

THE GRAMMAR OF THE KABARDIAN LANGUAGE

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Syntax

The syntax of Kabardian is very rich and interesting. Particular phenomena can be presented here, but a thorough examination of most of them must await specialised studies. Because of the current state of syntactical research, with numerous and divergent competing paradigms (compare Sells (1985)), I have couched the following chapter in something like the revised extended standard theory (Akmajian and Heny 1975), though this is clearly out of date. My goal in this chapter is to present clear and interesting data, though I have not refrained from some theoretical comments, even going beyond the overall theoretical tone, if some particularly interesting phenomenon justifies doing so.

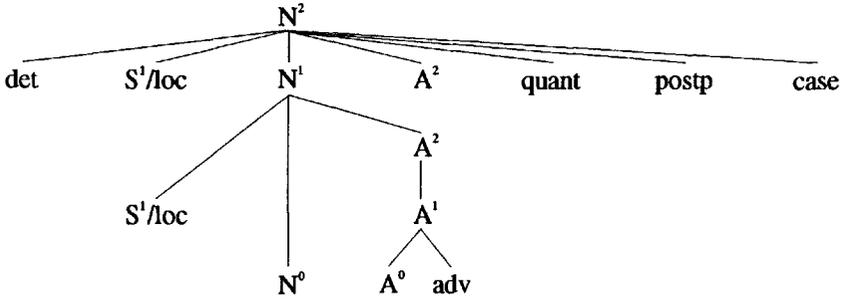
I shall present the patterns of the noun phrase (including relative embeddings), adjectives, and then of the entire sentence.

6.1 Nouns

This discussion supplements that of morphology (chapter 3) with facts about the overall behaviour of the N^2 . Like the verb the noun phrase has an agglutinative character, with most components cliticising to the noun root. Only embedded relative clauses seem free of this cliticising, as one might expect, though even with them reduced forms can be postposed and cliticised.

6.1.1 Order The basic order of constituents in the noun phrase is given in (275). The non-restrictive relative clause is a daughter to N^2 , whereas the restrictive relative is a daughter to N^1 . There may also be two adjective nodes ($A^{2/i}$), one for each of the higher N-nodes. A few examples of such nouns are given in (276). In (275) A^0 = adjective, det = determiner, and quant = quantifier.

(275) Noun phrase structure



(276) Examples of noun phrases

- a. /a-s'aala-m/
the-boy-obl
'the boy'
- b. /a-s'aala-daγ*ə-ha-r/
that-boy-good-pl-abs
'those good boys'
- c. /s-əy-s'aala q'as-m/
my-poss-boy each-obl
'each of my boys'
- d. /a-wəna-m (y)q'a-s-λaay*(aγ) pśaaśa-daaχa-dəda-r/
the-house-obl (whom-)hor-I-sec-(past) girl-beautiful-very-abs
'the very beautiful girl whom I saw in the house'
- e. /mə-dray sə-y-wəna-ø pśaaśa-daaχa-dəda-ha-m/
this-other my-poss-house-obl girl-beautiful-very-pl-obl
'to the other very beautiful girls in my house'
- f. /zə-λ'ə-g*ara-r/
one-man-certain-abs
'a particular man'
- g. /zə-ħa ø-z-a-y-ʔa λ'ə-g*ara-r/
one dog 3-whom-dat-poss-belong man-certain-abs
'a particular man who owned a dog'

6.1.2 Relative Clauses As (275) states, relative clauses normally precede their heads. Nevertheless, relative clauses can sometimes be postposed over their heads. In this position they can take a predicative "case" /-wa/ (277b). If the postposed

clause takes the head noun's case, then the displaced head noun must take a "default case" /-wa/ (277c) (see (91d)). The significance of such postposing will be discussed in §6.8.2.

(277) Postposing of a relative clause

a. Deep structure

/wəna-m (yə-)ø-yə-ʔa ʔə-r/
 house-obl (who-)3-cont-be man-abs
 'the man who was at home'

b. Postposed without case

/ʔə-r wəna-m (yə-)ø-yə-ʔa-wa/
 man-abs house-obl (who-)3-cont-be-pred

c. Postposed with case

/ʔə-w wəna-m (yə-)ø-yə-ʔa-r/
 man-pred house-obl (who-)3-cont-be-abs

6.1.3 Possessed Nouns Possession is expressed as in (278).

(278) Possessive phrases

a. N of N

/ħa-m ø-yə-pa-r/
 dog-obl 3-poss-nose-abs
 'the dog's nose'

b. N of Pro

/sə-y-pa/
 my-poss-nose
 'my nose'

c. Pro of N

/nawɣ*ay-ha (yə-)ø-ha-yə-ʔa-ha-r/ ([(y)á'yʔafiar])
 Noghwey-pl (which-)3-pl-poss-belong-pl-abs
 'the Noghwey's (things)'

d. Pro of Pro

/ø-y-ya-r/
 3-poss-the one of-abs
 'his/hers'

Possessive adjectives are as in (279).

(279) Possessive adjectives

- a. /a-ʔana-m ø-yə-t-y-a-pʰ/
- the-table-obl 3-poss-surf-dir-dat-cover
- ‘the table’s cover’
- b. /a-tʰəʎ-m ø-yə-tʰəʎ-m-p’a/
- that-book-obl 3-poss-book-obl-place
- ‘that book’s dust jacket’

6.1.4 Coordination Conjunction is expressed by means of affixes or apposition, whereas disjunction is by means of a single word.

6.1.4.1 Conjunction Nouns are coordinated by repeated /-(m-)ra/ suffixes. These conjoined forms are ambiguous as to oblique or absolutive case, so the /-m-/ in the coordination of common nouns is not the oblique case, apparently, but rather a relic connective. These suffixes do not attract stress.

(280) Coordinated nouns

- a. Common nouns
- /ħa-ha-m-ra g’adəw-ha-m-ra/
- dog-pl-conn-and cat-pl-conn-and
- ‘dogs and cats’
- b. Proper nouns
- /ʎapʰ-ra satanaay-ra/
- Tlepsh-and Satanaya-and
- ‘Tlepsh and Satanaya’

Conjoined adjectives are merely apposed.

(281) Conjoined adjectives

- /ʎə-q’ay’-p’aaśa-r/
- man-thin-large-abs
- ‘the big and thin man’

6.1.4.2 Disjunction Disjunction is expressed by means of the word /ħama/.

(282) Disjunction

- /ħa-ha ħama g’adəw-ha/
- dog-pl or cat-pl
- ‘dogs or cats’

6.2 Basic Clause Structure

The clause is underlyingly subject-initial and verb-final. Complications arise when there is an indirect object or locative phrase, and when there is an agent for a causative.

6.2.1 Copular Sentences The copular clause is based upon a zero verb, the subject taking the absolutive and the predicate nominal or adjective taking a stative tense and an affirmative mood. The basic word order is subject-complement-tense-mood. In copular clauses, verb concord only takes place if there are no overt pronouns (283d); that is, concord is a pro-movement rule. This is not the case with all other verbs, wherein concord always takes place; that is, concord is a pro-copying rule (§4.1.1).

(283) Copular clauses

- a. /a-r λ'ə-x'ə-š/
3-abs man-male-aff
'He is a hero.'
- b. /a-ha-r λ'ə-x'ə-aγ-ha-š/ ([λ'oχ'á'haš])
3-pl-abs man-male-past-pl-aff
'They were heroes.'
- c. /pśaaśa-r daaħa-dəda-š/
girl-abs beautiful-very-aff
'The girl is very beautiful.'
- d. /sa λ'ə-x'ə-š/ or /sə-λ'ə-x'ə-š/
I man-male-aff or I-man-male-aff
'I am a hero.'

6.2.2 Order of Nouns Kabardian is a rigid verb-final language. As to the other elements of the sentence, there are three sorts of evidence that bear upon the underlying order of nominals in a clause. The first is the order of indices, which is a mirror image one on the whole. The second is the case-marking in which the element immediately before the verb is in the absolutive. Kabardian is ergative. The third is the actual order of nominals as observed in what appear to be unmarked sentences. The order in embeddings, for example, seems to be fairly inflexible.

6.2.2.1 Order in Transitive Sentences Order of nouns in an underlying transitive clause is (agent)-subject-(indirect object) (locative)-direct object-verb. The N immediately to the left of the verb receives an absolutive case. All others receive an oblique. Verb-concord (§4.2.10) is achieved by starting from the left of a clause and copying a co-referential personal index onto the front of the verb stem,

giving a mirror image index concord on the verb (cf. Baker 1988b). The first N to the left of the verb stem also has its plurality, if any, copied onto the verb. Thus, the plurality of the verb reflects that of the N in the absolutive case (284b, c). Below (§6.15) it will be shown through verb-raising that the verb also inflects for the genericness of the N in the absolutive. In (284) DO = direct object and sg = singular.

(284) Order of Ns in a basic transitive clause

a. S-V

/ʎ'ə-r ma-a-k'ə+a/ ([má'k'ɔ])

man-abs 3-pres-move+intr

'The man is coming (going).'

b. S(pl)-V

/ʎ'ə-ha-r ma-a-k'ə+a-ha-r/ ([má'k'ɔfiar])

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

'The men are coming (going).'

c. S-DO(sg)-V

/ʎ'ə-m ɣ'a-g'-r ø-q'a-y-a-k'ə+æ-r/ ([q'é'k'ær])

man-obl road-surf-abs 3-hor-3-pres-move+intr-pres

'The man is travelling the road.'

d. S-DO(pl)-V

/ʎ'ə-m ɣ'a-g'-ha-r ø-q'a-y-a-k'ə-ha-r/ ([q'é'k'ɔfiar])

man-obl road-surf-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pres-move-pl-pres

'The man is travelling the roads.'

e. S-Loc(ative Phrase)-DO-V

/ʎ'ə-m ɣ'a-g'-m maaʔa-əy-p'ʔə-r ø-q'ə-ø-y-a-y-ə-k'ə-aɣ-ha-ʂ/

([q'eri'k'á'fiáʂ])

man-obl road-surf-obl day-num-four-abs 3-hor-3-path-dat-3-non pres-

move-past-pl-aff

'The man travelled four days along the road.'

f. S-IO-DO-V

/ʎ'ə-m pśaaśa-m tʔəʔ-ha-r ø-q'ə-y-a-y-ə-tə-aɣ-ha-ʂ/ ([q'eri'tá'fiáʂ])

man-obl girl-obl book-pl-abs 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-give-past-pl-aff

'The man gave the books to the girl.'

g. Ag-S-IO-DO-V

/sa ʔə-m pśaaśa-m tʔəʔ-ha-r ø-q'ə-y-a-y-a-s-ɣa-a-tə-aɣ-ha-ʂ/

([q'ere'zɣetá'fiáʂ])

I man-obl girl-obl book-pl-abs 3-hor-3-dat-3-dat-I-caus-conn-give-past-

pl-aff

'I made the man give the books to the girl.'

