FROM RESULTATIVE TO PASSIVE: A VIEW FROM NORTHWEST CAUCASIAN

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1. Introduction

Northwest Caucasian (NWC) languages, like North Caucasian languages in general, are believed to lack passive constructions (cf. Klimov & Alekseev 1980: 33; Siewierska 2013).

I will present empirical evidence admittedly showing different stages of the development of passive-like constructions on the basis of resultative constructions and revealing non-trivial parallels to similar developments in better-known European languages.

Some classic definitions and observations:

- Resultative (Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988: 6): "verb forms that express a state implying a previous event".
- Objective (P-oriented) resultative (ibid.: 9): resultative where "the underlying subject of the state ... in co-referential with the underlying object of the preceding action".
- Passive (ibid.: 17): "verb forms which indicate that the surface subject does not encode the agent ... the passive involves a change in diathesis, but no change in denotational meaning; thus, by passive only the **actional passive** and not the **statal passive** is meant, using traditional terminology".
- "[T]he resultative from transitive verbs typically expresses a state of the patient of the latter which usually surfaces as subject in a resultative construction ... This results in an intersection of the properties of resultative and passive" (ibid.).
- Resultatives are cross-linguistically common sources of passives (ibid.: 49; Haspelmath 1990: 38–40; 1994: 157–162).

2. Northwest Caucasian (Abkhaz-Adyghe) languages

One of the three indigenous language families of the Caucasus. Three branches:
– Abkhaz-Abaza
– Ubykh (extinct)
– Circassian (West Circassian a.k.a. Adyghe, East Circassian a.k.a. Kabardian).
In this talk:
– Temirgoy and Bzhedugh dialects of West Circassian
– Kuban dialect of Kabardian
– Tapanta dialect of Abaza

The data have been collected during field-trips jointly organized by the Russian State University for the Humanities and Higher School of Economics in 2014 (Bzhedugh, village Vočepšij, Adygheya), 2015–2016 (Kuban, village Blečepsin, Adygheya) and 2017–2018 (Tapanta, village Inžič-Čukun, Karachay-Cherkessia); Temirgoy data mostly courtesy of Irina Bagirokova (Moscow). Financial support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (grant # 17-04-00444) is gratefully acknowledged.

Major typological features (see Hewitt 2005, Arkadiev & Lander forthcoming):

- Very little distinction between major word classes (Lander & Testelets 2006).
- Polysynthesis (Lander & Testelets 2017 on West Circassian): pronominal affixes expressing all arguments of the verb (S, A, P as well as various indirect objects such as recipient, benefactive, and even location, cf. Smeets 1992 on Circassian and O'Herin 2002 on Abaza)

and a rich system of affixes marking aspectual, temporal and modal meanings (cf. Korotkova & Lander 2010 on Circassian). By contrast, case marking (rather impoverished) is attested only in Circassian and Ubykh.

Table 1. The general schema of the NWC verbal complex

prefixes						root	suffixes			
(A) argument structure zone				(B) pre-stem elements	(C) stem (Σ)				(D) endings	
absolutive	subordinators	applicatives and indirect objects	ergative	preradical negation	causative	root	event operators	temporal operators	suffixal negation	illocutionary operators or subordinators

TEMIRGOY WEST CIRCASSIAN (textual example)

(1) [*wə-qə-š'ə-ze-č̣'e*]$_A$-[*mə*]$_B$-[*ḳ^{w}e-ž'ə-n*]$_C$-[*ew*]$_D$
2SG.ABS-DIR-LOC-REC.IO-LOC-NEG-go-RE-MSD-ADV
'so that you don't retreat before him'

ABAZA (textual example)

(2) [*j-ʕa-də*]$_A$-[*m*]$_B$-[*rə́-pχaš'a-wa*]$_C$-[*ta*]$_D$
3PL.ABS-DIR-3PL.ERG-NEG-CAUS-shame-IPF-ADV
'(they) not causing them disgrace'

➢ Rich system of valency increasing operations, including causative and a large set of applicatives: benefactive, malefactive, many locatives etc. By contrast, valency decreasing operations are few (Lander & Letuchiy 2017 on West Circassian).

