Ranko Matasović

A SHORT GRAMMAR OF EAST CIRCASSIAN (KABARDIAN)

Translated from Croatian with the help of Tena Gnijatović

ninth version

ZAGREB 2010
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abkh. = Abkhaz  
adm. = admirative  
ADV = adverbial  
advers. = adversative  
Adyg. = Adyghean  
af. = affirmative  
ant. = anterior  
assoc. = associative, associative plural  
caus. = causative  
cond. = conditional  
conj. = conjunctivity  
dir. = directional (directional prefix)  
ERG = ergative  
evid. = evidential  
fut. = future  
fut.II = future II  
ger. = gerund  
imp. = imperative  
impf. = imperfect  
inf. = infinitive  
INST = instrumental  
inter. = interrogative  
intrans. = intransitive  
invol. = involuntative  
Kab. = Kabardian  
neg. = negation  
NOM = nominative  
opt. = optative  
part. = participle  
perm. = permissive  
pl. = plural  
plup. = pluperfect  
poss. = possessive  
pot. = potential  
pref. = prefix  
pres. = present  
pret. = preterite  
quot.part. = quotative particle  
rec. = reciprocal  
refl. = reflexivity  
rel. = relative particle  
rec. = reciprocal prefix  
Rus. = Russian
sg. = singular
trans. = transitive
Ub. = Ubykh
ver. = version
PREFACE

This grammar should be used with some caution, not only because it was written by a linguist who is far from being a fluent speaker of Kabardian. It is largely compilatory in nature, and many examples were drawn from the existing works on Kabardian by M. L. Abitov, Mukhadin Kumakhov, and others. However, I have also excerpted and analyzed many sentences from the literature, especially from the Nart corpus (Nārtxar, 1951, Nārtxar, 2001), and some examples were elicited from native speakers. Although I have relied heavily on the published scholarly works on Kabardian, my interpretations of the data are sometimes very different from those in the available literature. I have tried to approach the Kabardian language from a typological point of view, comparing its linguistic features, that may appear strange to speakers of Indo-European languages, to similar features found in other languages of the world. Although primarily designed for linguists, I hope that at least parts of this overview of Kabardian grammar may be of some use to laymen. If it succeeds in attracting at least a few people to the study of Kabardian, this grammar will have served its purpose.

Apart from John Colarusso's grammar (1992) and his recently published grammatical sketch (2006), and the largely outdated monograph by Aert Kuipers (1960), this is, to my knowledge, the only general overview of the structure of Kabardian available in English. In contrast to these three works, which were composed as a result of field work with native speakers from the Kabardian diaspora, this grammar attempts to describe the standard Kabardian language used in the Kabardino-Balkar Republic of the Russian Federation.

This grammar is a result of my long-standing endeavor to learn this exciting and fascinating, though incredibly difficult language. In a world in which a language dies out every fortnight, the linguist's task is at least to describe the small languages threatened by extinction. Although the statistics on the number of speakers of Kabardian does not lead one to think that Kabardian is in immediate danger of extinction, especially if compared with other small Caucasian languages in Russia, sociolinguistic data show that the number of native speakers is decreasing among the younger generations; it seems that it is especially in the diaspora that Kabardian is facing extinction. As R. M. W. Dixon wrote, anyone who calls themselves a linguist should assume the task of saving at least one endangered language from oblivion. This work is my response to this greatest challenge that linguists, as well as other people who care about the preservation of linguistic diversity, are facing today.

Finally, I would like to thank Lemma Maremukova and Alim Shomahua for their help and for the examples they provided as native speakers of Kabardian. Globalization, which is partly responsible for the mass extinction of languages, has, on the other hand, opened some, until recently unimaginable, possibilities for the investigation of languages over large distances, for "field work" via Internet. Fəš'āšəxəa.

Zagreb, 29 November 2008
INTRODUCTION

The Kabardian language is a member of the Abkhaz-Adyghean (Northwest Caucasian) language family. Together with the closely related Adyghean language Kabardian constitutes the Adyghean branch of this family, while Abkhaz and Abaza constitute the other branch (these are also considered to be dialects of the same language by some linguists). The third, transitional branch was formed by the recently extinct Ubykh:

![Proto-Abkhaz-Adyghean](attachment:proto.png)

The frequent common name for Adygheans and Kabardians is Circassians. The names Kabardian and Circassian are alloethnonyms. The Adygheans and the Kabardians call themselves ādəγa, and their language ādəγabzə. Their languages are mutually quite intelligible, and most Adygheans and Kabardians consider themselves members of the same nation, with a common history and a common set of social institutions and customs (ādəγa xābza).

The Kabardians are the easternmost Abkhaz-Adyghean people. Their country is bordered by Ossetia to the south, by Chechnia and Ingushetia to the east, and by the

---

1 The NW Caucasian languages may be affiliated with the NE Caucasian (Nakh-Dagestanian) languages, but this hypothesis is still unproven sensu stricto (but see, e.g., Dumézil 1933, Abdokov 1981, 1983). Some linguists connect them to the exact Hattic language of Anatolia (cp. Chirikba 1996, Braun 1994). In my opinion, the evidence suffices to show areal and typological, but not necessarily genetic links between Hattic and NW Caucasian.

2 It seems that Ubykh was dialectally closer to the Adyghean languages than to the Abkhaz-Abaza languages (Kumaxov 1976). However, Chirikba (1996) rejects this, and proposes an Ubykh-Abkhazian node.

3 The ethnonym Kabardians (Rus. kabardincy) is of unknown origin (Kabardians derive it from the name of one ancient chief, Kabarda Tambiev), while the ethnonym Circassians (Rus. čerkésy, older čerkasy) has two etymologies; some relate it to the Greek name Kerkétau for one of the ancient peoples on the east coast of the Black Sea (e. g. Der Kleine Pauly, s. v.), and others derive it from the Ossetian cárgās, originating from a Scythian word ėčarkas "nobleman" (e.g. M. Vasmer, Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, s. v.). The name kasogъ, pl. kasozi "Circassians" is found from the 10th century in Old Russian, and most linguists relate it to the Ossetian käsäg "Circassian" (according to Vasmer this name is also related to the Scythian word ėčarkas "nobleman"). The resemblance with the ancient inhabitants of Northern Anatolia, Kaskas, is probably accidental. Finally, the name by which Circassians are called by the Abkhazians, á-zxъa, has been compared with Gr. Zýgoi, Zikkhoí, which designated a people on the NE Caucasus in the 1st century AD. This could, perhaps, be related to Kabardian c'zxъ "man" (Chirikba 1996: 3).

4 In the Soviet age, in accordance with the "divide and rule" principle, Circassians in the Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Region of Russia were also set apart as a distinct ethnic group, but they consider themselves descendants of immigrant Kabardians. Their literary language is close to standard Kabardian, though it does have some characteristics which link it to Adyghean (cf. Kumaxova 1972: 22-23).
Abazinia region to the west. The Abkhaz-Adyghean languages used to be spoken along the entire eastern coast of the Black Sea, from the Kuban River (Kabardian \textit{Psož}) almost as far as the town of Batumi, and in the interior all the way to the Terek River\textsuperscript{5}. The Kabardians became a distinct ethnic group in the Middle Ages. They were one of the dominant peoples to the north of the Caucasus, and they established diplomatic relations with the Muscovite kingdom as early as the 15\textsuperscript{th} century. Emperor Ivan the Terrible married the Kabardian princess Goshenay, christened as Maria Temriukovna. In the course of the next couple of centuries a few important Russian noblemen and army leaders were of Kabardian origin. Slave trade in the Islamic world brought numerous Circassians into various countries of the Near East, and it is believed that the Mameluke dynasty, which ruled Egypt from 1379 to 1516, was of Circassian origin. Unlike the Adygheans and the West Circassians, whose society mostly remained organized into large families and clans/tribes, the Kabardians have developed a feudal social organization with princes (\textit{warq}), noblemen (\textit{ps̄ə}) and serfs/commoners (\textit{wəna?wət}). Part of the nobility converted to Orthodoxy during the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, and in the course of the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries Islam spread into Kabardia. The majority of the population, however, remained loyal to pagan traditions, still alive in the Kabardian folklore. Islam was not solidified until the 19\textsuperscript{th} century wars with the Russians, and a part of the Kabardian people (speakers of the Mozdok dialect) remained true to Orthodoxy. After the Russian conquest of Caucasus in 1864 the Adygheans became isolated in the north (around the city of Maykop), and the area where all the other Abkhaz-Adyghean languages used to be spoken has decreased due to Russian immigration, and due to the exodus of almost all Ubykhs and of many Circassians into the Ottoman Empire\textsuperscript{6}.

There are more than 400 000 speakers of Kabardian living in the Kabardino-Balkar Republic and the neighbouring areas. More than 90\% of ethnic Kabardians use Kabardian as their mother-tongue, but almost all of them are bilingual and speak Russian as well. Kabardians are today an absolute majority in the Kabardino-Balkar Republic of the Russian Federation, with 55.3\% of the population according to the 2002 census. Other important ethnic groups are Turkic Balkars, with around 11\% of the population, and Russians, whose number is decreasing (according to the 2002 census they constituted around 25\% of the population). The number of Kabardian speakers abroad is unknown, but it is believed that a significant number of them still live in Jordan, Turkey and Syria, where they emigrated after the Russian conquest of Caucasus in 1864. It is believed that around 400 000 Kabardians and Adygheans were then exiled, while their descendants went through a partial linguistic assimilation in their new countries. Today there are around 200 000 ethnic Kabardians in Turkey and around 30 000 in Syria\textsuperscript{7}, but it is not known how many of them still speak Kabardian. Part of the Syrian Kabardians emigrated to the USA after the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights (1967), and settled as a relatively compact group in New Jersey. Most

\textsuperscript{5} The original homeland of the Abkhaz-Adyghean languages must have comprised the Black Sea coastal area as well, because common words for "sea" (Ubykh \textit{sə}, Adyghean \textit{xə}, Kabardian \textit{xə}), for "big sea fish" (Abkhaz \textit{a-psə}, Ubykh \textit{psa}, Adyghean \textit{pca}, Kabardian \textit{bdza}), etc. can be reconstructed (see Klimov 1986: 52).

\textsuperscript{6} A part of Kabardians and other West Caucasian refugees ended up in Kosovo, where their language survived until recently in two villages, cf. Özbek 1986. It appears that all of the remaining Kosovo Circassians were resettled in Russia a few years ago.

\textsuperscript{7} Kabardian is also preserved in a few villages in Israel, and until recently there was a primary school in Kabardian in one of these villages.
speakers of Kabardian in Jordan are centered around Amman, where there is a private school with classes held in Kabardian. In central Turkey Kabardians and other Circassians live around the cities of Samsun, Amasya and Sivas. While the use of Kabardian (and other Circassian idioms) was persecuted under Atatürk, the situation has become a bit better recently. Today Circassian culture associations are being founded in Turkey as well, and their language is making a humble appearance in the media (especially the Internet). Turkish television recently started broadcasting shows in Kabardian and Adyghean.

From the typological point of view, Kabardian shares many common features with other Abkhaz-Adyghean languages: a complex system of consonants (though simpler than in Ubykh, for example), an extremely simple vowel system, a complex prefixation system and the S(ubject) O(bject) V(erb) order of syntactic constituents. There are, however, some typological differences between Abkhaz-Abaza and Kabardino-Adyghean. Unlike Abkhaz-Abaza, the Adyghean languages do not have grammatical gender, but they do have cases. Adpositional phrases are expressed as in the Indo-European languages, and not according to the HM (head marking) pattern, as in Abkhaz-Abaza. This means that a Kabardian postpositional phrase consists of the postposition and the governed noun only, without any person/gender affixes on the postposition (as, for example, in Abkhaz). The verbal system, however, is in some respects even more complicated than in Abkhaz-Abaza.

Kabardian was a non-written language until the beginning of the twentieth century, though there were attempts to write it down using an adapted Arabic script. Up until the 20th century Classical Arabic was the language of literacy throughout the Caucasus. Special alphabets for Kabardian, based on Arabic and the Russian Cyrillic, were developed by the Kabardian scholar Shora Nogma (1801-1844), who is also the author of the first Kabardian-Russian dictionary (which was not published until 1956). However, these alphabets have not persisted, and neither have the Arabic and Latin alphabets developed by a Turkish doctor of Kabardian origin, Muhamed Pçegatluxov (1909-1910). The Latin script was adapted for Kabardian in 1923 by M. Xuranov in Soviet Russia, and in 1924 the first Kabardian periodical began to be published in Latin script. Classes in primary schools have been held in Kabardian since 1923. In 1936 the Latin alphabet was replaced by an adapted Russian Cyrillic, still used as the Kabardian alphabet. The last reform of the Kabardian Cyrillic was in 1939. There are some attempts today to reintroduce the Latin script, especially with the Kabardian diaspora in Turkey, where the Latin alphabet is used. These attempts, however, have not taken hold in Kabardia. To abandon the Cyrillic script would mean to give up the literary tradition which has been developing for some seventy years now.

Standard Kabardian is based on the Baksan dialect, spoken in Great Kabardia, which today constitutes a significant part of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic in the Russian

---

8 For the term HM (head marking), introduced by Johanna Nichols, and for other commonplace terms of linguistic typology, see Matasović 2001.
9 On the beginnings of literacy in Kabardian see Kumaxova 1972: 18-21. The fate of the Latin alphabet adapted for Circassian by G. Kube Shaban is also interesting. Shaban was a Circassian scholar who was taken prisoner near Dravograd (on the Slovenian-Austrian border) as a soldier of the Wehrmacht, but he ran away from the British camp and settled in Syria, where he developed educational institutions for Circassians in the 50-ies (Özbek 1982). However, the regime of the Baath party abolished all cultural institutions of Circassians in Syria in the 1960-ies, so that Kube Shaban’s alphabet was also abandoned.
Federation (west of the Terek River). There are also the Besleney dialect (also called Besney, spoken in the Karachay-Cherkess Republic of the Russian Federation and in the Krasnodar area), the Mozdok dialect (spoken in the north of North Ossetia, where some Kabardians are believed to have emigrated some time before the 16th century), and the Kuban dialect (spoken in the territory of the Republic of Adyghea in the Russian Federation). All dialects are mutually intelligible, and Besleney differs most from the other dialects, being, in a sense, transitional between Eastern Circassian (Kabardian proper) and Western Circassian (Adyghean, or Adyghe, divided into Bzhedhugh, Temirgoy, Abadzekh, and Shapsugh dialects). Besleney is spoken in the region from which the majority of Kabardians are believed to have emigrated, probably in the 13-14th centuries, to Great Kabarda.

Along with Russian and Balkar, Kabardian is one of the official languages of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic of the Russian Federation. In the first four grades of primary school in the Kabardino-Balkar Republic classes are held in Kabardian, and there is a Kabardian Department at the University of Nalchik (the capital of Kabardia). Literature and the publishing industry in Kabardian are poorly developed, but there is a huge corpus of oral literature, with the mythological Nart Epic standing out (Colarusso 2002). There are a few weeklies and the daily Mayak ("Lighthouse") published in Kabardian. The official daily newspaper Adọγa psāla ("Adyghean Word") is available on the Internet (http://www.adyghepsale.ru). Note also the monthly magazine Psyna "Source" (http://www.psna.ru). Radio Free Europe (http://www.lrfe.org) broadcasts news in Kabardian on the "listen on demand" principle.

---

10 Speakers of the Kuban dialect are trilingual, they speak Adyghean along with Russian and Kabardian (Kumaxova 1972). They are rather recent immigrants into the region.
11 For an overview of Kabardian dialects, see Kumaxov (ed.) 1969.
PHONOLOGY

Kabardian has one of the most complex phonological systems of all the languages in the world. In native words there are only two vowels and around fifty consonants (depending on the dialect). The vowel $a$ can be both short and long (ie. $a$ and $ā$). The difference between $a$ and $ā$ is not only in their length, but also in their quality, though phonetic descriptions differ. In the pronunciation of my informants, $ā$ is a low open vowel, while $a$ is a central open vowel (as in the phonological description by Kumaxov (ed.) 2006). Kuipers (1960) thinks that $ā$ is not a distinct phoneme, but rather a phonological sequence of the short $a$ and the consonant $h$ in all positions except at the beginning of a word, where it can be analyzed as $ha$. Kuipers’s analysis, though disputed, has the advantage of enabling us to formulate a simple rule according to which all Kabardian words start with a consonant, since $a$ and $ā$ can never occur word-initially. In the speech of many Kabardians the initial $ā$ is, indeed, realized with a "prosthetic" $h$.

VOWELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>short</th>
<th></th>
<th>long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$ə$</td>
<td>$a$</td>
<td>$ā$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel $o$ appears in loan-words; the diphthong $aw$ is pronounced as $ō$ in some surroundings, the diphthong $ow$ as $ī$, the diphthong $ow$ as $ū$ and the diphthong $ay$ as $ē$. Alternative accounts of Kabardian phonology posit two short vowels ($ə$ and $a$) and five long vowels ($ā$, $ē$, $ī$, $ō$, $ū$). Only the vowel $ā$ can occur in the word-initial position in native words.

CONSONANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>unvoiced</th>
<th>voiced</th>
<th>glottalized</th>
<th>resonants</th>
<th>glides</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p$</td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$p'$</td>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>$w$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$f$</td>
<td>$v$</td>
<td>$f'$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$c$</td>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>$dz$</td>
<td>$t'$</td>
<td>$c'$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$s$</td>
<td>$z$</td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td>$l'$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>$r$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$č$</td>
<td>$ď$</td>
<td>$č'$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$y$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$š$</td>
<td>$š$</td>
<td>$ž$</td>
<td>$ž'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar</td>
<td>$k^w$</td>
<td>$g^w$</td>
<td>$k'^w$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 The difference between $a$ and $ā$ is not only in their length, but also in their quality, though phonetic descriptions differ. In the pronunciation of my informants, $ā$ is a low open vowel, while $a$ is a central open vowel (as in the phonological description by Kumaxov (ed.) 2006). Kuipers (1960) thinks that $ā$ is not a distinct phoneme, but rather a phonological sequence of the short $a$ and the consonant $h$ in all positions except at the beginning of a word, where it can be analyzed as $ha$. Kuipers’s analysis, though disputed, has the advantage of enabling us to formulate a simple rule according to which all Kabardian words start with a consonant, since $a$ and $ā$ can never occur word-initially. In the speech of many Kabardians the initial $ā$ is, indeed, realized with a "prosthetic" $h$.

13 Aert Kuipers (1960, 1968) tried to eliminate the phonological opposition between the vowels $a$ and $ə$ as well, claiming that it is actually a feature of "openness" which should be ascribed to consonants (like palatalization, glottalization and labialization). In Kuipers's analysis the opposition between $pa$ and $pə$ in Kabardian is not an opposition between two vowels, but rather between an "open" ($pa$) and a "closed" ($pə$) consonant ($p$). This would make Kabardian the only language in the world without the opposition between vowels and consonants, but most Caucasiologists do not accept this analysis by Kuipers (for a critical review see, e. g., Halle 1970, Kumaxov 1973, Anderson 1991).
According to some authors\textsuperscript{14} labiovelars ($k^w$, $g^w$, $k'^w$) are actually labialized uvulars, while the point of articulation of uvulars is even deeper in the pharynx (they represent pharyngeal consonants\textsuperscript{15}). The dialect described in J. Colarusso's grammar (1992) has pharyngeal fricatives as well; in the standard language described by this grammar they have, as far as I was able to determine from the examples, become velar fricatives. The voiceless laryngeal fricative $h$ has its voiced pair in the standard speech of the older generation, which penetrated the language mostly through Arabic loanwords, e.g. Hazāb "torment"; the Kabardian Cyrilic does not have a distinct symbol for this segment, which becomes $h$ in the speech of the younger generation and is written with the digraph $xь$.

