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Kabardian (East Circassian)

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0. Introduction

0.1. Social setting

Kabardian, the eastern form of Circassian, is a member of the Northwest Caucasian language family, which includes the Western Circassian or Adyghé dialects, the transitional Besleney Circassian, the distinct Abkhaz and its closely related sister, Abaza, and Ubykh, transitional between Circassian and Abkhaz-Abaza. It is native to the northwestern portion of the Caucasus where it is spoken by roughly 360,000 people (Berebikov *et alia* 1999; Colarusso 1992, 1989; Paris 1975; Alparslan and Dumézil 1963; Abitov *et alia* 1957; Kardanov 1957 *et alia*; Kardanov 1955; Kardanov *et alia* 1955; Yakovlev 1948; Turchaninov and Tsagov 1940). It is the household language of a large portion of the 4.5 million Circassians of the diaspora (Turkey, Jordan, Syria, Israel, with a few communities in Europe and the United States)(Colarusso 1997a, 1994c).

0.2. Linguistic typology

The six Northwest Caucasian languages (Colarusso 1994, d) form a family unto themselves, although links to Northeast Caucasian are evident and more distant phyletic links with Indo-European are possible (Colarusso 2000; 1997b). All of the Northwest languages are notable for their extreme complexity at all levels of grammar (Hewitt 1989; Kuipers 1960; Jakovlev 1930). While Kabardian is quite rich syntactically, morphologically, and phonologically, it is the simplest member of the family phonetically, with only 49 consonants, whereas Ubykh has 81 for a maximum (Colarusso 1992, b). The languages of the family, including Kabardian, are noted for their unusual vowel systems which are vertical (see Colarusso 1982; Halle 1970; Allen 1965; Laycock 1965; Kuipers 1960;). All the languages of the family are ergative (the subject of a transitive verb occupies a marked role), with Abkhaz and Abaza having only ergative morphology since they lack case. Their syntax exhibits a rich range

constructions that reflects degrees of transitivity, animacy, and volition.

1. Phonetics

1.1. Inventory

The consonants and vowels of Kabardian are depicted in (1), showing the large number of points of articulation that characterize this family (Colarusso 1994b, 1988; 1985; Henderson 1970; Paris 1974; Kuasheva 1969; Kumaxov 1969, 1961; Bagov 1968; Catford 184; 1977; 1942). Typical of Circassian, stress is percussive and predictable.

(1) Kabardian Phonemes

(a) consonants

labials	p	b	p'	f	v	f'	m	w
dentals	t	d	t'				n	r
alveolars	c	ʒ	c'	s	z			
alveolo-palatals	-	-	-	ś	ź	s'		
palato-alveolars	-	-	-	š	ž			
laterals	-	-	-	λ	λ	λ'		
palatals	kʲ	gʲ	kʲ'	χ	γ			y
velars (rounded)	k°	g°	k°'	χ°	γ°			
uvulars	q	-	q'	χ	γ			
uvulars (rounded)	q°	-	q°'	χ°	γ°			
pharyngeals				ħ	ʕ			
laryngeals			ʔ	h				
			ʔ°					

(b) vowels

(ə)

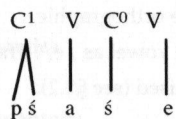
e (a)

Some workers, myself included, have represented the vowels as /ə/, /a/, and /a/ or /ah/, respectively. I have chosen in this work to conform to the orthographic sensibilities of most Kabardians and represent the [+low] (open) vowel as /e/. The schwa is in parentheses because its phonemic status is compromised (see §2.2).

1.2. Consonants

The stops (in horizontal order) exhibit contrasts of voiceless aspiration, full voicing, and glottal ejection or creaky voice (vocal cords brought together, but allowed to vibrate irregularly). A similar opposition is found among the spirants in the labio-dentals, alveo(lo)-palatals, and laterals (which tend to be alveolars) (/f, v, f' /, /ś, ź, s' / and /λ, λ, λ' /). The palatals vary between dorsal palatal stops and coronal palato-alveolars, the latter with pure stops and affricate allophones. The palatal spirants /χ, γ / are the fricative counterparts to /y/. Plain velars are lacking. As with all languages native to the Caucasus there is a contrast between velar and uvular points of articulation. The voiced uvular spirants, /γ, γ' /, are open and sonorant, while their voiceless counterparts, /χ, χ' /, are strident. The "pharyngeals," /ħ, ʕ / are actually made further down in the throat at the entrance to the larynx, the so-called "adytus," which is covered by the epiglottis at swallowing. They have a harsh, almost growling quality. Voiced /ʕ/ is found only in loans from Arabic, and is usually replaced with its voiceless counterpart. Consonant clusters are "harmonic," co-articulated and sharing the same source feature. Two is the rule, though a few three segment clusters occur as well. The skeleton (canon) of the average Kabardian word is shown in (2), where the C¹ can be thought of as a kind of "super consonant" (compare X², X¹, X⁰, in X-bar syntax (see Haegeman, 1991: 103-106, and §1.4, below)), while the simple consonants in (1) are C⁰s. For a thorough discussion of Kabardian phonetics see Gordon and Applebaum (in press).

(2) Word Skeleton for 'maiden' /pśaśe/



1.3. Vowels

The vowel system is most unusual. It is a "vertical" system, based upon degrees of openness, and is characteristic of the whole family. In all the world's languages syllable margins and nuclei overlap in their coloring. In almost all languages syllable color is assigned to the peak (vowels), but in those few with vertical vowel systems this coloring is assigned to the margins, in Kabardian to the syllable rhyme (offset, coda, Auslaut). The close vowel, /ə/, is simply a sonorant transition from one consonant to the next. /e/ is a sonorant transition that is open. Both of these assimilate to surrounding consonants, especially to syllable rhyme. /a/ behaves like a true vowel with a clear phonetic target, showing only slight assimilation to consonants in closed syllables, chiefly in the past affirmative (/ -ye-ś/ → [-āś]) which can show slight fronting due to the alveo-palatal rhyme, ([-āś]). It is the most open in its articulation of the vowels, and is slightly longer, crucially forming part of the rhyme of its syllable. It is this syllabic rhyme quality that prevents it from assimilating the way the other two vowels do. In effect, it is an open vowel that "assimilates to itself," so that its open and back target is stable.

1.4. Syllable canon

1.4.1. Medial gemination

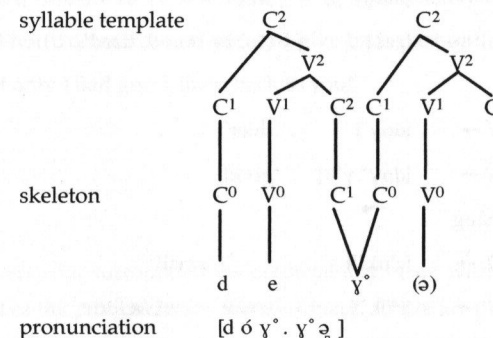
Medial consonants show a slight gemination in that they close the previous syllable as a rhyme. The vowels /ə/ and /e/ assimilate to this rhyme. Word finally, /ə/ is often nasalized (colored by articulatory rest position). Kabardian syllabification is as in (3),

for the word 'good'.

1.4.2. Theoretical aside on syllable structure

In (3) 'C²' is 'syllable', 'C¹' is 'onset' (Anlaut), 'V²' is 'nucleus', 'V¹' is 'peak', and 'C²' serves also as 'rhyme'. For C² to be a syllable means that one cannot utter a consonant without producing a syllable, even if no vowel follows (something illustrated by Kabardian and its sisters). For C¹ to be an onset means that consonant clusters will be coarticulated to some extent, though non-coarticulated ones may license directly to C² as well (see §3.1, (17)). C² as a rhyme permits simple (non-coarticulated) consonant clusters (for some theoretical background, though slightly different from that herein, see Newman 1997: 82-92; Broselow 1995; Blevins 1995; Kaye 1989: 53-58; Clements and Keyser 1983). To replace the syllable node, usually denoted as \$, by C² is also to assert that no vowel can be uttered without a consonantal onset, though this basic fact has rarely been noticed. Thus /V/ must be either [ʔV] or [fiV], where [fi] may also stand for the simple glided onset of the vowel, which is consonantal. V¹ may branch so that it dominates both V⁰ and a diphthongal element, not shown in (3). Similarly, C² as a rhyme permits both freely articulated and co-articulated clusters, the latter under C¹. This theoretical innovation joins the skeletal tier and the syllabic grid in a natural way.

(3) Syllable Canon



1.5. Vowel coloring

Examples of vowel coloring are shown in (4). Vowel targets are dynamic so the representation of the vowels is only approximate.

(4) Vowel coloring to syllable rhyme

a. neutral (with labials and glottal stop)

- (i) /bəbə/ → [bə́ḅ. bə] ' (to) fly, flutter'
- (ii) /q'eb/ → [q'ə́b] 'pumpkin'
- (iii) /psəʔe/ → [psə́ʔ̣. ʔə] 'wetness'
- (iv) /neʔe/ → [nə́ʔ̣. ʔə] 'attention, care'

b. fronting (with slight raising)

- (i) /ʒəd/ → [ʒɪ́d] 'donkey'
- (ii) /zez/ → [zɛ́z] 'gall, bile'

c. backing

- (i) /bzəʔe/ → [bzə́ʔ̣. ʔə] 'slice, piece'
- (ii) /beq/ → [baq̣] 'cow-shed'

d. raising

- (i) /ʒəŋ/ → [ʒúŋ] 'tree'
- (ii) /zeʃ/ → [zɛ́ʃ] '(to) be bored, tired'

e. rounding

- (i) /dəʔ/ → [dɔ́ʔ̣] 'thief'
- (ii) /deʔə/ → [dɔ́ʔ̣. ʔ̣ə] 'good'

f. rounding and raising

- (i) /c'ək/ → [c'óḳ] 'small'
- (ii) /t'ek/ → [t'óḳ] 'small', 'few', 'a little'

2. Phonology.

2.1. Stress

Stress is predictable, but is split between nouns and verbs. Nouns show metrical stress assignment (Kager 1995): primary stress is placed before the last consonant of the root, with a secondary stress possible. Inflectional suffixes are not counted (are "off the grid") (5, a). Verbs have non-metrical stress assignment: primary stress (acute accent) is placed before the last consonant of the root, inflectional suffixes are counted. Secondary stress does not occur, unless the verb is used as a noun (infinitive or gerund). This means that verbs can acquire several adjacent primary stresses, but no lower ones, which can result in a long, staccato sounding word, (5, b). (The preferred word for 'girl' in Kabardian is /xəg'e-bz/, girl-female, though /psəše/ is used for 'maiden'.)

(5) Split stress system

a. Nouns (metrical)

/psəše-daʔe-dəde-he-m-k'ye/ → [psə́ še de`xədə́defiemk'ye]
 maiden-beautiful-very-pl(ural)-obl(ique.case)-instr(umental.case)
 'with the very beautiful maidens'

b. Verbs (non-metrical)

/ø-q'-w-e-s-t-ʒə-ʔe-sere-tə-he/ → [q'westɪʒə́sérətə́he]
 3-hor(izon.of.interest)-you-to-I-give-back-past-opt(ative)-irr(ealis)-pl
 'If only I had given them back to you!'

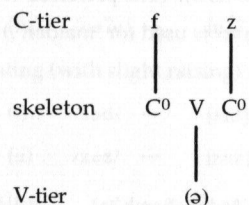
2.2. Schwa

Controversy has surrounded the predictability of /ə/, with some claiming that it is merely part of the pronunciation of a consonant. There are predictable schwas that break up sequences of non-sonorant - sonorant consonant clusters. If we set aside such

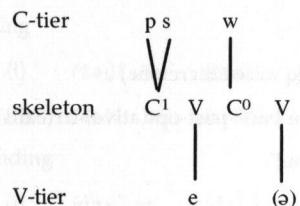
epenthetic schwas, then we must say of the remainder that /ə/ is predictable in that it may be viewed as a default vowel, but it is unpredictable in so far as the word skeleton is unpredictable, (6, a, b). Further, in non-present tense forms there is a schwa before the verb stem in third person subjects or agents that causes a preceding vowel to "truncate" (6, c). This suggests that this schwa is actually a morpheme. In West Circassian (Bzhedukh dialect) this non-present tense schwa can occur verb initially because of a rule of index-dropping (6, d). (I shall use 'he' as a default gloss of third person where it is otherwise unspecified.)

(6) Unpredictable /ə/

a. 'woman' /fəz/



b. 'alive' /psewə/



c. non-present tense schwa morpheme causing truncation

/ø-q'e-y-ə-bžə-ye-he-š/ > /ø-q'-y-ə-bž-efi-he-š/ → [q'ibžāhēs]

3.pl-hor-he-non.pr(esent)-count-past-pl-aff(irmative.mood)

'He counted them (his things).'

d. Bzhedukh West Circassian

/ø-y-ə-pčə-ye-he/ > /ø-ø-ə-pčə-ye-ŋ'e/ ([əp'č{əyč'ŋ'e})

3.pl-he-non.pr-count-past-pl

'He counted them.'

Thus, both sides of the controversy surrounding schwa are partially correct: The analyses in (6) can proceed without schwa in the V-tier, but a vowel slot in the skeleton must still be stipulated. This is conveniently achieved in transcription by writing non-epenthetic schwas.

2.3. Assimilation of vowels to syllable rhyme (Auslaut)

Both /ə/ and /e/ assimilate to their syllable rhymes (4), but this is especially marked when that rhyme is a glide, (7). In such cases the rhyme is assigned to the syllable peak and a long vowel (syllable nucleus) results.

(7) Glide assimilation

a. 'man-ly'

/λ'ə-w/ → [λ'ū]

b. 'all'

/pstew/ → [pstō]

c. 'man-and'

/λ'ə-y/ → [λ'ī]

d. 'maiden-and'

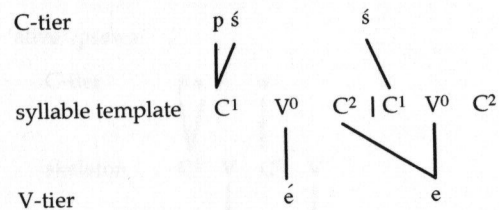
/pšeše-y/ → [pšā. šē]

2.4. Stressed (or reducing) /a/ (/ee/)

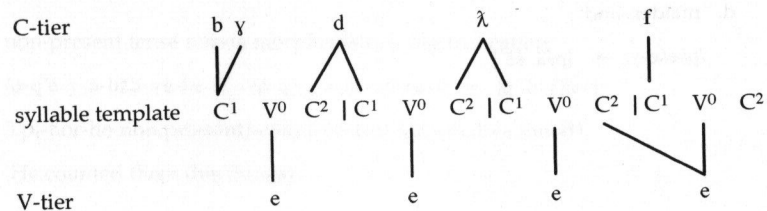
This feature of vowel-glide melding is crucial to understanding the third vowel /a/, or vowels, for there seem to be two of these, one consisting of /e/ with an e-glide rhyme, and one of an /e/ with an h-glide rhyme. The first /a/ occurs only under stress when the following vowel is an /e/, (8, a) (much as in Indo-Iranian, *cf.*, Sanskrit "vrddhi" grade, and probably due to contact with Indo-Iranian). This may be seen as a "back licensing" of the second /e/, (8, a, b), which in turn can be seen as a manifestation of stress when the V-tier consists of /e ... e/. One should note that this "third" vowel is absent from Abkhaz and Abaza, which have a rule that simplifies all vowel sequences, so that all non-final syllables are closed. In (8) the vowels are licensed preferentially to the rhyme, noted as C², so that the medial consonant is blocked (does not geminate). The /a/ ← /ee/ are realized with length, /a/ → [á]. For clarity back licensed syllables are noted by /é/.

(8) Predictable /a/

(a) /psése/ → /psáše/ → [psá.še] 'maiden'



(b) /byede-łéf-e/ → /byede-łáf-e/ beside-drag-to, 'to drag sm.th before sm.o'



Kabardian stands apart from its sister dialects, however, in its tendency to have exceptions to this process (9), either omissions (9, a – e), or occurrences (9, f).

(9) Exceptions to back-licensing of /e/

(a) two adjoined roots of the same category (here, noun-noun)

/edəŋe-bze/ → [ãdĩŋébze]

Circassian-language, (two roots; *cf.*, West Circassian /ãdəŋãbze/)

(b) adjectives

/deɣ'e/ 'good' (West Circassian /dãɣ'e/)

(c) deverbal forms

/pshe-pe/ → [pshepe] 'useful'

(an old verb; compare preverb-not-root, /-pshe-mə-pe-/ "to be unlucky, useless")

(d) pharyngeal onset

/hebɛ/ → [hɛbɛ] 'quarter, district', (note West Circassian /hãbɛ/)

(e) glottal stop onset

/ʔeše/ → [ʔéše] 'weapon(s)' (West Circassian /ʔãše/)

As the labels in (9, a-d) suggest, these exceptions seem to be morphologically driven. The exceptions in (9, d, e) suggest that /h/ and /ʔ/ are both [+low], or that they share an "open" feature with /e/ and that there is a syllable "openness limit" by which no more than two [+low] specifications can be assigned to a C², that is, to a syllable. Kabardian seems to have phonologized the adytal (epiglottal) facultative articulation of /h/ as [+low], in contrast with West Circassian dialects. Thus, the first syllable of (9, d) would behave like that in (9, e), both being 3 x [+low] ([3low]). In West Circassian, where /h/ and /ʔ/ are clearly [-low], (9, d, e) show back licensing of second /-e-/.

Other forms show unexpected /a/, as in (10), but these are either loans (10, a, b) or roots where a root where a back licensed /e/ has been generalized.

(10) Unexpected /a/

- (a) Iranian loanword (Sanskrit *nrtama* 'most manly', Old Irish *nert* 'hero')

/nart/ 'Nart, hero'

- (b) Turkic loanword

/baš/ 'gourd rattle'

- (c) lexicalized transitive verb root (*cf.*, (9, f))

/ø-y-ə-λaγ°-n-əw-ś/ → [yilāγ°-nūs]

it-he-non.pr(esent)-see-fut(ure)-def(inite)-aff

"He will see it."

- (d) present directed form with expected /a/

/ø-byε+de-y-e-λeγ°+e/ → [byεdēλāγ°o] it-chest+near-he-pres-see+at

"He notices it."

- (e) future definite directed form without /a/

/ø-byε+de-y-ə-λeγ°+e-n-əw-ś/ → [byεdīloy°-nūs]

it-chest+near-he-non.pr-see+at-fut-indef-aff

"He will notice it [then]."

- (f) lexicalized /a/ in nominal from frozen complex verb

/pśaśé-pλ+e/ → [pśaśápλe] maiden-look+at,
folk ritual of examining the bride

- (g) lexicalized /a/ in nominal from complex verb

/psaλé-λ+e/ → [psaλāλe] word-lie+in, 'dictionary',

- (h) normal vowel behavior for the root in (g)

/me-e-pseλé-t/ → [mεpseλét]

3.pres-pres-talk-stat(ive), "He talks (all the time)."

- (i) reduced variant of the root in (g)

/ø-χe-w-pseλá+ħə/ → [χōpseλáħ]

he-into-prog(ressive)-talk+enter, "He is joining the conversation."

The /a/ in (10, c) is retained even when unstressed, in contrast to the normal behavior of (10, d, e), suggesting that this "dehn Stufe" or "stretched vowel" has been lexicalized to the non-preverb form from the directional stem. The forms in (10, f) and (10, g), while fitting the canon of (8), do not reduce. These might be viewed as simple exceptions, or as instances of lexicalized forms where older /ee/ has become /a/ (see §2.6). The "normal" behavior of the root in (10, g) as shown in (10, h, i) strongly suggests, however, that both (10, f) and (10, g) are merely instances of morphologically restricted /ee/ ([a]) retention due to lexicalization.

2.5. Recursive reduction of /a/ ← /eε/

As stress shifts, then so does /a/ reduce to /e/ (or rather, fails to appear), (11), (*cf.*, (10)).

- (11) Recursive reduction of /a/ to /e/ under stress shift.

a. /ś'éλε/ → [ś'áλε] 'a youth'

b. /ś'ελε-ś'e/ → [ś'ελαś'ε] youth-new, 'a fresh youth'

c. /ś'éλε-ś'e-f'e/ → [ś'ελεś'áf'ε] youth-new-good, 'a virtuous fresh youth'

d. /ś'ελε-ś'e-f'e-bzé+f'e/ → [ś'ελεś'εf'εbzáf'ε] youth-new-good-tongue+good,
'an eloquent virtuous fresh youth'

As (11, c) shows, such reducing /a/-s are an enlarged grade of underlying /e/.

2.6. Stable /a/

There are instances of /a/, however, that are preserved despite stress shifts. As with reducing /a/, these are also long.

2.6.1. Transparent stable /a/

The only places where these are morphologically transparent are in the verbal

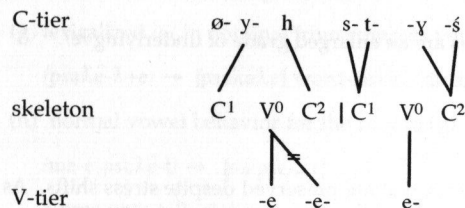
inflection for person, where third person seems to show a plural suffix, as in the form (12, b). This plural suffix shows up as /-he/ → [ha], [ɦa], [ħa] on nouns and on verbs with absolutive subject or object, (12, c).

(12) Stable /a/

- a. /ø-y-e-s-t-ye-ś/ → /yestehś/ → [yestās]
 it-3-dat(ive)-I-give-past-aff
 'I gave it to him.'
- b. /ø-y-he-e-s-t-ye-ś/ → /yehstehś/ → [yāstās]
 it-3-pl-dat-I-give-past-aff 'I gave/loaned it to them.'
- c. /ø-q`w-e-s-t-ye-he-ś/ → /q`westehś/ → [q`wostāɦās]
 3.pl-hor-you-dat-I-give-past-pl-aff, 'I gave them to you.'

Thus, while the reducing /a/ arises at the V-tier (8), stable /a/ arises by rhyme effects (7) on the C-tier. That is to say, the former is a vocalic effect while the latter is a consonantal one, /y/ (and /w/) occupying the C-tier in Circassian. This can be represented in (13).

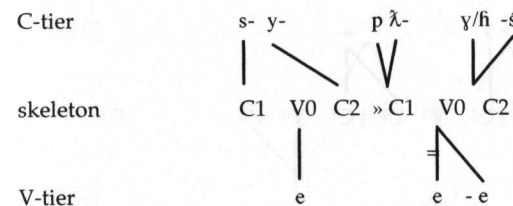
(13) Origin of stable /a/ , (12, b): /ø-y-he-e-s-t-ye-ś/ → /yehstehś/ → [yāstās]



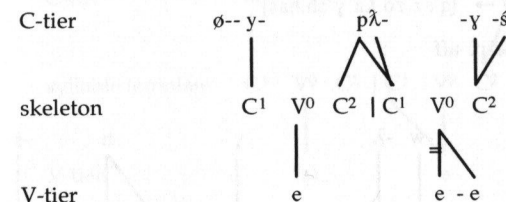
The assignment of /h/ to the rhyme (C²) rather than the onset in (13) is due to a rule that prohibits sonorant cluster onsets, as in (14, a) as opposed to (14, b).

