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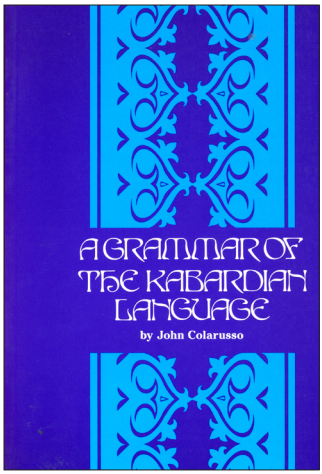

THE GRAMMAR OF THE KABARDIAN LANGUAGE
by John Colarusso
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4

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, $G_1 \times G_2 \times \ldots \times G_n$, 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**

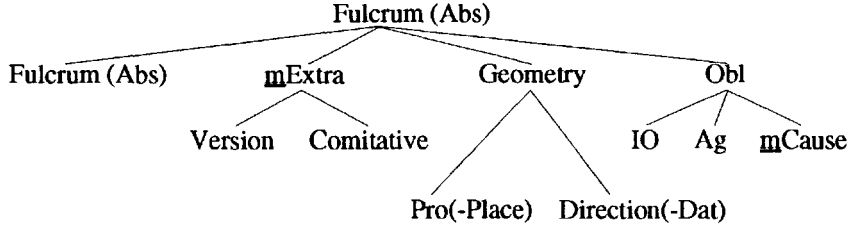
I shall first present the sub-components of morphology that are needed to characterise the Kabardian verb. In doing so I shall give only enough data to illustrate these sub-components without obscuring the theory. In the next section,

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) /ƛ'ə-ha-r ma-a-pƛə+a-ha/ ([mæpƛɑ́ɦɑ])
man-pl-abs 3-pres-look+intr-pl
'The men are looking.'

(ii) /sa s-a-w-pƛə+a/ ([sʌ́·pƛɛ])
I I-pres-prog-look+intr
'I am looking.'

b. Two-place transitives

(i) /ƛ'ə-m-a sa sə-q'a-y-ə-ƛaaɣʷə-aɣ-ha-ś/ ([səq'e·ƛɑ́·ɣʷɑ·ɦɛ́ś])
man-obl-pl me me-hor-he-non pres-see-past-pl-aff
'The men saw me.'

(ii) /sa wa wə-s-ƛaaɣʷə-aɣ-ś/ ([wusƛɑ̀·ɣʷɑ́·ś])
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-aɣ-ś/ ([səq'wi·tɑ́·ś])
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-ʔa-aɣ-ś/ ([q'əzžɛpʔɑ́·ś])
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-ɣa-a-pƛə+a-aɣ-ś/ ([wɪzɣ...æpƛɑ́·ś])
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-ɣa-a-ƛaaɣʷə-aɣ-ś/ ([wuq'e·zɣəƛɑ̀·ɣʷɑ́·ś])
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-ɣa-a-tə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'wɑ·zɣətɑ́·ś])
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-ʔ"ə-fa-m sə-ø-ʔ"ə-a-ƛ-ś/ ([soʔ"ɛƛś])
I river-edge-skin-obl I-3-edge-pres-lie-aff
'I lay on the river bank.'

b. /tx̂ə-ƛ-r ʔaana-m ø-ø-t-y-a-ƛ-ś/ ([teˑƛś])
write-lie-abs table-obl 3-3-surf-dir-dat-lie-aff
'The book lies on the table.'

c. /fə-za-bĝə-rə-[x̂a-]t-ɣa-a-[kʷə]-aɣ-ś/ ([fəzəbĝɪrɪx̂ɛdɣəkʷáˑś])
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 detrimentive) 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'ś'a/, which can be used with a pronoun to preclude a verbal index, but with the detrimentive, 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.

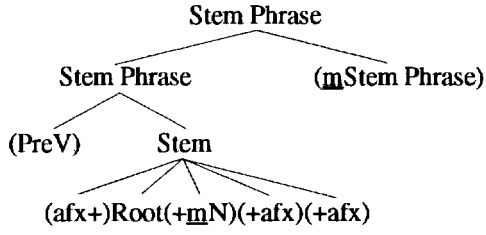
(137) Version

a. /pśaaśa-r ø-q'ə-f-x̂"a-s-šə-aɣ-ś/
girl-abs 3-hor-you(pl)-for-I-lead off-past-aff
'I led the girl off for you(pl).'

b. /pśaaśa-r ø-q'ə-y-ha-f'ə-w-da-s-šə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'yáˑf'ɛbdɛsšáˑś])
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 subcomponent 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

a. /ø-w-a-s-ʔʷa+ta-aɣ-ś/ ([wɛsʔʷɛtáˑś])
3-you-dat-I-say+prolonged-past-aff
'I told it to you.'

b. /sa šx̂ə-n-əm sə-y-a-šx̂ə+a-aɣ-ś/ ([seˑšx̂áˑś])
I eat-inf-obl I-3-dat-eat+intr-past-aff
'I am trying to eat the food.'

c. /sahbəy-r ø-qʼə-w-ʔa-ś-a-s-ƛ+ha-aɣ-ś/ ([qʼɛpʔɛśʼɛsƛḥáˑś])
infant-abs 3-hor-your-arm-inst-I-lie+act-past-aff
'I laid the baby in your arms.'

d. /yənə-źə-r ø-zə-x̂a-t-ɣa-wək^{w}ə+rə+ya-aɣ-ś/ ([zɪx̂ɛdɣowukʷɛriyáˑś])
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/ ([tɪzoˑzáˑwo])
we-recip-pres-prog-recip+conn+hit-dat
'We are fighting with each other.'

b. /sə-w-a-gʷə+psəsa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([suwogʷɛpsɪsáˑɬ])
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, /-ḥa-/ in (141a), is the same verb root as /-ḥa-/ 'to enter'.

(141) Circumfixation

a. /sə-qʼa-tʼə+s+ḥa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([səqʼɛtʼɪsḥáˑɬ])
I-incept-down+sit+act-past-aff
'I sat down.'

b. /tə-t-y-a-χʷa+x̌+ə/ ([təteˑɣʷóx̌ɪ])
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-ɾ ø-qʼə-[x̂a-žə]-aɣ-ɬ/ ([qʼɪx̂ɛžáˑɬ])
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]-aɣ-ś/ ([q'ɪdɪžə́·ś])
water-abs 3-hor-opening-flow out-past-aff
'The water flowed out (as from a hole or breach).'

c. /fə-za-bĝə-rə-[x̂a-]t-ɣa-a-[kʸə]-aɣ-ś/ ([fɪzæbĝɪrɪx̂ɛdɣəkʸə́·ś])
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.

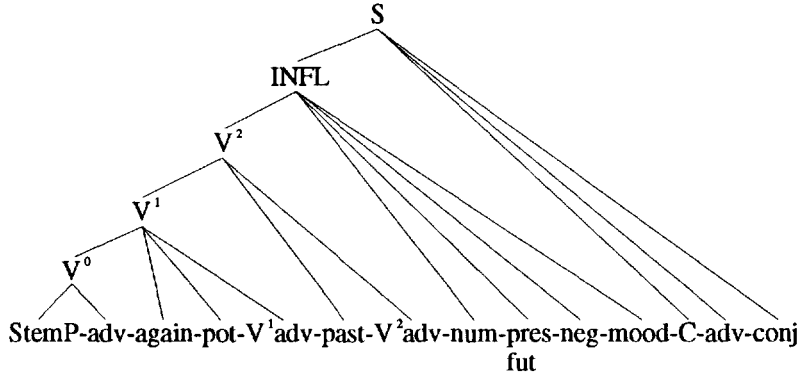
(143) Verb compounding

a. /ø-za-bĝə-rə-[ɣʷa+λ̌+ə]+[kʸə]-aɣ-ha-ś/ ([zæbĝɪroɣʷɛλ̌əkʸɑ·fiáś])
they-recip-middle-distr-[purpose+lie+dyn]+[exit]-past-pl-aff
'They scattered and took up positions lying down.'

b. /šə-r psə-m ø-ø-ś'-a-[t'ə+s+ə]+[kʸə]-n-w-ś/ ([ś'ɪt'ɪsəkʸɪnú·ś])
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^0 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^0) adverbs

a. /sə-da-kʷə+a+ta-yə-žə-aɣ-ś/ ([sɪdokʷɛteyižə́ˑś])
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-psaƛə-ah-fə-aɣ-ś/ ([dɛpteˑpsaƛaḥfə́ˑś])
we-you-surf-dir-dat-talk-around-able-past-aff
'We were able to talk all about you.'

c. /yənə-źə-r qʼʷəšḥa-ƛaaq̂a-m ø-y-a-ʔʷə-ƛ'-a-aɣ-ś/ ([yeʔʷʏƛ'ə́ˑś])
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^1 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-qʼə-ø-t-y-a-y-ha-x̂ə-žə-aɣ-ś/ ([qʼɪtɛɾɑˑx̂ɪžə́ˑś])
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-qʼə-ø-t-y-a-y-ha-x̂ə-žə-fə-aɣ-ś/ ([qʼɪtɛɾɑˑx̂ɪžɛfə́ˑś])
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-šx̂ə+a-žə-fə-pa-aɣ-ha-ś/ ([yešx̂ɛž^{y}ɛfɛpɑ́·ɦɛś])
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-šx̂ə-fə-q^{w}a-aɣ-q'm/ ([sšx̂ɛfoq'^{w}ɑ́·q'ɛm])
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^2, 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'^{w}ə+a-aɣ-aɣ-k^{y}a-ha-s/ ([k'^{w}ɑ·ɣɑ·k^{y}ɑ́ɦɛś])
3-move+intr-past-past-already-pl-aff
'They already left long ago.'

b. /ø-s-ś'ə-fə-aɣ-k^{y}a-ha-ś/ ([sś'ɛfɑ·k^{y}ɑ́ɦɛś])
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-x̂ə-žə-fə-aɣ-ha-q'm/ ([q'ətəri·x̂ɪžɛfɑ·ɦɑq'ɛ́m])
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'ʷə+a-ha-r(-q'əm)/ ([mɑ́·k'ʷɑfiær(-q'ém)])
3-pres-move+intr-pl-pres(-not)
'They are (not) going.'

b. /ø-k'ʷə+a-ha-n-w-ś/ ([k'ʷɑfiɛnú·ś])
3-move+intr-pl-fut-def-aff
'They will be going.'

c. /sə-k'ʷə+a-aɣ-ŝara/ ([suk'ʷɑśǽræ])
I-move+intr-past-opt
'I would like to have gone.'

d. /wə-q'ə-s-da-mə-ʔa+pəq'ʷə-aɣ-ta-ma sa ø-q'ə-s-a-ḥaƛa-k'ʸə-n-ta/
([wuq'ɪzdæmɛʔæpoq'ʷɑ́tæmæ sɛ q'ɪzæḥɛƛək'ʸɪntæ])
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-śə-s-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-ŝara-t/ ([wuśɪsƛà·ɣʷɑ·śærɛ́t])
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'ʷə+a-aɣ-ta-ma/ ([q'ok'ʷɑ·tǽmæ])
3-hor-move+intr-past-irreal-if
'If he had come...'

