicatives

two-fold	/t?*"a-a-s'a/
three-fold	/s'a-a-s'a/
four-fold	/p'X'a-a-s'a/
twenty-fold	/t?*"a-s'a-a-s'a/
twenty-one-fold	/t?*"a-s'a-k?"a-za-a-s'a/
hundred-fold	/s'a-a-s'a/

5.6.4 **Distributives** Distributive adverbs of the numerals from one to ten have a morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence with their English counterparts 'one-

by-one,' etc. They utilise the distributive suffix for the 'by' morpheme (241c). The numerals from eleven to twenty, and decades thereafter, lack the distributive suffix, simply repeating the number. Complex decades ('twenty-one,' 'fifty-seven,' etc.) split the numeral into a multiplicative decade conjoined with a multiplicative unit by /-ra/ 'and.' The distributive form of 'fifty' is based upon 'half a hundred,' /sa-nəqʷa/ hundred-half.

(272) Distributive numerical adverbs

one-by-one	/zə-rə-z/
two-by-two	/t?ʷə-rə-t'/
three-by-three	/sə-rə-s/
four-by-four	/p'λə-rə-p'λ/
five-by-five	/t?ʷə-rə-t?ʷ/
six-by-six	/χə-rə-χ/
seven-by-seven	/bλə-rə-bλ/
eight-by-eight	/yə-rə-y/
nine-by-nine	/bγʷə-rə-bγʷ/
ten-by-ten	/p'sə-rə-p's/
eleven-by-eleven	/p's'ə-k"ə-z-p's'ə-k"ə-z/
twenty-by-twenty	/t?ʷa-s'-t?ʷa-s'/
twenty-one-by-twenty-one	/t?ʷa-s'-t?ʷa-s'-ra zə-rə-z-ra/
fifty-by-fifty	/sa-nəqʷa-ša-nəqʷa/
one-hundred-by-one-hundred	/sa-ša/
two-hundred-by-two-hundred	/sa-əy-t'-ša-əy-t'/

5.6.5 **Fractions** Fractions are formed from the /a/-grade of the numeral by means of the ordinal suffixes /-a-na/ (Kardanov 1955: 1012). Unlike the ordinals, however, the genitive-like prefix is omitted. Here again, Kabardian morphology is close to English in that the fraction has an ordinal-like form.

(273) Some fractions

one-half	/t?ʷa-a-na/
one-third	/sa-a-na/
one-fourth, one-quarter	/p'λa-a-na/
one-fifth	/t?ʷa-a-na/
one-eighth	/ya-a-na/
one-tenth	/p's'a-a-na/
one-twentieth	/t?ʷa-s'a-a-na/

three-quarters	/p'λ'a-a-na-əy-ʂ/ ([p'λ'a-niʂ])
four-fifths	/t̪x"a-a-na-əy-p'λ/
ten-fifteenths	/p'ʂ'ə-k"ə-t̪x"a-a-na-əy-p'ʂ'/

As ‘one-half’ /t̪?"a-a-na/ is only used for measurements, /nəq"a/ takes its place in attributive functions of a metaphorical character (/nəq"a-zaλəʔ"əx/ ‘half-finished,’ /nəq"a-dayλa/ half-stupid = ‘half-witted’).

**5.6.6 Estimates** Estimates are made by using the numeral ‘one’ as a collective prefix, and then citing two contiguous numbers for the bound of the estimate.

(274) Estimates

two or three	/zə-t'ʔə-ʂ/ one (collective)-two-three
five or six	/zə-t̪x"ə-ʂ/
ten or fifteen	/zə-p'ʂ'ə-p'ʂ'ək"ət̪x"/
one- or two-hundred	/zə-ʂa-ʂəyt'/

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# 6

## *Syntax*

The syntax of Kabardian is very rich and interesting. Particular phenomena can be presented here, but a thorough examination of most of them must await specialised studies. Because of the current state of syntactical research, with numerous and divergent competing paradigms (compare Sells (1985)), I have couched the following chapter in something like the revised extended standard theory (Akmajian and Heny 1975), though this is clearly out of date. My goal in this chapter is to present clear and interesting data, though I have not refrained from some theoretical comments, even going beyond the overall theoretical tone, if some particularly interesting phenomenon justifies doing so.

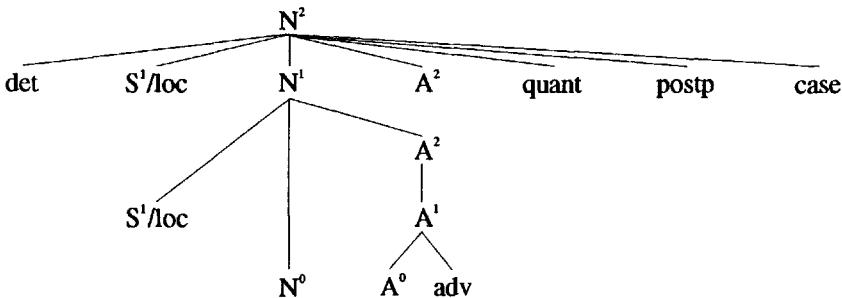
I shall present the patterns of the noun phrase (including relative embeddings), adjectives, and then of the entire sentence.

### 6.1 Nouns

This discussion supplements that of morphology (chapter 3) with facts about the overall behaviour of the  $N^2$ . Like the verb the noun phrase has an agglutinative character, with most components cliticising to the noun root. Only embedded relative clauses seem free of this cliticising, as one might expect, though even with them reduced forms can be postposed and cliticised.

6.1.1 Order The basic order of constituents in the noun phrase is given in (275). The non-restrictive relative clause is a daughter to  $N^2$ , whereas the restrictive relative is a daughter to  $N^1$ . There may also be two adjective nodes ( $A^{2i}$ ), one for each of the higher  $N$ -nodes. A few examples of such nouns are given in (276). In (275)  $A^0$  = adjective,  $\det$  = determiner, and  $\text{quant}$  = quantifier.

## (275) Noun phrase structure



## (276) Examples of noun phrases

- a. /a-š'aala-m/  
the-boy-obl  
'the boy'
- b. /a-š'aala-day"-ə-ha-r/  
that-boy-good-pl-abs  
'those good boys'
- c. /s-əy-š'aala q'as-m/  
my-poss-boy each-obl  
'each of my boys'
- d. /a-wəna-m (y-)q'a-s-λaay"-a(y) pšaaša-daaχa-dəda-r/  
the-house-obl (whom-)hor-I-see-(past) girl-beautiful-very-abs  
'the very beautiful girl whom I saw in the house'
- e. /mə-dray sə-y-wəna-ø pšaaša-daaχa-dəda-ha-m/  
this-other my-poss-house-obl girl-beautiful-very-pl-obl  
'to the other very beautiful girls in my house'
- f. /zə-λə-g"ara-r/  
one-man-certain-abs  
'a particular man'
- g. /zə-ħa ø-z-a-y-ʔa λə-g"ara-r/  
one dog 3-whom-dat-poss-belong man-certain-abs  
'a particular man who owned a dog'

**6.1.2 Relative Clauses** As (275) states, relative clauses normally precede their heads. Nevertheless, relative clauses can sometimes be postposed over their heads. In this position they can take a predicative "case" /-wa/ (277b). If the postposed

clause takes the head noun's case, then the displaced head noun must take a "default case" /-wa/ (277c) (see (91d)). The significance of such postponing will be discussed in §6.8.2.

(277) Postposing of a relative clause

a. Deep structure

/wəna-m (yə-)ø-yə-?a ñə-r/  
house-obl (who-)3-cont-be man-abs  
'the man who was at home'

b. Postposed without case

/ñə-r wəna-m (yə-)ø-yə-?a-wa/  
man-abs house-obl (who-)3-cont-be-pred

c. Postposed with case

/ñə-w wəna-m (yə-)ø-yə-?a-r/  
man-pred house-obl (who-)3-cont-be-abs

6.1.3 Possessed Nouns Possession is expressed as in (278).

(278) Possessive phrases

a. N of N

/ha-m ø-yə-pa-r/  
dog-obl 3-poss-nose-abs  
'the dog's nose'

b. N of Pro

/sə-y-pa/  
my-poss-nose  
'my nose'

c. Pro of N

/nawY\*ay-ha (yə-)ø-ha-yə-?a-ha-r/ ([y]á'y?afiar])  
Noghwey-pl (which-)3-pl-poss-belong-pl-abs  
'the Noghwey's (things)'

d. Pro of Pro

/ø-y-ya-r/  
3-poss-the one of-abs  
'his/hers'

Possessive adjectives are as in (279).

(279) Possessive adjectives

- a. /a-?ana-m ø-yø-t-y-a-px\*/  
the-table-obl 3-poss-surf-dir-dat-cover  
'the table's cover'
- b. /a-txəλ-m ø-yø-txəλ-m-p'a/  
that-book-obl 3-poss-book-obl-place  
'that book's dust jacket'

**6.1.4 Coordination** Conjunction is expressed by means of affixes or apposition, whereas disjunction is by means of a single word.

**6.1.4.1 Conjunction** Nouns are coordinated by repeated /-(m-)ra/ suffixes. These conjoined forms are ambiguous as to oblique or absolute case, so the /-m-/ in the coordination of common nouns is not the oblique case, apparently, but rather a relic connective. These suffixes do not attract stress.

(280) Coordinated nouns

- a. Common nouns  
/ha-ha-m-ra g'adəw-ha-m-ra/  
dog-pl-conn-and cat-pl-conn-and  
'dogs and cats'
- b. Proper nouns  
/tʃapš-ra satanaay-ra/  
Tlepsh-and Satanaya-and  
'Tlepsh and Satanaya'

Conjoined adjectives are merely apposed.

(281) Conjoined adjectives

- /k'ɔ-q"ay"-p'aasha-r/  
man-thin-large-abs  
'the big and thin man'

**6.1.4.2 Disjunction** Disjunction is expressed by means of the word /ħama/.

(282) Disjunction

- /ħa-ha ħama g'adəw-ha/  
dog-pl or cat-pl  
'dogs or cats'

## 6.2 Basic Clause Structure

The clause is underlyingly subject-initial and verb-final. Complications arise when there is an indirect object or locative phrase, and when there is an agent for a causative.

**6.2.1 Copular Sentences** The copular clause is based upon a zero verb, the subject taking the absolute and the predicate nominal or adjective taking a stative tense and an affirmative mood. The basic word order is subject-complement-tense-mood. In copular clauses, verb concord only takes place if there are no overt pronouns (283d); that is, concord is a pro-movement rule. This is not the case with all other verbs, wherein concord always takes place; that is, concord is a pro-copying rule (§4.1.1).

### (283) Copular clauses

- a. /a-r ɬ'ə-χ"ə-ʂ/  
3-abs man-male-aff  
'He is a hero.'
- b. /a-ha-r ɬ'ə-χ"ə-ay-ha-ʂ/ ([ɬ'oχ"á·haʂ])  
3-pl-abs man-male-past-pl-aff  
'They were heroes.'
- c. /pśaaʂa-r daaʂa-dəda-ʂ/  
girl-abs beautiful-very-aff  
'The girl is very beautiful.'
- d. /sa ɬ'ə-χ"ə-ʂ/ or /sə-ɬ'ə-χ"ə-ʂ/  
I man-male-aff or I-man-male-aff  
'I am a hero.'

**6.2.2 Order of Nouns** Kabardian is a rigid verb-final language. As to the other elements of the sentence, there are three sorts of evidence that bear upon the underlying order of nominals in a clause. The first is the order of indices, which is a mirror image one on the whole. The second is the case-marking in which the element immediately before the verb is in the absolute. Kabardian is ergative. The third is the actual order of nominals as observed in what appear to be unmarked sentences. The order in embeddings, for example, seems to be fairly inflexible.

**6.2.2.1 Order in Transitive Sentences** Order of nouns in an underlying transitive clause is (agent-)subject-(indirect object) (locative)-direct object-verb. The N immediately to the left of the verb receives an absolute case. All others receive an oblique. Verb-concord (§4.2.10) is achieved by starting from the left of a clause and copying a co-referential personal index onto the front of the verb stem,

giving a mirror image index concord on the verb (cf. Baker 1988b). The first N to the left of the verb stem also has its plurality, if any, copied onto the verb. Thus, the plurality of the verb reflects that of the N in the absolute case (284b, c). Below (§6.15) it will be shown through verb-raising that the verb also inflects for the genericness of the N in the absolute. In (284) DO = direct object and sg = singular.

(284) Order of Ns in a basic transitive clause

a. S-V

/k'ə-r ma-a-k"ə+a/ ([má·k"o])

man-abs 3-pres-move+intr

'The man is coming (going).'

b. S(pl)-V

/k'ə-ha-r ma-a-k"ə+a-ha-r/ ([má·k"afar])

man-pl-abs 3-pres-move+intr-pl-pres

'The men are coming (going).'

c. S-DO(sg)-V

/k'ə-m y"a-g"-r ø-q'a-y-a-k"ə+æ-r/ ([q'é·k"ær])

man-obl road-surf-abs 3-hor-3-pres-move+intr-pres

'The man is travelling the road.'

d. S-DO(pl)-V

/k'ə-m y"a-g"-ha-r ø-q'a-y-a-k"ə-ha-r/ ([q'é·k"afar])

man-obl road-surf-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pres-move-pl-pres

'The man is travelling the roads.'

e. S-Loc(ative Phrase)-DO-V

/k'ə-m y"a-g"-m maaħa-əy-pk'ə-r ø-q'ə-ø-y-a-y-ə-k"ə-ay-ha-\$/

([q'eri·k"á·ħaś])

man-obl road-surf-obl day-num-four-abs 3-hor-3-path-dat-3-non pres-

move-past-pl-aff

'The man travelled four days along the road.'

f. S-IO-DO-V

/k'ə-m pħaaħa-m tħəħ-l-ha-r ø-q'ə-y-a-y-ə-tə-ay-ha-\$/ ([q'eri·tá·ħaś])

man-obl girl-obl book-pl-abs 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-give-past-pl-aff

'The man gave the books to the girl.'

g. Ag-S-IO-DO-V

/sa k'ə-m pħaaħa-m tħəħ-l-ha-r ø-q'ə-y-a-y-a-s-ya-a-tə-ay-ha-\$/

([q'eri·zżejtá·ħaś])

I man-obl girl-obl book-pl-abs 3-hor-3-dat-3-dat-I-caus-conn-give-past-  
pl-aff

'I made the man give the books to the girl.'

**6.2.2.2 Intransitive Sentences** For intransitive sentences the basic order is S V (285a). For intransitives with indirect objects or some sort of locative the order of nouns is somewhat problematic. Judging from verbal inflection, the order would suggest that the subject comes second after any nominal phrases. Such an order tends to be the case in embeddings (285b–e). This order is in conflict, however, with a rule that takes initial nominal as the preferred subject, whether it is the semantic subject or a causal agent (§6.6.2). Therefore, in matrix or simple sentences one nearly always finds the order (Ag) S IO (Loc) V (285f–i). Instrumentals are normally not reflected by an index on the verb (285d, h).

## (285) Intransitive sentences

a. /fəz-r ma-a-λ̄xʷə+a/

woman-abs 3-pres-give birth+intr

'The woman is in labour.' or

'The woman is giving birth.'

b. IO-S-V in embedding

/wa sa sə-w-a-w-a-ač-wa/ ([suwowá'wo])

you I I-you-dat-strike-dat-past-pred

'that I hit at you'

c. Loc-S-V in embedding

/mə-bə sa sə-q'ə-ø-šə-t-wa/ ([səqrisítwo])

3-obl I I-3-deixis-stand-pred

'as (that) I am standing over here'

d. Inst-S-V in embedding

/sa-šxʷa-m-kʷa λ̄'ə-r ø-λ̄'a-a-y-wá/ ([λ̄'á'wo])

knife-big-obl-inst man-abs 3-die-past-pred

'that the man died by the sword'

e. Ag-IO-S-V in embedding

/λ̄'ə-m wa sa sə-w-a-y-ə-ya-a-w-a-a-y-wa/ ([suwi'yowá'wo])

man-obl you I I-you-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-strike-dat-past-pred

'that the man made me hit at you'

f. S-IO-V

/sa wa sə-w-a-w-a-ač-s/ ([suwowá's])

I you I-you-dat-strike-dat-past-aff

'I hit (at) you.'

g. S-Loc-V

/sa mə-bə sə-q'ə-ø-šə-t-s/ ([səqrisítš])

I 3-obl I-3-deixis-stand-aff

'I am standing over here.'

## h. S-Inst-V

- /χ̥ə-r sa-ʂ̥ʷa-m-kʷa φ-λ̥a-aγ-ʂ/ ([χ̥aʂ̥ʷaλ̥a-aγ-ʂ])  
 man-abs knife-big-obl-inst 3-die-past-aff  
 ‘The man died by the sword.’

## i. Ag-S-IO-V

- /χ̥ə-m sa wa sə-w-a-y-ə-ya-a-w-a-aγ-ʂ/ ([suwiγowáʂ])  
 man-obl I you I-you-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-strike-dat-past-aff  
 ‘The man made me hit (at) you.’

**6.2.2.3 Causatives** One should note that causatives do not seem to arise from some collapsing of a higher matrix verb (to make, to cause, to let) into an embedded one. This can be seen in reflexives where such causatives are ambiguous (286a), and must be disambiguated (286b, c) by means of context plus the ‘self’ affix /-žə-/ (§4.2.7.2.1). This indicates that the causative agent and the transitive subject are in the same clause and can therefore both control the reflexive.

## (286) Reflexive causatives

- a. /a-bə sa zə-s-a-y-ə-ya-a-λaaγ\*ə-aγ-ʂ/ ([ziziγελ̥aγ\*ə-ʂ])  
 3-obl I self-I-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-see-past-aff  
 ‘He made me see him (= himself).’ or  
 ‘He let me see myself.’
- b. /s-ah-paaʂ̥ha φ-q'a-yə-wəvə(+?ʷa)-əy a-bə sa  
 zə-s-a-y-ə-ya-a-λaaγ\*ə-aγ-ʂ/ ([ziziγελ̥aγ\*ə-ʂ])  
 I-inh poss-before 3-incept-dir-stop(+there)-and 3-obl I  
 self-I-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-see-past-aff  
 ‘Pausing before me he let me see him (= himself).’
- c. /γʷəgʷa-m sə-φ-y-a-y-ə-ya-a-ρλə-əy a-bə sa  
 zə-s-a-y-ə-ya-a-λaaγ\*ə-ʐə-aγ-ʂ/ ([ziziγελ̥aγ\*izə-ʂ])  
 mirror-obl I-3-dir-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-look-and 3-obl I  
 self-I-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-see-self-past-aff  
 ‘Letting me look in the mirror he let me see myself.’

**6.2.3 Postpositional Phrases** Postpositional phrases have the same clausal position as indirect objects or locatives. Usually a postpositional phrase of a locative sense is not reflected in verbal concord.

## (287) Postpositional phrase

## a. P(postpositional) P(phrase)-S-V in embedding

/wəna-m dayž ɬ'ə-r ø-q'a-k"ə+a-áγ-wa/ ([q'ok"á'wo])  
 house-obl near man-abs 3-hor-move+intr-past-pred  
 'that the man came toward the house'

## b. S-PP-V

/ɬ'ə-r wəna-m dayž ø-q'a-k"ə+a-áγ-š/ ([q'ok"á's])  
 man-abs house-obl near 3-hor-move+intr-past-pred  
 'The man came toward the house.'

## c. S-PP-DO-V

/sa wəna-m dayž wa wə-q'a-s-ɬaaγ"-ay-š/ ([wuq'esɬà'γ"á's])  
 I house-obl near you you-hor-I-see-past-aff  
 'I saw you near the house.'

## 6.2.4 Position of Adverbs Most adverbs are clause-initial. They are usually not reflected in verbal concord.

## (288) Adverb order

## Adv-Ag-S-IO-DO-V

/t?"ə-rə-t' sa ɬ'ə-m wa tɬəɬ-ha-r ø-q'ə-w-a-y-a-s-ya-a-tə-aγ-ha-š/  
 ([q'uwe'zyetə'fiaš])  
 two-by-two I man-obl you book-pl-abs 3-hor-you-dat-3-dat-I-caus-comm-  
 give-past-pl-aff  
 'I made the man give the books to you by twos (in pairs).'

## 6.2.5 The Verb 'to move' The verb 'to move' (unmarked sense 'to come,' marked sense 'to go') /k"ə+a-/ , which usually exhibits an intransitive form, can become transitive with adverbial phrases that are treated as direct objects (Kardanov 1955: 1046).

## (289) Adverb as direct object

/da də-z-a-psaaɬa-w-ra ø-q'a-d-k"ə-ħə-r-t/ ([q'εtək"εħért])  
 we we-recip-dat-talk-pred-adv 3-hor-we-move-around-dist-stand  
 'We travelled the distance that we had discussed.'

## 6.3 Scrambling

Word order can undergo various scramblings with specific, usually familiar, semantic results.

**6.3.1 Preposing of Oblique Nominals** Indirect objects or other phrases in the oblique case, such as locatives and instrumentals, can be preposed before the verb. The result is very much like dative-movement in English in that the effects of the verb are enhanced. Contrast, for example, English “The doctor gave medicine to the patient, but he died anyway” (without dative movement) with “The doctor gave the patient medicine, and he recovered” (with movement). To have said “The doctor gave the patient medicine, but he died” is not quite as good as the first form without movement.

This movement happens after verbal concord in all cases save that of a deictic locative (see (235c)). Therefore, these oblique nominals are most often subject to a last- or post-cyclic rule (Akmajian and Heny 1975, chap. 10; McCawley 1988, chap. 6). In the following I give first the non-preposed form with its glossing and translation, and then the preposed form.

(290) Preposing before the verb

a. Intransitive with indirect object

(i) IO-S-V

/wa sa sə-w-a-w-a-aγ-ʂ/ ([suwowáʂ])

you I I-you-dat-strike-dat-past-aff

‘I hit at you.’

(ii) S-IO-V (preposed)

/sa wa sə-w-a-w-a-aγ-ʂ/ ([suwowáʂ])

I you I-you-dat-strike-dat-past-aff

‘I hit you.’

b. Three-place transitive

(i) S-IO-DO-V

/k'ə-m p̥saaša-m t̥xəλ-ha-r ø-q'ə-y-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-ha-ʂ/

([q'eritáfiaʂ])

man-obl girl-obl book-pl-abs 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-give-past-pl-aff

‘The man gave (loaned) the book to the girl.’