(14) Glide-vowel metathesis, C-G onsets

- a. /s-y-e-pλ+e-ye-ś/ → /seypləhś/ → [səpλās] I-3-dat-look+at-past-aff,
 'I looked at it.'



- b. /ø-y-e-pλ+e-ye-ś/ → /yepλehś/ → [yepλās] 3-3-dat-look+at-past-aff,
 'He looked at it.'

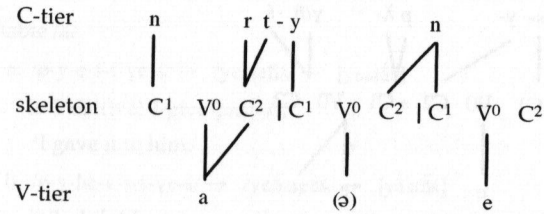


2.6.2. Opaque stable //a/

Forms without semantic motivation (15) seem to show an underlying /a/ phoneme, (15, a), though cases where a back-licensed /e/ have been generalized (15, b) might be seen as cases of frozen /e-e/. The /a/ phoneme occupies the rhyme, much as does /ee/ and /eh/, suggesting that it has a structure {[+low], [+low]}.

(15) Stable /a/s without etymology

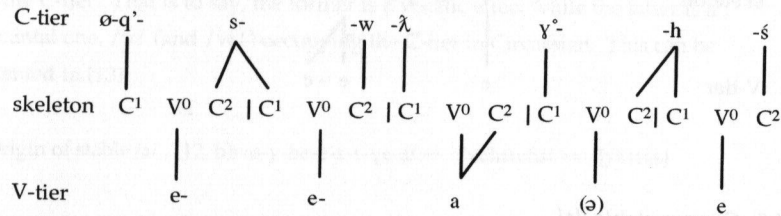
a. 'giant Nart' (race of heroes), /nart-yəne/ → [nārtýine]



b. 'I see them.'

/ø-q'e-s-e-w-λaγ'ə-he-š/ → [q'ez.zə.λa.γ'əfi.hás]

them-hor-I-pres-asp-see-pl-aff



Thus the contrast in the vocalic system is based upon [± low] and upon the unpredictability of the word canon. As one might expect with such a system even non-sonorant "quasi" syllables (non-harmonic consonant clusters) can occur (see 17, below).

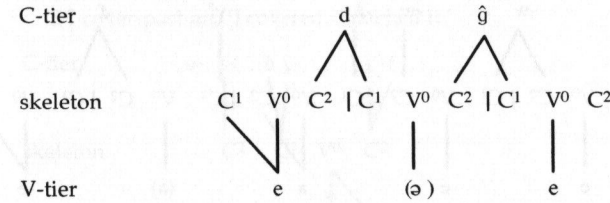
2.6.3. Initial and final /a/

Finally, /e/ can be "licensed backward" into an initial empty onset, (16, a), in which position it acts as a consonantal onset, (16, b), or in the emphatic and question morphemes "licensed forward" into a final empty rhyme, (16, c). In this last case it acts

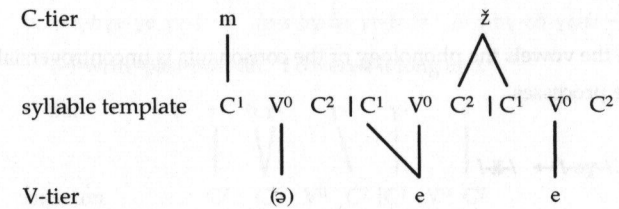
as a consonant for stress assignment, (16, d). The resulting [a]s are stable.

(16) Back licensing of /e/ into empty onset, forward licensing into empty rhyme

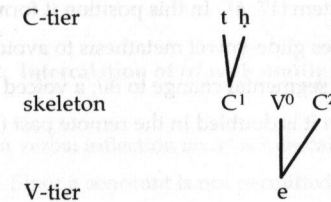
a. /edəgə/ → [fiad. díg. gə], [ʌad.díg.gə] 'Circassian'



b. /mə-ežə/ → [meə.əəž.žə], [mefi.háž.žə] 'this-billy goat'

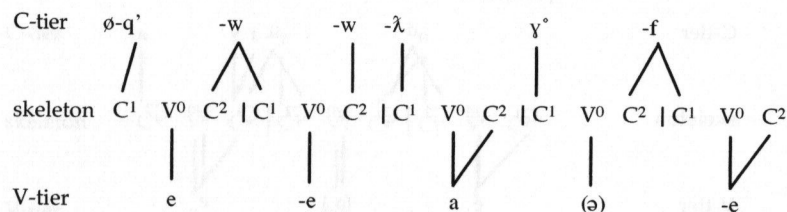


c. /the:/ → [thā] 'God!'



d. /ø-q'e-w-e-w-λaγ°-f-eē/ → [q'eb.bō.λa.γ°úf.fá] it-hor-you-pres-asp-see-able-Q

'Can you see it?'



2.7 Consonantal phonology

By contrast with the vowels the phonology of the consonants is uncontroversial. The verb shows five processes.

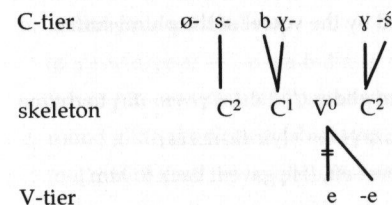
2.7.1 The past tense, /-γe-/ → /-ā-/

The first involves the past tense and has been seen already in (12, 13, 15, b). The sonorant quality of /γ/ has caused it in the past tense morpheme to be assigned to syllable rhyme after truncating the vowel of the stem (17, a). In this position it forms a natural group with the glides /y, h/, and undergoes glide-vowel metathesis to avoid C-G onsets (see (14)). Therefore it must undergo a segmental change to /h/, a voiced /h/. The true form of the past tense reveals itself when it is doubled in the remote past (17, b).

(17) The past tense

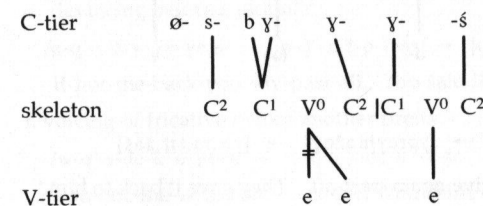
a. /ø-s-byē-γe-ś/ → /ø-s-by-γe-ś/ → /ø-s-by-fie-ś/ → /ø-s-by-efi-ś/ → [z.byáś]

3-I-cover-past-aff, 'I covered/thatched it.'



b. /ø-s-byē-γe-γe-ś/ → /ø-s-by-fie-γe-ś/ → /o-s-by-efi-γe-ś/ → [z.byá.γéś]

3-I-write-past-past-aff, 'I covered it long ago.'



2.7.2. Intercalation of /r/ with multiple third person inflection

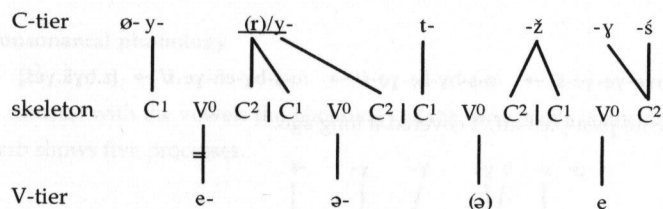
In verbal inflection an /r/ is intercalated between a sequence of two adjacent /y/s, (18). Since a sonorant is not permitted in an onset cluster (14), this /r/ has the effect of flipping the /y/ to its syllable rhyme (18, a), where it can be deleted if an /h/ from a plural has already been licensed there because only one glide is permitted in a rhyme (18, b). This /r/ may be thought of as a "ghost" or "trace" of the original /y/, which leaves behind only the feature [+sonorant] when it is shifted from onset. This trace feature then is realized as the simplest consonantal sonorant, namely /r/. The trace or ghost status of /r/ is noted by placing it in parentheses in (18). Note that the non-

present tense vowel of the third person subject, that is /-y-ə-/, deletes the dative vowel of the indirect object or the vowel of any other inflection that precedes the subject. In autosegmental terms the licensing of this preceding vowel is blocked by that of the non-present tense vowel (characteristic of pasts and futures). This suggests that the non-present tense vowel is a morpheme and not merely an epenthetic vowel., even though in (18, b) its own licensing is blocked by the vowel of the plural suffix.

(18) Intercalation of /r/ with reassignment of glides (/y/, /h/, (/ɣ/ → /fi/) to rhyme

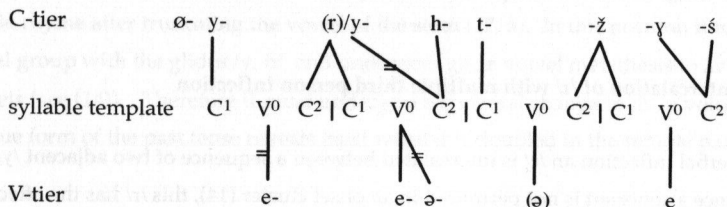
a. /ø-y-e-y-ə-tə-žə-ɣe-ś/ → /yərəytəžeɣś/ → [yir.ri.tiž.žās]

it-him-dat-he-non.pr-give-again-past-aff, 'He gave it back to him.'



b. /ø-y-e-y-he-ə-tə-žə-ɣe-ś/ → /yərəyhtəžeɣś/ → [yir.ra.tiž.žās]

it-him-dat-3-pl-non.pr-give-again-past-aff, 'They gave it back to him.'



2.7.3. Assimilation of verbal indices to a following consonant

Some assimilation and voicing effects occur with person "indices" before a root or before other inflectional prefixes (19, e, f). Glottalics cause devoicing, but not

glottalization (19, e).

(19) Index assimilations before verb roots

a. devoicing of stop

/ø-q'e-d-λaɣ°-ɣe-ś/ → /ø-q'e-t-λaɣ°-ā-ś/

it-hor-we-see-past-aff 'We saw it.'

b. round glide to labial stop

/ø-q'e-w-d-ɣe-ś/ → /ø-q'e-b-d-ā-ś/

it-hor-you-sew-past-aff, 'You sewed it.'

c. round glide to voiceless labial stop

/ø-q'e-w-tʰ-ɣe-ś/ → /ø-q'e-p-tʰ-ā-ś/

it-hor-you-write-past-aff, 'You wrote it.'

d. voicing of fricative

/ø-q'e-s-g°-ɣe-ś/ → /ø-q'e-z-g°-ā-ś/

it-hor-I-learn-past-aff, 'I learned it.'

e. devoicing before a glottalic

/ø-q'-s-ž-w-ʔe-ɣe-ś/ → /ø-q'-z-ž-p-ʔ-āś/ → [q'iz.žip.ʔās]

it-hor-me-back-you-say-past-aff, 'You said it to me.'

f. voicing of fricative before another prefix

/w-q'-s-de-k°e-ɣe-ś/ → /ø-q'ə-z-de-k°-ā-ś/

you-hor-me-with-come-past-aff, 'You came with me.'

2.7.4. Intervocalic voicing of indices

Unique to Kabardian is the voicing of /-s-/ 'I, me' and /-f-/ 'you.pl' between vowels, (20, a, b). The /h/ of the plural suffix also voices, (20, c).

(20) Intervocalic voicing

a. /ø-q'e-f-e-w-λaɣ°/ → /ø-q'e-v-ō-λáɣ°ə/

it-hor-you.pl-pres-asp-see, 'You.pl are seeing it.'

b. /ø-q'e-s-e-w-λaɣ°ə/ → /ø-q'e-z-ō-λáɣ°ə/

it-hor-I-pres-asp-see, 'I am seeing it.'

- c. /xəg'e-bz-he-r/ → [xəg'ibzfiar]
 girl-female-pl-abs, 'the girls'

2.7.5. Dissimilation of second person /-w-/ before continuous aspect /-w-/

Furthermore, a second person singular /w-/ can dissimilate to /b/ before the present progressive aspect (-pres-prog-) /-e-w-/ ([ō]), (21), proving that this contains a distinct /-w-/ morpheme. This dissimilation does not occur before a/w/ that begins a root, although some speakers have generalized this process to this environment as well.

- (21) Second person dissimilation in progressive presents

/ø-q'e-w-e-w-λaγ'ə/ → /ø-q'e-b-e-w-λaγ'ə/ → [q'ɛb.bō.λáγ'.γ'v]
 it-hor-you-pres-asp-see, 'You are seeing it.'

2.8. Reduction of plural suffix before predicative complementizer

For some speakers the complementizer /-we/ is /-əw/ and reduces the preceding plural morpheme, (22).

- (22) Reduction of plural

/ø-q'e-w-e-w-λaγ'ə-he-w/ → /ø-q'e-b-ō-λaγ'ə-fiə-w/ ([q'ɛbōλaγ'əfiū])
 them-hor-you-pres-asp-see-pl-that
 'that you are seeing them'

3. Inflectional Morphology

3.1. Nominal inflection

Nouns exhibit four cases, with distinct referential (23, a) and non-referential forms

(23, b). Plural forms, which are automatically referential, with /-he-/ after the root.

- (23) Noun Cases (abs(olutive), obl(ique), inst(rumental), pred(icative))

a. referential /g'ete/ 'sword'		b. non-referential	
abs	g'éte-r [g'áteɾ], etc.	abs	g'éte [g'áte], etc.
obl	g'éte-m	obl	g'éte
instr	g'éte-(m-)k'ʷe	instr	g'éte-k'ʷe
pred	g'éte-w(e)	pred	g'éte

3.2. Pronominal inflection

The third person pronouns show five degrees of deixis: /e-/ 'that', /mə-/ 'this (near speaker)', /wə-/ 'that (near hearer)', /mew/ 'yon', /e-)dare/ (that-)other (with /mə-/ and /wə-/ variants), plus /yež/ 'self', /sət/ 'what', /xət/ 'who', etc. They have four cases, while first and second person pronouns have limited case systems (24, b).

- (24) Pronoun Cases

a. <u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u> , /e/ 'that'		b. <u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u> , /se/ 'I', /we/ 'you'	
abs	e-r [ar], etc.	e-he-r	[áher], etc.	abs	se	we	
obl	e-bə	e-bə-he-m		obl	se	we	
instr	e-bə-k'ʷe	e-bə-he-m-k'ʷe		instr	se-r-k'ʷe	we-r-k'ʷe	
pred	e-r-əw	e-he-r-əw		pred	se-r-əw	we-r-əw	

In all pronominal forms the root, /e-/ , /mə-/ , /wə-/ , takes the stress, e.g., /e-dare/ → [ádirə].

3.3. Possession

3.3.1. General pattern

The genitive prefix also serve as a third person possessor, (25, a). Possession reflects the plurality of the possessor (the head) (25, b).

(25) Possessed nouns

a. singular head

/hɛ-m yə-kʰe/

dog-obl gen(itive)-tail

'the dog's tail'

b. plural head

/hɛ-he-m y-he-kʰe/ → [həɦam yákʰɛ]

dog-pl-obl gen-pl-tail

'the dogs' tails'

3.3.2. Inflection of possessed forms and proper nouns

A certain economy of expression causes these possessed forms and proper nouns, which are both obviously referential, to inflect like the non-referential ones (26).

Adherence to this pattern is inconsistent and definite inflection can be found for both sets of forms in (26), some times even with the same speaker (see text sample at end).

(26) Inflection of possessed nouns,

/s-yə-gʰete/ my-poss(essed)-sword, /λepś/ 'Tlepsh' (Nart god of the forge)

a. possessed noun

abs s-yə-gʰete [sɪgʰate], etc.

obl s-yə-gʰete

inst s-yə-gʰete-kʰe

pred s-yə-gʰete

b. proper noun

abs λepś

obl λepś

inst λepś-kʰe

pred λepś

3.3.3. Possessive predicates

Predicative possessive adjectives ('mine, 'theirs') inflect doubly and are built upon a root /-ye-/ ('the one of'), with inversion to /-ey-/ (27).

(27) Predicate possessive adjectives

	<u>mine</u>	<u>yours(pl)</u>	<u>his/hers/its</u>	<u>theirs</u>
abs	sə-s-ye-r [sɪsɛ̃r]	fə-f-ye-r [fɛfɛ̃r]	y-ye-r [yɛ̃r]	y-he-ye-r [yáyer]
obl	sə-s-ye-m	fə-f-ye-m	y-y-em	y-he-ye-m
inst	sə-s-ye-(m-)kʰe	fə-f-ye-(m-)kʰe	y-ye-(m-)kʰe	y-he-ye-(m-)kʰe
pred	sə-s-ye-w	fə-f-ye-w	y-ye-w	y-he-ye-w

3.4. Adjectives

Adjectives follow nouns, forming a unit for case assignment, (28, a). Superlatives behave the same way (28, b), but comparatives are synthetic (28, c).

(28) Adjectives

a. positive

/pśése-déxe-r/ → [pśésédáxɛr]

maiden-beautiful-abs

'the beautiful maiden

b. superlative

/pśése-dexe-dəde-r/ → [pśésədəxédíder]

maide-beautiful-exactly

'the most beautiful maiden

c. comparative

/pśése-r e-dəre-he-m nəx-re nəx déxe-w/ →

[pśásɛr ádərəham nəxre nəx dáxow]

maiden-abs that-other-pl-obl than-inst more beautiful-pred

'the maiden more beautiful than those others'

3.5. Postpositions

3.5.1. Free postpositions

By contrast, most postpositions come after case assignment, (29), but their syntax is complex. Some can exhibit inherently possessed forms (29, b), which are homonymous with those inflected for plurality (29, c). When the governed noun is a pronoun, the postposition cliticizes to the pronoun and its case, (29, d), which splits the instrumental.

(29) Postpositions

- a. /q'élε-m ne-s/ → [q'áλεm nes]
village-obl thither-reach, 'up to the village'
- b. /q'élε-m ø-y-he-dey(ž)/ → [q'áλεm yādē(ž)]
village-obl 3-gen-inherent-near, 'near the village'
(= 'in the vicinity of the village')
- c. /šhe+γ'ə+bžε-he-m ø-y-he-ze+ž'ek'ə/ → [šhoγ'úbžafiam yāzož'ók'ú]
head+goal+door-pl-obl 3-gen-pl-reciprocal+between, 'between the windows'
- d. /we-r-pép's'e-k'ye/ → [wor páp's'ek'ye]
you-inst-sake-inst, 'for your sake'

3.5.2. Clitic postpositions

A few postpositions can cliticize to any noun, following pronominal cliticization (29, d). These then form a unit with their noun for purposes of case assignment (30, a), though these also exhibit regular patterns (30, b). In effect these postpositions can form optional compound nouns.

(30) Cliticized postpositions

- a. /wəne-q'a γə-(he-)m/
house-behind-(pl)-obl, 'behind the house(s)'

- b. /wəne-(he-)m γə-(he-)q'a γə/
house-(pl)-obl gen-(pl)-behind, 'behind the house(s)'

3.6. Verbal inflection

3.6.1. General pattern

The verb exhibits by far the greatest complexity (Colarusso 1994, a; Allen 1956). It is polypersonal and usually inflects for every noun in a sentence by means of "indices." The inflectional is a process of obligatory copying for arguments. Pronouns may undergo deletion (*pro*-drop), but may be retained without any substantial force or emphasis in a discourse.

The structure of such inflection is depicted in (31), where (31, a) shows the discontinuous argument sites within [...], and the intervening adjunct site within {...}, while (31, b) gives the detailed internal structure of these morphological "zones" or nodes. The verb root, including some suffixes, and the internal arguments are further subject to suffixation by two morphemes, both /-a-/. The subject and agent show a present tense suffix, whereas the indirect object, a demoted subject (with causative agent), and some preverbs can show an inward or dative nuance through an /-a-/.

(31) Morphological zones on the verb

- a. [(external) argument] - [adjuncts] - [(internal) arguments]-V
- b. [abs]-[(horizon)-deixis-version-committative-locus]-[obl(io)-obl(s)-obl(ag)]-V

With the exception of the plural suffix /-he-/, morphemes occurring before the indirect object appear in a zero-grade (often realized as a schwa-grade).

3.6.2. Argument inflection

The external argument (the one outside the V²), in this case the one fulfilling the verbal action (subject of an intransitive, direct object of a transitive), is initial. The two-argument intransitives, (32, b), show weak transitivity or a reduction in the transitivity of the action. The causatives do not arise from a matrix clause, but merely mark an extra argument, (see, § 5.2.2).

(32) Polypersonal verb inflection

a. one argument

/λ'ə-he-r me-e-k'e-he/ → [māk'ofia]

man-pl-abs 3.intrans.pres-pres-come+at-pl,

'The men are coming.'

b. two argument intransitive (intransitive with indirect object)

/λ'ə-he-r se ø-q'ə-s-e-e-pl+e-he/ → [q'əzāpλfia]

man-pl-abs me 3-hor-me-dat-pres-look+at-pl

'The men are looking at me.'

c. two argument transitive

/λ'ə-he-m se sə-q'e-y-he-ə-λaγ'ə-ye-ś/ → [səq'āλāγ'ās]

man-pl-obl me me-hor-3-pl-non.pr-see-past-aff

'The men saw me.'

d. two [three] argument (causative of an intransitive [with indirect object])

/se we e-bə wə-y-e-s-ye-pλə+e-ye-ś/ → [wēzγepλās]

I you it-obl you-it-dat-I-caus(ative)-look+at-past-aff

'I made you look at it.' or 'I showed it to you.'

e. three argument (di-transitive)

/e-bə we mə-txəλ-he-r ø-q'-w-e-y-ə-tə-ye-he-ś/ → [q'wītāfiēs]

3-obl you this-book-pl-abs me-hor-you-to-he-non.pr-give-past-aff

'He gave these books to you.'

f. three argument (causative of a transitive)

/se e-bə we wə-q'-y-e-s-ye-e-λaγ'ə-ye-ś/ → [wuq'ēzγeλāγ'ās]

I 3-obl you you-hor-3-dat-I-caus-conn-see-past-aff

'I showed you to him.' (literally, 'I made him see you.')

g. four argument (causative of a di-transitive)

/se e-bə-he-m we e-r ø-q'-w-e-y-he-e-s-ye-e-tə-ye-ś/ → [q'wāzγetās]

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

'I made them give it to you.'

