



THE GRAMMAR OF THE KABARDIAN LANGUAGE

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Word Formation

Only the smallest hint can be given here of Kabardian's rich word grammar. All the Northwest Caucasian languages have rich word-formation rules. Typologically the rules manifested are not unusual. What is unusual about these languages, however, is the massive extent to which their vocabularies are built by compounding a small number of basic (monosyllabic) roots. In this regard Kabardian is no exception (Kuipers 1960: 82–103). Furthermore, what makes Kabardian and its sister languages of utmost importance to the theoretical linguist is the enormous opportunity presented in their vocabularies for studying semantic processes. Word-formation processes are so extensive that one may see the lexical semantic component at work in a way matched by few other languages and exceeded by none. Perhaps the most obvious semantic process at work is one of graduated abstractness: words that play affixal roles in compounding depart to varying degrees from their referential meaning in their role as head of the compound. Other semantic processes, such as systematic shifts between denotation and connotation, can be found. A full exposition of such a semantic grammar awaits further work.

One should note that word-formation rules have varying degrees of productivity. Therefore, rather than represent them as rewrite rules with an arrow, I have simply written them as equivalence rules with an equals sign. I consider such an equivalence relationship ($X = Y$) as neutral with regard to productivity. Whether or not a given string of morphemes is productive will be specified independently in the grammar as information attached to that particular constellation of morphemes.

In many of the examples of this chapter the stems of the forms exhibit interesting word-formation morphology themselves. For the edification of the dedicated reader I have provided analyses of these in parentheses at the bottom of each entry whenever I have not analysed the form in its main entry.

5.1 Adverbs

Adverbs usually exist as bound morphemes within the verb (see chapter 4). Nevertheless, they can exist as free forms. If they are adverbs of time, manner, or counting, they are usually independent. If they are adverbs of place or direction, they

exist chiefly as emphatics along with their counterpart adverbs cliticised in the verb.

5.1.1 Simple Adverbs Non-derived adverbs for time and intensity exist. These are distinct from other parts of speech in that they are often multi-syllabic, but lack any obvious internal structure.

(240) Basic adverbs

- a. /nawba/ 'today'
- b. /dəɣ^haasa/ 'yesterday'
- c. /pʂadəy/ 'tomorrow'
- d. /dəda/ 'very, exactly' (probably an intensive reduplication)
- e. /dəda-q'a/ very-intensely = 'very much so'
- f. /waybɫama/ 'even'

5.1.2 Derived Adverbs Most other adverbs show derivational patterns, such as those in (241). These endings attract stress. Apart from (241c, (i); d, (iii)) most adverbs of numerals will be treated with the numbers.

(241) Adverb formation

- a. /-wa/ adverb suffix
Adj-afx = Adv
 - (i) /fəc'a-wa/ ([f'ɪc'ó'])
black-adv
'blackly'
 - (ii) /fə-wa/ ([f'úwo])
good-adv
'well'
 - (iii) /psa-wə-wa/ ([psowúwo])
life-pred-adv
'alive' (as in 'captured alive')
- b. /-ra/ adverb suffix (old instrumental)
Adj-afx = Adv
 - (i) /ba-ra/
many-adv
'very, much'
 - (ii) /naʃ-ra/
more-adv
'than'
 - (iii) /də-za-psaaʎa-w-ra/
we-recip-talk-pred-adv
'as we discussed among ourselves'

c. /-r/ 'by' distributive adverb suffix

Adj-afx-Adj-afx(-afx) = Adv

- (i) /tʰʷə-r-tʰʷə-wa/ ([tʰʷérɪtʰʷúː])
five-by-five-adv
'by fives,' 'in groups of five'
- (ii) /da-r-da-r-w/ ([dærdæruː])
we-by-we-by-adv
'by ourselves'
- (iii) /yazə-r-yazə-r-w/ ([yézyezɛruː])
self-by-self-by-adv
'by each one independently'

d. /-kʷa/ instrumental suffix (case)

N-afx, V-afx,[V-Adj]-afx = Adv

- (i) /maaʰa-kʷa/
day-inst
'by day'
- (ii) /ʒa-kʷa/
run-inst
'by running'
- (iii) /ʰadəy-tʰʷə-kʷa/
like-five-inst
'five times'
(/ʰa-də-y/ for-be like-participle = 'like')

e. /yə-/ direction (general locus of action)

afx-N = Adv

- (i) /yə-ʃha/
dir-head
'upwards' (general locus of action)
- (ii) /yə-ʒaabʒa/
dir-hoof
'downwards' (general locus of action)
(/ʒa+a+bʒa/ leg+conn+nail = 'hoof')

f. /yə-...-(m-)kʷa/ direction-...-(obl-)inst, direction of action

PreV-N-(case)-afx = Adv

- (i) /yə-ʃha-(m-)kʷa/
dir-head-(obl)-inst
'upwards' (direction of action)

- (ii) /yə-ʎaabʒa-(m-)kʷa/
 dir-hoof-(obl-)inst
 'downwards' (direction of action)
 (/ʎa+a+bʒa/ leg+conn+nail = 'hoof')

5.1.3 Clitic Adverbs Many adverbs are cliticised to the adjective which they modify. These will be treated with adjective morphology (§5.2.5).

5.2 Adjectives

Formally akin to adverbs, adjectives are cliticised to their controlling noun unless they stand in predicate position. They differ from adverbs not only in being dominated by nouns, but also in their derivational complexity, which can be remarkable.

5.2.1 Simple Adjectives There are numerous adjectives that are unanalysable. As with adverbs, these are often multi-syllabic, but cannot be analysed into smaller components.