➢ Ergativity primarily manifested in head marking distinguishing between absolutive vs. oblique/ergative series of pronominal prefixes occupying distinct slots in the template shown in Table 1 (Kumakhov & Vamling 2009 on Circassian, O'Herin 2002 on Abaza).

Table 2. Absolutive vs. ergative personal prefixes

	Abaza		West Circassian	
	Absolutive	Ergative	Absolutive	Ergative
1Sg	*s(ə)-*	*s(ə)-/z-*	*sə-*	*s-/z-*
2Sg	M *w(ə)-*, *b(ə)-* F	M *w(ə)-*, F *b(ə)-/p-*	*wə-*	*w-/p-/b-*
3Sg	H *d(ə)-*, N *j(ə)-/∅*	M *j(ə)-*, F *l(ə)-*, N *na-/a-*	*∅-*	*jə-/ə-*
1Pl	*h(ə)-*	*h(ə)-/ʕ-*	*tə-*	*t-/d-*
2Pl	*ŝ(ə)-*	*ŝ(ə)-/ẑ-*	*ŝ^{w}ə-*	*ŝ^w-/ẑ^w-*
3Pl	*j(ə)-/∅*	*r(ə)-/d(ə)-*	*∅-*	*a-*

ABAZA (textual examples)

(3) a. ***h**-bzáza-d*
1PL.ABS-live(AOR)-DCL
'We lived.'

b. *awáʔa* ***hə**-ca-**də**-r-ça-χ-nə́s*
there **1PL.ABS**-LOC-**3PL.ERG**-CAUS-lie-RE-PURP
'so that they bury us there'

c. *á-sabəj-k^{w}a-g'əj* *bzəj* ***jə**-ʕ-b-áj-ṭ*
DEF-child-PL-ADD good **3PL.ABS-1PL.ERG**-see-PRS-DCL
'We love children.'

Circassian languages also manifest ergativity in their case systems comprising the Absolutive (*-r*, marks intransitive S (4a) and transitive P (4b)) and the Oblique (*-m* with allomorphs, marks transitive A (4b) and all types of indirect objects (4b)).

KUBAN KABARDIAN (elicited)

(4) a. *ŝale-**r*** *me-ž'ej*
boy-ABS DYN-sleep
'The boy is sleeping.'

b. *ŝale-**m*** *pŝaŝe-**m*** *txəλə-**r*** *jə-r-jə-t-a*
boy-OBL girl-OBL book-ABS 3SG.IO-DAT-3SG.ERG-give-PST
'The boy gave the book to the girl.'

Both branches also have polyfunctional Instrumental cases marking a variety of non-cross-referenced elements (see Serdobolskaya 2011 on West Circassian):

ABAZA (textual example)

(5) *taba = dəw-k^{w}a-**la*** *jə-h-rə́-ʒə-n*
pan = big-PL-INS 3SG.N.ABS-1PL.ERG-CAUS-fry-PST.DCL
'We fried it in big pans.'

TEMIRGOY WEST CIRCASSIAN (textual example)

(6) *jə-tanǯ'-jə* *jə-meʔ^{w}-jə* *təž'ən-re* *dəŝe-re-**ç̣'e*** *ʁela-ʁe-x*
POSS-helmet-ADD POSS-shield-ADD silver-COORD gold-COORD-INS paint-RES-PL
'Both his helmet and shield were decorated with gold and silver.'

➢ The normal way of backgrounding the agent of the event is by means of a generic or non-referential 3rd person plural:

BZHEDUGH WEST CIRCASSIAN (elicited)

(7) *p^{h}š'əmafe* *q-ə-ʔ^{w}a-ʁ* *t-jə-wəne* *svjet-er* *zere-x-**a**-ʁe-na-ʁe-r*
Pshimafe DIR-3SG.ERG-say-PST 1PL.IO-POSS-house light-ABS REL.FCT-LOC-3PL.ERG-CAUS-be.lit-PST-ABS
'Pshimafe said that light was turned on in our house (lit. that they turned on).'