3.6.3. Morphological arguments

The form in (32, b) poses a problem for linguistic theory. There are a number of verbs that have an argument that has a strong geometric nuance. This argument remains an adjunct syntactically, that is to say, it remains optional in the sentence, but is obligatory in the verbal inflection where it appears as a preverb, and hence acts as a morphological argument. The most common of these is the indirect object seen in (32, b), but others occur, as in (33). The sense is entirely different without such a preverb, contrast (33, a, b), with (33, c), and (33, d) with (33, e), these being homonyms.

(33) Verbs with geometrical arguments

a. /sə-q'e-yə-fə-nə-w-ś/ → [səq'ifmūs]

I-hor-cont(ainer)-drink-fut-def-aff, 'I shall drink.'

b. /sə-q'e-y-e-f+e-nə-w-ś/ → [səq'ēfenūs]

I-hor-cont-to-drink+to-fut-def-aff, 'I shall have a drink,' or 'I shall drink sm.th.'

c. /sə-q'e-fe-nə-w-ś/ → [səq'ēfenūs]

I-hor-dance-fut-def-aff, 'I shall dance.'

d. /ø-q'e-še-tə-ye-ś/ → [q'əxēsētās]

it-hor-mass-pour-down-past-aff, 'It poured/trickled down.'

e. /ø-q'e-s-še-nə-w-ś/ → [q'esšenūs]

it-hor-I-sew/weave-fut-def-aff, 'I shall sew it,' 'I shall weave it.'

3.6.4. Adjunct inflection and incorporation

Other nouns (adjuncts) can also appear, such as in comitatives (34 a), benefactives (34, b), detrimentives (34, c)(homonymous with 'good!'), and adversatives (34, d)(homonymous with the benefactives!). The benefactive shows that this sort of inflection is a process of optional movement into the verbal complex, since the coreferential nominal may not stand alone if its index appears in the verb (noted by [*noun]). It is reasonable to assume that the other adjuncts in (34) arose by incorporation even though there is not synchronic evidence that they still do so. It is notable that the third person of adjuncts is /-ø/ (34, d, e).

(34) Adjunct noun inflection

a. comitatives

/xəg'e+bzə-r ø-q'-w-de-s-sə-ye-ś/ → [q'ibdesšās]
 girl+fem-abs her-hor-you-with-I-lead.off-past-aff
 'I led the girl off with your help.' (said of marriage by abduction)

b. benefactives

/xəg'e+bzə-r [*fe-r-pép's'e-m-k'e] ø-q'-f-x'e-s-sə-ye-ś/ → [q'əf'εsšās]
 girl+fem-abs [*you.pl-obl-sake-obl-inst] her-hor-you.pl.-for-I-lead.off-past
 -aff
 'I led the girl off for you(pl).'

c. detrimentive

/xəg'e+bzə-r ø-q'-ø-he-f'ə-w-de-s-sə-ye-ś/ → [q'af'ebdesšās]
 girl+fem-abs her-hor-3-pl-despite-you-with-I-lead off'past-aff
 'I led the girl off with your help despite them.'

d. adversative

/s-ø-he-x'e-psele-ye-ś/ → [sax'εpseλās]
 I-3-pl-against-speak-past-aff
 'I slandered them.'

e. adversative

/ø-ø-he-x'e-psele-ye-ś/ → [āx'εpseλās]
 he-3-pl-against-speak-past-aff
 'He slandered them.'

3.6.5. Other adjuncts: deixis, locus, and incorporated nouns

Verbs can show deixis (35, a), locus (35, b, c, d), or incorporation of both generic nouns (35, e) or even referential possessed nouns (35, f), which also inflect for case like generic nouns, (26).

(35) Deixis, locus, and incorporated nouns

a. deixis

/se we e-bə sə-ø-śə-w-x'e-z+e-nə-w-ś/ → [sɪsepχ'ezenūś]
 I 3-obl I-its-deixis-you-for-turn+at-fut-def-aff, 'I shall meet you there.'

b. locus

/se psə-ɾ'ə-fe-m sə-ø-ɾ'ə-e-λ-ś/ → [soɾ'ελś]
 I river-edge-skin-obl I-its-edge-pres-lie-aff, 'I lay on the river bank.'

c. complex locus

/wəne-m ø-q'ə-ø-q'ə-q'ə-pλə-ye-ś/ → [q'əq'əq'əpλās]
 house-obl he-hor-it(house)-through-lee-look-past-aff
 'He peered out from behind the house (toward the speaker).'

d. successive loci

/s'εle-r q'əhe-m psə-m ø-q'ə-ø-də-ø-xə-e-x'ə+xe-ye-ś/ → [q'ədəxəx'əx'ās]
 youth-abs boat-obl water-obl he-hor-3(boat)-out-3(water)-in-dat-fall+down
 past-aff

'The youth fell out of the boat and into the water.'

e. incorporated generic noun

/zəŋ-əm ø-ø-bye+də-he-ye-ś/ → [byedəhās]
 tree-obl he-3(tree)-chest+near-enter-past-aff
 'He came up against the side of the tree.'

f. incorporated possessed noun

/ø-w-ɾe-ś'ə-s-λ+he-ye-ś/ → [pɾeś'isλhās]
 it-your-hand-instr-I-lie+enter(= active)-past-aff, 'I laid it in your hand.'

3.6.6. Adverbs, tenses, aspect, moods

Numerous adverbs, tenses, aspects, and moods occur, usually as suffixes. The adverbs occupy three positions (36). The first is a derivational one, which is part of the stem and will be treated under derivational morphology (43, c, ii). The second is one between the stem and the tense, reflecting discourse factors, judgments, or geometric information (37, a-d). The third consists of adverbs of negation, temporal relation, or exhaustiveness and comes after tense (37, e-g).

(36) Adverb zones

Root+[adv]-[advs]-{tense-aspect-moods}-[adv]-complementizer

(37) Adverbs, tenses, aspects, and moods

a. 'around'

/θ-θ-t-y-e-pseλə-hə-ye-ś/ → [tēpseləhās]

he-it-surface-dir(ection)-dat-talk-around-past-aff

'He talked about it (a topic).'

b. 'finally' and 'again'

/γ°əg°e-m-k°e zə-s-e-y-ə-ye-λey°ə-žə-fə-žə-ž-ye-ś/ →

[zizīyeλay°izifizās]

mirror-obl-instr self-I-dat-3-non.pr-cause-see-self-able-again-finally-past-aff

'Finally, he was able to let me see myself again with a mirror.'

c. /fəz-m śəγən-r θ-y-e-y-ə-wə+q°e+dəy-ye-x-ye-ś/ → [yeriwuq°odīyexās]

woman-obl clothes-abs 3-dir-dat-3-non.pr-valence+bend+joint-up-down

-past-aff

'The woman straightened her clothing (up and down).'

d. /θ-y-e-šx+e-žə-fə-š-ye-ś/ → [yeshxēžefisās]

he-it-dat-eat+intr-again-able-large.excess-past-aff

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

e. /θ-k°+e-ye-ye-x-he-ś/ → [k°axāhās]

3-move+intr-past-past-already-pl-aff

'They have already gone long ago.'

f. /θ-y-he-ə-ś°ə-ey-k°ye-he-ś/ → [yās°āk°afiaś]

it-3-pl-non.pr-do-past-exhaustive-pl-aff

'They did it completely.'

g. /sə-txə+e-fə-ye-x°ə(-k°ye)/ → [sitxəfāx°(ik°ye)]

I-write+intr-able-past-while(-instr)

'while I was able to write...'

3.6.7. Tense, aspect, mood, complementizers

Tense, aspect, mood, and complementizers occur as suffixes except in a few cases: jussive, hortative, and imperative, which are prefixes and might best be seen as occupying the pragmatic slot of the verbal adjunct zone. Examples are shown in (38). Kabardian is most unusual in having an affirmative mood (38, f) for all tenses (save the present dynamic (38, a)), without which a sentence takes on the tone of a query. A few prefixes occur in the various imperative moods (38, h, i, j)(compare too, (65, g)), In (38, h) the subject has been demoted to an instrumental, much as with the English construction "fare thee well!", but here a first person "fare me well!" The imperative (38, j) shows obligatory loss of final vowel. The verb closes with complementizers (38, k-o) or participial endings (38, p). The last can also have an adverb (38, q).

(38) Tense, aspect, mood, complementizers

a. overt present dynamic in third person plural intransitives

(obligatory in the negative)

/me-e-k°+e-he-re-p/ → [mok°afērēp]

3-pres-move+intr-pl-pres-not

'They are (not) going.'

b. definite future

/sə-λeže-nə-w-ś/ → [silēženūs]

I-work-fut-def-aff

- 'I shall work (at a definite time).'
- c. stative (present) (no mark)
/sə-śə-s-ś/ → [sɪśɪśɪś]
I-deixis-sit-aff
'I am sitting there.'
- d. durative past
/sə-łeže-r-te/ → [sɪłežert]
I-work-distr(ibuted)-stand
'I was working.'
- e. optative
/sə-k''+e-ye-śere/ → [suk''ásere]
I-move+intr-past-opt
'I would like to have gone.'
- f. affirmative
/sə-łeže-ś(e)/ → [sɪłázes(e)]
I-work-aff
'I work.'
- g. irrealis
/se wese-f' ø-q'e-s-ħ-k''e-t/ → [q'eshk''et]
I opinion-good 3-hor-I-carry-exhaustive-irrealis
'If only I receive a good recommendation!'
- h. jussive prefix
/sə-re-y-k''+e/ → [sɪrək''o]
I-instr-jussive-move+intr
'Let me go!'
- i. hortative causative
/də-f-ye-e-k''+e/ → [dəvɔk''o], [dəvɔawk''o]
we-you.pl-cause(=let)-imp(erative.vowel)-move+intr
'Let's go!'
- j. imperative
/(w-)q'e-ɛ-k''+e/ → [q'ɔk''], [q'awk'']
(you-)hor-imp-move+intr

- 'Come here!'
- k. contrary interrogative
/wə-k''+e-ye-q'e/ → [wuk''áq'e]
you-move+intr-past-Q(uestion.complementizer)
'Didn't you go?'
- l. dubitative interrogative (sometimes with /-əy/ 'even')
/we wə-k''+e-w-əy/ → [wuk''ówɪ]
you you-move+intr-dubitative.Q-even
'Are you really going?'
- k. Adverbial /-m/
/f'ə-we wə-zə-y-e-g'+e-m wese-f' ø-q'e-w-ħə-n-ś/ →
[f'úwo wuzég'əm woséf' q'ephíns]
good-adv you-when-it-dat-call+dat-adv opinion-good 3-hor-you-carry.off
-fut-aff
'When you read it well, you will be honoured.'
- m. conditional /-me/
/f'ə-we wə-y-e-g'+e-ye-śere-te-me wese-f' ø-q'e-w-ħə-n-t/ →
[f'úwo wég'ásereleme woséf' q'ephínt]
good-adv you-it-dat-call+dat-past-opt-irreal-if opinion-good
3-hor-you-carry.off-fut-irreal
'If you had read it well, you would have been honored.'
- n. simple complementiser /-me/ (with verb 'to say')
/f'ə-we wə-y-e-g'+e-ye-me ø-q'ə-žə-y-ə-?e-ye-ś/ →
[f'úwo wég'áme q'ɪzi?ás]
good-adv you-3-dat-call+dat-past-that 3-hor-back-3-non pres-say-past-aff
'He said that you read it well.'
- o. strong complementiser /-be/ (cf., /be/ 'much')
/sə-q'e-mə-k''+e-žə-fə-nə-w-te-be/ → [səq'emuk''ežéf'imútebe]
I-hor-not-move+intr-again-able-fut-def-irreal-strong
'I shall not be able to go back, though!'
- p. (past) participial
/e-r f'ə-we ø-y-e-g'+e-ye-wə ø-q'e-k''+e-ye-ś/ → [yeg'áwu q'ok''ás]

3-abs good-adv 3-3-dat-call+dat-past-part 3-hor-move+intr-past-aff
 'It was apparent that he had read it well.'

q. durative participle

/e-r ø-y-e-g'+e-wə-re me-e-k''+e/ → [yeg'ówure mák''o]

3-abs 3-3-dat-call+dat-part-dist 3-pres-move+intr

'He is going away while reading.'

3.6.8 Horizon of interest and change of state

A preverb of pragmatic significance, 'horizon of interest', expresses either locus of speaker (39, a), locus of hearer (39, b), kin (absolutive) of speaker (39, c), property (absolutive) of speaker (39, d), change of state (39, e), or weather (39, f) (Colarusso 1984). The native term for such verbs is /ʔe-k''ac'e/ hand-inside, "in the hand" verbs.

(39) Horizon of interest

a. locus of speaker

(i) /ø-q'é-e-w-k''+e/ → [q'ók''o]

he-hor-pres-asp-move+intr

'He is coming (hither).'

(ii) /mé-e-k''+e/ → [mák''o]

he-pres-move+intr

'He is moving (travelling).'

b. locus of hearer

(i) /sə-q'-w-ŋ'é-e-w-k''+e/ → [səq'əpŋ'ók''o]

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

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

(ii) /sə-w-ŋ'é-e-w-k''+e/ → [səpŋ'ók''o]

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

'I am going for your sake.'

c. kin of speaker

(i) /we λ'ə-r ø-q'e-w-wək''ə+e-zə-γé-ś/ → [q'owuwuk''éžās]

you(-obl) man-abs 3-hor-you-kill+at-back(=own)-past-aff

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

(ii) /we λ'ə-r ø-w-wək''ə-zə-γé-ś/ → [wuwuk''izās]

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

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

d. property of speaker

(i) /se we tʰəλ-ər ø-q'-w-e-s-t-γé-ś/ → [q''wostās]

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

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

(ii) /se we tʰəλ-ər ø-w-e-s-t-γé-ś/ → [wostās]

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

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

e. change of state

(i) /e-bə tyeg'ép'e-r ø-q'e-y-ə-wəŋə-γé-ś/ → [q'iwuŋās]

3-obl school-abs 3-hor-3-non.pr-finish-past-aff

'He graduated school.'

(ii) /e-bə tyeg'ép'e-r ø-y-ə-wəŋə-γé-ś/ → [yiwuŋās]

3-obl school-abs 3-3-non.pr-finish-past-aff

'He finished school (for the year).'

f. weather

/we-šŋə ø-q'e-e-w-šŋə/ → [wóšŋɪ q'óšŋɪ]

sky-rain 3-hor-pres-prog-rain

'It is raining.'

3.6.9. Morphological transformations

In some cases the verb shows what is apparently a morphological transformation, with the shifting of an element from its expected position (40, a), or for expressive purposes (40, b). Such shifts can even match sentential shifts (40, c). In the last case it is revealing that such morphological shifts are confined to the adjunct zone, where inflection results from movement from the sentence into the verbal complex, rather

than the copying characteristic of the arguments. The inescapable conclusion is that this is a syntactically linked form of inflection, one that specifically occurs at S(urface)-structure (after movement in the clause), and so is sharply distinguished from the copying inflection characteristic of the argument zones, which by contrast is indifferent in its morphological order to shifts in syntactic order (56, b). The original position of the morpheme is marked by a trace, *m*. The syntactic trace (40, c) is marked by the customary *t*. The forms in (40) imply that a word grammar will share most of the features of a sentence grammar even if they are not used to the same extent.

(40) Morphological transformations

- a. from expected position (compare (34, c))

/sə-q'e-mə-k'ə+e-žə-fe-nə-w-m-te-be/ → [səq'emuk'εž'εf'εnūteβe]

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

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

- b. for expressive purposes (subject demotion)

/ø-s-x'ə-w-x'e-m-s'-ye-q'əm/ → [s'x'εp'x'εs'äq'əm]

3-me-for-you-for-trace-do-past-not

'I was not inclined to do it for you.'

- c. to match sentential shifts

/se s'e'le-he-m e-bə t sə-ø-he-sə-m-x'e-zə-ye-s/ → [sašu'x'εzās]

I child-pl-obl 3-obl trace I-3-pl-deixis-trace-for-meet-past-aff

'I met the children there.'

4. Derivational Morphology

4.1. Noun formation

The most remarkable feature of the Kabardian lexicon is the degree to which most of it is derived by processes of affixation or compounding, often coupled with remarkable semantic extension. Most nouns are made up of a small inventory of basic stems.

4.1.1. Affixation

The most productive affixes are shown in (41, a, b, c). The circumfixation in (41, d) is less common, but still is productive. Such forms imply that word grammar goes beyond bifurcation to trifurcation, at the least.

(41) Affixed nouns

- a. prefixed

/ze+š/

recip(ocal)+brother = 'brothers' (as a group), 'brethren'

- b. suffixed

/ləže+n+ye/ → [ləžénye]

to work+inf+abstract = 'work'

- c. suffixed

/nəbž'e-γ'e/ → [nəbž'äγ'e]

friend-ship

- d. circumfixed

/ze+šx'e+γ'/ → [zεšx'óγ']

recip+eat+intr+companion = 'schoolmates' (ones with whom one eats)

4.1.2. Nominal-compounding

The productivity of compounding is prodigious. The semantic extensions that underly it are remarkable in many cases. Kabardian wears its nominal semantics on its sleeve, so to speak, (42).

(42) Compound nouns (PrV == preverb)

- a. N+N = N

/ne+psə/

eye-water = 'tear'

- b. N+Adj = N
/pše+pλə/
cloud-red = 'twilight'
- c. N+V = N
/né+ʔe/ → [náʔe]
eye+holding = 'care'
- d. Adj+N = N
/bλə+šhe/
seven+head = 'Monday'
- e. PrV+V = N
/de+λxʔ/ → [deλxʔ], [deλxʔ]
with+be born = 'brother (of woman)'
- f. [N+[afx+N]] = N
/she+γʔə+bže/
head+goal+door
window
- g. [N+afx]+V = N
/[ʔe+rə]+tχə/
[hand+inst]+write = 'manuscript'
- h. rhyming: [[N+afx_i]+[N+afx_i]]
/[ʔe+pʔqʔ]+[λe+pʔqʔ]/
arm+frame+leg+frame = 'body' (viewed as a framework)
- i. V+V = N
/tχə+λ/
write+lie = 'book'
- j. recursive compound
[_NV+V]+V = N
/[tχə+λə]+λ/
book+lie = 'bookbag' or 'library'

- k. complex compound
[[N+conn+afx]+afx]+[V+conn+V] = N
/[he+n+də]+r]+[qʔé+qʔe]/ → [həndərqʔáqʔo]
barley+conn+formative.sfx+dist+croak+croak = 'frog'
- l. compounds nouns employing an inflected verb
N+[_V (afx)^x+V] = N
/šə+[z-y-e-š+e]/ → [šɪzěše]
horse+[who-dir-dat-lead+to] = 'horse nurse, groom'

4.2. Verb formation

4.2.1. Prefixation

Derivational verbal morphology is limited by contrast to that of the nouns. There are a few preverbs (43), including a valence prefix.

(43) Derivational preverbs

- a. /še-pseλə+ħə-ní/ → [šepseλəħím]
mass-word/talk+carry-inf, 'to join a conversation'
- b. /e-λe+ʔe-n/ → [əλoʔén]
dat-after+talk-inf, 'to ask some one'
- c. valence prefix (transitivizer)
- (i) /me-e-χʔe/ → [máχʔo]
3-pres-bend, 'It is bending.'
- (ii) /zə-y-e-wə+λʔe/ → [zəwúλʔo]
self-3-pres-val(ence)+bend, 'He is bending over.'

4.2.2. Circumfixation

There is at least one circumfix, /γ^oe-/ 'goal', that requires the root to take a dynamic suffix, /+ə/, (44)

(44) Circumfix

/se sə-γ^oe+λ+ə-γe-ś/ → [soγ^oeλás]

I-purpose+lie+dyn-past-aff, 'I lay down (to rest or sleep).'

4.2.3. Suffixation

By far the most productive process of verbal derivation is suffixation, (45).

(45) Suffixation

a. intransitive suffix

/se s-e-w-šx+e/ → [sōšxe]

I I-pres-dyn-eat+intr, 'I am eating.'

b. dynamic suffix

/ø-y-e-e-w-λ+ə/ → [yólɪ]

3-3-dat-pres-prog-leap+dyn

'He is jumping (out of something).'

c. active /+he-/ (/he-/ 'enter')

/ø-q^oe-t^oə+s+he-γe-ś/ → [q^oet^oishás]

3-hor-down+sit+enter-past-aff

'He sat down.'

d. prolongation /é+te-/ (← /-t+e-/ 'stand-in')

/g^oete-r ø-y-e-s-p^ox^oé+te-γe-ś/ → [yesp^ox^oetas], [yesp^ox^oatás]

sword-abs 3-dir-dat-I-snatch+prolongation-past-aff

'I drew forth the sword.'

4.2.4. Verbal-compounding, and verb-stringing

Uncommon, but remarkable nonetheless, is verb-compounding (with only one set of indices) (46, a), and verb stringing (46, b), with the first verb in the infinitive form and with two sets of personal indices. Verb-linking is similar, but is a discourse effect (82).

(46) Verb compounding (a) or stringing (b)

a. /ø-ze-bêə-rə-[γ^oe+λ+ə]+[k^oyə]-γe-he-ś/ → [zebêəroγ^oeλik^oāhēs]

they- recip- middle- inst- [purpose+lie+dyn]+[exit]-past-pl-aff

'They scattered and took up positions lying down.'

b. /λeps e-r ø-y-ə-ś^oe-n ø-y-ə-γ^oetā-ž-γe-q^oəm / → [yis^oén yiy^ootízáq^oəm]

Tlepsh it-abs it-he-non.pr-know-inf it-he-non.pr-find-finally-past-aff

'Tlepsh was finally unable to discover it.'

4.3. Adjective formation

Even adjective formation is rich despite a substantial inventory of simple root forms. Adjectives are stressed metrically, as are nouns.

4.3.1. Adjective formation processes

Adjectives (47) can show derivational structure as well, being derived from a wide range of syntactic categories. Various patterns of compounding are exhibited (47, a – g), as well as suffixation (47, h) and prefixation (47, i).

(47) Some derived adjectives

a. N+Adj = Adj

/ne+f/

eye+rotten = 'blind'

b. N+Adj = Adj

/pé+êe/ → [pāêə]

nose+high = 'proud, haughty'

- c. N+V = Adj
/pe+[s+e]/ → [páse]
nose+[sit+on] = 'early'
- d. N+N = Adj
/ne+p'c'/
eye+lie = 'false'
- e. [N+afx_i]+[N+afx_i] = Adj
/[ʔe+[k'ə+e]]+[ʔe+[k'ə+e]]/ → [ʔò k'òlák'ò]
arm+move+intr+leg+move+intr = 'skillful'
- f. [N+N]+Adj = Adj
/[nek'ə+šhe]+pʎə/
[cheek+head]+red = 'red+cheeked'
(/ne+k'ə/ eye+slope = 'cheek')
- g. N+[index-V] = Adj
/šhe+[zə-f'ef']/
head (= 'self')+[who-be.pleased] = 'smug'
- h. N+sfx = Adj
/pseʎe+rey/
word+propensity = 'talkative'
- i. [afx]+[N+afx]
/mə+[deg'e+nše]/
not+[defect+without] = 'imperfect', 'not without defects'

4.3.2. Adverb formation

In contrast with the adjectives adverb formation (48) is largely by means of affixation. Note that (48, d) shows a derivational use of the instrumental, which unlike its inflectional case usage, here lacks the oblique /-m/, whether definite or not, and also attracts stress, forming /ā/ whenever possible (cf., the instrumental case usage in (23)).