(242) Simple adjectives

- | | | |
|----|----------|---------------|
| a. | /daaʃa/ | 'beautiful' |
| b. | /c'əkʷ/ | 'small' |
| c. | /maaś'a/ | 'little, few' |
| d. | /ʂʃʃ'a/ | 'big' |
| e. | /ba/ | 'much, many' |

5.2.2 Compound Adjectives Adjectives may also be derived by processes of compounding, as in (243). For these parts of speech headless (exocentric) compounding appears to be the rule. These, and most of the compounds that follow, are taken from the invaluable works of Kuipers (1960: 82–103) and Kardanov (1955: 1003–1007). In these and all other compounds final /ə/ 's are deleted.

(243) Compounds that yield adjectives

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| a. N-Adj = Adj | | |
| (i) | /na-f/ | eye-rotten = 'blind' |
| (ii) | /gʷə-ʂʃʃ'a/ | heart-great = 'daring, brave' |
| (iii) | /fa-γʷə/ | skin-dry (yellowish) = 'pale' |
| (iv) | /tʃa-gʷa/ | ear-docked = 'short-eared' |
| (v) | /dəwnay-psaw/ | world-all = 'worldwide' |
| b. N-V = Adj | | |
| (i) | /pa-s-a/ | nose-sit-on = 'early' |

- | | | |
|--------------|------------|--|
| (ii) | /kʷa-s-a/ | tail-sit-on = 'late' |
| (iii) | /ʔa-s-a/ | hand-sit-dat = 'tame' |
| (iv) | /ʔa-a-pʂa/ | wind-conn-blow = 'windy' (/ʔə/ 'wind') |
| c. N-N = Adj | | |
| (i) | /na-pʰcʰ/ | eye-lie = 'false' |
| (ii) | /psa-f/ | life-appearance(?) = 'pregnant (of animals)' |

5.2.3 Recursive Compounding A few adjectives show recursive compounding. The same modifying element is repeated so that the form has an internal rhyme. Therefore, I have termed them and similar forms "rhyming compounds" (see (251)).

(244) Rhyming adjectival compounds

- N-afx₁-N-afx₁ = Adj
- a. /ʔa-kʷə+a-ʂa-kʷə+a/
arm-move+intr-leg-move+intr
'skillful'
- b. /bza-gʷa-na-gʷa/
tongue-bad-eye-bad
'nasty'

5.2.4 Complex Adjectives Other adjectives merely show great internal complexity without necessarily exhibiting any recursive patterns.

(245) Complex adjectives

- a. [N-N]-Adj = Adj
/nakʷə-ʂha-pʂə/
cheek-head-red
'red-cheeked'
(/na+kʷə/ eye+slope = 'cheek')
- b. N-[index-V] = Adj
/ʂha-zə-fʰafʰ/
head (= 'self')-who-be pleased
'smug'
- c. [N-Adj]-N = Adj
/cʰəʂʰə-bzə-fa/
people-female-appearance
'feminine' or 'effeminate'

- d. [Adj-Adj]-conn-N = Adj
/mawra-f'əc'a-a-fa/
brown-black-conn-appearance
'dark brown'
- e. Adv-Adj = Adj
/nəq'a-tʃ'/
half-white (of fur)
'grizzled'

5.2.5 Suffixation The most prolific means of constructing adjectives, however, is by means of a rich system of suffixes consisting of clitic adverbs. Some of these are productive, others marginally so, and some frozen, as noted. One may include here a zero suffix for forms in which the noun and its corresponding adjective are identical (246u).

(246) Adjectives derived by means of suffixes

- a. /-a-g'a/ bad, lacking (marginally productive)
(Ubykh /a g'a/ 'bad,' Abkhaz /a-ga/ 'silly, fool' (/a-/ noun marker))
N-conn-afx = Adj
(i) /ʃaapʃa-a-g'a/ example-conn-without = 'unparalleled'
(/ʃə+a+a+pʃa/ lead+in+conn+material = 'example')
(ii) /bza-a-g'a/ tongue-conn-without = 'evil, cunning'
- b. /-z/ colour (non-productive)
Adj-afx = Adj
(i) /ʃ'ə-z/ white-colour = 'white'
(ii) /ɣ'a-z/ yellow-colour = 'yellow'
- c. /-may/ inutile (non-productive)
(/-mə-ya/ -not-character of (?))
N-afx = Adj
/ʒa-may/ mouth-inutile = 'taciturn'
- d. /-ray/ propensity (productive)
(/-ra-ya/ instrument, participle-attributive suffix)
N-afx = Adj, Adj-afx = Adj
(i) /psaaʃa-ray/ word-propensity = 'talkative'
(ii) /paasa-ray/ early-propensity = 'ancient'
(/pa+a+s+a/ nose+at+arrive+at = 'to arrive first,' 'early')
- e. /-ʔa/ possessing (marginally productive)
N-afx = Adj
/psə-ʔa/ water-possessing = 'damp, moist'

f. /-a-ba/ possessing (productive)

N-afx = Adj

(i) /bʒa-a-ba/ horn-conn-possessing = 'horned'

(ii) /cə-ba/ hair-possessing = 'hirsute'

g. /-ʃʰ/ (overly) broad (← ? masculine) (non-productive)

N-afx = Adj

(i) /ʒa-ʃʰ/ mouth-broad = 'crude, rude'

(ii) /maaɣʰə-ʃʰ/ sound-broad = 'crude'

(iii) /fəzə-ʃʰ/ woman-broad = 'crude, masculine woman'

h. /-lə/ character ('flesh' ?) (marginally productive)

N-afx = Adj

/gʰəʃʰaɣʰə-lə/ compassion-character = 'compassionate'

/gʰə+ʃʰa+ɣʰə/ heart+know+companion = 'compassion'

i. /-ʒə/ character (marginally productive)

(chiefly with Arabic loans)

N-afx = Adj

(i) /həyɣa-ʒə/ cunning (guile)-character = 'cunning, guileful'

(ii) /dəyn-ʒə/ religion-character = 'pious'

j. /-nad/ response (marginally productive)

N-afx = Adj

(/-na-d/ eye-in ?)