In the speech of many Kabardians from the diaspora (especially from Turkey)\textsuperscript{16} some oppositions, still preserved in Kabardia, have been lost, such as the one between $ś$ and $š$ (Turkish Kabardian has got only $ś$). The pronunciation of the stops which are described here as voiced and voiceless varies from speaker to speaker (apparently, this has nothing to do with the dialect, but rather with cross-linguistic interference). Some speakers pronounce voiceless stops as voiceless aspirated stops ($p̣$, $ṭ$, $ḳ$); these speakers sometimes unvoice voiced stops (i.e. instead of $b$, $d$, $g$ they pronounce $p$, $t$, $k$). Only the glottalized stops are consistently ejective with all speakers, regardless of the dialect.

Laterals $l$, $ł$, and $ł'$ are actually lateral fricatives: $l$ is voiced, $ł$ voiceless, and $ł'$ glottalized. The fact that it has lateral fricatives without having the lateral resonant [l] (except in loan-words) makes Kabardian typologically unique. The presence of glottalized fricatives $ś'$, $ł'$ and $ł''$ is also typologically rare. Besides Kabardian, segments such as these are found only in some American Indian languages (of the Salishan and the Na-Dene language families) and in some dialects of Abkhaz.

As in other Caucasian languages, the consonant $r$ can never occur at the beginning of a word, except in recent borrowings; older borrowings receive an unetymological prosthesis, e.g. $wərəs$ "Russian".

Among the velar stops, Kabardian does not have the segment $k$ (except in loan-words); it has only the labiovelar $k^w$, $g^w$ and $k'^w$. The segments transcribed in this grammar as $č$, $dž$ and $č'$ are, according to some descriptions, palatalized velars ($k^ö$, $g^ö$ and $k'^ö$)\textsuperscript{17}. This would make Kabardian a typologically unique language, having

\textsuperscript{14} E. g. Kumaxova 1972.
\textsuperscript{15} E. g. according to Kumaxov (ed.) 2006: 51.
\textsuperscript{16} See Gordon & Applebaum 2006: 162.
\textsuperscript{17} According to Kumaxova (1972) in the contemporary standard pronunciation these segments are palatal affricates, but in the older and the dialectal pronunciation they are palatalized velars. Turkish
palatalized and labialized velars without having the "unmarked", regular velars. (This
is exactly the kind of system that some linguists ascribe to the Proto-Indo-European
language).

Voiceless stops are assimilated to the stops and fricatives that follow them with
respect to the features of voice and glottalization:

sa z-lāś "I painted" < *sa s-lāś (cf. sa slağʷ-āš "I saw")

wa plağʷ-āś "you saw" < *wa b-łağʷ-āś (cf. wa blāš "you painted")

da t'ś-āś "we did" (in writing muļauŋ) < *da d-š-āś (cf. da dawš'a "we do")

Two vowels cannot occur next to each other; at a morpheme boundary where the first
morpheme ends and the second one begins with a vowel, the two vowels merge,
whereby the lower vowel is always stronger (i. e. *ə-a merge as a, *a-ā as ā):

səkʷw-āś "I went" < *sə-kʷa-ā-ś
shāś "I carried it" < *sə-hə-ā-ś

Morpheme-final ə can be deleted in (underlyingly) polysyllabic words, but the exact
rules are complex, and the deletion appears to be optional in some cases (for details
see Colarusso 1992: 43ff.):

hən "carry" but s-aw-h "I carry" < *sawhə
şə "horse" but zə-š "one horse" < *zəšə

The vowel ə is preserved word-finally after y and w, when it merges with the glide
and is pronounced as [iː] viz. [uː], e. g. patmyə "although" [patmiː], džadwə "cat"
[gʲad(uː)].

Unaccented vowels in open syllables are shortened (i. e. ə becomes a):

xāma "foreign" vs. xamâl' "foreigner"

Likewise, accented vowels in open syllables are lengthened (a becomes ā):

dâxa "beautiful" vs. daxâšə "excessively beautiful"

APOPHONY (ABLaut)

Like the Semitic, Kartvelian, and the older Indo-European languages, the Abkhaz-
Adyghean languages have morphologically regular vowel alternations (apophony,
Ablaut\(^\text{18}\). Vowel alternations in Kabardian are most frequently used with verbs, especially to express the category of transitivity/intransitivity.

The most common vowel alternations are:

1. \(a - \hat{a}\): this apophony pattern is used for the opposition between transitive and intransitive verbs, e. g. \(\text{dan} \ "to \ sew \ (intrans.)" \ - \ \text{dən} \ "to \ sew \ (trans.)"\), \(\text{txən} \ "to \ write \ (intrans.)" \ - \ \text{txən} \ "to \ write \ (trans.)"\); in some verbs of movement, the root-final vowel \(a\) also characterizes movement towards the subject (the so called "illative verbs"), while the vowel \(\hat{a}\) characterizes movement away from the subject (the so-called "elative verbs"), cf. \(\text{bğadalat}a\)n "fly towards" vs. \(\text{bğadalat}a\)n "fly away from". Finally, this apophony pattern serves to distinguish cardinal from adverbial numbers, e. g. \(\hat{s}ə\) "three" - \(sə\) "thrice".

2. \(ə - 0\): this pattern is used to distinguish the personal prefixes cross-referencing lowest ranking macrorole arguments (Undergoers, with the "full-grade", \(ə\)) from the prefixes cross-referencing Actors and Obliques (with the "zero-grade", 0):

\[
\text{съ bölə}: \\
\text{sə-}\text{-b-}\text{-d-aw-va} \\
\text{1sg.-2sg.-conj.-pres.-to plow} \\
"I plow together with you" \\
- intransitive verb with the prefix \(sə\) for the 1\(^{\text{st}}\) person sg. as the single core macrorole argument.
\]

\[
\text{бдыə}: \\
\text{b-}\text{-də-}\text{-z-aw-va} \\
\text{2sg-conj.-1sg.-pres.-to plow} \\
"I plow (it) together with you" \\
- transitive verb with the prefix \(z\) for the 1\(^{\text{st}}\) person sg. Actor
\]

3. \(a - 0\): This apophony pattern is merely a special type of the alternation between \(a\) and \(ə\) (\(ə\) is usually dropped in the word-final position). It is used to distinguish between the forms of the illative and elative verbs, e. g. \(\text{yə-}\hat{s} \ "take out!" \ - \ \text{yə-}\hat{sə} \ "bring in!"\), and it also appears in different forms of transitive and intransitive verbs, e. g. \(mə-\text{da} \ "he \ is \ sewing \ (intrans.)" \ - \ \text{ya-}\text{d} \ "he \ is \ sewing \ it \ (trans.)"\). It is also used to distinguish personal prefixes indexing Obliques (non-macrorole core arguments, including the causees of causative verbs) from those indexing Actors and Undergoers, cf. \(\text{yə-x-}\və-\text{va-z-}\hat{\text{gə-}}\hat{s-}\hat{a}\-\hat{s}\) "I made you carry him for them", where -\(və\) indexes the 2pl. causee argument, and \(\text{yə-x-}\və-a-zə-v-\hat{\text{gə-}}\hat{s-}\hat{a}\-\hat{s}\) "you (pl.) made me carry him for them".

**STRESS**

In Kabardian the last syllable carries the stress, except for words ending in \(a\), in which the second-to-last syllable is stressed. Grammatical suffixes are mostly unstressed.

\(^{18}\) Apophony patterns in the Abkhaz-Adyghean languages are typologically particularly similar to those in Proto-Kartvelian (Kumaxov 1971: 202). For a general overview of apophony in the Adyghean languages see Kumaxov 1981: 228 ff.
The following words are thus stressed in this way: zátan "give presents", džátu "sword", but džátmč’a "with the sword", pšása "girl", but pšášaxar "girls". We can formulate the rule: the syllable before the last root consonant carries the stress.

However, some verbal suffixes attract the stress, e.g. the preterite suffix -ā- and the future suffix -nwə-, so these forms, although suffixed, are end-stressed, cp.

усълъагъуац
wə-s-lāğə-ā-ś
2sg.-1sg.-see-pret.-af.
"I saw you"  
съкълъунйш
sə-kʷə-nwə-ś
1sg.-go-fut.-af.
"I will go"

SYLLABLE

Unlike the neighbouring Kartvelian languages, the Abkhaz-Adyghean languages do not have complex consonant clusters in the onset of the syllable; the structure of most syllables is C(C)V(C), and most consonant clusters consist of a stop and a fricative, e.g. t+h: tha "God"
b+ģː: bģʷə "nine"
p+śː: pśʃə "ten", etc.

There are also consonant clusters consisting of two stops, e.g. in the word pqaw "pillar". Some rare clusters consist of three consonants, e.g. in the verb pštən "to boil", or in the noun bżwə "sparrow".

Consonant clusters in Kabardian are predominantly regressive, i.e. the point of articulation of the first element is closer to the lips than that of the second element. Consonant clusters in which the first element is a labial consonant are especially frequent, e.g. pśə "prince, nobleman", psəsa "story", xābza "custom", blə "seven", etc.

Roots are mainly monosyllabic, e.g. fəz "woman", tə- "give", zə- "one", kʷə- "go". Bisyllabic roots, which typically end in a vowel (ʔan earlier suffix), are less frequent, e.g. pšāsa "girl", māza "moon", etc. Many bisyllabic roots are found in borrowings from other languages.

Syllables are normally closed in the middle of a word. Many speakers have a geminate pronunciation of consonants preceded by an open syllable in the middle of a word, which results in the canonical syllable structure, i.e. instead of psəsa "story" they pronounce psəssə, instead of dǒdə "very" they say dədda (Colarusso 1992: 15); if the long vowel -ā- is phonologically analyzed as -ah-, as is the habit of some linguists,
then the rule is that all syllables in the middle of a word are closed. This type of restriction on the syllable structure is typologically very rare in the world's languages.
ORTHOGRAPHY

The Russian Cyrillic alphabet, used as the Kabardian script since 1936, contains the following graphemes\(^9\):

I. consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Affricates</th>
<th>Fricatives</th>
<th>Resonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voic.</td>
<td>unvoic.</td>
<td>glott.</td>
<td>voic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>б</td>
<td>п</td>
<td>пI</td>
<td>м</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>д</td>
<td>т</td>
<td>тI</td>
<td>дз</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>dz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>л</td>
<td>лъ</td>
<td>лI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>дж</td>
<td>ч</td>
<td>кI</td>
<td>жжь</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dž</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>č'</td>
<td>ž ž́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>г</td>
<td>х</td>
<td>ху</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x̌</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ку</td>
<td>ку</td>
<td>кIу</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǩw</td>
<td>ǩv</td>
<td>ǩIv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The grapheme <ъ> denotes the uvular character of the consonants q, q̌, q', q̌', ǵ, ǵ', ҳ and ҳ', and there is a special grapheme used to mark voicelessness of uvulars (hence

---

\(^9\) Rules for the transliteration of the Kabardian Cyrillic applied in this grammar are basically the same as the standard principles of transliteration for the Caucasian languages written in the Cyrillic script, proposed by J. Gippert in his work Caucasian Alphabet Systems Based upon the Cyrillic Script (http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/caucasus/kaukaschr.pdf). Some minor deviations from Gippert's system in this grammar should, however, be brought to the reader's attention: 1) glottalized consonants are written as C', and not as Č; 2) labialized consonants are written as Č, and not as Č; 3) the Cyrillic ń is transliterated as .neo, and not as J; 4) palatalized fricatives are written as š, ž, and not as š, ž'. 5) the Cyrillic letters ʤ, ʤ́ are transliterated as dž, dž', instead of ž, ž'.

<кхъ> = q, < кхь> = q'). The notation of palatal consonants is inconsistent: <дж, ч> denote dž (g'), č (k'), but <кл> is č' (k'). Although the Kabardian orthography is phonological, the notation of some phonological changes is inconsistent20, e. g. the shortening of the long ā which occurs in compounds, cf. xādaxac'"fruit" (the first part of the compound xāda "garden" has a long ā, but the pronunciation in the compound is /xadaxac'/).

Some authors (e. g. M. A. Kumaxov) use шъ and жъ for the palatalized ŝ and ż, instead of the standard щ, жь, since that is how these consonants are denoted in the closely related Adyghean language. However, despite certain efforts to make them more alike (e. g. the 1970 proposition for a common orthography for all Adyghean languages), the Adyghean and the Kabardian orthographies are still quite different21.

II. semi-vowels: ā = y; y = w

III. vowels: а = ā; э = а; ы = э

The Kabardian Cyrillic has some other graphemes for vowels, but these graphemes always denote diphthongs and triphthongs:

я = yā
и = yə
о = aw, wa
у = wə
ю = ywə
е = ay, ya

The grapheme y thus has a double value: it can denote the semi-vowel w or the phonemic sequence (diphthong) wə.

---

21 A few years ago a group of the most distinguished Adyghean and Kabardian linguists put forward a proposal for the creation of the common Adyghean-Kabardian orthography (see Kumaxov (ed.) 2006, I: 40 ff.). Although this proposal received the support of the parliament of the Kabardino-Balkar Republic, at the moment I am writing this its future is still uncertain.
MORPHOLOGY

Kabardian is a polysynthetic language which has a very large number of morphemes compared to the number of words in a sentence. Nouns can take a relatively small number of different forms, but the verbal complex typically contains a large number of affixes for a host of grammatical categories.

In Kabardian the morphemes combine within a word according to the agglutinative principle: each grammatical morpheme expresses only one grammatical category. The exception is the category of person, which is always fused with the category of number in the case of verbs and pronouns: the form da, for example, denotes that a pronoun is in the first person and that it is plural, and it is not possible to divide this form into two morphemes (one for the first person and one for plural). Likewise, the category of definiteness is to a large extent fused with the category of case.

Most of Kabardian inherited morphemes consist of only one segment and a vowel (i.e., the structure is CV)\(^\text{22}\); this results in large number of homonyms; e.g. šə can mean "brother", "horse", "to milk" and "to take out", c’ə means "name" and "louse", dza means "tooth" and "army", xə is "sea" as well as "six", etc. Bisyllabic and polysyllabic roots are mostly found in borrowings, e.g. nāwəka "science" (from Russian), havā "air" (from Persian), āləh "god" (from Arabic), šənəq "glass" (from a Turkic language), etc. Grammatical affixes are generally monosyllabic.

NOMINAL INFLECTION

Nominal categories are: definiteness, number and case. Of all the Abkhaz-Adyghean languages only Abkhaz and Abaza have the category of gender; Kabardian shows no trace of this category. If we consider proclitic possessive pronouns to be possessive prefixes (see below), then possession should also be included in the morphological categories of nouns.

NUMBER

There are two numbers – singular and plural; the plural suffix is -xa: š’āla "young man": š’ālaxar "young men"; wəna "house": wənaxar "houses". The use of the suffix -xa is optional for many nouns, i.e. the suffix is used only when the speaker wants to emphasise that the noun is plural. This is why forms such as sābəy "child/children" c’əxə "man/men" and fəz "woman/women" are inherently neutral with respect to the category of number. These nouns can be construed with both singular and plural forms of verbs:

fəzə-m žayə?”a "the woman is speaking": fəzə-m žāyə?”a "the women are speaking"
c’əxə”əm yaś’ "the man is working": c’əxə”əm yāś’ "the men are working"

\(^{22}\) Three quarters of all morphemes have this structure according to Kuipers (1960).
Similarly, nouns neutral with respect to number can be construed with singular and plural possessive pronouns:

c’əwxəm yəpsawəč’a "a man's life": c’əwxəm yāpsawəč’a "men's life".

The postposition *soma* is used to pluralise personal names: *Dwədār soma* "Dudar and others". This is the so-called "associative plural", which exists, e. g., in Japanese and Hungarian:

过渡ээмахуэ и ишэээым Mэзытэкээ, Амыш, Тхээгэлэджэ, Cозрач, Lьэнш сымэ Псатхэкэ деж щыыэээкээхуэ Санэхуафэ яИэт

"On the top of Uesh'hemakhue (Elbrus) Mazatha, Amish, Thagoledzh, Sozrash, Hlapsh and others were meeting with Psatha (god of life) and having "the drinking of *sana*" (drink of the gods)".

Nouns which denote substance and collective nouns have no plural: *ś’ālaġ wāla* "the youth", *ša* "milk".

**CASE**

Unlike Abkhaz and Abaza, the Adyghean languages (Kabardian and Adyghe) and Ubykh have cases marked by suffixes on nouns, adjectives and pronouns.

The cases are: nominative (-r), ergative (-m), instrumental (-č’a) and adverbial (-wa). Core cases, which express basic syntactic relations within a sentence, are nominative and ergative, and peripheral cases are instrumental and adverbial.

**NOM** джатэр džātar 'sword'

**ERG** джатэм džātam

**INST** джатэмкIэ / джатэкIэ džātamč’a / džātač’a

**ADV** джатэyэ džātawa

The instrumental case has the definite (*džātamč’a*) and the indefinite form (*džātač’a*). Definite forms consist of the ergative marker (-m-) and the suffix for the instrumental (-č’a).

---

23 On this subject see Kumaxov 1971: 7 ff.
24 By all accounts, the case system in the Adyghean-Ubykh languages is an innovation; the Proto-Abkhaz-Adyghean had no cases (Kumaxov 1976, 1989).
The nominative is the case of the nominal predicate:

мы щалэрщ чемпйоныр
mə ś'āla-r-ś čyampyawn-ər
that young man-NOM-af. hero-NOM
"That young man is the champion"

The nominative is the case of the intransitive subject and the transitive object, i.e. the case of the verb argument which is the lowest ranking macrorole (see below):

щалэр йоджэ
ś'āla-r y-aw-dža
boy-NOM 3sg.-pres.-study
"the boy studies"

cэ тхьылъиъ къэсштащ
sa txəła-r q'a-s-št-ā-ś
"I took the book"

The nominative ending –r marks not only the case, but also definiteness. Indefinite NPs generally do not get case marking (see below).

In coordinate constructions marked with the suffix –ra, the nominative case ending –r is replaced by the ending –m (if the subject is definite). This is the same ending that otherwise marks definite obliques and transitive subjects (the ending of the ergative):

щаламрэ пицашъмрэ макъя
ś'āla-m-ra pśāša-m-ra mā-kʷa
boy-NOM-conj. girl-NOM-conj. 3.pres.-go
"The girl and the boy are going"

The ergative is, basically, the general oblique case used for all other grammatical functions; when it marks the actor, the ergative ending is generally obligatory, whereas its use as the oblique case ending is restricted to definite NPs (see below).

The ergative is the case of the transitive subject (the Actor):

стуudiantым тхьылъиъ еджащ
stwədyant-əm txəla-r ya-dž-ā-ś
"The student studied the book"

The ergative can also correspond to the dative case in the European languages; it marks the recipient of the verbs of giving, and other oblique arguments:

а цэхъым тхьылъиъ мы фызым ирет
ā c'əxʷə-m txəła-r mə fəz-əm yə-r-ya-t
that man-ERG book-NOM this woman-ERG 3sg.-3sg.-3sg.-give
"That man gave the book to this woman"

The ergative is also the case which marks the goal of the verbs of movement (like the Latin accusative of the goal):

"And you take your horse to the barn"

The ergative can correspond to the locative case in those European languages which have it, indicating a spatial or temporal location:

"There is poppy in our garden (poppy grows in our garden)"

Croatian: "Ja sam u svojem životu mnogo vidio", with vrt in the locative sg.

In some constructions, the ergative can correspond to the English possessive genitive or prepositional phrase:

"He grew a one month's growth in one day" / "In one day he grew as much as is usually grown in one month"

Thus, ergative functions as both the case of the Actor and as a "general oblique case" covering all other functions of oblique and non-macrorole core arguments, but non-arguments (adjuncts) can also be in the ergative. The other two cases, as a rule, are reserved for non-arguments in the clause, i. e., for the adjuncts.