6.2.2.2 *Intransitive Sentences* For intransitive sentences the basic order is S V (285a). For intransitives with indirect objects or some sort of locative the order of nouns is somewhat problematic. Judging from verbal inflection, the order would suggest that the subject comes second after any nominal phrases. Such an order tends to be the case in embeddings (285b–e). This order is in conflict, however, with a rule that takes initial nominal as the preferred subject, whether it is the semantic subject or a causal agent (§6.6.2). Therefore, in matrix or simple sentences one nearly always finds the order (Ag) S IO (Loc) V (285f–i). Instrumentals are normally not reflected by an index on the verb (285d, h).

(285) Intransitive sentences

- a. /fəz-r ma-a-λx̂*ə+a/
 woman-abs 3-pres-give birth+intr
 ‘The woman is in labour.’ or
 ‘The woman is giving birth.’
- b. IO-S-V in embedding
 /wa sa sə-w-a-w-a-aǧ-wa/ ([suwowa’wo])
 you I I-you-dat-strike-dat-past-pred
 ‘that I hit at you’
- c. Loc-S-V in embedding
 /mə-bə sa sə-q’ə-θ-śə-t-wa/ ([səq’ɪś’ɪtwo])
 3-obl I I-3-deixis-stand-pred
 ‘as (that) I am standing over here’
- d. Inst-S-V in embedding
 /sa-šx̂*a-m-k”a λ’ə-r θ-λ’a-aγ-wá/ ([λ’á’wo])
 knife-big-obl-inst man-abs 3-die-past-pred
 ‘that the man died by the sword’
- e. Ag-IO-S-V in embedding
 /λ’ə-m wa sa sə-w-a-y-ə-γa-a-w-a-aγ-wa/ ([suwi’γowa’wo])
 man-obl you I I-you-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-strike-dat-past-pred
 ‘that the man made me hit at you’
- f. S-IO-V
 /sa wa sə-w-a-w-a-aǧ-ś/ ([suwowa’ś])
 I you I-you-dat-strike-dat-past-aff
 ‘I hit (at) you.’
- g. S- Loc-V
 /sa mə-bə sə-q’ə-θ-śə-t-ś/ ([səq’ɪś’ɪtś])
 I 3-obl I-3-deixis-stand-aff
 ‘I am standing over here.’

h. S-Inst-V

/ʎ'ə-r sa-šx'a-m-k'a ø-ʎ'a-a-y-š/ ([ʎ'a'š])

man-abs knife-big-obl-inst 3-die-past-aff

'The man died by the sword.'

i. Ag-S-IO-V

/ʎ'ə-m sa wa sə-w-a-y-ə-ya-a-w-a-a-y-š/ ([suwi'ɣowá'š])

man-obl I you I-you-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-strike-dat-past-aff

'The man made me hit (at) you.'

6.2.2.3 *Causatives* One should note that causatives do not seem to arise from some collapsing of a higher matrix verb (to make, to cause, to let) into an embedded one. This can be seen in reflexives where such causatives are ambiguous (286a), and must be disambiguated (286b, c) by means of context plus the 'self' affix /-žə-/ (§4.2.7.2.1). This indicates that the causative agent and the transitive subject are in the same clause and can therefore both control the reflexive.

(286) Reflexive causatives

a. /a-bə sa zə-s-a-y-ə-ya-a-ʎaaɣ'ə-a-y-š/ ([zɪzi'ɣɛʎà'ɣ'á'š])

3-obl I self-I-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-see-past-aff

'He made me see him (= himself).' or

'He let me see myself.'

b. /s-ah-paašħa ø-q'a-yə-wəvə(+ɾ'a)-əy a-bə sa

zə-s-a-y-ə-ya-a-ʎaaɣ'ə-a-y-š/ ([zɪzi'ɣɛʎà'ɣ'á'š])

I-inh poss-before 3-incept-dir-stop(+there)-and 3-obl I

self-I-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-see-past-aff

'Pausing before me he let me see him (= himself).'

c. /ɣ'əg'a-m sə-ø-y-a-y-ə-ya-a-pʎə-əy a-bə sa

zə-s-a-y-ə-ya-a-ʎaaɣ'ə-žə-a-y-š/ ([zɪzi'ɣɛʎà'ɣ'ɪžá'š])

mirror-obl I-3-dir-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-look-and 3-obl I

self-I-dat-3-non pres-caus-conn-see-self-past-aff

'Letting me look in the mirror he let me see myself.'

6.2.3 *Postpositional Phrases* Postpositional phrases have the same clausal position as indirect objects or locatives. Usually a postpositional phrase of a locative sense is not reflected in verbal concord.

(287) *Postpositional phrase*a. *P(ostpositional) P(hrase)-S-V in embedding*

/wəna-m dayž λ'ə-r ø-q'a-k"ə+a-áγ-wa/ ([q'ok"á'wo])

house-obl near man-abs 3-hor-move+intr-past-pred

'that the man came toward the house'

b. *S-PP-V*

/λ'ə-r wəna-m dayž ø-q'a-k"ə+a-áγ-ś/ ([q'ok"á'ś])

man-abs house-obl near 3-hor-move+intr-past-pred

'The man came toward the house.'

c. *S-PP-DO-V*

/sa wəna-m dayž wa wə-q'a-s-λaaγ"-aγ-ś/ ([wuq'əsλà'γ"á'ś])

I house-obl near you you-hor-I-see-past-aff

'I saw you near the house.'

6.2.4 Position of Adverbs Most adverbs are clause-initial. They are usually not reflected in verbal concord.

(288) *Adverb order**Adv-Ag-S-IO-DO-V*

/tʔ"ə-rə-t' sa λ'ə-m wa t̂əλ-ha-r ø-q'ə-w-a-y-a-s-γa-a-tə-aγ-ha-ś/

([q'uwe'zyetá'fiaś])

two-by-two I man-obl you book-pl-abs 3-hor-you-dat-3-dat-I-caus-conn-

give-past-pl-aff

'I made the man give the books to you by twos (in pairs).'

6.2.5 The Verb 'to move' The verb 'to move' (unmarked sense 'to come,' marked sense 'to go') /-k"ə+a-/, which usually exhibits an intransitive form, can become transitive with adverbial phrases that are treated as direct objects (Kardanov 1955: 1046).

(289) *Adverb as direct object*

/da də-z-a-psaaλa-w-ra ø-q'a-d-k"ə-ħə-r-t/ ([q'etk"əħert])

we we-recv-dat-talk-pred-adv 3-hor-we-move-around-dist-stand

'We travelled the distance that we had discussed.'

6.3 Scrambling

Word order can undergo various scramblings with specific, usually familiar, semantic results.

6.3.1 Preposing of Oblique Nominals Indirect objects or other phrases in the oblique case, such as locatives and instrumentals, can be preposed before the verb. The result is very much like dative-movement in English in that the effects of the verb are enhanced. Contrast, for example, English “The doctor gave medicine to the patient, but he died anyway” (without dative movement) with “The doctor gave the patient medicine, and he recovered” (with movement). To have said “The doctor gave the patient medicine, but he died” is not quite as good as the first form without movement.

This movement happens after verbal concord in all cases save that of a deictic locative (see (235c)). Therefore, these oblique nominals are most often subject to a last- or post-cyclic rule (Akmajian and Heny 1975, chap. 10; McCawley 1988, chap. 6). In the following I give first the non-preposed form with its glossing and translation, and then the preposed form.

(290) Preposing before the verb

a. Intransitive with indirect object

(i) IO-S-V

/wa sa sə-w-a-w-a-aγ-ś/ ([suwowaś])

you I I-you-dat-strike-dat-past-aff

‘I hit at you.’

(ii) S-IO-V (preposed)

/sa wa sə-w-a-w-a-aγ-ś/ ([suwowaś])

I you I-you-dat-strike-dat-past-aff

‘I hit you.’

b. Three-place transitive

(i) S-IO-DO-V

/ʔə-m pśaaśa-m tḫəλ-ha-r θ-q’ə-y-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-ha-ś/

([q’eri’tá’fiáś])

man-obl girl-obl book-pl-abs 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-give-past-pl-aff

‘The man gave (loaned) the book to the girl.’

(ii) S-DO-IO-V (preposed)

/ʔə-m tḫəλ-ha-r pśaaśa-m θ-q’ə-y-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-ha-ś/

([q’eri’tá’fiáś])

man-obl book-pl-abs girl-obl 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-give-past-pl-aff

‘The man gave the girl the books.’

c. Transitive with locative

(i) S-Loc-DO-V

/sa ʔaana-m tḫəλ-ha-r θ-q’ə-θ-t-y-a-s-λ+ħa-aγ-ha-ś/

([q’rte’sλħá’fiáś])

I table-obl book-pl-abs 3-hor-3-surf-dir-dat-I-lie+act-past-pl-aff

‘I set the books on the table.’

- (ii) S-DO-Loc-V (preposed)

/sa tʰəʎ-ha-r ʔaana-m ø-q'ə-ø-t-y-a-s-ʎ+ħa-ʒə-aγ-ha-ʂ/

([q'ite'sʎħeʒá'fiaʂ])

I book-pl-abs table-obl 3-hor-3-surf-dir-dat-I-lie+act-finally-past-pl-

aff

'I finally set the books on the table.'

d. Instrumental

- (i) Inst-S-V

/a-sa-ʂx̣*a-m-kʷa ʎ'ə-r ø-ʎ'a-ʒə-aγ-ʂ/ ([ʎ'eʒá'ʂ])

that-knife-big-obl-inst man-abs 3-die-finally-past-aff

'The man died by the sword.'