Adverbs are stressed metrically, as are nouns and adjectives.

(48) Some derived adverbs

- a. Adj+afx = Adv
/f'əc'e+we/ → [f'ic'ōwo]
black+adv(erb).sfx = 'blackly'
- b. relative clause+afx = Adv
/[də-ze-pseʎe-we]+re/ → [dɪzepsáʎōre]
[we-recv-talk-pred]+adv = 'as we discussed among ourselves'
- c. rhyming [[PRO+afx_i]+[PRO+afx_i]+afx_i]
/[de+r]+[de+r]+w/ → [derderū]
[we+by]+[we+by]+adv = 'by ourselves'
- d. N+afx = Adv
/meʂ'é+k'e/ → [moʂ'ák'e]
day+instr = 'by day'
- e. afx+N = Adv
/yə+šhe/
dir(ction)+head = 'upwards' (general locus of action)

4.4. Counting and Quantification

4.4.1. Syntax of numerals

Numerals are suffixed at the end of a noun phrase as a last adjective (49). They are marked by a special connective and occupy the place of the plural suffix /-ha/. Such enumerated forms inflect as though they were referential.

(49) Numeral as last adjective

- /fəzə-deʎe-əy-p'ʎ' → /fɪzɪdəʂɪp'ʎ'
woman-beautiful-num(eral.connective)-four
'four beautiful women,'

4.4.2. Cardinals

Contrary to other members of its family which show a vigesimal system Kabardian shows a decimal one (50).

(50) Cardinal numerals

one	/zə/
two	/t'əw/, /t'ʔə/ (as a pair), /t'ə/ (in listing)
three	/sə/
four	/p'λ'ə/
five	/tχ'ə/
six	/xə/
seven	/blə/
eight	/yə/
nine	/by'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'λ'/
fifteen	/p's'ə-k'ə-tχ'/
sixteen	/p's'ə-k'ə-x/
seventeen	/p's'ə-k'ə-bl/
eighteen	/p's'ə-k'ə-y/
nineteen	/p's'ə-k'ə-by'/
twenty	/t'ew-s'/ double-ten (?), /t'əw p's'ə-we/ two ten-pred
twenty-one	/t'ews'-re zə-re/ twenty-and one-and
thirty	/sə-s'/ triple-ten, /sə p's'ə-we/ three ten-pred
forty	/p'λ'ə-s'/ four-ten, /p'λ'ə p's'ə-we/
fifty	/tχ'ə-s'/, /tχ'ə p's'ə-we/

sixty	/xə-s'/, /xə p's'ə-we/
seventy	/blə-s'/, /blə p's'ə-we/
eighty	/yə-s'/, /yə p's'ə-we/, /p's'e-y/ tenfold-eight
ninety	/by'ə-s'/, /by'ə p's'ə-we/
one-hundred	/se/
two-hundred	/sə-əy-t'/ → [sit'] hundred-num-two
one-thousand	/məyn/

4.4.3. Ordinals

The ordinals (51) show a genitive in *e*-grade and a suffix. In predicative position they also have a suffix *-rey*, for example, /ye-p'λ'é-ne/ → [yepλáne], /ye-p'λe-ne-ráy/ → [yepλenerí].

(51) Ordinals

first	/yé-pe/ → [yápe] gen-first (/pe/ 'nose, front') /ye-ze-e-ne/ gen-one-conn-ordinal
second	/ye-t'ew-ne/
third	/ye-s'é-ne/
fourth	/ye-p'λ'é-ne/
fifth	/ye-tχ'é-ne/
sixth	/ye-x'é-ne/
seventh	/ye-bl'é-ne/
eighth	/ye-y'é-ne/
ninth	/ye-by'é-ne/
tenth	/ye-p's'é-ne/
eleventh	/ye-p's'ə-k'ə-zé-ne/
twelfth	/ye-p's'ə-k'ə-t'ew-ne/

twentieth	/ye-t'ew-ś'é-ne/
thirtieth	/ye-še-ś'é-ne/
fortieth	/ye-p'λ'ə-ś'é-ne/
one-hundredth	/ye-śé-ne/

4.4.4. Fractions

The pattern for fractions follows that for ordinalism, (52).

(52) Fractions

- a. fractions
- one-half /t'ew-ne/
- one-third /še-e-ne/
- one-fourth /p'λ'e-e-ne/

4.4.5. Distributives

Distributives use a pronominal instrumental, /x-rə-x/ 'x-by-x', (53).

(53) Distributives

- one by one /zə-rə-z/
- two-by-two /t'ʔə-rə-t'/, /t'əw-rə-t'/
- three by three /śə-rə-ś/

4.4.6. Quantifiers

Like numerals, quantifiers usually follow the noun which they govern (54, a, b), though unusual analytical phrasing can also be used (54, c).

(54) Quantifier position

- a. /λ'ə-q'es ə-y-e-ś'ə-f/ → [yeś'əf]
man-each it-3-pres-do-able
'Each man can do it.' (general rule for any men)
- b. /λ'ə-ps(t)ew ə-y-e-ś'ə-f/ → [yeś'əf]
man-all it-3-pres-do-able
'All men can do it.' (general rule applied to the class of men)
- c. /sət (yə-)šxə-e-n-eh λ'ə-r ə/ → [(yi)šxənə λ'ir]
what who-eat+intr-fut(ure)-question man-abs be
'Each man will eat.'
lit, "What (the one) who eats is is a man."

5. Syntax

5.1. Ergativity

5.1.1. Case-marking and word order

The ergative nature of Kabardian implies that the external argument is in the absolutive ("nominative" in conventional Government and Binding or Minimalist terminology), but not in the sense of a positionally defined licensing of subject by a case marking (again as in GB or Minimalism), because the subject is always the first node off the inflectional phrase (I²) whether it is absolutive (as in intransitives) or oblique (as in causatives and transitives). Rather, the case marking appears to denote a fundamental breaking of symmetry (establishment of first argument and predicate as opposed to an undifferentiated cognition) in the predicate structure of ergative languages that is the inverse of that seen in the more usual nominative – accusative languages (Colarusso 2005).

Word order is S (IO) (DO) V.

(55) Ergative syntax

a. intransitive

/q^oe-he-r me-e-šxə+e-he-r/ → [mášxəfær]

pig-pl-abs 3-pres-eat+intr-pl-pres

'The pigs are eating.'

b. transitive (singular absolutive)

/q^oe-he-m g^oeʒ ø-y-he-e-šxə/ → [yášxɪ]

pig-pl-obl wheat(abs) 3-3-pl-pres-eat

'The pigs are eating the wheat.'

c. transitive (plural absolutive)

/q^oe-m de-šx^oə-he-r ø-y-e-šxə-ħə-he/ → [yešxəħəfia]

pig-obl nut-big-pl-abs 3-it-pres-eat-around-pl

'The pig is eating the walnuts all over (the ground).'

5.1.2. Symmetry Breaking

Ergative languages seem to establish the primary or "kernel" argument (not necessarily external argument, which seems to be determined rather by discourse as a subject) apart from all others because of a sentential semantic priority of fulfilling the transitivity of the verb. Thus, the absolutive is the first bifurcation into argument – predicate of the cognitive unit of the utterance. In the case of intransitives, this is the subject, hence this subject is marked by what is usually called the absolutive case. In transitives, the transitive fulfillment is realized in the direct object, which again bears the absolutive. Both absolutives are what might be termed the "telos" or "purpose" of the action. The subject is then marked by a special ergative case, which in Kabardian coincides with the oblique used in such constructions as the genitive or postpositional. Inversely, nominative – accusative languages seem to break their kernel symmetry to denote the initiator or agent of a verb, whether it is transitive or not, thereby marking subjects (licensing them) with the same case or treating identically in morphology.

5.1.3. PTF, the priority of transitive fulfillment

The priority of transitive fulfillment (PTF) can also be manifested in the language by other processes, which are also hallmarks of ergativity and make possible the characterization of languages without case as still being ergative, such as Kabardian's sisters, Abkhaz and Abaza (West Circassian and Ubykh have case).

5.1.4. Animacy hierarchy

Kabardian is particularly rich in showing all the other features of ergativity. The PTF can force a transitive "chain" (<agent, patient>) by which subject and object both must fit semantic demands of initiator and purpose of a verb. The result is that subjects must be more active (56). This explains the seemingly unrelated phenomenon that ergative languages frequently show animacy hierarchies which determine a preponderance of their syntax and much of their morphology, whereas nominative – accusative languages rarely do, making only marginal use of such hierarchies. We can now see how ergative languages truly are "ergative," in the original sense of requiring transitives that depict the effects of a high animacy agent.

(56) Low animacy subject of a transitive

a. normal inflection (S O V), pragmatically odd (*)

(*)/psə-m s'eλε-r ø-y-ə-theλε-ye-ś/ → [yithελάś]

water-obl youth-abs him-it-non.pr-drown-past-aff

'The water drowned the youth.'

b. deictic inflection (O S V), with pleonastic deictic verbal inflection

/s'eλε-r psə-m ø-ə-śə-y-ə-theλε-ye-ś/ → [sithελάś]

youth-abs water-obl him-it-deixis-it-non.pr-drown-past-aff

'The water drowned the youth.' or 'The youth was drowned in the water.'

5.1.5. Switch reference

In Kabardian co-referential subjects are subject to deletion (reduction to a governed *pro*) (Haegeman 1994, p. 453) just as in a nominative accusative language (58, a). When the referent of a subject changes in a discourse, the new subject is marked by a switch in pronoun to a distant deictic form (58, b). A simple resumptive pronoun of unmarked deixis is not acceptable (58, c). This switching appears to reflect the fact that the new subject reflects a new symmetry breaking in the kernel bifurcation.

(58) Switch reference

- a. /λ'ə-m hɛ-r ø-q'e-y-ə-λaγ°-ye-əy *pro* ø-q'e-y-ə-z-ye-ś/ → [q'ɪλaγ'ɪ q'izās]
 man-obl dog-abs it-hor-he-non.pr-see-past-and *pro*(he) he-hor-dir-go.off-
 past-aff
 'The man saw the dog and (he) ran away.'
- b. /λ'ə-m hɛ-r ø-q'e-y-ə-λaγ°-ye-əy mə-r q'e-y-ə-z-ye-ś/ → [q'ɪλaγ'ɪ mə-r q'izās]
 man-obl dog-abs it-hor-he-non.pr-see-past-and it.dist-abs it-hor-dir-go.off-
 past-aff
 'The man saw the dog and it ran away.'
- c. */λ'ə-m hɛ-r ø-q'e-y-ə-λaγ°-ye-əy e-r q'e-y-ə-z-ye-ś/ → [q'ɪλaγ'ɪ ar q'izās]
 man-obl dog-abs it-hor-he-non.pr-see-past-and it-abs it-hor-dir-go.off-
 'The man saw the dog and it fled.'

5.1.6. Passives

Because the subject of Kabardian is the same entity as a subject in a nominative – accusative language it is possible under discourse demands to produce a passive sentence, showing similar sorts of auxiliary verb and by-phrase familiar form English or German, say. These demote the logical subject, placing it in a by-phrases in the instrumental, with the verb taking a past tense suffix and an auxiliary, /-x'ə-/ '(to) happen', playing the role of 'be' in English, (59, b). Positioning this instrumental before the verb seems to restrict its reference (59, c). Transitivity remains uncompromised.

(59) Passivization

- a. underlying active ergative
 /λ'ə-m wəne-r ø-y-e-ś'ə/ → [yés'ɪ]
 man-obl house-abs 3(house)-3(man)-pres-build
 'The man is building the house.'
- b. periphrastic passive without movement
 /λ'ə-m-k''e wəne-r ø-ś'ə-ye me-e-x'ə/ → [ś'a məx']
 man-obl-inst house-abs 3(house)-build-past 3-pres-happen
 'The house is being built by the man.'
- c. preverbal position of agentive noun (restricted referent)
 /wəne-r λ'ə-m-k''e ø-ś'ə-ye me-e-x'ə/ → [ś'a məx']
 house-abs man-obl-inst 3(house)-build-past 3-pres-happen
 'The house is being built by the man (alone).'

5.1.7. Di-transitives

Transitivity can be enhanced in three place verbs (di-transitives) (60, a) by rightward shifting the indirect object to preverbal position (60, b) just as in the English glosses. The shifted IO still bears oblique case, so that the construction is not strictly speaking a di-transitive as is its correlate in English.

(60) Di-transitive indirect object promotion

- a. low transitivity 3-place verb (S IO DO V)
 /se ś'eλe-he-m tɪə-λ-he-r ø-y-he-e-s-t-ye-he-ś/ → [yāstāfiés]
 I youth-pl-obl book-pl-abs 3-3-pl-dat-I-give-past-pl-aff
 'I gave the books to the youths.' ['I handed the books out to the youths.']
- b. high transitivity 3-place verb with promoted IO (S DO IO V)
 /se tɪə-λ-he-r ś'eλe-he-m ø-y-he-e-s-t-ye-he-ś/ → [yāstāfiés]
 I book-pl-abs youth-pl-obl 3-3-pl-dat-I-give-past-pl-aff
 'I gave the youths the books [to keep].'

5.1.8. Anti-ergatives

Reduction of transitivity can be achieved through a variety of processes (see Polinsky 1989 for some examples). Anti-ergatives (traditionally termed “anti-passives”) are a frequently occurring process with an invariant pattern for some verbs (61, a) and an optional means of object demotion for others (61, b). They reduce the priority of transitive fulfillment and are an integral part of ergativity in Kabardian.

(61) Anti-ergatives

a. invariant

/se λ'ə-m s-y-e-wə+e-ye-ś/ → [sēwés]

I man-obl I-him-dat-hit+at-past-aff

'I hit the man.'

b. object demotion

(i) transitive (without aspect in third person present)

/e-bə tʰəλ-ər ø-y-e-g'ə/ → [yég'ɪ]

he-obl book-abs it-he-pres-read

'He is studying the book.'

(ii) intransitive (with aspect in third person present)

/e-r tʰəλ-əm ø-y-e-e-w-g'ə+e/ → [yóg'ɛ]

he-abs book-obl he-it-dat-pres-prog-read+intr

'He is reading the book.'

5.1.9. Causatives

Subject demotion can take place in causatives (di-agentives), where a higher subject emerges (62, b) and the original subject is inflected as an indirect object, showing a dative.

(62) Causatives (di-agentives)

a. simple transitive (S O o-s-V)

/še+e+k''e-m məše-r ø-y-ə-λaγ'ə-ye-ś/ → [yilāγ'ás]

hunt+conn+agent-obl bear-abs it-he-non.pr-see-past-aff

'The hunter saw the bear.'

b. causative (Ag S/IO O o-io-ag-V)

/se še+e+k''e-m məše-r ø-y-e-s-ye-λaγ'ə-ye-ś/ → [yezγeλāγ'ás]

I hunt+conn+agent-obl bear-abs it-him-dat-I-caus-see-past-aff

'I showed the bear to the hunter.'

5.1.10. Transitivity reduction of a “strong” di-transitive

When a di-transitive (§6.1.1.7) with strong transitivity, that is, transitivity extend to its IO (63, a) is reduced transitivity, the result is an “internal” anti-ergative within a causative (63, b). The agent is a causative, the original IO becomes a demoted subject (formally still an IO), as in (63, b), while the O is now overtly an IO. In terms of verbal inflection the old O is now reflected by an IO index, /-y-e-/.

(63) Anti-ergative of a di-transitive verb

a. di-transitive (S IO O V)

/se ś'eλe-he-m tʰə-ye ø-y-he-e-s-e-w-g'ə/ → [yāzóg'ɪ]

I youth-pl-obl read-abstract 3-3-pl-dat-I-pres-prog-teach

'I teach the youths literature.'

b. demoted di-transitive (Ag S/IO IO V)

/se ś'eλe-he-r tʰə-ye-ø ø-y-e-s-e-ye-g'ə+e-he/ → [yēzeγeg'áfia]

I youth-pl-abs read-abstract-obl.indef 3(them)-it-dat-I-pres-caus-read+intr-pl

'I teach literature to the youths.' (*lit.* "I make the students read at literature.")

5.1.11. Subject demotion in aversive forms

Subject demotion can also take place in aversive forms where the subject index on the verb moves up to an adverbial slot (64, c) and the ability suffix /-fə-/ is lost. The sense is one of aversion as opposed to simple inability (64, b).

(64) Subject demotion in aversive forms

a. ability

/se s'ə-m zəŋ-ər ø-ø-x̄-e-s-s+e-zə-fə-ye-ś/ → [x̄æséséžáfás]

I ground-obl tree-abs it(tree)-it(ground)-mass-I-sit+in-again-able-past-aff

'I was able to plant the tree back in the ground again.'

b. inability

/se s'ə-m zəŋ-ər ø-ø-x̄-e-s-s+e-zə-fə-ye-q'əní/ → [x̄æséséžéfáq'əm]

I ground-obl tree-abs it(tree)-it(ground)-mass-I-sit+in-again-able-past-not

'I was unable to plant the tree back in the ground again.'

c. aversive with adverbial subject inflection

/se s'ə-m zəŋ-ər ø-s-x̄-ø-x̄-e-...-s+e-zə-ye-q'm/ → [s̄x̄'úx̄éséžáq'em]

I ground-obl tree-abs 3(tree)-me-for-3(ground)-mass-dat-(I)-sit+in-again

-past-not

'I was unwilling to plant the tree back in the ground again.'

5.1.12. Oblique (logical) subjects

Such demoted subjects form a continuum of forms with "oblique" (logical) subjects involving dative of perception (65, a), oblique of psychological condition (65, b), genitive of belief (65, c), or of possession (65, d), or obliques of moral obligation (65, e), or of attribute (65, f), or of the hortative (65, g), the last much like the demoted subject of the older English "Fare thee well!" (Note as well the demoted subject in (37, h).) In all these the subject, while animate, lacks true volition in the execution of the verbal action, ranging from an experiencer (59, a) to a mere pawn in the hands of providence

(65, g).

(65) Oblique (logical) subjects

a. perception

/yə-meq'e-r ø-q'e-s-e-ʔə-n-w-ś/ → [q'ezoʔ'múś]

his-sound-abs 3-hor-me-dat-hear-fur-def-aff

'I shall hear his (her) voice.'

b. oblique of psychological condition

/e-s̄x̄ə+e-r λ'ə-m ø-ø-yə-yə-q''-n-w-ś/ → [yiriq''unúś]

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

'The man will be satisfied with the meal.'

c. genitive of belief

/fəz-m p̄x̄ešheməśhe-pstew-r ø-y-ə-wəz yə-ye ø-s-yə-q'ə-ye-ś/

→ [yiwuz yá s̄ig'ás]

woman-obl fruit-all-abs 3-3-non.pr-peel-past 3-my-gen-heart-wears-aff

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

d. possession

/λ'ə-m zə-p̄x̄' ø-ø-yə-ʔe-ś/ → [yí'eś]

man-obl one-daughter 3(daughter)-3(man)-gen-belong-aff

'The man has one daughter.'

e. oblique of moral obligation

/q''eže-m sə-q'e-ø-y-e-zə-n ø-s-x̄'e-y/ → [səq'éz m s̄x̄'ě]

village-obl I-hor-3-dir-dat-go off-inf 3-me-for-be.proper

'I must leave the village.'

f. attribute

/də-yə-yə-the-ʔə-x̄'e+d-ś/ → [dərithoʔ'u x̄'édś]

we-container-dir-god-before-sink+down-aff

'We are the devotees of a god.'

g. hortative

/d-e-re-k''e/ → [derók''(o)]

we-dat-instr-come

'Let us come!' or 'Would that we come!'

5.2. Split anaphors

One of the most unusual features of Kabardian syntax is its treatment of anaphors (reflexives and reciprocals). While these are bound in their governing category, which is the simple sentence, they are treated differently, reflexives being ergative while reciprocals are anti-ergative. Such a difference in behavior is not supposed to occur, at least according to such current theories as Government and Binding or the Minimalist Program. There is no “room” for this phenomenon in either theory (Colarusso 2005).

5.2.1. Reflexives (ergative)

There is both a reflexive pronoun, /yezə-r/, and a reflexive verbal index /z/. Reflexives retain transitivity (66, a)(Colarusso 1996). Two coreferential reflexives can occur in one verb (66, b). A causative agent may control the reflexive of an indirect object (66, c). The demoted subject may do so also, but then the reflexive suffix /-ž-/ ‘back’, seen in simple transitives, must reappear (66, d) with third person governors.

(66) Reflexives

a. simple

/ɣʰəgʰe-m-kʰe e-bə yezə-r z-y-ə-λeyʰə-ž-ye-ś/ → [ziλayʰizʰās]

mirror-obl-inst 3-obl self-abs self-3-non.pr-see-back-past-aff

‘He saw himself with a mirror.’

b. double reflexive (one argument, one adjunct)

/e-bə xʰebzə-w zə-qʰə-z-fʰe-y-e-wə+sʰə-ž/ → [zəqʰizfʰewusʰiz]

3-obl strong-adv self(argument)-hor-self(adjunct)-good-3-pres-val+know

-back

‘He thinks too much of himself.’

c. of causative agent

/λʰə-mᵢ fəz-mᵢ yezə-mᵢ e-rₖ øₖ-zᵢ-e-r-e-yᵢ-e-yᵢ-ə-ye-tə-ye-ś/ → [zerɛfᵢyetās]

the man-oblᵢ the woman-oblᵢ self-oblᵢ it-absₖ

itₖ-selfᵢ-dat-inst-dat-herᵢ-dat-heᵢ-non.pr-caus-give-past-aff

‘The manᵢ made the womanᵢ give itₖ to himselfᵢ.’

d. of demoted subject of a causative

/λʰə-mᵢ fəz-mᵢ yezə-mᵢ e-rₖ øₖ-zᵢ-e-r-e-yᵢ-e-yᵢ-ə-ye-tə-žə-ye-ś/

→ [zerɛfᵢyetizʰās]

man-oblᵢ woman-oblᵢ self-oblᵢ it-absₖ

itₖ-selfᵢ-dat-inst-herᵢ-dat-heᵢ-non.pr-caus-give-back-past

‘The manᵢ made the womanᵢ give itₖ (back) to herᵢ/self.’