Nouns and adjectives in the adverbial case (Rus. obstojatel'stvennyj padež) usually correspond to adverbs in the European languages, i. e. they indicate the circumstances under which the action is performed:

---

25 For the ergative case in reciprocals see below.
ожхэп сэтыру хэсац
žy-xa-r sāt-wo xas-ā-š
tree-pl.-NOM row-ADV to plant-pret.-af.
"They planted the trees in rows"

The adverbial can correspond to the genitive in the European languages:

фошыгъуымы киолгрэмм къэсщакъл
fawšəʁ-wo zə kyəlawgram-ʃ məq'asə-ʃx-ā-

to sugar-ADV 1 kilogram-ERG dir.-1sg.-to be involved in shopping-pret.-af.
"I bought 1 kg of sugar"

The adverbial can be the case of the nominal predicate, corresponding to the instrumental in Slavic:

Жагъыщэ Темболет пьцъым и гъысасу арт
Žāġəša Taymbawlayt pśə-y ə gəəsa-wo ār-t
Ž. T. prince-ERG 3sg.poss. servant-ADV it.be-ipf.
"Žagəša Taymbawlayt was the prince's servant"

Interestingly, in the language of the epic poetry, the adverbial can correspond to the vocative case26, i.e. it is used for addressing individuals:

Сосрыкъуэ синэф
Sawsrəqʷ-a-wə syə-naf
S.-ADV 1sg.poss.-light
"O Sosruko, my light!"

The instrumental mostly corresponds to the Slavic instrumental, i.e. it expresses the instrument with which the action is performed (including means of locomotion), cf. šə-m-č'a mā-kʷ-a "he rides the horse", literally "he goes with the horse", or q'arandāś-č'a txən "to write with a pen"; however, the Kabardian instrumental has other functions as well, e.g. it can express various circumstances of the action, as well as the path (but not direction) with verbs of movement, and the duration of an action:

ар махуэк'лэ малахэхэ
ār máxʷ-ə-č'a mā-lāža
he (NOM) day-INST 3sg.-to work
"He works by day"

мээк'лэ къэн
maz-č'a kʷə-n
forest-INST to go-inf.
"to go through the forest"

---

26 Kumaxov (ed.) 2006: 369 calls this "the vocative case", but this is clearly just another use of the adverbial.
 Occasionally, the Instrumental can also express the actor (in some participial constructions):

```
Iuxuxyr cərkIэ ыa  хъуынкъым
?waxwə-r sar-'c'a  ś'-ä  χəə-bar'əm
job-NOM I-INST do-pret.(part.) become-neg.
"I cannot do this job" (lit. "This job does not become done by me")
```

Personal names normally do not differentiate cases (at least not NOM and ERG), but family names do; this is related to the fact that nominative and ergative endings express not only case, but also definiteness. Also, nouns (personal names) in the "associative plural" (see above) show no case differentiation:

```
Мэрен сымэ макIуэ
Maryan səma mā-kwə
M. assoc.pl. 3pl.-go
"Maryan and the others are going"
```

```
Мэрен сымэ сольагъу
Maryan səma s-a-cə-wə-lāgə
M. assoc.pl. 1sg.-pres.-to see
"I see Maryan and the others"
```

In addressing people, nouns referring to them show no case differentiation, i.e. the bare stem is used (similarly as the Indo-European "vocative"):  

```
Нанэ, сыт мы пIцIыр  зынIысIыр  амIэ иджIы
Nāna, sət mə p'ə-s'ə-r  zə-s'ə-s-ə-r  ālə' yədʒə?
mother what this 2sg.-do-pres. part.-dir.-sit-NOM now
"Mother, what is it that you're doing now?"
```

Demonstrative pronouns differentiate cases, but personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person have only got the peripheral cases (adverbal and instrumental), and not the core cases (ergative and nominative). This agrees entirely with Michael Silverstein's hierarchy, according to which the most common case marking pattern in ergative
languages is the one in which 1st and 2nd person pronouns do not differentiate core cases, while nominals and groups lower on the “animacy hierarchy” do (cf. the inverse pattern of case differentiation in the accusative languages, e.g. in English, where the nominative and the accusative are differentiated on the 1st person pronoun, but not on nouns).

Since the category of case (especially of grammatical cases Nominative and Ergative) is connected with the category of definiteness, and syntactical relations within a sentence are expressed by a system of personal prefixes on the verb (see below), there is some uncertainty over the rules of case assignment with some speakers, especially in the case of complex syntactic structures (just as there is often some uncertainty over the rules of the use of articles with speakers of languages which have the definite article).

DEFINITENESS

Definiteness is clearly differentiated only in the core cases, i.e. in the nominative and the ergative: the endings -r and -m are generally added only when the noun is definite; indefinite nouns receive no ending:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{пщащэр} & \quad \text{макъуэ} \\
Pśāśa-r & \quad mā- kʷa \\
girl-3sg.pres.-go & \\
"The girl is going" \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{пшашо} & \quad \text{макъуэ} \\
Pśāśa & \quad mā- kʷa \\
girl-3sg.pres.-go & \\
"A girl is going" \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{пшашо} & \quad \text{унем шлъохь} \\
psāśa-r & \quad wō-na-m ʃ'-aw-ha \\
girl-3sg.pres.-enter & \\
"The girl is entering the house" \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{пшашо} & \quad \text{унем шлъохь} \\
psāśa & \quad wōna ʃ'-aw-ha \\
girl-3sg.pres.-enter & \\
"A girl is entering a house" \\
\end{align*}
\]

The transitive subjects marked with the ergative ending –m generally do not distinguish definite and indefinite forms, as this case marking is (almost) obligatory. However, we do find examples such as the following sentences, where it appears that –m marks both the case of the transitive subject (or Actor) and definiteness:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{пшашо} & \quad \text{унем шлъохь} \\
psāśa & \quad wōna ʃ'-aw-ha \\
girl-3sg.pres.-enter & \\
"A girl is entering a house" \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{пшашо} & \quad \text{унем шлъохь} \\
psāśa-r & \quad wōna-m ʃ'-aw-ha \\
girl-3sg.pres.-enter & \\
"The girl is entering the house" \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{пшашо} & \quad \text{унем шлъохь} \\
psāśa & \quad wōna ʃ'-aw-ha \\
girl-3sg.pres.-enter & \\
"A girl is entering a house" \\
\end{align*}
\]

See Kumaxov 1972, where the grammaticalization of the definiteness marker -r is discussed (from the ending for the formation of participles, it seems). On the category of definiteness in the Adyghean languages see also Kumaxov & Vamling 2006: 22-24.
With some nouns, whose meaning is inherently definite (e.g. māza "moon", nāsəp "happiness", personal names), the nominative/definiteness suffix is optional:

дъзэ(р) сользъю
dəya-(r) s-aw-lāğw
sun-(NOM.) 1sg.-pres.-see
"I see the sun"

Other cases are not used to differentiate definite and indefinite forms of nouns, and the opposition definite/indefinite does not exist in the plural either (see Kumaxov et alii 1996). However, if a noun in the instrumental is definite, the ergative marker -m- is added before the instrumental ending -č’a:

сэ мыр сэмкIэ соцаI
sa mə-r sa-m-č’a s-aw-ś’
I it-NOM knife-ERG.-INST. 1sg.-pres.-do
"I do it with the knife"

The ergative marker m- probably developed from the demonstrative pronoun (cf. maw "this"), which had been "petrified" in the "definite instrumental" before the instrumental ending.

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are divided into two categories in Kabardian: qualitative and relational adjectives. Qualitative adjectives typically follow the noun they modify: wəna yən "big house" (wəna "house"), pśāša dāxa "beautiful girl" (pśāša "girl"). Occasionally they may also precede the noun, e.g. xāma wəna "foreign house" (wəna "house"). Adjectives are declined like nouns, but they show no number and case agreement. If the noun is modified by a qualitative adjective, only the adjective receives the endings for case and number:

унэ хужьxэр
wəna xʷəz-xa-r
house white-pl.-Nom.
"white houses"
If a qualitative adjective precedes the head noun, it is not declined; it may be modified by the adverbial suffix -wə (e.g. məva-wə "made of stone", fa-wə "made of leather"):

дaxэy портфeлыр сэ къэсщэхуащ
dāxa-wə pawrtfaylər sa q'a-s-šax-ā-ş
pretty-ADV wallet I dir.-1sg.-buy-pret.-af.
"I bought a pretty wallet / a pretty wallet I bought".

Qualitative adjectives mostly have analytical comparison: dāxa "beautiful", naχ dāxa "more beautiful", dəda dāxa "the most beautiful" (or "very beautiful") The morpheme naχ is sometimes merged with the adjective into a compound, cf. naχ-ə-ś'a "the youngest" (š'a "young").

There are also suffixes which express the elative superlative: -śa, -?wa, -bza, -ay, but this seems to belong to the domain of word-formation rather than morphology, cf. ?af'ə-śa "the sweetest" (?af' "sweet"), ē'ohə?-wə "the longest" (ē'oh "long"), pləźə-bza "very red" (pləź "red"), etc.

Adding the suffix -?wə to the comparative form gives the adjective a diminutive meaning, e.g. naχ xʷəba-?wə "somewhat warmer" (cp. xʷəba "warm"), naχ ?af'ə-?wə "somewhat sweeter" (?af' "sweet")30. The circumfix xʷə-...-fa has a similar function, e.g. xʷə-daylā-fa "somewhat foolish".

Adjectives can be reduplicated, whereby the first stem receives the suffix -ra "and", and the second the adverbial suffix -w(a). Such reduplicated adjectives have intensive meaning, e.g. bəχ-wə bəχ-wə "extremely broad", pləź-ra-pləź-wə "extremely red", f'yay-ra-f'yay-wə "extremely dirty".

Relational adjectives precede the head noun and they take no case and number endings; they can be formed by adding the relative particle -y to nominal and adjectival stems, e.g. mawdryay "other", dəğ-apšəhəryay "evening":

нобэрe мaхуэ
nawbara-y māxʷə
today's    day
"today"

Some nouns, ordinal numbers and Russian loans (nouns) can also function as relative adjectives, e.g. nawočna "scientific", šha "head", yāpa "first".

Some adjectival meanings are expressed by suffixes: the suffix -šxʷə means "great", cf. dəwnay-šxʷə "great world". The suffix -nša means "being without, -less". It can often be translated as the English preposition without, but its adjectival status can be shown by the fact that nouns to which it is added can get the affirmative marker -ś to build a static verb (see below): sa sə-āda-nša āna-nša-ś (I 1sg.-father-without mother-without-af.) "I am without father and mother" = "I am fatherless and motherless".

---

30 Abitov (ed). 1957: 64.
PERSONAL AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Kabardian personal pronouns are indeclinable. The personal pronouns of the first and second person are similar to, and presumably represent the origin of, the person markers on the verb. There is no trace of the inclusive/exclusive opposition in pronouns, which exists in some NE Caucasian languages.

sg.                     pl.
1.  cə sa          ḏə da
2.  yə wa          phalt  fa
3.  ap ār          ṛaxəp  āxar

The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person also have longer forms sara, wara, dara, fara, which are used as stems to which verbal suffixes can be added:

къэрэшым'+ эрэным
q'arašəway-r  sarā-q'əm
K.-NOM   I-neg.
"I am not Karashawey (a Nart hero)"

Third person pronouns are also used as demonstrative pronouns; Kabardian does not distinguish between "he" and "this, that". The pronominal declension is somewhat different from the nominal one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg.</th>
<th>1pl.</th>
<th>3sg.</th>
<th>3pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>cə sa</td>
<td>ḏə da</td>
<td>ap ār</td>
<td>ṛaxəp āxar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg.</td>
<td>cə sa</td>
<td>ḏə da</td>
<td>əbə ṛəbə</td>
<td>əbыхəm əbыхам</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst.</td>
<td>cərkIə sarəč'a  ḏərkIə darəč'a</td>
<td>əбыкIə əbыхəč'a</td>
<td>əбыхэмKIə əbыхамKIə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adv.</td>
<td>cəpy sarwə  ḏəpy darwə</td>
<td>apy ārwə</td>
<td>əxəpy əxarwə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first and second person singular the nominative form is always the same as the ergative form, which means that pronouns do not have the ergative alignment, as, for example, in Dyirbal. Unlike in Dyirbal, however, the clause alignment of personal pronouns in Kabardian is neutral, rather than accusative. The third person pronoun is formed with the stems ā-, mə- and maw-. It can appear without the nominative -r (which also expresses definiteness of personal pronouns):

cə a расскэым     сэджаш
sa ā răskazə-m    s-ya-dəğ-ā-š
I that story-ERG   1sg.-3sg.-read-pret.-af.
"I read that story"
The difference in the usage of pronominal stems ā-, mə- and maw- is not entirely clear, but ā- is the basic pronoun used in anaphora (reference to what has already been mentioned in the discourse), while mə- and maw- are in opposition with respect to the degree of distance from the speaker: mə- refers to a closer object (or person), and maw- to a more distant one.

In the 3rd person plural Ergative, two different sets of forms exist: the basic stem can be extended with the pronominal Ergative ending, but it also occurs without it:

ахэм ăxam = абыхэм ābəxam
мышэм məxam = мыбыхэм məbəxam
мохэм mawxam = мобыхэм mawbəxam

There appears to be no difference in meaning, but the longer forms are somewhat more common in the texts.

The stems which are used in the formation of demonstrative pronouns also serve to form pronominal prefixes, which are used instead of demonstrative pronouns:

мə- "this"
maw- "that"

мəщыкъэр
maw-шəг-хэ раз
those-tree-pl.-NOM
"those trees"

These prefixes can also be used as independent words, and they are declined like personal pronouns, e. g. NOM sg. mə-r, maw-r, ERG sg. mə-bə, maw-bə, etc.

In addition to the pronominal case ending, third person personal/demonstrative pronouns can get the ergative ending used for nouns as well, which then results in double case marking (Kumaxov et alii 1996):

абым (мыбым)  бджэжъер  къиубыдааш
ă-bə-m (mə-bə-m)  bdžažay-r  q'-ya-wəbəd-ă-s
he-ERG-ERG (this-ERG-ERG) fish-NOM dir.-3sg.-to catch-pret.-af.
"He (this one) caught the fish"

In a larger sense, the category of demonstrative pronouns would also include āpxʷada "such, such as this" (from ā- and pxʷada "similar"), məpxʷada "such, such as that", mawpxʷada "such, such as that". As a rule, these words occur in the attributive position, in front of the noun they modify, cf. āpxʷada c'əxʷ "such a man".

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS
Invariable possessive pronouns have only one form and they precede the noun they refer to:

1. $cu$ $syə$ $di$ $dyə$
2. $yu$ $wyə$ $fu$ $fyə$
3. $yə$ $yə$ $yə$

There is also the relative possessive pronoun $zyə$ "whose", and the 3rd person attributive possessive pronouns $yay$ "his", $yāy$ "their". The attributive possessives must be preceded by a head nominal in the ergative: $ābə$ $yay$ "his, that which belongs to him", $l'əźəm$ $yay$ "old man's, that which belongs to the old man".

Possessive pronouns are clitics, and they should perhaps be thought of as prefixes which express possession. Sometimes they are written as one word with the word they refer to (ie. with the possessum), cf. $syəʒ$ "my cow". There seems to be a lot of uncertainty in the Kabardian orthography over whether possessive pronouns should be written separately or as one word with the possessum.

The relative possessive pronoun $zyə$ "whose" always precedes the noun it refers to: $zyə$ $śər$ "whose horse". It is declined as the personal pronouns: NOM $zyə$-$r$, ERG $zyə$-$m$, INST $zyərč'a$, etc.

In addition to the basic (clitic) possessive pronouns there are also emphatic possessive pronouns, formed by reduplication: $səsay$ "my", $wəway$ "your", $dəday$ "our", $fəfay$ "your", $yāy$ "their". Unlike the clitic possessive pronouns, these can be inflected for case (e.g. NOM $səsay$r, ERG $səsaym$, etc.).

**INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS**

Although it does not distinguish animacy in other pronouns, Kabardian, like most of the world's languages, distinguishes the animate and inanimate forms of interrogative pronouns:

$xət$ $xət$ "who"  
$sət$ $sət$ "what"

Interrogative pronouns are normally not inflected for case, though there is a growing tendency in the spoken language to use the case endings -$m$ (ERG), -$r$ (NOM), and -$wə$ (ADV) with the pronoun $sət$: $sət$-$wə$ $xāxā$ "What was he elected for?"

The interrogative possessive pronouns do not exist, but are rather replaced by the interrogative $xət$ "who" and the possessive pronoun 3sg. $yə$, e.g.

$xət$ $yə$ $ādə$-$m$ $wən$-$r$ $yə$-$s$'-$ra$?

who 3sg.poss. father-ERG house-NOM 3sg.-do-inter.

---

31 Kumaxov *et alii* 1996.
"Whose father is building the house?"

Other interrogative words are: dana "where", sətwə "why", dawa "how", dăpsa "how much", dăpsəs "when", datxana "which".

THE EMPHATIC PRONOUN

The emphatic pronoun is yazə "personally, himself". It emphasises the verb's subject and stresses it as the topic of the sentence (theme). It is declined as a noun: NOM yazə-r, ERG yazə-m, etc.

ezyp maq yazə-r mă-g personally-NOM 3sg.-to cry "he himself cries" ("It is he who cries")

ezym čyur ivaç yazə-m š'ə-r yə-v-ā-ś personally-ERG ground-NOM 3sg.-to plow-pret.-af. "they personally plowed the ground"/"he personally plowed the ground"

In the following passage one can see how yazə is used to shift the topic back to the name Džəlāχstan which had already been introduced earlier in the discourse:

Джылaхъстэн ипхъуу Бэдэху и дахьээр Нaрт Хэкуым ырыуат.
"Махуэм дыгъaщ, жaщым мaзэщ" жaIэрт Бэдэху щхьэкIэ.
Езы Дже́ляхъстэни и пэ́куум и дахьээр ирыншынэмэуэ зыгъэпaээрт

Džəlāχstan yə-pχwə Badaxʷ yə dăxāğa-r Nārt Xakʷ-ə-m šə?-āt. Dž. 3sg.poss.-daughter B 3sg.poss. beauty-NOM N land-ERG be.heard-ant.pret.

"Māxʷa-m doğa-ś, žaś-əm māza-ś" - ž-ā?-a-rt Badaxʷ šhač'a.
day-ERG sun-af. night-ERG moon-af. pref.-3pl.-say-ipf. B about

Yazə Džəlāχstan-yə yə pχʷə-m yə dăxăga-m himself Dž.-and 3sg.poss. daughter-ERG 3sg.poss. beauty-ERG


"The beauty of Džilahstan's daughter Badah was heard in the Land of the Narts. 'She is the Sun by day, she is the Moon at night' - they used to say about Badah. Džilahstan himself, having rejoiced at his daughter's beauty, boasted (about it)".

QUANTIFIERS
Quantifiers differ from adjectives and pronouns in their morphological and syntactic features. For example, the quantifier *q'as* "every" is not inflected for case (this is what differentiates it from adjectives), and it follows the noun it modifies (this is what differentiates it from pronouns):

中枢ъ къэс макъэ
*цьху къэс макъэ*
*c'əx w q'as mā-kʷa*
man every 3sg.-go
"every man walks"

The quantifier *gʷar* "some" syntactically behaves similarly as *q'as*; it can be used together with the number "one* (zə) which precedes the noun it modifies:

зв льы гуэр зə l'ə gʷar "a man", "some man"

Aside from these, there is also the quantifier *psaw* "all, every"; its meaning is inherently plural, and it can be marked for case, cf. l'ə *psawr* "all men". Perhaps the words *zač'a* "whole" and *śhaž* "every" should also be thought of as quantifiers.
INvariable Words

Numerals

Cardinal numbers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Kabardian</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>зъ ə</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ты ɬ'ə</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>уы ə</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>пɭы пл'ə</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ты ɬ'ə</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>шы ə</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerals sometimes merge with the noun which they precede, e.g. зə "one horse", but зə žam "one cow". In the first example, the morpheme final ə of ə "horse" had been deleted, and the numeral received the stress; in the second example, the morpheme final -a- of ža "cow" was preserved, together with its stress. Numerals can also merge with the noun they follow using the relative conjunction/particle -yə-. They can also take case endings:

мазибгъуырэ мəхуибгъуыкə
māz-ya-bġ"ə-ra māx"-ya-bģ"ə-č'ə
month-rel.-9-and day-rel.-9-INST
"In nine days and nine months"

Kabardian has the decimal counting system; numerals above ten are formed with the stem ps'ə- "ten", the suffix -kəw- (probably the root of the verb kən "to go over (a distance), to transverse") and ones, e.g. ps'əkəw "eleven", ps'əkəw'ət "twelve", psəkəw'ət "thirteen", etc.