ABAZA (textual example)

(8) *osmán* *d-an-ps-g'áj* *jará* *awáʔa* *dá-ça-**r**-ça*χ*-ṭ*
Osman 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TEMP-die-ADD he there 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-bury(AOR)-DCL
'When Osman died, he was also buried there (lit. they buried him there).'

➢ A complex tense-aspect system with a morphological distinction between static and dynamic verbs (most evident in Abkhaz-Abaza), and perfective and imperfective past tenses. See Kljagina 2018 for a recent comprehensive overview.

Table 3. Abaza core tense system

		Present	Past		Future
			Perfective	Imperfective	
Static	Affirmative	*-ṗ ~ b*	*-n*		*-zl-wə-š-ṭ*
	Negative	*g'-...-m*	*g'-...-mə-z-ṭ*		*g'-...-zl-wə-šə-m*
Dynamic	Affirmative	*-əj-ṭ*	*-ṭ ~ -d*	*-wa-n*	*-wa-š-ṭ*
	Negative	*g'-...-wa-m*	*g'-...-m-Σ-ṭ*	*g'-...-wa-mə-z-ṭ*	*g'-...-wa-šə-m*

Table 4. Circassian core tense systems

	Present	Past		Future
		Perfective	Imperfective	
W.Circassian	unmarked ~ dynamic prefix	*-ʁe ~ -ʁ* (word-finally)	*-(š')təʁe*	*-(š')t*
Kuban		*-a ~ -ʁe* (stem-internally)	*-te ~ -t* (word-finally)	*-ne*

3. The NWC resultatives

In both Circassian and Abaza resultatives are static predicates derived from dynamic verbs and lacking the ergative agent prefix. In Circassian, resultatives are furnished with the perfective past suffix (9b), in Abaza they do not have specific markers at all (10b).

BZHEDUGH (elicited)

(9) a. *te psənčʼ-ew l-er* ***d-ʁe-ẑa-ʁ***
we quick-ADV meat-ABS 1PL.ERG-CAUS-roast-PST
'We quickly roasted the meat.'

b. *l-er* ***ʁe-ẑa-ʁe***
meat-ABS CAUS-roast-RES
'The meat is roasted.'

ABAZA (elicited)

(10) a. *a-phʷə́spa á-ŝ* ***j-ʕa-l-ṭə́-d***
DEF-girl DEF-door 3SG.N.ABS-DIR-3SG.F.ERG-open(AOR)-DCL
'The girl opened the door.'

b. *á-ŝ* ***j-ṭə-b***
DEF-door 3SG.N.ABS-open(RES)-NPST.DCL
'The door is opened.'

In Circassian, resultatives can be formed from intransitive verbs, in which case they are not formally differentiated from the perfective past (Preterite) (11). In Abaza, only transitive verbs form resultatives. Syntactically, resultatives behave like adjectives, i.e. occur as incorporated postnominal modifiers in NPs (11b), or as stative predicates (9b, 10b).

KUBAN (elicited)

(11) a. *ɬə-xe-r vino* ***je-f-a-xe***
man-PL-ABS wine DAT-drink-PST-PL
'The men drank wine.'

b. *çəxʷ=**je-f-a**=dəde q̇e-ḳʷ-a*
man=DAT-drink-RES=very DIR-go-PST
'A very drunk man came.'

NB Due to the lack of dedicated morphology, it is virtually impossible to automatically extract resultatives from any kind of corpora, therefore most of the examples in the following are elicited.

In the Circassian resultatives, the Preterite suffix does not have past time reference:
– resultatives denote situations simultaneous to the speech time (12):

BZHEDUGH (elicited)

(12) *pče-r* ***ʔʷə-xə-ʁ***
door-ABS LOC-open-RES
'The door is open (now).'

– for non-present reference, resultative predicates take regular tense markers (13)–(14):

BZHEDUGH (elicited)

(13) *sə-qə-z-e-ḳʷe-m pče* ***ʔʷə-xə-ʁa-ʁ***
1SG.ABS-DIR-REL.TEMP-DYN-go-OBL door LOC-open-RES-PST
'When I came, the door was opened.'