(ii) S-DO-IO-V (preposed)

/k'ə-m t̥xəλ-ha-r p̥saaša-m ø-q'ə-y-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-ha-ʂ/

([q'eritáfiaʂ])

man-obl book-pl-abs girl-obl 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-give-past-pl-aff

‘The man gave the girl the books.’

c. Transitive with locative

(i) S-Loc-DO-V

/sa ?aana-m t̥xəλ-ha-r ø-q'ə-ø-t-y-a-s-λ+ha-aγ-ha-ʂ/

([q'ite'sλħáfiaʂ])

I table-obl book-pl-abs 3-hor-3-surf-dir-dat-I-lie+act-past-pl-aff

‘I set the books on the table.’

## (ii) S-DO-Loc-V (preposed)

/sa t̪əλ̪-ha-r ʔaana-m φ-q'ə-φ-t-y-a-s-λ+ħa-žə-aγ-ha-š/ ([q'ite:sħežáħaš])

I book-pl-abs table-obl 3-hor-3-surf-dir-dat-I-lie+act-finally-past-pl-aff

'I finally set the books on the table.'

## d. Instrumental

## (i) Inst-S-V

/a-sa-ħħ'a-m-kʷa λ̪ə-r φ-ħ'a-žə-aγ-š/ ([ħ'ežáš])  
that-knife-big-obl-inst man-abs 3-die-finally-past-aff  
'The man died by the sword.'

## (ii) S-Inst-V (preposed)

/ħ'ə-r a-sa-ħħ'a-m-kʷa φ-ħ'a-žə-aγ-š/ ([ħ'ežáš])  
man-abs that-knife-big-obl-inst 3-die-finally-past-aff  
'The man died by means of that sword.'

## e. Adverb (and indirect object)

## (i) Adv-S-IO-DO-V

/t?ʷə-rə-t' λ̪ə-m pħaaša-m tħəλ̪-ha-r φ-q'ə-y-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-ha-š/  
two-by-two man-obl girl-obl book-pl-abs 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-  
give-past-pl-aff  
'The man gave (loaned) the books to the girl two at a time.'

## (ii) S-DO-IO-Adv-V (doubly preposed)

/ħ'ə-m tħəλ̪-ha-r pħaaša-m t?ʷə-rə-t' φ-y-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-ha-š/  
man-obl book-pl-abs girl-obl two-by-two 3-3-dat-3-  
non pres-give-past-pl-aff  
'The man gave the girl the books two by two.'

**6.3.2 Contrastive Fronting** Scrambling of a deictic phrase with concomitant scrambling of verbal concord (235) appears to involve a fronting rule that serves to contrast the fronted element (note the gloss of (235c)). Other instances of fronting can also serve to topicalise or contrast a phrase. Complex changes in verbal concord seem possible, with considerable variations according to the taste of the speaker (291). It is a rare phenomenon, however, since it conflicts with the preferred initial subject principle (§6.6.2). Again I give first the underlying form and then the fronted one.

## (291) Contrastive fronting

## a. Transitive

## (i) S-DO-V

/sa p̥saaša-ha-r ø-q'a-s-λaaγ"-aγ-ha-š/ ([q'εsλā·γ"ā·fiš])

I girl-pl-abs I 3-hor-I-see-past-pl-aff

'I saw the girls.'

## (ii) DO-S-V

/p̥saaša-ha-r sa ø-q'a-s-λaaγ"-aγ-ha-š/ ([q'εsλā·γ"ā·fiš])

girl-pl-abs I 3-hor-I-see-past-pl-aff

'I saw *the girls.*' or 'The girls I saw (not the boys).' (for example)

## b. Three-place transitive

## (i) S-IO-DO-Verb

/sa wa mə-txəλ-ha-r ø-w-a-s-tə-aγ-ha-š/ ([wostā·fiš])

I you this-book-pl-abs 3-you-dat-I-give-past-pl-aff

'I gave these books to you.'

## (ii) DO-S-IO-V

/mə-txəλ-ha-r sa wa ø-w-a-s-tə-aγ-ha-š/ ([wostā·fiš])

this-book-pl-abs I you 3-you-dat-I-give-past-pl-aff

'I gave *these books* to you (not those).'

**6.3.3 Passive Movement** Movement in simple passives is shown in (234a, b). Periphrastic passives can also show movement of the agent phrase to preverbal position (292).

## (292) Periphrastic passives

## a. Underlying active ergative

/λ'ə-m wəna-r ø-y-a-š'ə/

man-obl house-abs 3(house)-3(man)-pres-build

'The man is building the house.'

## b. Periphrastic passive without movement

/λ'ə-m-k"ə wəna-r ø-s'ə-aγ ma-χ"/

man-obl-inst house-abs 3(house)-build-past 3-happen

'The house is being built by the man.'

## c. Preverbal position of agentive noun

/wəna-r λ'ə-m-k"ə ø-s'ə-aγ ma-χ"/

house-abs man-obl-inst 3(house)-build-past 3-happen

'The house is being built by the man (alone).'

## 6.4 Role Changes and Assignments

Many verbs can show a shift in normal transitive role assignments by means of an “anti-passive” construction. Others show unusual role assignments wherein logical subjects are in an oblique role.

**6.4.1 Anti-Passives** Because ergative languages were once considered passive in sense and syntax, the term “anti-passive” was coined to refer to a phenomenon in which transitive sentences were made intransitive. These anti-passives were therefore viewed as actives. In fact anti-passives would be better termed “anti-transitives,” for they reduce the effect of a transitive verb upon its usual object. In this way they have just the opposite effect of the preposing movements in the preceding section (§6.3). Specifically anti-passives take a direct object and shift it to an indirect object, with a concomitant shift in cases and verb inflection (293a, b). The case marking in anti-passives appears to be nominative-accusative. In fact such anti-passives are intransitives, with indirect objects, just as with those in (288). Verbal morphology shows anti-passives to be intransitives in that indices shift into an intransitive pattern and most roots take an intransitive suffix /+a-/ in the anti-passive if they end in /ə/. The English translations in (293) are themselves intransitive for exactly the same reasons that the Kabardian examples are intransitive.

Anti-passives show the movement of newly formed indirect objects to clause-initial position (obligatory in embeddings) (see §6.3). These can then be moved to preverbal position in simple clauses (293c), but this does not restore transitivity or a semblance thereto as would be the case for a regular indirect object. Rather, this preposing shift seems only to reinforce the preferred initial subject principle (§6.6.2). This is the only way in which an anti-passive differs from an underlying intransitive with indirect object or locative.

### (293) Anti-passives

#### a. Underlying ergative order

- /p'saaša-m g'aana-ha-r ø-q'a-y-a-də-ha-r/ ([q'é·dəfiar])  
 girl-obl shirt-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pres-sew-pl-pres  
 ‘The girl is sewing the shirts.’

#### b. Anti-passive movement

- /g'aana-ha-m p'saaša-r ø-q'ə-y-ha-a-də+a-wa/ ([q'á·dowɔ])  
 shirt-pl-obl girl-abs 3-hor-3-pl-dat-sew+intr-pred  
 ‘that the girl is busy sewing at the shirts’

#### c. Movement of locative to preverbal position

- /p'saaša-r g'aana-ha-m ø-q'ə-y-ha-a-də+a/ ([q'á·də])  
 girl-abs shirt-pl-obl 3-hor-3-pl-dat-sew+intr  
 ‘The girl is trying to sew the shirts.’

**6.4.2 Dative Objects** A few verbs have the distinction of appearing to be inherent anti-passive. One is the verb ‘to hit, to strike,’ which would normally seem to be a preeminently transitive verb. The action seems complete here (294a), unless the object is in initial position (294b), or unless a periphrastic form for “attempt” is used (294c). Some others are the verbs ‘to read’ and ‘to drink’ (294d, e). This behaviour suggests that rather than treat these verbs simply as anti-passives, one would better see them as involving kinetic or geometric action on the object. This action takes semantic precedence over normal transitive role assignment and rather throws the object into an oblique case, leaving the absolute for the subject.

(294) Dative object

- a. /sa a-bə ø-yə-šha-ø sə-q'a-y-a-w+a-ay-\$/ ([sɪq'e'wá's])  
I 3-obl 3-poss-head-obl I-hor-3-dat-strike+at-past-aff  
'I hit his head.'
- b. /a-bə ø-yə-šha-ø sa sə-q'a-y-a-w+a-ay-\$/  
3-obl 3-poss-head-obl I I-hor-3-dat-strike+at-past-aff  
'I struck at his head (but missed, perhaps).'
- c. /sa a-bə ø-yə-šha-ø sə-q'a-y-a-w+a-n-w ø-ø-ħa-t-ay-\$/ ([ħetá's])  
I 3-obl 3-poss-head-obl I-hor-3-dat-strike+at-fut-def 3(dummy)-3(S)-in-  
stand-past-aff  
'I tried to hit his head.'  
(lit., 'It stood in (the state that) I hit his head.')
- d. /ħə-r tħə+ħ-m ø-ø-y-a-g'+a-ay-\$/ ([yeg'o's])  
man-abs write+lie-obl 3-3-dir-dat-read+dat-past-aff  
'The man read the book.'
- e. /ħə+wə-r bħa-m ø-ø-y-a-fə+a-n-w-\$/ ([yefenu's])  
horse+man-abs (drinking) horn-obl 3-3-dir-dat-drink+dat-past-aff  
'The horseman will drink the cup.'

**6.4.3 Subject in Genitive** The verb of possession, /-?a-/ ‘to have’ (lit., ‘to be of (one’s) hand’), takes logical subjects in the oblique of the genitive (295). There is no evidence, however, that these constructions come from any underlying form by means of movement, though the oblique phrase can be moved to preverbal position as though it were a locative. In this case no shift in possessive force seems to result. Rather, the preferred initial subject principle seems to force such shifts.

In third person possessives the possessive index /yə-/ is used. For other persons a dative of possession index is employed.

## (295) Possession

## a. Underlying form

/ñ'ə-m zə-sa-šx<sup>\*</sup>a ø-ø-yə-?a-š/ ([yíʔeś])  
 man-obl one-knife-big 3-3-poss-belong-aff  
 'The man has a sword.'

## b. Movement of possessor to preverbal position

/zə-sa-šx<sup>\*</sup>a ñ'ə-m ø-ø-yə-?a-š/  
 one-knife-big man-obl 3-3-poss-belong-aff  
 'The man has a sword.'

## c. Underlying form

/(sa) ažša-r ø-q'ə-s-a-?a-š/ ([q'ɪsæʔeś])  
 (I) money-abs 3-hor-I-dat-belong-aff  
 'I have the money.'

## d. Movement of possessor to preverbal position

/ažša-r (sa) ø-q'ə-s-a-?a-š/  
 money-abs (I) 3-hor-I-dat-belong-aff  
 'I have the money.'

**6.4.4 Subject in Dative** Many verbs with a perceptual, emotional, or subjective force are intransitives with the logical subject in the dative. This is, of course, a common feature in many languages and is termed a "psychological dative."

## (296) Logical subject in dative

a. /yə-maaq'a-r ø-q'a-s-a-?ə-n-w-š/ ([q'eso?ʷinú's])  
 his (her)-sound-abs 3-hor-me-dat-hear-fut-def-aff  
 'I shall hear his (her) voice.'

b. /qʷaža-m sə-q'a-ø-y-a-žə-n ø-s-šx<sup>\*</sup>a-y/ ([s̥xʷé])  
 village-obl I-incept-3-dir-dat-go off-inf 3-me-for-be necessary  
 'I must leave the village.'

c. /fəz-m pča+šha+mə+šha-pstaw-r ø-y-ə-wəžyə-ay ø-s-yə-gʷə-γa-š/  
 woman-obl wood(?)+head+apple+head-all-abs 3-3-non pres-peel-past 3-  
 my-poss-heart-wears-aff  
 'I believe that the woman has peeled all the fruit.'

d. /a-šxə+a-r ñ'ə-m ø-ø-yə-qʷə-n-w-š/ ([yiri'qʷinú's])  
 the-eat+intr-abs man-obl 3-3-cont-dir-fill-fut-def-aff  
 'The man will be satisfied with the meal.'  
 (lit., 'The meal will satisfy the man.')

## 6.5 Coordination of Clauses

Many interesting syntactical phenomena arise when clauses are in some way strung together without being embedded.

**6.5.1 Coordinative Particles** The coordinative particles are listed in (297). Clauses conjoined by these elements do not differ from their independent counterparts. The morphemes for clausal coordination are distinct from those for nominal coordination (§6.1.4). Also, coordination of clauses frequently takes place by simple juxtaposition. With juxtaposed nouns the only possible reading is that of exclusive disjunction.

(297) Coordinative particles

- a. /yə/ ‘and’
- b. /yək”əy/ variant of preceding
- c. /a-wa/ 3-pred = ‘but’
- d. /a-r-śha-k”a/ 3-obl-head-inst = ‘but, although, even given this’
- e. /at'a/ ‘but’
- f. /śhak”a/ ‘because’
- g. /yə/ ‘or’ (disjunctive list)
- h. /ħama/ ‘either... or...’
- i. /za/ ‘now this... now that...’

**6.5.2 Examples** A few examples of coordinated clauses are given in (298). Here, and in some subsequent examples, I have used square brackets not for phonetic transcription but to demarcate deep structure.

(298) Examples of coordinated clauses

- a. /[\ħə-r ḥ-q'a-k”ə+a-aγ-ś-əy] [a-bə tħəħ-l-r ḥ-y-ə-tə-žə-aγ-ś]/  
[man-abs 3-hor-move+intr-past-aff-and]  
[ 3-obl book-abs 3-3-non pres-give-back-past-aff]  
‘The man came and gave the book back.’
- b. /[\ħə-r ḥ-q'a-k”ə+a-žə-aγ-ś] [a-wa a-r ḥ-q'a-a-n-a-fə-aγ-q'm]/  
[man-abs 3-hor-move+intr-again-past-aff]  
[ 3-pred 3-abs 3-hor-dat-remain-dat-able-past-not]  
‘The man came back, but he was unable to stay.’
- c. /[za a-bə ħə-r ḥ-q'ə-śə-k”ə+a-aγ-ś]/  
[now there-obl man-abs 3-hor-deixis-move+intr-past-aff]  
[now here-obl 3-abs 3-hor-deixis-go+intr-past-aff]  
‘First the man went over there, and then he came here.’

**6.5.3 Subject and Tense Dropping** When the subjects and tenses of a set of conjoined sentences are co-referential, then the sentences may be conjoined by deleting all but the subject of the first sentence and both the tense and mood of all but the last, placing the predicative ending on the tenseless verbs. Such dropping phenomena are widespread among S-O-V languages, occurring in, for example, Farsi and many of the languages of New Guinea.

(299) Conjunction of sentences with co-referential subjects and tenses

a. Underlying form

- /a-bə ø-yə-vaaq'a-r ø-q'a-y-ø-fa᷑"a-žə-aγ-ha-\$/  
 3-obl 3-poss-shoe(s)-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-don-again-past-pl-aff  
 'He put his shoes back on.'
- /a-bə ø-yə-baaš-r ø-q'a-y-ø-məšə-žə ø-᷑"ə-aγ-ha-\$/  
 3-obl 3-poss-walking stick-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-seize-again 3-happen-  
 past-pl-aff  
 'He took up his walking stick again.'
- /a-bə ø-yə-pə?a-r ø-y-ø-šə-aγ-\$/  
 3-obl 3-poss-hat-abs 3-3-non pres-lead(= take)-past-aff  
 'He took his hat.'
- /a-bə wardə᷑"əw ø-q'a-y-ø-fa᷑"ə-žə-aγ-ha-\$/  
 3-obl torc(s) 3-hor-3-non pres-don-again-past-pl-aff  
 'He put his torcs back on.'
- /a-bə a-r ø-q'a-y-ø-k"ə-hə-r-t/  
 3-obl 3-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-come/go-around-dist-stand  
 'He travelled all around it.'
- /a-bə ſ'ə-m ø-yə-γ"əna-r ø-y-ø-γ"atə-aγ-q'm/  
 3-obl earth 3-poss-boundary-abs 3-3-non pres-find-past-not  
 'He did not find the edge of the earth.'

b. Conjoined surface form (Hadaghla 1968: 264)

- [/ø-yə-vaaq'a-r ø-q'a-y-ø-fa᷑"a-žə-hə-w]  
 [3-poss-shoe(s)-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-don-again-pl-pred]  
 [/ø-yə-baaš-r ø-q'a-y-ø-məšə-žə ø-᷑"ə-hə-w]  
 [3-poss-stick-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-seize-again 3-happen-pl-pred]  
 [/yə-pə?a-r ø-y-ø-š-hə-w]  
 [3-poss-hat-abs 3-3-non pres-lead(= take)-pl-pred]  
 [/wardə᷑"əw ø-q'a-y-ø-fa᷑"ə-žə-hə-w]  
 [torc(s) 3-hor-3-non pres-don-again-pl-pred]  
 [/ø-q'a-y-ø-k"ə-hə-r-øy]  
 [3-hor-3-non pres-move-around-distr-and]

[\\$'ə-m yə-y"əna-r ø-y-ə-y"atə-ač-q'm]/  
 [earth-obl poss boundary-abs 3-3-non pres-find-past-not]  
 'He put his shoes back on, seized his walking stick, took his hat,  
 put on his torques and journeyed all over, (but) he did not find the edge  
 of the earth.'

In (299b) the bard has copied plurality onto all but the last two verbs, so that 'he took it' is /ø-y-ə-š-hə-w/ 3-3-non pres-lead-pl-pred.

**6.5.4 Single Deletion and Retention of Mood** For a single such deletion the affirmative mood suffix can be retained (Kardanov 1955: 1023).

(300) Deletion retaining affirmative mood

/sa ø-q'a-a-s-šta-š ø-za-pa-s-pλə-ħ-ray ø-s-ya-a-t'ə+λ+ə-žə-aγ-š/  
 I 3-hor-dat-I-pick up-aff 3-all-front-I-look-around-emph 3-I-caus-conn-  
 down+lie+dyn-again-past-aff  
 'I picked it up, looked it all over, and set it back down.'

## 6.6 Subjects

It was once an open question as to whether or not ergative languages such as Kabardian even utilised the syntactical entity of a subject as it appeared in nominative-accusative languages. The answer to this question can now be shown to be "yes" (Anderson 1976). In fact, the notion of subject in Kabardian is one of the more interesting aspects of its grammar (see §§6.4.3–4, 6.5.3).

**6.6.1 Equal Subject-Deletion** Equal subject-deletion cuts across the ergative-absolutive distinction, indicating that Kabardian has subjects of an ordinary sort and that subjects are clearly independent of case-marking. The reader should note that in these examples the retention of a pronoun is somewhat emphatic, since pronoun-drop would normally delete all pronouns. Even with pronoun-drop, however, the readings of the examples would still assume equal subject-deletion.

(301) Equal subject-deletion

a. Underlying form

/λ'ə-m fəz-r ø-q'a-y-ə-λaaγ"-aγ-š yək"əy a-r ø-q'a-žə-žə-aγ-š/  
 man-obl woman-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-see-past-aff and 3-abs  
 3-hor-run-finally-past-aff  
 'The man saw the woman and he ran away.'

b. Surface form with second subject deleted (denoted by [Ø])

/k'ə-m fəz-r Ø-q'a-y-ə-λaaγ"-ay-ś yək"ey [Ø] Ø-q'a-žə-žə-ay-ś/  
 man-obl woman-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-see-past-aff and 3-hor-run-finally-  
 past-aff

'The man saw the woman and ran off.'

**6.6.2 Preferred Subject Principle** When a causative verb is conjoined with a simple transitive or intransitive the first (left-most) noun controls subject-deletion. The deleted morpheme is within [...].

(302) Preferred subject principle

- a. /s'aalə-m Ø-yə-šə-px"ə-naħə-ś'a-r Ø-y-ə-ya-ya+ħazər-ay-ś [Ø] a-r  
 youth-obl 3-poss-sibling-daughter-more-young-abs 3-3-non pres-caus-  
 caus+ready-past-aff [3] 3-abs 3-incept-out-3-non pres-lead-past-aff  
 'The youth made his sister get ready and then led her out.'  
 \*'The youth made his sister get ready and then she led him out.'
- b. /s'aalə-m Ø-yə-šə-px"ə-naħə-ś'a-r Ø-y-ə-ya-ya+ħazər-ay-ś [Ø]  
 youth-obl his-poss-sibling-daughter-more-young-abs 3-3-non pres-caus-  
 caus+ready-past-aff [3] 3-incept-dir-dat-go-past-aff  
 'The youth made his sister get ready and then left.'  
 \*'The youth made his sister get ready and then she left.'

**6.6.3 Switch Reference** If the subject of the second conjunction is co-referential with the object of the first, then a switch-reference system of pronouns must be used, with the pronominal root /a-/ being replaced by /mə-/ in the second clause, as in (303).

(303) Switch reference

/a-bə a-r Ø-q'a-y-ə-λaaγ"-ay-ś yək"ey mə-r Ø-q'a-žə-žə-ay-ś/  
 3-obl 3-abs<sub>i</sub> 3-hor-3-non pres-see-past-aff and 3-abs<sub>i</sub> 3-hor-run-finally-past-  
 aff

'He (the man) saw her (the woman) and she ran away.'

**6.6.4 Subjects and the Animacy Hierarchy** Setting coordination aside for a moment to take up the matter of subject, we find that Kabardian has some interesting data regarding animacy of subjects. Polinsky (1989) has found some evidence that

an animacy hierarchy controls possible subjects in Kabardian: more animate subjects take precedence over less in subject position. She relied upon Kabardian speakers in Moscow. Even though one of my speakers has travelled frequently to the Caucasus and the other grew up there, I was unable to confirm most of her claims. For example, her claim that Kabardian is an O-S-V language is at odds with the preferred subject constraint (§6.6.2). Nevertheless, Kabardian shows some evidence for an animacy hierarchy. If two nouns are involved in an action the preferred mode of expression is to use an intransitive verb with the less animate noun placed in a locative role (304a). Even a transitive verb can become intransitive under such conditions with the low animacy noun becoming a locative (304b). The transitive is also possible (304d), but a general deictic role is preferred for the less animate noun even though the verb keeps its transitive inflection along with the deixis (304e).