The tens are formed on a decimal base, with the numeral "ten" reduced to -ς: t'waς' "twenty", šaς "thirty", pl'əς"forty", txəς"fifty", etc.

There are traces of the vigesimal system, manifested in the formation of tens as products of multiplication of the number twenty, t'waς': t'waς'-ət "forty", t'waς'-ə-ς "sixty", etc. In the standard language, these vigesimal formations are notably archaic, but they are alive in some dialects (e.g. Besleney) and in Adyghe.

When counting above twenty, the counted noun (or noun phrase) is normally repeated before both constituent parts of the complex number:

цы цы ху щəщəрэ цы цы ищəрэ
сьаς'-ra съə-ς-ra
man thirty-and man-posstrain-three-and
"thirty three men"

The ordinal numbers (with the exception of yāpa "first") are formed with the prefix ya- and the suffix -āna:
Ordinal numbers behave like relational adjectives, so they can take the suffix -ray (used for the formation of adjectives): yatxʷānaray "fifth" etc. Adverbal numerals are formed from cardinal numbers by apophony, e. g. za "once", ša "thrice", but they can also be formed by the prefix (or infix?)⁵² -rə- and reduplication of the root of a cardinal number: zə-rə-z "once", pśə-rə-pś' "ten times". Distributive numerals are formed from cardinal numbers with the suffix -āنا: t'wāna "a half", šāna "a third", etc. Note also yāzə "one of two" and zətxʷəx (one-five-six) "about five or six".

ADVERBS

Adverbs are formed from adjectives by adding the suffixes -wə, -wa, -ra:

Iей ?ay "bad" - Iей̣y Γaywə "badly"; ьхвабжь xʷābź "quick" - ьхвабжьу xʷābźwə "quickly"; фIуэ f'əwa "well".

бэ ba "many, plentitude" - бэ̣rə bara "much, very"

The suffix -wa is identical to the suffix for the adverbial case (see above).

The possessive prefix yə- can be added to nouns to form adverb-like expressions (or "relational nouns") with directional meaning:

ицбэ̣ла шha "head" - ицбэ̣ла yəśha "up, upwards"
ълъабжьэ ्lābźa "hoof" - иълъабжьэ yəłābźa "down, downwards"

Nouns in the instrumental case (in -č'a) can also function as adverbs:

мāхъэ мāxʷa "day": мāхъэč'a "by day"; же́ ża "flight": же́č'a "in flight"

Some adverbs are formed with both the possessive prefix yə- and the suffix -č'a:

ицбэ̣ла шha "top, head": ицбэ̣ла yəśhač'a "on top" (lit. "on his head").

There are also underived adverbs: nawba "today", pśaday "tomorrow", dəgʷāsə "yesterday", nəžaba "tonight", dədə "very much, just", wayblama "very much", məbə "here":

сът уэ мыбы (демым) ьципчълр
Matasović: A Short Grammar of Kabardian

33

sət wa məbə (dayžəm) šə-p-ša-r
what you here dir.-2sg.-do-NOM
"What are you doing here?"

The category of adverbs might also include invariable expressions such as qaša "please", ĵošašxwa "thank you", xat yos'ara "maybe" ("who knows?"), etc.

POSTPOSITIONS

Kabardian uses postpositions instead of prepositions. Postpositions are words which determine the grammatical relations of the nouns that precede them: nawəz "after", ps'awnda "until", (ya) dayž "at, in", shač'a "because, after", yəpam "in front of", yəc'əm "at the end, after", naməš' "except", fač'(ā) "except", xa'ada "like", pāp'sa "because, due to", za'adašxwa "between", ya gəşəğə "about", nas "to, up to, until", šəš "from", ländara "since", yap'ac'a "instead of", adač'a "behind".

The majority of postpositions are derived from nouns, especially nouns denoting body parts, cf. sha "head", pa "nose", cəšə "tail". Some postpositions can be inflected, e.g. dayž has the full case paradigm (NOM dayž, ERG dayžəm, INSTR dayžč'a, ADV dayžwa), and some, but not all, can be construed with possessive prefixes (e.g. yaşəngə)
"g"əg"ə "about (it/him)". This means that many Kabardian postpositions are quite like relational nouns in languages such as Tibetan.

Instead of local adpositions, Kabardian often uses directional (local) prefixes on the verb; the English sentence "the student is sitting on the chair" corresponds to the Kabardian sentence wəčaynəkə-r šantə-m tay-s-š (student-NOM chair-ERG dir.-to sit-af.), where the equivalent of the English preposition on is the Kabardian verbal prefix tay- (on local prefixes see below).

PARTICLES, CONJUNCTIONS AND INTERJECTIONS

There are relatively few particles in Kabardian; these are the most frequently used ones:

хьэуэхауa "no"; нымтэ нəт'а "yes"

мис тыə "here!"

мыдə тəда "there!, look!"

пəра p'ara (interrogative particle); it is always placed at the end of a sentence and expresses a slight doubt:

уə пəлауə пəлауə
wa p-š'a-wa p'ara
you 2sg.-know-ger. inter.particle
"do you (really) know?"

The other interrogative particle is šə (also placed at the end of a sentence):

ап қьакиымə щə
а-р қ'а-к"а-ма щə
he-NOM dir.-go-cond. inter.particle
"Will he come?"

The particle žayryə is used as a quotation mark; it is usually best left untranslated:

Шə вə-naşγay, žayryə ya-wəpš-ə-ш Bəδənawq'ə
why 2sg.-be.sad quot.part. 3sg.-ask-pret.-af. B
"Why are you sad, asked Badinoko"

Conjunctions are clitics, so they are mostly written as one word with the words they conjoin, e. g. -ра "and", -ə "and", but there are also conjunctions which occur as separate words: əəч'ə "and", əəwa "but", əəт'а "but", wayblama "even, but", əə...əə "either...or", hama "or".

The copulative conjunction -ra, -ryə is repeated after each conjoined word within a noun phrase (NP):

Тхылырэ Ӏэнэрэ Txəl-ra ?ana-ra "A book and a table"

The conjunction -ryə is placed after the verb in a sentence:

"Мыр сыт гъэщIэгъуэн" жиIэри Сэтэнeй и тхьэкIумэр мывэм Ыымъъяаа "Мə-r sət ġaś’aġ"an" žyə=a-ryə Satanyay yə thak”əma-r məva-m ”əyəłh-a-ś this-ERG what wonder said-and S. poss.3sg. ear-NOM rock-ERG place-pret.-af. "What kind of wonder is this?" said Satanaya and placed her ear on the rock."

The most common interjections are ānā "oh", waxw "ouch", ʔa "oh", wa "hey", yārabyə "hey!", ma "here!" (used while giving something away)
VERBS

Cette singularité (ergatif) tient, en gros, à ce que, là où nous pensons "je vois le livre", les Caucasiens pensent quelque chose comme "à-moi le-livre (il-m')est-en-vue" (G. Dumézil, cit. in Paris 1969: 159).

Kabardian verbal morphology is extremely complex. Prefixes and suffixes are used to express different verbal categories, and there is also apophony (regular root vowel alternation).

The verb does not have the category of voice (it does not distinguish active and passive), but it does have the categories of transitivity, person, number, tense, mood, causative, two types of applicatives (version/benefactive (Rus. versija) and conjunctivity/comitative (Rus. sojuznost’)), reflexivity, reciprocity, involuntative, and evidentiality. Active and stative verbs are distinguished systematically, and many of the mentioned categories do not apply to stative verbs.

THE VERBAL COMPLEX

The verbal complex consists of a number of prefixes, the root, and a number of suffixes:

\[ P_1 \ldots P_n - R - S_1 \ldots S_n \]

The prefix positions can be seen in the following matrix:

1. dir. 2. reflexive/reciprocal 3. version 4. conjunctivity 5. pot. 6. neg. 7. caus.

\[ \text{absolutive} \quad \text{oblique} \quad \text{agent} - \text{person markers} \quad \text{invol.} \]

In the non-third persons, the dynamic present tense marker -aw- is added between the positions 5 and 6, cf., e.g., q’ə-aw-ğā-kwa "I make him come".

As can be gathered from the scheme above, the personal prefixes can be inserted at several points in the prefix chain, but two fixed rules apply: firstly, the prefix for the absolutive argument (the "lowest ranking macrorole", see below) precedes all other prefixes, and secondly, the prefix referring to the agent (if there is one) is closest to the verbal root. The picture above is further complicated by the fact that certain local prefixes, e.g. xa- "in", da- "in", etc. (see below) can be inserted in the verbal complex between the prefix slots 4 and 5; moreover, the factitive prefix wə- can be inserted immediately before the root. However, we leave these prefixes out of the matrix scheme, because they belong to the domain of word-formation more than to morphology.

Cp. Gišev 1985: 41-57, where arguments to the contrary are disputed.
The suffix positions:

1. intransitivity  2. tense  3. mood  4. negation  
   potential  evidential  interrogativity

We shall first deal with the prefixal verbal morphology, and then with the suffixal morphology.

VERBAL NEGATION

The negation of the verb is expressed with the suffix -q’əm (for finite forms) and the prefix mə- (for non-finite forms; this prefix immediately precedes the root, or the causative prefix):

\[ \text{сыкIуэркъым} \]
\[ sə-k”a-r-q’əm \]
1sg.-go-pres.-af.-neg.
"I am not going"

\[ \text{умылажьау пихыр хъэрэмщ} \]
\[ wə-mə-lāžа-wə  p-šxə-r  haram-ś \]
2sg.-neg.work-ger. 2sg.-eat-NOM  sin-af.
"It is a sin to eat not working" ("It is a sin if you eat, and not work")

The imperative is, according to this criterion, included in non-finite forms:

\[ \text{сумыгье} \]
\[ s-wə-mə-ġay \]
1sg.-2sg.-neg.-lament
"don't lament me"

The prefixal negation can occur in some finite forms, but this usually happens in fixed expressions and proverbs:

\[ \text{тхъэ, сымыщIэ} \]
\[ thə, sə-mə-ś’a \]
god 1sg.-neg.-know
"by god, I don't know"

The two verbal negations differ in scope: the prefixed -mə- is the narrow scope negation, with the scope just over the verbal nucleus, while the suffixed negation -q’əm negates the whole sentence (including the embedded participles, infinitives, and/or gerunds).

The other NW Caucasian languages also have prefixal negation with the infinite verbal forms, and suffixal negation with the finite forms.
PERSON

Kabardian distinguishes three persons singular and plural. Verbal person markers indicate the person of the subject of an intransitive verb / object of a transitive verb (the person which is in the nominative in the case of nouns), the person of the subject of a transitive verb (the person which is in the ergative in the case of nouns), and of the indirect object (the person which, in the case of nouns, is in the ergative in its function of dative, or some other oblique case):

a) markers of the person which is in the nominative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th></th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>сы sə-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ды də-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>о wə-</td>
<td></td>
<td>фы fə-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>0/ма ma-</td>
<td></td>
<td>0/ма ma-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix mə- is typically used in the present tense, with intransitive verbs which have only one expressed argument (Rus. одноличные непереходные глаголы), while intransitive verbs with two expressed arguments take the prefix ə- for the person in the nominative. If the verb has a monosyllabic root that ends in -а, the vowel of the 3rd person prefix is lengthened, hence məkʷə "he goes" (from kwa-n), but ma-дə́кʷ "he is playing" (from дə́кʷ-ən). This is in accordance with the phonological rule of lengthening of accented vowels in open syllables (see above). Intransitive verbs with a preverb do not have the prefix ма- in the present tense, cp. мə-да(r) "(s)he is sewing", but qʷ-ав-kʷə "(s)he is coming" (where qʷ- is a directional preverb, and -aw- is a present tense marker of dynamic verbs).

b) markers of the person which is in the ergative (person of the transitive subject and person of the indirect object):

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>е/ə -s/-z-</td>
<td></td>
<td>д -d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>о/ə -w/-b-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ф -f-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>у/-y/-r/-r(ə)-</td>
<td></td>
<td>я -y-xa- (&gt; -yā-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the 3rd person singular the prefix -r- denotes the indirect object (usually the Recipient):

 сырит
sə-r-yə-t
1sg.-3sg.-3sg.-give
"He gives me to him"

Personal prefixes indexing Obliques (non-macrorole core arguments, including the causees of causative verbs) are also distinguished from those indexing Actors and

35 The usual explanation is that the marker -r- is a result of dissimulation in a sequence of two semi-vowels -y…y- > -y…-r--; this can be formulated as a synchronic phonological rule, so in most grammars it can be found that the marker for the 3rd person indirect object is -yə-, like for the direct object (see Hewitt 2005: 102).
Undergoers by ablaut; they regularly have the same form as the markers of the transitive subject, but the vowel is -a- rather than -ə-:

\[\text{яхуэзээшаш} \]
\[yā-xə-ə-və-zə-ɕə-șə-ș\]
3pl.-ver.-2pl.-1sg.-caus.-carry-pret.-af.
"I made you (pl.) carry him for them"

In the preceding example -va- indexes the 2pl. causee argument. Note that it differs from the form of the prefix for the causer (-v-) in the following example:

\[\text{яхуэзывээшаш} \]
\[yā-xə-a-zə-və-șə-șə-ș\]
3pl.-ver.-1sg.-2pl.-caus.-carry-pret.-af.
"You (pl.) made me carry him for them".

The prefix indexing the recipient also has the form marked by a-vocalism:

\[\text{Си шыр къызэфтэ} \]
\[Syə ʂə-r q'ə-za-fə-ʒə \]
my horse-NOM dir.-1sg.-2pl.-give-back
"Give me back my horse!"

In the 3rd person plural the suffix -xa is usually only added if the verb’s subject is not expressed, and if the subject is not placed immediately before the verb:

\[\text{ахэр еджащ еджахэщ} \]
\[āxar yaydžā-șə = yaydžā-xa-ș "they studied" \]

The order of personal markers is always (in terms of traditional grammatical relations):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>direct object / subject of intrans. verb</th>
<th>indirect object</th>
<th>subject of trans. verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S/O</td>
<td>IO</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\text{(сэ уэ) абь уесташ} \]
\[sa wa ābə ə-wy-s-t-ă-ș \]
I you he-ERG 2sg.-3sg.-1sg.-to give-pret.-af.
"I gave you to him"

\[\text{(абь сэ) уэ укъызеташ} \]
\[ābə sa ə-wə-q'ə-zə-ya-t-ă-ș \]
(he-ERG I) you 2sg.-dir.-1sg.-3sg.-give-pret.-af.
"He gave you to me"

This schema shows that the verbal agreement system in Kabardian is ergative just like the case system, since the subject of an intransitive verb is treated in the same way as

\[36\text{ Forms with the plural suffix -xa- on the verb are characteristic for the contemporary literary language.}\]
the direct object (S/O), while there is a different set of personal prefixes used for the subject of a transitive verb. With intransitive verbs the third position (A) is, of course, not realized.

Many verbs contain a „dummy“ 3rd person singular prefix ya-, e.g. ya-śan "sell" (cf. śan 'sell'), ya-wan 'hit' (cf. wan "hit"), ya-kʷan "attack" (cf. kʷan 'go'), ya-tən "give" (cf. tən "give"). Such verbs can be derived from both transitive and intransitive bases, and adding the prefix ya- does not affect the transitivity of the verb, though it may give a different shade of meaning to the verb. In some cases, these verbs contain incorporated objects, e.g. ya-gʷa-kʷa-n (3sg.-heart-go-inf.) "fall in love with", ya-ša-fa-wa-n (3sg.-head-skin-hit-inf.) "hit on the head", ya-gʷa-wa-n (3sg.-heart-hit-inf.) "insult". Such verbs are generally intransitive and they represent a closed class (object incorporation is no longer productive).

INDEFINITE PERSON

The suffix -ʔa- denotes the "indefinite person", i.e. that the verb's subject or object is indefinite (it is translated as "somebody"); this suffix is used only when the verb is in the third person:

къэкIуaIэщ q'a-kʷ-ʔa-ś
dir.-go-pret.-suf.-af.
"Somebody came"

dызэплъынyIэ də-za-plə-nwə-ʔa
1pl.-part.-watch-fut.-suf.
"Are we going to see somebody?"

The above examples lead to the conclusion that the suffix -ʔa- indicates only the person of the nominative argument (i.e. of the intransitive subject or object, the lowest ranking macrorole). It appears to be possible to use it with other arguments as well in participial constructions (Kumaxov & Vamling 1998: 68-69).

A different way of expressing the "indefinite person" is to use the second person subject prefix, which is interpreted as referring to indefinite person. This is possible in proverbs and statements of general truth:

тынц уепльыны
tən-ś w-ya-plə-n
easy.af. 2sg.-3sg.-see-inf.
"It is easy to see him", lit. "It is easy for you to see him"

The second person prefix with indefinite reference is added to the infinitive (or "masdar") and the predicate must be an adjective such as gʷəğʷ "difficult", tən "easy", daqʷə "good", haləmat "interesting", etc.
TRANSITIVITY

Verb valency is the number of arguments needed to complete the meaning of the verb in question. Verbs can be avelent (e. g. *it is raining* – this verb is in English syntactically monovalent, but semantically avelent, since no thematic role is assigned to "it"), monovalent (e. g. *I am sitting*), bivalent (e. g. *I am hitting an enemy*), trivalent (e. g. *I am giving a book to a friend*), possibly also quadrivalent (e. g. *I am buying a book from a friend for twenty pounds*). Verb valency is a semantic concept, realized in syntax through the category of transitivity. In most languages, bi- and trivalent verbs are realized as *transitive* verbs, i. e. verbs which have a compulsory nominal complement (direct object), possibly two complements (direct and indirect object).

Arguments of bivalent verbs express different thematic roles according to the types of meaning they express. For example, verbs of giving (*to give, to donate*) always distinguish between the sender ("the person who is giving"), the theme ("the thing which is being given"), and the recipient ("the person to whom something is being given"), and verbs of seeing distinguishing between the thematic roles of the stimulus ("what is being seen") and the experiencer ("the person who is seeing"). Thematic roles can be grouped into macroroles with common semantic-syntactic features. We can distinguish between two macroroles: Actor and Undergoer. The Actor is always the thematic role closer to the left edge of the following hierarchy, while the Undergoer is always close to the right edge of the hierarchy[^37]:

```
conscious doer of the action  first argument of activity  first argument of a bivalent verb  second argument of a bivalent verb  argument of a stative monovalent verb
```

The conscious doer of the action (*agent*) is the traditional subject of verbs such as *to hit, to kill* and *to cut*; the first argument of activity verbs is the traditional subject of verbs such as *to eat* or *to run*, the first argument of a bivalent verb would be the subject of verbs such as *to see, to know*, and the second argument of a bivalent verb would be the traditional object of all bivalent verbs. Finally, the argument of a stative verb would be the traditional subject of verbs such as *to lie, to sit, to exist*, etc. The macroroles Actor and Undergoer of the action are, in a sense, the semantic correlates of the traditional syntactic-semantic concepts of "subject" and "object", which cannot be uniformly defined in all the languages of the world[^38].

Some Kabardian bivalent verbs can appear in their transitive and intransitive form, and many bivalent verbs can only be construed as intransitive (Rus. *dvuxličnye neperexodnye glagoly*). The way in which transitive and intransitive verbs differ in

[^37]: The hierarchy was adapted from Van Valin and LaPolla 1997. In informal terms, the actor is the most "active" of the arguments of a particular verb, while the undergoer is the least active argument.

[^38]: About this see e. g. Matasović 2005, Klimov (ed.) 1978: 59.
Kabardian— in terms of the number of arguments, i. e. nominal complements to the verb meaning— is typologically very interesting. Some linguists, e. g. Georgij Klimov (1986: 51), claim that a large majority of verbs in the Abkhaz-Adyghean languages are intransitive, precisely because they can be used with only one argument as complement, without breaking any syntactical rules. According to this criterion verbs meaning "to hit", "to catch", "to eat", "to kiss", "to lick", "to wait", "to move", "to call", "to do", "to ask", "to want", "to hunt", etc. are also intransitive in the Abkhaz-Adyghean languages. Klimov uses the term "diffuse" or "labile" verbs for those verbs which can be used both in a transitive and an intransitive construction; this category comprises verbs meaning "to sow", "to graze", "to plow", "to knit", "to embroider", "to weave", etc. These seem to be mostly verbs the first argument of which (the agent) is always a human being or a person, while the second argument (the patient) is inanimate.