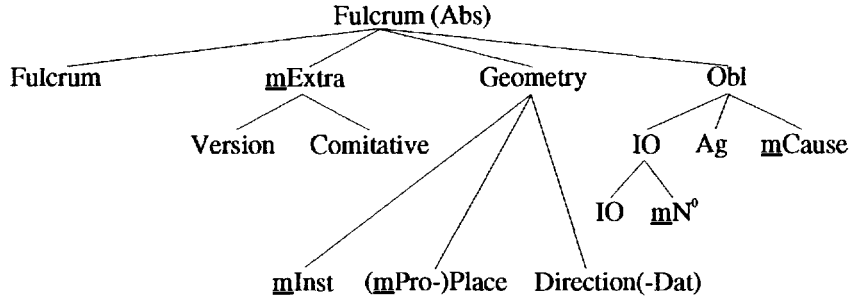
b. /ø-q'a-k'ʷə+a-aɣ-ta-ma-əy/ ([q'ok'ʷɑ·tæmí·])
3-hor-move+intr-past-irreal-if-even
'Even if he had come...'

c. /ø-q'a-k'ʷə+a-aɣ-ta-ma-əy-əy/ ([q'ok'ʷɑ·tæmærí·])
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-ƛa-ʔʷa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([seˑƛoʔʷɑ́ˑɬ])
I-3-dat-footpath (leg)-say-past-aff
'I asked him.'

b. /sə-x̂ə-a-psaƛə-ḥə-n-w-ɬ/ ([sɪx̂æpsɛƛæḥɪnúˑɬ])
I-mass-dat-word-enter-fut-def-aff
'I shall enter the conversation.'

c. /də-yə-yə-tḥa+ʔʷə-x̂ʷə+d-ɬ/ ([diˑriˑtḥoʔʷox̂ʷídɬ])
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-kʷʼə+a/ ([dɛriˑdɛzóˑkʷʼə])
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).

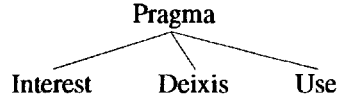
(155) Stem phrase noun incorporation into adverb position
/sə-q'a-wə+q'ʷa+dəy-aɣ-ɬ/ ([səq'owuqʷɛdiyáɬ])
I-incept-multiple+stretch-joint-past-aff
'I stretched (flexed) myself.'

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+ʔa+ɬ'a-k'ʷə+a+də-n-w-ɬ/ ([wusʔɛɬ'ok'ʷɛdɪnúɬ])
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 absolutive. Hence, it is an ergative morpheme. Verbs carrying this affix are termed /ʔa-k'ʷac'ə/ arm (hand)-inside = 'in the hand,' as opposed to those without, which are termed /ʔa-ɬ'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 tχəƛə-r ø-w-a-s-tə-aɣ-ś/ ([wostáˑś])
I you book-past 3-you-dat-I-give-past-aff
'I gave you the book.'

b. /sa wa tχəƛə-r ø-q'ə-w-a-s-tə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'wostáˑś])
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. /šə+wə-m ƛ'ə-r ø-y-a-wəkʷə/ ([yewúkʷɪ])
horse+man-obl man-abs 3-3-pres-kill
'The horseman is killing the man (a stranger).'

d. /šə+wə-m ƛ'ə-r ø-q'a-y-a-wəkʷə+a/ ([q'eˑwúkʷɛ])
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. /ƛ'ə-r šə-m ø-ø-ya-psə-χə-aɣ-ś/ ([yepsɪχáˑś])
man-abs horse-obl 3(man)-3(horse)-vertical-descend-down-past-aff
'The man dismounted (but may soon remount).'

b. /ƛ'ə-r šə-m ø-q'a-ø-ya-psə-χə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'eˑpsɪχáˑś])
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[1])

a. /yə-ƛas ø-xʷə-aɣ-kʷa-ś də-z-a-r-a-za-r-a-mə-ƛaaɣʷə-aɣ-ra ø/
([xʷaˑkʷɛś dɪzæræzæræmɪƛàˑɣʷáˑræ])
gen(itive)-year 3-pass-past-already-aff we-how-dat-inst-dat-recip-ioc-dat-not-see-past-part(iciple) copula
'A year has already passed without our seeing one another.'

b. /ø-q'ə-z-x̂ʷə-z-a-t-y-a-wəva+ʔa-aɣ-ra-ra/ ([q'ɪzx̂ʷɪzɛtᵊwuvæʔɑ́ᵊræræ])
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-tʰ-y-a-wəva+ʔa-aɣ-m/ ([q'ɪzɪzɛtᵊwuvæʔɑ́ᵊm])
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 ś'aaλa-ha-m sə-ø-śə-y-ha-x̂ʷa-zə-aɣ-ś/ ([sɪśɑᵊx̂ʷɛzɑ́ᵊś])
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-x̂ʷə-śə-y-ha-x̂ʷa-zə-aɣ-ra/ ([səq'ɪzx̂ʷɪśɑᵊx̂ʷɛzɑ́ᵊræ])
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-ƛ̓a+kʸə-ɣa-ma-əy/ ([pƛ̓ɛkʸɑˑmíˑ])
3-you-PreV+can-past-if-even
'Even if you could do it...'

b. /wə-q'a-pƛ̓+a-n ø-w-ƛ̓a+kʸə-aɣ-ya-ma/ ([pƛ̓ɛkʸɑ́ˑyimæ])
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-kʷə+a/ ([dɛriˑdɛzóˑkʷæ])
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-kʷə+a-aɣ-ś/ ([dɪdɛzeˑkʷɑ́ˑś])
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-ʔa-žə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'ɪbžɪsʔɛžɑ́ˑś])
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-x̌ʷə-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-śə-ś-ś/ ([sɑˑśíśś])
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-pƛ̓+a-kʸə-ɣʷa ø-y-ə-mə-x̂ʷa-aɣ-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-ƛaaɣʷə-kʷa/
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-ɕə-sə-mə-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-...-ɕara-t/
you 3-obl you-3-deixis-I-not-see-past-...-opt-irreal
'If only I had seen you there!'
(ii) /wə-q'ə-s-da-mə-ʔa+pəqʷə-aɣ-ta-ma sa ø-q'ə-s-a-ḥaƛa-kʷə-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-x̂ʷə-ø-t-y-a-s-x̂ə-žə-fə-aɣ-ha-q'm/([q'ɛpfɪtɛ'sx̂ɪžɛfə́'ɦaq'ɛm])
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-x̂ʷə-ø-t-y-a-s-x̂ʷa-x̂ə-žə-...-aɣ-ha-q'm/
([q'ɛpx̂ʷɪtɛ'sx̂ʷəx̂ɪžə́'ɦaq'ɛm])
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-x̂ʷə-w-x̂ʷə-ø-t-y-a-x̂ə-žə-aɣ-ha-q'm/
([q'ɪsx̂ʷɛpx̂ʷɪtɛ'x̂ɪžə́'ɦaq'ɛ́m])
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 ɕ'aaƛa-ha-m sə-q'ə-ø-ɕə-y-ha-x̂ʷa-zə-aɣ-ɕ/([səq'ɪɕa'x̂ʷɛzə́'ɕ])
3-obl I child-pl-obl I-hor-3-deixis-3-pl-for-turn-past-aff
'I met the children there.'
(ii) /sa ɕ'aaƛa-ha-m a-bə sə-q'ə-y-ha-ɕə-...-x̂ʷa-zə-aɣ-ɕ/
([səq'a'ɕux̂ʷɛzə́'ɕ])
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 tx̂əƛ̓ə-m sə-x̂ʷə-y-a-mə-gʸa/ (*[sɛx̂ʷeːmígʸə])
I(abs) book-obl I-for-3-dat-not-read
'I cannot read the book.'

b. /sa tx̂əƛ̓ə-m sə-y-a-mə-gʸa-fə/ ([seːmɪgʸə́fɛ])
I(abs) book-obl I-3-dat-not-read-able
'I cannot read the book.'

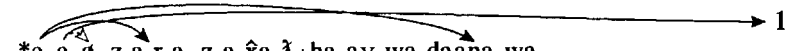
4.1.6.5 ***Cross-over Constraint*** The cross-over constraint reaches across a sentence and down into the morphology of the verb. In this regard the argument component of the morphology is globally sensitive to the syntax, and might in fact be called syntactical morphology. The cross-over constraint explains why the absolutive 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 forget how it goes e.

b. Form with overt relative index in the absolutive

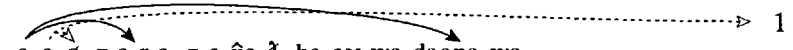


*e$_2$ e$_1$ ø$_1$-z-a-r-a$_2$-z-a-x̂a-ƛ̓+ḥa-aɣ-wa daana-wa$_2$
(how)$_2$(song)$_1$ 3$_1$-what-dat-inst-dat$_2$-self-dat-mass-lie+act-past-comp how$_2$

yə$_1$-s-śə-gʷə+pśa-žə-aɣ-wa zə-warad-gʷara-r ø-ž-ø-ə-ʔa-aɣ-ś
which$_1$-me-deixis-heart+forget-past-self-pred one-song-certain-abs3-again-
3-non pres-say (= sing)-past-aff

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

c. Form with zero-relative index in the absolutive



e$_2$ e$_1$ ø$_1$-z-a-r-a$_2$-z-a-x̂a-ƛ̓+ḥa-aɣ-wa daana-wa$_2$
(how) $_2$(song)$_1$ 3$_1$-what-dat-inst-dat$_2$-self-dat-mass-lie+act-past-comp how$_2$

ø$_1$-s-śə-gʷə+pśa-žə-aɣ-wa zə-warad-gʷara-r ø-ž-ø-ə-ʔa-aɣ-ś
which$_1$-me-deixis-heart+forget-self-past-pred one-song-certain-abs3-again-
3-non pres-say (= sing)-past-aff