- (ii) S-Inst-V (preposed)

/ʎ'ə-r a-sa-ʂx̣*a-m-kʷa ø-ʎ'a-ʒə-aγ-ʂ/ ([ʎ'eʒá'ʂ])

man-abs that-knife-big-obl-inst 3-die-finally-past-aff

'The man died by means of that sword.'

e. Adverb (and indirect object)

- (i) Adv-S-IO-DO-V

/tʔ'ə-rə-t' ʎ'ə-m pʂaaʂa-m tʰəʎ-ha-r ø-q'ə-y-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-ha-ʂ/

([q'eri'tá'fiaʂ])

two-by-two man-obl girl-obl book-pl-abs 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-

give-past-pl-aff

'The man gave (loaned) the books to the girl two at a time.'

- (ii) S-DO-IO-Adv-V (doubly preposed)

/ʎ'ə-m tʰəʎ-ha-r pʂaaʂa-m tʔ'ə-rə-t' ø-y-a-y-ə-tə-aγ-ha-ʂ/

([yeri'tá'fiaʂ])

man-obl book-pl-abs girl-obl two-by-two 3-3-dat-3-

non pres-give-past-pl-aff

'The man gave the girl the books two by two.'

6.3.2 Contrastive Fronting Scrambling of a deictic phrase with concomitant scrambling of verbal concord (235) appears to involve a fronting rule that serves to contrast the fronted element (note the gloss of (235c)). Other instances of fronting can also serve to topicalise or contrast a phrase. Complex changes in verbal concord seem possible, with considerable variations according to the taste of the speaker (291). It is a rare phenomenon, however, since it conflicts with the preferred initial subject principle (§6.6.2). Again I give first the underlying form and then the fronted one.

(291) Contrastive fronting

a. Transitive

(i) S-DO-V

/sa pʃaaʃa-ha-r ø-q'a-s-ʃaaɣ*-aɣ-ha-ʃ/ ([q'ɛsʃà·ɣ*á·fiɑʃ])

I girl-pl-abs I 3-hor-I-see-past-pl-aff

'I saw the girls.'

(ii) DO-S-V

/pʃaaʃa-ha-r sa ø-q'a-s-ʃaaɣ*-aɣ-ha-ʃ/ ([q'ɛsʃà·ɣ*á·fiɑʃ])

girl-pl-abs I 3-hor-I-see-past-pl-aff

'I saw *the girls*.' or 'The girls I saw (not the boys).' (for example)

b. Three-place transitive

(i) S-IO-DO-Verb

/sa wa mə-tʃəʃ-ha-r ø-w-a-s-tə-aɣ-ha-ʃ/ ([wostá·fiɑʃ])

I you this-book-pl-abs 3-you-dat-I-give-past-pl-aff

'I gave these books to you.'

(ii) DO-S-IO-V

/mə-tʃəʃ-ha-r sa wa ø-w-a-s-tə-aɣ-ha-ʃ/ ([wostá·fiɑʃ])

this-book-pl-abs I you 3-you-dat-I-give-past-pl-aff

'I gave *these books* to you (not those).'

6.3.3 **Passive Movement** Movement in simple passives is shown in (234a, b). Periphrastic passives can also show movement of the agent phrase to preverbal position (292).

(292) Periphrastic passives

a. Underlying active ergative

/ʃ'ə-m wəna-r ø-y-a-ʃ'ə/

man-obl house-abs 3(house)-3(man)-pres-build

'The man is building the house.'

b. Periphrastic passive without movement

/ʃ'ə-m-kʷa wəna-r ø-ʃ'ə-aɣ ma-ʃʷ/

man-obl-inst house-abs 3(house)-build-past 3-happen

'The house is being built by the man.'

c. Preverbal position of agentive noun

/wəna-r ʃ'ə-m-kʷa ø-ʃ'ə-aɣ ma-ʃʷ/

house-abs man-obl-inst 3(house)-build-past 3-happen

'The house is being built by the man (alone).'

6.4 Role Changes and Assignments

Many verbs can show a shift in normal transitive role assignments by means of an “anti-passive” construction. Others show unusual role assignments wherein logical subjects are in an oblique role.

6.4.1 Anti-Passives Because ergative languages were once considered passive in sense and syntax, the term “anti-passive” was coined to refer to a phenomenon in which transitive sentences were made intransitive. These anti-passives were therefore viewed as actives. In fact anti-passives would be better termed “anti-transitives,” for they reduce the effect of a transitive verb upon its usual object. In this way they have just the opposite effect of the preposing movements in the preceding section (§6.3). Specifically anti-passives take a direct object and shift it to an indirect object, with a concomitant shift in cases and verb inflection (293a, b). The case marking in anti-passives appears to be nominative-accusative. In fact such anti-passives are intransitives, with indirect objects, just as with those in (288). Verbal morphology shows anti-passives to be intransitives in that indices shift into an intransitive pattern and most roots take an intransitive suffix /+a-/ in the anti-passive if they end in /ə/. The English translations in (293) are themselves intransitive for exactly the same reasons that the Kabardian examples are intransitive.

Anti-passives show the movement of newly formed indirect objects to clause-initial position (obligatory in embeddings) (see §6.3). These can then be moved to preverbal position in simple clauses (293c), but this does not restore transitivity or a semblance thereto as would be the case for a regular indirect object. Rather, this preposing shift seems only to reinforce the preferred initial subject principle (§6.6.2). This is the only way in which an anti-passive differs from an underlying intransitive with indirect object or locative.

(293) Anti-passives

a. Underlying ergative order

/pśaaśa-m gʷaana-ha-r ø-qʷa-y-a-də-ha-r/ ([qʷéːdəfiar])

girl-obl shirt-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pres-sew-pl-pres

‘The girl is sewing the shirts.’

b. Anti-passive movement

/gʷaana-ha-m pśaaśa-r ø-qʷa-y-ha-a-də+a-wa/ ([qʷáːdowo])

shirt-pl-obl girl-abs 3-hor-3-pl-dat-sew+intr-pred

‘that the girl is busy sewing at the shirts’

c. Movement of locative to preverbal position

/pśaaśa-r gʷaana-ha-m ø-qʷa-y-ha-a-də+a/ ([qʷáːdɛ])

girl-abs shirt-pl-obl 3-hor-3-pl-dat-sew+intr

‘The girl is trying to sew the shirts.’

6.4.2 Dative Objects A few verbs have the distinction of appearing to be inherent anti-passive. One is the verb ‘to hit, to strike,’ which would normally seem to be a preeminently transitive verb. The action seems complete here (294a), unless the object is in initial position (294b), or unless a periphrastic form for “attempt” is used (294c). Some others are the verbs ‘to read’ and ‘to drink’ (294d, e). This behaviour suggests that rather than treat these verbs simply as anti-passives, one would better see them as involving kinetic or geometric action on the object. This action takes semantic precedence over normal transitive role assignment and rather throws the object into an oblique case, leaving the absolutive for the subject.

(294) Dative object

- a. /sa a-bə ø-yə-šha-ø sə-q'a-y-a-w+a-aγ-š/ ([sɪq'e'wá'š])
 I 3-obl 3-poss-head-obl I-hor-3-dat-strike+at-past-aff
 ‘I hit his head.’
- b. /a-bə ø-yə-šha-ø sa sə-q'a-y-a-w+a-aγ-š/
 3-obl 3-poss-head-obl I I-hor-3-dat-strike+at-past-aff
 ‘I struck at his head (but missed, perhaps).’
- c. /sa a-bə ø-yə-šha-ø sə-q'a-y-a-w+a-n-w ø-ø-χa-t-aγ-š/ ([χetá'š])
 I 3-obl 3-poss-head-obl I-hor-3-dat-strike+at-fut-def 3(dummy)-3(S)-in-stand-past-aff
 ‘I tried to hit his head.’
 (lit., ‘It stood in (the state that) I hit his head.’)
- d. /χ'ə-r tχə+χ-m ø-ø-y-a-g'+a-aγ-š/ ([yeg'á'š])
 man-abs write+lie-obl 3-3-dir-dat-read+dat-past-aff
 ‘The man read the book.’
- e. /šə+wə-r bza-m ø-ø-y-a-fə+a-n-w-š/ ([yefenú'š])
 horse+man-abs (drinking) horn-obl 3-3-dir-dat-drink+dat-past-aff
 ‘The horseman will drink the cup.’

6.4.3 Subject in Genitive The verb of possession, /-ʔa-/ ‘to have’ (lit., ‘to be of (one’s) hand’), takes logical subjects in the oblique of the genitive (295). There is no evidence, however, that these constructions come from any underlying form by means of movement, though the oblique phrase can be moved to preverbal position as though it were a locative. In this case no shift in possessive force seems to result. Rather, the preferred initial subject principle seems to force such shifts.

In third person possessives the possessive index /yə-/ is used. For other persons a dative of possession index is employed.

(295) Possession

a. Underlying form

/λ'ə-m zə-sa-šx'a ø-ø-yə-ʔa-ś/ ([yíʔεś])

man-obl one-knife-big 3-3-poss-belong-aff

'The man has a sword.'

b. Movement of possessor to preverbal position

/zə-sa-šx'a λ'ə-m ø-ø-yə-ʔa-ś/

one-knife-big man-obl 3-3-poss-belong-aff

'The man has a sword.'

c. Underlying form

/(sa) aχša-r ø-q'ə-s-a-ʔa-ś/ ([q'isəʔεś])

(I) money-abs 3-hor-I-dat-belong-aff

'I have the money.'

d. Movement of possessor to preverbal position

/aχša-r (sa) ø-q'ə-s-a-ʔa-ś/

money-abs (I) 3-hor-I-dat-belong-aff

'I have the money.'

6.4.4 Subject in Dative Many verbs with a perceptual, emotional, or subjective force are intransitives with the logical subject in the dative. This is, of course, a common feature in many languages and is termed a "psychological dative."