Sometimes the only difference between transitive and intransitive verbs is in different root vocalism (Ablaut); transitive forms end in -a, and intransitive forms in -ə: də-n "to sew (something)" - da-n "to be involved in sewing", txə-n "to write (something)", txən "to be involved in writing", žə-n "to avoid", ża-n "to run away", tən "to give, to give presents" and tan "to give, to give presents", šəxn "to eat (something)" and šxa-n "to eat", thaşən "to wash (something)" and thaşan "to wash", xən "to rea[p (something)]" and xan "to reap", šəpan "to collect (something)" and špan "to collect", šən "to do" and šan "to know", lən "to kill" and lan "to die". Transitive verbs can be derived from intransitive ones using some suffixes and prefixes, e.g. the suffix -hə-, cf. q'afa-n "to dance" (intransitive), q'afə-hə-n "to dance (a dance around something)" (transitive). Sometimes the difference is purely lexical, e.g. the verbs hə-n "to carry" and šən "to do" are always transitive. If we assume that the basic form of the verb is the one with final stem morpheme -a- while the form with the morpheme -ə- is derived, then a large majority of Kabardian languages are intransitive. With some exceptions, Kabardian is a language without (underived) transitive verbs.

Intransitive verbs with two arguments often express the fact that the Undergoer is not entirely affected by the action, i. e., the fact that the action is not being performed completely; in terms of Role and Reference Grammar, these verbs express activities, but not accomplishments (active accomplishments):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hxəmm} & \quad \text{kъумпшхэр идээкъэ} \\
\text{ha-m} & \quad q''əpšxa-r \ yə-dzaq'a \\
dog-ERG bone-NOM 3sg-bite \\
"the dog is biting the bone (to the marrow, completely)"
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hxər} & \quad \text{kъумпшхэмм йөдээкъэ} \\
\text{ha-r} & \quad q''əpšxa-m \ y-aw-dzaq'a \\
dog-NOM bone-ERG 3sg-pres.-bite \\
\end{align*}
\]

39 According to Kumaxov (1971), in the closely related Adyghean language the number of "labile" verbs is significantly greater than in Kabardian.

40 Kuipers (1960) considers the opposition between a and ə in verbs a part of the wider system of “introvert” forms (with a) and “extrovert” forms (with ə) in Kabardian, where a and ə are not morphemes for “introvertedness/extrovertedness”, but the realization of the feature of “openness”, which, according to Kuipers, is parallel to the phonological features such as palatalization, glottalization, etc.
"the dog is gnawing, nibbling at the bone"

щIалэр  мaджэ
śāla-r  mā-dža
boy-NOM 3sg.-read
"the boy is reading" – intransitive verb with 1 argument

щIалэр  тxылъым   йоджэ
śāla-r  txəł-em  y-aw-dža
boy-NOM  book-ERG 3sg.-pres.-read
"the boy is reading the book" - intransitive verb with 2 arguments

щIалэм    тxылъыр  eдж
śāla-m  txəł-ər  ya-dž
boy-ERG  book-NOM 3sg.-read- transitive verb
"the boy is reading the book (to the end), young man reads through the book"41

ап матхэ  ār mātxa "he is writing" (intransitive) / абỳ тxылъым  etx ābə txəłəm ya-tx(ə) "he is writing a letter" (transitive)

пхъашэр пхъэм  ихуρ  pyāša-r  pya-m  ya-xʷa "the carpenter is arranging the boards " (intransitive) / пхъашым пхъэр  ихуэ pyāša-m  pya-r  yə-xʷa "the carpenter is arranging the boards" (transitive); in the second sentence it is implied that the action will be performed completely, i. e. that the verbal action will be finalized (there is no such implication in the first sentence).

Some linguists (Catford 1975, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 124) refer to the intransitive construction as the antipassive. The antipassive is a category which exists in many ergative languages (Dyirbal, Chukchi, etc.). The verb becomes intransitive in the antipassive, and the only compulsory argument of such verbs is the doer of the action, which is marked for the same case as the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb in an active (i.e. not antipassive) construction. This case is usually called the absolutive, but in Kabardian it is traditionally referred to as the nominative. The patient can either be left out in the antipassive construction, or it can appear in an oblique case.

Equating the Kabardian "bipersonal" intransitive construction with the antipassive is not correct42; the affix -(a)w- is not the antipassive marker, as Catford explains it, but the present prefix which is added in the 3rd person to intransitive verbs only, and in the 1st and 2nd person to all verbs. Monovalent intransitive verbs with a preverb have this prefix as well, and these verbs cannot appear in an antipassive construction, e. g. n-aw-kʷ-a "he goes (this way)" (dir.-pres.-to go). In works on Kabardian there is quite a lot of confusion regarding this problem (the conditions under which the prefix -(a)w- appears are not entirely transparent), but it is clear that some verbs are always either transitive or intransitive, i. e. that the difference is lexical with some verbs (which we wouldn't expect if the intransitive construction was actually the antipassive). The antipassive is usually characteristic for most transitive verbs, similarly as most

---

41 My informants tell me that this sentence can also mean "the young man is studying the book".
42 About this see also Hewitt 1982 and Kumakhov & Vamling 2006: 13 ff.
transitive verbs can form the passive in the nominative-accusative languages. Aside from all this, the antipassive is always a derived, marked construction in the ergative languages, while the intransitive construction in the Abkhaz-Adyghean languages is just as unmarked (underived) as the transitive one.

A) Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs can take markers for all persons, except for the 3rd person direct object (this marker is the "zero-morpheme", the prefix 0-). The order of personal markers is: direct object-(indirect object)-subject:

устхащ
wə-s-tx-ā-š
you-I-write down-pret.-af.
"I wrote you down"

сэ ул усъагъащ
sa wa wə-s-лāg"-ā-š
I you 2sg.-1sg.-see-pret.-af.
"I saw you"

устащ
w-ya-s-t-ā-š
you-he-I-give-pret.-af.
"I gave you to him"

естащ
(0-)ya-s-t-ā-š
(0-)3sg.-I-give-pret.-af.
"I gave it to him"

With transitive verbs the subject takes the ergative case, and the object the nominative case. In RRG terms we would say that in constructions with transitive verbs the nominative case is assigned to the lowest ranking macrorole, while all other arguments are assigned the ergative case. Also, the order of personal prefixes can be expressed like this:\n
I: lowest ranking macrorole; II: non-macrorole core argument; III: other macrorole (with transitive verbs this will always be the Actor).

B) Intransitive verbs

The order of personal markers with intransitive verbs is: subject (of an intransitive verb) – indirect object; the subject is always the semantic agent (Actor):

сыуопъь
sə-w-aw-pl

---

43 For the RRG terminology see Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; for the overview of verbal morphosyntax in Kabardian in RRG see Matasović 2006.
I-you-pres.-watch
"I am watching you"

пщaщэр джaнэxэм къядэ
pśāśa-džāna-xa-м q'-yā-da
girl-NOM shirt-pl.-ERG dir.-3-pl.-sew (intrans.)
"The girl is involved in the sewing of shirts"

With intransitive verbs the subject is assigned the nominative case, and the object the ergative case (in its dative function):

стwədyantə-r тxəłə-m y-aw-dža
student-NOM book-ERG 3sg.-pres.-read
"The student is reading the book"

сэ кином сeплъaщ
sa kyənaw-m s-yə-pl-ā-ś
I cinema-ERG 1sg.-3sg.-to watch-pret.-af.
"I watched the cinema" (= "I was in the cinema")

In RRG terms, the case assignment rule is completely identical for transitive and intransitive verbs: the lowest ranking macrorole is assigned the nominative case, while all other verb arguments (in this case the indirect object) are assigned the ergative case. Also, the order of verbal prefixes is the same as with transitive verbs:

I: the lowest-ranking macrorole (with intransitive verbs this is also the only macrorole); II: non-macrorole core argument; III: other macrorole (this position is not realized with intransitive verbs, since they only have one macrorole).

Verbs with the inverse (dative) construction are also intransitive; these are verbs which express belonging or a mental state, the only macrorole of which is the patient (Undergoer), assigned the Nominative case:

лIыжьым аIихъэр иIЭщ
ł'əź-əm āšχa-r yə?-a-ś
old man-ERG. money-NOM. 3sg.-hold-af.
"The old man has money"

лIыжьым псэльэнъыр фIыфIm
ł'əź-əm psalan-ər f'əf'-t
old man-ERG to speak-inf.-NOM like-impf.
"The old man liked to speak"

The inverse construction corresponds to Latin constructions of the type *mihi est* "it is to me", *mihi placet* "it is pleasing to me, I like". From the point of view of the above-mentioned case assignment rules these verbs present no problem, because their only (and thus also the lowest ranking) macrorole is marked for the Nominative case.
If a transitive verb has two complements (i.e. if it is a trivalent verb), only the lowest ranking macrorole (Undergoer) is in the Nominative:

гуыпым лыжыр тхьэмaдэ яшIащ
гʷəр-əм ɨəз-ər thamāda ɣə-š'-ə-ʃ

group-ERG old man-NOM thamada 3pl.-make-pret.-af.

"The group made the old man thamada (commander of the feast)" – in this sentence the noun thamāda cannot be marked for the Nominative (i.e. it cannot appear in the form *thamāda-r)⁴⁴.

The object (i.e. the second argument, the Undergoer) of transitive verbs can be omitted; it is expressed by a personal prefix, which, in the case of a third person object, is the "zero-morpheme (0-):

сыльагъуащ
0-sə-lāgʷ-ə-ʃ
3sg.-1sg.-see-pret.-af.
"I saw (it)"

стыхащ
0-s-tə-ž-ə-ʃ
3sg.-1sg.-give-back-pret.-af.
"I gave (it) back"

Note that many, perhaps most bivalent verbs are intransitive in Kabardian:

лыхэр маплъахэ
lʰə-xə-r mā-plā-xa
man-pl.-NOM 3sg.pres.-watch-pl.
"People are watching"

э соплья
sa səw-plə
1sg. 1sg.-pres.-watch
"I am watching"

э абь сыцыыхуэащ
sa əbə sə-šə-p-xʷaz-ə-ʃ
I there 1sg.-dir.-2sg.-meet-pret.-af.
"I met you there"

Some intransitive verbs have an "integrated" marker for the 3rd person object; they are "bipersonal" (Rus. dvuxličnye)⁴⁵, but their indirect object (oblique argument) is always in the 3rd person singular. The verb saŋ "to swim" is of this type:

⁴⁴ Kumaxov 1971: 68.
⁴⁵ With some of these verbs ɣə- has become part of the stem, ie. only etymologically is it a personal prefix, cf. Kumaxov 1973a.
s-ya-s-ā-ś "I swam", w-ya-s-ā-ś, "you swam", ya-s-ā-ś "he swam", d-ya-s-ā-ś "we swam", f-ya-s-ā-ś "you swam", ya-s-ā-ś "they swam". It seems that yəwəč'ən "to kill" behaves in the same way (in opposition to the transitive wəč'ən).

Finally, some verbal personal prefixes are different for transitive and intransitive verbs (see above):

**ekły** ya-k"ə "he goes (through something), he transverses" - transitive

**makļuṣ** mā-k"a "he goes" - intransitive

### LABILE (DIFFUSE) VERBS

Labile (or "diffuse") verbs are typically bivalent, but they can be used both transitively and intransitively:

**ap māvə ãr mā-va "he plows" (intrans.) / aby shlyp ēvə a było s'ěρ ya-va "he plows the ground" (transitive)**

**ap māyə ãr mā-?"a "he threshes " (intrans.) / aby gũdžₜɨp elyə abo g"adžə-r ya-?"a "he threshes wheat" (transitive)**

These verbs are relatively rare in Kabardian, but their number is significantly greater in the closely related Adyghean language. From works on Kabardian (and based on my own questioning of native speakers) it is unclear whether two lexical units should be distinguished in the case diffuse verbs (two verbs differing with respect to transitivity), or whether it is just one lexical unit (one verb with two uses / constructions).

### CAUSATIVE

Verbs receive an additional argument in the causative construction, i.e. their valence is increased by one. All Kabardian verbs can form the causative, including intransitives, transitives, and ditransitives. The causative prefix is ġa-.

**kluŋ** **makļuṣ** **egţakļuṣ** k"a-n "to go": mā-k"a "he goes": ya-ɡā-k"a "he sends him" = "makes him go".

The causative prefix ġa- / ǧa- turns intransitive verbs into transitive verbs:

**šļalař** **gubšųm** **makļuṣ**
š"a-la-r g"ořš"a-m mā-k"a
boy-NOM. field-ERG 3sg.-go
"The boy goes into the field"

**anəm** **šļalař** **gubšųm iṣgţakļuṣ**
âna-m š"a-la-r g"ořš"a-m yo-gā-k"a

---

mother-ERG boy-NOM field-ERG 3sg-caus.-go
"The mother sends the boy to the field"

супыр (къэ)ваащ
swə-r (q’a-)v-ə-š
soup-NOM (dir.)-to cook-pret.-af.
"The soup was boiling (it was cooking)"

щIалэ цIыкIуым суpыр къIигъaвaщ
ś’āla c’əkʷə-m swə-r q’-ə-gā-v-ə-š
boy little-ERG soup-NOM dir.-3sg.-caus.-to cook-pret.-af.
"The boy was cooking soup"

Causative can also be built from reflexive verb forms, e.g. zağıwan "make someone hit himself".

Like, e.g., Turkish, but unlike many languages, Kabardian allows "double causatives", i.e. the causative suffix can be added to a transitive verb that has already been derived by causativization: thus the causative ġā-va-n "make boil, cook" can be causativized to ġa-ġā-van "make someone cook", taking three arguments:

Ныбжьэгъуым къaзитху иIэти...
и анэм иригъэгъaвэри пщым хуихьaщ
Nəbźaġʷə-m q’āz-yətxʷə yə-ʔa-t-yə...
friend-ERG goose-five 3sg.-have-impf.-and

yə āna-m  yə-r-yə-ġa-ġā-va-r-yə
his mother-ERG 3sg.-3sg.-3sg.-caus.-boil-pres.-and

pśə-m xʷ-ə-h-ə-š
lord-ERG ver.-3sg.-bring-pret.-af.

"(His) friend had five geese... and he made his mother cook them, and he brought them to the lord"

Cf. also żan "burn" (intransitive): ġa-żan "burn" (transitive): ġa-ğa-żan "make someone burn".

Case assignment with causative verbs is typologically rather unusual 47. The case of the arguments in a causative construction is not determined by the causative verb, but by the verb from which the causative verb is derived. If that verb is intransitive and has only one argument, its only argument will be marked for the nominative, while the causer will be marked for the ergative (as the oblique argument), as in the example above, where the original verb, kʷan "go" is a monovalent intransitive verb: āna-m š’āla-r ġo-wəɡʷə-m yə-ɡā-kʷa "The mother (ERG) sends the boy (NOM) to the field (ERG)". If, on the other hand, the original verb is intransitive and has an indirect

---

47 Information on this is given according to Kumaxov (ed.) 2006: 436 and according to the examples obtained from my informants. Cf. also Matasović 2010.
object (oblique argument), the only macrorole ("subject") of the original verb will be marked for the nominative (so yadžākʷ-war "student" is NOM and the indirect object, and "poem", and wəsam is ERG, in the following example):

```
eyaŋaŋaŋaŋaŋaŋaw - wa - w - wəsam - q'-rə-y-ga-dż-ā-ś
```

"The teacher encouraged the student to read the poem"

Finally, if the causative verb is derived from a transitive verb, the lowest-ranking macrorole of this (original) verb will be in the nominative, and the other macrorole in the ergative; the causer is again in the ergative:

```
ľ'əźə - ś'āla - r yə - r - yə - ga - h - ā-ś
```

"The old man made the boy carry the girl"

```
ľ'əźə - ś'āla - r pχa - r yə - r - yə - qa - qʷət-ā-ś
```

"The old man made the boy cut the tree"

Of course, all of the nominal arguments can be left unexpressed, and proper nouns and indefinite NPs do not receive case marking:

```
Q'arašəwyay yə - haš'a - m-ra yə - źə - m-ra yə - ga - šx - ā-ś
```

"Karašavey fed his guest and his horse"

(in this sentence the name Q'arašəwyay would be in the ergative as the causer, the undergoer of the underived verb, i.e. the food, which is unexpressed, would be in the nominative, and the only case-marked nouns (haš'a and šx) are in the ergative as the indirect objects viz. non-macrorole core arguments).

These unusual rules of case assignment with causative verbs are related to the rules of case assignment in subordinate clauses (see below), where the case of the nouns in the main clause often depends on the role of these nouns in the subordinate clause.

Since causers are agents, the causative verb receives a personal prefix for the causer which takes the position of the prefix for the agent / subject of a transitive verb (immediately before the causative prefix), and the noun denoting the causer is in the ergative; the agent of the underived verb is reduced to the status of oblique argument / indirect object. The causative verb can thus take up to four personal markers48 (for the causer, the subject, the object and the indirect object):

```
ľ'ə-m ḥoxə-m ṭəl-xa - r pśāša - m yə - rə - rəy - gā-t-xa
```

48 My informants warn me that examples like these are slightly unnatural, fabricated.
man woman books girl 3sg.-3sg.-3sg.-caus.-give-3pl.
"The man makes the woman give the books to the girl"

cэ уэ абыхэм сырүзэгъэтащ
sa wa ābə-xa-m  sa-ra-w-z-ġa-t-ā-ś
I you he-pl.-ERG 1sg.-3pl.-2sg-1sg.-caus.-give-pret.-af.
"I made you give me to them"

The order of personal prefixes is basically the same as with normal transitive verbs (see above), except for the fact that there is an extra position, the one for the causer immediately before the causative prefix\(^49\).

According to Šagirov (1977: 124) and Kumaxov (1989: 218), the causative prefix ġa-(also Adyghe ġa-) is cognate with the Ubykh causative prefix ġa- (for plural objects only) and with the Abkhaz causative prefix r- (the sound correspondence is regular). This would mean that the causative formation is inherited from Proto-NWC.

INHABITANTATIVE

A verb in the category of involuntative indicates an action which is performed unintentionally. The Russian term is kategorija neproizvol'nosti, cf. Klimov 1986: 45.

In the involuntative verbs take the prefix ?aś'a-:

хъэм бажэр утхъэлащ
ha-m bāža-r  yə-thal-ā-ś
dog-ERG fox-NOM 3sg.-kill-pret.-af.
"The dog killed the fox"

хъэм бажэр ИшьИтхъэлыыхъащ
ham bāžar ?aś'athaləhāś
"The dog slaughtered the fox (unintentionally)"

хъэр бажэм ИшьИтхъэлыыхъащ
ha-r bāža-m ?aś'athaləhāś
"The fox (unintentionally) slaughtered the dog"

щIэлэм дыгъур щуклащ
ś'ala-m dəġwə-ɘ-r  yə-wəč'-ā-ś
boy-ERG thief-NOM 3sg.-kill-pret.-af.
"The young man killed the thief"

---

\(^49\) Dixon (2000: 49) includes Kabardian in his typology of causatives, claiming that it belongs to a small group of languages in which the causee in a causative derived from a transitive verb retains its A-marking (marking of agents of transitive verbs). As a similar case he adduces an isolate, Trumai (Brasil), in which both the causer and the causee take the ergative marking in a causative construction. However, what is special about Kabardian is that, in causatives built from intransitives, the same thing happens: the original "subject" retains its subject properties, getting the nominative case and not being indexed on the verb. There are other languages in which subjects retain some subject properties in causatives, e.g. Japanese (reflexive binding) and Qiang (case marking).
щIалэм дыгъур ІэщIэyкIащ
ś'āla-m dəġ"ə-r ?aš'а-wəč'āš
"The young man (unintentionally) killed the thief"

ýа yэщIэyкIащ
wa wə-s.?aš'а-wəč'-ā-ś
2sg. 2sg.-1sg.-invol.-kill-pret.-af.
"I accidentally killed you"

As can be seen from the previous example (the order of personal prefixes is patient-agent), a transitive verb does not become intransitive in the involuntative, i. e. the action of the verb still "affects" its object. In Kabardian grammars I find no examples of the involuntative construction with causative verbs. Although causativity seems to presuppose that the first argument of the verb is a conscious instigator of the action (the agent), my informants say that the following sentence is possible:

щIалэм лIыжьым дыгъур ІэщIигъэyкIащ
ś'āla-l'əź-əm dəġ"ə-r ?aš'а-ğa-wəč'-ā-ś
"The boy made the old man accidentally kill the thief"

I found the following example in the biography of Žabagy Kazanoko (Nal'čik 1984):

бжьaхъуиплIыр зэдилъри чыцI цIыкIуыр дыгъужым къыIэщIaгъэхуащ
bźāχ wə-pł'ə-r zadyəł ryə čəc' c'ək'
bee-keeper-4 together.rise-and he.goat small-NOM

dəġ"ožə-m q'ə-?aš'а-ğa-x"-ā-ś
wolf-ERG dir.-invol.3pl.-caus.-drop(?)-pret.-af.