(304) Animacy hierarchy

a. Intransitive

- /š'aal'a-r psə-m ø-ø-yə-t'ə+sə+k'ə-aγ-ʂ/ ([yit'isik'á's])  
 youth-abs water-obl 3-3-dir-down+reach+exit-past-aff  
 'The youth drowned (perished) in the water.'

b. Transitive verb with intransitive function

- /š'aal'a-r psə-m ø-ø-yə-thaλa-aγ-ʂ/ ([yitheλá's])  
 youth-abs water-obl 3-3-dir-drown-past-aff  
 'The youth drowned in the water.'

c. Transitive with high animacy subject (normal)

- /š'aal'a-m psə-m g'adəw-r ø-ø-yə-thaλa-aγ-ʂ/ ([yiri'theλá's])  
 youth-abs water-obl cat-abs 3-3-dir-3-non pres-drown-past-aff  
 'The youth drowned the cat in the water.'

d. Transitive with low animacy subject (abnormal)

- (\*)/psə-m š'aal'a-r ø-y-ə-thaλa-aγ-ʂ/ ([yitheλá's])  
 water-obl youth-abs 3-3-non pres-drown-past-aff  
 'The water drowned the youth.'

e. Transitive with deixis for low animacy subject

- /š'aal'a-r psə-m ø-ø-šə-y-ə-thaλa-aγ-ʂ/ ([si'theλá's])  
 youth-abs water-obl 3-3-deixis-3-non pres-drown-past-aff  
 'The water drowned the youth.' or  
 'The youth was drowned in the water.'

**6.6.4.1 Testing for Low Animacy Subject** One may test the subject in (304e) by conjunction and equal subject-deletion. 'Youth' is not the subject of (304e).

### (305) O-S-V and equal subject-deletion

'The youth fell out of the boat into the water and it drowned him.' or

\*'The youth fell out of the boat into the water and was drowned in the water.'

**6.6.4.2 O-S-V Order** Polinsky's O-S-V order is actually realised in (304e), though this is not one of her examples. O-S-V order appears to be very marginal in Kabardian and confined to such anomalous entanglements as (304d, e). Nevertheless, any linguist looking at this language should be prepared for the possibility that speakers diverge on their sense of how animate subjects must be and will reflect this divergence in their syntax and morphology.

## 6.7 Subordination

The most complex syntactical phenomena occur with subordinated clauses. Apart from a few specialised complementisers, Kabardian subordination reflects two basic types of complementation: one equivalent to English 'that,' which may be deleted, and another with an indirect object role in the matrix verb, much like English 'for... to.' Such subordinated clauses often show infinitive forms, frequently with predicative suffixes serving as complementisers. Such subordination does not exhibit a pronominal head (as in English 'I like *it* that...'). Subordinated clauses show the same case marking as superordinates. Relative clauses will be treated in §6.8.

**6.7.1 Sentential Subjects** Sentential subjects are rare. Adverbial forms are preferred (306a), though true sentential subjects can occur (306b), even ones that are multiply embedded (306c). Overt complementisers are usually absent from these subordinations.

### (306) Sentential subjects

### a. Preferred adverbial form

'He seems (to me) to be going.'

(lit., 'He is going as it seems to me.')

## b. Singly embedded sentential subject

/a-r ø-q'a-k"ə+a-žə-aγ ø-s-yə-g"ə-ya-š/

3-abs 3-hor-move+intr-again-past 3-my-poss-heart-wears-aff

'I believe that he has come back.'

(lit., 'That he has come back is believed in my heart.')

## c. Doubly embedded sentential subject

/sa zə-g"ar ø-q'a-s-a-g"-a ø-ø-č"a-da ø-q'ə-s-fa-šə-ay-š/

me one-certain 3-hor-me-dat-call-dat 3-3-for-be like 3-hor-me-despite-

know-past-aff

'It seemed to me as though someone called to me.'

**6.7.2 Periphrastic Verbs with Sentential Subjects** One of the most important classes of verbs taking sentential subjects is a set of periphrastic verbs. These can take infinitive, gerundive, predicative, or adverbial subordinates, though /apš-əy/ to wish-even (expressing well-wishing), takes a zero-complementiser (307e).

## (307) Periphrastic verbs with sentential subjects

a. /čə-m fəz-r ø-q'a-y-ə-bğəna-n ø-č"ə-ay-š/ ([q'ebğínen č"əš])

man-obl woman-abs 3-incept-3-non pres-desert-inf 3-happen-past-aff

'It happened that the man deserted the woman.' or

'It was possible that the man deserted the woman.'

b. /čə-m fəz-r ø-q'a-y-ə-bğəna-n-wa ø-mə-č"/

man-obl woman-abs 3-incept-3-non pres-desert-inf-pred 3-not-happen

'It is impossible for the man to desert the woman.'

c. /čə-m fəz-r ø-q'a-y-ə-bğəna-n ø-s-č"ə-a-yə/

man-obl woman-abs 3-incept-3-non pres-desert-inf 3-me-for

be necessary

'I must take into account that the man deserted the woman.'

(lit., 'That the man deserted the woman is obligatory for me.')

d. /zə-q'a-y-ə-mə-?at-wa ø-sə-t-š/

self-incept-3-non pres-not-stand up-pred 3-deixis-stand-aff

'He should not get up.'

(lit., 'That he not raise himself up stands there.')

e. /ø-q'a-k"ə+a-žə-n ø-apš-əy/

3-hor-move+intr-again-fut(= subjunctive) 3-may-even

'May he return!'

**6.7.3 Sentential Objects** Subordinated objects can take a complementiser /-wa/ with a role analogous to English ‘that’ (308a). The subordination behaves like a direct object. Alternatively, the subordination behaves like an indirect object, so that /-wa/ is then analogous to English ‘for... to.’ In both types of subordination, subject Ns are deleted if they are co-referential with Ns in the superordinates. The verb ‘to say’ can take the infinitive and predicative complementiser /-n-wa/ (308c), or a special complementiser /-ma/ (308d) marking indirect discourse, but takes no complementiser in direct discourse (308e). Verbs taking question complementisers, such as ‘I know why...’ or ‘I fear what...,’ show a nominal treatment of the object complement in the absolute (308f). A special complementiser or sentential adverb is seen in (308g). In (308) [...] denotes an embedding.

## (308) Subordinated sentential objects

## a. Direct objects

## (i) Deep structure

/a-b<sub>3</sub> [a-b<sub>3</sub> a-r Ø-y-a-g'-a-aγ-§] Ø-§'a-y-θ-ʒ-a-aγ-§/  
 3-obl<sub>3</sub> [ 3-obl 3-abs<sub>3</sub> 3-3-dat-call-dat-past-aff] 3-under-3-non pres-  
 throw-dat-past-aff

## (ii) Surface structure

/a-b<sub>3</sub> [Ø Ø Ø-y-a-g'-a-n] Ø-§'a-y-θ-ʒ-a-aγ-§/  
 3-obl [(3-obl) (3-abs) 3-3-dat-call-dat-inf] 3-under-3-non pres-throw-  
 dat-past-aff

‘He began to read (it).’

## b. Indirect objects

## (i) Deep structure

/a-r<sub>3</sub> [a-b<sub>3</sub> a-r Ø-y-θ-t̪θ-aγ-§] Ø-Ø-̪xa-t-aγ-§/  
 [3-abs<sub>3</sub> [3-obl<sub>3</sub> 3-abs 3(abs)-3(obl = [S])-non pres-write-past-aff] 3-  
 3([S])-mass-stand-past-aff]

## (ii) Surface structure

/a-r [Ø Ø Ø-y-θ-t̪θ-n-wa] Ø-Ø-̪xa-t-aγ-§/  
 3-abs [(3-obl) (3-abs) 3-3-non pres-write-inf-pred] 3([S])-3-mass-  
 stand-past-aff

‘He tried to write (it).’

(lit., ‘He stood in (the condition for) him to write it.’)

## c. Indirect discourse

## (i) Deep structure

/sa wa [sa λə-r Ø-s-̪xθ-aγ-§] Ø-w-žə-s-?a-aγ-§/  
 I you [ I meat-abs 3-I-eat-past-aff] 3-you-back-I-say-past-aff

## (ii) Surface structure

/sa wa [λə-r φ-s-š̥ə-n-wa] φ-w-žə-s-?a-aγ-\$/  
 I you [meat-abs 3-I-eat-inf-pred] 3-you-back-say-past-aff  
 'I said to you that I ate the meat.'

## d. Indirect discourse, special form

## (i) Deep structure

/sa wa [sa λə-r φ-s-š̥ə-aγ-ś] φ-w-žə-s-?a-aγ-\$/  
 I you [ I meat-abs 3-I-eat-past-aff] 3-you-back-I-say-past-aff

## (ii) Surface structure

/sa wa [λə-r φ-s-š̥ə-aγ-ma] φ-w-žə-s-?a-aγ-\$/  
 I you [meat-abs 3-I-eat-past-that] 3-you-back-say-past-aff  
 'I said to you that I ate the meat.'

## e. Direct discourse

## (i) Deep structure

/sa wa [sa λə-r φ-s-š̥ə-aγ-ś] φ-w-žə-s-?a-aγ-\$/  
 I you [ I meat-abs 3-I-eat-past-aff] 3-you-back-I-say-past-aff

## (ii) Surface structure

/sa wa [λə-r φ-s-š̥ə-aγ] φ-w-žə-s-?a-aγ-\$/  
 I you [meat-abs 3-I-eat-past] 3-you-back-say-past-aff  
 'I said to you, "I ate the meat."

## f. Indirect question complement as a nominal

## (i) Deep structure (?)

/[\_Nz-w-γa-a-wəva(+?a)-aγ]-z-̥a] φ-s-a-w-ś'ə/  
 [\_self-you-caus-conn-stop(+here)-past]-what-for] 3-I-pres-prog-  
 know

## (ii) Surface structure

/[\_Nzə-z-̥a-b-γa-wəva(+?a)-aγ-a-ra-r] φ-s-a-w-ś'ə/  
 [self-what-for-you-caus-stop(+here)-past-/a/-part-abs] 3-I-pres-prog-  
 know

'I know why you stopped.'

## g. S-adverb or specialised complementiser 'in order to'

## (i) Deep structure

/a-r a-bə[\_Adv\_s φ-φ-λə-̥x'-áγ]-kʷa] φ-y-a-ž-áγ-\$/  
 3-abs 3-obl[[he-him-after-happen-past]-in order to] he-dir-dat-go-  
 past-aff

## (ii) Surface structure

/φ-φ-λə-̥x'-áγ-kʷa φ-y-a-ž-áγ-\$/  
 they-him-after-happen-past-in order to he-dir-dat-go-past-aff  
 'He set off in order to go after him.'

**6.7.4 Dummy Subjects and Indirect Object Subordinates** Some verbs of natural events take a subordinate as an indirect object while at the same time having a dummy subject. The dummy subject is never expressed by an overt pronoun, but must be inferred from the morphology of the verb.

(309) Verb of natural event

/p̪šaapa-r ø-za-ħa-w-a-w ø-q'ø-yø-ħ"ø-y-a-ža-aγ-\$/  
 dusk-abs 3-all-mass-strike-dat-pred 3(dummy)-incept-3([S])-for-dir-dat-go  
 to meet-past-aff

'It began to turn to dusk.'

**6.7.5 Postposing of Subordinate Clauses** Subordinate clauses can be postposed over the superordinate verb. In this position they always take a /-wa/ complementiser.

(310) Postposed subordinate clause

a. Normal position

/sa mazø-m [maraak"ø-a-ø-q'a-s-ħøpø-n(-wa)] sø-k"ø+a-aγ-\$/  
 I forest-obl [berries 3-hor-I-pick-inf(-pred)] I-move+intr-past-aff  
 'I went into the forest to pick berries.'

b. Postposed Position

/sa mazø-m sø-k"ø+a-aγ-ø [maraak"ø-a-ø-q'a-s-ħøpø-n-wa]/  
 I forest-obl I-move+intr-past-aff [berries 3-hor-I-pick-inf-pred]  
 'I went into the forest to pick berries.'

## 6.8 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses precede their heads. They have the same order of elements as subordinates and the same case-marking of Ns as any clause. Almost any grammatical role can serve as a focus of relativisation. This flexibility is promoted by the fact that head nouns, as with all nouns, can often be deleted when understood by context. The resulting headless relative clauses can also have an indefinite sense, 'who(ever) that...', 'how(ever) that...' Relativisation is marked on the verb by an optional /yø-/ index for Ns that are in the absolutive, and by an obligatory /-z-/ index for all other Ns.

**6.8.1 Positions of the Relative Clause** Relatives are to the left of their heads (311a, b), unless postposed (311c, d) (cf. (277)). When postposed they can take the case of the head noun. (311d). In (311) [...] denotes a relative embedding.

## (311) Positions of the relative clause

## a. Deep structure

/[ ʌ̃ə-m a-t̪əλ-r ɸ-q'a-z-t̪ə-aγ] ʌ̃ə-r/  
 [man-obl that-book-abs 3-hor-who-write-past] man-abs

## b. Normal surface structure

/[a-t̪əλ-r ɸ-q'a-z-t̪ə-aγ] ʌ̃ə-r/  
 [that-book-abs 3-hor-who-write-past] man-abs  
 'the man who wrote that book'

## c. Postposed surface structure

/ʌ̃ə-r [a-t̪əλ-r ɸ-q'a-z-t̪ə-aγ-wa]/  
 man-abs [that-book-abs 3-hor-who-write-past-pred]  
 'the man who wrote that book'  
 (also with non-restrictive sense (§6.8.2))

## d. Postposed relative with case

/ʌ̃ə-w a-t̪əλ-r ɸ-q'a-z-t̪ə-aγ-r/  
 man-pred that-book-abs 3-hor-who-write-past-abs  
 'the man who wrote that book'

**6.8.2 Non-restrictive Relative Clause** Non-restrictive relative clauses seem to be postposed and end in an adverbial oblique /-m/. In all other regards they are like postposed relatives such as (311c).

## (312) Non-restrictive relative clause (Kardanov 1955: 1054)

/da də-ɸ-də-ħa-aγ-š qʷ-a-kʷəwə-kʷəf'ə-m [?a+w+a+ħa+w+a-nša  
 Šəna+a+γʷa ɸ-zə-šħa-šə-t-m]/  
 we we-3-opening-enter-past-aff valley-deep-dark-obl [arm+strike+dat+  
 leg+strike+dat-without fear+conn+companion 3-which-head-  
 deixis-stand-obl]  
 'We entered a deep dark valley, over which loomed an ominous stillness.'

**6.8.3 Reduced Relative Clause** In colloquial speech a relative clause with its absolutive noun co-referential with its head noun (313a) can undergo postposing (313b) and then reduction to an adjective-like clitic (313c). Such forms are difficult to elicit, but I have heard them in casual speech. Some speakers may not have them.

## (313) Reduced relative clause

## a. Ordinary relative clause

/sa t̪ə+λə-š̪ə-ɾ (yə-)x̪a-s-t̪a-aγ] t̪ə+λə-š̪ə-ɾ(-m)/  
 [I write+lie-big-abs (which-)mass-I-tear-past] write+lie-big-abs(-obl)  
 'the big book which I tore apart'

## b. Postposed relative clause

/t̪ə+λə-š̪ə-w [sa ø (yə-)x̪a-s-t̪a-aγ]-ɾ(-m)/  
 write+lie-big-pred [I (the big book) (which-)mass-I-tear-past]-abs(-obl)  
 'the big book which I tore apart'

## c. Reduced relative clause

/t̪ə+λə-š̪ə-ɾ-x̪a-s-t̪a-aγ-ɾ(-m)/  
 write+lie-big-mass-I-tear-past-abs(-obl)  
 'the big book which I tore apart'

**6.8.4 Relative Head Noun Indices in the Verb** Any index in a verbal complex can take a relative index and so create a relative clause. A few examples are given in (314). Relatives based upon a possessive construction (314h) have their relative index not in the verbal complex but rather in the possessive attribute. The only index that shows some complication is 'that by which, how, as, since,' which occupies the pragmatical tree (see §4.1.5.2 (160) and §4.2.3.2 (174)), and which takes the form /-z-a-r-(a-/-relative index-dat-inst-(dat-)) (314i, j). As a pre-verb /-z-a-r-a-/ is not to be confused with the IO reflexive /-z-a-rə-/, as a relative index /-z-a-rə-/ is 'how,' 'as,' 'because' (314h). Relative clauses based upon a pragmatical adverb are typically without overt heads.

## (314) Relative clauses based upon various grammatical roles

## a. Ergative subject

/λə ø-q'a-z-š̪ə-aγ λ'ə-ɾ/  
 meat 3-hor-who-write-past man-abs  
 'the man who ate meat'

## b. Absolutive subject

/(yə-)kʷə+a-aγ λ'ə-ɾ/  
 (who-)move+intr-past man-abs  
 'the man who went'

## c. Absolutive direct object

/a-fəz-m (yə-)q'a-y-ə-λaaγʷ-aγ λ'ə-ɾ/  
 the-woman-obl (whom-)hor-3-non pres-see-past man-abs  
 'the man whom the woman saw'

## d. Oblique indirect object

/sa t̪əλ̪-r φ-z-a-s-t̪-aγ λ̪ə-r/  
 I book-abs 3-whom-dat-I-give-past man  
 'the man to whom I gave the book'

## e. Oblique of causative agent

/š'aλa-ha-m p̪saasá-m yazə-m yə-ħa  
 φ-q'ə-y-a-y-ha-a-z-ya-a-t̪-žə-fə-aγ λ̪ə-r/ ([q'əra'zyetižəfá' λ̪ər])  
 boy-pl-obl girl-obl own-obl poss-dog  
 3-hor-3-dat-3-pl-dat-who-caus-conn-give-again-able-past-man-abs  
 'the man who was able to make the boys give the girl her dog back'

## f. Oblique of benefactive

/(wa) wə-z-ħa-psaaħa-aγ λ̪ə-r/  
 (you) you-whom-for-talk-past man-abs  
 'the man of whom you spoke'

## g. Oblique of purpose (see (308f))

/zə-q'ə-z-ħa-w-ya-a-wəva(+?a)-aγ (g'əyə-r)/  
 self-incept-what-for-you-caus-conn-stop(+here)-past (reason-abs)  
 '(the reason) why you stopped'

## h. Possessive

/zə-yə-ha-g'aaša-m a-t̪əλ̪-r φ-y-ə-t̪əλ̪-aγ λ̪ə-r/  
 whose-poss-inh poss-wife-obl that-book-abs 3-3-non pres-write-past  
 man-abs  
 'the man whose wife wrote that book'

## i. Pragmatical adverb 'since'

/də-z-a-r-a-za-r-a-mə-ħaaγ"-aγ-r/  
 we-when-dat-inst-dat-recip-inst-dat-not-see-past-ger  
 'since (the time when) we have not seen one another'

## j. Pragmatical adverb 'as'

/φ-z-a-rə-ħa-w-ya-faħə-a-n-w-m-k"a/  
 3-how-dat-inst-for-you-caus-be attached-dat-fut-def-obl-inst  
 'as you will likely be able to guess (anticipate)'

## k. Pragmatical adverb 'because'

/sa sə-z-a-rə-ħə-s'a-mə-ħa-m q'əħak"k"a sə-q'a-k"a-n-w-q'm/  
 I I-how-dat-inst-for-under-not-enter-obl because I-hor-go-fut-def-not  
 'I will not go because I am busy.'

## I. Deixis 'when'

/(\ø-)šə-λaaža maaχ"a-m/  
 (when-)deixis-work day-obl  
 'the day when he works'

## m. Deixis 'where'

/(\ø-)šə-λaaža q'aalə-a-r/  
 (where-)deixis-work city-abs  
 'the city where he works'

Unique to Kabardian are the forms in (314l, m) where the relative index for a deictic function is /ø-/. In West Circassian this index would have been /z-/.

**6.8.5 Independent Relative Pronouns** Independent relative pronouns are restricted to possessive determiners (315a). Independent indefinite relatives, however, can occur frequently (315b).

## (315) Independent relative pronouns

- a. /z-əy-ʂha ø-y-a-w-a-m-əy a-r ø-χ'a-n-ʂ/  
 who-poss-head 3-3-dat-strike-to-if-ever 3-abs 3-die-fut-aff  
 'He whose head is struck will die.'
- b. /χat(-(r-)əy) ø-mə-λaaža-m-əy a-r ø-ʂχ+a-r-q'm/  
 who-(emph-)ever 3-not-work-obl-ever 3-abs 3-eat+intr-pres-not  
 'Whoever does not work, does not eat.'
- c. /sət(-(r-)əy) ø-q'a-s-ʂ'a-m-əy sa wa ø-w-χ"a-s-ʂ'a-ay-ʂ/  
 what-(emph-)ever 3-hor-I-do-if-ever I you 3-you-for-I-do-past-aff  
 'Whatever I did, I did for you.'

## 6.9 Reduced Adverbial Clauses

Reduced clauses contain gerunds and adverbial participial constructions instead of finite verbs. Gerunds are inflected forms that serve as headless relatives (314i), and as such do not differ from other clauses used to form relatives. They end in /-r(a-r)/ -ger(-abs), or in /-m-k"a/ -obl-inst. Participial forms based upon an adverbial sense of the participial /-wə/, here glossed as -adv (see (222a), or its durative form /-wə-ra/ -pred (adv)-dist (222c), also do not differ from other participial clauses ((222) and (224)), in their internal makeup. These participles are morphologically distinct from forms ending in the predicative, that is, from simple subordinated forms, not only in that they always show a /ə/-grade, but also in that they fail to take the future tense. Absence of an overt participial ending gives a participle with a nuance of incompleteness.

## (316) Reduced adverbial phrases

## a. Stative

/sa [a-txəλ-m s-y-a-g'-a-w] sə-šə-s-ʂ/  
 I [the-book-obl I-3-dat-call-dat-adv(= part)] I-deixis-sit-aff

'I sit, reading this book.'

## b. Dynamic durative

/a-r [a-txəλ-m ø-y-a-g'-a-wə-ra] ma-a-k"ə+a/  
 3-abs [the-book-obl 3-3-dat-call-dat-adv(= part)-distr] 3-pres-come+intr  
 'He is coming, reading the book.'

## c. Highly inflected form

/sa [a-txəλ-m sə-q'ə-šə-f-χ"ə-y-a-g'-a-w] sə-šə-s-ʂ/  
 I [the-book-obl I-hor-deixis-you(pl)-for-3-dat-call-dat-adv(= part)]  
 I-deixis-sit-aff

'I sit, reading the book there for your (pl) sakes.'