(296) Logical subject in dative

a. /yə-maaq'a-r ø-q'a-s-a-ʔ"ə-n-w-ś/ ([q'esoʔ" inú'ś])

his (her)-sound-abs 3-hor-me-dat-hear-fut-def-aff

'I shall hear his (her) voice.'

b. /q"aaža-m sə-q'a-ø-y-a-zə-n ø-s-x"a-y/ ([sχ"é'])

village-obl I-incept-3-dir-dat-go off-inf 3-me-for-be necessary

'I must leave the village.'

c. /fəz-m pχa+šħa+mə+šħa-pstaw-r ø-y-ə-wəzγə-aγ ø-s-yə-g"ə-ya-ś/

([yiwuzý'ú' si'g"ə'ýεś])

woman-obl wood(?) + head + apple + head-all-abs 3-3-non pres-peel-past 3-

my-poss-heart-wears-aff

'I believe that the woman has peeled all the fruit.'

d. /a-šxə+a-r λ'ə-m ø-ø-yə-yə-q"ə-n-w-ś/ ([yiri'q" inú'ś])

the-eat+intr-abs man-obl 3-3-cont-dir-fill-fut-def-aff

'The man will be satisfied with the meal.'

(lit., 'The meal will satisfy the man.')

6.5 Coordination of Clauses

Many interesting syntactical phenomena arise when clauses are in some way strung together without being embedded.

6.5.1 Coordinative Particles The coordinative particles are listed in (297). Clauses conjoined by these elements do not differ from their independent counterparts. The morphemes for clausal coordination are distinct from those for nominal coordination (§6.1.4). Also, coordination of clauses frequently takes place by simple juxtaposition. With juxtaposed nouns the only possible reading is that of exclusive disjunction.

(297) Coordinative particles

- | | | |
|----|---------------|--|
| a. | /yə/ | 'and' |
| b. | /yəkʷəy/ | variant of preceding |
| c. | /a-wa/ | 3-pred = 'but' |
| d. | /a-r-ʃha-kʷa/ | 3-obl-head-inst = 'but, although, even given this' |
| e. | /at'a/ | 'but' |
| f. | /ʃhakʷa/ | 'because' |
| g. | /yə/ | 'or' (disjunctive list) |
| h. | /hama/ | 'either... or...' |
| i. | /za/ | 'now this... now that...' |

6.5.2 Examples A few examples of coordinated clauses are given in (298). Here, and in some subsequent examples, I have used square brackets not for phonetic transcription but to demarcate deep structure.

(298) Examples of coordinated clauses

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| a. | /[λ'ə-r ɸ-q'a-kʷə+a-a-y-ʃ-əy]/ | [a-bə tʰəλ-r ɸ-y-ə-tə-ʒə-a-y-ʃ]/ |
| | [man-abs 3-hor-move+intr-past-aff-and] | [3-obl book-abs 3-3-non pres-give-back-past-aff] |
| | 'The man came and gave the book back.' | |
| b. | /[λ'ə-r ɸ-q'a-kʷə+a-ʒə-a-y-ʃ]/ | [a-wa a-r ɸ-q'a-a-n-a-fə-a-y-q'm]/ |
| | [man-abs 3-hor-move+intr-again-past-aff] | [3-pred 3-abs 3-hor-dat-remain-dat-able-past-not] |
| | 'The man came back, but he was unable to stay.' | |
| c. | /[za a-bə λ'ə-r ɸ-q'ə-ʃə-kʷə+a-a-y-ʃ]/ | [za mə-bə a-r ɸ-q'ə-ʃə-kʷə+a-a-y-ʃ]/ |
| | [now there-obl man-abs 3-hor-deixis-move+intr-past-aff] | [now here-obl 3-abs 3-hor-deixis-go+intr-past-aff] |
| | 'First the man went over there, and then he came here.' | |

6.5.3 Subject and Tense Dropping When the subjects and tenses of a set of conjoined sentences are co-referential, then the sentences may be conjoined by deleting all but the subject of the first sentence and both the tense and mood of all but the last, placing the predicative ending on the tenseless verbs. Such dropping phenomena are widespread among S-O-V languages, occurring in, for example, Farsi and many of the languages of New Guinea.

(299) Conjunction of sentences with co-referential subjects and tenses

a. Underlying form

/a-bə ø-yə-vaaq'a-r ø-q'a-y-ə-faχ'a-žə-aγ-ha-š/

3-obl 3-poss-shoe(s)-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-don-again-past-pl-aff

'He put his shoes back on.'

/a-bə ø-yə-baaš-r ø-qa-y-ə-məšə-žə ø-χ'a-aγ-ha-š/

3-obl 3-poss-walking stick-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-seize-again 3-happen-past-pl-aff

'He took up his walking stick again.'

/a-bə ø-yə-pəʔa-r ø-y-ə-šə-aγ-š/

3-obl 3-poss-hat-abs 3-3-non pres-lead(= take)-past-aff

'He took his hat.'

/a-bə wardəχ'əw ø-q'a-y-ə-faχ'a-žə-aγ-ha-š/

3-obl torc(s) 3-hor-3-non pres-don-again-past-pl-aff

'He put his torcs back on.'

/a-bə a-r ø-q'a-y-ə-k'ə-ħə-r-t/

3-obl 3-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-come/go-around-dist-stand

'He travelled all around it.'

/a-bə š'ə-m ø-yə-γ'əna-r ø-y-ə-γ'atə-aγ-q'm/

3-obl earth 3-poss-boundary-abs 3-3-non pres-find-past-not

'He did not find the edge of the earth.'

b. Conjoined surface form (Hadaghatl'a 1968: 264)

/[ø-yə-vaaq'a-r ø-q'a-y-ə-faχ'a-žə-hə-w]

[3-poss-shoe(s)-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-don-again-pl-pred]

[ø-yə-baaš-r ø-q'a-y-ə-məšə-žə ø-χ'a-hə-w]

[3-poss-stick-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-seize-again 3-happen-pl-pred]

[yə-pəʔa-r ø-y-ə-š-hə-w]

[3-poss-hat-abs 3-3-non pres-lead(= take)-pl-pred]

[wardəχ'əw ø-q'a-y-ə-faχ'a-žə-hə-w]

[torc(s) 3-hor-3-non pres-don-again-pl-pred]

[ø-q'a-y-ə-k'ə-ħə-r-əy]

[3-hor-3-non pres-move-around-distr-and]

[š'ə-m yə-γ'əna-r ø-y-ə-γ'atə-aǧ-q'm]/

[earth-obl poss boundary-abs 3-3-non pres-find-past-not]

'He put his shoes back on, seized his walking stick, took his hat,
put on his torques and journeyed all over, (but) he did not find the edge
of the earth.'

In (299b) the bard has copied plurality onto all but the last two verbs, so that 'he took it' is /ø-y-ə-š-hə-w/ 3-3-non pres-lead-pl-pred.

6.5.4 Single Deletion and Retention of Mood For a single such deletion the affirmative mood suffix can be retained (Kardanov 1955: 1023).

(300) Deletion retaining affirmative mood

/sa ø-q'a-a-s-šta-š ø-za-pa-s-pǧə-ħ-rəy ø-s-γa-a-t'ə+λ+ə-žə-aγ-š/

I 3-hor-dat-I-pick up-aff 3-all-front-I-look-around-emph 3-I-caus-conn-

down+lie+dyn-again-past-aff

'I picked it up, looked it all over, and set it back down.'

6.6 Subjects

It was once an open question as to whether or not ergative languages such as Kabardian even utilised the syntactical entity of a subject as it appeared in nominative-accusative languages. The answer to this question can now be shown to be "yes" (Anderson 1976). In fact, the notion of subject in Kabardian is one of the more interesting aspects of its grammar (see §§6.4.3–4, 6.5.3).

6.6.1 Equal Subject-Deletion Equal subject-deletion cuts across the ergative-absolutive distinction, indicating that Kabardian has subjects of an ordinary sort and that subjects are clearly independent of case-marking. The reader should note that in these examples the retention of a pronoun is somewhat emphatic, since pronoun-drop would normally delete all pronouns. Even with pronoun-drop, however, the readings of the examples would still assume equal subject-deletion.

(301) Equal subject-deletion

a. Underlying form

/λ'ə-m fəz-r ø-q'a-y-ə-λaay"-aγ-š yək"əy a-r ø-q'a-žə-žə-aγ-š/

man-obl woman-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-see-past-aff and 3-abs

3-hor-run-finally-past-aff

'The man saw the woman and he ran away.'

b. Surface form with second subject deleted (denoted by [∅])

/ʃ'ə-m fəz-r ø-q'a-y-ə-ʃaaɣ*-aɣ-ś yəkʷəy [∅] ø-q'a-žə-žə-aɣ-ś/
 man-obl woman-abs 3-hor-3-non pres-see-past-aff and 3-hor-run-finally-
 past-aff

'The man saw the woman and ran off.'

6.6.2 Preferred Subject Principle When a causative verb is conjoined with a simple transitive or intransitive the first (left-most) noun controls subject-deletion. The deleted morpheme is within [...].

(302) Preferred subject principle

a. /s'aaʎa-m ø-yə-šə-pχ*ə-naχə-ś'a-r ø-y-ə-ɣa-ɣa+ħazər-aɣ-ś [∅] a-r
 ø-q'ə-da-y-ə-šə-aɣ-ś/
 youth-obl 3-poss-sibling-daughter-more-young-abs 3-3-non pres-caus-
 caus+ready-past-aff [3] 3-abs 3-incept-out-3-non pres-lead-past-aff
 'The youth made his sister get ready and then led her out.'

*'The youth made his sister get ready and then she led him out.'

b. /s'aaʎa-m ø-yə-šə-pχ*ə-naχə-ś'a-r ø-y-ə-ɣa-ɣa+ħazər-aɣ-ś [∅]
 ø-q'ə-y-a-žə-aɣ-ś/
 youth-obl his-poss-sibling-daughter-more-young-abs 3-3-non pres-caus-
 caus+ready-past-aff [3] 3-incept-dir-dat-go-past-aff

'The youth made his sister get ready and then left.'

*'The youth made his sister get ready and then she left.'