"Four bee-keepers rose together and made the wolf (unintentionally) drop the little goat"

Note that the prefix -ʔaš'a- modifies the action of the original actor (the wolf), which is the derived causee, rather than the action of the derived actor (the four bee-keepers).

It appears that the involuntative cannot be used with stative verbs, such as taysən "sit":

щIалэр шэнтым тeсщ
Pace Abitov (ed.) 1957: 93, Hewitt 2004: 183. Moreover, the case marking on the arguments remains as in the non-involuntative construction. Prefixes with the similar function to the Kabardian involuntative exist in Abkhaz, but also in Georgian (Hewitt 2004: 183).
ś'āla-r šantə-m tay-s-š
boy-NOM chair-ERG dir.-sit-af.
"The boy sits on the chair"

but:

*śālam šantəm ?aš'ataysś "the boy accidentally sits on the chair"; rather, one must use
the following construction with the negated verb xʷyayn "want":

щаъэыш мыхүе тесъ
ś'āla-r šantə-m mə-xʷay-wa tay-s-š
boy-NOM chair-ERG neg.-want-ger. dir.-sit-af.

The verb containing the involuntative prefix can be used in polite questions, and the
prefix is best rendered as "perhaps, by chance”:

Шы къыфIэщIэмылъэгъуayэ пIэрэ?
Šə q'ə-f-ʔaš'a-mə-laɡʷ-ā-wa p'ara?
horse dir.-2pl.-invol.-neg.-see-pret.-ger. inter.
"Haven't you seen a horse, by chance?"

The origin of the involuntative prefix is an incorporated syntagm which includes the
noun ?a "hand" and the participle ś'a "doing" (to do something unintentionally is "to
do something using the hand, and not the mind"). A similar, but etymologically
unrelated, "involuntative" prefix exists in Abkhaz (-amχa-).

FACTITIVE

Adding the prefix wə- to a nominal stem forms verbs the meaning of which is "to
make something become or have the quality of what the nominal stem expresses", e.g.
wəf'ayən "to pollute, to make dirty" from f'ay "dirty", or wəq'abzən "to clean", from
q'ābza "clean":

cэбыйм джанэр цутфейяц
sābyəy-m džāna-r yə-wə-f'yay-ā-ś
kid-ERG shirt-NOM 3sg.-fact.-dirty-pret.-af.
"The kid made the shirt dirty"

As the case marking on argument shows, the verbs containing the factitive prefix are
transitive, just like the causative verbs. In a sense, the factitive is just a special type of
denominative causative.

The factitive prefix immediately precedes the verbal root. It can be freely combined
with the causative prefix, which it follows, cf. e.g. śāba "soft", wəšəbən "to make soft,
soften", yəg'awəšəbən "make someone soften (something).

ACTIVE (DYNAMIC) AND STATIVE VERBS
The division into dynamic and stative verbs does not coincide with the division into transitive and intransitive verbs. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can be either dynamic or static. Dynamic intransitive verbs express action, activity; they are morphologically marked by the prefix -aw- in the present tense. Intransitive dynamic verbs have the prefix ma-(mā-) in the 3rd person singular present. Here are some examples of dynamic verbs:


Stative verbs express a state, or the result of an action. They are often derived from nouns. They do not have the facultative suffix –r in the present, but the affirmative suffix -ś is compulsory; in the present they do not have the prefix -aw- like dynamic verbs:

 со сыщылъщ sa sə-śəł-ś
I 1sg.-lie-af.
"I am lying"

 ар щытщ ā-r śət-ś
he-NOM stand-af.
"He is standing"

 ŝəsə-ś "(he) is sitting (on a horse)", "he is riding", cf. ŝə- "horse", ēsən "to sit"

All stative verbs are intransitive, except for the verb ?əɡən "to hold".

It seems that every noun can be used as a stative verb, i.e. it can be turned into an intransitive verb by adding the suffix -ś (for affirmative forms):

 со сыпрофессорщ sa sə-prawfayssawr-ś
I 1sg.-professor-af.
"I am a professor"

Moreover, even adpositions can be turned into (stative) verbs by adding the affirmative suffix -ś:

 зуэ нэуэщ zāwa nawəź-ś
war after-af.
"It was (the time) after the war"

APPLICATIVES
Kabardian has two sets of applicative prefixes. Applicatives are usually defined as constructions in which the number of object arguments selected by the predicate is increased by one with respect to the basic construction. The object of the original construction is usually demoted to the status of the oblique argument, and the applied argument takes at least some of the properties of the object, cf. the English opposition between *Jane baked a cake* and *Jane baked John a cake*, where *John* is put in the first post-verbal position otherwise reserved for direct objects. However, in contradistinction to the applicative construction in most other languages, both Kabardian applicatives do not affect the choice of the object/undergoer.

According to Peterson (2007) the benefactive and the comitative functions of the applicative construction are the most common ones cross-linguistically. We have both of them in Kabardian.

I. VERSION (BENEFACTIVE/MALEFACTIVE)

The prefix *xʷa/-xʷ-* indicates version, i.e. for whose benefit the action is performed; it could also be called a benefactive:

\[ \text{пхуэстхащ} \]
\[ p-x^{w}a-s-tx-ā-ś \]
\[ 2\text{sg.-ver.-1\text{sg.-to write-pret.-af.}} \]
"I wrote for you"

The prefix *-xʷ-* is placed immediately after the prefix for the person for whose benefit the action is performed:

\[ \text{сыпхуэкIуащ} \]
\[ sə-p-x^{w}a-k^{w}-ā-ś \]
\[ 1\text{sg.-2\text{sg.-ver.-to go-pret.-af.}} \]
"I went for you (on your behalf)"

There is also the malefactive (adversative) prefix *f'ə/-f'a-*, which seems to be parallel to the version prefix *-xʷ-*, but it indicates to whose detriment (or against whose will) the action is performed:

\[ \text{уaфIыдэкIуащ} \]
\[ va-p-x^{w}a-k^{w}-ā-ś \]
\[ 51 \]

Note that English does not have any applicative morphology, and that the applied argument does not take all of the object properties, e.g. it cannot be passivized.

Applicatives (version prefixes) exist in the other NW Caucasian languages. Hewitt (2004: 134f.) calls the prefixes expressing version in NW Caucasian "relational particles" (cp. Abkhaz *z(ə)* which corresponds to Kab. *-xʷ ə-*) to distinguish them from version prefixes in Kartvelian, where a somewhat more complex system exists.

Kumaxov 1971: 276. Cf. the similar "adversative" prefix *ca-* in Abkhaz.
w-ā-f'ə-da-kʷ-ā-ś
2sg.-3pl.-advers.-conj.-go-pret.-af.
"You went with them against their will"

усфIыдэкIуац
wə-s-f'ə-da-kʷ-ā-ś
2sg.-1sg.-advers.-conj.-go-pret.-af.
"You went with them against my will"

хээгъэнцихъэр мээым
cфIычъэдээжацIи къысчуыщэхъужъыркъым
cфIычъэдээжацIи къысчуыщэхъужъыркъым

xa-z-ğa-pś' șə-xa-r məz-əm
dir.-1sg.-caus.-graze.at.night-pl.-NOM wood-ERG

s-f'ə-xa-lada-ʒə-ś-ʒə q'ə-s-xʷəśaxʷə-ʒə-r-q'əm
1sg.-advers.-dir.-run-back.-pret.-af.-and dir.-1sg.-drive.out-back-pres.-neg.
"The horses that I herded at night ran away on me into the wood and I can't drive them out again".

Шыр гъулээым ицыфIэкIуэдац
Șə-r ġʷagʷə-m șə-s-f'ə-kʷad-ā-ś
horse-NOM road-ERG dir.-1sg.-advers.-disappear-pret.-af.
"The horse disappeared to me on the road, I lost my horse along the road"

The category of version in Kabardian should not be confused with the typologically similar applicative construction, which involves the adding of an argument to the core of the clause and increasing the transitivity of a verb. In Kabardian, adding the version prefix -xʷ- and the adversative prefix -f'ə- does not affect the transitivity of a verb.

The applicative can be freely combined with the causative:

тхъым а цыдур къыпчукъэхъу
tha-m ā c'okʷ-ə-r q'ə-p-xʷ-yə-ğa-ʃə
god-ERG this little-NOM dir.-2sg.-ver.-3sg.-caus.-grow/become
"May God raise this little one for you!"

cи дыщэр къыпчогъэнэ
syə dəsə-r q'ə-p-xʷ-aw-ğə-na
my gold-NOM dir.-2sg.-ver.-pres.-caus.-remain
"I am leaving you my gold" (= "I am making my gold remain for you")

II. CONJUNCTIVITY (COMITATIVE)
The prefix expressing conjunctivity (Rus. *sojuznost’*) -da-/də- indicates that the subject is performing the action together with somebody else:\(^{54}\)

\[sə-da-k'w-ā-ś "I went with him" : sə-k'wāś "I went"
\]

\[1sg.-conj.-go-pret.-af.
\]

\[da-s-h-ā-ś "I carried (it) with him" : shāś "I carried (it)"
\]

\[conj.-1sg.-carry-pret.-af.
\]

\[xъйдже́бзыр я́нм лолажьэ
girl-NOM 3sg.poss.-mother-ERG conj.-pres.-work
"The girl works with her mother"
\]

\[лъыкъым хнацӀхэм ику ядефац
old.man-ERG guest-pl.-ERG sour.milk 3pl.-conj.-3sg.-drink-pret.-af.
"The old man drank sour milk with the guests"
\]

Note that *хаś’axa* "guests" is in the Ergative in the preceding example, which shows that the applied argument has the status of the oblique, rather than direct object/undergoer. Compare also the Ergative case of the applied NP in the following example:

\[махэ гуэр ʰə у nonce ʰə гуэрымен ⁴дэджэгурти
\]

\[мāxʷə gʷar-əm ā-r ʰə nəbʒaɣʷə c'əkʷə gʷar-əm
day some-ERG he-NOM 3sg.poss. friend small some-ERG
\]

\[c'an da-džagʷə-rt-ʰə
\]

\[c'an conj.-play-impf.-and
\]

"And one day he played c'an (a game with sheep bones) with his little friend"

The conjunctivity prefix follows the person marker it refers to, and it also follows the person marker expressing the argument marked with the Nominative ("the lowest ranking macrorole"); stating this rule in terms of the traditional "Subject" would be confusing, since we would have to say that -da-/də- precedes the subject of transitive verbs, and follows the subject of intransitives:

\[бдызошх
\]

\[b-də-z-aw-šx
\]

\[2sg.-conj.-1sg.-pres.-eat
\]

"I am eating this with you" (transitive verb)

\(^{54}\) A genetically cognate comitative/conjunctivity prefix exists in the other NW Caucasian languages, cf. Ubykh *dz*-., Abkhaz and Abaza *c(-o)-*. Abkhaz has another applicative marker, *la-*, which has instrumental function (Hewitt 2004: 134).
сыбыдолажьэ
sə-b-d-aw-lāžə
1sg.-2sg.-conj.-pres.-work
"I am working with you" (intransitive verb)

With transitive verbs, adding a conjunctive prefix can refer not only to the
conjunction of actors, but also of undergoers (Kumaxov et alii 2006: 250):

къуейм щлякхуг дэйсə
q"yay-m ś'āq"a da-śx
cheese-ERG meat conj.-eat
"Eat meat with cheese"

Хъэсэн си нартыху къынэпəр еэым ейхэм дихъэжац
Hasan syə nārtəxʷ qapə-r yazəm yay-xa-m d-yə-haž-ā-ś
H. poss.1sg. corn bag-NOM himself his-pl.-ERG conj.-3sg.-grind-preter.-af.
"Hasan ground my bag of corn together with his own"

Note that the added (applied) argument in the examples above is in the Ergative (in its
oblique function). This shows that the added argument is not the object/undergoer, but
oblique. According to my informants, the applied argument has to be in the Ergative
even if it is indefinite:

щIала хъыджэбз лIыжьым дилъaгъuащ
ś'āla χədžabz ł'əź-əm d-yałə-šə-łāg-w-ā-ś
boy girl old.man-ERG conj.-3sg.-see-preter.-af.
"A boy saw a girl with an old man"

Just as with the category of version (see above), the category of conjunctivity involves
the adding of another person marker to the verb, so from a typological point of view
this looks like the comitative applicatives found, e.g., in Haka-Lai, a Tibeto-Burman
language (Peterson 2007). However, the difference lies in the fact that the adding of
the conjunctivity prefix does not affect the transitivity of a verb, as is clear from case
marking and the shape of the person markers. A related conjunctivity (comitative)
prefix exists in Abkhaz (-c(ə)-).

The conjunctivity/comitative applicative construction should be distinguished from
the incorporation of the adverbial prefix -zəda-, -zada- "together". In Russian, this is
sometimes referred to as the category of "togetherness" (sovmestnost'). The adding of
this stem to the verbal matrix does not involve adding any personal prefixes:

уэрэ сэрэ дыээ долажьэ
wara sara do-zad-aw-lāžə
I you 2pl.-together-pres.-work
"You and I work together"

Зээрым Хъымыш деж нарт шу гуп къыдыхьац,
зэклуэ зыдашэну
"Once, a group of Nart riders came to Himish, to take him on a raid (together with them)"

RECIROCITY

The verb in the reciprocal form expresses that its two core arguments (the Actor and the Undergoer) act on each other simultaneously. The reciprocal prefix is za- (for intransitive verbs), and zarə- (for transitive verbs):

зэгурыIуэн za-g"эрə?"a-n "to arrange between each other"
зэрылъaгъун zarə-лăğ"ə-n "to see each other"
дызэрыгуэтац də-zarə-ğ"at-ă-ś
1pl.-rec.-meet-pret.-af.
"We met each other"

The core arguments of the verb in the reciprocal form must be in the ergative case, to which the conjunctive suffix -ra "and" is attached:

лIыжьымрэ и къуэмрэ куэд щIayэ зэрылъэгъуaкъым old.man-ERG-and 3sg.poss. son-ERG-and long doing rec.-see-pret.-neg.
"The old man and his son have not seen each other for a long time"

Of course, personal pronouns in the 1st and 2nd person are not case marked, but they also receive the conjunctive -ra:

Фэрэ дэрэ куэд мыщIэy дызэрылъаgъунц you we long not.doing 1pl.-rec.-see-fut.-af.
"We will see each other shortly"

Perhaps under the influence of the Russian reciprocal construction (drug-druga), Kabardian has also developed the construction with the "reciprocal pronouns" зə-ădryay ("one-other"):

Зə-m ădryay-m зə-ś-yə-ğə-pšk"-wə-ra,
one-ERG other-ERG refl.-dir-3sg.-caus.-avoid-ger.-and

wāśha-m zarəh-ā-ś zaň-yə-şə-r
hill-ERG meet-pret.-af. brother-suff.-3-NOM

"And, after avoiding one another, the three brothers met on the hill"

REFLEXIVITY

Kabardian does not have reflexive pronouns; reflexivity is expressed by the verbal prefix za-/zə-/z-, which indicates that the subject of the action is the same as the object; from the historical point of view, this is the same prefix as the basic reciprocal prefix. Reciprocity and reflexivity are in many languages semantically and morphologically related, cf. the Croatian verbs tući se (= to hit oneself or to hit each other), gledati se (= to look at oneself or to look at each other).

The reflexive prefix follows the prefix for the subject of an intransitive verb (the lowest ranking macrorole, see above) and precedes the prefix for the subject of a transitive verb (the other macrorole):

сызопщикъыкъымс
sə-z-aw-wəps'ə-ž
1sg.-refl.-pres.-ask-back
"I ask myself" (intransitive verb)

уздпичъымс
wə-z-aw-wəps'ə-ž
2sg.-refl.-pres.-ask-back
"You ask yourself"

зызотхьгъымс
zə-z-aw-thəš'
refl.-1sg.-pres.-wash
"I wash myself" (transitive verb)

зыбюхуаппə
zə-b-aw-x̂əpə
refl.-2sg.-pres.-dress
"You dress yourself" (transitive verb)

The reflexive marker on the subordinated verb must be controlled by the subject of that verb, not the subject of the verb in the main clause:

da wa wə-zə-wa-nwə də-x"yay-š
we you(SG) 2SG-REFL-CAUS-hit-INF 1PL-want-AFF
"We want you to hit yourself"
The preceding example cannot be taken to mean “*We want you to hit us”, with the subject of the main clause (da) as the controller. This means that there is no “long-distance” binding in Kabardian, no binding across the clause boundary. If the object of the verb of the subordinate clause is coreferent with the subject of the verb of the main clause, the reflexive cannot be used:

Согугъэр абы сильъасъу
s-aw-gəğə-sə-a-bə s-yə-ləgə-nə-nə
1sg.-pres.-hope-pres. 3sg.-ERG 1sg.-3sg.-see-fut.
"I hope that he will see me"

It is typologically somewhat unusual that, in the case of transitive verbs, the reflexive affix precedes the personal affix for the constituent which has to be coreferent with it.

The reflexive prefix can occur with the infinitive as well:

псым зыкъыхъэдээн
psə-m zə-q'ə-xə-xa-dza-n
water-ERG refl.-dir.-ver.-dir.-throw-inf.
"to throw oneself into the water for him"

The reflexive prefix is often combined with the suffix -ž(a)-, meaning "back". The details of the use of this suffix should be further examined, since it appears to be obligatory with intransitive bivalent verbs. The following examples are obtained from my informants:

щIаłэ цIыкIум зилъыжац
ś'āla c'ək'-ə-xə-ž-ə-ś
boy little-ERG refl.-3sg.-kill-back-pret.-af.
"The little boy killed himself" (transitive verb)

щIаłэ цIыкIур зэyэжəщ
ś'āla c'ək'-ə-ř za-wa-ž-ə-ś
boy little-NOM refl.-hit-back-pret.-af.
"The little boy hit himself" (intransitive verb)

As can be seen from the examples, the reflexive construction of the verb does not change the valency of the verb (this can be seen by looking at the order of personal prefixes and the case assignment in the sentences above). Aside from this, it can be seen that, in a reflexive construction, the subject of an intransitive verb (to hit, ḫən) is treated in the same way as the subject of a transitive verb (to kill, ḫən), i.e. that Kabardian syntax is nominative-accusative according to this criterion.

Note the following pair of sentences with causative verbs, which point to the rules governing the use of -ž-:

пицашəм щIалэр зриъэуац
pśāša-m ś'āla-r z-r-yə-ğə-w-ə-ś
"The girl made the boy hit her" (literally "herself", i.e. the girl)

пщaщэм щIалэр                зригъэyэжaщ
pśāśa                           ś'āla                            r                z

"The girl made the boy hit himself"

The suffix -ž- "again, back", which we could refer to as "repetitive", can also appear without the reflexive prefix; it can often be translated as "again":

адыгэ          лъэпкъыжьри    лъэпкъ   yaрдэ         хъужынyщ
Adəγa          łapq'əźryəłapq'   wārdə         χə-žə-nwə-ś
Adyghean people-old-and people strong become-back-fut.-af.

"And the old Adyghean people will become strong again".