5.2.2. Reciprocals (anti-ergative)

Reciprocals, by contrast to reflexives, cause a shift into an intransitive pattern both syntactically and morphologically (67, a, c)(Colarusso 1996). Remarkably, three place verbs (67, d) show causative reciprocals that inflect as though they were four place causative verbs (67, e) with the now agentive subject shifted to an adverbial or deictic-like slot, falling one slot short of becoming a “full” anti-ergative. In (67, e) a morphological trace is denoted by *m*. Note the occurrence of the causative verbal prefix in (67, e), where no causative sense is implied. This would indicate that the causative prefix (see §3.6.2. (32, d, f), and §5.1.9), is merely the overt trace of an extra argument, and has no hidden origin from a matrix clause of any sort.

(67) Reciprocals and index scrambling

a. two-place transitive

/λʰə-he-m de də-qʰe-y-he-ə-λayʰ-ye-ś/ → [dəqʰālāyʰās]

man-pl-obl us us-hor-3-pl-non.pr-see-past-aff

‘The men saw us.’

b. two-place transitive with overt reciprocal pronouns (anti-ergative structure)

/zə-r zə-m ø-qʰə-ze-rə-λayʰ-ž-ye-he-ś/ → [qʰizerɪlāyʰizʰāheś]

one-abs one-obl 3.pl-hor-recip-instr-see-back-past-pl-aff

‘They saw one another.’

- c. two-place reciprocal (anti-ergative)

/ø-q'ə-zε-rə-λaγ°-γε-he-ś/ → [q'izεriλ aγ'āfiās]

3.pl-hor-recip-instr-see-past-pl-aff

'They saw one another.'

- d. three-place transitive

/e-λ'ə-he-m_i mə-λ'ə-he-m_j e-r_k ø_k-q'ə-y-he_j-e-y-he_i-ə-tə-žə-γe-ś/

→ [q'aratizās]

thet-man-pl-obl_i this-man-pl-obl_j it-abs_k it_k-hor-3-pl_j-dat-3-pl_i-non.pr-give-

back-past-aff

'Those men_i gave it_k back to these men_j.'

- e. causative four-place reciprocal of a three-place transitive with shifted subject index

/λ'ə-he-m e-r ø-q'ə-y-he-ze-r-e-m-e-γe-tə-žə-γe-ś/ → [q'azæraγetizās]

man-pl-obl it-abs it-hor-3-pl-recip-instr-dat-(3-pl-trace)-pres-caus-give-

back-past-aff

'The men gave it back to one another.'

5.3. Relative clauses

5.3.1. Restrictive relatives

Relative clauses usually precede their governing heads (68, a), but can take a predicative ending if postposed (68, b). The verb shows a special index, /-zə-/ for head nouns that have an oblique role in their sentence (68, a, b), and an optional /yə-/ for those with an absolutive role (68, c). As in many ergative languages these last (68, c) can be reduced to a postposed adjectival role pendant on the absolutive, especially in casual speech (68, d). Such a reduced "pendant relative" clause may be seen as narrowing the referent for the absolutive noun. These pendant relatives pattern at the syntactic level exactly as the Kabardian verb does at the morphological one, (external argument)-specifier(= internal arguments), with the head noun merely replacing the absolutive (external argument). If the deictic role is relativized, then Kabardian

uniquely shows an uninflected reduced relative with permansive (customary) sense (68,

e). All of these clauses have a restrictive sense.

(68) Restrictive relative clauses

- a. oblique role (ergative subject)

/λə ø-q'e-zə_i-šxə-γe λ'ə-r_i/ → [q'ezisxā λ'ər]

meat it-hor-who_i-eat-past man-abs_i

'the man who ate meat'

- b. postposed (ergative subject)

/λ'ə-r_i λə ø-q'e-zə_i-šxə-γe-we/ → [q'ezisxāwo]

man-abs_i meat it-hor-who_i-eat-past-pred

'the man who ate meat'

- c. absolutive role (absolutive subject)

/λ'ə-m (yə_j)q'e-y-ə-šxə-γe λə-r_j/ → [(yi)q'isxā λər]

man-obl (which_j)-hor-he-non.pr-eat-past meat-abs_j

'the meat which the man ate'

- d. reduced absolutive

/λə-q'e-y-ə-šxə-γe-r/ → [λəq'isxār]

meat-hor-he-non.pr-eat-past-abs

'the meat which he ate'

- e. uninflected reduced relative with deictic role, 'where'

/ø-śə-λeže q'eλe-r/ → [śilāže q'āλer]

(where-)deixis-work city-abs

'the city where he works'

5.3.2. Non-restrictive relatives clause

Postposed relative clauses which lack restrictive sense exhibit an adverbial oblique ending /-m/. As (69) shows, they are sentence final and drag their head noun along with them to a post verbal position.

(69) Postposed non-restrictive relative (PRO V N(S))

/de də-θ-də-ħe-ye-s

[q°e-k°əwə-k°əf°ə-m

[re+w+e+le+w+e-nše šəné+γ°e-r θ-zə-šhe-šə-t-m]]/

we we-its-opening-enter-past-aff

[valley-deep-dark-obl

[arm+strike+dat+leg+strike+dat-without

fear+companion-abs 3-which-head-deixis-stand-obl]]

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

5.3.3. Headless relatives

The distinctive nature of the relative verbal inflection permits the language to have headless relatives (70). Those with an adverbial sense (70, a, b) are much like English, while those with a nominal one (70, c) diverge.

(70) Headless relatives

a. /də-z-e-r-e-ze-r-e-λaγ°-ye-(re-)m θ-λ'e-ye-š/

→ [dɪzɛrɛzɛrɛλaγ°ā(re)m λ'ās]

we-when-dat-inst-dat-recip-inst-dat-see-past-(ger(und))-obl he-die-past-aff

'He has died since (the time when) we last saw one another.'

b. /sə-z-de-šə-ʔe-ye-m θ-f'ə-š/ → [sɪzdešɪʔām f'is]

I-where-flat (area)-deixis-be-past-adv it-good-aff

'There, (at the spot) where I was, is good.'

c. /λə-r θ-zə-šə-ye-g°ere-(re)r θ-λ'e-ye-š/ → [zɪššāg°ere(re)r λ'ās]

meat-abs it-who-eat-past-reference-(ger-)abs he-die-past-aff

'(The one) who ate the meat died.'

5.3.4. Relative clauses and the overlap of control categories (cross-over violations)

One universal constraint on syntax is a prohibition against cross-over violations (Postal 1971), or what today would be called a conflict or overlap between two domains of control, so that two chains headed by overt words, and containing pronouns or traces, overlap (Haegemann 1994, pp. 310, 348-350). Such violations produce sentences that are at best substandard syntactically, though usually comprehensible semantically. The form in English in (71) has two overlapping control chains: <a song, which, it>, and <how, wh>, with overlapping astructure <a song, which, <how, it > wh>.

(70) Overlapping control chains in English (an old quote from the Beatles)

*He sang <a song₁ which₁ I forget <how₂ it₁> goes wh₂>.

Kabardian is no exception to this constraint. The direct Kabardian equivalent (71, a) of the English in (70) (Colarusso 1992, p. 86) is unacceptable just as the English is and for much the same reason: there has been a violation of referential indexing by a crossing over, or overlap of control. For clarity one chain is marked <... >, while the other is marked ≤ ... ≥. The overlapping chains are (head at the right, with /θ-/ not counting): <t₁, yə₁, z₁, yə₁, zə-wered-g°ere-r₁> (θ₁>), and *≤wh₂, zere₂, déne-we₂>, with overlap:

*≤wh₂ <t₁, yə₁, zere₂ z₁, déne-we₂> yə₁, zə-wered-g°ere-r₁> (θ₁>).

In (71, b), however, the Kabardian has dropped the overt relative index, thus producing the preferred form for relative clause inflexion of absolutive nouns. This variant is acceptable, if a bit awkward, because no apparent indexing violation has occurred. Note too that the cross-over or overlap of "morphological chains" between oblique verbal indices, between 'by what/how,' /-zere₂-/ ← /-z+e+r+e-/ what+dat+instr+dat, and 'in self,' /-z₁-e-/ self-in, does not cause a violation in (71, b). If one notices that in the overlap there is nothing overt, then the zero absolutive relative must be the key to the acceptability of (71, b): *≤wh₂ <t₁, θ₁, zere₂ z₁, déne-we₂> θ₁, zə-wered-g°ere-r₁> (θ₁>)

(71) Kabardian variants

- a. Form with /yə-/, overt relative indices for the absolutive

*≤wh₂ < t₁ <yə₁-≤zere₂-<z₁-e-λe-λ+he-ye-we déne-we₂>
≤(how)₂ <(song)₁ <which₁-≤how₂-<self₁-dat-mass-lie+active-past-pred-how-adv₂>

<yə₁-s-sə-g°ə+pše-ž-ye-we <zə-wered-g°ere-r₁> ø₁>ž-yə-?e-ye-ś
which₁-me-deixis-heart+forget-past-pred one-song-certain-abs 3-again-3-say-
past-aff

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

(*[yəzerezeλhāwe dānewe yəśəg°əpšéžāwe zəwerédg°erer žəy?áś])

- b. Form with zero-relative indices in the absolutive

≤wh₂ < t₁ <ø₁-≤zere₂-<z₁-e-λe-λ+ha-aγ-wa daana-wa₂>
≤(how)₂ <(song)₁ <which₁-≤how₂-<self₁-dat-mass-lie+active-past comp-how₂>

<ø₁-s-sə-g°ə+pše-ž-ye-we <zə-wered-g°ere-r₁> ø₁>ž-yə-?e-ye-ś
which₁-me-deixis-heart+forget-past-pred one-song-certain-abs 3-again-3-say-
past-aff

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

([zerezeλhāwe dānewe śəg°əpšéžāwe zəwerédg°erer žəy?áś])

The obvious interpretation is that the zero morphemes do not exist and that the overlapping control chains in (70) and (71, a) do not arise. This would imply that empty categories and traces do not exist (strong postulate), or that they do not carry reference (weak postulate). This would also explain why the rightmost zero in the chain controlled by "a song" does not serve as a head. Instead of a zero morpheme one can have a "default reading" of a form: "If nothing occupies a slot, then it has third person force. Further specification overrides the default value." This is similar to Pesetsky's

cascade principle (1995). Traces and zeros may exist in that they denote slots where default interpretations are invoked. The failure of oblique indices to trigger control problems may also be a reflection of the privileged role of the absolutive in this ergative language.

5.4. Embedded clauses

5.4.1. Embedded clauses

Embedded clauses also precede their matrix verb (Colarusso 1992, pp. 185-189).

5.4.1.1. Embedded object and adverbial clauses

They can exhibit a simple infinitive (72, a), or a complementizer (72, b). They can be obliquely embedded by a geometric index on their matrix verb (72, c). Indirect questions, (72, d), can incorporate their complementizers, /-z-λ°e-/, and act like the headless relatives in (70). There is a special complementizer for indirect discourse, /-me/, homophonous with the adverbial complementizer 'if', (72, e, f). There is a special complementizer of purpose, /-k°e/, (72, g), homophonous with the verb 'to go, move.'

(72) Embedded object and adverbial clauses

- a. infinitive

/e-bə, [pro, tλəλ-əm ø-y-e-g°+e-n] ø-ś°e-y-ə-z+e-ye-ś/ → [yég°en ś°izás]
he-obl [he book-obl he-it-dat-call+dat-inf] 3-outward-he-non.pr-throw+dat-
past-aff

'He began to read (it).'

- b. optional infinitive plus complementizer

/se we [t λə-r ø-s-šxə-(n-)we] ø-w-žə-s-?e-ye-ś/ → [sšxí(n)wo bžis?ás]
I you [pro meat-abs it(meat)-I-eat-inf-pred] it-you-back-say-past-aff

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

c. special complementizer for indirect discourse (variant of the preceding)

/se we [t λə-r ø-s-šxə-ye-me] ø-w-žə-s-?e-ye-š/ → [sšxámə bžis?ás]
 I you [pro meat-abs it(meat)-I-eat-past-compl] it-you-back-say-past-aff
 'I said to you that I ate the meat.'

d. conditional (adverbial) embedding

/[we λə ø-w-šxə-še-me] (w-)q'e-s-de-k"e/ → [pšxásəme q'ezdók"]
 [you meat it-you-eat-sff-if] you.imp-hor-me-with-come
 'If you eat meat, come with me!'

e. oblique embedding

/e-r [t e-bə ø-y-ə-txə-(n-)we] ø-ø-xe-t-ye-š/ → [yitxí(n)wo xətás]
 he-abs [(3-obl) (3-abs) 3-3-non.pr-write-(inf)-pred] 3(S)-3-mass-stand-past-aff
 'He tried to write (it).' (lit. 'He stood in it to write it.')

f. indirect questions with incorporated complementizer

/[zə-z-x"e-w-ye-wəve+?e-ye-re-r] ø-s-e-w-š'ə/ → [zizx"obyewuvə?árer sós'i]
 [self-what-for-you-caus-stop+here-past-ger-abs] 3-I-pres-prog-know
 'I know why you stopped here.'

g. complementizer of purpose

/[ø-ø-λə-x"e-ye-he-k"e] ø-y-e-z-ye-he-š/ → [λox"áfioK"o yežáfheš]
 [they-him-after-happen-past-pl-in.order.to] he-dir-dat-go-past-pl-aff
 'They set off in order to follow him.'

5.4.1.2. Embedded sentential subjects

Sentential subjects occur with matrix verbs that qualify the action, "modal verbs," such as 'to happen, be possible' (73, a), 'to befall' (73, b), 'to be necessary, needed' (73, c), 'should not' (73, d), with a /-we/ complementizer. Such subjects are reflected by a third person intransitive singular index, 'it.' The embedded verb is usually in the infinitive. A common formation is to shift the embedded subject (73, e), when it lacks an overt complementizer to a matrix form and to reduce the matrix verb (usually one of judgment or perception with the logical subject in the oblique) to an

adverbial phrase (73, ef) (Colarusso 1992, pp. 185-186).

(73) Sentential subjects with "modal verbs"

a. /[λ"ə-m λə-pstew-ər ø-q'e-y-e-šxə-q"e-ne] me-e-x"/ → [q' ēšxóq"ún mox"]
 man-obl meat-all-abs it-hor-he-pres-eat-great.excess-inf

3.intrans-pres-happen

'It is possible that the man (is eating/ate) all the meat.'

b. /[dəy"ə-z-ər s-yə-wəžə-m ø-q'e-s-λe-k"e-ne] ø-s-š-e-x"-ye-š/ →

[q'esλok"en ssox"ás]

thief-old-abs my-poss-trace-obl it-hor-me-after-go-inf

it-me-deixis-to-happen-past-aff

'It befell me that the wolf was on my trail.'

c. /[se s-e-šx+e-ne] ø-péye/ → [sešxén páye]

I I-pres-eat+intrans-inf it-be.necessary

'I have to eat (now).'

d. /[yə-g"ə se s-e-mə-šx+e-we] ø-šə-t-š/ → [semišxowe šitš]

gen-now I I-pres-not-eat+intrans-pred it-deixis-stand-aff

'I should not eat now.'

e. embedded sentential subject

/[e-r ø-q'e-k"ə+e-žə-eγ] ø-s-yə-g"ə-ye-š/ → [q'ok"εžáf šig"uyés]

[3-abs 3-hor-move+int-again-past] 3-my-gen-heart-wears-aff

'I believe that he has come back.'

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

f. preferred adverbial form of the preceding

/[ø-q"ə-z-e-rə-s-f'e-š'ə-m-k"e] e-r ø-q'e-k"ə+e-žə-ye-š/ → [q'ok"εžáfš]

[3-hor-how-dat-inst-me-despite-know-obl-inst]

he-abs he-hor-move+intrback-past-aff

'I believe that he has come back.'

(lit. 'As it seems to me, he has come back.')

5.4.2. Postposed embedded clauses

Embedded clauses can be extracted and postposed (74), showing an obligatory sequence of both infinitive and complementizer, /-n-we/ (74, b).

(74) Postposed embedded clauses

a. regular order

/se meʒə-m [merek^{te} ø-q^e-s-šəpə-n(e-we)]sə-k^{te}+e-ye-š/
 → [q^{te}esšepim(owe) suk^{te}šš]

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 embedding

/se meʒə-m sə-k^{te}+e-ye-š [merek^{te} ø-q^e-s-šəpə-ne-we]/

I forest-obl I-move+intr-past-aff [berries 3-hor-I-pick-inf-pred]
 'I went into the forest to pick berries.'

5.5. Verb-chaining with generic object

5.5.1. Copying of [+generic] of the absolutive onto the verb

A highly unusual feature of Circassian seen in Kabardian is verb raising out of an embedded clause when the direct object of that embedding is generic, itself having been incorporated onto the embedded verb (75, a). The result is a long noun-verb-verb form with only one inflection, immediately after the incorporated noun (77, b). This is an ergative phenomenon since it is sensitive to the noun in the absolutive (which for generics is /-ø/). This is one of three processes in which the verb appears to copy or reflect certain features of the absolutive noun (kernel symmetry breaking), the others being plurality (78) and speaker kinship (39, c).

(77) Chaining of a generic verb (verb with a generic object)

a. embedded form

/λ^{te}ə-m [t [λə]-y-ə-ššə-n] ø-y-ə-f^{te}ef^{te}-ye-š/ → [λššim yif^{te}ef^{te}šš]
 man-obl [*trace* meat it-he-non.pr-eat-inf] 3-he-non.pr-want-past-aff

'The man wanted to eat meat.'

b. raised form

/λ^{te}ə-m [[λə]-y-ə-ššə]-f^{te}ef^{te}-ye-š/ → [λššim f^{te}ef^{te}šš]

man-obl [[meat]-he-non.pr-eat]-want-past-aff

'The man wanted to eat meat.'

5.5.2. Plural copying of the absolutive onto the verb

In this regard the verb seems to copy the generic feature of the noun in the absolutive much as it does the plurality of that same noun (78), though the latter is an overt suffix. These two processes are further examples of the verbs sensitivity to the absolutive noun, which can also be the focus of social or kinship features (§3.6.8, (39, c)).

(78) Plural copying

a. ergative

/de š^{te}éle-m e-r ø-q^{te}-ø-ž-d-ʔe-ye-š/ → [q^{te}ižit^{te}šš]

we youth-obl it-abs it-hor-him-back.to-we-say-past-aff

'We said that to the youth.'

b. ergative

/de š^{te}éle-m e-he-r ø-q^{te}-ø-ž-d-ʔe-ye-he-š/ → [q^{te}ižit^{te}ššieš]

we youth-obl it-pl-abs it-hor-him-back.to-we-say-past-pl-aff

'We said those things to the youth.'

c. anti-ergative

/λ^{te}ə-r š^{te}éle-he-m ø-q^{te}-ø-he-t-y-e-pseλ-ħ-ye-š/ → [q^{te}ātēpseλəħšš]

man-abs youth-pl-obl he-hor-3-pl-surf(ace)-dir-dat-talk-around-past-aff

'The man spoke about the youths.'

d. anti-ergative

/λ^{te}ə-he-r š^{te}éle-m ø-q^{te}-ø-t-y-e-pseλ-ħ-ye-he-š/ → [q^{te}itēpseλəħššiaš]

man-pl-abs youth-obl he-hor-him-surf(ace)-dir-dat-talk-around-past-aff

'The men spoke about the youth.'

5.6. Rightward movement

Moving an element leftward for topicalization (contrasting) was seen in (40, c). Most movement, however, is to the right. Such rightward movement was seen in periphrastic quantification (51, c). It is also employed optionally in question forms (79, b), which are opposed to more "casual" questions in which no movement has taken place, (79, a). These appear to be clefted since they require a clefted answer (79, c). Such movement appears to be unbounded (79, d).

(79) Rightward wh-questions and clefted answers

a. no movement

/xət-m λə-r θ-q'e-zə-šxə-eγ/ → [q'ezɪšxā]

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

'Who ate the meat?'

b. rightward movement in a question

/λə-r θ-q'e-zə-šxə-γe-r xət θ/ → [q'ezɪšxār xit]

meat-abs 3-hor-who-eat-past-ger who be

'Who ate the meat?' (lit., 'Who was it that ate the meat?')

c. rightward movement in a clefted answer

/λə-r θ-q'e-zə-šxə-γe-r λ'ə-r θ/ → [q'ezɪšxār λ'ir]

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.')

d. unbounded rightward movement in a question

/e-bə λə-r θ-q'e-zə-šxə-γe-me θ-zə-y-ə-ʔe-γe-r xət erə-γe / → [Ziʔār xit ārā]

3-obl meat-abs 3-hor-who-eat-past-if 3-back-3-non.pr-say-past-ger who

be-past

'Who did he say ate the meat?' (lit., 'Who was it that he said ate the meat?')

6. Discourse

In discourse clausal sequence is often as it is in English, though it can be the inverse (80). Discourse can also generate certain phenomena of coordination (81). A run-on effect can be observed where tenses are suppressed except in the last verb (82).

6.1. Causal sequences

For hypothetical conditional (80, a) two sentential clauses are used, the 'if' clause ending in an 'if' complementizer, /-me/. For phrases that are linked with one as a cause, the cause comes first (80, b) in the form of a headless adverbial phrase.

(80) Discourse sequence for clauses in causal relationship

a. 'if ... then'

/se sə-x'ə-ś'e-mə-ħe-ʔ'e-yə-me sə-q'e-k''e-n-w-q'm/

I I-for-under-not-enter-slight.excess-even-if I-hor-go-fut-def-not

'If I am even just a little busy, (then) I will not go.'

b. 'because' /q'ə+xe+k''+k''e/ hor+mass+exit+inst (lit. 'by coming out of')

/se sə-z-e-rə-x'ə-ś'e-mə-ħe-q''e-m

I I-how-dat-inst-for-under-not-enter-excess-obl(=adv)

q'ə+xe+k''+k''e sə-q'e-k''e-n-w-q'm/

ch.of.st-out.of-exit-instr I-hor-go-fut-def-not

'I shall not go because I am too busy [= not get under it, to the bottom of it].'

(lit. "Being as I am too busy I shall not go.")

6.2. Conjunction

Conjunction is achieved by a suffix (81). In (81, a) one can see a governing noun in the absolute controlling a *pro* that is in an oblique role (equal subject deletion). Sentences in a logical disjunction (81, b) or in contrasted sequence (81, c) are conjoined by repeated coordinators, much as in English.

(81) Coordination

- a. conjunction [...-əy ...]

[l'ə-r θ-q'e-k''ə+e-ye-ś-əy] [pro tɛəλ-r θ-y-ə-tə-žə-ye-ś]

[man-abs 3-hor-move+intr-past-aff-and]

[pro (= he) book-abs it-he-non.pr-give-back-past-aff]

'The man came and (he) gave the book back.'