KUBAN (elicited)

(14) *wə-q̇ə-ŝə-ḳʷe-ž'-č'e bž'e-r* ***ʔʷə-xə-ʁe-ne***
2SG.ABS-DIR-REL.TEMP-go-RE-INS door-ABS LOC-open-RES-FUT
'When you come, the door will be opened.'

Resultative predicates may attach aspectual and modal affixes, which in Circassian come after the Preterite suffix (15), (16a), thus showing it to be a part of the derived stem, in contrast to the regular perfective past (16b).

BZHEDUGH (elicited): refactive

(15) *pče-r* ***ʔʷə-xə-ʁe-ž'-epʰ***
door-ABS LOC-open-PST-RE-NEG
'The door is no longer opened.'

KUBAN (elicited): habilitive

(16) a. *ž'eš'-č'e* *bž'e-r* ***ʔʷə-xə-ʁe-fə-ne***
night-INS door-ABS LOC-open-RES-HBL-FUT
'The door can stay opened at night.'

b. *ŝale-m* *bž'e-r* ***ʔʷ-jə-xə-f-a*** / ***ʔʷ-jə-xə-ʁe-f***
boy-ERG door-ABS LOC-3SG.ERG-open-HBL-PST / *-PST-HBL
'The boy managed to open the door.'

4. From resultative to passive I: via direct extension

Since a canonical resultative denotes a state, it suppresses the agentive and dynamic components of the basic situation, which is manifested by the incompatibility of the resultative with expressions whose interpretation depends on such components. This distinguishes the resultative from the (actional) passive, cf. English examples in (17):

ENGLISH

(17) a. *The door* ***has been closed*** *quickly / on purpose.* (passive)
b. *The door* ***is closed*** *(*quickly / on purpose).* (resultative)

However, the native speakers of Bzhedugh, Kuban and Abaza allow the resultative to combine with a variety of expressions referring to the dynamic phases of the situation:

Table 5. Adverbial modification of resultatives

	Bzhedugh	**Kuban**	**Abaza**	**Temirgoy**
'last year'	yes	yes	yes (18)	no
in X time	yes (19)	yes	yes	no
'quickly'	yes	yes (20)	yes	no
instrument	yes (21)	yes	yes	no
purpose	yes (22)	yes	yes (23)	no
agent-oriented	yes (24)	no (25)	no	no
demoted agent	yes (26)	no (28)	yes (27)	no

ABAZA (elicited)

(18) *arəj* *sára* *cəpχ* ***jə-χʷʕá-b***
DEM cupboard last.year 3SG.N.ABS-1PL.ERG-buy(RES)-DCL
'This cupboard was (lit. is) bought last year.'

BZHEDUGH (elicited)

(19) *pism-er* *minut=pŝəkʷətʰfə-ǯ'e* ***txə-ʁa-ʁe***
letter-ABS minute=fifteen-INS write-RES-PST
'The letter was written in fifteen minutes.'

KUBAN (elicited)

(20) *pis'mo-r* *psənč'-əw* ***tx-a***
letter-ABS quick-ADV write-RES
'The letter was (lit. is) written quickly.'

BZHEDUGH (elicited)

(21) *pče-r* *mə* *ʔʷəč'əbze-m-ǯ'e* ***ʔʷə-xə-ʁa-ʁ***
door-ABS this key-OBL-INS LOC-open-RES-PST
'The door was opened by means of this key.'

BZHEDUGH (elicited)

(22) *mə* *txəλ-er* *ʔaqš'e-m* *pʰaj* ***txə-ʁa-ʁ***
this book-ABS money-OBL for write-RES-PST
'This book was written for the sake of money.'

ABAZA (elicited)

(23) *a-qə́ŝ-kʷa* ***j-ṭə-b*** *a-pə́jš'* *jə-m-šwə́ra-χa-ra* *a-qə́z-la*
DEF-window-PL 3PL.ABS-open(RES)-NPST.DCL DEF-room 3SG.N.ABS-NEG-hot-INC-MSD 3SG.N.IO-sake-INS
'The window is opened in order for the room not to be hot.'