Besides temporal, the suffix -ž- also has directional (spatial) meaning, signifying the reverse direction of the action. Thus, while kʷ'ən means "to go", kʷ'əžən means "to return", while tən is "to give", təžən is "to give back", etc. When added to adjectival stems, it can also mean "even", e.g. ba is "a lot, many", nažəba is "more", and nažəbaž is "even more". In some cases, the suffix –ž- can indicate that the action is performed again, but not by the same subject; in a Kabardian folk-story about the hero Ashamaz, we find a sentence in which his friend asks him to avenge his father:

Уи   адэр
Wyə    āda-r
your father-NOM

къазыукIар укIыж
q'a-zə-wəč'-ā-r
part-kill-pret-NOM

"Kill the one who had killed your father!"

From the descriptive point of view, it can be said that the suffix –ž- indicates that the lowest Macrorole argument of the verb (in traditional terms its „intransitive subject or direct object“) is doubly affected by the action: with non-reflexives, this may mean either that the action is performed twice („again“) on (or by) that argument, or that the action is directed „back“ at it. With reflexive intransitives, it also means that the lowest macrorole argument is doubly affected: once as the instigator of the action, and again as its undergoer.

There is no special possessive reflexive. Rather, the usual possessive pronouns are used:

сi мэл зытхухыр мэз љапэм къытезнати,
syə       mal zəpxəxər maz lāpa-m
1sg.poss. sheep 5-6

бъуауэ нэху къекІaщ
q'ə-tay-z-n-āt
woodmeadow-ERG dir.-dir.-1sg.-leave-plup.

"I had left my five or six sheep on a meadow in the wood"
DEONTIC MODALITY

The potential prefix \(-x^ωa/-x^ωə\) and/or the suffix \(-f(ə)\) express deontic modality, i.e. whether the subject is capable of doing the action expressed by the verb or not:

\[\text{yсхухьынгьын} wə -xwə -fəxə -nwə -ś\]
2sg.-1sg.-pot.-carry-fut.-af.
"I will be able to carry you"

The prefix \(-x^ωə\) is placed immediately after the personal prefix for the agent, the potential doer of the action. It seems to be added only to transitive verbs, and in origin it is probably identical to the "version" marker (benefactive) \(-x^ωə\) (Hewitt 2004: 135; see above). The suffix \(-f\) is added both to transitive and intransitive verbs. It is not entirely clear whether these are variants of the same morpheme \((-f/-x^ω-)\) which can be both a suffix and a prefix, or whether they are two different morphemes. Klimov (1986: 45) claims that this is only one morpheme which can be either a suffix or a prefix, and he cites it as \(-x^ωa\) in Kabardian, \(-fa\) in Adyghean, which is in keeping with the rule according to which the Common Adyghean *x results in \(f\) in Adyghean. However, the suffix \(-f\) is found in Kabardian texts as well, cf. ādəγabzač’a sawpsаlaf "I speak Kabardian" (i.e. "I can speak Kabardian"); the potential prefix occurs more often with negative and interrogative forms, while the suffix is tied to affirmative forms of the verb. In any case, the potential should be distinguished from the so-called "hypothetical mood", which can be included in the category of evidentiality (see below). Potential differs from the proper verbal moods in that it is negated by the suffix \(-q'əm\), rather than with the prefix \(-mə\), i.e. it is a finite verbal form:

\[\text{си } Джaтэ } вaбжa -m q'əf'ac'ə -fə -n -q'əm\]
1sg.poss. sword gate-ERG dir.-pass-pot.-fut.-neg.
"He will not be able to pass my 'Sword-Gate'"

\[\text{Увзырмэдж } ди } \text{мыйусэм } вaбжa -m q'ə -fə -n -q'əm\]
W. 1pl.poss. neg.-companion-cond. dir.-1pl.-pot.-carry.away-fut.-neg.
"If Wazirmadž is not our companion, we will not be able to kidnap her (sc. Satanay)"

An interesting feature of the potential prefix is that it reduces the transitivity of the verb, i.e. it turns transitive verbs into intransitive. This is in keeping with the relation between transitivity and the "affectedness of the object", i.e. the patient: in the potential, the patient is not affected by the action, so the verb has to be intransitive, cf. the following two examples (Kumaxov, ed. 2006: 257):

\[\text{уестыркъым}\]
\[\text{w}-ya-s-tə-r-q'əm\]
2sg.-3sg.-1sg.-to give-pres.-neg.

\[\text{si } Džaţa } Kəvəbža -m q'əf'ac'ə -fə -n -q'əm\]
1sg.poss. sword gate-ERG dir.-pass-pot.-fut.-neg.
"He will not be able to pass my 'Sword-Gate'"

\[\text{Увзырмэдж } дi } \text{мыйусэм } вaбжa -m q'ə -fə -n -q'əm\]
W. 1pl.poss. neg.-companion-cond. dir.-1pl.-pot.-carry.away-fut.-neg.
"If Wazirmadž is not our companion, we will not be able to kidnap her (sc. Satanay)"

An interesting feature of the potential prefix is that it reduces the transitivity of the verb, i.e. it turns transitive verbs into intransitive. This is in keeping with the relation between transitivity and the "affectedness of the object", i.e. the patient: in the potential, the patient is not affected by the action, so the verb has to be intransitive, cf. the following two examples (Kumaxov, ed. 2006: 257):
"I don't give you to him" (the verb is transitive, so the prefix for the doer of the action, 1sg., is placed next to the verbal root)

усѫхуэтыркъым
wə-s-x"ə-ya-tə-r-q'əm
2sg.-1sg.-pot.-3sg.-to give-pres.-neg.
"I cannot give you to him" (the verb is intransitive, so the order of the prefixes for 1sg. and 3sg. is reversed)

However, the arguments of the verb in the potential form receive the same case endings as in the corresponding indicative:\n
сымэджэм мыӟерыср виш
səmadža-m məʔarəsa-r ya-šx (note the 3sg. "transitive subject" prefix ya-)
sick.man-ERG apple-NOM 3sg.-eat
"The sick man is eating the apple"

сымэджэм мыӟерыср хуоиш
səmadža-m məʔarəsa-r x"ə-aw-šx (note the lack of the 3sg. prefix)
sick.man-ERG apple-NOM pot.-pres.-eat
"The sick man can eat the apple"

This can be accounted for if the potential construction is actually of the "inverse-type" (see above), i.e. if the preceding example should be rendered as "it is possible to the sick man to eat the apple".

Unlike the potential prefix -x"ə-, the potential suffix -fə- is freely combined with the version prefix -x"ə-:

Сыт пуѫсцъфын иджыри?
Sə x"ə-s-sə-fə-n yədžəryə?
what 2sg.-ver.-1sg.-do-pot.-inf. more
"What more can I do for you?"

PERSONAL AND DIRECTIONAL PREFIXES

The use of directional prefixes is compulsory with many verbs for certain persons and tenses; the use of these prefixes is quite idiomatic, and it seems that each verb has its own pattern\(^57\), cf. the intransitive verb žan "to wait":

сыножеь
sə-n-aw-w-žə "I wait for you"
1sg.-dir.-pres.-2sg.-to wait

сыножеац
sə-n-aw-ž-ə-š "I waited for you"
1sg-dir-2sg.-to wait-pot.-af.

сывожеь
sə-v-aw-žə "I wait for you (pl.)"

сывожеац
sə-və-ž-ə-š "I waited for you (pl.)"

---
\(^{56}\) Abitov (ed.) 1957: 93.
\(^{57}\) Kumaxov 1971: 267.
1sg.-2pl.-pres.-to wait

сожьэ
s-aw-ža "I wait for him/I wait for them"

семьаш
s-ya-ž-ā-š "I waited for him/for them"

укъысожьэ
wə-q’ə-s-aw-ža "you wait for me"

укъызжьаш
wə-q’ə-za-ž-ā-š "you waited for me"

укъыдожьэ
wə-q’ə-d-aw-ža "you wait for us"

укъыджьаш
wə-q’ə-da-ž-ā-š "you waited for us"

уожьэ
w-aw-ža "you wait for him/for them"

уемьаш
w-ya-ž-ā-š "you waited for him/them"

къзожьэ
q’ə-z-aw-ža "he waits for me"

къзжьаш
q’ə-za-ž-ā-š "he waited for me"

дыножьэ
də-n-aw-w-ža "we wait for you"

дыножьаш
də-q’ə-ž-ā-š "we waited for you"

дожьэ
d-aw-ža "we wait for him/them"

димьаш
d-ya-ž-ā-š "we waited for him/them"

къыздожьэ
q’ə-z-aw-ža "they wait for me"

къызжьаш
q’ə-za-ž-ā-š "they waited for me"

Къызжьаш
q’ə-za-ž-ā-š "they waited for me"

ТЕНСЕСЫ

Кабардий имеет сложную систему времён глагола. Она различает основные измерения настоящего, будущего и прошлого, и, в прошлом, две степени отдалённости: претерит и перфект обозначают действие,发生的在最近的过去, while the pluperfect denotes an event in the distant past.

Категория времени обычно выражается суффиксацией (хотя, однако, есть и суффиксы в настоящем времени):

present: prefixes ma- (mā), -aw- and the facultative suffix -r for dynamic verbs, without markers for stative verbs
preterite: suffix -ā
imperfect: suffix -(r)t for dynamic verbs and -m for stative verbs

58 The terminology for Kabardian verbal tenses differs greatly depending on the author; Kumaxov and Vamling (1996: 39 ff.) refer to the anterior preterite as the "perfect II", and to the preterite as the
anterior preterite: suffix -āt
pluperfect: suffix -gā
anterior pluperfect: suffix -gāt
categorical future: suffix -n
factual future: suffix -nwa
future II: suffix -nwə

In all verbal tenses there are special negative forms, expressed by the suffix -q’əm; in the present of dynamic verbs the prefixes ma-, aw- disappear in the negative form, and the suffix -r becomes compulsory, cp. the following examples:

1. Intransitive monovalent dynamic verb kʷan:

   сохъэ(п) : мэхъэ(п) : сьыкъэркъым : къэркъым
   s-aw-kʷa(r) : ma-kʷa(r) : sə-kʷa-r-qʷəm : kʷa-r-qʷəm

   "I go" "He goes" "I don't go" "He doesn't go"

2. Intransitive stative verb šətn "stand"

   сыщытщ : щытщ : сыщыткъым : щыткъым

   "I stand" "He stands" "I don't stand" "He doesn't stand"

3. Intransitive bivalent (dynamic) verb żan "wait"

   сохъэ(п) : йохъэ(п) : сыжъэркъым : ижъэркъым
   s-aw-ża(r) : y-aw-ża(r) : sə-ża-r-qʷəm : yə-ża-r-qʷəm

   "I wait (for him)" "He waits (for him)" "I don't wait (for him)" "He doesn't wait"

4. Transitive (bivalent dynamic) verb dən "sew"

   соды(п) : едыр : сыдыркъым : едыркъым
   s-aw-də(r) : yə-də-r : sə-də-r-qʷəm : yə-də-r-qʷəm

   "I sew it" "He sews it" "I don't sew it" "He doesn't sew it"

The meaning of anterior verbal tenses is not entirely clear. These are the anterior pluperfect and preterite, and, because of the way it is formed, the future II as well. According to reference books, anterior tenses indicate an action which lasted for some time in the past, and forms in anterior tenses are glossed by adding the adverb "then" (Rus. togdá), e.g. kʷaś "he went" in contrast to kʷāt "he went then". Based on examples and the interviews with my informants, I find it most likely that the suffix -t used in anterior tenses expresses definiteness, i.e. that a verb in an anterior tense indicates an action which was performed at a definite time in the past. This can be seen in the following sentence:

"perfect". The same authors mention also forms with the suffix -s, which they call "aorist", but these forms seem to be quite rare in texts; cp. also Abitov 1957: 120f.

59 There do not seem to be any clear parallels to this kind of tense system in Comrie's cross-linguistic survey (Comrie 1985).
The use of the anterior preterite in the preceding example is consistent with the use of the adverbial expression "at that time, long ago". Similarly, the use of the preterite is incompatible (or nearly so) with temporal adverbs such as "yesterday", which specify the exact time when the action was performed. With such adverbs the anterior preterite must be used:

"I went to the city yesterday"

The imperfect is, unlike the preterite, used for an action which lasted for some time or was repeated in the past. In narratives this tense alternates with the preterite, which in most cases indicates a one-off action, or an action which is not implied to have lasted for some time or to have been repeated in the past, e.g:

"Sosruko was sitting (impf.) by the fireplace. Satanaya entered (pret.) the house"

Interestingly, the imperfect is compatible with temporal adverbs specifying the time when the action was performed:

"I was going to the city yesterday"

The opposition between the imperfect and the preterite can easily be seen in the following paragraph:
"On the top of Uašhamaxwa (Mt. Elbrus) Mazatha, Amish, Thagoledž, Sozrash, Hlapsh and others were sitting together with Psatha and marking (yā?at, impf.) the drinking of sana (drink of the gods). And so every year these gods organized (yāš’t, impf.) the drinking of sana. And the one who was (taytmyə, impf.) manliest on earth, he was brought over (yāšartyə, impf.) and was given to drink (yərāģāfart, impf.) from a horn filled with sana, as a favour to the thirsty little men on earth. The Narts esteemed (yāģałāp’art, impf.) highly the man who drank with the gods. And many years passed (yak’w ač’āś, pret.) in that way. At the celestial drinking of sana, Psatha, who personally sat as thamada (commander of the feast) got up and said (žyə?āś, pret.)."

In this paragraph we can see how a sequence of events repeated in the past and expressed by the imperfect was interrupted by the event referred to by the commencing story, which is expressed by the preterite.

The pluperfect generally expresses an action performed a long time ago, in the distant past:

"Our forefathers said to us long time ago that the ones who will exist after us would kill each other"
"The Svan's stepson grows up; those who had raised him had a grown-up daughter, and they fall in love" (note that Swan here refers to a member of a Kartvelian people, the Svans)

The difference between the categorical and the factual future is not entirely clear to me. Some sources say that the categorical future expresses an intention to perform the action, while the factual future expresses the speaker's certainty that the action will be performed. According to my informant, the natural way to say "I shall go to the city" is дə-ва-зава-нə (city-ERG 3sg.-3pl.-be-impf. rec.-fight-fut. enemy-ERG), whereas q'ālam ə-kʷa-nə (city-ERG 3sg.-3pl.-be-impf. rec.-fight-fut. enemy-ERG) would be used only if the subject will go to the city under a certain condition. However, from the passages such as the following one it would appear that the categorical future does not refer to any particular time when the action will be performed, while this specification is necessary with the factual future. If so, the opposition between the categorical and the factual future would correspond to the opposition between the preterite and the anterior preterite:

The old Narts had the custom to give the enemy the date, to send him the message that they would come to fight: "We will come to fight at that time", they used to say. However, the enemy broke the custom: "We will come to fight the race of the Narts (eventually), we will seize the land of the Narts", they used to say when they came to the land of the Narts."
In the preceding passage, apparently, the Narts used the factual future to give the exact time when they would come to fight, while their enemies just indicated that they would come to fight, without stating exactly when. The opposition clearly seems to be in the definiteness of time reference.

Some authors refer to the future II as conditional. It is formed by adding the suffix -т to the factual future form. It seems that forms with the –нт suffix, which are sometimes set apart as a distinct verbal mood (the subjunctive), can also be included in this category, cf. sə-kʷʷ-a-nt "I would go" (see below).

И тIасхъапIэ къамыхутэнIэ, пъэщынутэктэым.
yə             t'āsχāp'a    q'-ā-ma-xʷəta-ma,    palaśə-nwəta-q'əm
"If they would not find his weak spot, they would not overcome him"

Here are the selected paradigms of the verbal tenses:

**PRESENT**

A) dynamic intransitive verb kʷʷan "to go"

1. s-aw-kʷʷα(r) "I go"  sə-kʷʷ-a-r-q'əm "I don't go"
2. w-aw-kʷʷα(r) "you go"
3. mā-kʷʷα(r) "he goes"
1. d-a-kʷʷα(r) "we go"
2. f-а-kʷʷα(r) "you go"
3. mā-kʷʷα-xα-r "they go"

B) static intransitive verb šə-sən "to sit"

1. sə-šə-s-ś "I sit"
2. wə-šə-s-ś "you sit"
3. šə-s-ś "he sits"
1. də-šə-s-ś "we sit"
2. fə-šə-s-ś "you sit"
3. šə-s-ś "they sit"

C) dynamic intransitive verb psalan "to converse"

sawpsāla "I converse"
wawpsāla "you converse"
māpsāla "he converses"
dawpsāla "we converse"
fawpsāla "you converse"
māpsāla (mapsālaxar) "they converse"

D) transitive verb hən "to carry":

s-aw-h "I carry him"/"I carry them"
w-z-aw-h "I carry you"
fə-z-aw-h "I carry you (pl.)"
Matasović: A Short Grammar of Kabardian

w-aw-h "you carry him" / "you carry them"
sə-b-aw-h "you carry me"
da-b-aw-h "you carry us"
ya-h "he carries him" / "he carries them"
s-ya-h "he carries me"
d-ya-h "he carries us"
w-ya-h "he carries you"
f-ya-h "he carries you (pl.)"
fə-d-aw-h "we carry you (pl.)"
f-aw-h "you carry him" / "you carry them"
sə-v-aw-h "you (pl.) carry me"
da-v-aw-h "you (pl.) carry us"
y-ā-h "they carry him" / "they carry them"
s-ā-h "they carry me"
d-ā-h "they carry us"
w-ā-h "they carry you"
f-ā-h "they carry you (pl.)"

PRETERITE
sə-k"ā-ș "I went"
wə-k"ā-ș "you went"
k"ā-ș "he went"

səsəsəs "I was sitting"
wəsəsəs "you were sitting"
səsəs "they were sitting"
dašəsəs "we were sitting"
fəsəsəs "you were sitting"
səsəs "they were sitting"

sa txəłəm syadžāś "I read a book"
wa txəłəm wyadžāś "you read a book"
ār txəłəm yadžāś "he read a book"
da txəłəm dyadžāś "we read a book"
fa txəłəm fyadžāś "you read a book"
āxar txəłəm yadžāś "they read a book"

shāś "I carried him" / "I carried them"
wəshāś "I carried you"
fəshāś "I carried you (pl.)"
phāš "you carried him" / "you carried them"
səphāš "you carried me"
da phāš "you carried us"
yəhāś "he carried him" / "he carried them"
səhāš "he carried me"
dyəhāš "he carried us"
wəyəhāś "he carried you"
fəyəhāś "he carried you (pl.)"
θəs "we carried him" / "we carried them"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wəθɑ̄ś</td>
<td>&quot;we carried you&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fəθɑ̄ś</td>
<td>&quot;we carried you (pl.)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fħɑ̄ś</td>
<td>&quot;you (pl.) carried him&quot; / you carried them&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>səfħɑ̄ś</td>
<td>&quot;you (pl.) carried me&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəfħɑ̄ś</td>
<td>&quot;you (pl.) carried us&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yɑ̄hɑ̄ś</td>
<td>&quot;they carried him&quot; / &quot;they carried them&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɑ̄hɑ̄ś</td>
<td>&quot;they carried me&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dɑ̄hɑ̄ś</td>
<td>&quot;they carried us&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wɑ̄hɑ̄ś</td>
<td>&quot;they carried you&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fɑ̄hɑ̄ś</td>
<td>&quot;they carried you (pl.)&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IMPERFECT**

sə- kʷa -(r)t "I was going"

wə- kʷa(r)t "you were going"

ya- kʷa(r)t "he was going"

**ANTERIOR PRETERITE**

sə- kʷ-āt "(then) I went"

**PLUPERFECT**

sə- kʷ-a-ɡā-ś "I went a long time ago"

**ANTERIOR PLUPERFECT**

sə- kʷ-a-ɡāt "(then) I went a long time ago"

**CATEGORICAL FUTURE**

sə- kʷ-a-n-ś "I will go"

**FACTUAL FUTURE**

sə- kʷ-a-nwə-ś "I will go, I am about to go"

(ś is the affirmative suffix)

**FUTURE II**

sə- kʷ-a-nwət "I was about to go / I would go"

**INTERROGATIVE**

The interrogative is sometimes referred to as the question mood. It uses the same type of suffixal formation as verbal moods. Like verbal moods, the interrogative is a non-finite verbal form (it takes the prefixal negation -mə-) and it cannot be combined with the affirmative suffix -ś. However, considering the function of this category, it is better to think of it as a form of expressing the illocutionary force; the interrogative suffixes bring into question the content of the predicate, i.e. the verb. The interrogative suffixes are -ra, -q'a, -wyə:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ымхрə</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wə-txa-ra</td>
<td>2sg.-write-inter.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Are you writing?" (interrogative)

сыфIущIэнкъэ
sə-f-ʔəs'a-n-q'a
1sg.-2pl.-meet-fut.-inter.
"Will I meet you?" (interrogative)60

The suffix -q'a can also be used in exclamations:

гъывaщIэxaми, зэ укъIйнкъэ гъуэм!
gʷəvā-š'axāmyə, za wə-q'-yəc'ə-n-q'a gʷə-m!
soon-late once 2sg.-dir.-exit-fut.-inter. hole-ERG
"Sooner or later, you will exit that hole!"