(i) /fəɣʰa-nad/ envy-response = 'envious'

(ii) /ʒay-nad/ sleep-response = 'sleepy'

k. /-rəyna/ proclivity (marginally productive)

(/-yə-yə-n-a/ cont-dir-remain-dat)

V-afx = Adj

/ɣə-rəyna/ cry-proclivity = 'whining, piteous'

l. /-(rəy-)la/ natural condition (productive)

(/yə-yə-la/ path-dir-to be extra = 'to be prolonged in some condition')

N-afx = Adj, Adj-afx = Adj

(i) /wabɣahna-a-la/ rain-conn-natural condition = 'rainy'

(ii) /səmaagʰa-rəy-la/ ill-emph-natural condition = 'ill (for a prolonged period)'

(/səma+a+gʰa/ health+conn+without = 'ill')

m. /-a-f'a/ well, good (marginally productive)

N-conn-afx = Adj

(i) /š'ək'a-a-f'a/ manner-conn-well = 'well-mannered'

(/š'ək'a/ do+inst = 'manner')

(ii) /fa-a-f'a/ appearance-conn-good = 'handsome, good-looking'

n. /-nša/ without (productive)(Bzhedukh West Circassian /-nč'a/)

N-afx = Adj

(i) /p'aaša-nša/ time interval-without = 'without a time limit'

(ii) /g'əš'aγ'ə-nša/ compassion-without = 'merciless'

(/g'ə+š'a+γ'ə/ heart+know+companion = 'compassion')

o. /-a-ša/ crooked, defective, lacking (productive)(Bzhedukh /-š'bya/)

N-(conn-)afx = Adj

(i) /na-a-ša/ eye-conn-crooked = 'cross-eyed'

(ii) /ʔa-a-ša/ ([ʔéšɛ]) arm-conn-lacking = 'armless' or 'one-armed'

p. /-γ'ay/ difficult (productive)(← /-γ'a-y/ -companion-bad)

V-afx = Adj

(i) /pʔəɾək'ə-γ'ay/ to cross over-difficult = 'hard to cross'

(/pʔə+ɾə+k'ə/ through+distr+exit = 'to cross over')

(ii) /zaγaχ'əš'a-γ'ay/ to effect-difficult = 'hard to effect'

(/z+a+γa+χ'ə+š'a/ self+in+caus+happen+near+in = 'to effect')

q. /-(a-)g'a/ short, docked (productive)

N-(conn-)afx = Adj

(i) /ʔa-a-g'a/ leg-conn-short = 'short'

(ii) /šha-g'a/ head-short = 'not sticking up toward the top, stubby'

r. /-q'a/ type (marginally productive)

Adj-afx = Adj

/za-q'a/ one-type = 'unique'

s. /-wə/ predicate case (?)

N-afx = Adj

(i) /psa-wə/ life-pred = 'living, live, alive'

(ii) /k'ə-wə/ core (depths)-pred = 'deep'

t. /-aγ/ past tense (parallel with English past-passive participle)

V-afx = Adj

(i) /γa+ħazəɾ-aγ/ ([γaħezɪr'á]) caus+be ready-past = 'ready'

(ii) /p'k'ə-aγ/ ([p'k'ə]) to wear out-past = 'worn out' (of footwear)

u. /-ø/ “zero suffix,” (productive)

N-ø = Adj

(i) /dəʧa/

‘sunny’ (‘sun’)

(ii) /pʂa-a-ʧʷa/

cloud-conn-companion = ‘foggy’ (‘fog’)

5.2.6 Degree Adjectives of degree are expressed as suffixes as well.

(247) Adjectives of degree

a. /-ʔʷa/ slightly

Adj-Adv = Adj

(i) /ʂʷə-ʔʷa/

white-slightly = ‘whitish’

(ii) /fʷəcʷa-ʔʷa/

black-slightly = ‘blackish’

b. /-bza/ completely

[Adj-afx]-Adv = Adj

(i) /ʧʷa-ʒə-bza/

yellow-colour-completely = ‘completely
yellow’

(ii) /pʂə-ʒə-bza/

red-colour-completely = ‘completely red’

c. /-a-ʂa/ extremely

Adj-conn-afx = Adj

/gʷəbzəʧa-a-ʂa/

wise-conn-extremely = ‘very wise’

(/gʷə+bzə+ʧa/ heart+to cut+abstract = ‘intelligent, wise’)

d. /-ʂʂʷa/ huge

Adj-conn-afx = Adj

(i) /yənə-ʂʂʷa/

big-huge = ‘enormous’

(ii) /bzaagʷa-ʂʂʷa/

evil-huge = ‘greatly evil’

e. /-ʒ/ extreme opinion (← /ʒə/ ‘old,’ ‘ugly,’ or ‘evil’)

Adj-afx = Adj

(i) /gʷəbzəʧa-ʒ/

wise-extreme = ‘wonderfully wise’

(/gʷə+bzə+ʧa/ heart+to cut+abstract = ‘intelligent, wise’)