'He sang a song, I forget 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_2 PS grammar with a dash of G_1 and G_0 (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_0'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 absolutive 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-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-ɬ/ ([wuq'ɛsƛàɣʷá·ɬ])
I(obl) you(abs) you-hor-I-see-past-aff
'I saw you.'
(ii) /sa ƛ'ə-r ø-q'a-s-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ɛsƛàɣʷá·ɬ])
I man-abs 3-hor-I-see-past-aff
'I saw the man.'
b. Intransitives
(i) /sa s-a-w-pƛə+a/ ([só·pƛɛ])
I(abs) I-pres-prog-look+intr
'I am looking.'
(ii) /ƛ'ə-r ma-a-pƛə+a/ ([má·pƛɛ])
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 absolutive 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
/ø-q'a-a-k'ʷə+a/ ([q'ʷá·k'ʷə])
3-hor-pres-move+intr
'He is coming (hither).'
(ii) Outside the hand
/ma-a-k'ʷə+a/ ([má·k'ʷə])
3-pres-move+intr
'He is moving (travelling).'

b. Horizon = area of interest

(i) In hand

/sə-q̲'ə-w-x̂ʷa-a-w-kʷ'ə+a/ ([səq'əpx̂ʷó·kʷ'ə])

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

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

(ii) Outside the hand

/sə-w-x̂ʷa-a-w-kʷ'ə+a/ ([səpx̂ʷó·kʷ'ə])

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

'I am going for your sake.'

c. Horizon = kinsmen

(i) In hand

/wa ƛ'ə-r ø-q̲'a-w-wəkʸə-a-žə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'obwükʸɛžɑ́·ś])

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

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

(ii) Outside the hand

/wa ƛ'ə-r ø-w-wəkʸə-žə-aɣ-ś/ ([bwükʸɪžɑ́·ś])

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 tx̂əƛ-ər ø-q̲'ə-w-a-s-tə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'uwostɑ́·ś])

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 tx̂əƛ-ər ø-w-a-s-tə-aɣ-ś/ ([wostɑ́·ś])

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-q̲'a-a-nə-a-ś/ ([sɑ·q'ɑ́·nɛś])

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-šx̂ ø-q̲'a-a-w-šx̂ə/ ([q'o·šx̂])

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

'It is raining.'

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

/ø-q̲'a-a-s-śta-ś .../ ([q'ɑ́·sśtɛś])

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'ʷə+a-aɣ-ś/ ([nokʷɑ́·ś])
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-śəḥa-aǧ-ś/ ([nɪśɛḥɑ́·ś])
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'ə-śə-s-aɣ-ś/ ([q'ɪśɪsɑ́·ś])
3-incept-deixis-sit-past-aff
'He sat down there.'
(ii) Stative
/ø-śə-s-aɣ-ś/ ([śɪsɑ́·ś])
3-deixis-sit-past-aff
'He sat there.'
b. Terminative
(i) Change
/yagʸaap'a ø-q'a-y-ə-wəx̂ə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'i·wux̂ɑ́·ś])
school(-abs) 3(school)-incept-3-past-finish-past-aff
'He graduated from school (once and for all).'
(ii) Stative-like
/yagʸaap'a ø-y-ə-wəx̂ə-aɣ-ś/ ([yiwux̂ɑ́·ś])
school(-abs) 3(school)-3-past-finish-past-aff
'He finished school (only for the term).'

c. Inchoative

(i) Inchoative

/ø-q'a-dəḥašx̂ə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'ɛdɛḥɛšx̂ɑ́·ś])

3-incept-laugh-past-aff

'He started to laugh.'

(ii) Ordinary

/ø-dəḥašx̂ə-aɣ-ś/ ([dɛḥɛšx̂ɑ́·ś])

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'ʷə+a-r/ ([wuq'ɪzɛrúk'ʷɛr])
(how) you-hor-wh-dat-inst-move+intr-pres(non-affirmative)
'How are you coming?'

b. /ø-q'ə-z-x̂ʷə-z-a-t-y-a-wəva+ʔa-aɣ-r/ ([q'ɪzx̂ʷɪzɛte·wuvæʔɑ́·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'ʷə+a-m/ ([wuq'ɛzók'ʷɛm])
you-hor-wh-dat-move+intr-obl
'when you come' or 'when you came'

d. /wə-q'ə-zə-z-a-t-y-a-wəva+ʔa-aɣ-r/ ([wuq'ɪzɪzɛte·wuvæʔɑ́·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 /-śə-/ 'there,' 'here,' or 'place of,' with the notion of some inherent locus. Rarely, it can take a

pronominal index, as in (175c) where /-ɬ-/ 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-ɬə-s-ɬ/ ([sɪɬɪ́sɬ])
I-deixis-sit-aff
'I sit here (there) (stative).'

b. /sə-ɬə-w-x̂ʷa-zə-a-aɣ-ɬ/ ([sɪɬɛpx̂ʷɛzɑ́ˑɬ])
I-deixis-you-for-turn (meet)-to-past-aff
'I met you there.'

c. /sə-f-ɬə-ɬ-ɬ/ ([sɛfɬɪ́ɬɬ])
I-you(pl)-deixis-be located-aff
'I belong to you (as a group).'

d. /sa sə-z-da-ɬə-ʔa-aɣ-m ø-f'ə-ɬ/ ([sɪzdɛɬɪ́ʔɑˑm f'ɪɬ])
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 /-x̂ʷa-/ (176a) has a homonymous adversative (176b). The semantic scale is further extended by a detrimentive /-f'a-/ (176c), which closely resembles the incorporated adverb /f'ə-/ '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-x̂ʷa-s-ɬ'ə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([px̂ʷɛsɬ'ɑ́ˑɬ])
it-you-for-I-do-past-aff
'I did it for your sake.'

b. Adversative
/sə-q'-y-ha-x̂ʷa-psaƛa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([səq'yɑˑx̂ʷɛpsɛƛɑ́ˑɬ])
I-hor-3-pl-against-speak-past-aff
'I slandered them.'

c. Detrimentive
/pśaaśa-r ø-q'ə-w-f'a-s-šə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'əpf'ɛsšɑ́·ś])
girl-abs 3-hor-you-despite-I-carry off-past-aff
'I carried off (= married) the girl despite you.'

d. Incorporated adverb
/f'ə-ƛ̓aaɣ"ə-n-ɣa/ ([f'ɪƛ̓ɑ́·ɣ"ɪnə́ɣa])
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. /pśaaśa-r ø-q'ə-w-f'ə-ø-ha-da-s-šə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'ɛpf'ɑ·dɛsšɑ́·ś])
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. /də-z-a-da-šx̂ə+a-ś/ ([dɪzɛdɛ́šx̂ɛś])
we-recip-dat-com-eat+intr-aff
'We always eat together (stative).'

c. /(yə-)zə-da-w-ś'ə-r ø-ś'ax̂-ś/ ([(yi)zɪdæpś'ɛr ś'əx̂ś])
(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'
/wə-z-da-k'"ə+a-r/ ([wuzdòk'"ɛ́r])
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-hɑ-/ plural.

(179) Simple pre-verbs

a. Sharp point (= detrimentive ?)(/-f'a-/)
/pəʔa-r f'a-ʒ-a-a-p'a-m ø-ø-f'a-λ-ɬ/ ([f'ɛλɬ])
hat-abs sharp-throw-on-conn-place-obl 3(hat)-3(peg)-sharp-lie (hang)-aff
'The hat is on the peg.'

b. Edge (/-ʔʷə-/)
/psə-ʔʷə-fa-m ø-ø-ʔʷə-λ-ɬ/ ([ʔʷülɬ])
river-edge-skin-obl 3-3(riverbank)-edge-lie-aff
'It lies near the riverbank.'

c. Front (= mouth) (/-ʔʷə-/, with 'mouth' ← 'lips' ← 'edge,' (b))
/sə-ø-ʔʷə-ḥa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([soʔʷɤḥɑ́ˑɬ])
I-3-front-enter-past-aff
'I approached him.'

d. Toward (= for) (/-x̂ʷa-/)
/sə-w-x̂ʷa-ža-n-w-ɬ/ ([səpx̂ʷɛžɛnúˑɬ])
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-ɬ/ ([səppɛpλɛnúˑɬ])
I-you-nose-look-to-fut-def-aff
'I will wait for you (at some definite time).'

f. Intercalate (/-pə-/)
/sa tx̂əλə-m sə-q'ə-ø-pə-tx̂ə+a-aɣ-ɬ/ ([səq'ɛpɪtx̂ɑ́ˑɬ])
I book-obl I-hor-it-add-write+intr-past-aff
'I wrote more in the book.'

g. Down (/-pə-/)
/ø-pə-s-λ+ḥa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([pɪsλḥɑ́ˑɬ])
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-qʼʷə-r ø-pə-kʸə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([pɪkʸɑ́ˑɬ])
door-handle-abs 3-sever-exit-past-aff
'The doorhandle came off.'

(ii) Metaphorical

/ø-pə-žə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([pɪžáˑɬ])

3-sever-run-past-aff

'He ran away.'

i. Past (/-bλa-/)

/ø-q'ə-ɬ-bλa-λatə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ɪzbλɛλɛtáˑɬ])

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

'He rushed past me.'

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

/ø-q'ə-ɬ-žə-f-ʔa/ ([q'ɪzžɛ́fʔæ])

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

'Say it to me!'

k. Flat space (/-da-/)

/tḥampa-ha-r ø-q'ə-da-s-tx̌ʷə-a-aɣ-ha-ɬ/ ([q'ɪdɛstx̌ʷáˑɦɑɬ])

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

'I raked up the leaves.'

l. Narrow space (/-yə-/)

/baaʒa-r ḥaqʷaafa-m ø-ø-yə-t-ɬ/ ([yitɬ])

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

'The fly is in the trough.'

m. Abstract container (/-yə-/)

/vaaɣʷa-ha-r wa-gʷ-əm ø-ø-yə-t-ha-ɬ/ ([yíthɑɬ])

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

'The stars are in the sky.'

n. Underneath (/-ɬ'a-/) (= /a/-grade of /ɬ'ə/ 'earth')

/sa ɬ'aɬ'ə-m sə-ø-ɬ'a-t-aɣ-ɬ/ ([sɪɬ'ɛtáˑɬ])

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

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

o. Inside (/-kʷ'ac'ə-/)

/sa šx̂əʔan-əm sahbəy-r ø-ø-kʷ'ac'ə-s-λ+ḥa-aɣ-ɬ/([kʷ'ɛc'ɪsλḥáˑɬ])

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

'I laid the baby in the blanket.'

p. Through (/-pɤ̂ə-/)

/ɬḥaɣʷəbža-m ø-ø-pɤ̂ə-λatə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([pɤ̂ɪλɛtáˑɬ])

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

'He lept through the window.'

q. Lee(ward) (/-qʷa-/)
/sa žəĝ qʷa-a-ɣə-m sə-q'ə-ø-qʷa-s-aɣ-ś/ ([səq'oqʷɛsɑ́·ś])
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) (/-kʸa-/)
/sə-w-kʸa-śəḥa-aɣ-ś/ ([səpkʸɛśɛḥɑ́·ś])
I-you-behind-catch up-past-aff
'I caught up with you.'