## d. Incomplete action

/sa [a-txəλ-r ø-q'ə-w-χ"ə-a-s-y"atə-a-y] sə-y-a-pλə-hə-a-y-ʂ/  
 I [the-book-abs 3-hor-you-for-I-find-past] I-3-dat-look-around-past-aff  
 'I looked all over, trying to find the book for you.'

## 6.10 Inchoatives

Inchoatives have two forms. The inflected form involves the change of state pre-verb /-q'a-/ (§4.2.3.1.2 (173c)). The periphrastic form involves a transitive version of the verb 'to throw,' /-ʂ'a-...-z+a-/ -(out from) under-...-throw+dat-. An example of this latter construction has already been given (308a).

## 6.11 Reflexives

Reflexives do not differ from other clauses in the order of their constituents or their case-marking.

**6.11.1 Index and Pronoun** The reflexive index is /-z-/ , regardless of the case of the N. A reflexive pronoun /yazə/ can also replace the co-referential N. Reflexivisation is from left to right, or from subject to locative.

## (317) Reflexives

a. /a-pšaaša-m (yazə-r) z-y-ə-λaay"ə-ʐə-a-y-ʂ/  
 the-girl-obl (self-abs) self-3-non pres-see-self-past-aff

'The girl saw herself.'

b. /k'ə-m pšaaša-m yazə-m ø-yə-txəλ ø-q'ə-y-a-y-ə-ʐə-a-y-ʂ/  
 man-obl girl-obl self-obl 3-poss-book 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-give-again-  
 past-aff

'The man gave the girl her own book back.'

- c. /yazə-m pšaaša-r ø-z-a-pλə-žə-aγ-\$/  
 self-obl girl-abs 3-self-dat-look-self-past-aff  
 'The girl looked at herself.'

**6.11.2 Reflexive of Kinship** There is a special reflexive adjective used for kinship terms or terms of intimate association.

(318) Reflexives of kin and intimate association

a. Kin

- /qʷaš da-a-λ̥xʷ-ay/  
 brother com-conn-be born-past  
 'one's own brother'

b. Intimate association

- /ša-a-λ̥xʷ-ay qʷaaža/  
 deixis-conn-be born-past village  
 'one's own village'

**6.12 Reciprocals**

Reciprocals have already been examined in some detail under verbal index morphology (§4.2.10.8 (238)). It remains for us first to examine their syntax. Second, we must examine a class of reciprocals in which a special reciprocal index appears. This class has obscure deep structure sources.

**6.12.1 Syntax of Reciprocals** The independent reciprocal pronoun is /zə/, which takes the usual case endings. Surface forms with this pronoun show an anti-transitive pattern, which is consonant with their morphological inflection (238b). A reciprocal verb undergoes a shift in the grammatical roles of its personal indices. In ergative two-place transitives, this entails a shift to an intransitive (319a). In higher order transitives a shift still takes place, but case-marking is unchanged (319b). The resulting clause looks like a two-place transitive, while the verbal concord looks like a complex causative.

(319) Syntax of reciprocals

a. Two-place transitive

- (i) Deep structure (anti-transitive)  
 /k'ə-ha-m<sub>i</sub> k'ə-ha-r<sub>i</sub> ø-q'a-y-ha-a-λaaγ"-ha-r/  
 man-pl-obl man-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pl-pres-see-pl-pres

(ii) Surface reciprocal

- /k'ə-ha-r ø-q'ə-z-a-r-a-a-λaaγ"-ha-r/ ([q'izæreλá'γ"fiar])  
 man-pl-abs 3-hor-recip-dat-inst-dat-pres-see-pl-pres  
 'The men see one another.'

b. Three-place transitive

(i) Deep structure

/ñ'ə-ha-m<sub>i</sub> ñ'ə-ha-m<sub>i</sub> a-ha-r ø-q'ə-y-ha-a-y-ha-a-tə-žə-ha-r/  
 man-pl-obl man-pl-obl 3-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pl-dat-3-pl-pres-give-back-  
 pl-pres

(ii) Surface reciprocal

/ñ'ə-ha-m a-ha-r ø-q'ə-y-ha-z-a-r-a-a-ya-a-tə-žə-ha-r/  
 man-pl-obl 3-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pl-recip-dat-inst-dat-pres-caus-conn-  
 give-back-pl-pres

'The men are giving them back to one another.'

**6.12.2 Special Reciprocals** It is noteworthy that the reciprocal index can occur in forms wherein crucial information is reflected in the verbal inflection, but is totally absent from syntactical structure. What the underlying forms for these constructions might be has yet to be determined. One form even shows a transitive ergative pattern (320f). In forms with mixed pronouns there is a hierarchy of person for verbal inflection with first or second over third, and first over second.

(320) Special reciprocals

a. /-za-pa-/ -recip-nose- = 'in front of one another'

/fa-ra da-ra də-za-pa-wəvə-aγ-ʂ/ ([dɪzəpuwuváʂ])

you(pl)-pro we-pro we-recip-nose-stop-past-aff

'We and you came to a halt facing one another.'

b. /-za-da-/ -recip-com- = 'with one another'

/fa-ra a-bə-ha-m-a fə-q'ə-za-da-?a+pəqʷa-aγ-ʂ/

([fəq'ɪzədæʔəpoqʷáʂ])

you(pl) 3-obl-pl-obl-pl you(pl)-hor-recip-com-hand+help-past-aff

'You and they helped one another.'

c. /-za-ŷ-a-/ -recip-mass-dat- = 'in one another'

/a-bə-ha-m mə-bə-h-am ø-šə-za-ŷ-a-a-w-s/ ([ʃɪzəŷóʂ])

3(first referent)-obl-pl-obl 3(second referent)-obl-pl-obl

3-deixis-recip-mass-dat-pres-prog-sit

'Those (people) and these (people) are sitting together.'

d. /-za-qʷə-/ -recip-side- = 'side by side'

/da-ra də-q'ə-za-qʷə-rə-?a-aγ-ʂ/ ([dəq'ɪzəqʷɪrə?áʂ])

we-pro we-hor-recip-side-inst-say-past-aff

'We concurred with one another.'

e. /-za-kʷa-/ -recip-behind- = 'behind one another' (intransitive)

/a-ha-r ø-za-kʷa-žə-kʷ+a-aγ-ʂ/ ([zəkʷɛžukʷáʂ])

3-pl-abs 3-recip-behind-after-move+intr-past-aff

'They went along in single file close on each other's heels.'

f. /-za-k<sup>y</sup>a-/ same as (e), but transitive

/pšaaša-m bžəna-šha-ha-r ø-q’ə-za-k<sup>y</sup>a-y-ə-bλa-ay-ha-š/ ([q’izək<sup>y</sup>i-bλá-hiaš])  
girl-obl onion-head-pl-abs 3-hor-recip-behind-3-non pres-pass by-past-pl-aff

‘The girl braided the onions.’

**6.13 Questions and Their Answers** Question sentences in all the Northwest Caucasian languages are among the most interesting of all syntactical phenomena.

**6.13.1 Yes/No Questions** Yes/no questions have already been discussed (220i–k), (221). They exhibit the same word order and case-marking as declaratives.

**6.13.2 Content Questions** Content questions can be simple, as in (321) wherein the interrogative pronoun retains the same position that a normal pronoun would have had. The interrogative verbal index is identical to that of the relative.

(321) Wh-questions

- a. /wa dana wə-ø-šə-?a-ay/ ([wušε?á·])  
you where you-3-deixis-be-past  
‘Where were you?’
- b. /xət-m λə-r ø-q’ə-a-z-šx<sup>y</sup>ə-aγ/ ([q’εzıšx<sup>y</sup>á·])  
who-obl meat-abs 3-hor-who-eat-past-aff  
‘Who ate the meat?’
- c. /kə-m sət-r (yə-)q’ə-a-y-ə-šxə-aγ/ ([y(q)išx<sup>y</sup>á·])  
man-obl what-abs (what-)hor-he-non pres-eat-past  
‘What did the man eat?’

**6.13.3 Clefted Interrogatives** Such content interrogatives can undergo a clefting-like transformation, whereby the interrogative pronoun is moved to the right of the sentence in which it originally occurs. It takes the absolute in this new position, providing it is not an adverbial pronoun. The remainder of the clause becomes what is called a “masdar.” The whole appears to be governed by a zero-copula. The form has no affirmative affix like other copular constructions (see (283)) because it is an interrogative.

(322) Clefted wh-interrogatives

- a. /wa wə-ø-šə-?a-ay-r dana-w ø/  
you you-3-deixis-be-past-ger where-adv be  
‘Where were you?’  
(lit., ‘Where was it that you were?’)

- b. /λə-r ø-q'a-z-šx"ə-aγ-r ɬət-r/  
 meat-abs 3-hor-who-eat-past-ger who-abs be  
 'Who ate the meat?'  
 (lit., 'Who was it that ate the meat?')  
 c. /λ'ə-m (yə-)q'a-y-ə-šxə-aγ-r sət-r ø/  
 man-obl what-abs (what-)hor-he-non pres-eat-past-ger what-abs be  
 'What did the man eat?'  
 (lit., 'What was it that the man ate?')

**6.13.4 Rightward Wh-Movement** These clefted interrogatives show rightward question movement. They are analogous to the clefted referential quantifiers of §3.1.4.4 (98). In each, a focus or N is set in opposition to a predicate. In the quantified forms the focus is stipulated. In the clefted interrogatives the stipulation of the focus is sought. The most natural answers to the questions in (322) are the clefted sentences of (323).

(323) Clefted sentences (answers to (322))

- a. /sa sə-ø-šə-ʔa-aγ-r wəna-m ø/  
 11-3-deixis-be-past-ger house-obl be  
 'I was at home.'  
 (lit., 'It was at home that I was located.')  
 b. /λə-r ø-q'a-z-šx"ə-aγ-r ɬə-r/  
 meat-abs 3-hor-who-eat-past-ger man-abs be  
 'The man ate the meat.'  
 (lit., 'It was the man who ate the meat.')  
 c. /λ'ə-m (yə-)q'a-y-ə-šxə-aγ-r λə-r ø/  
 man-obl what-abs (what-)hor-he-non pres-eat-past-ger meat-abs be  
 'The man ate the meat.'  
 (lit., 'It was the meat that the man ate.')

**6.13.5 Unbounded Rightward Wh-Movement** The rightward movement shown in clefted interrogatives and answers can involve any part of the clause and can reach down to extract any member of an embedded clause. Thus, this rightward movement is unbounded.

## (324) Rightward wh-movement out of embeddings

## a. Interrogative

## (i) Deep structure

/wa [wa ɬət-m tɬəλ-r ø-q'ø-z-a-w-tə-n] ø-w-fafø-ay/  
 you [you whom-obl book-abs 3-hor-whom-dat-you-give-inf]  
 3-you-want-past

## (ii) Clefted interrogative (surface form)

/wa tɬəλ-r ø-q'ø-z-a-w-tə-n ø-w-fafø-ay-r ɬət-r ø/  
 you book-abs 3-hor-whom-dat-you-give-inf  
 3-you-want-past-ger who-abs be

'To whom did you want to give the book?'

(lit., 'Who was it that you wanted to give the book to?')

## b. Declarative

## (i) Deep structure

/ɬə-m [ɬə-m λə-r ø-y-ə-ʂɬə-n] ø-y-ə-fafø-ay-\$/  
 [man-obl [man-obl meat-abs 3-3-non pres-eat-inf]  
 3-3-non pres-want-past-aff]

## (ii) Clefted declarative (surface form)

/ɬə-m (yə-)y-ə-ʂɬə-n ø-y-ə-fafø-ay-r λə-r ø/  
 man-obl (which-)3-non pres-eat-inf 3-3-non pres-want-past-ger  
 meat-abs be

'It was the meat that the man wanted to eat.'

This instance of unbounded rightward movement is an unusual example of a typologically rare phenomenon (Colarusso 1979a).

**6.13.6 Rightward Pseudo-Clefting** Not surprisingly, pseudo-clefting also shows rightward movement into a specificalational slot. Examples of pseudo-clefting, used to form quantificational phrases, were given in §3.1.4.4 (98).

**6.14 Subject-Verb Inversion**

A subject and its verb can be inverted. This movement, the only real violation of S-O-Vorder in the language, strongly resembles the rightward movement phenomena of clefting and question formation. Nevertheless, it does not involve the triggering of a copular sentence and so is distinct from those two phenomena. It is also distinct from contrastive fronting, which has a stronger, almost rude nuance, whereas inverting the subject and its verb is relatively mild with an adverbial quality. In fact, subject-verb inversion seems to foreground the verb, in effect being a mirror image of the process of clefting. In inversion the argument is well established from discourse and instead the predicate is introduced. One is reminded of the poetic

inversion in English, such as in the song Waltzing Matilda: “Up jumped the swagman, jumped into that billabong.”

(325) Postposed subject

/“sə-t ø-q'ø-ø-ñ'a-z-g"ø+psəsø-n?” ø-g"ø+zav-áh-s satanay-g"áaša/  
 “what-pro 3-hor-you(zero direct address form)-for-I-heart+think-subj?” 3-  
 heart+narrow-past-aff satanaya-lady  
 “Why should I think of you?” [said] Lady Satanaya being (lit., was) hard-  
 hearted.’

### 6.15 Verb-Raising

Kabardian, like the West Circassian dialects, shows a limited amount of verb-raising. This happens when an embedded verb has a generic object. A rule copies plurality onto the verb from the immediately preceding N (§6.2.2.1). This rule also copies genericness. The resulting generic verb, though inflected, can be incorporated (by raising) into the matrix verb, much as a generic noun can sometimes be incorporated into a verb, providing that the personal index inflection of the two verbs is identical. In (326b) incorporation of the generic noun itself seems optional.

(326) Raising of a generic verb

a. Embedded form

/λ'ø-m [(λ'ø-m → ø) λø ø-y-ø-šñø-n] ø-y-ø-f'af'ø-aγ-š/  
 ([yf'šñin yif'ef'á·š])  
 man-obl [(man-obl) meat 3-3-non pres-eat-inf] 3-3-non pres-want-past-  
 aff  
 ‘The man wanted to eat meat.’

b. Raised form

/λ'ø-m λø(-)y-ø-šñø-f'af'ø-aγ-š/ ([λiyf'šñif'ef'á·š], [λi·šñif'ef'á·š])  
 man-obl meat(-)3-non pres-eat-want-past-aff  
 ‘The man wanted to eat meat.’

### 6.16 Negation

Negation has been largely treated in §4.2.5.3. The negative pronoun has been declined in §3.3.6. Negative sentences have the same order of constituents and the same case-marking as positive ones.

**6.16.1 Double Negatives** Double negatives can occur, giving a strong negative. This places Kabardian among a huge majority of languages (including many dialects of English) in which negation has an emotive, non-logical semantics.

## (327) Double negative

/k'ə-m zə-r-əy ø-q'a-y-ə-šxə-aγ-q'm/ ([q'i·šxá·q'em])

man-obl one-abs-even 3-hor-3-non pres-eat-past-not

'The man ate nothing.' or

'The man did not eat anything.'

**6.16.2 Privatives** Privatives are formed by means of the suffixes /-nša/ 'without' or /-ša/ 'defective, lacking' appended to the term denoting the missing element or matter. The use of these suffixes has been covered in §5.2.5 (246n, o). The order of constituents and case-marking is the same as in ordinary positives.

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## Appendix A

### *Analysed Text*

In the following I give the whole text phonemicised at a fairly surface level, so that apart from zero morphemes the page can be read off. Deep structure is provided, word for word, in the following analysis pages. I depart from the rest of the book only in that I gloss the morphemes for third person according to their actual referents, that is to say ‘his,’ ‘her,’ ‘she,’ and so forth with the sole exception of /-y-ah-/ which is still -3-pl-. In this way the reader can keep track of the references of the pronouns and indices. Likewise, I have glossed the verb ‘to move’ either as ‘come’ or ‘go’ in order to help the reader.

The text is intended to give the reader a direct acquaintance with Kabardian as a medium of communication and not merely as an abstract grammatical system. No matter how thorough or careful a grammar, a well-analysed text can go much further in providing a grasp of a language and no grammar is complete without one. The astute reader will find many phenomena even in this short text that are not in this or any other grammar of the language.

The present text is one of the so-called “Nart Sagas” (original from Hadaghat’la 1968, vol. 1: 263–65, no. 76). It is from a corpus of old myths which show fascinating parallels outside the Caucasus (Colarusso 1982; 1989). This particular myth is the only one in the corpus involving the world tree. It is not only beautiful in its own right, but fascinating from the standpoints both of grammar and comparative mythology.

To avoid the impression of excessive clutter on the page, I have offset all punctuation, save commas, by one space.

[1] <sup>1</sup>λáps-<sup>2</sup>ra <sup>3</sup>žəg-<sup>4</sup>g<sup>5</sup>áaša-<sup>6</sup>m-<sup>7</sup>ra

[2] <sup>1</sup>náhrt-ha-<sup>2</sup>r <sup>3</sup>ø-zə-<sup>4</sup>ñ<sup>5</sup>á-y <sup>6</sup>psa-w <sup>7</sup>ø-y-ah-<sup>8</sup>ñ<sup>9</sup>-ø-y-<sup>10</sup>s'-r-éy <sup>11</sup>λapš <sup>12</sup>ø-y-ø-s'á-n <sup>13</sup>ø-y-  
ø-mø-y<sup>14</sup>até-žə-w <sup>15</sup>ø-q'a-à-n+a-r-éy <sup>16</sup>ø-zaš <sup>17</sup>ø-ñ<sup>18</sup>-ah-s . [3] <sup>1</sup>ø-ø-<sup>2</sup>ñ<sup>3</sup>a-mø-<sup>4</sup>šak'-é-ž  
<sup>5</sup>ø-ø-sé-ñ<sup>6</sup>e-m, <sup>7</sup>satanay-g<sup>8</sup>áaša-<sup>9</sup>m <sup>10</sup>ø-dayž <sup>11</sup>ø-k<sup>12</sup>''+a-r-éy <sup>13</sup>ø-y-a-<sup>14</sup>λa-?''-ah-s .

[4] “<sup>1</sup>satanay-g<sup>”</sup>áasha, <sup>2</sup>s-a-w-záš, <sup>3</sup>ø-s-s’á-n ‘ø-z-y<sup>”</sup>até-r-q’ém . [5] <sup>1</sup>s-ey-q’ahréw-ér <sup>2</sup>ø-z-a-s-ha+λ’+á-n <sup>3</sup>ø-sé-mo-y<sup>”</sup>até-w, <sup>4</sup>y<sup>”</sup>éš’é-w <sup>5</sup>ø-s-éy-?a-r ‘ø-sé-wé+p’as’-áh-ś . [6] <sup>1</sup>g<sup>”</sup>á+a+s+a-w <sup>2</sup>ø-sé-?a-m <sup>3</sup>wa ‘naž-ra <sup>5</sup>naž <sup>6</sup>”r’éš <sup>7</sup>ø-y-ah-ħa-mo-t-éw <sup>8</sup>ø-ž-y-áh-?a, <sup>9</sup>ø-s-s’á-n <sup>10</sup>ø-q’ø-s-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-ø-g<sup>”</sup>e+psés !” “ø-ž-ø-y-?a-r-éy .

[7] “<sup>1</sup>sø-t <sup>2</sup>ø-q’ø-ø-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-z-g<sup>”</sup>e+psésé-n ? “<sup>3</sup>ø-g<sup>”</sup>e+zav-áh-ś ‘satanay-g<sup>”</sup>áasha, “<sup>5</sup>náhrt-ha <sup>7</sup>?áša <sup>8</sup>ø-ø-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-yø-m ‘ø-y-ah-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-p-s’-áh-ś, <sup>9</sup>náhrt-ha <sup>10</sup>y<sup>”</sup>ebža “ø-ø-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-yø-m <sup>12</sup> ø-y-ah-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-p-s’-áh-ś . [8] <sup>1</sup>c’éħ<sup>”</sup> <sup>2</sup>ø-zø-ħ<sup>”</sup>á-y <sup>3</sup>psa-w-r-éy ‘ø-p-s’-áh-ś . [9] <sup>1</sup>yé-g<sup>”</sup>e <sup>2</sup>ø-y-a-w-éy <sup>3</sup>ø-y-a-ž-éy ‘dewnay ‘ø-q’ø-ø-k<sup>”</sup>e+ħ, <sup>6</sup>a-d-rá-y ‘c’óħ<sup>”</sup>-ha-r <sup>8</sup>ø-z-a-rø-psá+wø-r <sup>9</sup>ø-z-a-ø-ya-ħláay<sup>”</sup>-éy <sup>10</sup>náhrt-ha <sup>11</sup>š’á+nó+ya <sup>12</sup>ø-q’-ø-ah-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-ø-ħ . [10] <sup>1</sup>tha-m <sup>2</sup>wø-q’-ø-y-mø-wø+žay<sup>”</sup>e-ž-áh-ma <sup>3</sup>zø-g<sup>”</sup>ár ‘ø-q’ø-b-y<sup>”</sup>até-n-ś .”

[11] “<sup>1</sup>dewnay-r <sup>2</sup>ø-q’ø-s-k<sup>”</sup>e+ħé-n <sup>3</sup>šhá-k<sup>”</sup>a <sup>4</sup>sø-t <sup>5</sup>sø-ø-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-yø-né-w !”

[12] “<sup>1</sup>z-ey-k<sup>”</sup> <sup>2</sup>wø-zø-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-yø-šħ<sup>”</sup>a <sup>3</sup>ø-ø-šø-wøva-q’ém . [13] ‘ø-mø-λaža-ná-w <sup>2</sup>zø-fa-yø-λ+ħá-y<sup>”</sup>a <sup>3</sup>ø-z-a-ø-ya-paš-éy ‘ø-y-á-ža . [14] ‘maš <sup>2</sup>ø-zø-s’á-n <sup>3</sup>f’ø-wa ‘wø-q’-a-y-ħláay<sup>”</sup>, <sup>5</sup>?aš ‘ø-zø-ya-ħ<sup>”</sup>e-r <sup>7</sup>w-ey-nøbžá+γ<sup>”</sup>e-ś, <sup>8</sup>á-bø-ha-m <sup>9</sup>šhá-k<sup>”</sup>a <sup>10</sup>w-ø-ah-ya-ħá-a-nø-q’ém .”