(ii) /fʷəcʷa-ʒ/

black-extreme = ‘horribly black’

f. /-ʒə-ʂʂʷa/ extreme opinion-huge

Adj-afx-afx = Adj

/fʷəcʷa-ʒə-ʂʂʷa/

black-extreme-huge = ‘huge, black and
clumsy’

5.2.7 Prefixation A few adjectives are formed by prefixes. These are right-hand headed adjectives.

(248) Adjectives derived by means of prefixes

N-Adj = Adj

- a. /q^wa-/ horn (marginally productive)
 /q^wa-*x̣**/ horn-white = 'white horned'
- b. /ta-/ surface (/t-a-/ surf-dat-) (non-productive)
 /ta-*x̣**/ surf-white = 'white skinned, white'
- c. /pa-/ nose, front (near to or opposed from)(productive)
 (i) /pa-ʔaʂ'a/ nose(opposed)-near = 'far removed'
 (ii) /pa-γ^wənaγ^w/ nose(near)-near (bordering) = 'near to someone'

5.2.8 **Circumfixation** There is one type of adjective formed with a circumfix (morpheme that is both a prefix and suffix). The adjectival root combines with the negative prefix, usually found in verbs, /mə-/ and with /-nša/ 'without' (245n).

(249) Circumfixed adjective

afx-N-afx, afx-V-afx = Adj

/mə-...-nša/ not-... -without

- a. /mə-aqəλ-ə-nša/ ([məɑqɪλɪnʂɛ])
 (for the vowel sequence see (49e))
 not-intellect-ep v-without
 'not without intelligence'
- b. /mə-γaʂ'aγ^wan-ə-nša/
 not-to interest-ep v-without
 'not without interest'
 (/γa+ʂ'a+g^w+a+n/ caus+know+heart+in+inf = 'to interest')
- c. /mə-daaγ^wa-nša/
 not-defect-without
 'imperfect,' 'not without defects'

5.3 Nouns

A few hundred basic nominal roots are used to make up most of the rest of the nominal vocabulary. Such derived nouns can be formed either by compounding, an open ended process, or by the use of a limited set of affixes (§5.3.5).

5.3.1 **Compounding** Compounding is a productive and complex process. Some compounds are endocentric or headed, showing both right- and left-hand heads, whereas others are exocentric. In many cases the question as to whether a compound is headed or not has no clear answer, as with, for example, /na-g^w/ eye-zone 'face (around the eyes),' which is both associated with 'eye' (left-hand head)

and 'zone' (right-hand head). Only a few examples of this rich part of the grammar can be given in (250).

(250) Nominal compounds

a. N-N = N

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (i) /na-psə/ | eye-water = 'tear' |
| (ii) /ʔa-p'ʎ'a/ | arm-shoulder = 'embrace' |
| (iii) /ʒa-p'q'/ | jaw-bone = 'chin' |
| (iv) /ʎa-g'/ | leg (foot)-surf = 'sole' or 'floor' |
| (v) /ʎaaʒa-a-p'a/ | work-conn-place = 'place of work' |

b. N-Adj = N

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| (i) /na-x̂'a/ | eye-white = 'light' (an N) |
| (ii) /na-ya/ ([ne']) | eye-bad = 'malice, anger' |
| (iii) /na-f/ | eye-good = 'kindness' |
| (iv) /pʂa-pʎə/ | cloud-red = 'twilight' |
| (v) /g'a-zav/ | heart-narrow = 'plight' |
| (vi) /g'aś'ə-rə-psa-w/ | work-inst-life-pred = 'labourers' (alive by work) |

c. N-V = N

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| (i) /na-ʔa/ | eye-holding = 'care' |
| (ii) /g'a-ʔa/ | heart-holding = 'sorrow' |
| (iii) /ʔa-ʎ+a/ | hand-lie+dat = 'glove' |
| (iv) /ʔ'a-ʎ+ħa/ | lips-lie+act = 'bribe' |
| (v) /mazə-ʎ+a/ | forest-lie+dat = 'forest zone' |
| (vi) /p'q'ə-mə+zaaʔa/ | frame-not+be still = 'fidgeting' |

d. Adj-N = N

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| (i) /bʎə-ʂħa/ | seven-head = 'Monday' |
| (ii) /s'a-a-ʎa/ | new-conn-flesh = 'child, youth' |

e. PreV-V = N

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (i) /da-ʎx̂'/ | with-be born = 'brother (of woman)' |
| (ii) /x̂a-a-s-a/ | mass-dat-sit-dat = 'council' |

f. [N-PreV]-V = N

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| (i) /ʎa-rə-ʒa/ | leg-inst-run = 'skis, skates' |
| (ii) /ʔa-rə-tʂə/ | hand-inst-write = 'manuscript' |
| (iii) /pχ'a-rə-ʎx̂'ə/ | daughter-inst-be born = 'grandson,
granddaughter by daughter' |
| (iv) /ʂə-pχ'a-rə-ʎx̂'ə/ | sibling-daughter-inst-be born = 'nephew by
sister' |
| (v) /ɣ'a-g'a-rə-k'a+a/ | road-zone-distr-come+intr = 'traveller' |

5.3.2 Recursive Nouns Some nouns are also recursively derived (see recursive adjectives (244)). These occur in two forms.

5.3.2.1 Rhyming Compounds The first shows parallel second elements for each half of the higher compound. A few examples are given in (251). The rhyme can be either right-hand headed (251a, c) or left-hand headed (251b).