- b. disjunction [heme ... heme ...]

[heme e-bə λ'ə-r θ-q'ə-śə-k''ə+e-ye-ś] [heme mə-bə e-r θ-q'ə-śə-k''ə+e-ye-ś]/

[either there-obl man-abs 3-hor-deixis-move+intr-past-aff]

[or here-obl 3-abs 3-hor-deixis-move+intr-past-aff]

'Either the man went over there, or he came over here.'

- c. contrasted sequence [ze ... ze ...]

[ze e-bə λ'ə-r θ-q'ə-śə-k''ə+e-ye-ś] [ze mə-bə e-r θ-q'ə-śə-k''ə+e-ye-ś]/

[now there-obl man-abs 3-hor-deixis-move+intr-past-aff]

[now here-obl 3-abs 3-hor-deixis-co+intr-past-aff]

'First the man went over there, and then he came here.'

6.3. Tense-suppression in linked verbs

Frequently, however, a sequence of linked actions is represented by verbs that lack full tense specification (82) and instead have predicative endings, acting almost as though they were adverbial phrases. The penultimate verb exhibits a conjunction, and an ultimate one, an overt tense,(from Colarusso (1992, p. , after Hadaghatl'a).

(82) Quasi-embedded conjunction with tense drop [...-w ...-w ...-w ...-əy ...-tense]

[θ-yə-veq'e-r ...θ-q'e-y-ə-f'eχ'e-žə-hə-w]

[his-gen-shoe(s)-abs 3.pl-hor-he-non.pr-don-again-pl-pred]

'He put his shoes back on,

[θ-yə-beš-r ...θ-q'e-y-ə-məśə-žə θ-x'ə-hə-w]

[his-gen-stick-abs it-hor-he-non.pr-seize-again it-happen-pl-pred]

began to seize his walking stick(s),

[yə-pəʔe-r ...θ-y-ə-š-hə-w]

[his-gen-hat-abs it-he-non.pr-lead(= take)-pl-pred]

grabbed his hat,

[werdəχ'əw θ-q'e-y-ə-f'eχ'e-žə-hə-w]

[torc(s) 3.pl-hor-he-non.pr-don-again-pl-pred]

put on his torcs

[θ-q'e-y-ə-k''ə-hə-r-əy]

[it-hor-he-non.pr-move-around-dist-and]

and journeyed all over,

[ś'ə-m θ-yə-γ'əne-r θ-y-ə-γ'etə-ye-q'əm]

[earth-obl its-gen-boundary-abs it-he-non.pr-find-past-not]

he did not find the edge of the earth.'

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

Sample Text

From Hadaghat' a (1968) *Nartxer*. Maikop, Adygheya, Russia: Adygejskij nauchno-issledovatel'skij institut, vol. 1, tale 6, pp. 101-104. The translation is as close to literal as can be achieved and still render this tale into comprehensible English. Supplementary words are in brackets, [...], extraneous ones in parentheses, (...). Glosses are to the right of the form, except for very lengthy verbs, when they run underneath the verb. Grammatical comments are also placed in brackets, [...]. The author is grateful to Mrs. Majdalin Hilmi for her assistance with this text. Any errors are his own.

[1] wazərməsəm dadəx'ər fəzəw q'əzerəyšār

How Wezyrmes Led away Dadukhe as his Wife

wazərmes-m Wezyrmes-obl(ique)

dadəx'e-r Dadukhe-abs(olutive)

fəz-w woman-pred(icative)(= adv(erb)), 'as a wife'

q'əzerəyšār ← ø- q'ə-z-e-r-y-ə-š-ye-r

her-hor(izon.of.interest)-what-dat(ive)-instr(umental)-he-non.pr-lead.away-past-ger(und),

'how he won her as a wife,'

[with /-ye-/ → /-he-/ → /-eh-/ → /-af-/ → [ā]]

[2] yəməsər nexəzəw, wezərməsər nexəs'əw psewās nart zešəyt'

A pair of Nart brothers once lived, Yimis the elder, Wezyrmes the younger.

yəməs-r Yimis-abs

neχə-z-w than-old-adv

wezərmes-r Wezyrmes-abs (note different vocalization of first syllable in [1])

neχə-š'(e)-w than-young-adv

psewās ← ø-pse+w-ye-š they-life+pred(icative)-past-aff(irnative.mood), 'they lived'

nart Nart (a race of heroes)

zešəyt' ← ze-š-əy-t' (ʔ) whole-brother-num(eral.connective)-two, 'a pair of brothers'

[3] yəməsəm fəz q'əyšāyās'ew, wezərməsər fəzənwew, yəməsər yələs zəyk'e yežāy.

Yimis had recently carried off a wife, but Wezyrmes was without a woman. Yimis set off on a year-long quest.

yəməs-m Yimis-obl(ative)

fəz-ø woman-abs(olutive).indef(inite))

q'əyšāyās'ew ← ø-q'e-yə-š-ye-ye-š'e-w her-hor-he-lead.away-past-past-young/new-adv,

"He had recently wed,." (*lit.*, "He had recently led off [a woman].")

[This speaker uses the remote past as a perfect.]

wezərmes-ər Wezyrmes-abs

fəz-ən-še-w woman-conn(ective)-without-adv

yəməs-r Yimis-abs

yə-ələs gen(itive.of.time)-year

ze+y+k'ə whole+dir+go ('a quest, journey')

yežāy ← ø-y-e-ž-ya-ya he-dir-dat-set.off-past-past

[4] wezərmésəw yə ʒəneχás'er s'ále bʒəf'ét.

Wezrymes, his younger brother, was an eloquent youth.

wezərmes-w Wezrymes-pred (because of postpositioning of following word)

yə-ʒə-neχə-s'e-r his-brother-than-young-abs

s'ále ← s'éle youth (indef)

[back licensing of second /e/ in CéCe to first /e/ when first is stressed, with /ee/ → [á]]

ə-bʒə+f'e-t he-tongue+good-stat(ive), 'He was eloquent.'

[5] ʔep'q'lép'q' dáʒe yəʒét.

He had a handsome physique.

ʔep'q'+léep'q' leg+bone/frame+arm+bone/frame, 'body as a frame,' or 'physique'

dáʒe ← déʒe beautiful (indefinite of description)

ə-yə-ʔe-t it-his-be.in.hand-stat, 'he possessed', [/-t/ stative ← /-t-/ 'to stand']

[6] yəməsər yələs zéyk'e sáʔew yəfəzər wezərmésəw yəʒəneχás'em yeχ'epsežás,

áwe wezərmésəm yədáq'əm.

While Yimis was on his yearlong quest, his wife flirted with his younger brother, Wezrymes.

yəməs-r Yimis-abs

yə-ʒes gen-year

ze+y+k'e whole+dir+go, "quest"

ə-śə-ʔe-w he-deixis-be-pred ('Yimis being away for a year's quest')

yə-fəz-r his-woman-abs

wezərmes-w Wezrymes-pred (with /-w(e)/ because of postposing)

yə-ʒə-neχə-ś'e-m his-brother-than-young-obl

yeχ'epsežás ← ə-y-e-χ'epse-ž-ye-ś she-him-dat-flirt-finally-past-aff

[perhaps /-χ'e+pse-/ male+spirit, .i.e., "act with a male's spirit," cf.,
/χ'e+pseʒə/ male+word, "flirtatious words"]

áwe ← e+we 3+adv, 'but'

wezərmes-m Wezrymes-obl (of common nouns), [This speakers often conjugates proper nouns as though they were common ones.]

yədáq'əm ← ə-yə-de-ye-q'əm her-he-be.with-past-not, "He did not accept her/agree with her."

[7] nəśás'em yəf'és dádew wezərmésəm zəχ'əyś'əw sáχ'əm, wezərmés yə

pʒe-pʒənézər q'əyśterəy ʔe yəʔerəy dek'ás.

When he came to realize the sister-in-law's real intentions, Wezrymes took his old wooden
pshina,

swore before God, and went out [the door].

nəśás'em ← nəśé-ś'e-m sister.in.law-old-obl

yə-f'és her-intention/sense

də+de-w exact+exact-adv, "real, true"

wezərmesə-m Wezrymes-obl

zəx'əy's'əw ← ø-zə-x'a-y-ə-s'ə-w it-self-for-he-non.pr-know-compl(ementizer)

śəx'am ← ø-śə-x'ə-m it-deixis-happen-adv, with the preceding verb "when he came to realize her real intentions"

wezərmes Wezrymes-null.obl(of possession for proper nouns)

yə-pxe-pšəne-ž-r his-wooden-pshina-old-abs, (a traditional violin-like instrument)

q'əy'əwək'əwre ← ø-q'e-y-ə-wək'ə-w-re it-hor-he-non.pr-kill-adv-and

the-ø God-null.abs, ['God' is inflected as a proper noun.]

yəʔ'erəy ← ø-y-ə-ʔ'e-rəy Him-he-non.pr-say-and, "he swore before God"

dek'ās ← ø-de-k'e-ye-ś he-out-go-past-aff

[8] "we mə p's'ánt'em wədəsəw se səq'ədəməhén," žəy'ərəy.

"I shall not enter this home in which you sit," he said to her.

we you

mə-p's'ánt'e-m ← mə-p's'ént'e-m this-threshold/home-obl

wədəsəw ← wə-ø-de-s-w you-which-within-sit-adv

se I

səq'ədəməhén ← sə-q'-de-mə-ħe-n I-hor-inside-not-enter-fut.vol(itional)

žəy'ərəy ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ʔe-rəy it-her-back.to-he-non.pr-say-and

[9] wezərmés bláne q'əywək'əwre blenáfe psəʔe yəs'ās.

Wezrymes killed a doe and made a doeskin [hunting] tent/hut.

wezərmes Wezrymes-(null ergative oblique)

bláne ← bléne-ø doe-abs.indef(inite))

q'əywək'əwre ← ø-q'e-y-ə-wək'ə-w-re it-hor-he-non.pr-kill-adv-and

blenáfe ← blené-fe doe-skin

psəʔe tent-(indef), [actually a hunter's hut made of hides]

yəs'ās ← ø-y-ə-ś'-ye-ś it-he-non.pr-make-past-aff

[10] máx'em meśák'e žésəm pxe psénem yéwwe.

By day he would hunt, by night he would strum upon his wooden pshina.

máx'em ← méx'e-m day-obl, 'by day'

meśák'e ← m-e-śé+k'e 3.intrans.pres-pres-hunt+go

žés-m night-obl

pxe+psəne-m wooden+pshina-obl

yéwwe ← ø-y-e-w-we he-it-dat-hit(.out)-adv, "he strummed upon it" (phonetically [yǒwo])

[11] yəməsəy yəłés zéyk'er yəwəxrəy q'eyk'eł'ás.

Yimis finished his yearlong quest and returned.

yəməs-əy Yimis-and

yə-łes gen-year

zeyk'er ← ze+y+k'e-r whole+dir+go-ger, 'quest'

yəwəx̣rəy ← ø-y-ə-wəx̣-rəy it-he-non.pr-finish-and

q'eyk'əλ'ās ← ø-q'e-y-e-k'e+λ'e-ye-ś

he-hor-dir-dat-come+near-past-aff, "He drew near [to his home]."

[12] "déne śá?e səy q'ésər?" žəy?ew, śə?ewəp's'em yə fəzəm žəy?ās:

"Where is my kinsman?" he said to her, and his wife said to him an answer:

de+ne what.way+thither, 'where'

[this interrogative pronoun is an exception to back licensing of /e/]

śá?e ← ø-śá-?e he-deixis-be.there [note non-affirmative with question force]

səyq'ésər ← s-yə-q'e+ś-r my-gen-son+brother-abs, "my kinsman"

[/yə-/ 'third person possessive' or simply 'genitive' when prefixed by non-third person indices]

žəy?ew ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-?e-w it-her-back.to-he-non.pr-say-adv

śə+?e+wəp's'e-m deixis+be.there+question-obl, "with an answer"

yə-fəz-əm his-wife-obl

žəy?ās ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-?e-ye-ś it-him-back.to-she-non.pr-say-past-aff

[13] "āp̄x'ède q'em wəy ānem q'əp̄x'əyλx̄'ā néxre, zəhe q'əp̄x'əyλx̄'āsérét."

"It were better that your mother had born a dog than that she bore a son like this for you."

a-p-x'e+de ← e-w-x'e+de it-you-for+be.like

q'e-m son-obl

[with oblique forced by comparative in place of expected absolutive]

wəy anem ← w-yə-é+ne-m your-gen-intim(ate.possession)-mother-obl(erg)

['Mother', 'father', and for some speakers 'wife' bear the intimate possession prefix, /e+/, which is onset-filling and stable.]

q'əp̄x'əyλx̄'ā ← ø-q'-w-x'e-y-ə-λx̄'-ye him-hor-you-for-she-non.pr-give.birth.to-past,

[The lack of an affirmative suffix, /-(a)/, lends the verb an irrealis nuance.]

nex-re better.than-adv

zə-he one-dog

q'əp̄x'əyλx̄'āsérét ← ø-q'-w-x'e-y-ə-λx̄'-ye-śere-t

it-hor-you-for-she-non.pr-give.birth.to-past-optative-irrealis

[14] q'əzex'epséžrəy x'ezdāq'em, q'ek'ésəm žeys?ežəns śəžəs?em dék'rəy

yežéžās," žəy?erəy.

"[In the end] he flirted with me, [but] I did not agree with him and he finally went out and left when I said I would tell him [Yimis] about it when he returned," she said to him.

q'əzex'epséžrəy ← ø-q'-s-e-x'epse-ž-rəy he-hor-me-dat-flirt-finally-and

x'ezdāq'em ← ø-ø-x'e-s-de-ye-q'em him-it-for-I-agree-past-not

q'ek'ésəm ← ø-q'e-k'e-ž-əm he-hor-come-back-adv

žeys?ežəns ← ø-ø-ž-y-e-s-?e-ž-ən-ś

it-him-back-it-dat-I-say-fut.vol-aff, "I would tell him (Y) about it"

śažasʔem ← ø-śa-žas-ʔe-m it-deixis-back.to-I-say-adv, "when I said this"

dekʔrəy ← ø-de-kʔ-rəy he-outside.exit-and

yežežās ← ø-y-e-že-ž-ye-ś he-dir-dat-go.off-finally-past-aff

žayʔerəy ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ʔe-rəy it-him-back.to-she-non.pr-say-and

[15] yəməsəy ar yəfʔés xʔəryə yəpʔe qʔəynéžās.

And Yimis believed it [this lie] and finally remained in his place.

yəməs-əy Yimis-and

a-r it-abs

yə-fʔés-ø his-sense/comprehension/intention-null.obl(of possessed forms)

xʔəryə ← ø-ø-xʔ-ə-rəy it-it(= his.sense)-become-and

yə-pʔe-ø his-place-null.obl

qʔəynežās ← ø-qʔe-yə-n+e-ž-ye-ś he-hor-place-remain+in-finally-past-aff

[16] wezərmésəm zə máxʔe gʔəram blenél yəyāvēw páləw, yézəm yə pxe pšənéžəm

deyžəwwe śásəw, yə byégʔəm māyāse xéləw yə netʔégʔəm ne záqʔe yəsəw zə

mezálʔ qʔəsʔəyhās.

On a certain day Wezrymes was lying down and roasting some venison, and as he sat playing a melody on his own old wooden pshina a forest man appeared, with a *mayi* dagger lying on his

chest and one eye in his forehead.

wezərmes-əm Wezrymes-obl

zə-máxʔe-gʔəram ← zə-méxʔe-gʔəram one-day-certain-obl

blene-λ-ø doe-meat-indef.null.abs, "some venison"

yəyāvēw ← ø-y-ə-yé-ve-w it-he-non.pr-make-roast-adv

páləw ← ø-pə-λ-əw he-down-lie-adv

yezə-m self-obl

yə-pxe-pšəne-ž-əm his-wooden-pshina-old-obl,

with preceding "on his own old wooden *pshina*"

deyžəwwe ← ø-ø-de-yəžəw-we he-it-out.from-refrain-strike

śásəw ← ø-śa-s-əw he-deixis-sit-adv

yə-byegʔ-əm his-chest+zone-obl(= adv)

māyā-se *mayi*-knife, a large knife or sword

xé-λ-əw ← ø-ø-xé-λ-əw it(knife)-it(chest)-mass(= on)-lie-adv

yə-ne+tʔe+gʔ-əm his-eye+brow(?) +zone-obl, "on-his forehead"

ne-zāqʔe-ø eye-lone, single-indef.abs

yəsəw ← ø-ø-yə-s-əw it(eye)-it(forehead)-flat.place-sit-adv

zə-mezə+λʔ-ø one-forest+man-indef.abs, [a Bigfoot, Sasquatch, or Yeti-like monster, here uniquely Cyclopean, as with the giants, /yənəž/, of myth]

qʔəsʔəyhās ← ø-qʔ-śʔ-yə-ħe-ye-ś he-ch(ange).of.st(ate)-from.under-dir-enter-past-aff,

“he (monster) appeared,” [‘Change of state’ /-q’a-/ is the same ‘horizon of interest,’ with a sense that is often found with intransitives.]

[17] wezərmés q’eteg’āq’óm yə werédre zepəygewāq’óm, áwe yəráygeleý’ās,
 “t’əs,” žəx’əy’ew.

Wezrymes did not stand up [nor] did he let himself break off his song. “Sit down!” he said for him.

wezərmes-ø Wezrymes-null.abs

q’eteg’āq’óm ← ø-q’e-teg’-ye-q’óm he-ch.of.st-stand-past-not

yə-wered-re his-song-adv

zepəygewāq’óm ← ø-ze+pe-y-ə-ye-we-ye-q’óm

it-whole+sever-he-non.pr-let-hit/ break-past-not

a+we ← é+we 3+adv, “but” [with onset-filling vocalic nucleus yielding /ee/ → /a/]

yəráygeleý’ās ← ø-y-ə-y-ə-ye-ley’-ye-ś

it-him-non.pr-he-non.pr-make-see-past -aff,

[Note the demotion to indirect object with dative suffix of the original subject; the dative suffix,

/-e-/ is deleted by the non-present tense vowel, /-ə-/; r-intercalation between /y/s then takes

place.

t’əs ← (w)-t’ə+s you.imp(erative)-down+sit

žəx’əy’ew ← ø-ø-žə-ø-x’e-y-ə-?e-w it-him-back.to-him-for-he-non.pr-say-pred

[18] wezərmés pšəne wen yəwəxrəy blenełrəy q’əpəyχəžās.

Wezrymes finished playing his pshina and cut off [some] venison.

wezərmes Wezrymes-null.obl

pšəne violin-like instrument

we-n strike-inf(itive)

yəwəxrəy ← ø-y-ə-wəx-rəy it-he-non.pr-finish-and, “He finished (to) play(ing)...”

blene-ł-rəy doe-meat-and

q’əpəyχəžās ← ø-q’-pe-y-ə-xə-ž-ye-ś it-ch.of.st-sever-he-non.pr-cut-finally-past

[19] mezəł’erəy q’əyget’əsś yezəráy yet’əsəł’erəy blānéłər yāsχās.

He made the forest man sit down, and he himself sat nearby, and they ate venison.

mezə+ł’ə-rəy forest+man-and

q’əyget’əsś ← ø-q’e-y-ə-ye-t’ə+s-ś him-ch.of.st-he(W)-non.pr-let-down+sit-aff

yezə-rəy self-and, “he himself”

yet’əsəł’erəy ← ø-y-e-t’ə+sə+ł’e-rəy he-him-dat-down+sit+near-and

blāne-ł-ər [for expected /blenélər/] ← /blenél-ł-r/ doe-meat-abs

yāsχās ← ø-y-he-ə-šx-ye-ś it-3-pl-non.pr-eat-past-aff,

[Plural /-he-/takes precedence over non-present /-ə-/; Note the alternative is not possible, since /-he-ə-/ → /-h-ə-/ would yield /-hə/, as with the reduced grade of the plural suffix when followed by the predicative, /-hə-wə/ [húwu]]

[20] mezáł'am yəg° yərayłhās wezərmésər yəwək'əw yə pxe pšənemre yə

seyəndāq'əmre yəhənəw.

The forest man set in his heart to kill Wezrymes and carry off his wooden pshina and his sword.

mezə+ł'ə-m forest+man-obl

yə-g° his-heart

yərayłhās ← ø-yə-yə-ł+hə-ye-ś he-cont-dir-lie+active-past-aff,

[Container-direction, roughly "within," have their sense extended to mean

"within oneself;" they are usually prefixed to the verb /-h-/ 'to carry'; the

whole collocation refers to features of character or intent; with the active form of

'to lie' the sense is that this intent has just been conceived.]

wezərmes-ər Wezrymes-abs

yəwək'əw ← ø-y-ə-wək'əw him(W)-he(FM)-non.pr-kill-adv

yə-pxe-pšəne-m+re his-wooden+pshina-obl+and

yə-se+yə+n+daq'ə-m+re his-knife+likeness+reinforced.part-obl+and, hence a "short

sword" or "reinforced sword," i.e., one with a spine along one side

yəhənəw ← ø-y-ə-h-ən-əw them-he-non.pr-carry.off-vol.fut-pred

[21] ābə yəg'əm f'ə zerərayməłhār werzəmesəy q'əys'ās.

Wezrymes knew how he [forest man] had set no good in his heart.

a-bə ← é-bə his-obl

yə-g'əm his-heart-obl

f'ə[-we] good[-adv],[One expects the adverbial use of the predicative here.]

zerərayməłhār ← ø-z+e+rə-yə-yə-mə-ł+hə-ye-r

he-what+dat+instr-cont-dir-not-lie+active-past-ger, "what he did not hold in his heart,"

(the Forest Man did not hide his intentions well), [The reciprocal is always the

indirect object of an anti-ergative verb, and as such shows a dative suf

fix, hence /-z+e-/.]

werzəmes-əy Wezrymes-and

q'əys'ās ← ø-q'e-y-ə-ś'-ye-ś it-hor-he-non.pr-know-past-aff

[22] "dəy γās'ek'e dəzenəbzeγ'əns, dəzek'ełək'énis," žəy?erəy mezáł'ər s'ək'əžās.

"We will be friends for our life spans. We will be blood brothers," the forest man said to him and finally left.

d-əy we-and

γās'e-k'e ← γés'e-k'e life.span-by

dəzenəbzeγ'əns ← də-z+e-nəbze+γ'ən-ś

we- recip+dat-age.mates+companion.sfx-fut.vol-aff, "we will be friends to each other"

dəzek'ełək'énis ← də-z+e-k'e-łək'ən-ś

we- recip+dat-by-blood+go-fut.vol-aff, "we will be blood brothers."