s. All (/-za-/)
/wəʒə-r ø-za-s-wətx̂ə-aɣ-ś/ ([zɛzuwutx̂ɑ́·ś])
grass-abs 3-all-I-splash-past-aff
'I sprinkled the grass (with water).'

t. /-ƛə-/ (no obvious gloss; bound morpheme; unproductive)
/a-bə a-r ø-za-rə-yə-š-a-aɣ-m gʷə ø-ø-ƛə-y-ə-ta-aɣ-ś/ ([ƛi·tɑ́·ś])
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. /-ƛa-/ (no obvious gloss; bound morpheme; unproductive)
/sa a-r ø-s-ś'ə-n sə-ø-ƛa-mə-kʸə-n ø-ø-x̂ʷa-ya-ś/
([sś'ɪn səƛæmɪkʸɪn x̂ʷe·ś])
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-ḥə-a-n-w-ś/ ([q'ɪdɛsḥɛnú·ś])
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-ḥa-n-w-ś/ ([səq'ɪdɐḥɐnú·ś])

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

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

b. Into a mass (/-x̂ə-/) (= sea)

(i) With dative

/a-r t-əy-gʷəp-əm ø-q'ə-d-x̂ə-a-t-ś/ ([q'ɪtx̂é́tś])

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-x̂ə-ḥa-aɣ-ś/ ([səq'ɪx̂ɛḥá·ś])

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

'I entered the forest.'

c. Interior (/-ś'ə-/)

(i) With dative (= ablative sense)

/sa pašə-m ʔana-r ø-q'ə-ø-ś'ə-as-x̂ə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'ɪś'əsx̂á·ś])

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-ś'ə-ḥa-aɣ-ś/ ([səq'ɪś'ɛḥá·ś])

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

'I entered into the room.'

d. Side (nominal locus suffix)(/-gʷə-/)

(i) With dative (= ablative sense)

/sə-q'ə-ø-gʷə-a-kʸə-aɣ-ś/ ([səq'ugʷəkʸá·ś])

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

'I left him.'

(ii) Without dative

/sə-q'ə-ø-gʷə-ḥa-aɣ-ś/ ([səq'ugʷɛḥá·ś])

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

'I joined him.'

e. Direction (/-yə-/)

(i) With dative

/śḥaɣʷəbža-m ø-ø-yə-a-pƛ̂ə-aɣ-ś/ ([yepƛ̂á·ś])

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

'He looked in the window.'

(ii) Without dative
/šḥaɣʷəbža-m ø-ø-yə-pƛ̂ə-aɣ-ś/ ([yipƛ̂á·ś])
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 tx̂əƛ-ər ø-ø-t-y-a-ƛ-ś/ ([te·ƛś])
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-źa-aɣ-ś/ ([sɛppeʷźá·ś])
I-you-front-dir-dat-go-past-aff
'I went to meet you.'
c. /ʔʷax̂ʷə-r ø-ś'-yə-s-ʒ-a-aɣ-ś/ ([ś'i·zʒá·ś])
matter-abs 3-interior-dir-I-throw-in-past-aff
'I started the business.'
d. /a-r zə-maaś'a-m-əy ø-ø-yə-yə-qʷ'ə-aɣ-ś/ ([yiri·qʷ'á·ś])
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 ø-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-bq̂ə-rə-s-ha-ś/ ([dɛbq̂ɪrɪ́shɑś])
we-mountain-distr-sit (be situated)-pl-aff
'We are mountaineers.'
b. /ø-z-a-bq̂ə-rə-ɣʷa+ƛ+ə-kʸə-aɣ-ha-ś/ ([zæbq̂ɪroɣʷɛƛɪkʸá·ɦɑś])
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 ø-ø-bɣʷə-rə-kʸə-aɣ-ś/ ([bɣʷərɪkʸá·ś])
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^{w}ac'ə-rə-k^{y}ə-aɣ-ś/ ([səq'uk^{w}ɛc'ɪɪk^{y}á·ś])
I forest-obl I-hor-3-inside-distr-exit-past-aff
'I went along in the forest.'

e. /paabźa-m ø-ø-pχ̂ə-rə-pśə-aɣ-ś/ ([pχ̂ɪɪɪpśá·ś])
shrubbery-obl 3-3(shrubbery)-through-distr-crawl-past-aff
'He crawled through the undergrowth.'

f. /ø-q'ə-w-śḥa-pə-rə-k^{y}ə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'əpśḥɛpɪɪk^{y}á·ś])
3-hor-you-head-tip-distr-exit-past-aff
'It went over your head.'

g. /sə-q'ə-ɣ^{w}a-g^{w}ə-rə-k^{w}ə+a-aɣ-ś/ ([səq'oɣ^{w}og^{w}ɪɪuk^{w}á·ś])
I-hor-road-locus-distr-move+intr-past-aff
'I came by road.'

h. /sa bžəḥə-m sə-q'ə-ø-pə-rə-pλə-aɣ-ś/ ([səq'ɛpɪɪɪpλá·ś])
I fence-obl I-hor-3-sever-distr-look-past-aff
'I looked through the fence.'

i. /ḥa-r sa ø-q'ə-s-t-y-a-za-rə-g^{w}ə-a-aɣ-ś/ ([q'ɪste·zɛrug^{w}á·ś])
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. /žəĝ-əm sətx^{w} ø-ø-t-rə-y-a-ś'ə-a/ ([tré·ś'ɛ])
tree-obl hoarfrost 3(hoarfrost)-3(tree)-surf-distr-dir-dat-make-on
'Hoarfrost covers the tree.'

b. /ø-yə-rə-yə-ḥa-λ'-a-aɣ-ha-ś/ ([yiri·ḥɛλ'á·ɦɑś])
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^{y}a-λə-k^{w}ə+a-n-w-ś/ ([səq'ɛpk^{y}ɛλuk^{w}ɛnú·ś])
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'^{w}a-pλə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'əq'oq^{w}ɛpλá·ś])
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-ø-za-pə-rə-s-šə-aɣ-ś/ ([wuzæpɪrɪsšɑ́·ś])
river-obl you-3-all-sever-distr-I-lead (out)-past-aff
'I led you across the river.'

b. /wəʒə-m ø-za-x̂ə-a-s-wətx̂ə-ḥə-aɣ-ś/ ([zəx̂ɛzuwutx̂ɛḥɑ́·ś])
grass-obl 3-all-mass-dat-I-splash-around-past-aff
'I wet the grass all over.'

c. /yant'ər-ər ø-za-t-y-a-x̂ʷə-aɣ-ś/ ([zɛte·x̂ʷɑ́·ś])
log-abs 3-all-surf-dir-dat-fall-past-aff
'The log disintegrated.'

d. /wə-za-f'a-λaλə-ś/ ([wuzæf'ɛλɛ́λɪś])
you-all-detri(mentive)-dangle-aff
'You are a sloppy dresser.'

e. /ø-za-f'a-kʷə-ś/ ([zæf'ə́kʷɪś])
3-all-good-exit-aff
'It is solved.'

f. /bəy-əm q'aaλa-r ø-za-bq̂ə-rə-y-ha-ə-x̂ə-aɣ-ś/ ([zæbq̂ɪrɑ·x̂ɑ́·ś])
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, /-śə-/, suggests incorporation into the pragmatical component, perhaps necessitating an expansion of the tree in (157). It might also merely be a locative use of /-śə-/ outside its usual order. The other instances of incorporation go under the mN° 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-ɬa-ɬə-λatə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([ɬḥɛɬɪλɛtá·ɬ])
table-obl 3-3(table)-head-loc-leap-past-aff
'He lept over the table.'

b. /žəĝ-əm ø-ø-bɣa-də-ḥa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([bɣɛdɛḥá·ɬ])
tree-obl 3-3(tree)-breast-flat space-enter-past-aff
'He came up against the side of the tree.'

c. /sa šə-m sə-q'ə-ø-źa-də-a-pλə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([źɛdæpλá·ɬ])
I horse-obl I-hor-3-mouth-opening-dat-look-past-aff
'I looked at the horse's mouth.'

d. /sa pɬaaɬa-m sə-q'ə-ø-źa-x̂ə-a-pλə-a-aɣ-ɬ/ ([źəx̂ɛpλá·ɬ])
I girl-obl I-hor-3-mouth-mass-dat-look-at-past-aff
'I looked at the girl (face to face).'

e. /ø-w-ʔa-ɬ'ə-s-λ+ḥa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([pʔɛɬ'ɪsλḥá·ɬ])
3-you-hand-inst-I-lie+act-past-aff
'I laid it in your hand.'

f. /sa a-bə sə-ø-gʷə-rə-ʔʷa-aǧ-ɬ/ ([sugʷɪrɣʔʷá·ɬ])
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-a-s-tə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([yestá·ɬ])
it-3-dat-I-give-past-aff
'I gave it to him (for keeps).'

b. Inherent anti-passive
/sə-y-a-wə-a-aɣ-ɬ/ ([sowá·ɬ])
I-3-dat-hit-at-past-aff
'I hit him.'

c. Anti-passive
/sa ś'ə-r sə-q'ə-y-a-va-aɣ-ś/ ([səq'ɐ˙vɑ́˙ś])
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° 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-ƛa-ʔʷa-aɣ-ś/ ([sɐ˙ƛʏʔʷɑ́˙ś])
I-3-dat-after-talk-past-aff
'I asked him.'
b. /sə-x̂ə-a-psaƛə-ḥə-n-w-ś/ ([sɪx̂ɛpsɛƛəḥɪnú˙ś])
I-mass-dat-word-carry-fut-def-aff
'I shall join the conversation (at a definite moment).'
c. /ø-yə-yə-tha-ʔʷə-x̂ʷə-d-ś/ ([yiri˙tḥʏʔʷux̂ʷɪdś])
3-cont-dir-god-front-bend-down-aff
'He is the servant of a (his) god.' (pagan worshipper or a fairy)
d. /ƛa-a-ɣʷə-m də-ø-yə-rə-yə-da+zə-a-w-kʷə+a/ ([dɪri˙dɛzó˙kʷa])
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 absolutive case for such verbs, and the initial index of any verbal complex always reflects the N in the absolutive.