[15] <sup>1</sup>ħapš <sup>2</sup>ø-y-a-wøvà+a+λ’+a-r-éy <sup>3</sup>naž <sup>4</sup>žer-bøda-déda-m <sup>5</sup>ø-q’ø-ø-ħ-ø-y-ħ-r-éy ‘žer <sup>7</sup>váaq’ø ‘ø-y-ø-s’-r-éy <sup>9</sup>a-r <sup>10</sup>ø-za-s’á-λ-éw <sup>11</sup>ø-y-a-ž-áh-ś . [16] <sup>1</sup>ħapš <sup>2</sup>a-b-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-d-éy-z-k<sup>”</sup>a <sup>3</sup>psénša-w ‘ø-k<sup>”</sup>+a-r-t-éy <sup>5</sup>zø-máaza-y<sup>”</sup>a+g<sup>”</sup>-er <sup>6</sup>zø-máaħ<sup>”</sup>a-m ‘ø-y-ø-k<sup>”</sup>e-r-t, <sup>8</sup>zø-yø-ħás <sup>9</sup>y<sup>”</sup>á+g<sup>”</sup>-er <sup>10</sup>zø-máaza-m <sup>11</sup>ø-y-ø-k<sup>”</sup>e-r-t; <sup>12</sup>q<sup>”</sup>ərs <sup>13</sup>ø-ø-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-z+a-m <sup>14</sup>ø-y-a-bøaq<sup>”</sup>a-r-t, <sup>15</sup>psø <sup>16</sup>ø-ø-ħ<sup>”</sup>á-z+a-m <sup>17</sup>ø-y-a-ħá-r-t . [17] <sup>1</sup>k<sup>”</sup>+a-m-ħá+y-m <sup>2</sup>k<sup>”</sup>+a-m-ħá+y-wø-ra <sup>3</sup>ps-ey-bλ ‘ø-za-p-ø-y-wøp’s’-r-éy ‘tayng’éz <sup>7</sup>ø-ø-?e-ħ-áh-ś . [18] <sup>1</sup>žəg-éy-śa ‘ø-q’ø-ø-r-ey-k<sup>”</sup>ś, <sup>3</sup>ø-y-ø-wøħ<sup>”</sup>á+n+s’-e-ś, <sup>4</sup>ø-z-a-r-ø-y-pħ-r-éy ‘ħə-m ‘ø-ø-t-ø-r-ø-y-ya-ħad-áh-ś, <sup>7</sup>yáz-ər ‘á-bø ‘ø-ø-t-a-y-wøva-m-r-éy <sup>10</sup>tayng’éz-əm ‘ø-yø-k<sup>”</sup>-áh-ś . [19] ‘ø-za-r-ø-y-k<sup>”</sup>-éw <sup>2</sup>psø <sup>3</sup>?e-ø-fa-m ‘ø-g’ag<sup>”</sup>-éw ‘ø-ø-?e-s-éw ‘ø-yø-r-ø-y-ħa+λ’-áh-ś <sup>7</sup>ħəg’á-bz ‘g<sup>”</sup>əp, <sup>9</sup>ná-a-bȝa <sup>10</sup>ø-zø-t-á-y-ħ-əm ‘ø-y-ah-naž <sup>12</sup>dáaħa-ha-w . [20] <sup>1</sup>ħapš <sup>2</sup>zánša-w <sup>3</sup>ħašeq<sup>”</sup> ‘ø-y-ah-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-x-ħ-áh-ś <sup>5</sup>á-bø-ha-m, <sup>6</sup>áwa <sup>7</sup>ø-y-á-pħ<sup>”</sup>a <sup>8</sup>ø-pat-m-éy <sup>9</sup>zø-r-éy <sup>10</sup>ø-q’-ø-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-wø+bød-ah-q’ém, <sup>11</sup>a-b-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-d-éy-z-k<sup>”</sup>a <sup>12</sup>ø-c’ħaaħa-ha-t-éy <sup>13</sup>ø-?a-s’-a-castø-ħé-r-t . [21] ‘ø-yø-r-ø-y-ħ<sup>”</sup>e+ħa-r-éy <sup>2</sup>ø-y-ah-ś-a-rø-ħ-ah-q’ém . [22] <sup>1</sup>yø-t’á-a-na <sup>2</sup>ø-ø-ħa+ħ<sup>”</sup>-áh-ś :

[23] “<sup>1</sup>tha-r <sup>2</sup>ø-fø-z-a-w-ya-ħá+ħ, <sup>3</sup>føz-ey-s’-ər ‘ø-q’ø-z-žé-f-?a . [24] ‘fa <sup>2</sup>ø-f-ħ<sup>”</sup>á-da <sup>3</sup>s-ey-nøbžé-m ‘ø-s-ħay<sup>”</sup>-ah-q’ém . [25] ‘sa <sup>2</sup>ø-s-ħay<sup>”</sup>-áh-m <sup>3</sup>ħatér ‘ø-q’ø-s-ħ<sup>”</sup>a-z-mø-s’-áh ‘ø-q’-ø-ah-ħa-k<sup>”</sup>-ah-q’ém, ” “ø-ž-ø-y-?a-r-éy .

[26] “<sup>1</sup>žəg̊-g̊’ááša-m <sup>2</sup>də-ø-r-ey-tha-?”<sup>3</sup>ø-ž̊-d-s, ”<sup>3</sup>ø-ž̊-ø-ah-?áh-ś <sup>4</sup>žəg̊’á-bz  
’g̊’ep-éom . [27] “<sup>1</sup>d-ey-g̊’ááša-m <sup>2</sup>ø-wənə-ž̊-a-y-blá+a+ya-m <sup>3</sup>w-ey-hatər-ey  
’ø-q’-ø-y-ž̊áay-’én-s .”

[28] “<sup>1</sup>ø-na-a-k”+a, <sup>2</sup>sé-f-š+a, ”<sup>3</sup>ø-ž̊-ø-y-?a-r-ey <sup>4</sup>žapš <sup>5</sup>tha-?”<sup>6</sup>ø-ž̊-é+d-ha-m <sup>6</sup>ø-  
y-ah-wəž <sup>7</sup>ø-yə-wəva-r-ey <sup>8</sup>ø-k”-ah-s . [29] <sup>1</sup>ø-na-s-ma, <sup>2</sup>ø-žəg̊-v-a-r-ø-ah-mə-  
sá-ž <sup>3</sup>ø-šə-t-s, <sup>4</sup>ø-žəg̊-øw-ey <sup>5</sup>ø-mə-žəg̊-éw, <sup>6</sup>ø-c’éž̊-øw-ey <sup>7</sup>ø-mə-c’éž̊-éw, <sup>8</sup>z-  
ey-š̊-s-er <sup>9</sup>ø-q’ø-p-ž̊a-mə-š̊a-ná-w . [30] <sup>1</sup>ø-yə-ž̊á+a+bzá-r <sup>2</sup>k”-wa <sup>3</sup>š̊-m <sup>4</sup>ø-  
ø-ž̊á-t-øw, <sup>5</sup>ø-yə-šhá+cə-r <sup>6</sup>pša-m <sup>7</sup>ø-ø-ž̊á-da-w <sup>8</sup>wá-g”-éom <sup>9</sup>ø-ø-yø-t-øw, <sup>10</sup>ø-  
yø-?ey-t’ø-r <sup>11</sup>c’éž̊-?a-w, <sup>12</sup>ø-yø-ná+k”-ø-r <sup>13</sup>dáaž̊a-m <sup>14</sup>ø-y-ah-naž̊ <sup>15</sup>dáaž̊a-w,  
<sup>16</sup>déša-m-ra <sup>17</sup>déžén-øm-ra <sup>18</sup>ø-q’ø-ž̊a-s’ø+k”a-hø-wa . [31] <sup>1</sup>žəg̊-g̊’ááša-m <sup>2</sup>žapš  
’ø-q’ø-ø-ž̊-ø-g”-ø+f’ø+k”-r-ey <sup>3</sup>ø-yø-r-ø-y-ya-blá+a+y-áh-s, <sup>4</sup>ø-y-ø-yá-a-šž̊+a-s,  
’ø-yø-r-ø-y-ya-a-f+a-r-ey <sup>5</sup>ø-y-ø-yá-y”a+ž̊a-ž̊-áh-s . [32] <sup>1</sup>žaš̊-ø-bøø-m <sup>2</sup>žapš  
’ø-q’ø-a-wøš-r-ey “<sup>3</sup>ø-zø-z-yá-y”át <sup>4</sup>ø-ø-ž̊-ø-y-?a-r-ey <sup>5</sup>ø-p-ø-y-wø+bød-áh-s .

[33] “<sup>1</sup>dá+a+w+a <sup>2</sup>ø-ž̊-ø-n,” <sup>3</sup>ø-y-ø-d-ah-q’éom <sup>4</sup>žəg̊-g̊’ááša-m,” <sup>5</sup>sa <sup>6</sup>sø-g̊’ááša-s,  
’c’éž̊-c’ék” <sup>7</sup>yø-g”ø-r-ey <sup>8</sup>ø-q’ø-a-s <sup>9</sup>ø-q’ø-s-ž̊a+?a+s-ah-q’éom .”

[34] “<sup>1</sup>sa <sup>2</sup>tha-m <sup>3</sup>s-ø-ah-š̊-s, ”<sup>4</sup>ø-ž̊-ø-y-?a-s <sup>5</sup>žapš-ey <sup>6</sup>ø-tagø-r-ey <sup>7</sup>ž̊-ø+y”a-  
føz+ø+y”a <sup>8</sup>ø-yø-r-ø-y-ž̊-áh-s .

[35] <sup>1</sup>g̊’ááša-m <sup>2</sup>a-r <sup>3</sup>ø-yø-g” <sup>4</sup>ø-yø-r-ø-y-ž̊-r-ey <sup>5</sup>žápš-éom <sup>6</sup>ø-q’ø-a-y-ž̊a-?”-áh-s  
”<sup>7</sup>wø-mø-k”+a-ž̊-w <sup>8</sup>ø-q’ø-a-n+a,” <sup>9</sup>ø-ž̊-ø-y-?a-r-ey .

[36] “<sup>1</sup>háwa, <sup>2</sup>ø-ž̊-ø-nø-w-q’éom <sup>3</sup>s-ø-ah-q’á-a-n+a,” <sup>4</sup>ø-y-ø-d-ah-q’éom <sup>5</sup>žapš,  
”<sup>6</sup>sa <sup>7</sup>s’ø-m <sup>8</sup>ø-yø-y”éna-r <sup>9</sup>ø-q’ø-a-z-y”atø-w <sup>10</sup>náhrt-ha-m <sup>11</sup>s’ø+nø+yø <sup>12</sup>ø-y-ah-  
ž̊-a-s-ž̊-n <sup>13</sup>ø-ø-ž̊a-y-s .

[37] “<sup>1</sup>wø-šø-mø-w+a, <sup>2</sup>žapš, — <sup>3</sup>s’ø-nø+yø <sup>4</sup>wø-ø-ž̊á-y-m <sup>5</sup>sa <sup>6</sup>ø-w-a-s-tø-n-s,  
”<sup>7</sup>sa <sup>8</sup>s-ø-y-ž̊á+a+bzá-r <sup>9</sup>s’ø-m <sup>10</sup>ø-ø-ž̊a-t-s, <sup>11</sup>s’ø-m <sup>12</sup>ø-ø-s’ø-λ <sup>13</sup>psa-w-r-ey <sup>14</sup>ø-s-á-  
w-s’ø-a, <sup>15</sup>s-ø-y-žhá+cə-r <sup>16</sup>wá+g”-éom <sup>17</sup>ø-ø-yø-t-s-ey <sup>18</sup>wá+a+fa-m <sup>19</sup>ø-ø-yø-t  
øpsa+w-r-ey <sup>21</sup>ø-s-á-w-s’ø-a . [38] <sup>1</sup>s’ø-m <sup>2</sup>y”éna <sup>3</sup>ø-ø-yø-?a-q’éom,” <sup>4</sup>ø-yø-f’ø+s <sup>5</sup>ø-  
ž̊-ah-q’éom <sup>6</sup>žapš .

[39] “<sup>1</sup>s’ø-m <sup>2</sup>ø-ø-f’ø-a-k”-áh <sup>3</sup>y”éna <sup>4</sup>ø-z-ø-y-mé-?a <sup>5</sup>ø-šø-?a-q’éom, <sup>6</sup>w-a-y-mé-ža .  
[40] <sup>1</sup>sa <sup>2</sup>wá+g”-éom <sup>3</sup>ø-ø-yø-t <sup>4</sup>váay”a-ha-r <sup>5</sup>ø-w-a-z-yø-c’éž̊-é-n-s, <sup>6</sup>s’ø-m <sup>7</sup>ø-ø-  
s’ø-a-λ <sup>8</sup>psa+w-r-ey <sup>9</sup>w-ey-?a-m-é-s’ø-a <sup>10</sup>ø-ø-yø-s-ž̊+ž̊-n-s, <sup>11</sup>s’ø-žhá+fa-m <sup>12</sup>ø-ø-t-  
a-y-t-r-ey <sup>13</sup>ø-w-a-s-tø-n-ø-s .”

[41] <sup>1</sup>á-r-šha-k<sup>v</sup>a <sup>2</sup>žəğ-g<sup>v</sup>áaša-m <sup>3</sup>ø-ž-é-y-?a-r <sup>4</sup>ø-y-e-f'a+ś <sup>5</sup>ø-mə-č<sup>v</sup>é-w, <sup>6</sup>čapś  
<sup>7</sup>ø-y-a-ža-ž-áh-ś . [42] <sup>1</sup>ø-y-e-váaq'a-r <sup>2</sup>ø-ø-λaažá-w <sup>3</sup>ø-y-e-čá+a+pa-m <sup>4</sup>ø-q'-ø-e-  
f'ač<sup>v</sup>a-ž-e-hé-w, <sup>5</sup>ø-y-e-baaše-r <sup>6</sup>ø-ø-λaažá-w <sup>7</sup>ø-y-e-?a-m-é-ś'a-m <sup>8</sup>ø-q'-ø-e-  
mešé-ž <sup>9</sup>ø-č<sup>v</sup>e-hé-w, <sup>10</sup>ø-y-e-pé?a-r <sup>11</sup>wəná-čč<sup>v</sup>e-m <sup>12</sup>ø-y-e-č-hé-w <sup>13</sup>ø-y-e-pša-m  
<sup>14</sup>wardéč<sup>v</sup>e-w <sup>15</sup>ø-q'-ø-e-f'ač<sup>v</sup>e-ž-e-hé-w <sup>16</sup>ø-q'-ø-y-k<sup>v</sup>e+ħ-r-éy <sup>17</sup>č'e-m <sup>18</sup>ø-y-e-  
y<sup>v</sup>éna-r <sup>19</sup>ø-y-e-y<sup>v</sup>at-ah-q'ém . [43] <sup>1</sup>ø-q'-ø-y-ya-z+a-ž-r-éy <sup>2</sup>žəğ-g<sup>v</sup>áaša-m <sup>3</sup>ø-  
dayž <sup>4</sup>ø-q'-a-y-k<sup>v</sup>+a+č<sup>v</sup>+a-ž-áh-ś .

[44] “ <sup>1</sup>ø-q'a-b-y<sup>v</sup>at-áh <sup>2</sup>č'e-m <sup>3</sup>ø-y-e-y<sup>v</sup>éna-r ? ” <sup>4</sup>ø-q'-a-y-wəp's'-áh-ś <sup>5</sup>žəğ-  
g<sup>v</sup>áaša-r .

[45] “ <sup>1</sup>ħáwa . ”

[46] “ <sup>1</sup>áť'a <sup>2</sup>sə-t <sup>3</sup>ø-q'a-b-y<sup>v</sup>at-áh ? ”

[47] “ <sup>1</sup>zə-r-éy-k<sup>v</sup> . ”

[48] “ <sup>1</sup>áť'a <sup>2</sup>sə-t <sup>3</sup>ø-z-a-b-ya-ś'-áh ? ”

[49] “ <sup>1</sup>č'e-m <sup>2</sup>y<sup>v</sup>éna <sup>3</sup>ø-z-a-r-ø-y-e-mə-?a-r <sup>4</sup>ø-z-a-z-ya-ś'-áh-ś . ”

[50] “ <sup>1</sup>yə-t'á-a-na <sup>2</sup>ša ? ”

[51] “ <sup>1</sup>c'čč<sup>v</sup>-əm <sup>2</sup>ø-y-e-?a+p'q'+čá+p'q'-ər <sup>3</sup>y<sup>v</sup>éš'e-m <sup>4</sup>náč-ra <sup>5</sup>z-a-rə-náč-ra  
“báda-r <sup>6</sup>ø-z-a-z-ya-ś'-áh-ś . ”

[52] “ <sup>1</sup>yə-t'á-a-na <sup>2</sup>ša ? ”

[53] “ <sup>1</sup>z-éy <sup>2</sup>záaq<sup>v</sup>a <sup>3</sup>ø-y<sup>v</sup>a+g<sup>v</sup>e-ré-k<sup>v</sup>+a-m <sup>4</sup>náč-ra <sup>5</sup>nač <sup>6</sup>g<sup>v</sup>e-y<sup>v</sup> <sup>7</sup>ø-z-a-rə-ø-šə-  
mə-?a-r <sup>8</sup>ø-z-a-z-ya-ś'-áh-ś . ”

[54] “ <sup>1</sup>a+psa+w-r-éy <sup>2</sup>čahrzéna-ś, ” <sup>3</sup>ø-ž-ø-y-?áh-ś <sup>4</sup>žəğ-g<sup>v</sup>áaša-m . [55] “ <sup>1</sup>awa  
<sup>2</sup>náhrt-ha-r <sup>3</sup>ø-y-e-r-éy-psa+wə-né-w <sup>4</sup>sə-t <sup>5</sup>ø-q'-ø-ah-č<sup>v</sup>e-p-ś'-áh, <sup>6</sup>sə-t <sup>7</sup>ø-q'-ø-  
ah-č<sup>v</sup>a-b-y<sup>v</sup>at-áh ? ”

[56] “ <sup>1</sup>zə-r-éy-k<sup>v</sup> . ”

[57] “ <sup>1</sup>áť'a <sup>2</sup>čá-bə <sup>3</sup>šħá-k<sup>v</sup>a <sup>4</sup>ø-q'-ś'a-p-k<sup>v</sup>e+ħé-n <sup>5</sup>ø-šə-?ah-q'ém . [58] <sup>1</sup>sa <sup>2</sup>ø-žə-

s-?‑áh‑m 'wə‑q'a‑y‑a‑?‑áh‑wa 'ø‑šé‑t‑áh‑m, 'f‑ay‑λá+ p'q‑ør 'ø‑psa+ wə‑hó‑w  
'ø‑y‑ah‑λ̄a‑mø‑wəλ̄é‑n 's'a+ né+ ya‑w 'ø‑w‑a‑s‑té‑n‑t. [59] 'náhrt‑ha‑r 'fø‑c‑éλ̄  
'yərəs‑s, 'fø‑pà+a+λ̄a+ a+ša‑s. [60] 'á‑bø 'fø‑ø‑t‑a‑y‑k‑"+a+da‑žø‑n‑s. [61] 'áwa  
'qá‑a‑n‑a‑r 'ø‑y‑r‑ay‑psa+ wə‑né‑w 'm‑ay‑s 'mø‑r 'ø‑fø‑z‑á‑w‑t, 'ø‑ž‑ø‑y‑?‑a‑  
‑r‑ay 'λaps 'zə‑sahbøy 'døya 'ø‑q‑ø‑?‑a+š‑ø‑y‑λ‑+h‑áh‑s. [62] " 'mø‑r 'wa 'w‑  
‑ay‑q‑a‑m 'ø‑z‑da‑h‑ž. [63] 'sa 's'a+ né+ ya‑ra 'ø‑s‑a+λ‑a+ ya‑w 'ø‑s‑ay‑?‑a‑r 'á‑  
‑bø 'ø‑ø‑λ‑a‑s‑λ‑+h‑áh‑s. [64] 'ø‑q‑a‑λ‑ø‑ma 'ø‑z‑a‑r‑ø‑x 'ø‑f‑λ‑aag‑‑ø‑n‑q‑a ?"

[65] *'λaps<sup>2</sup>sahbáy-ot<sup>3</sup>ø-q'-e-y-h-r-éy<sup>4</sup>ø-q'a-k<sup>5</sup>w+a-ž-áh-s*. [66] *'psáaλa-w<sup>2</sup>ø-y-e-bza-r<sup>3</sup>ø-q'-e-s-e-y-w-a+t'érské-m<sup>6</sup>'náhrt-ha-m<sup>7</sup>ø-q'-ø-ah-ž-e-r-e-y-?áh-s*.

[67] “<sup>1</sup>m-aw <sup>2</sup>wá+a+fa-m <sup>3</sup>ø-ø-yə-t <sup>4</sup>šə+χʷə-λá+a+yʷa-r <sup>5</sup>ø-f-λáayʷ-ə-ra ?”

[68] “<sup>1</sup>ø-d-a-w-λáay”.”

[69] \*<sup>1</sup>á'ta <sup>2</sup>z-a-y-k<sup>\*w</sup>-a <sup>3</sup>fə-ø-šə-k<sup>w</sup>+á-k<sup>y</sup>a, <sup>4</sup>fə-q<sup>\*</sup>e-ø-šə-k<sup>w</sup>+á-ž-k<sup>y</sup>a <sup>5</sup>a-r <sup>6</sup>ø-fə-mə-ya-γ<sup>w</sup>áša-ma, <sup>7</sup>fa-r-éy <sup>8</sup>fə-γ<sup>w</sup>áša-n-q'ém, "ø-ž-e-y-?a-r-éy.

[70] <sup>1</sup>‘aλəħ-ħ-aλəħ, <sup>2</sup>mə-r <sup>3</sup>ø-qá-ħ<sup>4</sup>ə-ma ‘zə-baləħ-ər <sup>5</sup>ø-q<sup>6</sup>-ə-y-g<sup>7</sup>ə+psəsá-n-ð,  
 ‘mə-r <sup>8</sup>ø-ø-ħ<sup>9</sup>a-sääq<sup>10</sup>-w <sup>11</sup>pə-n <sup>12</sup>ø-ø-ħ<sup>13</sup>a-y-ð, <sup>14</sup>ø-ž-ø-ah-ħa-r-áy <sup>15</sup>fəz-éy-bλ <sup>16</sup>ø-  
 bγ<sup>17</sup>a-d-ø-ah-ya-wəv-áh-ð <sup>18</sup>ø-y-ah-pə-ná-w, <sup>19</sup>ø-ø-k<sup>20</sup>a-ħə-pħə-ná-w.