(251) Rhyming compounds

- $[N_1-N_i]-[N_2-N_i] = N$
- a. /ʔa-p'q'-ʔa-p'q'/
arm-frame-leg-frame
'body' (viewed as a framework)
- b. /ʔ'a-q''a-ʔ'a-ʔ'/
 $[N_1-N_1]-[N_1-N_2] = N$
man-son-man-sibling
'nobility'
- c. /ʔa-ʔ''a-ʔ'/
 $[N_1-Adj_i]-[N_2-Adj_i] = N$
arm-dry-leg-dry
'paralysis'

5.3.2.2 Non-rhyming Compounds A few forms can show recursion without the doubling of (251), such as that in (252b), where /-ʔ-/ 'to be prone, lying in a certain spot' is used twice.

(252) Recursive nominal compound without rhyme

- a. Compound noun
 $V-V = N$
/ʔxə-ʔ/ write-lie = 'book'
- b. Recursive compound
 $[{}_N V-V]-V = N$
/ʔxəʔə-ʔ/ book-lie = 'bookbag'

5.3.3 Complex Compounds A few large compounds can be created which have very little internal structure. In (253) two examples are given that are completely analysable or nearly so (Kuipers 1960: 97–98). Many other compounds of this sort are only partially analysable. A few because of their apparent antiquity have become partially frozen (254).

(253) Complex compounds

a. [[N-conn-afx]-conn]-[V-conn-V] = N

/h̥a-n-də-r-q̣ᵐa-a-q̣ᵐa/

barley-conn-formative suffix-conn-croak-conn-croak
'frog'

b. [[V-case-afx]-N]-Adj (V) = N

/x̣ᵐə-m-p̣'a-c'a-g̣'ə/

grazing-obl-place-louse-nasty(?) (turning(?))
'ant'

(254) Very old compound

/x̣ᵐə-q̣ᵐa-λ̣/

be born-free(?) -man

'freeman' (an old social caste)

5.3.4 Compounds Employing Inflected Verbs Perhaps the most complex nouns are those with a verbal element that is inflected. Note that the relative index in the inflected verb is at the front of the verbal complex rather than before the verb root as one would expect in a pure verb.

(255) Compound nouns employing an inflected verb

N-[_V(afx)^x-V] = N

a. /ʃə-z-y-a-ʃ-a/ ([ʃɪzɛ'ʃɛ])

horse-who-dir-dat-lead-dat
'horse nurse, groom'

b. /x̣əbahr-z-y-a-ḥ-a/ ([x̣ɛba'rzɛ'ḥæ])

news-who-dir-dat-carry-dat
'messenger, herald'

5.3.5 Affixation Nouns can also be derived from other parts of speech by a well-defined set of affixes.

5.3.5.1 Suffixation In (256) nouns are derived from other nouns by means of suffixes. Sometimes a connective /-a-/ is required and sometimes not, even with the same suffix. The conditioning factor for the presence of this connective /-a-/ is an /a/ at the end of the last morpheme before the suffix (contrast (256a, (i)) with (256a, (ii)), or (256d, (i) and (ii)) with (256d, (iii))), but this is not always sufficient to explain the behaviour of this morpheme (note (256e, f)).

(256) Nouns from nouns and suffixes

a. /-(a-)γ^wa/ companion, accompanying property or entity

- (i) /p'q'ə-γ^wa/ bone-companion = 'body'
 (ii) /wəna-a-γ^wa/ house-conn-companion = 'family'
 (iii) /ʎə-a-p'q'ə-γ^wa/ blood-conn-bone-companion = 'look,

appearance'

b. /-ya/ of the character of, made of

- (i) /da-ya/ ([de']) nut-character = 'nut tree'
 (ii) /ca-ya/ ([ce']) wool-character = 'cherkesska' (national garment)
 (iii) /ʒəŋ-ya/ ([ʒiŋé']) tree-character = 'oak'

c. /-ž/ diminutive (cf. West Circassian /-žəy/ suffix on baby words)

- (i) /wəna-ž/ house-diminutive = 'hut'
 (ii) /ʎa-ž/ arm-diminutive = 'handle'

d. /-(a-)pʃa/ material for something

- (i) /vaaq'a-a-pʃa/ shoe-conn-material = 'shoelather'
 (ii) /ʒəʎa-a-pʃa/ seed-conn-material = 'crop seed'
 (iii) /g'adə-g^wa-pʃa/ cat-zone-material = 'fur for a fur coat'

e. /-(a)-š/ shelter (for animal or machine)

- (i) /ʎa-š/ dog-shelter = 'doghouse, kennel'
 (ii) /ʃə-a-š/ horse-conn-shelter = 'horse stable'
 (iii) /q^wa-š/ pig-shelter = 'pigsty'
 (iv) /maq^wa-a-š/ hay-conn-shelter = 'hayloft'
 (v) /g^wa-a-š/ cart-conn-shelter = 'garage'

f. /-(a-)g'a/ bad (connective /-a-/ in frozen forms)

- (i) /səma-a-g'a/ health-conn-bad = 'ill' (/səma-/ a bound morpheme)
 (ii) /γ^waz-g'a/ haze-bad = 'fog'

5.3.5.2 Frozen Suffixes

A few suffixes are marginally productive or frozen.

(257) Marginally productive or frozen suffixes on nouns

- a. /ʎa-way/ leg-striking place (/w-a-ya/ strike-dat-character ?) = 'roost, perch'
 b. /γ^wa-g^wa-a-n-a/ road-zone-conn-remain-dat = 'way, track'
 c. /bʒə-w-ma/ chisel-pred-/ma/ = 'mallet'
 d. /wə-ma/ to strike-/ma/ = 'wooden club for hammering'

5.3.5.3 **Prefixation** There is one prefix that can apply to nouns to produce other nouns. This is the reciprocal.