(189) Subject agents
a. Derivational subject
/zə maaza ɣʷa-gʷ-ər ø-da+zə-y-ə-kʷə-r-t/ ([dɛzi˙kʷɑ́rt])
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 ɣ"a-g"-əm ø-yə-rə-yə-da+zə-k'"ə+a-r-t/ ([yiri·dɛzuk'"ɛ́rt])

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 ɣ"ə-g"-ər ø-y-ə-k'"ə-r-t/ ([yik'"ə́rt])

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

/χəgʸa-bzə-m psə ø-y-ə-ya-a-x̂"aba-aɣ-ɕ/ ([yiɣox̂"æbɑ́·ɕ])

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-aɣ-ɕ/ ([q'uwozɣɛtɑ́·ɕ])

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-aɣ-ɕ/ ([q'ɑ·wozɣatɑ́·ɕ])

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 x̌əgʸa-bzə-m psə ø-y-a-s-ɣa-ɣa-a-x̂ʷaba-aɣ-ś/ ([yezɣaɣox̂ʷæbɑ́·ś])
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 ś'aaƛa-m ƛ'ə-ɣa-kʸa z-y-a-s-ɣa-ɣa-a-p'sʼkʸə-aɣ-ś/
([ze·zɣaɣæp'sʼkʸɑ́·ś])
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, /-x̂ʷa-/, 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-ø-y-a-pƛə-fə-r-q'm/ ([se·pƛéfærq'ɛm])
I-3-dir-dat-look-able-pres-not
'I was unable to look in it.'

b. Two-place transitive
/wə-s-x̂ʷa-ƛaaɣʷə-aɣ-q'm/ ([wusx̂ʷɛƛɑ̀ɣʷɑ́·q'ɛm])
you-I-able-see-past-not
'I was unable to see you.'

c. Three-place transitive with indirect object
/ø-s-x̂ʷə-w-a-tə-aɣ-q'm/ ([sx̂ʷuwotɑ́·q'ɛm])
it-I-able-you-dat-give-past-not
'I was unable to give it to you.'
(expected */ø-w-a-s-x̂ʷa-tə-aɣ-q'm/)

d. Three-place transitive with pre-verb
/ø-q'ə-s-x̂ʷə-ø-žə-mə-ʔa-žə-n-w-m/ ([q'ɪsx̂ʷɪžɛmɛʔɛžɪnúwum])
3-hor-I-able-3-back-not-tell-again-fut-def-obl
'as I will not be able to retell it to him'
(expected */ø-q'ə-ø-žə-s-x̂ʷa-mə-ʔa-žə-n-w-m/)

e. Causative intransitive
/wə-s-x̂ʷa-ɣa-a-ƛaaźa-aɣ-q'm/ ([wusx̂ʷəɣɛƛɛźáˑq'ɛm])
you-I-able-caus-conn-work-past-not
'I was not able to make you work.'

f. Causative intransitive with deixis
/ø-q'ə-śə-s-x̂ʷə-w-bɣʷ-a-də-ɣa-a-t-r-q'm/ ([q'ɪśɪsx̂ʷɛbbɣɛdəɣɛtɪrq'ɛ́m])
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-śə-w-bɣʷ-a-də-s-x̂ʷa-ɣa-a-t-r-q'm/)

g. Causative two-place transitive
/ø-s-x̂ʷə-w-a-ɣa-a-ƛaaɣʷə-aɣ-q'm/ ([sx̂ʷuwoɣɛƛàˑɣʷɑ́ˑq'ɛm])
it-I-able-you-dat-caus-conn-see-past-not
'I was not able to show it to you.'
(expected */ø-w-a-s-x̂ʷa-ɣa-a-ƛaaɣʷə-aɣ-q'm/)

h. Causative three-place transitive with indirect object
/ø-q'ə-s-x̂ʷə-w-a-y-a-ɣa-a-tə-žə-aɣ-q'm/ ([q'ɪsx̂ʷoweˑɣɛtɪžɑ́ˑq'ɛm])
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-x̂ʷa-ɣa-a-t-ə-žə-aɣ-q'm/)

i. Causative three-place transitive with locative pre-verb
/ø-s-x̂ʷə-w-žə-y-a-ɣa-a-ʔa-aɣ-q'm/ ([sx̂ʷɛbžeˑɣæʔɑ́ˑq'ɛm])
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-x̂ʷa-ɣa-a-ʔa-aɣ-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 /-x̂ʷa-/ 'for.' That this is so can be seen from a few old non-productive constructions which use both potential personal index suffix /-x̂ʷa-/ 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-x̂ʷa-ɕ'ə-fə-n-w-q'm/ ([sx̂ʷɛɕ'ɛfɪnúˑq'ɛm])
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 ś'ə-m žəĝ-ər ø-ø-x̂ʷə-ø-x̂-a-s-a-žə-fə-aɣ-q'm/ ([x̂ʷɪx̂ɛsɛžɛfɑ́ˑq'ɛm])
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-x̂ʷa-s-ś'ə-aɣ-ś/ ([px̂ʷɛsś'ɑ́ˑś])
3-you-for-I-do-past-aff
'I did it for your sake.'
b. Disability two-place transitive with double version
/ø-s-x̂ʷə-w-x̂ʷa-ś'ə-aɣ-q'm/ ([sx̂ʷɛpx̂ʷɛś'ɑ́ˑq'ɛm])
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-ɬ-a-w-ƛ/ ([sɪɬó·ƛ])
I-deixis-pres-prog-lie
'I am lying down here (for the moment).' or
'I always lie down here.'

b. Present stative intransitive
/sə-ɬə-ƛ-ɬ/ ([sɪɬíƛɬ])
I-deixis-lie-aff
'I am lying here (for an indefinite time).'

c. First person present dynamic transitive
/sa tx̂əƛ-ər ø-s-a-w-gʸə/ ([só·gʸə])
I(obl) book-abs 3-I-pres-prog-read
'I am studying the book.'

d. Third person present dynamic intransitive
/ma-a-kʷə+a/ ([má·kʷo])
3(pres, intr)-pres-move+intr
'He (she) is coming (going).'

e. Third person present dynamic transitive
/a-bə tx̂əƛ-ər ø-y-a-gʸə/ ([yégʸɪ])
3-obl book-abs 3(book)-3-pres-read
'He is studying the book.'

f. First person present dynamic intransitive with locative
/sa tx̂əƛ-əm s-y-a-w-gʸə-a/ ([só·gʸe])
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 tx̂əƛ-əm ø-y-a-w-gʸə-a/ ([yó·gʸə])
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-ə-f'aχ̂ʷa-žə-ha-n-w-ś/ ([q'ɛf'oχ̂ʷɛžəɦɑnú·ś])
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-f'aχ̂ʷa-žə-ha-n-w-ś/ → *[qe·f'oχ̂ʷɛžəɦɑnú·ś]
3-incept-3-put on-again-fut-def-pl-aff
c. Three-place transitive
/ø-q'ə-s-a-y-ə-tə-aɣ-ś/ ([q'ɪzi·tɑ́·ś])
3-hor-me-dat-3-non pres-give-past-aff
'He gave it to me.'
d. Epenthetic analysis of the preceding
/ø-q'ə-s-a-y-tə-aɣ-ś/ → *[q'ɪze·tɑ́·ś]
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-tχ̂ə+a/ ([wó·tχ̂ə], [bó·tχ̂ə])
you-pres-prog-write+intr
'You are writing.'
b. Negative
/wə-tχ̂ə+a-r-q'm/ ([wutχ̂ɛ́rq'ɛm])
you-write+intr-pres-not
'You are not writing.' or
'You do not write.'
c. Positive
/ma-a-tχ̂ə+a/ ([mɑ́·tχ̂ə])
3-pres-write+intr
'He is writing.'

d. Negative
/ø-tx̂-a-r-q'm/ ([tx̂ér̂q'ɛm])
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
/ø-ø-žə-s-mə-ʔa-žə-m/ ([žɪzɛmɛʔɛ́žɛm])
3-3-back-I-not-tell-again-obl
'as I am not retelling it to him (her)'
b. Negative gerund of relative clause
/ø-sə-a-zə-mə-tx̂ə-r/ ([sɛzɛmɪ́tx̂ɛr])
3-me-dat-who-not-write-ger
'He who is not writing it to me.'
c. Negative participle
/ø-w-mə-gʸə-wa/ ([wumɪ́gʸuwo])
3-you-not-read-part
'your not learning it'
d. Verb dominated by higher verb
/wəna-m ø-ø-śə-mə-ʔa-ra ø-q'a-a-f-ś'a/ ([śɛmɛ́ʔɛrɛ q'ɑ́·fś'ɛ])
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. /ø-yəray-λaaźa/ ([yire·λɑ́·źɛ])
3-juss(ive)-work
'So, let him work!'

b. /sə-yəray-kʷə+a/ ([sɪɾéˑkʷo])
I-juss-move+intr
'Let me go!'

c. /wə-yəray-kʷə+a/ ([wuréˑkʷo])
you-juss-move+intr
'So, go!'

d. /žəĝ-m də-ø-y-a-f-ɣa-a-pƛ+a+kʸ/ ([deˑvɣæpƛ́əkʸ])
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-ƛaaɣʷə-aɣ-ś/ ([sƛàˑɣʷáˑś])
3-I-see-past-aff
'I saw him.'

b. Nominal
/sə-ɣʷəkʸa-fə-aɣ-ś/ ([soɣʷɪkʸæfáˑś])
I-blacksmith-able-past-aff
'I was able to work as a blacksmith.' or
'I was able to practice blacksmithing.'

c. Adjectival
/sə-yarəś-ś/ ([siyɛrɪ́śś])
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 ƛ'ə-ø-ś/ ([ƛ'ɪś])

I man-be-aff

'I am a man.'

b. Adjectival

/sa yarəś-ø-ś/ ([yerí́śś])

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) ø → 1; verbaliser

[1] /bɣ"a/ ([bɣ"ɔ])

'broad'

[2] /ø-w-wə+bɣ"ə-aɣ-ś/ ([bwubɣ"á·ś])

3-you-val(ence)+broad-past-aff

'You spread it out.'

(ii) 1 → 2; transitiviser

[1] /ma-a-x̂"a/ ([má·x̂"o])

3-pres-bend

'It is bending.'

[2] /zə-y-a-wə+x̂"a/ ([zowúx̂"o])

refl-3-pres-val+bend

'He is bending over.'

(iii) once → multiple; multiplicative action

[1] /ø-f'a-s-ʔ"ə-n-w-ś/ ([f'ɛsʔ"ɪnú·ś])

3-despite-I-stick-fut-def-aff

'I shall chop (split) it (at some definite time).'