[71] 'á-r-šha-k<sup>v</sup>a <sup>2</sup>zə-máañ<sup>v</sup>"a-g<sup>v</sup>"ar-əm [fəz-ha-m] "sahbey-ər <sup>3</sup>ø-[ø-ah]-da-k<sup>v</sup>"+a+sə-k<sup>v</sup>-r-éy <sup>4</sup>ø-g<sup>v</sup>ag<sup>v</sup>é-wə-ra <sup>7</sup>ø-y<sup>v</sup>"aaşa-r-éy <sup>8</sup>ø-k<sup>v</sup>"+a+d-áh-s . [72] fəz-ha-m <sup>2</sup>sahbey-ər <sup>3</sup>ø-y-ah-g<sup>v</sup> <sup>4</sup>ø-yə-r-ø-ah-mə-yá-a-S'a-w <sup>5</sup>ø-z-a-bğə-re-ž-ha-r-éy <sup>6</sup>ø-ø-λə-x<sup>v</sup>-áh-s , <sup>7</sup>á-r-šha-k<sup>v</sup>a <sup>8</sup>ø-y-ah-y<sup>v</sup>"etə-ž-ah-q'əm .

[73] <sup>1</sup>ø-q-a-χ<sup>w</sup>-áh-r <sup>2</sup>náhrt-ha-m <sup>3</sup>ø-q'-e-s-ø-áh-s'a-m <sup>4</sup>ø-š-a-s-ha-r-éy <sup>5</sup>ø-ø-λə-χ<sup>w</sup>-áh-k<sup>w</sup>a <sup>6</sup>ø-y-a-ž-áh-s . [74] <sup>1</sup>ø-ø-χ<sup>w</sup>a-z-áh-ra <sup>2</sup>ø-zə-λay<sup>w</sup>-áh-r <sup>3</sup>ø-q'-ø-ah-y<sup>w</sup>at <sup>4</sup>ø-mə-χ<sup>w</sup>é-ma, <sup>5</sup>váz-ér <sup>6</sup>ø-y-ah-y<sup>w</sup>at-e-ž-ah-q'ém .

[75] "ø-y-e-há-na-m <sup>2</sup>ø-dayz <sup>3</sup>ø-k" + a-ž-áh "ø-x" e-n-s, "ø-ž-ø-ah-?a-r-éy <sup>ø</sup>apš  
 "ø-y-ah-va-k" - áh-s. [76] 'áwa <sup>2</sup>sahbóv-er <sup>3</sup>á-be "ø-k" + a-ž-ah-ta-q'ém.

[77] “<sup>1</sup>sə-t<sup>2</sup>θ̥-t<sup>3</sup>š'a-né-w, <sup>3</sup>sə-t<sup>4</sup>d-əy-?amáaλ ?”<sup>5</sup>θ̥-y-a-wəp's'-áh-s<sup>6</sup>á-bə<sup>7</sup>λap̥s .

[78] <sup>1</sup>zə-?amālaλ-éy <sup>2</sup>ø-ø-yə-?a-q'ém. [79] <sup>1</sup>yə-zamáhn-ər <sup>2</sup>ø-q'á-s-ma, <sup>3</sup>yáz-əm <sup>4</sup>ø-q'-ə-y-va-z+a-žə-n-š. [80] <sup>1</sup>awa <sup>2</sup>ø-q'á-š-ə-y-va-z+a-žə-né-w-ər <sup>3</sup>tha-m-

<sup>1</sup>ø-y-á-š'a . [81] <sup>1</sup>fø-psa+wø-wa <sup>2</sup>ø-q'a-k" +á-ž-ma, <sup>3</sup>f-ey <sup>4</sup>nahsép-š; <sup>5</sup>ø-q'a-mø-k" +á-ž-ma, <sup>6</sup>f-ey <sup>7</sup>baλəħ-š-éy, <sup>8</sup>á-bə <sup>9</sup>fø-ø-t-a-y-k" +a+da-žé-n-š," <sup>10</sup>ø-q'ø-ø-žə-r-ø-y-ʔ-áh-š .

[82] <sup>1</sup>λapš <sup>2</sup>ø-yø-šha-r <sup>3</sup>ø-ø-f'a-ħ"-áh-wa <sup>4</sup>ø-q'a-k" +a-ž-áh-š .

### Underlying Forms

[1] <sup>1</sup>/λápš-ra/ Tlepsh (god of the forge)(henceforth Tl)-and; <sup>2</sup>/žəħ-g"áaša-m-ra/ tree-princess, lady-obl-and.

[2] <sup>1</sup>/náhrt-ha-r/ Nart (race of heroes)(henceforth Nt)-pl-abs; <sup>2</sup>/ø-zə-ħ"á-y/ it-which-for-need; <sup>3</sup>/psa-w/ life-adj= alive; <sup>4</sup>/ø-y-ah-ħ"a-y-ø-šø-øy-éy/ it-3-pl-for-he-non pres-do-even-and (this text uses /-øy-éy/ (/røy/) as a rhetorical ‘and’); <sup>5</sup>/λapš/ Tl; <sup>6</sup>/ø-y-ø-š'a-n/ it-he-non pres-know-inf; <sup>7</sup>/ø-y-ø-mø-y"atə-žə-w/ it-he-non pres-not-find-finally-that; <sup>8</sup>/ø-q'a-à-n+a-øy-éy/ he-hor-dat-remain+in-even-and; <sup>9</sup>/ø-zaš/ he-yearn; <sup>10</sup>/ø-ħ"-a-y-š/ it-happen-past-aff (note /-ay-/ → /-ah-/).

[3] <sup>1</sup>/ø-ø-ħ"a-mø-šak'ø-ž/ he-it-for-not-endure-finally; <sup>2</sup>/ø-ø-šø-ħ"ø-m/ it-him-deixis-happen-adv = ‘it happen to him; <sup>3</sup>/satanay-g"áaša-m/ Satanaya (all-knowing heroine)(henceforth S)-princess, lady-obl; <sup>4</sup>/ø-dayž/ her-near; <sup>5</sup>/ø-k"ø+a-øy-éy/ he-go+intr-even-and; <sup>6</sup>/ø-y-a-ħa-ʔ'a-áy-š/ he-her-dat-after-say-past-aff = he asked her for something.

[4] <sup>1</sup>/satanay-g"áaša/ S-princess; <sup>2</sup>/s-a-w-záš/ I-pres-prog-yearn; <sup>3</sup>/ø-s-š'a-n/ it-I-know-inf; <sup>4</sup>/ø-s-y"atə-r-q'øm/ it-I-find-pres-not.

[5] <sup>1</sup>/s-øy-q'ahréw-ər/ my-poss-strength-abs; <sup>2</sup>/ø-z-a-s-ħa+ħ'+á-n/ it-self-dat-I-carry+near+in-inf; <sup>3</sup>/ø-sø-mø-y"atə-w/ it-I-not-find-that; <sup>4</sup>/ħ"éšø-w/ iron-pred; <sup>5</sup>/ø-s-øy-ʔa-r/ it-I-poss-have-abs; <sup>6</sup>/ø-sø-wø+p'aš'-áy-š/ it-I-val+flatten-past-aff = I have flattened it out completely.

[6] <sup>1</sup>/g"á+a+š+a-w/ heart-conn-lead-dat-pred = generous; <sup>2</sup>/ø-šø-ʔa-m/ who-deixis-be-obl; <sup>3</sup>/wa/ you; <sup>4</sup>/náħ-ra/ more-adv; <sup>5</sup>/naħ/ than; <sup>6</sup>/ħ"øš/ clever; <sup>7</sup>/ø-y-ah-ħa-mø-t-øw/ he (she)-3-pl-among-not-stand-pred; <sup>8</sup>/ø-ž-y-áh-ʔa/ it-back-3-pl-say; <sup>9</sup>/ø-s-s-š'a-n/ it-I-know-inf; <sup>10</sup>/ø-q'ø-s-ħ"a-ø-g"ø+psøs/ it-hor-me-for-

you(imp)-heart+think = think (about) it for me <sup>11</sup>/ø-ž-y-ə-?a-əy-éy/ it-back-he-non pres-say-even-and.

[7] <sup>1</sup>/sə-t/ what-pro afrx ; <sup>2</sup>/ø-q'ə-ø-ñ"a-s-g"ə+psəsé-n/ what-hor-(you)-for-I-heart+ think-subj; <sup>3</sup>/ø-g"ə+zav-áy-ś/ she-heart+narrow-past-aff; <sup>4</sup>/satanay-g"áša/ S-princess; <sup>5</sup>/náhrt-ha/ Nt-pl; <sup>6</sup>/?áša/ weapons; <sup>7</sup>/ø-ø-ñ"á-yo-m/ they-it-for-need-obl; <sup>8</sup>/ø-y-ah-ñ"a-w-ś'-áy-ś/ it-3-pl-for-you-make-past-aff; <sup>9</sup>/náhrt-ha/ Nt-pl; <sup>10</sup>/y"ébža/ sickle; <sup>11</sup>/ø-ø-ñ"á-yə-m/ them-it-for-need-obl; <sup>12</sup>/ø-y-ah-ñ"a-w-ś'-áy-ś/ it-3-pl-for-you-make-past-aff.

[8] <sup>1</sup>/c'əñ"/ people; <sup>2</sup>/ø-zə-ñ"á-y/ they-what-for-need; <sup>3</sup>/psa-w-əy-éy/ life-adj-even-and; <sup>4</sup>/ø-w-ś'-áy-ś/ it-you-make-past-aff.

[9] <sup>1</sup>/yé-g"ə/ gen-now; <sup>2</sup>/ø-y-a-w-áy/ you(imp)-dir-dat-hit (out)-and; <sup>3</sup>/ø-y-a-ž-éy/ you(imp)-dir-dat-start-and; <sup>4</sup>/dəwnáy/ world; <sup>5</sup>/ø-q'a-ø-k"ə+h/ it-hor-you(imp)-go+around; <sup>6</sup>/a-d-rá-y/ that-other-pro-and = and the other; <sup>7</sup>/c'əñ"-ha-r/ people-pl-abs; <sup>8</sup>/ø-z-a-rə-psá+wə-r/ they-how-dat-inst-life+adj-abs; <sup>9</sup>/ø-z-a-ø-ya-λàay"-éy/ it-self-dat-you(imp)-caus-see-and; <sup>10</sup>/náhrt-ha/ Nt-pl; <sup>11</sup>/š'a+né+yə/ know+inf+ness = knowledge; <sup>12</sup>/ø-q'-ø-ah-ñ"á-ø-h/ it-hither-3-pl-for-you(imp)-bring.

[10] <sup>1</sup>/tha-m/ god-obl; <sup>2</sup>/wə-q'a-y-ə-mə-wə+žay"-ə-ž-áy-ma/ you-hor-he-non pres-not-val+find odious-finally-past-if (unexpected past tense form); <sup>3</sup>/zə-g"ár/ one-certain = something; <sup>4</sup>/ø-q'a-w-γ"até-n-ś/ it-hor-you-find-subj-aff.

[11] <sup>1</sup>/dəwnay-r/ world-abs; <sup>2</sup>/ø-q'a-s-k"ə+hé-n/ it-hor-I-go+around-inf; <sup>3</sup>/šá-k"ə/ head-inst = at first; <sup>4</sup>/sə-t/ what-pro afrx; <sup>5</sup>/sə-ø-ñ"a-yə-né-w/ I-it-for-need-fut-def.

[12] <sup>1</sup>/z-əy-k"/ what-obl (archaic)-inst (note Bzhedukh West Circassian /a-/ 3-obl); <sup>2</sup>/wə-zə-ñ"a-yó-šñ"a/ you-what-for-need-greatly; <sup>3</sup>/ø-ø-šə-wəva-q'ém/ you(imp)-it-deixis-stop-not.

[13] <sup>1</sup>/ø-mə-λaža-ná-w/ you-not-work-subj(anomalous /a/)-pred; <sup>2</sup>/zə-fa-yə-λ+ħá+y"a/ one-skin-dir-lie+act+companion = clothes; <sup>3</sup>/ø-z-a-ø-ya-paš-éy/ it-self-dat-you(imp)-caus-form-and; <sup>4</sup>/ø-y-á-ža/ you(imp)-dir-dat-start.

[14] <sup>1</sup>/maš/ millet; <sup>2</sup>/ø-zə-ś'á-n/ it-who-make-inf; <sup>3</sup>/f'ə-wa/ good-adv; <sup>4</sup>/wə-q'a-y-a-ħáay"/ you-hor-he-pres-see; <sup>5</sup>/Raš/ cattle; <sup>6</sup>/ø-zə-yá-ñ"ə-r/ it-who-caus-

become-abs = who breeds them; <sup>7</sup>/w-əy-nəbžá+y"ə-š/ you-poss-coeval+companion-aff; <sup>8</sup>/á-bə-ha-m/ that-obl-pl-obl(pleonastic); <sup>9</sup>/šha-k"a/ head-inst = by this precondition (i.e., because); <sup>10</sup>/w-y-ah-ya-λ'a-nə-q'ém/ you-3-pl-let-die-fut-not.

[15] <sup>1</sup>/λapš/ Tl; <sup>2</sup>/ø-y-a-wəvà+a+λ'+a-əy-éy/ it-he-pres-stop+on+near+in-even-and; <sup>3</sup>/naλ/ (more) than (to); <sup>4</sup>/žər-bəda-dáda-m/ steel-hard-most-obl; <sup>5</sup>/ø-q'ə-ø-λə-y-ə-λ-əy-éy/ some-hor-it-among-he-non pres-take-even-and; <sup>6</sup>/žər/ steel; <sup>7</sup>/váaq'a/ shoe(s); <sup>8</sup>/ø-y-ə-š'-əy-éy/ them-he-non pres-make-even-and; <sup>9</sup>/a-r/ he-abs; <sup>10</sup>/ø-?a+s'a-λ-éw/ he-hand+inst-lie-that; <sup>11</sup>/ø-y-a-ž-áy-š/ he-dir-dat-go-past-aff.

[16] <sup>1</sup>/λapš/ Tl; <sup>2</sup>/a-b-λ"a-d-əy-z-k"a/ that-obl-for-be like-past part-while-inst = thus, in this way; <sup>3</sup>/psəns'a-w/ quick-adv; <sup>4</sup>/ø-k"ə+a-r-t-əy/ he-go+intr-distr-stand-and = and he went (durative past); <sup>5</sup>/zə-màaza-y"á+g"-ər/ one-forest-road+surf-abs; <sup>6</sup>/zə-máaaλ"a-m/ one-day-obl; <sup>7</sup>/ø-y-ə-k"ə-r-t/ it-he-non pres-go-distr-stand; <sup>8</sup>/zə-yə-λás/ one-gen-year; <sup>9</sup>/y"á+g"-ər/ road+surf-abs; <sup>10</sup>/zə-máaza-m/ one-forest-obl; <sup>11</sup>/ø-y-ə-k"ə-r-t/ it-he-non pres-go-distr-stand; <sup>12</sup>/q"-ərš/ cliff; <sup>13</sup>/ø-ø-λ"a-z+a-m/ he-it-for-turn+to-adv; <sup>14</sup>/ø-y-a-bàaq"á-r-t/ he-it-dat-stride-distr-stand; <sup>15</sup>/psə/ river; <sup>16</sup>/ø-ø-λ"a-z+a-m/ he-it-for-turn+to-adv; <sup>17</sup>/ø-y-a-λá-r-t/ he-it-dat-jump-distr-stand.

[17] <sup>1</sup>/k"+à-m-λá+y-m/ go+intr-adv-jump+prolonged-adv; <sup>2</sup>/k"+à-m-λá+y-wəra/ go+intr-adv-jump+prolonged-pred-adv; <sup>3</sup>/ps-əy-bλ/ river-num-seven; <sup>4</sup>/ø-za-pə-y-ə-wəp's'-əy-éy/ them-all-sever-he-non pres-cross-even-and; <sup>5</sup>/tayng'əz/ Taingyiz (Sea of Azov ?); <sup>6</sup>/r"-ə-fa-m/ edge-skin-obl = shore; <sup>7</sup>/ø-ø-?ə-ḥ-áy-š/ he-it-edge-enter-past-aff.

[18] <sup>1</sup>/žəğ-éy-ša/ tree-num-hundred; <sup>2</sup>/ø-q'ə-yə-yé-k"-š/ he-hor-path-dir-walk-aff; <sup>3</sup>/ø-y-ə-wəx"á+n+s'ə-š/ them-he-non pres-limb+conn+make-aff = he cut them into logs; <sup>4</sup>/ø-za-rə-y-ə-pλ-əy-éy/ them-recip-inst-he-non pres-tie-even-and = and he made a raft of them; <sup>5</sup>/xə-m/ sea-obl; <sup>6</sup>/ø-ø-t-y-a-y-ə-ya-λad-áy-š/ it-it-surf-dir-dat-he-non pres-caus-run-past-aff (→ /ø-ø-tə-ø-r-ə-y-ya-λad-áh-š/); <sup>7</sup>/yáz-ər/ self-abs; <sup>8</sup>/á-bə/ it-obl; <sup>9</sup>/ø-ø-t-y-a-wəva-m-əy-éy/ he-it-surf-dir-dat-stop-obl-even-and = and he remained on it; <sup>10</sup>/tayng'əz-əm/ Taingyiz-obl; <sup>11</sup>/ø-yə-k"-áy-š/ he-it(from)-exit-past-aff.

[19] <sup>1</sup>/ø-za-rə-yə-k"-éw/ he-all-along-it(from)-exit-adv; <sup>2</sup>/psə/ water; <sup>3</sup>/r"-ə-fa-m/ edge-skin-obl; <sup>4</sup>/ø-g"ag"-éw/ they-play-that, <sup>5</sup>/ø-ø-?ə-s-s-éw/ they-it-edge-sit-that;

<sup>9</sup>/ø-yə-yə-ḥ+a+ḥ'-áy-ʂ/ they-cont-dir-carry+in+near-past-aff = they bore a trait (words 9–13); <sup>7</sup>/xəg'á-bz/ girl-female; <sup>8</sup>/g"ep/ group; <sup>9</sup>/ná-a-bʒa/ eye-conn-brow; <sup>10</sup>/ø-zə-t-y-á-ḥ-əm/ it-who-surf-dir-dat-lie-obl; <sup>11</sup>/ø-y-ah-naḥ/ 3-poss-pl-(more) than; <sup>12</sup>/dáaḥa-ha-w/ beautiful-pl-pred.

[20] <sup>1</sup>/ḥaps/ Tl; <sup>2</sup>/zánṣ'a-w/ straight-adv; <sup>3</sup>/ḥaṣṣq/ fascination; <sup>4</sup>/ø-y-ah-ḥ"-a-ḥ"-áy-ʂ/ he-3-pl-for-happen-past-aff; <sup>5</sup>/á-bə-ha-m/ that-obl-pl-obl, postposed for emphasis; <sup>6</sup>/áwa/ but; <sup>7</sup>/ø-y-á-px̩"a/ he-dir-dat-grasp; <sup>8</sup>/ø-pat-m-éy/ it-strong (be)-if-even; <sup>9</sup>/zə-əy-éy/ one-even-and; <sup>10</sup>/ø-q"-y-ə-ḥ"-a-wə+bəd-a-y-q'əm/ her-hor-he-non pres-able-val+hard-past-not = he was not able to seize one of them; <sup>11</sup>/a-b-ḥ"-a-d-éy-z-k̩"a/ that-obl-for-be like-past part-while-inst = with things thus for a time; <sup>12</sup>/ø-c'aaḥa-ha-t-éy/ they-slip-pl-stand-and; <sup>13</sup>/ø-ʔa-s'a-c'afṣə-žé-r-t/ they-hand-inst-dart away-again-distr-stand.

[21] <sup>1</sup>/ø-yə-yə-ḥ"-ə+ža-əy-éy/ he-cont-dir-white+colour-even-and = and he turned white; <sup>2</sup>/ø-y-ah-s'a-rə-ḥ-a-y-q'əm/ he-3-pl-earth-along-enter-past-not = he did not tackle them, bring them down.

[22] <sup>1</sup>/yo-tá-a-na/ gen-twice-conn-ordinal = then; <sup>2</sup>/ø-ø-ḥa+i"-áy-ʂ/ he-something-after+ask-past-aff.

[23] <sup>1</sup>/tha-r/ god-abs; <sup>2</sup>/ø-fə-s-a-w-ya-ḥá+i"/ it-you(pl)-me-pres-prog-let-after+ask; <sup>3</sup>/fəz-əy-ʂ'ə+s-ər/ woman-poss-under+sit (= nature, type)-abs; <sup>4</sup>/ø-q'ə-s-žé-f-ṛa/ it-hor-me-back-you(pl)-say.

[24] <sup>1</sup>/fa/ you(pl); <sup>2</sup>/ø-f-ḥ"-á-da/ someone-you(pl)-for-be like; <sup>3</sup>/s-əy-nébžə-m/ my-poss-coevals-obl; <sup>4</sup>/ø-s-ḥay"-a-y-q'əm/ it-I-see-past-not.

[25] <sup>1</sup>/sa/ I; <sup>2</sup>/ø-s-ḥay"-áy-m/ what-I-see-past-obl = in my experience; <sup>3</sup>/ḥatér/ respect, esteem; <sup>4</sup>/ø-q'ə-s-ḥ"-a-s-mə-ʂ"-áy/ it-hor-me-for-I-not-do-past; <sup>5</sup>/ø-q'-ø-ah-ḥa-k"-a-y-q'əm/ it-hor-3-pl-among-exit-past-not; (1–5 = in all my experience it has never happened that I have made such a fool of myself); <sup>6</sup>/ø-ž-y-ə-ʔa-əy-éy/ it-back-he-non pres-say-even-and.

[26] <sup>1</sup>/žəg-g"-áaśa-m/ tree-princess, lady-obl; <sup>2</sup>/də-yə-yə-tha-ʔ"-ə-ḥ"-ə+d-ʂ/ we-cont-dir-god-before-bend+down-aff = we are the devotees, followers of a god; <sup>3</sup>/ø-ž-y-ah-ʔa-áy-ʂ/ it-back-3-pl-say-past-aff; <sup>4</sup>/xəg'á-bz/ girl-female; <sup>5</sup>/g"əp-əm/ group-obl (postposed because word three is normally used to mark direct discourse at end of quote).