6.6.3 Switch Reference If the subject of the second conjunction is co-referential with the object of the first, then a switch-reference system of pronouns must be used, with the pronominal root /a-/ being replaced by /mə-/ in the second clause, as in (303).

(303) Switch reference

/a-bə a-r ø-q'a-y-ə-ʃaaɣ*-aɣ-ś yəkʷəy mə-r ø-q'a-žə-žə-aɣ-ś/
 3-obl 3-abs, 3-hor-3-non pres-see-past-aff and 3-abs, 3-hor-run-finally-past-
 aff

'He (the man) saw her (the woman) and she ran away.'

6.6.4 Subjects and the Animacy Hierarchy Setting coordination aside for a moment to take up the matter of subject, we find that Kabardian has some interesting data regarding animacy of subjects. Polinsky (1989) has found some evidence that

an animacy hierarchy controls possible subjects in Kabardian: more animate subjects take precedence over less in subject position. She relied upon Kabardian speakers in Moscow. Even though one of my speakers has travelled frequently to the Caucasus and the other grew up there, I was unable to confirm most of her claims. For example, her claim that Kabardian is an O-S-V language is at odds with the preferred subject constraint (§6.6.2). Nevertheless, Kabardian shows some evidence for an animacy hierarchy. If two nouns are involved in an action the preferred mode of expression is to use an intransitive verb with the less animate noun placed in a locative role (304a). Even a transitive verb can become intransitive under such conditions with the low animacy noun becoming a locative (304b). The transitive is also possible (304d), but a general deictic role is preferred for the less animate noun even though the verb keeps its transitive inflection along with the deixis (304e).

(304) Animacy hierarchy

a. Intransitive

/s'aaλa-r psə-m ø-ø-yə-t'ə+sə+k'ə-aγ-š/ ([yit'rsɪk'ə'š])
 youth-abs water-obl 3-3-dir-down+reach+exit-past-aff
 'The youth drowned (perished) in the water.'

b. Transitive verb with intransitive function

/s'aaλa-r psə-m ø-ø-yə-t'haλa-aγ-š/ ([yithεlá'š])
 youth-abs water-obl 3-3-dir-drown-past-aff
 'The youth drowned in the water.'

c. Transitive with high animacy subject (normal)

/s'aaλa-m psə-m g'adəw-r ø-ø-yə-y-ə-t'haλa-aγ-š/ ([yiri'thεlá'š])
 youth-abs water-obl cat-abs 3-3-dir-3-non pres-drown-past-aff
 'The youth drowned the cat in the water.'

d. Transitive with low animacy subject (abnormal)

(*)/psə-m s'aaλa-r ø-y-ə-t'haλa-aγ-š/ ([yithεlá'š])
 water-obl youth-abs 3-3-non pres-drown-past-aff
 'The water drowned the youth.'

e. Transitive with deixis for low animacy subject

/s'aaλa-r psə-m ø-ø-šə-y-ə-t'haλa-aγ-š/ ([ši'thεlá'š])
 youth-abs water-obl 3-3-deixis-3-non pres-drown-past-aff
 'The water drowned the youth.' or
 'The youth was drowned in the water.'

6.6.4.1 Testing for Low Animacy Subject One may test the subject in (304e) by conjunction and equal subject-deletion. 'Youth' is not the subject of (304e).

(305) O-S-V and equal subject-deletion

/š'aaλa-r q"əħa-m psə-m ø-q'ə-ø-də-ø-χə-a-χ"ə+χa-š a-bə a-r

ø-ø-šə-y-ə-θaλa-aγ-š/

((š'áλær q"éħem psem q'idiχoχ"éχes ábe ær šitħelá:š))

youth-abs boat-obl water-obl 3-incept-3-out-3-in-dat-fall+down-aff 3-obl

3-abs 3-3-deixis-3-non pres-drown-past-aff

'The youth fell out of the boat into the water and it drowned him.' or

*'The youth fell out of the boat into the water and was drowned in the water.'

6.6.4.2 *O-S-V Order* Polinsky's O-S-V order is actually realised in (304e), though this is not one of her examples. O-S-V order appears to be very marginal in Kabardian and confined to such anomalous entanglements as (304d, e). Nevertheless, any linguist looking at this language should be prepared for the possibility that speakers diverge on their sense of how animate subjects must be and will reflect this divergence in their syntax and morphology.

6.7 Subordination

The most complex syntactical phenomena occur with subordinated clauses. Apart from a few specialised complementisers, Kabardian subordination reflects two basic types of complementation: one equivalent to English 'that,' which may be deleted, and another with an indirect object role in the matrix verb, much like English 'for... to.' Such subordinated clauses often show infinitive forms, frequently with predicative suffixes serving as complementisers. Such subordination does not exhibit a pronominal head (as in English 'I like *it* that...'). Subordinated clauses show the same case marking as superordinates. Relative clauses will be treated in §6.8.

6.7.1 *Sentential Subjects* Sentential subjects are rare. Adverbial forms are preferred (306a), though true sentential subjects can occur (306b), even ones that are multiply embedded (306c). Overt complementisers are usually absent from these subordinations.

(306) Sentential subjects

a. Preferred adverbial form

/ø-q'ə-z-a-rə-s-f'a-s'ə-m-k"ə a-r ø-q'a-a-w-k"ə+ə/

3-hor-how-dat-inst-me-despite-know-obl-inst 3-abs 3-hor-pres-prog-

move+intr

'He seems (to me) to be going.'

(lit., 'He is going as it seems to me.')

b. Singly embedded sentential subject

/a-r ø-q'a-k"ə+a-žə-aγ ø-s-yə-g"ə-γa-š/

3-abs 3-hor-move+intr-again-past 3-my-poss-heart-wears-aff

'I believe that he has come back.'

(lit., 'That he has come back is believed in my heart.')

c. Doubly embedded sentential subject

/sa zə-g"ar ø-q'a-s-a-g"ə-a ø-ø-χ"a-da ø-q'ə-s-f'a-s'ə-aγ-š/

me one-certain 3-hor-me-dat-call-dat 3-3-for-be like 3-hor-me-despite-

know-past-aff

'It seemed to me as though someone called to me.'

6.7.2 Periphrastic Verbs with Sentential Subjects One of the most important

classes of verbs taking sentential subjects is a set of periphrastic verbs. These can take infinitive, gerundive, predicative, or adverbial subordinates, though /apš-əy/ to wish-even (expressing well-wishing), takes a zero-complementiser (307e).

(307) Periphrastic verbs with sentential subjects

a. /χ'ə-m fəz-r ø-q'a-y-ə-bġəna-n ø-χ"ə-aγ-š/ ([q'əbġinən χ"ə-š])

man-obl woman-abs 3-incept-3-non pres-desert-inf 3-happen-past-aff

'It happened that the man deserted the woman.' or

'It was possible that the man deserted the woman.'

b. /χ'ə-m fəz-r ø-q'a-y-ə-bġəna-n-wa ø-mə-χ"/

man-obl woman-abs 3-incept-3-non pres-desert-inf-pred 3-not-happen

'It is impossible for the man to desert the woman.'

c. /χ'ə-m fəz-r ø-q'a-y-ə-bġəna-n ø-s-χ"a-yə/

man-obl woman-abs 3-incept-3-non pres-desert-inf 3-me-for

be necessary

'I must take into account that the man deserted the woman.'

(lit., 'That the man deserted the woman is obligatory for me.')

d. /zə-q'a-y-ə-mə-ʔat-wa ø-šə-t-š/

self-incept-3-non pres-not-stand up-pred 3-deixis-stand-aff

'He should not get up.'

(lit., 'That he not raise himself up stands there.')

e. /ø-q'a-k"ə+a-žə-n ø-apš-əy/

3-hor-move+intr-again-fut(= subjunctive) 3-may-even

'May he return!'

6.7.3 Sentential Objects Subordinated objects can take a complementiser /-wa/ with a role analogous to English ‘that’ (308a). The subordination behaves like a direct object. Alternatively, the subordination behaves like an indirect object, so that /-wa/ is then analogous to English ‘for... to.’ In both types of subordination, subject Ns are deleted if they are co-referential with Ns in the superordinates. The verb ‘to say’ can take the infinitive and predicative complementiser /-n-wa/ (308c), or a special complementiser /-ma/ (308d) marking indirect discourse, but takes no complementiser in direct discourse (308e). Verbs taking question complementisers, such as ‘I know why...’ or ‘I fear what...’, show a nominal treatment of the object complement in the absolutive (308f). A special complementiser or sentential adverb is seen in (308g). In (308) [...] denotes an embedding.

(308) Subordinated sentential objects

a. Direct objects

(i) Deep structure

/a-bə_i [a-bə_i a-r ø-y-a-gʷ-a-aγ-ś] ø-śʰa-y-ə-ʒ-a-aγ-ś/3-obl_i [3-obl 3-abs_i 3-3-dat-call-dat-past-aff] 3-under-3-non pres-

throw-dat-past-aff

(ii) Surface structure

/a-bə [ø ø-y-a-gʷ-a-n] ø-śʰa-y-ə-ʒ-a-aγ-ś/

3-obl [(3-obl) (3-abs) 3-3-dat-call-dat-inf] 3-under-3-non pres-throw-
dat-past-aff

‘He began to read (it).’

b. Indirect objects

(i) Deep structure

/a-r_i [a-bə_i a-r ø-y-ə-txə-aγ-ś] ø-ø-xa-t-aγ-ś/[3-abs_i [3-obl_i 3-abs 3(abs)-3(obl = [S])]-non pres-write-past-aff] 3-

3([S])-mass-stand-past-aff]

(ii) Surface structure

/a-r [ø ø-y-ə-txə-n-wa] ø-ø-xa-t-aγ-ś/

3-abs [(3-obl) (3-abs) 3-3-non pres-write-inf-pred] 3([S])-3-mass-

stand-past-aff

‘He tried to write (it).’