[2] /bzəw-ər ø-y-a-w-wə+ʔ"ə+a/ ([yo·wóʔ"ö])

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-aɣ-ha-ɬ/ ([zɛzowáˑfiɑɬ])
3-recip-recip+conn+strike-at-past-pl-aff
'They fought each other.'

c. /-da+/ comitative
/ø-za-da+a+w-a-aɣ-ha-ɬ/ ([zɛdowáˑfiɑɬ])
3-recip-com+conn+strike-at-past-pl-aff
'They argued with one another.'

d. /-gʷə+/ 'heart'; psychologiser
(i) /ø-gʷə+zavə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([gʷɪzævɑ́ˑɬ])
3-heart+narrow-past-aff
'He was being stingy (mean).'
(ii) /sə-y-a-w-gʷə+psəsə/ ([soˑgʷupsɪ́sɪ])
I-3-dat-prog-heart+tale
'I am thinking about him.'
(iii) /sə-w-da-gʷə+šəʔa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([sɛbdogʷɪšɛʔɑ́ˑɬ])
I-you-com-heart+endure-past-aff
'I was joking with you.'

e. /-ɣʷa+/ 'site'(← road); restricted action
/pʼa-m ø-yə-ɣʷa+ƛ+ə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([yiɣʷɛƛɑ́ˑɬ])
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+ɣə-n-w-ɬ/ ([seˑzaɣɪnúˑɬ])
I-3-dat-self+dat+be an accompaniment-fut-def-aff
'I shall become accustomed to it (at some definite time).'

g. /-tʼə+/ 'down'
(cf. Ubykh /-tʼʷə+s-/ -down+sit-, Abkhaz /-tʼʷ-/ 'sit (down)')
/ø-qʼə-š-a-tʼə+s+ḥa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([qʼɪšɛtʼɪsḥɑ́ˑɬ])
3-incept-horse-dat-down+sit+act-past-aff
'He mounted the horse.'

The prefix /-gʷə+/ '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 /gʷə/ 'heart' as a free word
/gʷaaśa-m a-r yə-gʷ-ø ø-y-a-y-ə-ḥə-aɣ-ś/ ([yiri·ḥɑ́·ś])
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 /+ḥa-/ (206), a marginally productive prolongation /+a+ta-/ (207), and non-productive 'disappear' /+a+sa-/, distributed /+a+rə-/, and 'secretive' /+a+kʼʷa/ (208).

(204) Intransitiviser /+a-/
a. Transitive
/zə maaza ɣʷagʷ-r ø-y-ə-kʼʷə-r-t/ ([yikʼʷɛ́rt])
one forest road-abs 3-3-non pres-move-distr-stand
'He travelled a forest road (durative past).'
b. Intransitive
/ƛaaɣʷə-m ø-ø-yə-rə-yə-kʼʷə+a-r-t/ ([yiri·kʼʷǽrt])
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'ɛ́sɪ])
3-incept-sit+dyn
'He has arrived.'
b. /ø-y-a-w-ƛ+ə/ ([yó·ƛɪ])
3-3-dat-prog-lie+dyn
'He is jumping (out of something).'
c. /ø-z-a-bĝə-rə-ɣʷa+ƛ+ə+kʼʸə-aɣ-ha-ś/ ([zæbĝɪroɣʷɛλɪkʼʸɑ́·ɦɑś])
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 /+ḥa-/ (← /-ḥa-/ 'enter')
a. /ø-q'a-t'ə+s+ḥa-aɣ-ś/ ([q'ɛt'ɪsḥɑ́·ś])
3-incept-down+sit+act-past-aff
'He sat down.'

b. /sahbəy-r ø-q'ə-ø-ʔa-ɬ'a-y-ə-ƛ+ha-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ɛʔɛɬ'i·ƛhɑ́·ɬ])
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-/ (← /-t+a-/ 'stand-in')

a. /sə-w-da-k'ʷə+a+ta-aɣ-ɬ/ ([sɛbdok'ʷɛtɑ́·ɬ])
I-you-com-move+conn+prolongation-past-aff
'I conducted you along the way.'

b. /sə-da-k'ʷə+a+ta-yə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([sɪdok'ʷɛteyɑ́·ɬ])
I-vertical-move+conn+prolongation-up-past-aff
'I went up.' or 'I improved.'

c. /gʸaata-r ø-y-a-s-pχ'ʷa+a+ta-aɣ-ɬ/ ([yespχ'ʷɛtɑ́·ɬ], [yespχ'ʷɑ́·tɑ́·ɬ])
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-k'ʷə+a+sa-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ok'ʷɛsɑ́·ɬ])
3-incept-move+conn+disappear-past-aff
'He disappeared.'

b. Distributed /+a+rə-/
/ø-q'a-k'ʷə+a+rə-žə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ok'ʷɛrɪžɑ́·ɬ])
3-hor-move+conn+distr-again-past-aff
'He wandered back.'

c. Secretive /+k'ʷa-/ (note /-k'ʷa/ the agent suffix)
/ø-s-a-a-w-pƛ+a+k'ʷa/ ([so·pƛɔ́k'ʷo])
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-wəkʷə-n-w-ś/ ([q'uwukʷɪnú·ś], [q'i·wukʷɪnú·ś])

3-hor-3-non pres-kill-fut-def-aff

'He will kill him (at some definite time).'

(ii) Suffixed

/ø-q'a-y-ə-wəkʷə+a-n-w-ś/ ([q'uwukʷɛnú·ś], [q'i·wukʷɛnú·ś])

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-pƛ̓ə/ ([yó·pƛ̓ɪ])

3-3-dat-prog-look

'He is looking at it.'

(ii) Suffixed

/ø-y-a-w-pƛ̓ə+a/ ([yó·pƛ̓ɛ])

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 V⁰*** The basic action of the stem (V^0) 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^0

a. /-ḥə-/ 'around,' without a pre-verb

/ø-q'a-a-ž̓ə-ḥə/ ([q'ɛž̓éḥɛ], [q'ɛž̓éḥ])

3-hor-pres-run-around

'He is running all over the area

(or over a territory or time interval).'

b. /-ḥə-/ 'around,' with a pre-verb
/ø-ø-t-y-a-psaƛ̂ə-ḥə-aɣ-ś/ ([teˑpsɛƛ̂ɛḥáˑś])
3-3-surf-dir-dat-talk-around-past-aff
'He talked about it (a topic).'

c. /-x̂ə-/ 'down,' with a pre-verb
/ø-da-w-kʷ'ə+a+ta-x̂ə/ ([doˑkʷ'ɛtə́x̂ə], [doˑkʷ'ɛtə́x̂])
3-vertical-prog-move+conn+prolongation-down
'He is going down gradually.' or 'He is declining.'

d. /-yə-/ 'up,' with a pre-verb
/ø-da-kʷ'ə+a+ta-yə-aɣ-ha-ś/ ([dokʷ'ɛteyáˑfiaś])
3-vertical-move+conn+prolongation-up-past-pl-aff
'They rose up (gradually).' or 'They improved.'

e. /-ƛ̂'ə-/ 'at, near,' with pre-verb
(i) Without accusative suffix
/ø-y-a-s-a-w-ʔʷə-ƛ̂'ə/ ([yesoˑʔʷíƛ̂'ɪ], [yesoˑʔʷíƛ̂'])
3-3-dat-I-pres-prog-stick-near
'I am attaching it to him.'
(ii) With accusative suffix
/ø-y-a-s-ɣa-a-bədə-ƛ̂'ə-a-n-w-ś/ ([yezɣæbɪdɪƛ̂'ɛnúˑś])
3-3-dat-I-caus-conn-be caught-near-acc-fut-def-aff
'I will catch him near her.'

It is possible to have two of these suffixes modifying the stem.

(211) Two suffixes modifying V^0
/fəz-m śəɣən-r ø-y-a-y-ə-wə+qʷ'a+dəy-ya-x̂ə-aɣ-ś/
([yeriˑwuqʷ'odiˑyax̂áˑś])
woman-obl clothes-abs 3-dir-dat-3-non pres-val+bend+joint-up-down-past-aff
'The woman straightened her clothing (up and down).'

4.2.7.2 ***Clitics to V^1*** 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^1. 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-kʷ̈ə+a+ta-yə-žə-ha-n-w-ś/ ([dokʷ̈ɛteyižəɦɑnú˙ś])

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-ƛ'a-žə-aɣ-ś/ ([ƛ'ɛžɑ́˙ś])

3-die-final-past-aff

'He finally died.'

c. Self

/ɣʷ̈əgʸa-m-kʸa a-bə sa zə-s-a-y-ə-ɣa-a-ƛaaɣʷ̈ə-ž-aɣ-ś/

([zɪsi˙ɣɛƛɑ̀˙ɣʷ̈ɪžɑ́˙ś])

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-ɣa-a-ʔa-žə-fə-n-w-ś/ ([bže˙zɣæʔɛžɛfɪnú˙ś])

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^1

a. /ø-tx̂ə+a-r-t/ ([tx̂ært])

3-write+intr-distr-stand

'He was writing (stative past).'

b. /ø-y-a-šx̂ə+a-žə-fə-pa-aɣ-ś/ ([yešx̂ɛžɛfɛpɑ́˙ś])

3-3-dat-eat+intr-again-able-utmost-past-aff

'He was able to feast upon it completely once again.'

c. /ø-y-a-šx̂ə+a-žə-fə-ʔʷ̈a-aɣ-ś/ ([yešx̂ɛžɛfoʔʷ̈ɑ́˙ś])

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-šx̂ə+a-žə-fə-qʷ̈a-aɣ-ś/ ([yešx̂ɛžɛfoqʷ̈ɑ́˙ś])

3-3-dat-eat+intr-again-able-excess-past-aff

'He was able to eat too much of it again.'

e. /ø-y-a-šx̂ə+a-žə-fə-ʂə-aɣ-ś/ ([yešx̂ɛžɛfɪśɑ́·ś])
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-šx̂ə+a-žə-fə-x̂x̂a-n-q'm/ ([yešx̂ɛžɛfəx̂x̂énq'ɛm])
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 V²*** A series of affixes seem to modify all that came before. They therefore seem to modify yet a higher V-node, V^2, 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^2.

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^2

a. Stative present
/sə-λaaźa-ø-ś/ ([sɪλɑ́·źɛś])
I-work-pres-aff
'I work.'

b. Dynamic present
/s-a-w-λaaźa-ø/ ([sʊ·λɑ́·źɛ])
I-pres-prog-work-pres
'I am working.'

c. Past
/sə-λaaźa-aɣ-ś/ ([sɪλɛźɑ́·ś])
I-work-past-aff
'I worked.'

d. Remote past
/sə-λaaźa-aɣ-aɣ-ś/ ([sɪλɛźɑ·ɣɑ́·ś])
I-work-past-past-aff
'I worked long ago.'

4.2.7.3.2 *Infinitive* The infinitive ending replaces the V^2 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-tx̂ə-n/ ([sɪtx̂ín])
   3-I-write-inf
   '(for) me to write it'

b. /ø-y-a-gʸ-a-n-ha/ ([yegʸénfiɑ])
   3-3-dat-call-dat-inf-pl
   '(for) them to learn it'

4.2.7.3.3 *Bounding Adverbs of V²* Next follows a series of adverbs which bound V² on the right, and with a more varied range of meanings than those of the adverbs bounding V¹: /-x̂a-/ 'first,' 'already,' /-kʷa-/ 'exhaustive,' /-x̂ʷa-/ 'while.'