[27] <sup>1</sup>/d-əy-g"áaša-m/ our-poss-princess-obl; <sup>2</sup>/ø-wənə-̄x"á-a-y-a-bλá+a+ya-m/ she-house-for-dir-dat-pass+conn+ness-adv = (by) extending an invitation to (her) house; <sup>3</sup>/w-əy-̄hat̄r-éy/ your-poss-esteem-and; <sup>4</sup>/ø-q'a-y-ə-λáay"-én-̄s/ it-hor-she-non pres-see-fut-aff. [28] <sup>1</sup>/ø-na-a-k"-a/ you(imp)-thither-imp-go+int; <sup>2</sup>/s-̄f-̄š+a/ me-you(pl)-take+to; <sup>3</sup>/ø-ž-y-ə-?a-əy-éy/ it-back-he-non pres-say-even-and; <sup>4</sup>/λaps/ Tl; <sup>5</sup>/tha-?ə-̄x"é+d-ha-m/ god-before-bend+down-pl-obl; <sup>6</sup>/ø-y-ah-wéz/ poss-pl-trail; <sup>7</sup>/ø-yə-wəva-əy-éy/ he-path-stay-even-and; <sup>8</sup>/ø-k"-ay-̄s/ he-go-past-aff.

[29] <sup>1</sup>/ø-na-s-ma/ he-thither-reach-adv; <sup>2</sup>/zə-žəg-v-a-r-y-ah-mə-s'á-ž/ one-tree-you(pl)-dat-inst-3-pl-not-know-again = it is not recognisable by you(pl) (third person indefinite passive with pleonastic second person instrumental agent which has been postposed and reduced to an adjective-like status); <sup>3</sup>/ø-̄sə-t-̄s/ it-deixis-stand-aff; <sup>4</sup>/ø-žəg-əw-éy/ it-tree-pred-and; <sup>5</sup>/ø-mə-žəg-éw/ it-not-tree-pred; <sup>6</sup>/ø-c'ə̄x"-əw-éy/ it-person-pred-and; <sup>7</sup>/ø-mə-c'ə̄x"-əw/ it-not-person-pred; <sup>8</sup>/z-yə-s'á+s-ər/ one-poss-under+sit-abs = nature; <sup>9</sup>/ø-q'ə-p-̄x"á-mə-s'á-nə-w/ it-hor-you-able-not-know-subj(?)def.

[30] <sup>1</sup>/ø-yə-λá+a+bža-r/ her-poss-leg+conn+horn-abs = root(s); <sup>2</sup>/k"é-wa/ deep-adv; <sup>3</sup>/s'ə-m/ earth-obl; <sup>4</sup>/ø-ø-̄xá-t-əw/ they-it-into-stand-pred; <sup>5</sup>/ø-yə-̄šá+cə-r/ poss-head+hair-abs; <sup>6</sup>/pša-m/ cloud-obl; <sup>7</sup>/ø-ø-̄x"á-da-w/ it(hair)-it(cloud)-for-be like-pred; <sup>8</sup>/wá-g"-əm/ sky-locus-obl; <sup>9</sup>/ø-ø-yé-t-əw/ it(hair)-it(sky)-dir-stand-pred; <sup>10</sup>/yə-?a-əy-t'(?)ə-r/ its-arm-num-two-abs; <sup>11</sup>/c'ə̄x"-?a-w/ people-arm-pred; <sup>12</sup>/yə-ná+k"-ə-r/ its-eye+slope-abs = cheeks; <sup>13</sup>/dáaža-m/ beautiful-obl; <sup>14</sup>/ø-y-ah-naž/ poss-pl-more; <sup>15</sup>/dáaža-w/ beautiful-pred, (12–15 = most beautiful); <sup>16</sup>/déša-m-ra/ gold-conn-and; <sup>17</sup>/déžón-əm-ra/ silver-conn-and; <sup>18</sup>/ø-q'ə-̄xá-s'á+k"-a-hə-wa/ they-hor-mass-under+exit-pl-pred = they were in evidence, they were to be found.

[31] <sup>1</sup>/žəg-g"áaša-r/ tree-lady-abs; <sup>2</sup>/λaps/ Tl; <sup>3</sup>/ø-q'ə-ø-̄sə-g"ə+f'ə+k"-əy-éy/ she-incept-him-deixis-heart+good+grow-even-and = and she fell in love with him; <sup>4</sup>/ø-y-a-y-ə-ya-bλ+a+y-áy-̄s/ him-it-dat-she-non pres-caus-pass+conn+ness-past-aff = she invited him in; <sup>5</sup>/ø-y-ə-yá-a-šxə+a-̄s/ him-she-non pres-caus-conn-eat+intr-aff; <sup>6</sup>/ø-y-a-y-ə-yá-a-fə+a-əy-éy/ him-it-dat-she-non pres-caus-conn-drink+at-even-and; <sup>7</sup>/ø-y-ə-yá-a-y"á+a+λə-ž-áy-̄s/ him-she-non pres-caus-purpose+lie down-again-past-aff = she made him lie down to rest.

[32] <sup>1</sup>/žaš-é-bğə-m/ night-ep v-waist-obl = midnight; <sup>2</sup>/λaps/ Tl; <sup>3</sup>/ø-q'a-wəš-əy-

éy/ he-incept-wake-even-and; <sup>1</sup>/ø-zə-s-ya-y'át/ something-self-I-caus-find; <sup>2</sup>/ø-ž-y-ə-?a-əy-éy/ it-her-back-he-non pres-say-even-and; <sup>6</sup>/ø-pə-y-ə-wə+bəd-áy-§/ it-sever-he-non pres-val+hard-past-aff = he resolved upon something.

[33] <sup>1</sup>/dá+a+w+a/ with+conn+strike+at = dispute; <sup>2</sup>/ø-χ"ə-n/ it-happen-fut; <sup>3</sup>/ø-y-ə-d-ay-q'ém/ him-she-non pres-agree-past-not; <sup>4</sup>/žəg-g"áaša-m/ tree-lady-obl; <sup>5</sup>/sa/ I; <sup>6</sup>/sə-g"áaša-š/ I-princess-aff; <sup>7</sup>/c'əχ"-c'ěk"/ person-little; <sup>8</sup>/yə-g"ə-əy-éy/ gen-now-even-and; <sup>9</sup>/ø-q'a-s/ it-hither-reach = up until; <sup>10</sup>/ø-q'ə-s-λa+?a+s-a-y-q'ém/ he-hither-me-after+hand+reach-past-not.

[34] <sup>1</sup>/sa/ I; <sup>2</sup>/tha-m/ god(s)-obl; <sup>3</sup>/s-ø-ah-šé-š/ I-3-pl-deixis-belong; <sup>4</sup>/ø-ž-y-ə-?a-š/ it-back-he-non pres-say-aff; <sup>5</sup>/λapš-éy/ Tl-and; <sup>6</sup>/ø-tač'ə-əy-éy/ he-stand up-even-and; <sup>7</sup>/λə+y"a-fəz+é+y"a/ man+ companion-woman+ep v+companion; <sup>8</sup>/ø-yə-y-ə-χ-áy-š/ it-her(from)-he-non pres-take-past-aff; (7 and 8 = he made love to her).

[35] <sup>1</sup>/g"áaša-m/ lady-obl; <sup>2</sup>/a-r/ him-abs; <sup>3</sup>/ø-yə-g"/ her-poss-heart (in); <sup>4</sup>/ø-y-ə-h-əy-éy/ him-it-dat-she-non pres-carry-even-and; <sup>5</sup>/λapš-əm/ Tl-obl; <sup>6</sup>/ø-q'-y-a-λa+?"-áy-š/ she-hor-him-dat-after+say-past-aff; <sup>7</sup>/wə-mə-k"+a-žé-w/ you-not-go+intr-again-pred; <sup>8</sup>/ø-q'a-a-n+a/ you(imp)-hor-dat-stay+at; <sup>9</sup>/ø-ž-y-ə-?a-əy-éy/ it-back-she-say-even-and.

[36] <sup>1</sup>/háwa/ no; <sup>2</sup>/ø-χ"ə-nə-w-q'ém/ it-happen-fut-def-not = it will not be possible; <sup>3</sup>/s-ø-ah-q'á-a-n+a/ I-3-pl-hor-dat-stay+at (emphatic postponing of 3 over 2); <sup>4</sup>/ø-y-ə-d-ay-q'ém/ her-he-non pres-agree-past-not; <sup>5</sup>/λapš/ Tl; <sup>6</sup>/sa/ I; <sup>7</sup>/šə-m/ earth-obl; <sup>8</sup>/ø-yə-y"éna-r/ its-poss-boundary-abs; <sup>9</sup>/ø-q'a-s-y"até-w/ it-hor-I-find-pred; <sup>10</sup>/náhrt-ha-m/ Nt-pl-obl; <sup>11</sup>/š'a+né+ya/ know+inf+ness; <sup>12</sup>/ø-y-ah-χ"á-s-hé-n/ it-3-pl-for-I-carry (off from there)-inf; <sup>13</sup>/ø-ø-χ"á-a-y-š/ it(dummy pro)-it-for-need-aff.

[37] <sup>1</sup>/wə-šə-mé-w+a/ you-deixis-not-strike+at; <sup>2</sup>/λapš/ Tl; <sup>3</sup>/š'a-né-ya/ know-inf-ness; <sup>4</sup>/wə-ø-χ"á-y-m/ you-it-for-need-obl; <sup>5</sup>/sa/ I; <sup>6</sup>/ø-w-a-s-tó-n-š/ it-you-dat-I-give-fut-aff; <sup>7</sup>/sa/ I; <sup>8</sup>/s-əy-λá+a+bzá-r/ my-poss-leg+conn+horn-abs = root(s); <sup>9</sup>/šə-m/ earth-obl; <sup>10</sup>/ø-ø-χá-t-š/ they-it-mass-stand-aff; <sup>11</sup>/šə-m/ earth-obl; <sup>12</sup>/ø-ø-š'a-λ/ which-3-under-lie; <sup>13</sup>/psa+w-əy-éy/ life-adj-even-and; <sup>14</sup>/ø-s-á-w-š'a/ it-I-pres-prog-know; <sup>15</sup>/s-əy-šhá+cə-r/ my-poss-head+hair-abs; <sup>16</sup>/wá+g"-əm/ sky-surf-obl; <sup>17</sup>/ø-ø-yə-t-š-éy/ it(hair)-it(sky)-cont-stand-aff-and; <sup>18</sup>/wá+a+fa-m/ sky+conn+skin-obl; <sup>19</sup>/ø-ø-yə-t/ which (word 20)-it(sky)-cont-stand; <sup>20</sup>/psa+w-əy-éy/ life+adj-even-and; <sup>21</sup>/ø-s-á-w-š'a/ it-I-pres-prog-know.

[38] <sup>1</sup>/s'ə-m/ earth-obl; <sup>2</sup>/γ"éna/ boundary; <sup>3</sup>/ø-ø-yə-?a-q'ém/ it(boundary)-it(earth)-poss-have-not; <sup>4</sup>/ø-yə-f'a+\$/ her-poss-good+aff = her beloved; <sup>5</sup>/ø-χ"-ay-q'ém/ he-become-past-not; <sup>6</sup>/λap\$/ TI.

[39] <sup>1</sup>/s'ə-m/ earth-obl; <sup>2</sup>/ø-ø-f'a-k"-áy/ you(imp)-it-detri-exit-past; <sup>3</sup>/γ"éna/ boundary; <sup>4</sup>/ø-z-yə-mə-?a/ it-which-poss-not-have; <sup>5</sup>/ø-sə-?a-q'ém/ it-deixis-exist-not; <sup>6</sup>/w-y-a-mé-ža/ you-dir-dat-not-go.

[40] <sup>1</sup>/sa/ I; <sup>2</sup>/wá+g"-əm/ sky-surf-obl; <sup>3</sup>/ø-ø-yə-t/ which-it-cont-stand; <sup>4</sup>/váay"a-ha-r/ star-pl-abs; <sup>5</sup>/ø-w-a-s-ya-c'əχ"-é-n-\$/ them-you-dat-I-caus-be acquainted-ep v-fut-aff; <sup>6</sup>/s'ə-m/ earth-obl; <sup>7</sup>/ø-ø-s'a-λ/ under-lie; <sup>8</sup>/psa+w-ay-éy/ life-adj-even-and; <sup>9</sup>/w-ay-?a-m-é-s'a/ your-poss-arm-obl-ep v-inst = in the palm; <sup>10</sup>/ø-ø-yə-s-λ+há-n-\$/ it-it(palm)-cont-I-lay+act-fut-aff; <sup>11</sup>/s'ə-šá+fa-m/ earth-head-skin-obl = surface (of the earth); <sup>12</sup>/ø-ø-t-y-a-t-ay-éy/ it-it(earth)-surf-dir-dat-stand-even-and; <sup>13</sup>/ø-w-a-s-té-n-ə-\$/ it-you-dat-I-give-fut-ep v-aff.

[41] <sup>1</sup>/á-r-šha-k"a/ that-inst-head-inst = with this having gone before; <sup>2</sup>/žəg"-g"áaša-m/ tree-lady-obl; <sup>3</sup>/ø-ž-y-é-?a-r/ what-back-she-non pres-say-abs; <sup>4</sup>/ø-yə-f'a+s/ her-poss-good+aff; <sup>5</sup>/ø-mə-χ"-é-w/ he-not-become-pred; <sup>6</sup>/λap\$/ TI; <sup>7</sup>/ø-y-a-ža-ž-áy-\$/ he-dir-dat-go-again-past-aff.

[42] <sup>1</sup>/ø-yə-váaq'a-r/ his-poss-shoe(s)-abs; <sup>2</sup>/ø-ø-λaažá-w/ which-he-make-pred; <sup>3</sup>/ø-yə-λá+a+pa-m/ his-poss-leg+conn+tip-obl = foot; <sup>4</sup>/ø-q'a-y-ə-f'aχ"-a-žə-hé-w/ them-incept-he-non pres-don-again-pl-pred; <sup>5</sup>/ø-yə-báašə-r/ his-poss-walking stick-abs; <sup>6</sup>/ø-ø-λaažá-w/ which-he-make-pred; <sup>7</sup>/ø-yə-?a-m-é-s'a-m/ his-poss-arm-obl-ep v-inst-obl; <sup>8</sup>/ø-q'a-y-ə-məšé-ž/ it-incept-he-non pres-fit(= grasp)-again; <sup>9</sup>/ø-χ"-ə-hé-w/ it-happen-pl-pred; <sup>10</sup>/ø-yə-pé?a-r/ his-poss-hat-abs; <sup>11</sup>/wéná-šx"-ə-m/ house-big-obl; <sup>12</sup>/ø-y-ə-š-hó-w/ it(hat)-he-non pres-bring(out)-pl-pred; <sup>13</sup>/ø-yə-pśa-m/ his-poss-neck-obl; <sup>14</sup>/wardéχ"-əw/ hoop-pred; (13 and 14 = a torc); <sup>15</sup>/ø-q'a-y-ə-f'aχ"-ə-žə-hé-w/ them-incept-he-non pres-don-again-pl-pred; <sup>16</sup>/ø-q'-yə-k"-ə+ḥ-ay-éy/ he-hor-dir-go+around-even-and; <sup>17</sup>/s'ə-m/ earth-obl; <sup>18</sup>/ø-yə-y"éna-r/ its-poss-boundary-abs; <sup>19</sup>/ø-y-ə-y"at-ay-q'ém/ it-he-non pres-find-past-not.

[43] <sup>1</sup>/ø-q'a-y-ə-ya-z+a-ž-ay-éy/ (self)-incept-he-non pres-caus-turn+to-again-even-and; <sup>2</sup>/žəg"-g"áaša-m/ tree-lady-obl; <sup>3</sup>/ø-dayž/ her-near; <sup>4</sup>/ø-q'a-y-a-k"-a+λ+a-ž-áy-\$/ he-hor-her-dat-come+intr+near+at-again-past-aff.

[44] <sup>1</sup>/ø-q'a-w-y"at-áγ/ it-hor-you-find-past; <sup>2</sup>/s'ə-m/ earth-obl; <sup>3</sup>/ø-yə-y"éna-r/ its-poss-boundary; <sup>4</sup>/ø-q'a-y-a-wəp's'-áγ-\$/ she-hor-him-dat-ask-past-aff; <sup>5</sup>/χəg"-g"aaša-r/ tree-lady-abs.

[45] <sup>1</sup>/ħáwa/ no.

[46] <sup>1</sup>/á't'a/ so; <sup>2</sup>/sə-t/ what-pro affx; <sup>3</sup>/ø-q'a-w-y"at-áγ/ what-hor-you-find-past.

[47] <sup>1</sup>/zə-ey-éy-k"/ one-obl-even-inst = nothing.

[48] <sup>1</sup>/á't'a/ so; <sup>2</sup>/sə-t/ what-pro affx; <sup>3</sup>/ø-z-a-w-ya-s'-áγ/ what-self-dat-you-caus-know-past.

[49] <sup>1</sup>/s'ə-m/ earth-obl; <sup>2</sup>/y"éna/ boundary; <sup>3</sup>/ø-z-a-r-ø-yə-mə-?a-r/ it(boundary)-how-dat-inst-it(earth)-poss-not-have-abs; <sup>4</sup>/ø-z-a-s-ya-s'-áγ-\$/ it-self-dat-I-caus-know-past-aff.

[50] <sup>1</sup>/yə-t'á-a-na/ gen-twice-conn-ord = then; <sup>2</sup>/ša/ what.

[51] <sup>1</sup>/c'éχ"-əm/ person-obl; <sup>2</sup>/ø-yə-?a+p'q'-λá+p'q'-ər/ his-poss-arm+frame-leg+frame-abs = body (as a framework); <sup>3</sup>/y"éšə-m/ iron-obl; <sup>4</sup>/náχ-ra/ than-adv; <sup>5</sup>/z-a-rə-náχ-ra/ how-dat-inst-more-adv; <sup>6</sup>/bóda-r/ hard-abs; (3–6 = how it is harder than iron); <sup>7</sup>/ø-z-a-s-ya-s'-áγ-\$/ it-self-dat-I-caus-know-past-aff.

[52] <sup>1</sup>/yə-t'á-a-na/ gen-twice-conn-ord ; <sup>2</sup>/ša/ what.

[53] <sup>1</sup>/z-əy/ one-and; <sup>2</sup>/záaq"-a/ alone; <sup>3</sup>/ø-y"a+g"ə-ré-k"+a-m/ who-road+surf-distr-go+intr-obl; <sup>4</sup>/náχ-ra/ than-adv; <sup>5</sup>/naχ/ more; <sup>6</sup>/g"ə-y"/ heart-dry = difficulty; <sup>7</sup>/ø-z-a-rə-ø-šə-mə-?a-r/ it-how-dat-inst-him-deixis-not-exist-abs; <sup>8</sup>/ø-z-a-s-ya-s'-áγ-\$/ it-self-dat-I-caus-know-past-aff.

[54] <sup>1</sup>/a-psa+w-əy-éy/ the-life+adj-even-and; <sup>2</sup>/χahrzéna-\$/ good, beautiful-aff; <sup>3</sup>/ø-ž-y-ə-?a-áγ-\$/ it-back-she-non pres-say-past-aff; <sup>4</sup>/χəg"-g"aaša-m/ tree-lady-obl.

[55] <sup>1</sup>/áwa/ but; <sup>2</sup>/náhrt-ha-r/ Nt-pl-abs; <sup>3</sup>/ø-yə-yə-psa+wə-né-w/ they-cont-dir-life+adj-inf-that; <sup>4</sup>/sə-t/ what-pro affx; <sup>5</sup>/ø-q'-ø-ah-χ"a-w-s'-áγ/ what-hor-3-pl-for-you-know-past; <sup>6</sup>/sə-t/ what-pro affx; <sup>7</sup>/ø-q'-ø-ah-χ"a-w-y"at-áγ/ what-hor-3-pl-for-you-find-past.

[56] <sup>1</sup>/zə-əy-éy-kʷ/ one-obl-even-inst = nothing.

[57] <sup>1</sup>/á-t'a/ so; <sup>2</sup>/á-bə/ that-obl; <sup>3</sup>/šá-kʷa/ head-inst = apart from; <sup>4</sup>/ø-q'ə-s'a-w-kʷə+ḥé-n/ it-hor-earth-you-go+around-inf; <sup>5</sup>/ø-ṣə-ʔ-a-y-q'əm/ it-deixis-exist-past-not.

[58] <sup>1</sup>/sa/ I; <sup>2</sup>/ø-žə-s-ʔa-áy-m/ what-back-I-say-past-obl; <sup>3</sup>/wə-q'a-y-a-ʔə-áy-wa/ you-hor-it-dat-listen-past-that; <sup>4</sup>/ø-ṣə-t-áy-m/ it-deixis-stand-past-obl(= if); <sup>5</sup>/f-ya-λá+p'q'-ər/ you(pl)-poss-leg+ bone-abs; <sup>6</sup>/ø-psa+wə-há-w/ it-life-adj-pl-that; <sup>7</sup>/ø-y-ah-ḥʷa-mə-wəḥé-n/ it-3-pl-for-not-finish-subj; <sup>8</sup>/š'a+né+yə-w/ know+inf+ness-pred; <sup>9</sup>/ø-w-a-s-tə-n-t/ it-you-dat-I-give-subj-stand.

[59] <sup>1</sup>/náhrt-ha-r/ Nt-pl-abs; <sup>2</sup>/fə-c'έχʷ/ you(pl)-people; <sup>3</sup>/yərέs-š/ stubborn-aff; <sup>4</sup>/fə-pà+a+ğá+a+ša-š/ you(pl)-nose+conn+high+conn+defect-aff = you(pl) are woefully proud.

[60] <sup>1</sup>/á-bə/ that-obl; <sup>2</sup>/fə-ø-t-y-a-kʷʷ+a+da-żə-n-š/ you(pl)-it-surf-dir-dat-go+intr+out-finally-fut-aff = you(pl) will perish from it.

[61] <sup>1</sup>/áwa/ but; <sup>2</sup>/q'á-a-n+a-r/ hor-dat-remain+in-abs = survival; <sup>3</sup>/ø-yə-yə-psa+wə-né-w/ it-cont-dir-life+adj-inf-adv; <sup>4</sup>/ma-yə-s/ it-cont-sit; <sup>5</sup>/mə-r/ this(near to speaker)-abs; <sup>6</sup>/ø-fə-s-á-w-t/ it-you(pl)-I-pres-prog-give; <sup>7</sup>/ø-ž-y-ə-ṛa-əy-éy/ it-back-she-non pres-say-even-and; <sup>8</sup>/ħapš/ Tl; <sup>9</sup>/zə-sahbáy/ one-baby; <sup>10</sup>/dóya/ sun; <sup>11</sup>/ø-q'ə-ṛa+s'-y-ə-λ+ḥ-áy-š/ it-hor-hand+inst-she-non pres-lay+ act-past-aff.