(lit., ‘He stood in (the condition for) him to write (it).’)

c. Indirect discourse

(i) Deep structure

/sa wa [sa λə-r ø-s-šxə-aγ-ś] ø-w-žə-s-ʔa-aγ-ś/

I you [I meat-abs 3-I-eat-past-aff] 3-you-back-I-say-past-aff

(ii) Surface structure

/sa wa [λə-r ø-s-šxə-n-wa] ø-w-žə-s-ʔa-aγ-š/

I you [meat-abs 3-I-eat-inf-pred] 3-you-back-say-past-aff

'I said to you that I ate the meat.'

d. Indirect discourse, special form

(i) Deep structure

/sa wa [sa λə-r ø-s-šxə-aγ-š] ø-w-žə-s-ʔa-aγ-š/

I you [I meat-abs 3-I-eat-past-aff] 3-you-back-I-say-past-aff

(ii) Surface structure

/sa wa [λə-r ø-s-šxə-aγ-ma] ø-w-žə-s-ʔa-aγ-š/

I you [meat-abs 3-I-eat-past-that] 3-you-back-say-past-aff

'I said to you that I ate the meat.'

e. Direct discourse

(i) Deep structure

/sa wa [sa λə-r ø-s-šxə-aγ-š] ø-w-žə-s-ʔa-aγ-š/

I you [I meat-abs 3-I-eat-past-aff] 3-you-back-I-say-past-aff

(ii) Surface structure

/sa wa [λə-r ø-s-šxə-aγ] ø-w-žə-s-ʔa-aγ-š/

I you [meat-abs 3-I-eat-past] 3-you-back-say-past-aff

'I said to you, "I ate the meat."'

f. Indirect question complement as a nominal

(i) Deep structure (?)

/[[_Nz-w-γa-a-wəva(+ʔa)-aγ]-z-š^a] ø-s-a-w-š'ə/

[[_Nself-you-caus-conn-stop(+here)-past]-what-for] 3-I-pres-prog-

know

(ii) Surface structure

/[[_Nzə-z-š^aa-b-γa-wəva(+ʔa)-aγ-a-ra-r] ø-s-a-w-š'ə/

[self-what-for-you-caus-stop(+here)-past-/a/-part-abs] 3-I-pres-prog-

know

'I know why you stopped.'

g. S-adverb or specialised complementiser 'in order to'

(i) Deep structure

/a-r a-bə[_{Adv} [_Sø-ø-λə-š^a-áγ]-k^a] ø-y-a-ž-áγ-š/

3-abs 3-obl[[he-him-after-happen-past]-in order to] he-dir-dat-go-

past-aff

(ii) Surface structure

/ø-ø-λə-š^a-áγ-k^a ø-y-a-ž-áγ-š/

they-him-after-happen-past-in order to he-dir-dat-go-past-aff

'He set off in order to go after him.'

6.7.4 Dummy Subjects and Indirect Object Subordinates Some verbs of natural events take a subordinate as an indirect object while at the same time having a dummy subject. The dummy subject is never expressed by an overt pronoun, but must be inferred from the morphology of the verb.

(309) Verb of natural event

/pśaapa-r ø-za-ŋa-w-a-w ø-q'ə-yə-ŋ'ə-y-a-za-aγ-ś/

dusk-abs 3-all-mass-strike-dat-pred 3(dummy)-incept-3([S])-for-dir-dat-go

to meet-past-aff

'It began to turn to dusk.'

6.7.5 Postposing of Subordinate Clauses Subordinate clauses can be postposed over the superordinate verb. In this position they always take a /-wa/ complementiser.

(310) Postposed subordinate clause

a. Normal position

/sa mazə-m [maraak'ʷa ø-q'a-s-śəpə-n(-wa)] sə-k'ə+a-aγ-ś/

I forest-obl [berries 3-hor-I-pick-inf(-pred)] I-move+intr-past-aff

'I went into the forest to pick berries.'

b. Postposed Position

/sa mazə-m sə-k'ə+a-aγ-ś [maraak'ʷa ø-q'a-s-śəpə-n-wa]/

I forest-obl I-move+intr-past-aff [berries 3-hor-I-pick-inf-pred]

'I went into the forest to pick berries.'

6.8 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses precede their heads. They have the same order of elements as subordinates and the same case-marking of Ns as any clause. Almost any grammatical role can serve as a focus of relativisation. This flexibility is promoted by the fact that head nouns, as with all nouns, can often be deleted when understood by context. The resulting headless relative clauses can also have an indefinite sense, 'who(ever) that...', 'how(ever) that...'. Relativisation is marked on the verb by an optional /yə-/ index for Ns that are in the absolutive, and by an obligatory /-z-/ index for all other Ns.

6.8.1 Positions of the Relative Clause Relatives are to the left of their heads (311a, b), unless postposed (311c, d) (cf. (277)). When postposed they can take the case of the head noun. (311d). In (311) [...] denotes a relative embedding.

(311) Positions of the relative clause

a. Deep structure

/[*λ'ə-m a-txəλ-r ø-q'a-z-txə-aγ*] *λ'ə-r*/

[man-obl that-book-abs 3-hor-who-write-past] man-abs

b. Normal surface structure

/[*a-txəλ-r ø-q'a-z-txə-aγ*] *λ'ə-r*/

[that-book-abs 3-hor-who-write-past] man-abs

'the man who wrote that book'

c. Postposed surface structure

/*λ'ə-r* [*a-txəλ-r ø-q'a-z-txə-aγ-wa*]/

man-abs [that-book-abs 3-hor-who-write-past-pred]

'the man who wrote that book'

(also with non-restrictive sense (§6.8.2))

d. Postposed relative with case

/*λ'ə-w a-txəλ-r ø-q'a-z-txə-aγ-r*/

man-pred that-book-abs 3-hor-who-write-past-abs

'the man who wrote that book'

6.8.2 Non-restrictive Relative Clause Non-restrictive relative clauses seem to be postposed and end in an adverbial oblique /-m/. In all other regards they are like postposed relatives such as (311c).

(312) Non-restrictive relative clause (Kardanov 1955: 1054)

/*da də-ø-də-ħa-aγ-š q" a-k"əwə-k"əf'ə-m* [*?a+w+a+λa+w+a-nša**šəna+a+γ" a ø-zə-šħa-šə-t-m*]/

we we-3-opening-enter-past-aff valley-deep-dark-obl [arm+strike+dat+

leg+strike+dat-without fear+conn+companion 3-which-head-

deixis-stand-obl]

'We entered a deep dark valley, over which loomed an ominous stillness.'

6.8.3 Reduced Relative Clause In colloquial speech a relative clause with its absolutive noun co-referential with its head noun (313a) can undergo postposing (313b) and then reduction to an adjective-like clitic (313c). Such forms are difficult to elicit, but I have heard them in casual speech. Some speakers may not have them.

(313) Reduced relative clause

a. Ordinary relative clause

/[sa t̂ə+λə-š̂x̂"ə-r (yə-)x̂a-s-t̂x̂a-aγ] t̂ə+λə-š̂x̂"ə-r(-m)/
 [I write+lie-big-abs (which-)mass-I-tear-past] write+lie-big-abs(-obl)
 'the big book which I tore apart'

b. Postposed relative clause

/t̂ə+λə-š̂x̂"ə-w [sa ø (yə-)x̂a-s-t̂x̂a-aγ]-r(-m)/
 write+lie-big-pred [I (the big book) (which-)mass-I-tear-past]-abs(-obl)
 'the big book which I tore apart'

c. Reduced relative clause

/t̂ə+λə-š̂x̂"ə-x̂a-s-t̂x̂a-aγ-r(-m)/
 write+lie-big-mass-I-tear-past-abs(-obl)
 'the big book which I tore apart'

6.8.4 Relative Head Noun Indices in the Verb Any index in a verbal complex can take a relative index and so create a relative clause. A few examples are given in (314). Relatives based upon a possessive construction (314h) have their relative index not in the verbal complex but rather in the possessive attribute. The only index that shows some complication is 'that by which, how, as, since,' which occupies the pragmatical tree (see §4.1.5.2 (160) and §4.2.3.2 (174)), and which takes the form /-z-a-r-(a-)/ -relative index-dat-inst-(dat-) (314i, j). As a pre-verb /-z-a-r-a-/ is not to be confused with the IO reflexive /-z-a-rə-/; as a relative index /-z-a-rə-/ is 'how,' 'as,' 'because' (314h). Relative clauses based upon a pragmatical adverb are typically without overt heads.

(314) Relative clauses based upon various grammatical roles

a. Ergative subject

/λə ø-q'a-z-š̂x̂ə-aγ λ'ə-r/
 meat 3-hor-who-write-past man-abs
 'the man who ate meat'

b. Absolutive subject

/(yə-)k"ə+a-aγ λ'ə-r/
 (who-)move+intr-past man-abs
 'the man who went'

c. Absolutive direct object

/a-fəz-m (yə-)q'a-y-ə-λaaγ"-aγ λ'ə-r/
 the-woman-obl (whom-)hor-3-non pres-see-past man-abs
 'the man whom the woman saw'

d. Oblique indirect object

/sa t̪ə̃λ-r ø-z-a-s-tə-aγ λ'ə-r/

I book-abs 3-whom-dat-I-give-past man

'the man to whom I gave the book'

e. Oblique of causative agent

/s'aala-ha-m p̪saasá-m yazə-m yə-ħa

ø-q'ə-y-a-y-ha-a-z-γa-a-tə-žə-fə-aγ λ'ə-r/ ([q'era'zɣetɪʒefá' λ'ɛr])

boy-pl-obl girl-obl own-obl poss-dog

3-hor-3-dat-3-pl-dat-who-caus-conn-give-again-able-past-man-abs

'the man who was able to make the boys give the girl her dog back'

f. Oblique of benefactive

/(wa) wə-z-χ̃*a-psaaλa-aγ λ'ə-r/

(you) you-whom-for-talk-past man-abs

'the man of whom you spoke'

g. Oblique of purpose (see (308f))

/zə-q'ə-z-χ̃*a-w-γa-a-wəva(+ʔa)-aγ (g'əγa-r)/

self-incept-what-for-you-caus-conn-stop(+here)-past (reason-abs)

'(the reason) why you stopped'

h. Possessive

/zə-yə-ħa-g'aasá-m a-t̪ə̃λ-r ø-y-ə-t̪ə̃λ-aγ λ'ə-r/

whose-poss-inh poss-wife-obl that-book-abs 3-3-non pres-write-past

man-abs

'the man whose wife wrote that book'

i. Pragmatical adverb 'since'

/də-z-a-r-a-za-r-a-mə-λaaγ"-aγ-r/

we-when-dat-inst-dat- recip-inst-dat-not-see-past-ger

'since (the time when) we have not seen one another'

j. Pragmatical adverb 'as'

/ø-z-a-rə-χ̃*a-w-γa-f'aśə-a-n-w-m-k"̃a/

3-how-dat-inst-for-you-caus-be attached-dat-fut-def-obl-inst

'as you will likely be able to guess (anticipate)'

k. Pragmatical adverb 'because'

/sa sə-z-a-rə-χ̃"̃ə-s'a-mə-ħa-m q'əχ̃ak"̃k"̃a sə-q'a-k"̃a-n-w-q'm/

I I-how-dat-inst-for-under-not-enter-obl because I-hor-go-fut-def-not

'I will not go because I am busy.'

l. Deixis 'when'

/(\emptyset-)\\$ə-λaaʒa maaχ̣ˀa-m/
 (when-)deixis-work day-obl
 'the day when he works'

m. Deixis 'where'

/(\emptyset-)\\$ə-λaaʒa q'aaλa-r/
 (where-)deixis-work city-abs
 'the city where he works'

Unique to Kabardian are the forms in (314l, m) where the relative index for a deictic function is / \emptyset -/. In West Circassian this index would have been /z-/.