(217) Adverbs to V²

a. /ø-kʼʷə+a-aɣ-aɣ-x̂a-ha-ɬ/ ([kʼʷɑ·ɣɑ́·x̂ɑfiɑɬ])
   3-move+intr-past-past-already-pl-aff
   'They have already gone long ago.'

b. /zə-ø-tḷhaɬʼə-x̂a-əy ø-šx̂ə+a/ ([zɪtḷhɛɬʼɪx̂ɪ́· šx̂ə])
   self-you(imp)-wash-first-and you(imp)-eat+intr
   'First wash yourself, then eat!'

c. /ø-y-ha-ə-ɬʼə-aɣ-kʷa-ha-ɬ/ ([yɑ·ɬʼɑ́·kʷɑfiɑɬ])
   3-3-pl-non pres-do-past-exhaustive-pl-aff
   'They did it completely.'

d. /sə-tx̂ə+a-x̂ʷə(-kʷa)/ ([sɪtx̂ó́x̂ʷ(ɪkʷɛ)])
   I-write+intr-while(-inst)
   'while I write...'

4.2.7.3.4 *Adverb for Both V¹ and V²* One adverb appears to modify both V¹ and V² 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) V¹ and V² adverbs: 'probably' and 'probably not'

a. /wə-kʼʷə+a-ɣa-(ø-)n-ɬ/ ([wukʼʷaɣénɬ])
   you-move+intr-probably-(pres-)subj(unctive)-aff
   'You probably went.'

b. /wə-k'ʷə+a-ɣa-aɣ-n-ɬ/ ([wuk'ʷaɣɑ'ɪ́nɬ])
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'ʷə+a-ha-r-q'm/ ([mɑ́'k'ʷɑfiɛrq'ɛm])
3-pres-move+intr-pl-pres-not
'They are not going.'

b. Dynamic present
/ma-a-k'ʷə+a-ha(-r)/ ([mɑ́'k'ʷɑfi(ɛr)])
3-pres-move+intr-pl(-pres)
'They are going.'

c. Subjunctive future
/sə-λaaźa-n-ɬ/ ([sɪλeźénɬ])
I-work-fut-aff
'I might work.'

d. Definite future
/sə-λaaźa-n-w-ɬ/ ([sɪλeźɛnú'ɬ])
I-work-fut-def-aff
'I shall work (at a definite time).'

e. Stative past
/ƛ'ə-ź-m psaƛa-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-λaaźa-r-ta/ ([sɪλɛźɛ́rt])
I-work-distr-stand
'I was working.'
g. Durative (aorist) past (formal or poetic language)
/sə-λaaźa-aɣ-t/ ([sɪλɛźɑ́·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), /-ś/ (perhaps underlyingly /-śa/ (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-λaaźa-ś(a)/ ([sɪλɑ́·źɛś])
I-work-aff
'I work.'
(ii) Other tense (future definite)
/sə-λaaźa-n-w-ś(a)/ ([sɪλɛźɛnú·ś])
I-work-fut-def-aff
'I shall work (at some definite time).'
b. Negative (past)
/ø-λaaźa-aɣ-ha-q'm/ ([λɛźɑ́·ɦɑq'ɛm])
3-work-past-pl-not
'They did not work.'

c. Irrealis

/wə-q'ə-s-da-mə-ʔa+pəqʷ'ə-aɣ-ta-ma sa ø-q'ə-s-a-ɬaƛa-kʸə-n-ta/
([wuq'ɪzdæmɛʔæpoqʷ'á·tæmæ sɛ q'ɪzaɬɛƛəkʸ'íntæ])
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-śə-s-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-śara-t/ ([wuśɪsƛà·ɣʷɑ·śæré́t])
you 3-obl you-3-deixis-I-see-past-opt-irreal
'If only I had seen you there!'

e. Optative alone

/sə-kʷ'ə+a-aɣ-śara/ ([sukʷ'á·śæræ])
I-move+intr-past-opt
'I would like to have gone.'

f. Exhaustive (adverb of V^1)+irrealis

/sa wasa-f' ø-q'a-s-ɬ-kʸa-t/ ([q'ɛsɬkʸé́t])
I opinion-good 3-hor-I-carry-exhaustive-irreal
'If only I receive a good recommendation!'

g. Hortative irrealis

/da-(f)-ɣa-kʷ'ə+a-t/ ([da(v)ɣokʷ'é́t])
we-(you (pl))-let-move+intr-irreal
'Let's go!'

h. Neutral irrealis (absence of affirmative /-ś(a)/)

/wə-y-a-s-ə-tə-ø/ ([we·zí́t])
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 /-ś(a)/)

(i) Present

/ha-r yəgʸa-m ø-y-a-gʸ-a-ra/ ([yegʸǽræ])
3-abs school-obl 3-3-dat-call-dat-pres
'Is he (she) attending school?'

(ii) Past

/ha-r yəgʸa-m ø-y-a-gʸ-a-aɣ/ ([yegʸá·])
3-abs school-obl 3-3-dat-call-dat-past
'Was he (she) attending school?'

(iii) Future
/ha-r yəgʸa-m ø-y-a-gʸ-a-n-w/ ([yegʸɛnú˙])
3-abs school-obl 3-3-dat-call-dat-fut-def
'Will he (she) attend school?'

j. Contrary interrogative
(i) Present
/wə-kʷ'ʷə+a-ra-q'a/ ([wukʷ'ʷǽrq'a])
you-move+intr-pres-Q
'Aren't you going?'
(ii) Past
/wə-kʷ'ʷə+a-aɣ-q'a/ ([wukʷ'ʷɑ́˙q'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-kʷ'ʷə+a-w-əy/ ([wukʷ'ʷo˙wí˙])
you you-move+intr-D(ubitative)Q-even
'Are you really going?!'
(ii) Past
/a-r a-bə ø-žə-y-ə-ʔa-aɣ-w-əy/ ([ži˙ʔɑ˙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-x̂ʷ'ə-za-f'a-mə-kʸ'ə-n-w-əy/ ([px̂ʷ'ɪzæf'æməkʸ'ɪnu˙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/ ([šɛ])
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 pśaday ø-q'a-kʷ'ʷə+a-žə-n-w p'ara/ ([q'okʷ'ʷɛžɪnú˙ p'ǽræ])
3-abs tomorrow 3-hor-move+intr-back-fut-def contrary Q
'Will he (she) come back tomorrow?'

b. /a-r pšaday ø-q'a-mə-kʷ'ə+a-žə-n-w p'ara/ ([q'æmukʷ'ɛžɪnú· p'áræ])
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-gʸ-a-wə sə-šə-s-š/ ([se·gʸó· sɪšísš])
I I-3-dat-call-dat-part I-deixis-sit-aff
'I am sitting studying.'

b. /a-r f'ə-wa ø-y-a-gʸ-a-aɣ-wə ø-q'a-kʷ'ə+a-aɣ-š/ ([yegʸá·wu q'okʷ'á·š])
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-gʸ-a-wə-ra ma-a-kʷ'ə+a/ ([yegʸówuræ má·kʷ'o])
3-abs 3-3-dat-call-dat-part-distr 3-pres-move+intr
'He is going away while reading.'

d. /a-r ʔay-wa ø-y-a-gʸ-a-aɣ-ø ø-q'a-kʷ'ə+a-aɣ-š/ ([yegʸá· q'okʷ'á·š])
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 absolutive definite case ending (223d).

(223) Gerunds

a. /ø-y-a-gʸ-a-n-w-r ø-q'ə-šə-t'ə+s+ḥa-aɣ-š/ ([yegʸɛnú·wɛr q'ɪšɪt'ɪsḥá·š])
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-tx̂əƛ̂ə-ha-m sə-z-a-gʸ-a-(ha-)n-w-r ø-q'ə-ø-ha-x̂a-s-ƛ̂+ḥa-aɣ-š/
([si·tx̂íƛ̂ham sɪzəgʸɛ(ɦa)nú·wɛr q'ɑ·x̂asƛ̂ḥá·š])
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.'

c. /sə-z-a-gʸ-a-(ha-)n-w tx̂əƛ̂ə-ha-m a-r ø-q'ə-ø-ha-x̂a-s-ƛ̂+ḥa-aɣ-ś/
([sɪzəgʸɛ(ha)nú· tx̂íƛ̂ham ar q'ɑ·x̂ɛsƛ̂ḥá·ś])
I-which-dat-call-dat-(pl-)fut-def book-pl-obl 3-abs 3-hor-3-pl-mass-I-lie+act-past-aff
'I set it down among the books which I will read.'

d. /mə-tx̂əƛ̂ə-ha-r sə-z-a-gʸ-a-(ha-)n-w-r-w ø-q'a-s-ḥə-aɣ-ha-ś/
([mɪtx̂íƛ̂har sɪzəgʸɛ(ha)nu·wɛrú· q'ɛsḥá·ha$])
this-book-pl-abs I-which-dat-call-dat-(pl-)fut-def-ger-pred 3-hor-I-carry (out)-past-pl-aff
'I brought those books, they being the ones that I shall read.'

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 prefixal negatives. The negative gerund may have no overt suffix (224b).

(224) Negative participles and gerunds

a. Participle
/a-r f'ə-wa ø-y-a-mə-gʸ-a-aɣ-wə ø-q'a-k'ʷə+a-aɣ-ś/
([yeməgʸá·wu q'ok'ʷá·ś])
3-abs good-adv 3-3-dat-not-call-dat-past-part 3-hor-move+intr-past-aff
'It was apparent that he had not read it well.'

b. Gerund
/ø-y-a-mə-gʸ-a-n-w(-r) ø-q'ə-śə-t'ə+s+ḥa-aɣ-ś/
([yeməgʸɛnú·(wɛr) q'ɪśɪt'ɪsḥá·ś])
who-3-dat-not-call-dat-fut-def(-ger) 3-hor-deixis-down+sit+act-past-aff
'He who will not read it sat down.'

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-gʸ-a-m wasa-f' ø-q'a-w-ḥə-n-ś/

([f'úwo wuzé·gʸæm wosǽf' q'æpḥínś])

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-gʸ-a-ɣ-śara-ta-ma wasa-f' ø-q'a-w-ḥə-n-t/

([f'úwo we·gʸɑ·śærétæmæ wosǽf' q'æpḥínt])

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-gʸ-a-ɣ-ma ø-q'ə-žə-y-ə-ʔa-ɣ-ś/

([f'úwo we·gʸɑ́·ma q'ɪži·ʔɑ́·ś])

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-kʷ'ə+a-žə-fə-nə-w-ta-ba/ ([səq'ɛmukʷ'ɛžɛfɛnú·tæbæ])

I-hor-not-move+intr-again-able-fut-def-irreal-strong

'I shall not be able to go back, though!'

e. Expostulation /-ś/ (Kardanov 1955: 1052)

/daɣʷə-a-ɣ-ø-śa-ś ø-ø-t-y-a-pƛ̂-a ɣʷaz-gʸa-ś/

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 periphrastically with /pat/ 'strong, hard' (226e). A distributed adverb /-ra/ appended to the S-node was shown in (222c).