žəyʔerəy ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ʔe-rəy it-him-back.to-he-non.pr-say-and

mezə+λ'ə-r forest+man-abs

ś'ək'əžāś ← ø-ś'ə-k'ə-ž-ye-ś he-under.to-exit-finally-past-aff, "he disappeared at last"

[23] ābə q'əsəʔezāwe že psək'ətχ'ək'e wezərmésəm yəs'és'am p̄xedeq'éz

yərəyλhewre ś'ák'er trəp'ežəwre yézər bžeq'āγəm q'etās.

From that point, for fifteen nights, Wezyrmes set a wooden log in his sleeping bag, spread a

hunting cloak over it, and himself hid behind the door.

a-bə ← é-bə 3-obl (= adv), "but" or "at that point"

q'əsəʔezawe ← ø-q'-sə-ʔez-ye-we it-ch.of.st-deixis-start-past-adv

že night

psək'ətχ'ək'e [sic!] ← p'ś'ə+k'ə+tχ'ə-k'e ten+and.num(eral)+five-instr,

"for fifteen (nights);" [This speaker consistently deglottalizes 'ten'.]

wezərmes-əm Wezyrmes-obl

yə-ś'+e+ś'ə-m his-earth+dat+make, "his bunk, sleeping bag"

p̄xe-deq'e-ž wood-log-old

yərəyλhewre ← ø-yə-yə-λ+hē-w-re he-cont-dir-lie+active-pred-and,

[Here with the literal sense of 'container-direction']

ś'ák'er ← ś'ék'e-r cloak-abs, [hunting cloak made of sheepskin]

trəp'ežəwre ← ø-ø-t-y-e-y-ə-p'e-ž-əw-re

it(cloak)-it(bunk)-sur-dir-dat-he-non.pr-place-again-pred-and

yezə-r self-abs

bžeq'ā+γ-əm [sic] for expected bžeq'ā+ye-m ← bžeq'ā+ye-m

door+shelter/lee+abstract-obl, the hiding place behind a door

q'etas ← ø-ø-q'e-t-ye-ś he-it(s)-shelter-stand-past-aff, "he hid"

[24] "nəžeberəyzeməy səq'etəžəns," žəyʔerəy p̄xe deq'ézər yə p'em xəyλhās,

ś'ák'er trəp'ežrəy yézəm yə seγəndāq'ər hēzəraw yepśək'əxāne žésəm bžeq'āγəm q'ewəvéžās.

"Even if just once more tonight ..."

he would say and hide, having spread a hunting cloak over

the wooden log lying in his sleeping place, and for a sixteenth night he stood behind the door

with his own sword [at the] ready. "

nəžebe-r-əy-ze-m-əy tonight-adv-num-once-if-even, "even if just once more tonight..."

səq'etəžəns ← sə-q'e-tə-ž-ən-ś I-shelter-stand-again-vol.fut.-aff

žəyʔerəy ← ø-ž-y-ə-ʔe-əy it-back.to-he-non.pr-say-and

p̄xe-deq'e-ž-ər wood-stump-old-abs

yə-p'e-m his-place-obl

xəyλhəs ← ø-ø-xe-y-ə-λ+hē-ye-ś

it(log)-it(bunk)-in.a.mass-he-non.pr-lie+active-past-aff

ś'ák'°er ← ś'ék'°e-r cloak-abs

trəyp'ežrəy ← ø-ø-t-y-e-y-ə-p'e-ž-rəy

it(cloak)-it(bunk)-surf-dir-dat-he-non.pr-place-again-and

yezə-m self-obl

yə-se yə+n+daq'°ər his-sword+likeness+conn+reinforced.part-abs

hezər-əw ready-pred(= adv)

yerpsək'°əxáne [sic] for ye-p'ś'ə+k'°ə+x-e-ne

ordinal.pfx-ten-and-six-th-ord.sfx, 'sixteenth (time)'

žes-əm night-obl

bže+q'°á+y-əm door+shelter/lee+abstract-obl

q'°ewəvežas ← ø-ø-q'°e-wəve-ž-ye-ś he-it-shelter-stand-again-past-aff

[25] mezál'ər žəsəbġ newázəm q'°əsəherəy ś'ák'°em zerəyk'°əc'°əłəw pžedeq'°ézəm

tərywəby'erəy yəbyem žel ser pžəryx'°ās.

"The forest man drew near, entered, and plunged the knife that he carried on his chest through

the cloak which Wezrymes had spread over the old wooden log that he had set inside [his

bed]."

mezə+ł'°ə-r forest+man-abs

žəs-ə-bġ night-ep(enthetic.)v(owel)-waist/middle

ne+wəžə-m thither+near-obl

q'°əsəherəy ← ø-q'°-śə-ħe-rəy he-hor-deixis-enter-and

ś'ák'°em ← ś'ék'°e-m cloak-abs, [Indirect object of /pžəryx'°ās/, below]

zerəyk'°əc'°əłəw ← ø-z-e-rə-yə-k'°əc'°ə+ł-əw

he-which-dat-instr-flat.place-inside+lie- pred, "(with) which he had set in his bed"

pže-deq'°e-ž-əm wood-log-old-obl, [Indirect object of /pžəryx'°ās/, below]

tərywəby'erəy ← ø-ø-t-y-e-y-ə-wə+by'e-rəy

it(cloak)-it(log)-surf-dir-dat-he-non.pr-val(ence)+side-and,

"He [had] spread it (cloak) out on top of it (log)."

yə-bye-m his-chest-obl

žel ← ø-ø-ħe-ł which.abs-it(chest)-in.a.mass-lie

se-r knife-abs

pžəryx'°ās ← ø-ø-pžə-rə-y-ə-x'°-ye-ś

it(knife)-it(cloak)-through-loc-he-non.pr-fall, plunge-past-aff,

"He plunged the knife through the cloak."

[26] "x'°ās yəg'°ə," žyžew zəq'°əsəyγāzem vāy'°em x'°ədew lənd yənezāq'°em

trəybəderəy seγəndāq'°əmk'°e yewās.

"It is done now," he said [but] when he turned himself about he(W) grabbed his sole eye,

which burned like a star, and struck it with his sword.

x'°ās ← ø-x'°-ye-ś it-do-past-aff,

yə-ǵ'ə gen-now, with the preceding "It is done now!"

žəyʔew ← ø-ž-əy-ʔe-rəy it-back.to-he-non.pr-say-and

zəq'əsəyǵāzem ← zə-q'-s-y-ə-ǵe-z+e-m

self-ch.of.st-deixis-he-non.pr-cause-turn+in-obl(= adv), "when he turned himself about."

vǎǵ'em ← véǵ'e-m star-obl

ǰ'edew ← ø-ø-ǰ'e-de-w it(eye)-it(star)-for-be.like-adv

λənd ← ø-λənd which.abs-burn, glow (stative)

yə-ne-zǎq'ə-m ← yə-ne-zéq'ə-m his-eye-sole-obl

trəybəderəy ← ø-ø-t-y-e-y-ə-bəd+e-rəy him(FM)-it-surf-dir-dat-he(W)-non.pr-catch+to-and;

[Literary Kabardian has /wə+bəde-n/ val+catch-inf for this verb.]

seyəndaq'ə-m-k'ə sword-obl-instr

yewas ← ø-y-e-we-ǵe-s he-it-dat-strike-past-aff

[27] mezǎλ'əm pǰe deq'ézər yǎ byem zerək'ʔerǎλəw s'ek'ǎžǎs ǵ'əǵəw.

The forest man ran out screaming with the wooden log against his chest.

mezə+λ'ə-m forest+man-obl

pǰe+deq'e-ž-ər wooden+log-old-abs

yə-bye-m his-chest-obl

zerək'ʔerǎλəw ← ø-ze-rə-k'ʔe-rə-λ-əw it(log)-which-by-close-by-lie-pred(= adv);]

The log is stuck to the knife hanging from his chest, so the forest man is

encumbered with it.]

s'ek'ʔǎžǎs ← ø-s'e-k'ʔə-ž-ǵe-s he-out.to-exit-finally-past-aff

ǵ'əǵəw ← ø-ǵ'əǵ-əw he-scream-adv

[28] wezərmesəy mezǎλ'əm yəwǎž yəwəverəy mezǎžəm s'əhəžǎs.

Wezrymes stayed on the trail of the forest man and finally he entered an old forest.

wezərmes-əy Wezrymes(-null.abs)-and

mezə+λ'ə-m forest+man-obl

yə-wǎž his-trail

yəwəverəy ← ø-yə-wəve-rəy he(W)-path-remain.on-and

mezə-ž-əm forest-old-obl

s'əhəžǎs ← ø-ø-s'ə-ħe-ž-ǵe-s he-it.in.to-enter-finally-past-aff

[29] mezǎλ'ər ǵ'əǵəm k'em, wezərmesəy k'eλək'ʔerəy neǰ' sǎk' k'ǎs.

The forest man went [along] screaming and [as] Wezrymes followed behind the light [of] dawn came.

mezə+λ'ə-r forest+man-abs

ǵ'əǵəm ← ø-ǵ'əǵ-əm he-scream-obl(= adv)

k'em ← ø-k'e-m he-go-obl(= adv)

wezərmes-əy Wezrymes(-null.abs)-and

k'elæk'eray ← ø-ø-k'e-læk'eray he(W)-him(FM)-behind-footprint+go-and

ne+x° eye+white, 'light'

śax° dawn

k'ās ← ø-k'e-ye-ś it-come-past-aff

[30] nex'oy śawe dayer qəsə'ek'əm, zə by'esāy g'erəm mezəl'er ?əhəžrəy

lə'eməhəžəfəw g'āleray l'ās.

As the light of the rising sun struck, the forest man finally reached a cave-like outcropping. He was unable to enter. He staggered, fell down, and died.

ne+x°-oy eye+white ('light')-and

śawe ← ø-ś-y-é-we it(light)-deixis-dir-dat-strike, [Note absence of tense or predicative adverb.]

dayer-r sun-abs

q'əsə'ek'əm ← ø-q'-śə-'ek'-əm it-ch.of.st-deixis-rise.up-obl(= adv),

"as the light of the rising sun struck..."

zə-by'e+śāy-g'er-əm ← zə-by'e+śey(e)-g'er-əm one-cave+covered-certain-obl,

cf. /-śəyə-/ 'to wear clothes', "at a cave-like outcropping"

mezə+l'ə-r forest+man-abs

?əhəžrəy ← ø-ø-?ə-ħə-ž-rəy he-it-before-reach-finally-and

lə'eməhəžəfəw ← ø-ø-l'e-mə-ħe-žə-f-əw he-it-near/inside-not-enter-again-able-adv

g'āleray ← ø-g'ēle-rəy he-stagger.and.fall.down-and

l'ās ← ø-l'-ye-ś he-die-past-aff

[31] wezərməsər žəg q'āyəm q'ewəverəy q'etās q'əs'ek'ənəwəm yézew k'édre.

Wezrymes hid behind a tree for a long time should some one come out.

wezərmes-ər Wezrymes-abs

žəg-q'āy-əm ← - žəg-q'ē+y(e)-m tree-shelter/lee+ness-obl, "behind a tree"

q'ewəverəy ← ø-ø-q'e-wəve-rəy he-its-shelter-stay-and

q'etās ← ø-q'e-t-ye-ś he-shelter/lee-stand-past-aff

q'əs'ek'ənəwəm ← ø-q'-ś'e-k'-ən-əw-əm some.one-out.to-exit-fut-def-obl(= adv)

yéze-w long.time-adv

k'ed-re ← ø-k'ed-re it-time.pass-ger/adv, with the preceding "for a long time,"

lit. "long time passing"

[32] nábze zəteytħəm yā neħ dāħe zə nəśās'e q'əs'ek'ərəy yepłās, zəray žəy?eq'əm

yək'oy ye?əsāq'óm.

A young maiden more beautiful than all those who bear eyebrows came out and looked at him (the forest man), [but] she neither said anything nor touched him.

nábze ← ne-bze eye-brow

zəteytħəm [sic!] for zəteytəm ← ø-zə-t-y-e-t-əm it(eyebrow)-whom-sur-dir-dat-stand-obl

yā neħ ← y-he-neħ3-pl-more.than

dáxe ← déxe beautiful

zə-nəsás'e ← zə-nəsé-ś'e one-maiden-young

q'əs'ek'ərəy ← ø-q'ə-ś'e-k'ə-rəy she-ch.of.st-out.to-exit-and

yeplās ← ø-y-e-prəs-ye-ś she-dir-dat-look-past-aff

zə-rəy one-emph(atic).and, always with negative "anyone, no one"

žay'req'əm ← ø-ž-y-ə-?e-q'əm it-back.to-she-non.pr-say-not

yək'əy or-even

ye'əsāq'əm ← ø-y-e-?əs-ye-q'əm she-him-dat-touch-past-not

[33] neγ'és' zərəy q'əsəs'emək'əm wezərmés q'əq'ek'rəy nesás'em byedəhās.

As no one else came out Wezyrmes left his hiding place and came up to the young maiden.

neγ'és' other+new

zə-rəy one-emph.and, "no one"

q'əsəs'emək'əm ← ø-q'ə-śə-ś'e-mə-k'ə-m it-hor-deixis-out.to-not-exit-obl(= adv)

wezərmes Wezyrmes-null.abs

q'əq'ek'rəy ← ø-q'ə-q'ə-k'ə-rəy he-ch.of.st-shelter/lee-exit-and

nesás'em ← nese-e-ś'e-m ← nese-ś'e-m maiden-young-obl

byedəhās ← ø-ø-bye+də-ħe-ye-ś he-her-chest+close.to-enter-past-aff,

[Most dialects have /-by'e+de-/ side+close.to.]

[34] mər wərā q'əzəwək'ār səzərāšek'ən?" žay'req'əm nesás'em wezərmésəm ?ep'ł'e q'əx'əyś'ās.

"Are you the one who killed this one? Will they betroth me to you of my own accord?" the young maiden said to Wezyrmes and embraced him.

mə-r this.one(by.speaker)-abs

wərā ← wə-ø-r-éq you-be-ger-Q(uestion.complementizer);

[The question complementizer attracts stress as though it had the skeleton -VC;

Kuipers (1960) chose /-h/ for this C, but /-eh/ would yield /-eɪ/, at least at the end of verbs; therefore, I have taken the C as a glided /-e/, much

as in the emphatic, for example, /tħá/ ← /tħé-e/, of which this complementizer may be a form.]

q'əzəwək'ār ← ø-q'ə-zə-wək'ə-ye-r him-hor-who-kill-past-ger

ø be [A clefted question with its specifying predicate split and partially postposed, lit. "This one here, are you the one who has killed him?" and then embedded as an indirect question under the following verb]

səzərāšek'ən ← sə-zə-r-y-he-š+e-k'ə-ən

I-self-instr-3-pl-lead+in-completely-fut.vol,

"Shall they betroth me to you of my own accord?,"

[This form is based on an indefinite third plural transitive with passive sense of the verb 'to lead some one off', that is, "to marry some one," plus the acquiescence agent as in instrumental index.]

žayʔerəy ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ʔe-rəy it-him-back.to-she-non.pr-say-and

nəsās'em ← nəsé-ś'e-m woman-young-obl

wezərmes-əm Wezymes-obl(= benefactive)

ʔe+p'λ'e shoulder.ridge+flat.part, back of the shoulder, shoulder blade;

q'əx'əyś'as ← ø-q'-ø-x'e-y-ə-ś'-ye-ś

it-hor-him-for-she-non.pr-make-past-aff, "She embraced him."

[35] "xet śəʔe yəg'əʔəy məbə yə λ'áq'ew," žayʔerəy yewəp'ś'ās wezərmés nəsās'em.

"Now who is the kin of this one?" (he said to her) Wezymes asked the young maiden.

xet who+pro.sfx

śəʔe ← (y-)śə-ʔe who-deixis-be.there;

[The absolute interrogative/relative index /y-/ is usually dropped.]

yə-g'ə-rəy gen-now-and

mə-bə this.one-obl

yə-λ'áq'ew ← /yə-λ'éq'ew/ his-offspring-pred; /λ'é+q'ew/ e-grade of 'man,' /λ'ə/,

compounded with 'son,' /q'ew/.

žayʔerəy ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ʔe-rəy it-her-back.to-he-non.pr-say-and

yewəp'ś'ās ← ø-y-e-wəp'ś'e-ye-ś he-her-dat-ask-past-aff

wezərmes Wezymes-null.abs

nəsās'em ← nəsé-ś'e-m maiden-young

[36] "śəʔés mwo g'əśem xéłəʔ, neγ'és' əʔeγ'əm, śəʔeməy yəs'erq'əm," žeyrəy

q'əʔəyγeλeγ'ās.

"There is one over there lying in the cradle. There is no other. Even if there is no one knows,"

she said to him and showed him the [baby].

śəʔés ← ø-śə-ʔe-ś sm.o-deixis-be.there-aff.stat;

[no present tense vowel prefix for stative presents]

mwo ← ? m+we 3+distal (?), "over there"

g'əśe-m cradle-obl

xéłəʔ ← ø-ø-xe-λ-əʔ who-it-inside-lie-ger

neγ'e+ś' other+new

əʔeγ'əm ← yə-ʔe-q'əm who-be.there-not; [with /y/-drop as in West Circassian]

śəʔeməy ← ø-śə-ʔe-m-əy he-deixis-be.there-if-even;

yəs'erq'əm ← ø-yə-ś'e-r-q'əm 3-some.one-know-pres-not;

"Even if there is one, no one knows."

[Note the absence of present prefix /e-/ when old present suffix /-r-/ appears

before the negative ending.]

žeyrəy ← žayʔerəy ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ʔe-rəy it-him-back.to-she-non.pr-say-and;

[slurred variant of direct discourse marker]

q'əʔəyγeλeγ'ās ← ø-q'-y-e-y-ə-ye-λeγ'-ye-ś it-hor-him-dat-she-cause-see-past-aff

[37] wezərmés ābə byedəherəy yəpserəywəp's'rəy bġəzəm səyʒəžās, g'əsem

zerəxələw.

Wezymes drew up to it, cut its throat, and threw the cradle and the one lying in it off a cliff.

wezərmes Wezymes-null.abs

a-bə ← e-bə it(= cradle)-obl

byedəherəy ← ø-ø-bye+də-he-rəy he-it-chest+near-enter-and

yəpserəywəp's'rəy ← yəpse-r pəywəp's'rəy ← yə-pse-r ø-pe-y-ə-wəp's'-rəy

its-neck/thorat-abs it-sever-he-non.pr-cut-and;

[This would be a verb with an incorporated direct object save for the case ending,

/-r/; a typographical error is therefore most likely.

bġə+z-əm mountain+old/evil-obl, "cliff"

səyʒəžās ← ø-ø-s-y-ə-ʒə-ž-e-s it-it(cliff)-deixis-he-non.pr-throw.out-past-aff

g'əse-m cradle-obl

zerəxələw ← ø-z-e-rə-xe-l-əw it(baby)-which-dat-loc-inside-lie-pred

[38] "we dāwere wəq'ek"á məbə?" žəyʒerəy yewəp's'ās nəsás'em wezərmésər.

"How did you come here?" (he said to her) Wezymes asked the maiden.

we you

dāwere ← déwe+re how+adv

wəq'ek"á ← wə-q'e-k"e-éç you-hor(= hither)-come-Q; [e-éç → á]

mə-bə this-obl (= here)

žəyʒerəy ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ʒe-rəy it-her-back.to-he-non.pr-say-and

yewəp's'ās ← ø-y-e-wəp's'e-ye-s he-her-dat-ask-past-aff

nəsás'em ← nəsé-s'e-m maiden-young-obl

wezərmes-ər Wezymes-abs

[39] "se səyc'er dādəx'és.

"My name is Dadukhe.

se I, my

səyc'er ← s-yə-c'e-r my-poss-name-abs

dādəx'és ← dādəx'e-ø-s Dadukhe-be-aff;

[This is probably another name of /daye-g'ase/ Nut.tree-Lady, with /da/ ←

/daye/ ← /de-ye/ nut-one.of, 'nut tree, ' and */dax'e/ 'beautiful', modern

Circassian /daxe/, compare Ubykh /nax'a/ 'beautiful' (written 'nəs'a' in the

sources). Nut Tree Lady is obscure, but seems to be an old fertility figure, cf.,

Norse Idunn, with her life-giving apples, but who is turned into a nut by Loki

when he rescues her from the giant Thjasi.

[40] *γḗlēs γḗpékʷe mézəm mḗheqʷəzə́he dḗqʷekʷáwe, se γḗwəz dḗde sḗqʷəynáwe*

dḗsəkʷéžəm mḗ mezḗlʷ bḗwəkʷám sḗqʷəywḗbḗdrḗy sḗqʷəyhás.

A year ago we came to the forest to pick plums. I stayed exactly on the trail [lagged behind],
and when we [were] going back this forest man whom you killed seized me and carried me off.

γḗ-lēs gen-year

γḗ-pékʷe its-interval; [an exception to back licensing of /e/]

mézə-m forest-obl

mḗhe+qʷəzə+he frozen.lexeme+pear+enter = plum-picking

dḗqʷekʷáwe ← *dḗ-qʷe-kʷe-ye-we* we-hor(= hither)-come-past-pred

se I

γḗ-wəz its-path

dḗ+de just+exactly, [a reduplicated intensive]

sḗqʷəynawe ← *sḗ-qʷə-n+e-ye-we* I-hor-path-remain+on-past-pred

dḗsəkʷéžəm ← *dḗ-səkʷé-ž-əm* we-deixis-go-back-obl(=when)

mḗ-mézə+lʷ this-forest+man

bḗwəkʷám ← *(γḗ-)wḗ-wəkʷ-ye-m* (whom-)you-kill-pst-obl;

[Standard Kabardian would not dissimilate /w-/ → /b-/ before a /w/ that was part
of a root, but rather only with the /-w-/ of the progressive.]

sḗqʷəywḗbḗdrḗy ← *sḗ-qʷə-y-ḗ-wḗ+bḗd-rḗy* me-hor-he-non.pr-val+seize-and, "he seized me."

sḗqʷəyhás ← *sḗ-qʷə-y-ḗ-h-ye-s* me-hor-he-non.pr-carry.off-past-aff

[41] *áde-áne qʷəssʷewəpʷsʷén sḗyʷeteqʷəmḗy zḗrḗy qʷəskʷełəməkʷéw sḗy zḗqʷəy*

səməkʷéžəfəwre sḗyʷəyás, "žəyʷás, dḗdḗxʷe.