(258) Reciprocal prefix on nouns

- a. /za-š/ recip-brother = 'brothers (as a group), brethren'
 b. /za-b'laa ya/ recip-close relative = 'relatives'
 c. /za-q''aaža/ recip-village = 'fellow villagers'

5.3.5.4 *Deverbal Suffixation* There are a series of suffixes which can apply to verb roots to produce nouns. Some of these forms show remarkably complex semantics.

(259) Deverbal nouns

- a. /a-k''a/ agent
- (i) /y-a-p'c'ə-ža-a-k''a/
3-dat-(tell a) lie-finally-conn-ag
'traitor'
 - (ii) /tʃə+a-a-k''a/
write+intr-conn-ag
'writer'
 - (iii) /y-a-g''-a-a-k''a/
dir-dat-call-dat-conn-ag
'pupil' (lit., 'reader')
 - (iv) /ʃə-ʃ''-a-a-k''a/
leg-pass-dat-conn-ag
'seeker'
- b. /-k''a/ method, manner, instrument
- (i) /laaža-k''a/
to work-inst
'method of working'
 - (ii) /ʃʃə+a-k''a/
eat+intr-inst
'manner of eating'
 - (iii) /psaaʃa-k''a/
to talk-inst
'way of talking' or 'skill in talking'
- c. /-n-ya/ inf-abstract suffix, '-ness'
- (i) /laaža-n-ya/
to work-inf-abstract
'work'

- (ii) /tʰə+a-n-ɣa/
write+intr-inf-abstract
'(the activity of) writing'
- (iii) /s'ə-n-ə-ɣa/
know-inf-ep v-abstract
'knowledge'
- d. /-ɣ^wa/ time, season of an action
- (i) /q^wə-ħa-ɣ^wa/
lee (corner)-enter-time
'sunset' (the horizon is the lee or sheltered corner of the earth
behind which the sun sets)
- (ii) /laaʒa-ɣ^wa/
to work-time
'work time'
- e. /-ɣ^wa/ resulting product or accompanying by-product (glossed as
'companion' because this suffix is probably identical with (256a))
/pə-k^wə-ɣ^wa/
sever-cut-companion
'fragment'
- f. /-s̄/ shelter (note /-(a-)s̄/ in (256e))
/ʃa-s-s̄/
mass-sit-shelter
'nest'

5.3.5.5 *Nouns from Adjectives* The abstract suffix of (259c) can also apply to adjectives, producing abstract nouns. In this function it occasionally shows a zero-grade /-ɣ/ (260d–f), with the root taking on an unexpected /a/-grade as a final syllable or simply keeping its form (260g, h).

(260) Abstract nouns from adjectives

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| a. /daaħa-a-ɣ(a)/ | beautiful-conn-abstract = 'beauty' |
| b. /fəc'a-a-ɣ(a)/ | black-conn-abstract = 'blackness' |
| c. /pʃħapa-a-ɣ(a)/ | useful-conn-abstract = 'usefulness' |
| d. /k ^w əf'a-a-ɣ/
(/k ^w əf/ 'dark') | dark-conn-abstract = 'darkness' |
| e. /k ^w əħa-a-ɣ/
(/k ^w əħ/ 'long') | long-conn-abstract = 'length' |
| f. /c'əħ ^w a-a-ɣ/
(/c'əħ ^w / 'people') | people-conn-ness = 'humanity' |

- g. /ʎ'ə-ɣa/ man-ness = 'manliness, courage'
 h. /tʰə-ɣa/ write-ness = 'literature'

5.3.5.6 *Circumfixation* A zero-grade of the companion suffix of (256a) and (259e) can co-occur with the reciprocal prefix of (258) to yield a productive nominal category derived either from verbs or other nouns by means of the circumfix /za-...-ɣ'a/ (261).

(261) Circumfix derivation of nominals

- a. /za-ʂxə+a-ɣ'a/
 recip-eat+intr-companion
 'schoolmates' (ones with whom one eats)
 b. /za-psaʎa-ɣ'a/
 recip-talk-companion
 'company' (ones with whom one talks)
 c. /za-q''aaʒa-ɣ'a/
 recip-village-companion
 'fellow villagers'

5.3.5.7 *Genitive of Time* Some nouns of time show a temporal genitive prefix, glossed as gen(itive). It is formally akin to the possessive prefix except that it never takes a pronoun index.

(262) Genitive of time

- a. /yə-ʎas/ gen-year = 'year'
 b. /yə-g'ə/ gen-now = '(right) now'

5.3.5.8 *Inherent Possession* Finally, a few nouns show a prefix of inherent possession (§3.1.5.1.2 (102)). In (263c) this appears only when the form is possessed. (263c) also shows the need for /h/ since it gives the long (open) vowel even when unstressed. Therefore, it is underlying and cannot be predicted from a form with mere initial vowel as one might be tempted to do from (263a, b) alone.

(263) Inherent possession

- a. /ha-ta/ inh poss-father = 'father'
 b. /ha-na/ inh poss-mother = 'mother'
 c. /ø-y-ha-g''aaʒa/ ([yɑ'g''á'ʂɛ]) 3-poss-inh poss-princess = 'his wife'

5.4 Verbs

Verbs show a stable root structure, with a few suffixes or prefixes creating other roots (§§4.2.6.3–4). A few features not covered in chapter 4 will be examined here.

5.4.1 Nouns and Adjectives as Verbs Verbs can be derived from nouns and adjectives by “zero” suffixes. This zero-affixation produces stative verbs.

(264) Stative verbs from nouns and adjectives

- a. /ʁ'ə-n/ man-inf = ‘to be a man’
- b. /f'əc'a-n/ black-inf = ‘to be black’

5.4.2 Active Verbs from Adjectives Active verbs can be made from adjectives by means of a causative prefix and occasionally a valence prefix as well.