BZHEDUGH (elicited)

(24) *laʁe-xe-r* *gʷəŝʷeps-ew* ***thač'ə-ǯ'ə-ʁa-ʁe-x***
plate-PL-ABS willing-ADV wash-RE-RES-PST-PL
'The dishes were washed willingly.'

KUBAN (elicited)

(25) **laʁe-xe-r* *gʷəf-əw-re* ***theŝ-a-t***
plate-PL-ABS joy-ADV-CNV wash-RES-IPF
intended: 'The dishes were washed with joy.'

BZHEDUGH (elicited)

(26) *mə* *txəλ-er* *txekʷe=çerəʔʷe-m-ǯ'e* ***txə-ʁa-ʁe***
this book-ABS writer=famous-OBL-INS write-RES-PST
'This book was written by a famous writer.'

ABAZA (elicited)

(27) *a-ç̣apχa-kʷá* *č'kʷə́n-k̟-la* ***j-ʕá-w-ṗ***
DEF-key-PL boy-INDF-INS 3PL.ABS-DIR-find(RES)-NPST.DCL
'The keys have been (lit. are) found by some guy.'

KUBAN (elicited)

(28) **d-jə-wəne-r* *d-j-ade-m-č'e* ***ŝ-a-t***
1PL.IO-POSS-house-ABS 1PL.IO-POSS-father-OBL-INS do-RES-IPF
intended: 'Our house was built by our father.'

It is important to note that neither of the aforementioned contexts triggered unanimous reaction of my consultants. In all varieties (especially in Abaza), there were native speakers who consistently rejected such an extended use of the resultative (and since for Temirgoy I have consulted just one native speaker, moreover, a linguist, these data are surely inconclusive). Instead, they proposed that the "impersonal" with the overt 3rd plural agent prefix should be used:

BZHEDUGH (elicited)

(29) *mə* *tʰxəλ-er* ****(a-)tʰxə-ʁa-ʁe*** [*ʔaqš'e=b-ew* *q-a-ʁe.χe-n-ew*].
this book-ABS *(3PL.ERG)-write-PST-PST money=much-ADV DIR-3PL.ERG-gain-POT-ADV
'This book was written (lit. they had written) in order to get a lot of money.

KUBAN (elicited)

(30) *χʷenaʁe-xe-r* [*parə-m-jə* *jə-mə-λaʁʷ-əw*] *doske-m* ***tər-*(a)-tx-a***.
swearword-PL-ABS nobody-OBL-ADD 3SG.ERG-NEG-see-ADV board-OBL LOC-*(3PL.ERG)-write-PST
'Someone (lit. they) secretly wrote swearwords on the blackboard.'

Abaza (elicited)

(31) *a-tʒə́* ***r-blə-ṭ/*blə-ṗ***
DEF-house 3PL.ERG-burn(AOR)-DCL/*burn(RES)-NPST.DCL
a-straχófka *ʕa-rə́-r-t-ra* *á-qaz-la*
DEF-insurance DIR-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-MSD 3SG.N.IO-sake-INS
'The house has been burnt (lit. they burnt the house) in order to collect insurance.'

5. From resultative to passive II: via inceptive in Abaza

In addition to the passive-like uses of the plain resultative not always accepted by the native speakers, Abaza features a construction for which the diagnostic contexts listed above are accepted more unanimously, viz. the **inceptive** derived from the resultative by the suffix *-χa* and yielding a "secondary" dynamic predicate still lacking the agent prefix:

ABAZA (elicited)

(32) a. *a-ŝ* ***arḳə́-b***
DEF-door close(RES)-NPST.DCL
'The door is closed.'

b. *a-ŝ* ***arḳ-χə́-d***
DEF-door close(RES)-INC(AOR)-DCL
'The door became closed.'