(226) Sentential adverb

a. Concessive

/dəwnay-r ø-x̂ʷaaba-m-əy ś'ə-r ø-ś'əʔa-ś/

([duˑnéˑyɪr x̂ʷàˑbæmíˑ ś'ær ś'ɛ́ʔɛɕ])

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-aɣ-ta-ma-əy da ø-z-a-f'a-d-ɣa-kʸə-fə-n-t/

([ɑr q'æmɪsɪžɑ́ˑtæmíˑ dɛ zæf'ɛdɣəkʸɛfínt])

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-ḥaś'a-m a-ha-r ø-qa-y-ə-c'əx̂ʷ-ha-wa-əy ø-q'a-kʷʼə+a-aɣ-t/

([q'iˑcˑúx̂ʷhɑwíˑ q'okʷʼɑ́ˑt])

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/ ([mɛdɑ̀ˑworéˑ])

3-pres-with+dat+strike+dat-strong emphatic

'He truly loves to argue.'

e. Periphrastic strong emphatic (/pat-ma-əy/)

/wa-šx̂ ø-q'ə-y-a-mə-šx̂-aɣ pat-ma-əy ś'ə-r yə-gʸə-əy-əy ø-psəʔa-ś/

([wɛšx̂ q'iˑmɪšx̂ɑ́ˑ pɛtmíˑ ś'ær yigʸirí́ˑ psɛ́ʔɛɕ])

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 /-ə́y-ə́y/ yields /-r-ə́y/.

(227) Conjunction

/ø-q'a-kʷ'ə+a-aɣ-ta-ma-əy-əy də-q'a-y-ə-ƛ̕aaɣʷ-aɣ-ta-ma-əy-əy ø-q'ə-d-da-ʔa+pəqʷ'ə-fə-aɣ-q'm/

([q'okʷ'à·tæmiŕ· dəq'i·ƛ̕à·ɣʷ'à·tæmiŕ· q'ɛddæʔæpoqʷ'ɛfa·q'ɛ́m])

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 **R**23 (72)–(73), and **R**24 (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 absolutive

	Singular	Plural
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 **R**24 (74)).

(229) Voicing of indices

a. Voiceless (underlying)
/ø-s-a-w-tə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([soˈtáˈɬ])
3-me-dat-you-give-past-aff
'You gave it to me.'

b. Voiced
/ø-q'ə-s-a-w-tə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ɪzoˈtáˈɬ])
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-aɣ-ɬ/ ([fɛstáˈɬ])
3-you (pl)-dat-I-give-past-aff
'I gave it to you (pl).'

d. Voiced
/ø-q'ə-f-a-s-tə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ɛvɛstáˈɬ])
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-tχ̂ə+a/ ([sóˈtχ̂ə])
I I-pres-prog-write+intr
'I am writing.'

b. Transitive (two-place)
/sa wa wə-s-a-w-ƛaaɣʷ/ ([wusoˈƛáˈɣʷ])
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-aɣ-ɬ/ ([wuq'e·stá·ɬ])
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-ɣa-a-tx̂ə+a/ ([suwo·ɣá·tx̂ə])
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-ɣa-a-ƛaaɣ"/ ([wuq'e·zo·ɣeƛá·ɣ"])
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-ɣa-a-t-aɣ-ha-ɬ/
([q'uwe·zɣetá·fiaɬ])
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-ɣa-ɣa-a-ḥazər-aɣ-ɬ/ ([ze·zɣaɣæḥezerá·ɬ])
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-x̂ʷ+a-aɣ-wa/ ([wəq'ɛpte·x̂ʷɑ́·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-r ø-q'ə-w-t-y-a-s-x̂-aɣ-ha-wa/ ([q'ɛpte·sx̂ɑ́·ɦuwo])
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-pśaaśa-m gʸaana-ha-r ø-q'a-y-a-də-ha/ ([q'é·dəɦɑ])
the-girl-obl shirt-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pres-sew-pl
'The girl is sewing the shirts (completing them).'

b. Anti-passive
/gʸaana-ha-m a-pśaaśa-r ø-q'a-y-ha-a-w-də+a-wa / ([q'ɑ·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 /-x̌ʷ-/, 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 eat*en* 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
/ƛ'ə-m gʷaʒə-r ø-y-ə-ʔʷəx̂ə-žə-aɣ-ś/ ([yöʔʷəx̂ɪžɑ́·ś])
man-obl wheat-abs 3-3-non pres-remove-finally-past-aff
'The man harvested the wheat.'

b. Passive transitive
/gʷaʒə-r ʎ'ə-m-kʲa ø-ʔʷəx̂ə-žə-aɣ-ś/ ([ʔʷɤx̂ɪžə́·ś])
wheat-abs man-obl-inst 3-remove-finally-past-aff
'The wheat was harvested by the man.'

c. Third person plural indefinite passive
/gʷaʒə-r ø-y-ha-ʔʷəx̂ə-žə-aɣ-ś/ ([yɑ·ʔʷɤx̂ɪžə́·ś])
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 ø-d-ś'ə-aɣ ma-x̌ʷ/ ([tś'ə́· mɔx̌ʷ])
house-abs 3-we-make-past 3-happen
'The house is being built by us.'

e. Periphrastic past passive with embedded passive
/da-r-kʲa wəna-r ø-ś'ə-aɣ ma-x̌ʷə-aɣ-ś/ ([ś'ə́· mɔx̌ʷə́·ś])
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 Northwest 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 ś'aaλa-ha-m sa sə-ø-śə-y-ha-x̂ʷa-zə-aɣ-wa / ([sɪśɑ·x̂ʷɛzə́·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 ś'aaλa-ha-m sə-ø-śə-y-ha-x̂ʷa-zə-aɣ-ś/ ([sɪśɑ́·x̂ʷɛzə́·ś])
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 ś'aaλa-ha-m a-bə sə-y-ha-śə-ø-x̂ʷa-zə-aɣ-ś/ ([sɑ·śux̂ʷɛzə́·ś])
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 absolutive 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 ø-q'a-y-ə-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-s/ → /a-bə a-r ø-q'a-ə-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-ś/

([q'ɪƛà·ɣʷá·ś])(*[q'i·ƛà·ɣʷá·ś])

3-obl 3-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-see-past-aff

'He$_1$ saw him$_2$.'

b. Reflexive

/a-bə yazə-r z-y-ə-ƛaaɣʷə-ž-aɣ-ś/ ([zi·ƛa·ɣʷɪžá·ś])

3-obl self-abs refl-3-non pres-see-self-past-aff

'He saw himself.'

c. Double reflexive

/a-bə x̂ʷaabźə-w zə-q'ə-z-f'a-y-a-wə+ś'ə-ž/ ([zəq'ɪzf'e·wuś'ɪ́ž])

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, **R**9, 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-ɣa-a-psax̂ʷ/ ([ze·ɣæpsóx̂ʷ])

refl-3-pres-caus-conn-rest

'He made himself rest.'

b. Causative of a two-place transitive
/ø-y-a-y-a-ɣa-a-ś'a/
3-3(self)-dat-3-pres-caus-conn-know
'He is making himself learn it.'
/ø-y-a-r-y-a-ɣa-a-ś'a/ (by **R9**)
/ø-z-a-r-a-y-ɣa-a-ś'a/ (by a reflexivising transformation)
[zɛre·ɣɑ́·ś'ɛ] (by various other rules)

c. Three-place transitive with instrumental
/ø-q'ə-s-a-s-tə-aɣ-ś/
3-hor-I-dat-I-give-past-aff
/ø-q'ə-z-a-rə-s-tə-aɣ-ś/ (by a reflexivising transformation
[q'ɪzærɪstɑ́·ś] 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'ə-y-a-w-a-y-ə-ɣa-a-tə-aɣ-ś/
3-hor-3(self)-dat-you-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-give-past-aff
/ø-q'ə-z-a-w-a-y-ə-ɣa-a-tə-aɣ-ś/ (reflexivising transformation)
[q'ɪzowi·ɣɛtɑ́·ś]
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'ə-w-a-y-a-w-ɣa-a-tə-žə-n ø-w-x̂ʷa-yə/
3-hor-you-dat-3-dat-you-caus-conn-give-back-inf 3-you-for-must
/ø-q'ə-z-a-rə-y-ə-w-ɣa-a-tə-žə-n (reflexivising transformation,
ø-w-x̂ʷa-y/ [q'ɪzɛri·bɣɛtɪ̀žɪn px̂ʷé·] 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-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-ɬ/ ([dəq'aˈƛàˈɣʷáˈɬ])
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 ø-q'ə-za-rə-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ɪzɛrɪƛàˈɣʷáˈɬ])
one-abs one-obl 3-hor-recip-inst-see-past-aff
'They saw one another.'

c. Two-place reciprocal
/ø-q'ə-za-rə-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ɪzɛrɪƛàˈɣʷáˈɬ])
3-hor-recip-inst-see-past-aff
'They saw one another.'

d. Three-place transitive
/ø-y-ha-a-d-tə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([yɑˈttáˈɬ])
3-3-pl-dat-we-give-past-aff
'We gave it to them.'

e. Three-place reciprocal
/ø-q'ə-də-za-r-a-ɣa-a-tə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ɪdɪzɛraɣɛtáˈɬ])
3-hor-we-recip-inst-dat-caus-conn-give-past-aff
'We gave it to one another.'

f. Causative of a two-place transitive
/ø-q'ə-w-a-d-ɣa-a-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'uwɛdɣɛƛàˈɣʷáˈɬ])
3-hor-you-dat-we-caus-conn-see-past-aff
'We showed it to you.'

g. Reciprocal of causative of two-place transitive
/ø-q'ə-də-za-r-a-ɣa-a-ƛaaɣʷ-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ɪdɪzɛraɣɛƛàˈɣʷáˈɬ])
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-ƛ̓aaɣʷ-aɣ-ɬ/ ([sɪƛ̓à·ɣʷá·ɬ])

I-see-past-aff

'I saw.'

b. Three-place → two-place

/ø-q'a-s-tə-žə-aɣ-ɬ/ ([q'ɛstɪžá·ɬ])

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-aɣ-ɬ/ ([sɪtɛžá·ɬ])

I-give+intr-back-past-aff

'I gave again.'