(265) Active verbs from adjectives

- a. /-γa-q'aabza-n/
caus-clean-inf
‘to cleanse’
- b. /-γa-wə+f'əc'a-n/
caus-val+black-inf
‘to blacken’

5.5 Expressive Particles

The only other parts of speech, apart from the numerals and connectives, are a few particles of an expressive character. The forms (266n, o) might be considered true ideophones, sounds which express an action without actually denoting it.

(266) Unanalysable expressive particles

- a. /q'əʔa/ ‘please!’
- b. /hawa/ ‘no!’
- c. /ʔəʔəə/ ‘no!’
- d. /aqʷəday/ ‘(not) at all’
- e. /nt'a/ ‘yes’
- f. /ʔaw/ (astonishment)
- g. /anáh/ (astonishment)
- h. /aλawah/ (astonishment) (from Arabic)
- i. /dədəd-dədəd/ (pain, sorrow)
- j. /waχʷ/ (sense of relief)
- k. /yawəway/ (regret, disappointment)

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| l. /yəʔəhə/ | (regret, disappointment) |
| m. /waay/ | (fright, alarm) |
| n. /s'aak'/ | (expressive of a blow on the cheek) |
| o. /t'aay/ | (expressive of a fall in a struggle) |
| (/-t'a-/ 'down') | |

5.6 Numerals

In almost all languages the numerals actually exhibit very rich word-formation processes because of their inherently recursive and boundless nature. Kabardian numerals are no exception in this regard. The Kabardian numerals have a base ten with no trace of the vigesimal sub-system common in the rest of the family.

5.6.1 Cardinals The cardinals are as follows.

(267) Cardinals

one	/zə/
two	/tʔə/ (in listing), /t'ə/ (as a pair, §2.3.2(6))
three	/sə/
four	/p'x'ə/
five	/tʔ'ə/
six	/xə/
seven	/bλə/
eight	/yə/
nine	/bɣ'ə/
ten	/p's'ə/
eleven	/p's'ə-k'ə-z/ ten-and("plus")-one
twelve	/p's'ə-k'ə-t'/
thirteen	/p's'ə-k'ə-s/
fourteen	/p's'ə-k'ə-p'x'/
fifteen	/p's'ə-k'ə-tʔ'/
sixteen	/p's'ə-k'ə-x'/
seventeen	/p's'ə-k'ə-bλ/
eighteen	/p's'ə-k'ə-y/
nineteen	/p's'ə-k'ə-bɣ'/
twenty	/tʔ'a-s'/ double-ten (?), /tʔə p's'ə-wa/ two ten-pred
twenty-one	/tʔ'a-s'-ra zə-ra/ twenty-and one-and
thirty	/sa-s'/ triple-ten, /sə p's'ə-wa/ three ten-pred
forty	/p'x'ə-s'/ four-ten, /p'x'ə p's'ə-wa/
fifty	/tʔ'ə-s'/, /tʔ'ə p's'ə-wa/

sixty	/ḫə-š'/, /ḫə p's'ə-wa/
seventy	/bλə-š'/, /bλə p's'ə-wa/
eighty	/yə-š'/, /yə p's'ə-wa/, /p's'a-y/ tenfold-eight
ninety	/bɣ*ə-š'/, /bɣ*ə p's'ə-wa/
one hundred	/ša/
two hundred	/ša-əy-t'/ ([šit']) hundred-num-two (§2.3.2)
one thousand	/məyn/
ten thousand	/məyn-əy-p's'/, /p's'a-a-s'a məyn/ ten-conn-fold thousand

5.6.2 **Ordinals** The ordinals have two forms. The attributive form ('the second...', etc.) is made by taking the /a/-grade of the cardinal and adding to it a genitive-like prefix, /ya-/ or /yah-/, and the ordinal suffix proper /-a-na/. The predicative or independent form is the same as the attributive with the addition of the emphatic suffix /-ray/. In these latter forms a secondary stress is retained on the root.

(268) Ordinals (predicatives in parentheses)

first	/yah-pa/ (/yah-pa-ray/), gen-first (/pa/ 'nose, front') /ya-za-a-na/(/ya-za-a-na-ray/((yezð'næré')) gen-one-conn-ordinal
second	/ya-t'ɾ'a-a-na/ (/yə-t'ɾ'a-a-na-ray/)
third	/ya-ša-a-na/ (/ya-ša-a-na-ray/)
fourth	/ya-p'λ'a-a-na/ (/ya-p'λ'a-a-na-ray/)
fifth	/ya-tḫ*a-a-na/ (/ya-tḫ*a-a-na-ray/)
sixth	/ya-ḫa-a-na/ (/ya-ḫa-a-na-ray/)
seventh	/ya-bλa-a-na/ (/ya-bλa-a-na-ray/)
eighth	/ya-ya-a-na/ (/ya-ya-a-na-ray/)
ninth	/ya-bɣ*a-a-na/ (/ya-bɣ*a-a-na-ray/)
tenth	/ya-p's'a-a-na/ (/ya-p's'a-a-na-ray/)
eleventh	/ya-p's'ə-k"ə-za-a-na/ (/ya-p's'ə-k"ə-za-a-na-ray/)
twelfth	/ya-p's'ə-k"ə-t'ɾ'a-a-na/ (/ya-p's'ə-k"ə-t'ɾ'a-a-na-ray/)
twentieth	/ya-t'ɾ'a-s'a-a-na/ (/ya-t'ɾ'a-s'a-a-na-ray/)
thirtieth	/ya-ša-s'a-a-na/ (/ya-ša-s'a-a-na-ray/)
fortieth	/ya-p'λ'ə-s'a-a-na/ (/ya-p'λ'ə-s'a-a-na-ray/)
one hundredth	/ya-ša-a-na/ (/ya-ša-a-na-ray/)

Ordinals of complex decades ('twenty-first', 'thirty-fifth', etc.) show a distinct pattern, surprisingly like that of English, where the first word is a cardinal and only the second is an ordinal. Attributive and predicative forms are identical.