This suffix is used to derive dynamic verbs from nominals (Tabulova 1976: 104–105):

(33) *awát* *zəmʕʷá* ***j-š'arda.ĉa-χə́-ṭ***
DEM.PL all 3PL.ABS-too.many-INC-DCL
'They became too numerous.' (textual example)

My consultants, regardless of whether they accept the passive-like uses of the plain resultative, tend to allow the inceptive in contexts referring to the dynamic aspects of the situation (34)–(35), including the reference to the agent (36)–(37):

ABAZA (elicited)

(34) *a-həjsáp* *sahat=bža-k-la* ***j-č'pa-χá-d /%j-č'pá-b***
DEF-problem hour=half-ADNUM-INS 3SG.N.ABS-do(RES)-INC(AOR)-DCL/%3SG.N.ABS-do(RES)-NPST.DCL
'The problem was solved in half an hour.'

(35) *a-saʒə́m.ŝʔa* *lasə́-ta* ***j-ʕʷ-χa-d/*j-ʕʷə-b***
DEF-letter quick-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-write(RES)-INC(AOR)-DCL/*3SG.N.ABS-write(RES)-NPST.DCL
'The letter was written quickly.'

(36) *á-maĉa-kʷa* *a-sabə́j-kʷa-la* ***j-ǯǯa-χá-d /%j-ǯǯa-b***
DEF-dish-PL DEF-child-PL-INS 3PL.ABS-wash(RES)-INC(AOR)-DCL/%3PL.ABS-wash(RES)-NPST.DCL
'The dishes were washed by the children.'

(37) *arə́j* *a-tʒə́* ***z-la-č'pa-χá-da?***
DEM DEF-house REL.IO-INS-do(RES)-INC(AOR)-QH
'Who built this house? (lit. by whom was this house built?)'

6. Discussion

The two paths of development from the objective resultative ("statal passive") to actional passive outlined above for NWC, i.e. the extension of the resultative proper and the "dynamicization" of the resultative by an inceptive operator, find immediate parallels in European languages such as German, Baltic and Slavic (see Nedjalkov 1988, 2017, Wiemer 2004, Wiemer & Giger 2005).

➢ Thus, in Russian and Lithuanian constructions with the auxiliary 'be' and the passive past participle are systematically ambiguous between resultative and actional passive (see e.g. Knjazev 1988 on Russian, Gėniušienė & Nedjalkov 1988 on Lithuanian):

RUSSIAN

(38) a. *Dver'* ***by-l-a*** ***otkry-t-a*** *dolg-o*. (resultative)
door(NOM.SG) be-PST-F.SG open-PST.PP-F.SG long-ADV
'The door was open for a long time.'

b. *Dver'* ***by-l-a*** ***otkry-t-a*** *bystr-o*. (actional passive)
door(NOM.SG) be-PST-F.SG open-PST.PP-F.SG fast-ADV
'The door was opened quickly.'

LITHUANIAN (Gėniušienė & Nedjalkov 1988: 373, glossing added)

(39) *Dur-ys* ***buv-o*** ***už.rakin-t-os,*** *bet* *aš* *ne-žin-au,*
door-NOM.PL be-PST.3 lock-PST.PP-NOM.PL.F but 1SG.NOM NEG-know.PRS-1SG
kada *j-os* ***buv-o*** ***už.rakin-t-os***.
when 3-NOM.PL.F be-PST.3 lock-PST.PP-NOM.PL.F
'The door was locked (resultative), but I don't know when it got locked (passive).'

➢ By contrast, in Polish, Latvian and German the distinction between resultative and actional passive is formally marked by the choice of the stative vs. inceptive auxiliary:

GERMAN (Nedjalkov 1988: 424)

(40) a. *Gestern noch* ***war*** *dort ein Schild* ***angebracht***. (resultative)
'Yesterday, a signboard was attached there still.'

b. *Gestern noch* ***wurde*** *dort ein Schild* ***angebracht***. (actional passive)
'Yesterday yet someone attached a signboard there.'