6.8.5 Independent Relative Pronouns Independent relative pronouns are restricted to possessive determiners (315a). Independent indefinite relatives, however, can occur frequently (315b).

(315) Independent relative pronouns

- a. /z-əy-šħa \emptyset-y-a-w-a-m-əy a-r \emptyset-χ̣ˀ'a-n-š/
 who-poss-head 3-3-dat-strike-to-if-ever 3-abs 3-die-fut-aff
 'He whose head is struck will die.'
- b. /χ̣ˀat(-(r)-əy) \emptyset-mə-λaaʒa-m-əy a-r \emptyset-šχ̣ˀ+a-r-q'm/
 who(-(emph-)ever) 3-not-work-obl-ever 3-abs 3-eat+intr-pres-not
 'Whoever does not work, does not eat.'
- c. /sət(-(r)-əy) \emptyset-q'a-s-š'a-m-əy sa wa \emptyset-w-χ̣ˀ*a-s-š'a-aγ-š/
 what(-(emph-)ever) 3-hor-I-do-if-ever I you 3-you-for-I-do-past-aff
 'Whatever I did, I did for you.'

6.9 Reduced Adverbial Clauses

Reduced clauses contain gerunds and adverbial participial constructions instead of finite verbs. Gerunds are inflected forms that serve as headless relatives (314i), and as such do not differ from other clauses used to form relatives. They end in /-r(a-r)/ -ger(-abs), or in /-m-kˀa/ -obl-inst. Participial forms based upon an adverbial sense of the participial /-wə/, here glossed as -adv (see (222a), or its durative form /-wə-ra/ -pred (adv)-dist (222c), also do not differ from other participial clauses ((222) and (224)), in their internal makeup. These participles are morphologically distinct from forms ending in the predicative, that is, from simple subordinated forms, not only in that they always show a /ə/-grade, but also in that they fail to take the future tense. Absence of an overt participial ending gives a participle with a nuance of incompleteness.

(316) Reduced adverbial phrases

a. Stative

/sa [a-tʰəʎ-m s-y-a-gʷ-a-w] sə-ʂə-s-ʂ/

I [the-book-obl I-3-dat-call-dat-adv(= part)] I-deixis-sit-aff

'I sit, reading this book.'

b. Dynamic durative

/a-r [a-tʰəʎ-m ø-y-a-gʷ-a-wə-ra] ma-a-kʷə+a/

3-abs [the-book-obl 3-3-dat-call-dat-adv(= part)-distr] 3-pres-come+intr

'He is coming, reading the book.'

c. Highly inflected form

/sa [a-tʰəʎ-m sə-qʷə-ʂə-f-ʰʷə-y-a-gʷ-a-w] sə-ʂə-s-ʂ/

I [the-book-obl I-hor-deixis-you(pl)-for-3-dat-call-dat-adv(= part)]

I-deixis-sit-aff

'I sit, reading the book there for your (pl) sakes.'

d. Incomplete action

/sa [a-tʰəʎ-r ø-qʷə-w-ʰʷa-s-γʷatə-aγ] sə-y-a-pʰə-ħə-aγ-ʂ/

I [the-book-abs 3-hor-you-for-I-find-past] I-3-dat-look-around-past-aff

'I looked all over, trying to find the book for you.'

6.10 Inchoatives

Inchoatives have two forms. The inflected form involves the change of state pre-verb /-qʷa-/ (§4.2.3.1.2 (173c)). The periphrastic form involves a transitive version of the verb 'to throw,' /-ʂʷa-...-z+a/- (out from) under-...-throw+dat-. An example of this latter construction has already been given (308a).

6.11 Reflexives

Reflexives do not differ from other clauses in the order of their constituents or their case-marking.

6.11.1 **Index and Pronoun** The reflexive index is /-z-/, regardless of the case of the N. A reflexive pronoun /yazə/ can also replace the co-referential N. Reflexivisation is from left to right, or from subject to locative.

(317) Reflexives

a. /a-pʂaaʂa-m (yazə-r) z-y-ə-ʎaaγʷə-ʂə-aγ-ʂ/

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

'The girl saw herself.'

b. /ʎʷə-m pʂaaʂa-m yazə-m ø-yə-tʰəʎ ø-qʷə-y-a-y-ə-tə-ʂə-aγ-ʂ/

man-obl girl-obl self-obl 3-poss-book 3-hor-3-dat-3-non pres-give-again-

past-aff

'The man gave the girl her own book back.'

- c. /yazə-m pśaaśa-r ø-z-a-pʎə-ʒə-aγ-ś/
 self-obl girl-abs 3-self-dat-look-self-past-aff
 'The girl looked at herself.'

6.11.2 **Reflexive of Kinship** There is a special reflexive adjective used for kinship terms or terms of intimate association.

(318) Reflexives of kin and intimate association

a. Kin

/qʷaš da-a-ʎx̣ʷ-aγ/
 brother com-conn-be born-past
 'one's own brother'

b. Intimate association

/śa-a-ʎx̣ʷ-aγ qʷaaʒa/
 deixis-conn-be born-past village
 'one's own village'

6.12 Reciprocals

Reciprocals have already been examined in some detail under verbal index morphology (§4.2.10.8 (238)). It remains for us first to examine their syntax. Second, we must examine a class of reciprocals in which a special reciprocal index appears. This class has obscure deep structure sources.

6.12.1 **Syntax of Reciprocals** The independent reciprocal pronoun is /zə/, which takes the usual case endings. Surface forms with this pronoun show an anti-transitive pattern, which is consonant with their morphological inflection (238b). A reciprocal verb undergoes a shift in the grammatical roles of its personal indices. In ergative two-place transitives, this entails a shift to an intransitive (319a). In higher order transitives a shift still takes place, but case-marking is unchanged (319b). The resulting clause looks like a two-place transitive, while the verbal concord looks like a complex causative.

(319) Syntax of reciprocals

a. Two-place transitive

(i) Deep structure (anti-transitive)

/ʎə-ha-m_i ʎə-ha-r_i ø-q'a-y-ha-a-ʎaaγʷ-ha-r/
 man-pl-obl man-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pl-pres-see-pl-pres

(ii) Surface reciprocal

/ʎə-ha-r ø-q'ə-z-a-r-a-a-ʎaaγʷ-ha-r/ ([q'ɪzæreʎá'γʷfiar])
 man-pl-abs 3-hor-recip-dat-inst-dat-pres-see-pl-pres
 'The men see one another.'

b. Three-place transitive

(i) Deep structure

/ʎ'ə-ha-m_i ʎ'ə-ha-m_i a-ha-r ø-q'ə-y-ha-a-y-ha-a-tə-žə-ha-r/
 man-pl-obl man-pl-obl 3-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pl-dat-3-pl-pres-give-back-
 pl-pres

(ii) Surface reciprocal

/ʎ'ə-ha-m a-ha-r ø-q'ə-y-ha-z-a-r-a-a-ya-a-tə-žə-ha-r/
 ([q'əzæræyətíʒəhɑr])
 man-pl-obl 3-pl-abs 3-hor-3-pl-recip-dat-inst-dat-pres-caus-conn-
 give-back-pl-pres

'The men are giving them back to one another.'

6.12.2 Special Reciprocals It is noteworthy that the reciprocal index can occur in forms wherein crucial information is reflected in the verbal inflection, but is totally absent from syntactical structure. What the underlying forms for these constructions might be has yet to be determined. One form even shows a transitive ergative pattern (320f). In forms with mixed pronouns there is a hierarchy of person for verbal inflection with first or second over third, and first over second.

(320) Special reciprocals

a. /-za-pa-/ -recip-nose- = 'in front of one another'

/fa-ra da-ra də-za-pa-wəvə-a-y-š/ ([dɪzɛpuwuvá'š])
 you(pl)-pro we-pro we-recip-nose-stop-past-aff
 'We and you came to a halt facing one another.'

b. /-za-da-/ -recip-com- = 'with one another'

/fa-ra a-bə-ha-m-a fə-q'ə-za-da-ʔa+pəq''a-a-y-š/
 ([fəq'ɪzɛdæʔəpoq''á'š])
 you(pl) 3-obl-pl-obl-pl you(pl)-hor-recip-com-hand+help-past-aff
 'You and they helped one another.'

c. /-za-χ-a-/ -recip-mass-dat- = 'in one another'

/a-bə-ha-m mə-bə-h-am ø-šə-za-χ-a-a-w-s/ ([šɪzəχó's])
 3(first referent)-obl-pl-obl 3(second referent)-obl-pl-obl
 3-deixis-recip-mass-dat-pres-prog-sit
 'Those (people) and these (people) are sitting together.'

d. /-za-q''ə-/ -recip-side- = 'side by side'

/da-ra də-q'ə-za-q''ə-rə-ʔ''a-a-y-š/ ([dəq'ɪzɔg'ɪrʔ''á'š])
 we-pro we-hor-recip-side-inst-say-past-aff
 'We concurred with one another.'

e. /-za-k''a-/ -recip-behind- = 'behind one another' (intransitive)

/a-ha-r ø-za-k''a-χə-k''+a-a-y-š/ ([zək''ɛʎuk''á'š])
 3-pl-abs 3-recip-behind-after-move+intr-past-aff
 'They went along in single file close on each other's heels.'

f. /-za-kʷa-/ same as (e), but transitive

/pśaaśa-m bʒəna-śha-ha-r ø-qʷə-za-kʷa-y-ə-bʌa-aγ-ha-ś/

(([qʷɪzəkʷiːbʌáːfiəś])

girl-obl onion-head-pl-abs 3-hor- recip-behind-3-non pres-pass by-past-

pl-aff

‘The girl braided the onions.’