I have no parents to ask after me, no one to come after me, and being small I was not able to go
back, [so] I stayed," said Dadukhe to him.

a+de-a+ne ← *é+de-é+ne* intim.pfx+father-intim.pfx-mother, "family; ancestors"

qʷəssʷewəpʷsʷén ← *ø-qə-s-sʷe-wəpʷsʷe-n* they-hor-me-under/after-ask-inf

sḗyʷeteqʷəmḗy ← *ø-s-yḗ-ʷe+te-qʷəm-əy* they-my-poss.in.hand+prolonged-not-even

zḗrḗy one+and.even, "any; none" with negative verbs

qʷəskʷełəməkʷéw ← *ø-qʷə-s-kʷe-łə-mə-kʷe-w* they-hor-me-after-trail-not-go-pred

sḗy zḗqʷəy ← *s-yḗ-zéqʷe-əy* my-poss-(small.)part-and

səməkʷéžəfəwre ← *sə-məkʷé-žə-fə-w-re* I-not-go-back-able-pred-adv

sḗyʷəyás ← *s-yḗ-ʷəy-ye-s* I-loc-hold/stay-past-aff

žəyʷás ← *ø-ø-ž-y-ḗ-ye-s* it-him-back.to-she-non.pr-say-past-aff

dḗdḗxʷe-ø Dadukhe-null.obl

[42] *“ábə sḗyʷe dḗzeyʷəsénš,” žəyʷerḗy wezərmés dḗdḗxʷer yḗ blenáfe psḗžem*

qʷəyšerḗy qʷekʷéžás.

"[If] that [be] true, [then] we will live together," he said to her and Wezyrmes returned and led

Dadukhe to his doeskin hunting tent.

ábə ← *e-bə* 3-obl

śay'e true

dəzey'əsens ← də-z+e-γ'ə+s+e-n-ś we- recip+dat-goal+sit+in-vol.fut-aff,

“ We will live together,”

žay'ērəy ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-?e-rəy it-her-back.to-he-non.pr-say-and

wezərmes-ø Wezirmes-null.obl

dādəx'e-r Dadukhwe-null.abs

yə blenāfe ← yə-blené-fe his-doe-skin

psə?e-m tent/hut-obl

q'əyšerəy ← ø-q'e-y-ə-š+e-rəy her-hor-he-non.pr-lead+in-and

q'ek'ežās ← ø-q'e-k'e-ž-ye-ś they-hor-come/go-back-past-aff

[43] máx'ek'e wezərmésər śák'ew, q'əywək'ər dādəx'e yəyāvere yāšxəw žésəm p'e

zerəz yās're γ'eləžəwre máx'e k'édre, žes k'édre blenāfe psə?em səzedepsewāhēs.

“By day Wezirmes hunted. Dadukhe cooked what he killed. They ate. At night they made

separate beds and lay down. Nights passed and they dwelt together in the doeskin hunting

tent/hut.

máx'ek'e ← méx'e-k'e day-inst

wezərmes-ər Wezirmes-abs

śák'ew ← sé+k'e-w hunt+go-adv

q'əywək'ər ← ø-q'e-y-ə-wək'ər what-hor-he-non.pr-kill-abs,;

[The absolutive relative is either /ø-/ or /yə-/.]

dādəx'e-ø Dadukhwe-null.obl

yəyāvere ← ø-ø-y-ə-γé-ve-re it-she-cause-roast-ger(und),

[/-re/ is a gerund with habitual sense; it does not attract stress.]

yāšxəw ← ø-y-he-ə-šxə-w it-3-pl-non.pr-eat-pred

žes-ə-m night-obl

p'e-ø place, bed-indef(inite).null.abs

zerəz ← z-e-rə-z one-conn-instr-one, “separate”

yās're ← ø-y-he-ə-ś'-re them-3-pl-non.pr-make-ger

γ'eləžəwre ← ø-γ'e+lə-ž-əw-re they-goal+lie- recipr.sfx-pred-adv

máx'e ← méx'e day-indef.null.abs

k'édre ← ø-k'ed-re 3-pass.time-ger

žes night-indef.null.abs

k'édre ← ø-k'əd-re 3-pass.time-ger

blenāfe ← blené-fe doe-skin

psə?e-m tent/hut-obl

səzedepsewāhēs ← ø-ø-śə-ze-de-psewə-ye-he-ś

they-it-deixis- recipr-with-live-past-pl-aff, “They dwelt there together.”

[44] dādāx̄'em yəferəy neχəf' x̄'əžāś.

Finally Dadukhe's appearance became better.

dādāx̄'e-m Dadukhwe-obl

yə-fe-rəy her-skin-and, here "her appearance, health"

neχə-f' more-good

x̄'əžāś ← ø-x̄'ə-ž-ye-ś it-become-finally-past-aff

[45] nābže zətəytəm yānéx̄ dāx̄ew x̄'ās.

She became more beautiful than [those] wearing eyebrows.

nābže ← né-bže eye-brow

zətəytəm ← ø-zə-t-y-e-t-əm those(eyebrows)-whom-surf-dir-dat-stand-obl

yānéx̄ ← y-he-neχ 3-pl-more.than

dāx̄ew ← déx̄e-w beautiful-pred

x̄'ās ← ø-x̄'-ye-ś she-become-past-aff

[46] wezərmesrəy dāx̄em, bžəf'ət.

Wezyrmes too was handsome and eloquent.

wezərmes-rəy Wezyrmes-and

dāx̄em ← déx̄e-m beautiful-obl(=adv)

bžəf'ət ← ø-bžə+f'e-ø-t he-tongue+good-be-stat.pres

[47] "yəg'əy se zəg'er bžəys?énəwśəy zəwəməyəg'əsénəw, wəq'eməg'əbžənəw

sənewləe?," žəy?ās dādāx̄'e.

"Now, I shall say something to you. You should not let yourself be depressed. You should not be angry. I am awaiting your reply," Dadukhe said to him.

yə-g'ə-y gen-now-and

se I

zə-g'er one-thing, "something"

bžəys?énəwśəy ← ø-w-ž-yə-s-?e-n-əw-ś-əy it-you-back.to-dir-I-say-fut-def-aff-and

zəwəməyəg'əsénəw ← zə-wə-mə-ye-g'ə+s+e-n-əw

self-you-not-let-heart+sit+in-fut-def, "you will not let yourself become withdrawn, depressed"

wəq'eməg'əbžənəw ← wə-q'e-mə-g'ə+bžə-n-əw

you-ch.of.st-not-heart+melt-fut-def, "you will not be angry"

sə-n-e-w-lə-e-? I-thither-pres-progressive-after-listen, "I am awaiting your reply"

žəy?ās ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-?e-ye-ś it-him-back.to-she-non.pr-say-past-aff

dādāx̄'e-ø Dadukhwe-null.obl

[48] "žə?e zəyəg'əsénq'əm yək'əy səq'eg'əbžənq'əm," žəy?ās, wezərmesəy.

"Say it! I shall not let myself be depressed nor shall I be angry," Wezyrmes said to her.

žə?e ← ø-ž-(w-)?e it-back.to-(you.imp-)say

zəyəg'əsénq'əm [sic!] ← zəz-yeg'əsénq'əm ← zə-s-ye-g'ə+s+e-n-q'əm

self-I-let-heart+sit+in-not, "I will not let myself become withdrawn, depressed"

ya-k'əy gen-or

səq'eg'əbzəŋq'əm ← sə-q'e-g'ə+bzə-n-q'əm

I-ch.of.st-heart+melt-fut-not, "I will not be angry"

žəy'āś ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ŋe-ś it-her-back.to-he-non.pr-say

wezərmes-ø-əy Wezərmes-null.obl-and

[49] "se mə dəwnéyəm teyt zərəy wer f'ek'ā səy'req'əm.

"I have no one in this world except you.

se I

mə-dəwnéy-əm this-world-obl

teyt ← ø-ø-t-y-e-t who-it-surf-dir-dat-stand

zə-rəy one-emph.and, "no one"

we-r you-pro.obl,

[with old oblique case of the pronoun normally found only with postpositions,

such as /we-r-k'e/ you-obl-instr, "with you(r help)"]

f'ek'ā ← f'ek'e-ég except-emph

səy'req'əm ← ø-s-yə-ŋe-q'əm any.one-my-poss-have-not

[50] səzəhāwe sətā mezəλ'ər bwək'āś.

You killed the forest man who was there, who carried me off.

səzəhāwe ← sə-zə-h-ŋe-we me-who-carry-past-pred

sətā ← (yə-)sə-t-ŋe who-there-stand-past

mezə-λ'ər forest-man-abs

bwək'āś ← (yə-)w-wək'-ŋe-ś whom-you-kill-past-aff;

[standard Kabardian /wəwək'āś/]

[51] yəg'ə we dére dəy zāq'e, mə mézəm blenāfe psəʔem dəsəwpsəw, -- wəy g'əʔer

sət?" žəy'req'əy yewəp's'āś.

Now, you, and we are living here alone in the doeskin hunting tent in this forest -- what is your intention?" (she said to him) she asked him.

yə-g'ə gen-now

we you

de-re we-and

dəy zāq'e ← d-yə-zéq'e our-poss-unique/alone

mə-mezə-m this-forest-obl

blenāfe ← blené-fe doe-skin

psəʔe-m tent/hut-obl

dəsəwpsəw ← də-ø-ś-e-w-psəw we-it-deixis-pres-prog-live

wəyɡ'əyər ← w-yə-g'ə+yə-r your-poss-heart+ness-abs, "your intentions"

sə+t what+pro.sfx;[Note the suffix on /xə+t/ who+pro.sfx.]

ø be

žəyʔerəy ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ʔe-rəy it-him-back.to-she-non.pr-say-and

yewəp's'ās ← ø-y-e-wəp's'-yē-ś she-him-to-question-past-aff

[52] "se səynəse q'əześəhek"éžrəy səq'ədək"ās q"āžem.

"My sister-in-law finally [came] to flirt lewdly (*lit.* strongly) with me, [so] I went out from the village.

se I

səynəse ← s-yə-nəse my-poss-sister-in-law

q'əześəhek"éžrəy ← ø-q'ə-z-e-śəhe-k"e-ž-rəy she-hor-me-dat-flirt-strongly-finally-and

səq'ədək"ās ← sə-q'ə-ø-de-k"e-yē-ś I.ch.of.st-it-outside-go-past-aff

q"āžem ← q"éže-m village-obl

[53] wəx'əym fəz wəss'əns, wəx'əym šəpχ' wəss'əns, āwe q"āžem dədəhəžəhəw,"

žəyʔās wezərmés.

You require that I make you a wife, [or] that I make you a sister [before] we enter back in the village," Wezymes said to her.

wəx'əym ← wə-ø-x'e-y-m you-it-for-be.necessary-obl(= adv);

[*lit.*, "You require that..."The alternate, "It is necessary for you that ...", would

be: /pχ'əym ← ø-w-x'e-y-m/ it-you-for-be.necessary-obl.]

fəz woman, here "wife"

wəss'əns ← wə-s-ś'ə-n-ś you-I-make-fut-aff

wəx'əym ← wə-ø-x'e-y-m you-it-for-be.necessary-obl(= adv)

šəpχ' brother+daughter, 'sister'

wəss'əns ← wə-s-ś'ə-n-ś you-I-make-fur-aff

āwe ← é+we 3+adv, 'but'

q"āžem ← q"éže-m village-obl

dədəhəžəhəw ← də-də-he-žə-hə-w we-inside-enter-back-pl-pred;

[Note the reduced plural when followed by the predicative/adverbial.]

žəyʔās ← ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ʔe-yē-ś it-her-back.to-he-non.pr-say-past-aff

wezərmes-ø Wezymes-null.obl

[54] psewās āxer āpχ'édewre zemān k'édk"e.

They lived like that for some time.

psewās ← ø-psewə-yē-ś they-live-past-aff

āxer ← é-he-r 3-pl-abs,[Postposed over the preceding for emphasis.]

āpχ'édewre e-b-x'e-de-w-re 3-obl-for-be.like-pred-adv

zemān-ø time-indef.null.abs

k°ed-k°e time.pass-instr, “for some time”

[55] zeg°erəm nārther šāk°ew mézəm wezəməsər yālāγās.

On a certain day Narts hunting in the forest saw Wezyrmes.

ze-g°erə-m one-certain-obl, “on a certain [day]”

nārt-he-r Nart-pl-abs

šāk°e-w ← šé+k°e-w hunt+go-pred

mezə-m forest-obl

wezəmes-ər Wezyrmes-abs

yālāγās ← ø-y-he-ə-lāγ°-ye-ś him-3-pl-non.pr-see-past-aff

[56] yəwəz yəwəverəy k°āhes yə blenāfe psəʔem.

They followed his trail and came to his doe skin hunting tent.

yə-wəz his-trail

yəwəverəy ← ø-yə-wəve-rəy they-groove-stay-and

k°āhes ← ø-k°e-ye-he-ś they-come/go-past-pl-aff

yəblenāfe ← yə-blené-fe his-doe-skin

psəʔe-m tent/hut-obl

[57] “q°ek°éž!” žārəy šāγezəhās wezərmésər.

“Come back!” they said and caused Wezyrmes to turn around.

q°ek°ež ← (wə-)q°e-k°e-ž (you.imp)hor-come-back

žārəy ← žāʔerəy ← ø-ž-y-he-ə-ʔe-rəy it-him-back.to-3-pl-non.pr-say-and

šāγezəhās ← ø-še-y-he-ə-γe-zə+he-γe-ś

him-in(.self)-3-pl-non.pr-cause-turn+around-past-aff;

[Note the effect of the non-present vowel, /-ə-/, in deleting the vowel of the preverb, /-še-/ → /-š-/ , and thereby setting up the environment for glide-flipping and y-loss, linearly: /-še-y-he-ə-/ → /-š-y-he-/ → /-š-y-eh-/ → /-š-e(y)h-/ → /-šā-/ .]

wezərmes-ər Wezyrmes-abs

[58] wezərmésəm zərəy žəyʔāq°əm.

Wezyrmes said nothing.

wezərmes-əm Wezyrmes-obl

zə-rəy one-emph.and, “anything”

žəyʔaq°əm ← ø-(ø)-ž-y-ə-ʔe-γe-q°əm

it-(them)-back.to-he-non.pr-say-past-not,

[For overt ‘them’ one should have

/ø-ø-he-ž-y-ə-ʔe-γe-q°əm/ it-3-pl-back.to-he-non.pr-say-past-not.]

[59] “yáməsre yə fəzəmre fəyγ’əsew q’ák’em dānek’ēžāns,” žəyγās dādāx’e.

“We will go back thence when Yimis and his wife come [here] as your companions,” said

Dadukhe.

yáməs-re Yimis-and

yə-fəz-əm+re his-woman-obl+and,

[The conjunction of common nouns is bound with what appears to be the oblique case, where as that of proper nouns is not.]

fəyγ’əsew ← f-yə-γ’ə+s+e-w your.pl-poss-goal+sit+in-pred, “as your companions”

q’ák’em ← ø-q’é-k’ē-m they-hor-come-obl(= adv)

dānek’ēžāns ← dā-ne-k’ē-ž-ān-ś we-thither-go-fut-aff

žəyγās ← ø-ž-y-ə-?e-γe-ś it-back.to-she-non.pr-say-past-aff

dādāx’e Dadukhwe-null.obl

[60] p’āλ’e žāx’əyγār q’esrəy yáməsre yə fəzəmre yāxētəw nārther zerəhāhes

wezərməsəm yə blenāfe pśə?em.

After a time that of which she spoke came to pass, the Narts entered together the doeskin

hunting tent of Wezymes with Yimis and his wife standing among them

p’āλ’e ← p’ēλ’e time.interval-indef.null.obl

žāx’əyγār ← ø-ž-ø-x’ē-y-ə-?e-γe-r it-back.to-which-for-she-non.pr-say-past-ger,

”that of which she spoke,” [with dummy direct object, and original

direct object moved to benefactive position]

q’esrəy ← ø-q’ē-s-rəy it-hor-arrive-and

yáməs-re Yimis-and

yə-fəz-əm+re his-woman-obl+and

yāxētəw ← ø-y-he-ξe-t-əw they-3-pl-among-stand-pred

nārther Nart-pl-abs

zerəhāhes ← ø-z+e-rə-ħe-γe-he-ś

they- recip+dat-instr-enter-past-pl-aff,

“They entered with one another (the Narts with Yimis and his wife).”

wezərməs-əm Wezymes-obl

yə blenāfe ← yə-blené-fe his-doe-skin

pśə?e-m tent/hut-obl

[61] dādāx’e yáməs yə fəzəm byedewəverəy žəyγās:

Dadukhe drew up along side the wife of Yimis and said:

dādāx’e-ø Dadukhwe-null.abs

yáməs-ø Yimis-null.obl

yə-fəz-əm his-woman-obl

byedewəverəy ← ø-ø-bye+de-wəve-rəy she-her-chest+near-stop-and

žəyγās ← ø-ž-y-ə-?e-γe-ś it-back.to-she-say-past-aff, [with [62] as its direct object]

[62] “fəq’ədəpəl xet neχ dāxe de yət’rəm,” žeyrəy.

“You all look at us! Who is the more beautiful of our pair?” she said.

fəq’ədəpəl ← fə-q’ə-d-e-pəl you.pl-hor-us-dat-look

xet ← who+pro.sfx

neχ ← more

dāxe ← déxe beautiful

de ← we, our

yət’rəm ← poss-pair-obl; [Unusual disjointed possessive, ‘the two of us’]

žeyrəy ← ø-ž-y-e-že-rəy it-back.to-sje-pres-say-and,

[63] “werás neχ dāxer,” žāṛás nārthem.

“You are the more beautiful,” said the Narts.

werás ← we-r-ø-é-é-ś you-obl-be-emph-aff,

[The pronoun shows the old oblique stem with /-r-/ of first and second persons that occurs with the predicative /-w/. This is probably the source of the copula ‘to be,’ /arə/ ← /erə/, confined to the past form, /arəy/ ← /erə-ye/ ‘it was,’ or the form for ‘yes,’ /arə/ ← /erə/. This root can take a personal index and reveal its underlying open vowel, /e/, which is then no longer in onset, as with /w-erə-ye-ś/ → /werás/. The form in the text is clearly present.]

neχ ← more

dāxer ← déxe-r beautiful-abs, ‘beautiful one’

žāṛás ← ø-ž-y-he-že-ye-ś it-back.to-3-pl-say-past-aff

nārt-he-m ← Nart-pl-obl

[64] “fəy g’əyés, se wezərmés sərəfəzəw, áwe se wezərmés sərəyγ’əsés yələs

zəq’em meχ’ərəy q’əze?’əssáq’əm.

“Your assumption [is that] Wezrymes [has been] with me as [his] wife, but Wezrymes [has been] with me as [his] companion for several years passing and he has not touched me at all.

fəy g’əyés ← f-yə-g’ə+ye-ø-ś your.pl-poss-heart+wear, “your assumption”

se ← me

wezərmés-ø ← Wezrymes-null.abs

sə-rə-fəz-əw ← me-instr-woman-pred, “with me as [his] wife”

áwe ← é+we 3+adv, “but”

se ← me

wezərmes-ø ← Wezrymes-null.abs

sərəyγ’əsés ← sə-r-yə-γ’ə+s+e-ø-ś me-instr-poss-goal+sit+in-be-aff,

“with me being his companion”

yə-λes ← gen-year

zəq’em ← several-obl

me-χ’ə-rəy ← 3.intrans-happen/pass-and

q'əzeŋ'əssaq'əm ← ø-q'ə-s-e-ŋ'əs(e)+s-ŋe-q'əm

he-hor-me-to-touch-never-past-not,

[with reduplication of the last consonant of the root to denote intense negation,

in place of the usual suffix, /-x̄xe-/; The root is a metaphorical extension of

/-ŋ'ə+s+e-/ edge+sit+in, 'to sit/be near some one.']

[65] se q'əsəzəməŋ'əsāk'ye mə ŋéyəm dáwe yəŋ'əsént wezərmés," žəyŋérəy

qəywəməsās yəməs yə fəzər.

Without touching me how could Wezrymes touch this evilone?" she said to her, accusing the wife of Yimis.

se me

q'əsəzəməŋ'əsak'ye ← ø-q'ə-śə-s-e-mə-ŋ'əs-ŋe-k'ye

he-hor-deixis-me-to-not-touch-past-instr

mə-ŋeyə-m this-bad.one-obl, [/ŋeyə/ ← /ŋe+yə/ be.standing+bad/ugly]

dāwe ← dé+we what.way+adv, 'how'

yəŋ'əsént ← ø-yə-ŋ'əse-n-t he-her-touch-fut-irrealis

wezərmes-ø Wezrymes-null.abs

žəyŋérəy ← ø-ž-y-ə-ŋe-rəy it-back.to-she-non.pr-say-and

qəywəməsās ← ø-qe-y-ə-wə+məs-ŋe-ś her-hor-she(D)-non.pr-accuse-past-aff

yəməs-ø Yimis-null.obl

yə+fəz-ər his-woman-abs

[66] ābdéyžəm wezərmésəm dādóŋ'er fəzəw q'ərāŋešās.

Henceforth, they let Wezrymes lead off Dadukhe as his woman.

ābdéyžəm ← e-b-de+y+ž-əm 3-obl-near-dir-go.off-obl(= adv), 'henceforth'

wezərmes-əm Wezrymes-obl

dādóŋ'e-r Dadukhwe-abs

fəz-əw woman-pred

q'ərāŋešās ← ø-q'y-e-y-he-ə-ŋe-š-ŋe-ś

her-hor-him-dat-3-pl-non.pr-let-lead.off-past aff, 'they let him carry her off as his bride'

[67] yəməs yə fəzəm yəsŋer q'əyŋezəŋāwe k'y'erās'érəy, nārthem wezərmésəmre

dādóŋ'emre q'āséžrəy q'ek'éžāheś.

They made the wife of Yimis, with her head bowed down, follow behind. The Narts went back leading Wezrymes and Dadukhe.

yəməs-ø Yimis-null.obl

yə-fəz-əm his-woman-obl

yə-šŋe-r her-head-abs

q'əyŋezəŋāwe ← ø-q'e-y-ə-ŋe-zə+ŋe-ŋe-we

she-hor-he-non.pr-make-turn+down-past-pred, 'he having made her lower her head (in shame)'

k'y'erās'érəy ← ø-k'y'e-r-y-he-ə-ś'e-rəy her-tail-loc-3-pl-non.pr-make-and,

'they made her walk at the rear'

nārt-he-m Nart-pl-obl

wezərmes-əm+re Wezymes-obl+and ;[extension of common noun conjunction]

dādəʃ'e-m+re Dadukhwe-obl+and

q'āšežrəy ← ø-q'e-y-he-ə-š+e-ž-rəy them-hor-3-pl-non.pr-lead+in-back-and,

'they led them back into (the village)'

q'ek'ežāheš ← ø-q'e-k'e-ž-ye-he-š they-hor-come-back-past-pl-aff

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