LATVIAN (elicited, Arkadiev & Wiemer, forthcoming, ex. (21))

(41) *Durv-is* ***bij-a*** ***aiz.slēg-t-as,*** *bet* *es* *ne-zin-u,*
door-NOM.PL be-PST.3 lock-PST.PP-NOM.PL.F but 1SG.NOM NEG-know.PRS-1SG
kā *t-as* ***tik-a*** ***aiz.slēg-t-as***.
when DEM-NOM.PL.F get-PST.3 lock-PST.PP-NOM.PL.F
'The door was locked, but I don't know when it got locked.'

POLISH (elicited, courtesy of Andrzej Żak)

(42) *Okn-o* ***jest*** ***wy.bi-t-e,*** *ale* *nie* *wie-m,*
window-NOM.SG be.PRS.3 break-PST.PP-N.SG but NEG know-PRS.1SG
kiedy ***zo.sta-ł-o*** ***wy.bi-t-e***.
when become-PST-N.SG break-PST.PP-N.SG
'The window is broken, but I don't know when it was broken.'

Note that in contexts like this Abaza shows a fully parallel distinction between the resultative and the inceptive:

ABAZA (elicited)

(43) *a-ŝ* ***ṭə-b,*** *awásа* *sará* *j-g'-sə́-z-dərə-m*
DEF-door open(RES)-NPST.DCL but 1SG 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-NEG
j-an-ṭ-χə́
3SG.N.ABS-REL.TEMP-open(RES)-INC(AOR)
'The door is open, but I don't know when it was opened.'

Unfortunately, I have no examples like (43) for the Circassian varieties, though I suspect that the use of the resultative with reference to the event here would not be acceptable.

➢ Note, however, that at least in German, the resultative with the 'be'-auxiliary can combine with a variety of event-related modifiers including agent phrases (see Nedjalkov 2017: 157–170, 177–236; Gehrke 2012):

GERMAN (Nedjalkov 2017: 166, 226)

(44) a. *Nach anderthalb Monaten* ***war*** *das erste Kapitel wieder neu* ***geschrieben****.*
'In one and a half months the first chapter was written anew.'

b. *Dieses* [*Bild*] ***ist*** *von einem Kunstmaler* ***gemalt****.*
'This [painting] has been painted by a painter.'

However, it does not seem that the constraints on adverbial modification of the German statal passive proposed by Gehrke (2012) work for the Circassian and Abaza resultatives, though this still remains to be investigated in greater detail.

➢ The extension of the NWC resultative into the passive domain might have to do with the influence from Russian. However, the elicited data available so far is fairly tentative and shows a high degree of inter-speaker variation, and thus should ideally be supplemented by naturalistic data, e.g. from the written registers of standard languages, which may exhibit greater influence from (formal) Russian than spoken vernaculars. However, as said above, the nature of the formal marking of the constructions in question makes their corpus investigation extremely difficult.

➢ Perhaps most notably, this material offers a window into the initial stages of the transition between resultative proper and passive, as well as into the microvariation in this domain, finding interesting parallels in the better-known languages. It also shows the role of optional modifiers in this change, which is manifested mainly in semantics rather than in morphosyntax.

Abbreviations

ABS — absolutive; ADD — additive; ADNUM — adnumeral; ADV — adverbial; AOR — aorist; CAUS — causative; CNV — converb; COORD — coordinator; DAT — dative preverb; DCL — declarative; DEF — definite; DEM — demonstrative; DIR — directional preverb; DYN — dynamic; EMP — emphatic; ERG — ergative; F — feminine; FCT — factive; FUT — future; H — human; HBL — habilitive; INC — inceptive; INDF — indefinite; INS — instrumental; IO — indirect object; IPF — imperfective; LOC — locative; MSD — masdar; N — neuter/non-human; NEG — negation; NOM — nominative; NPST — nonpast; OBL — oblique; PL — plural; POSS — possessive; POT — potential; PP — passive participle; PRS — present; PST — past; PURP — purposive; QH — question with human reference; RE — refactive; REC — reciprocal; REL — relativization; RES — resultative; SG — singular; TEMP — temporal.

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