(269) Ordinals of some complex decades

twenty-first	/tʔ ^w a-s'-ra ya-za-a-na-ra/ two-ten-and gen-one-conn-ordinal-and
thirty-fifth	/sa-s'-ra ya-tʃ ^w a-a-na-ra/
ninety-ninth	/bɣ ^w ə-s'-ra ya-by ^w a-a-na-ra/

5.6.3 Multiplicatives Multiplicatives (five-times, five-fold) come in two forms.

5.6.3.1 Predicative Multiplicatives The predicative or independent form ('one time,' 'once,' 'two times,' 'twice,' etc.) is the simplest, consisting of an /a/-grade of the cardinal.

(270) Independent multiplicatives

once	/za/
twice	/tʔ ^w a/
thrice	/sa/
four times	/pʃ ^w a/
twenty times	/tʔ ^w a-s'a/
twenty-one times	/tʔ ^w a-s'ə-k ^w ə-za/

5.6.3.2 Attributive Multiplicatives The numeral one hundred /sa/ has an inherent /a/ and so it makes its multiplicative in the manner used to form attributive (adjectival) multiplicatives ('hundred-fold,' 'two-fold,' etc.) with the suffixes /-a-s'a/ -conn-fold.

(271) Attributive multiplicatives

two-fold	/tʔ ^w a-a-s'a/
three-fold	/sa-a-s'a/
four-fold	/pʃ ^w a-a-s'a/
twenty-fold	/tʔ ^w a-s'a-a-s'a/
twenty-one-fold	/tʔ ^w a-s'ə-k ^w ə-za-a-s'a/
hundred-fold	/sa-a-s'a/

5.6.4 Distributives Distributive adverbs of the numerals from one to ten have a morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence with their English counterparts 'one-

by-one,' etc. They utilise the distributive suffix for the 'by' morpheme (241c). The numerals from eleven to twenty, and decades thereafter, lack the distributive suffix, simply repeating the number. Complex decades ('twenty-one,' 'fifty-seven,' etc.) split the numeral into a multiplicative decade conjoined with a multiplicative unit by /-ra/ 'and.' The distributive form of 'fifty' is based upon 'half a hundred,' /ša-nəq^ma/ hundred-half.

(272) Distributive numerical adverbs

one-by-one	/zə-rə-z/
two-by-two	/tʔ ^m ə-rə-tʔ/
three-by-three	/sə-rə-š/
four-by-four	/pʔ ^m ə-rə-pʔ ^m /
five-by-five	/tʂ ^m ə-rə-tʂ ^m /
six-by-six	/xə-rə-x/
seven-by-seven	/bλə-rə-bλ/
eight-by-eight	/yə-rə-y/
nine-by-nine	/bɣ ^m ə-rə-bɣ ^m /
ten-by-ten	/pʔ ^s ə-rə-pʔ ^s /
eleven-by-eleven	/pʔ ^s ə-k ^m ə-z-pʔ ^s ə-k ^m ə-z/
twenty-by-twenty	/tʔ ^m a-š-tʔ ^m a-š/
twenty-one-by-twenty-one	/tʔ ^m a-š-tʔ ^m a-š-ra zə-rə-z-ra/
fifty-by-fifty	/ša-nəq ^m a-ša-nəq ^m a/
one-hundred-by-one-hundred	/ša-ša/
two-hundred-by-two-hundred	/ša-əy-tʔ-ša-əy-tʔ/

5.6.5 Fractions Fractions are formed from the /a/-grade of the numeral by means of the ordinal suffixes /-a-na/ (Kardanov 1955: 1012). Unlike the ordinals, however, the genitive-like prefix is omitted. Here again, Kabardian morphology is close to English in that the fraction has an ordinal-like form.

(273) Some fractions

one-half	/tʔ ^m a-a-na/
one-third	/ša-a-na/
one-fourth, one-quarter	/pʔ ^m a-a-na/
one-fifth	/tʂ ^m a-a-na/
one-eighth	/ya-a-na/
one-tenth	/pʔ ^s a-a-na/
one-twentieth	/tʔ ^m a-š'a-a-na/

three-quarters	/p'λ'a-a-na-əy-ś/ ([p'λ'ð'ní'ś])
four-fifths	/tχ'a-a-na-əy-p'λ'/
ten-fifteenths	/p'ś'ə-k'ə-tχ'a-a-na-əy-p'ś'/

As 'one-half' /t'ɣ'a-a-na/ is only used for measurements, /nəq'a/ takes its place in attributive functions of a metaphorical character (/nəq'a-zaλəɾ'əχ/ 'half-finished,' /nəq'a-dayλa/ half-stupid = 'half-witted').

5.6.6 Estimates Estimates are made by using the numeral 'one' as a collective prefix, and then citing two contiguous numbers for the bound of the estimate.

(274) Estimates

two or three	/zə-t'ɣ'ə-ś/ one (collective)-two-three
five or six	/zə-tχ'ə-χ'/
ten or fifteen	/zə-p'ś'ə-p'ś'ək'ətχ'/
one- or two-hundred	/zə-śa-śəyt'/

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