6.13 Questions and Their Answers Question sentences in all the Northwest Caucasian languages are among the most interesting of all syntactical phenomena.

6.13.1 Yes/No Questions Yes/no questions have already been discussed (220i–k), (221). They exhibit the same word order and case-marking as declaratives.

6.13.2 Content Questions Content questions can be simple, as in (321) wherein the interrogative pronoun retains the same position that a normal pronoun would have had. The interrogative verbal index is identical to that of the relative.

(321) Wh-questions

a. /wa dana wə-ø-śə-ʔa-aγ/ ([wuśeʔáː])

you where you-3-deixis-be-past

‘Where were you?’

b. /xət-m ʌə-r ø-qʷa-z-šxʷə-aγ/ ([qʷɛɪʃxʷáː])

who-obl meat-abs 3-hor-who-eat-past-aff

‘Who ate the meat?’

c. /ʌʷə-m sət-r (yə-)qʷa-y-ə-šxə-aγ/ ([ʷi]qʷiːšxáː)

man-obl what-abs (what-)hor-he-non pres-eat-past

‘What did the man eat?’

6.13.3 Clefted Interrogatives Such content interrogatives can undergo a clefting-like transformation, whereby the interrogative pronoun is moved to the right of the sentence in which it originally occurs. It takes the absolutive in this new position, providing it is not an adverbial pronoun. The remainder of the clause becomes what is called a “masdar.” The whole appears to be governed by a zero-copula. The form has no affirmative affix like other copular constructions (see (283)) because it is an interrogative.

(322) Clefted wh-interrogatives

a. /wa wə-ø-śə-ʔa-aγ-r dana-w ø/

you you-3-deixis-be-past-ger where-adv be

‘Where were you?’

(lit., ‘Where was it that you were?’)

- b. / $\lambda\text{ə-r } \emptyset\text{-q'a-z-}\dot{\text{š}}\dot{\text{x}}^{\text{w}}\text{-ə-a}\gamma\text{-r } \dot{\text{x}}\text{ət-r/}$
 meat-abs 3-hor-who-eat-past-ger who-abs be
 'Who ate the meat?'
 (lit., 'Who was it that ate the meat?')
- c. / $\lambda^{\text{w}}\text{ə-m (yə-)}\text{q'a-y-ə-}\dot{\text{š}}\dot{\text{x}}\text{-ə-a}\gamma\text{-r sət-r } \emptyset\text{/}$
 man-obl what-abs (what-)hor-he-non pres-eat-past-ger what-abs be
 'What did the man eat?'
 (lit., 'What was it that the man ate?')

6.13.4 Rightward Wh-Movement These clefted interrogatives show rightward question movement. They are analogous to the clefted referential quantifiers of §3.1.4.4 (98). In each, a focus or N is set in opposition to a predicate. In the quantified forms the focus is stipulated. In the clefted interrogatives the stipulation of the focus is sought. The most natural answers to the questions in (322) are the clefted sentences of (323).

(323) Clefted sentences (answers to (322))

- a. / $\text{sa sə-}\emptyset\text{-}\dot{\text{š}}\text{-}\dot{\text{ʔ}}\text{-a-a}\gamma\text{-r wəna-m } \emptyset\text{/}$
 I I-3-deixis-be-past-ger house-obl be
 'I was at home.'
 (lit., 'It was at home that I was located.')
- b. / $\lambda\text{ə-r } \emptyset\text{-q'a-z-}\dot{\text{š}}\dot{\text{x}}^{\text{w}}\text{-ə-a}\gamma\text{-r } \lambda^{\text{w}}\text{ə-r/}$
 meat-abs 3-hor-who-eat-past-ger man-abs be
 'The man ate the meat.'
 (lit., 'It was the man who ate the meat.')
- c. / $\lambda^{\text{w}}\text{ə-m (yə-)}\text{q'a-y-ə-}\dot{\text{š}}\dot{\text{x}}\text{-ə-a}\gamma\text{-r } \lambda\text{ə-r } \emptyset\text{/}$
 man-obl what-abs (what-)hor-he-non pres-eat-past-ger meat-abs be
 'The man ate the meat.'
 (lit., 'It was the meat that the man ate.')

6.13.5 Unbounded Rightward Wh-Movement The rightward movement shown in clefted interrogatives and answers can involve any part of the clause and can reach down to extract any member of an embedded clause. Thus, this rightward movement is unbounded.

(324) Rightward wh-movement out of embeddings

a. Interrogative

(i) Deep structure

/wa [wa xət-m tʰəʎ-r ø-q'ə-z-a-w-tə-n] ø-w-fafə-aɣ/

you [you whom-obl book-abs 3-hor-whom-dat-you-give-inf]

3-you-want-past

(ii) Clefted interrogative (surface form)

/wa tʰəʎ-r ø-q'ə-z-a-w-tə-n ø-w-fafə-aɣ-r xət-r ø/

you book-abs 3-hor-whom-dat-you-give-inf

3-you-want-past-ger who-abs be

'To whom did you want to give the book?'

(lit., 'Who was it that you wanted to give the book to?')

b. Declarative

(i) Deep structure

/ʎə-m [ʎə-m ʎə-r ø-y-ə-ʂxə-n] ø-y-ə-fafə-aɣ-ʂ/

[man-obl [man-obl meat-abs 3-3-non pres-eat-inf]

3-3-non pres-want-past-aff]

(ii) Clefted declarative (surface form)

/ʎə-m (yə-)y-ə-ʂxə-n ø-y-ə-fafə-aɣ-r ʎə-r ø/

man-obl (which-)3-non pres-eat-inf 3-3-non pres-want-past-ger

meat-abs be

'It was the meat that the man wanted to eat.'

This instance of unbounded rightward movement is an unusual example of a typologically rare phenomenon (Colarusso 1979a).

6.13.6 Rightward Pseudo-Clefting Not surprisingly, pseudo-clefting also shows rightward movement into a specificational slot. Examples of pseudo-clefting, used to form quantificational phrases, were given in §3.1.4.4 (98).

6.14 Subject-Verb Inversion

A subject and its verb can be inverted. This movement, the only real violation of S-O-V order in the language, strongly resembles the rightward movement phenomena of clefting and question formation. Nevertheless, it does not involve the triggering of a copular sentence and so is distinct from those two phenomena. It is also distinct from contrastive fronting, which has a stronger, almost rude nuance, whereas inverting the subject and its verb is relatively mild with an adverbial quality. In fact, subject-verb inversion seems to foreground the verb, in effect being a mirror image of the process of clefting. In inversion the argument is well established from discourse and instead the predicate is introduced. One is reminded of the poetic

inversion in English, such as in the song *Waltzing Matilda*: “Up jumped the swagman, jumped into that billabong.”

(325) Postposed subject

/“sə-t ø-q’ə-ø-x̣’a-z-g*ə+psəsə-n?” ø-g*ə+zav-áh-ś satanay-g*áaśa/
 “what-pro 3-hor-you(zero direct address form)-for-I-heart+think-subj?” 3-
 heart+narrow-past-aff satanaya-lady
 “‘Why should I think of you?’ [said] Lady Satanaya being (lit., was) hard-
 hearted.’

6.15 Verb-Raising

Kabardian, like the West Circassian dialects, shows a limited amount of verb-raising. This happens when an embedded verb has a generic object. A rule copies plurality onto the verb from the immediately preceding N (§6.2.2.1). This rule also copies genericness. The resulting generic verb, though inflected, can be incorporated (by raising) into the matrix verb, much as a generic noun can sometimes be incorporated into a verb, providing that the personal index inflection of the two verbs is identical. In (326b) incorporation of the generic noun itself seems optional.

(326) Raising of a generic verb

a. Embedded form

/λ’ə-m [(λ’ə-m → ø) λə ø-y-ə-šx̣ə-n] ø-y-ə-f’af’ə-aγ-ś/
 ([yʃʃx̣ɪn yif’ef’á’ś])
 man-obl [(man-obl) meat 3-3-non pres-eat-inf] 3-3-non pres-want-past-
 aff

‘The man wanted to eat meat.’

b. Raised form

/λ’ə-m λə(-)y-ə-šx̣ə-f’af’ə-aγ-ś/ ([liyʃʃx̣ɪf’ef’á’ś], [li:šx̣ɪf’ef’á’ś])
 man-obl meat(-)3-non pres-eat-want-past-aff

‘The man wanted to eat meat.’

6.16 Negation

Negation has been largely treated in §4.2.5.3. The negative pronoun has been declined in §3.3.6. Negative sentences have the same order of constituents and the same case-marking as positive ones.

6.16.1 **Double Negatives** Double negatives can occur, giving a strong negative. This places Kabardian among a huge majority of languages (including many dialects of English) in which negation has an emotive, non-logical semantics.

(327) Double negative

/ʎə-m zə-r-əy ø-q'a-y-ə-šxə-aγ-q'm/ ([q'i'šxá'q'əm])

man-obl one-abs-even 3-hor-3-non pres-eat-past-not

'The man ate nothing.' or

'The man did not eat anything.'

6.16.2 Privatives Privatives are formed by means of the suffixes /-nša/ 'without' or /-ša/ 'defective, lacking' appended to the term denoting the missing element or matter. The use of these suffixes has been covered in §5.2.5 (246n, o). The order of constituents and case-marking is the same as in ordinary positives.

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