[62] <sup>1</sup>/mə-r/ this-abs; <sup>2</sup>/wa/ you; <sup>3</sup>/w-əy-qʷa-m/ your-poss-son-adv; <sup>4</sup>/ø-s-da-ḥé-ž/ it-me-inside, with-carry-finally.

[63] <sup>1</sup>/sa/ I; <sup>2</sup>/š'a+né+yə-ra/ know+inf+ness-adv; <sup>3</sup>/ta+s'á+a+yə-w/ hand-inst-conn-ness-adv; <sup>4</sup>/ø-s-əy-ṛa-r/ it-me-poss-have-abs; <sup>5</sup>/á-bə/ that-obl; <sup>6</sup>/ø-ø-ḥxa-s-λ+ḥ-áy-š/ it(knowledge)-it(baby)-into-I-lay-act-past-aff.

[64] <sup>1</sup>/ø-q'á-ħʷə-ma/ it-incept-mature-if(= until); <sup>2</sup>/ø-z-a-rə-ħʷ/ it-how-dat-inst-maturing; <sup>3</sup>/ø-f-λəagʷ-ən-q'a/ it-you(pl)-see-subj-Q(counter to expectation of speaker).

[65] <sup>1</sup>/ħapš/ Tl; <sup>2</sup>/sahbáy-ər/ infant-abs; <sup>3</sup>/ø-q'a-y-ə-ḥ-əy-éy/ it-hor-he-non pres-

carry-even-and; <sup>1</sup>/ø-q'a-kʷʷ+a-ž-áy-\$/ he-hor-come+intr-back-past-aff.

[66] <sup>1</sup>/psáaλa-w/ word-pred; <sup>2</sup>/ø-yə-bza-r/ his-poss-tongue-abs; <sup>3</sup>/ø-q'ə-šə-y-ə-wə+t'əpšə-m/ it-incept-deixis-he-non pres-val+set free-adv; <sup>4</sup>/náhrt-ha-m/ Nt-pl-obl; <sup>5</sup>/ø-q'-y-ah-ž-y-ə-?a-áy-\$/ it-hor-3-pl-back-he-non pres-say-past-aff.

[67] <sup>1</sup>/m-aw/ this-pred; <sup>2</sup>/wá+a+fa-m/ sky+conn+skin-obl; <sup>3</sup>/ø-ø-yə-t/ which-it-cont-stand; <sup>4</sup>/šə+žʷə-λá+a+y"a-r/ milk+white-leg+conn+road-abs = the Milky Way (literally!); <sup>5</sup>/ø-f-λáay"ə-ra/ it-you(pl)-see-ep v-pres(Q).

[68] <sup>1</sup>/ø-d-a-w-λáay"/ it-we-pres-prog-see.

[69] <sup>1</sup>/át'a/ so; <sup>2</sup>/z-a-y-kʷʷ+a/ when-dat(of when)-dir-go+intr; <sup>3</sup>/fə-ø-šə-kʷʷ+á-kʷʷ'a/ you(pl)-it-deixis-go+intr-both; <sup>4</sup>/fə-q'ə-ø-šə-kʷʷ+á-ž-kʷʷ'a/ you(pl)-hor-it-deixis-come+intr-back-and; <sup>5</sup>/a-r/ that-abs; <sup>6</sup>/ø-fə-mə-ya-y"áša-ma/ it-you(pl)-not-let-get lost-if; <sup>7</sup>/fa-əy-éy/ you(pl)-even-and; <sup>8</sup>/fə-y"áša-n-q'ém/ you(pl)-get-lost-fut-not; <sup>9</sup>/ø-ž-y-ə-?a-əy-éy/ it-back-he-non pres-say-even-and.

[70] <sup>1</sup>/aλəħ-aλéħ/ Allah-Allah; <sup>2</sup>/mə-r/ this-abs; <sup>3</sup>/ø-q'á-žʷə-ma/ it-incept-happen-if; <sup>4</sup>/zə-baλéħ-ər/ one-calamity-abs; <sup>5</sup>/ø-q'a-y-ə-g"ə+psəsá-n-\$/ it-hor-one-non pres-heart+think-fut-aff; <sup>6</sup>/mə-r/ this-abs; <sup>7</sup>/ø-ø-žʷə-a-sáaq'ə-w/ someone-him-for-care-that; <sup>8</sup>/pə-n/ rear (raise)-inf; <sup>9</sup>/ø-ø-žʷə-a-y-\$/ he-it-for-need-aff; (7-9 = he needs someone to care for him and rear him); <sup>10</sup>/ø-ž-y-ah-?a-əy-éy/ it-back-3-pl-say-even-and; <sup>11</sup>/fəz-éy-bλ/ woman-num-seven = the Pleiades; <sup>12</sup>/ø-by"a-də-a-y-ah-ya-wəv-áy-\$/ him-side-zone-dat-3-pl-caus-stay-past-aff; <sup>13</sup>/ø-y-ah-pə-né-w/ him-3-pl-rear-fut-def; <sup>14</sup>/ø-ø-kʷʷ'a-λə-pλə-né-w/ they-him-tail-after-look-fut-def.

[71] <sup>1</sup>/á-r-šha-kʷʷ'a/ that-obl-head-inst = after that; <sup>2</sup>/zə-máaž"ə-g"ar-əm/ one-day-certain-obl; [<sup>3</sup>/fəz-ha-m/ woman-pl-obl (omitted by the bard)]; <sup>4</sup>/sahbéy-ər/ infant-abs; <sup>5</sup>/ø-[ø-ha-]da-kʷʷ+a+sə-kʷʷ-əy-éy/ he-[3-pl]-opening-go+intr+disappear-exhaustive-even-and = they went all over with him; <sup>6</sup>/ø-g"ag"ə-wə-ra/ he-play-adv-dist; <sup>7</sup>/ø-y"ááša-əy-éy/ he-get lost-even-and; <sup>8</sup>/ø-kʷʷ+a+d-áy-\$/ he-go+intr+out-past-aff = he disappeared.

[72] <sup>1</sup>/fəz-ha-m/ woman-pl-obl; <sup>2</sup>/sahbéy-ər/ infant-abs; <sup>3</sup>/ø-y-ah-g"/ 3-poss-pl-heart; <sup>4</sup>/ø-y-a-y-ah-mə-ya-a-š'a-w/ him-it-dat-3-pl-not-caus-conn-know-adv = when they were no longer aware of him; <sup>5</sup>/ø-za-bğə-rə-ž-ha-əy-éy/ they-recip-middle-along-run-pl-even-and = they scattered out; <sup>6</sup>/ø-ø-λə-žʷ"-áy-\$/ they-him-after-happen-past-aff = they searched for him; <sup>7</sup>/á-r-šha-kʷʷ'a/ that-obl-head-by = but after that; <sup>8</sup>/ø-y-ah-y"əta-ž-a-y-q'ém/ him-3-pl-find-again-past-not.

[73] <sup>1</sup>/ø-q'a-χ"-áy-r/ it-hor-happen-past-adv; <sup>2</sup>/náhrt-ha-m/ Nt-pl-obl; <sup>3</sup>/ø-q'ə-šə-y-áh-š'a-m/ it-incept-deixis-3-pl-know-adv; <sup>4</sup>/ø-š-a-s-ha-øy-øy/ they-horse-dat-sit-pl-even-and; <sup>5</sup>/ø-ø-λɔ-χ"-áy-k"-a/ they-him-after-happen-past-in order to; <sup>6</sup>/ø-y-a-ž-áy-š/ they-dir-dat-go-past-aff.

[74] <sup>1</sup>/ø-ø-χ"-a-z+a-áy-ra/ they-him-for-turn+to-past-adv; <sup>2</sup>/ø-za-λay"-áy-r/ him-who-see-past-adv; <sup>3</sup>/ø-q'a-y-ah-y"-á/ him-hor-3-pl-find; <sup>4</sup>/ø-mə-χ"-é-ma/ it-not-be possible-when; <sup>5</sup>/yáz-ər/ self-abs, emph; <sup>6</sup>/ø-y-ah-y"-atə-ž-ay-q'ém/ him-3-pl-find-again-past-not (a passive).

[75] <sup>1</sup>/ø-yə-há-na-m/ his-poss-inh-mother-obl; <sup>2</sup>/ø-dayž/ her-near; <sup>3</sup>/ø-k"-+a-ž-áy/ he-go+intr-back-past; <sup>4</sup>/ø-χ"-ə-n-š/ it-happen-fut-aff; <sup>5</sup>/ø-ž-y-ah-?a-øy-øy/ it-back-3-pl-say-even-and; <sup>6</sup>/λapš/ Tl; <sup>7</sup>/ø-y-ah-ya-k"-+a-áy-š/ him-3-pl-caus-go+intr-past-aff.

[76] <sup>1</sup>/áwa/ but; <sup>2</sup>/sahbáy-ər/ infant-abs; <sup>3</sup>/á-bə/ her-obl; <sup>4</sup>/ø-k"-+a-ž-a-y-ta-q'ém/ he-go+intr-back-past-stand-not, a stative past.

[77] <sup>1</sup>/sə-t/ what-pro affx; <sup>2</sup>/ø-t-š'a-né-w/ what-we-do-fut-def; <sup>3</sup>/sə-t/ what-pro affx; <sup>4</sup>/d-øy-?amáaλ/ our-poss-remedy; <sup>5</sup>/ø-y-a-wəp's"-áy-š/ he-her-dat-ask-past-aff; <sup>6</sup>/á-bə/ her-obl; <sup>7</sup>/λapš/ Tl.

[78] <sup>1</sup>/zə-?amáaλ-øy/ one-remedy-even; <sup>2</sup>/ø-ø-yə-?a-q'ém/ it(remedy)-it(problem)-poss-have-not.

[79] <sup>1</sup>/yə-zamáhn-ər/ gen-time-abs; <sup>2</sup>/ø-q'á-s-ma/ it-hither-reach-if(= when); <sup>3</sup>/yáz-əm/ self-obl, emph; <sup>4</sup>/ø-q'a-y-ə-ya-z+a-žé-n-š/ self-hor-he-non pres-caus-turn+to-again-fut-aff; (1–4 = in time he might return by himself).

[80] <sup>1</sup>/áwa/ but; <sup>2</sup>/ø-q'ə-šə-y-ə-ya-z+a-žə-né-w-ər/ self-hor-deixis-he-non pres-caus+turn-to-again-fut-def-abs; <sup>3</sup>/θa-m/ god-obl; <sup>4</sup>/ø-y-á-š'a/ it-he-pres-know.

[81] <sup>1</sup>/fə-psa+wə-wa/ you(pl)-life+adj-pred; <sup>2</sup>/ø-q'a-k"-+á-ž-ma/ y'all(intimate deletion)-hor-come+intr-back-if; <sup>3</sup>/f-øy/ you(pl)-even; <sup>4</sup>/nahsép-š/ happy-aff; <sup>5</sup>/ø-q'a-mə-k"-+á-ž-ma/ you(pl)-hor-not-come+intr-back-if; <sup>6</sup>/f-øy/ you(pl)-even; <sup>7</sup>/baλəh-š-øy/ calamity-aff-and; <sup>8</sup>/á-bə/ it-obl; <sup>9</sup>/fə-ø-t-y-a-k"-+a+da-žé-n-š/ you(pl)-it-surf-dir-dat-go+intr+out-finally-fut-aff = you(pl) will perish from it; <sup>10</sup>/ø-q'ə-y-a-ž-y-ə-?a-áy-š/ it-hor-him-dat-back-she-non pres-say-past-aff.

[82] <sup>1</sup>/čapš/ Tl; <sup>2</sup>/ø-yø-šha-r/ his-poss-head-abs; <sup>3</sup>/ø-ø-f'a-č̄'-áy-wa/ it-him-detri-bend-past-pred = with his head hanging down in dejection; <sup>4</sup>/ø-q'a-kʷʷ+a-ž-áy-š/ he-hor-come+intr-back-past-aff.

### *Translation*

#### [1] Tlepsh and Lady Tree

[2] Tlepsh<sup>1</sup> could not make those things for the Narts<sup>2</sup> that they needed in life. He could not find the necessary knowledge. He had remained in this quandary until he grew desperate. [3] When he could no longer bear this situation, he went to Lady Satanaya<sup>3</sup> and beseeched her:

[4] “Lady Satanaya, I am desperate. I cannot uncover what I need to know. [5] I cannot discover it by my own powers. I have pounded out flat all the iron that I have. [6] They say that there is no one who has even a part of your wisdom and generosity. Recall that knowledge which I must have.”

[7] “What is there to recall?” said Lady Satanaya, being selfish. “If the Narts need weapons, you make them for them; when the Narts needed a sickle, you made it for them.<sup>4</sup> [8] You have made what people need to live. [9] Now start to leave and travel the world. See how other peoples live and bring this knowledge back for the Narts. [10] If God does not find you utterly odious, you shall find something.”

[11] “What will I need to travel the world?!”

[12] “Do not stop because you have some pressing need. [13] Do no more but merely take one set of clothes for yourself and set off. [14] He who grows millet will love you, and he who breeds cattle is your friend. Because of this, they will not let you die.”

[15] Tlepsh tarried no longer. He took a pair of shoes that he had made from the hardest steel, and with these in his hand he set off. [16] Thus Tlepsh travelled swiftly for a long time. For one day he travelled along a forest road. For one year he travelled through a forest. When he came to cliffs, he strode over them. When he came to rivers, he leapt across them. [17] Bounding along, he crossed seven rivers and came to the shore of the Taingyiz Sea.<sup>5</sup> [18] He walked among a hundred trees. He cut them into logs and bound them together into a raft. He launched it into the water and stayed on the Taingyiz Sea until he had crossed it. [19] He came ashore and saw playing and sitting on the beach, a group of girls with the most lovely eyes that he had ever seen. [20] Tlepsh was instantly enthralled with them, but although he tried hard to grasp them he was unable to catch a single one. While he pursued them, they

slipped past him and darted away. [21] He did not tackle any of them and eventually he turned pale. [22] Then he asked them: [23] “I enjoin you to swear by God. Tell me what manner of women you are. [24] I have never seen your like among my folk. [25] I have not made such a fool of myself in all my experience,” he said.

[26] “We are the devotees of Lady Tree,” the group of girls replied. [27] “Our Lady will invite you to her house and honour you.”

[28] “Set forth! Lead me there!” replied Tlepsh, and he went along, following the path of the devotees. [29] When he reached the place, there stood a tree that you would not have recognised. It was a tree and yet not a tree, a person and yet not a person. You would not be able to comprehend its true nature. [30] Its roots ran deep into the earth. Its hair, like a cloud, rose high into the sky. Its two arms were like a person’s, and the cheeks of its face were the loveliest of the lovely. Gold and silver were everywhere. [31] Lady Tree<sup>6</sup> fell in love with Tlepsh and invited him in. She let him eat and drink, and made him lie down to rest. [32] In the middle of the night, Tlepsh awoke and said to her, “I must seek something,” and resolved to leave.

[33] “This will not do!” Lady Tree protested. “I am a princess. Up until now no mere person has reached me.”

[34] “I am one of the gods,” replied Tlepsh. He stood up and made love to her.

[35] The lady loved Tlepsh and beseeched him, “Don’t go! Stay!”

[36] “No, I cannot stay,” protested Tlepsh. “I must find the edge of the earth and from there bring back knowledge for the Narts.”

[37] “Do not set off, Tlepsh. I shall give you the knowledge that you need. My roots run deep into the ground. I know the life that lies under the earth. My hair rises up into the sky and I know the life that is in the heavens. [38] The earth has no edge.” But Tlepsh would not be her beloved.

[39] “Would you set off into the world which doesn’t have a boundary? It doesn’t exist. Don’t go! [40] I shall acquaint you with the stars of heaven. I shall place in your palm that life that lies beneath the earth, and I shall give you all that is on the surface of the earth.”

[41] After all that Lady Tree had said, he still would not become her beloved. [42] He put the shoes that he had made on his feet, hefted in his palm the walking stick that he had made, took his hat down from off the wall, and put his torcs about his neck. He set off and travelled all over, but he did not find the edge of the earth. [43] He turned back and returned to Lady Tree.

[44] “Did you find the earth’s edge?” asked Lady Tree.

[45] “No.”

[46] “So, what did you find?”

[47] “Nothing.”

[48] “So, what did you learn?”

[49] “I learned how the earth has no boundary.”

[50] "Then what?"

[51] "I learned how a person's body is harder than iron."

[52] "Then what?"

[53] "I learned how there is no road more difficult than that which is travelled alone."

[54] "And that life is beautiful," replied Lady Tree. [55] "But what did you learn for the welfare of the Narts? What did you find for them?"

[56] "Not a thing."

[57] "So, there is nothing from your travelling about apart from that. [58] If you had stood and listened to what I said, I would have given you the knowledge so that the life in your limbs might not end. [59] You Narts are a stubborn people. You are proud. [60] You shall perish from this. [61] But, I give you this in which sits life and survival," she said and she placed in Tlepsh's arms a baby sun.<sup>8</sup> [62] "I carried this within me as your son. [63] The knowledge that I hold I have placed in it. [64] Will you not look after its growth until it matures?"

[65] Tlepsh returned carrying the infant. [66] He let loose the words of his tongue and said to the Narts:

[67] "Do you see the Milky Way in the sky above?"

[68] "We see it."

[69] "Then, when you go forth at night on a raid and when you return, if you do not lose him, you will not be lost," he said.

[70] "Lord! If that were to happen, it would be considered a calamity. He needs someone to rear him and take care of him," said seven women.<sup>9</sup> They stayed by his side and reared him, looking after him.

[71] After this, one day the infant went out and disappeared. He became lost while playing, and vanished. [72] The women no longer sensed the infant's presence, and scattered out to look for him. They could not find him.

[73] When the Narts learned that this had happened, they went out on horseback to search for him. [74] They turned this way and that and looked about, but were unable to find him. He was not to be found.

[75] "He must have gone back to his mother," they said, and so they sent Tlepsh after him. [76] But the infant had not gone back to her.

[77] "What should we do? What is our remedy?" Tlepsh asked her.

[78] "There is no remedy. [79] A time may come when he returns on his own.<sup>10</sup> [80] But God knows if he will return. [81] If you all return alive from your raids, then you will be happy. If you do not return, then it will be your calamity and you will have perished because of this," she replied to him.

[82] Tlepsh returned home, his head hanging in dejection.

*Notes*

<sup>1</sup>God of the forge and benefactor to the Narts.

<sup>2</sup>A race of heroes, the central characters of the sagas. There are one hundred of them.

<sup>3</sup>The central woman of the Nart sagas. She is mother to all the Narts. She is famed not only for her beauty and fertility, but also for her great wisdom. She has a volatile character and can be stingy or vindictive. In most of the other sagas she has a close relationship with Tlepsh.

<sup>4</sup>This refers to another saga in which Tlepsh invents the first sickle so that the Narts may harvest their grain.

<sup>5</sup>This may be the Sea of Azov, just to the northwest of the traditional home of the Circassians and Kabardians.

<sup>6</sup>This appears to be a female personification of a world tree, very similar to the Norse world tree, Yggdrasil.

<sup>7</sup>This appears to be a remarkable bit of folk-knowledge regarding the spherical geometry of the earth.

<sup>8</sup>This baby sun proves to be the Milky Way.

<sup>9</sup>These seven women may be the seven sisters of the Pleiades star cluster.

<sup>10</sup>The Milky Way may have proven useful as a guide on the moonless nights favoured in the past for cattle raids. The Milky Way is high in the night sky, however, only during the winter and summer months. This seasonal character is explained by this myth.

## Appendix B

### *Symbols and Abbreviations*

'	=	unreleased stop
,	=	syllable boundary
V'	=	pharyngealised or adytalised vowel
V·	=	long vowel, vowel which fills its syllable's coda
V<	=	vowel fronted from its customary target
V>	=	vowel backed from its customary target
́	=	vowel with primary stress
̀	=	vowel with secondary stress
3	=	'he,' 'she,' 'it;' 'him,' 'her,' 'it'
A	=	adjective node
abs	=	absolutive case
acc	=	accusative case or role
act	=	active
adj	=	adjective
adv	=	adverb
aff	=	affirmative mood
afx	=	affix
ag	=	agent
C	=	complementiser
caus	=	causative
com	=	comitative
comp	=	complement
conj	=	conjunction
conn	=	connective
cont	=	container
dat	=	dative
def	=	definite time
det	=	determiner
detri	=	detrimentive

dir	=	direction
distr	=	distributed through space or time
DO	=	direct object
DQ	=	dubitative question
dyn	=	dynamic
emph	=	emphatic
ep v	=	epenthetic vowel
exp	=	expostulation
fut	=	future
gen	=	genitive
ger	=	gerund (a participle-like form that can take case endings)
hor	=	horizon of interest
incept	=	inceptive (change of state)
imp	=	imperative
inf	=	infinitive
INFL	=	inflection node (much like the old Aux(iliary) node)
inh	=	inherent
inh poss	=	inherent possession
inst	=	instrumental
intr	=	intransitive
IO	=	indirect object
irreal	=	irrealis
juss	=	jussive
loc	=	locative
m	=	marked
N	=	noun node
neg	=	negative
non pres	=	non-present tense vowel (/ə/)
num	=	number
num conn	=	numerical connective
obl	=	oblique case
opt	=	optative
part	=	participle
pl	=	plural
poss	=	possessive, possessed
postp	=	postposition
pot	=	potential
PP	=	postpositional phrase

pred	=	predicative case
pres	=	present tense
PreV	=	pre-verb
Pro	=	pronoun
pro	=	pronominal suffix
prog	=	progressive aspect
Q	=	question complementiser
quant	=	quantifier
recip	=	reciprocal
ref	=	referential
refl	=	reflexive
S	=	sentence node or subject
sg	=	singular
stat	=	stative affirmative
StemP	=	stem phrase
subj	=	subjunctive
surf	=	surface
V	=	verb node
val	=	valence
wh	=	interrogative index

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\*Following the ethnic conventions of Circassian and Chinese, these names are automatically in the order surname–given name, and therefore do not take a comma.