The interrogative has no suffix in the preterite and in the future, but the affirmative suffix –š is not used, and the intonation of the sentence serves as another indicator of interrogativity:

фαгъатха
f-ā-gā-tx-ā
2pl.-3pl.-caus.-write-pret.
"They made you write (it)?"

дыфхуэкIуэнь
do-f-xʷa-kʷa-nwə
1pl.-2pl.-ver.-go-fut.
"Are we going to go for you?"

The suffix -ra can be used twice in disjunctive questions:

зы изъэкI сiy₂хэъщIэфынрэ сымъыэхэъщIэфынрэ1
zə yəłas-c'ə s-yə-ğa-haś'a-fə-n-ra sə-yə-ğa-haś'a-fə-n-ra?
1 year-INST 1sg.-3sg.-caus.-guest-pot.-fut.-ra 1sg.-3sg.-neg.-caus.-guest.-pot.-fut.-ra
"Will he be able to receive me as a guest for a year or will he not?"

Interrogativity can also be expressed with interrogative particles, e.g. the particles p'ara, śha "why", etc. They can be freely combined with the interrogative suffixes:

ишъə a узытеса мываr къэбгъэнрэ?
śha ə wə-zə-tay-s-ā mava-r q'a-ğagna-ra?
why this(NOM) 2sg.-part.-dir.-sit-pret. rock-NOM dir.-leave-inter.
"Why are you leaving this rock you were sitting on?"

---

60 In the interrogative formed with the suffix -q'a it is assumed that the answer will be affirmative (Kumaxov & Vamling 1998: 53).
Kabardian verbal moods are: indicative, imperative, admirative, optative, conditional and permissive.

A) Indicative

The indicative is the unmarked verbal mood. It has the suffixes -ś (for affirmative) and -q'əm (for negation).

B) Imperative

The imperative is the bare stem (without any suffixes):

лэ ла! "paint!" (lan "to paint")
шэ ша! "lead!" (šan "to lead")
txэ txэ! "write!" (txən "to write")

If the lexical verb contains directional prefixes, these remain in the imperative:

мыдэ къак
мэда qā-k"а "come here!"
here dir.-go

The third person singular imperative receives the personal prefix:

иэ好奇щэ телефонъ къэзыгупсысэм
yə-wə-ğāšə taylayfawn-ər q’ə-zə-gəpsəs-ə-m
3sg.-factitive-life telephone-NOM dir.-part.-invent-pret.-ERG
"May live the one who invented the telephone!"

The imperative is also used in the 2nd person plural, with the regular person prefix:

фи Сэтэнэй гузащэ феунш!
fyə Satanyay g"āšə f-ya-wəps'!
poss.2pl. S. lady 2pl.-3sg.-ask
"Ask (pl.) your (pl.) Lady Satanay!"

Instead of the 1st person plural imperative, the causative of the 2nd person singular or plural imperative is used, with the 1st person plural as the causer: də-v-ğa-tx (1pl.-2pl.-caus.-write) "let's write". This is typologically completely parallel to the English imperative construction (let us write):

Уэзырмэдж гъусэ дывгэш!
Wazərmadž g"əsa də-v-ğa-ş'
W. companion 1pl.-2pl.-caus.-do
"Let us make Wazirmadž our companion!"

The negation in the imperative is the prefix -mə-, as if it were a non-finite form:
The imperative can be formed from verbal stems containing prefixes for version or conjunctivity:

жэ ža! "run!"
sхуэжэ s-χa-ža "run for me"
sхудэжэ s-χa-da-ža "run for me with him!"

The imperative can be reinforced by adding the suffix -t: šxa "eat!" vs. šxa-t "come on, eat!"

The admirative mood is formed with the suffix the suffix -yə. It is used to express the speaker's admiration or the unexpectedness of the performing of the action expressed by the verb; few languages known to me have such a verbal mood, but it does exist, e. g., in Albanian:

сэ нобэ зы мыщэ слъэгъуaщи sa nawba zə məśa s-łağ-ā-ś-yə
I today 1 bear 1sg.-see-pret.-af.-adm.
"Why, I saw a bear today!"

The admirable suffix -yə can also have an interrogative sense and imply that the speaker does not approve of the action expressed by the verb.

D) Optative

The optative is formed with the suffixes -šara(t), -rat and -č’at, as well as the prefix -r-ay- (where -ay- is the petrified 3 sg. person marker) expresses a wish for an action to be performed. A morphologically formed optative as a verbal mood is very rare among the languages of Eurasia, but most Caucasian languages have this verbal mood.

аp къэсыжэцэрэ(m)
a-r q’a-sožá-šara(t)

61 According to the data in WALS, a morphologically formed optative must be an areal feature of languages spoken in the Caucasus; this doesn’t refer only to the indigenous ("Caucasian") languages, but also to languages belonging to other families (Turkic, Iranian) which are spoken there.
he-NOM dir.-come-opt.
"Oh if he would come!"

мыр эи ихужьыр къэхъужуэ съэгъуэшээт
mə-р  зыə  šxʷəʔ-əɾ qʷə-ʃə-ž-ə-wə  s-łaqʷə-šəɾat
he-NOM whose thigh-bone dir.-become-back-pret.-ger. 1sg.-see-opt.
"May I see resurrected the one whose thigh-bone this is"

уэш къэшхьэт
waşx qʷəx-ət
rain fall-optative
"Oh if it would rain!"

ириэьыф
yə-ray-ʃə-ʃ 3sg.-opt.-do-pot.
"May he manage to do it"

There is also an optative prefix wə-, apparently identical with the 2nd person prefix; however, the optative formed with this prefix does not distinguish between the 2nd and the 3rd person, cf. wə-kʷə "may he go", or "may you go" (Kumaxov 1989: 201).

Besides that, a wish can also be expressed with the "optative particle" āpšyə(y), as in the greeting иъко эпщи wəpsaw āpśə "may you be healthy".

E) Conditional

The conditional has the suffixes -m(a) and -am(a). It expresses the fact that the action is performed under a certain condition. A Kabardian verb in the conditional can be equivalent to an entire conditional clause in English:

дэфлəгъуамэ
də-f-лаqʷə-ма 1pl.-2pl.-see-pref.-cond.
"If you saw us"

флъэ уэдэкъэмэ, уэцэпэнэф къэпхъынц
f'əwə w-yadə-ма, wacyanka-f  qʷə-p-hən-ʃ well 2sg.-study-cond. grade-good dir.-2sg.-get-fut.-af.
"If you study well (hard), you will get a good grade"
"If a white foam appears, I am coming back, if a white foam does not appear, I am not coming back"

зыш уэттынт къыхуэбгъэтыжмэ
zə-š wa-t-tə-nt, q'ə-t-x*a-b-ətə-ž-ma
1-horse-2sg.-1pl.-give-fut.II dir.-2pl.-ver.-2sg.-find-again-cond.
"We would give you a horse if you found it for us"

The suffix -ama is apparently added to the imperfect -t; the complex suffix -tama- is used in irreal conditional clauses:

абы лыва лъэкъум мафIэ щIэмынатэмэ, бкъэматэхэр исынутэельым
ā-hə lęs-ā laq*wə-m māf'a s'ə-mə-nā-t-ama,
this-ERG alot-pret. leg-ERG fire dir.-neg.-catch.fire-impf.-cond.

bźa-māta-xa-r yə-sə-nwəta-q'əm
bee-hive-pl.-NOM 3sg.-burn-fut.II-neg.
"If the leg allotted to him did not catch fire, the bee-hives would not have burned down" (in spite of its weirdness, the translation is correct; in the story from which this example is taken, "he" is the bee-keeper who was "alotted" one leg of a goat, and this leg caused the fire that burned down the beehives).

As can be seen from the preceding example, the future II is used in the main clause when there is an irreal (counterfactual) conditional in the dependent clause.

F) Permissive

The permissive mood has the suffix -m(ə), -myə. It expresses that the action is performed in spite of some fact or circumstance. It is translated into European languages with permissive clauses containing conjunctions such as although.

фкIэ щIэлааээмэ гукIэ лыц
fa-č'a s'alaš-a-myə g*ə-č'a l'ə-š
skin-INST boy-af.-perm. heart-INST man-af.
"Although by skin (=judging by the skin) he is a boy, by heart he is a man".

Some authors include the subjunctive in the list of verbal moods. The subjunctive is expressed by the suffix -nt; forms with this suffix seem to have a conditional meaning, i.e. they express that the action is performed under a condition, e.g. sə-k"a-nt "I would go", but in some contexts they also appear to express the possibility that the action is performed, as in the following example:

сыт я щIэжым Нартхэм?
sət yā-s'ə-žə-nt Nārt-xa-m?
what 3pl.-do-back-fut. II N.-pl.-ERG
"What could the Narts do?" (asked as a rhetorical question)

Гъусэ сыпцітэмэ, сыпцілъят
гъа-аса  сэ-п-ш'-та-ма,  сэ-на-къа-н-т
companion 1sg.-2sg.-make-impf.-cond. 1sg.-dir.-go-fut. II
"If you would make me your companion, I would go".

This is presumably the same form referred to as the future II in this grammar (see above).

EVIDENTIALITY

The basic evidentiality suffix is -ган-. It is used to express that the action is probably happening (or that it has happened, or that it will happen), but that this was not evidenced by the speaker63:

ар къекъажэнц
а-р  q'a-къ-em-ж-ган-ш
he-NOM dir.-go-back-pret.-evid.-af.
"He probably came back" (but I did not see this)

Instead of the category of evidentiality, Kabardian grammars talk about a special "hypothetical mood", Rus. предположительно наклонение. However, it can be shown that this is not a sub-category of mood; evidentiality is a category used to express the source of information on the basis of which the assertion is made. This category exists in many languages, and it is morphologically realized, e.g., in Turkish. The Kabardian evidential suffix is actually an agglutination of the pluperfect suffix -га- and the future suffix -н. It often happens that affixes used as tense markers become grammaticalized as evidentiality markers and/or epistemic modality markers (cf. the English will have been in evidential expressions such as It will have been him, or Croatian future tense marker bit će in the evidential phrase Bit će da je došao "He must have come, I guess he came").

As a confirmation that the "hypothetical mood" does not belong to the same category as other verbal moods we can use the fact that, unlike the affixes for true verbal moods, the evidentiality affix can be combined with the indicative/affirmative suffix -ш, cf.

къагъэнц  къ-а-ган-ш "he probably went" in opposition to къ-а-ш "he went".

The suffix -чъа "maybe" can also be used together with the evidential suffix -ган, cf.

къагъэнчъ мъхъу  къ-а-ган-чъа ма-чъэ "maybe he went" (ма-чъэ is the 3rd p. sg. present of the verb "to become").

63 It is not quite certain whether the source of information (evidentiality), or rather the uncertainty of the speaker (epistemic modality) is the primary function of this suffix. My informants tend to translate sentences with the suffix -ган- using the Russian expression skoree vsego "most probably".

77
Besides the synthetic evidential construction, there is the analytic construction with the auxiliary verb χʷən (used in the future) and the (participial) verbal base:

\[
\text{фыйкъуа} \quad \chi\text{ъунщ}
\]

2pl.-go-pret. be-fut.af.
"You probably went"

\[
\text{лъыъэ дагу хъунщ}
\]

old.man deaf be-fut.af.
"The old man is probably deaf"

DEVERBAL NOMINALS

Kabardian has three classes of deverbal nominals: the infinitive (a kind of verbal noun), the participle (a kind of verbal adjective), and the gerund (a verbal adverbial, with many features of participles in other languages; some linguists would call it a converb).

I. INFINITIVE

The lexical form of verbs is the infinitive, which ends in \(-n\). The infinitive is actually a verbal noun which can be inflected for case, e. g. тхан "to write" has the forms тханəр (NOM), тханəм (ERG), тханəмч’a (INST) and тханwə (ADV). Also, personal prefixes can be added to the infinitive form, cf. forms of the verb лазан "to work":

1sg. сылъежъэн sə-lažan 1pl. бълъежъэн də-lažan
2sg. улъежъэн wə-lažan 2pl. фълъежъэн fə-lažan
3sg. лъежъэн lažan 3pl. лъежъэн lažan

The personal prefixes are sometimes optional, especially in obligatory control constructions, when one argument of the infinitive is obligatorily co-referent with one argument of the matrix verb:

\[
\text{єз щъзэндзяц} \quad \text{(сы)}къуэн
\]

I dir.-1sg.-begin-pret.-af. 1sg.-go-inf.
"I started to go"

However, the personal prefixes cannot be omitted when there is no necessary co-reference between the arguments of the infinitive and of the matrix verb:

\[
\text{єз сизъгъац} \quad \text{сыкъуэн}
\]

I 1sg.poss.-think-pret.-af. 1sg.-go-inf.
"I intended to go, I thought about going"
In the preceding example the personal prefix sə- cannot be omitted, because the verb gʷəgʷən does not have obligatory control.

Stative verbs can be formed from nouns and adjectives by adding the infinitive suffix: lə "man" : lə-n "to be a man"; f'əc'a "black" : f'əc'a-n "to be black".

In some constructions (especially in subordinate clauses), the infinitive takes the suffix -wə as well (identical to the adverbial suffix), and thus becomes formally identical to the future suffix (-nwə)⁶⁴:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{сə абы экелаш} & \quad \text{уңəм ышімкылыну} \\
sa \ a-bə \ žay\?-ā-ś & \quad wəna-m \ s'ə-mə-ɛə-nwə \\
\text{I he-ERG tell-pret.-af.} & \quad \text{house-ERG dir.-neg.-go-inf.} \\
\text{"I told him not to go out of the house"}
\end{align*}
\]

For each infinitive construction (and each verb) it is necessary to learn whether the infinitive takes the suffix -n or -nwə. The rule is that, if there is no personal prefix on the infinitive, the only possible infinitive form is the one with the suffix -n.

Some authors distinguish verbal nouns or "masdar" from the infinitive. The verbal noun has the same ending as the infinitive (-n), but, unlike the infinitive, it can have possessive forms⁶⁵: txanə-r "reading", syə-txanə-r "my reading". Also, just as any other noun, the verbal noun can be modified by an adjective:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Уə ун дын къыхыр бухац} \\
Wa \ wyə \ dən \ ě'əhə-r \ b-wəx-ā-ś \\
\text{you your sewing long-NOM 2sg.-finish-pret.-af.} \\
\text{"You have finished your long sewing"}
\end{align*}
\]

Due to lack of more detailed research we cannot be entirely certain whether it is legitimate to distinguish between infinitives and verbal nouns.

II. PARTICIPLES

According to grammar text-books participles have the subject, object, instrumental and adverbial form. These forms of the participle correspond to nominal cases, but the affixes for different cases/forms are not entirely equal to the ones in the nominal declension⁶⁶.

The subject form takes the prefix z(ə)- if it expresses a transitive action; if the action is intransitive, there is no prefix, and the participle is thus the same as the bare stem of the verb:

---

⁶⁴ This type of infinitive can also be called the supine.
⁶⁵ Kumaxov 1989: 279. In Kumaxov (ed.) 2006, I: 324 it is claimed that only the masdar (verbal noun) is inflected for case, while the infinitive has no case forms.
⁶⁶ The morphology and syntax of participles are the weakest point of Kabardian grammars; cf. Kumaxov 1989: 254 ff.
зытхыр зə-txər "writing it" – зыттар я-ə-тər "giving it to him" – лажъэр лəзər "working" – тхъэр txər "writing" (-r is the nominative ending).

The object form takes the prefix зa-, зə- if the participle refers to the indirect object; if not, there is no prefix:

ээльъэр зə-plər "who he is looking at", эыхъэхъээр зə-xʷə-qʷər "who he is going for", s-txər стхъэр "which I am writing".

What this actually means is that the prefix зa-/зə- is used when the participle refers to the noun phrase which is marked (or would be marked) by the ergative case, and not by the nominative67. Participles referring to the nominative noun phrase do not have the prefix зə-/зa-:

абы ишэр
ā-ə-bə  я-ə-šə-r "the one whom he is leading" ; ā-hə l'ə-ə-ра  "he leads the old man"
he-ERG 3sg.-to lead-NOM

абы лъыжъёр эшə
sa ā-r  зə-ə-xʷə-s-ə-ə-r
he-NOM part.-ver.-1sg.-to lead-NOM
"The one who I am leading (him) for"

ээ ар  эыхъэшэр
sa ā-r  зə-xʷə-s-ə-ə-r
I he-NOM part.-ver.-1sg.-to lead-NOM
"I lead him for the old man"

In accordance with our schema of case assignment in Kabardian (see above), we can say that the prefix зə-/зə- indicates that the participle does not refer to the argument which is the lowest ranking macrorole (ie. that it refers to the argument which is not the lowest one in the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy). Since the lowest ranking macrorole in Kabardian, as an ergative language, is equivalent to the traditional notion of the subject, we can give a somewhat simplified statement saying that the prefix зə-/зə- indicates that the participle does not refer to the "subject" of the sentence.

Traditional grammars say that the subject participle form is conjugated according to the person of the object, and the object form according to the person of the subject; what this really means is that the personal prefix on the participle with the зə-/зə- prefix expresses the argument which represents the lowest ranking macrorole in the verb's logical structure, while the personal prefix on the participle without the зə-/зə- prefix expresses the argument which is not the lowest ranking macrorole (which is not the "subject", in the sense in which we talk about the subject in Kabardian):

сызытхыр əsə-ə-txər "that is writing me down, writing me down"; ызытхыр wə-ə-txər "that is writing you down"; стхъэр s-txər "which I am writing"; птыхъэр p-txər "which you are writing" (< *w-txər).

The participle can be inflected for all persons except for the person of the lowest ranking macrorole (the Undergoer) and for the person indexed by the participial prefix zə-.

Participles can also contain personal markers of conjunctivity and version:

**дёжээр**
d-ya-ža-r
conj.-3sg.-wait-NOM
"who is waiting for him/her together with him/her"

**хүүжуэр**
xʷa-kʷa-r
vers.-go-NOM
"who is going for him/on his behalf"

The participle prefix has the form za- rather than zə- when the participle refers to the oblique argument (non-macrorole core argument) of an intransitive verb, e.g. za-dža-r "who he/she is calling" (from yadžan "call").

The so-called "instrumental" participle form is formed with the prefix zar(o)-, zara- which contains the prefix za-: zar-o-lâžar "with which you do"; zar-ya-džar f'ɔwaś "it is well the way he reads/studies" (Kumakov 1984: 142). The instrumental form of the participle often behaves as a general-purpose complementizer/subordinator (see below). It can sometimes be translated as "when", "how", or "as", cp. the title Sawsřəkʷʷa yə džāta-ɾ Łapś zar-ya-š'-ā-ɾ (S. poss.3sg. sword-NOM L. part.-3sg.-do-pret.-NOM) "How/when Lapsh made Sosruko's sword". This form of the participle can also be added to nominal stems in order to make them suitable for complementation:

ауэɾэ сабийр къэхъурт ээрыадэгэр имыщIэγ а́wara sābyəy-r q'ə-ʒʷə-o-t zar-ə-dəgya-r yə-mə-ʃ'a-wə
thus child-NOM dir.-grow-impf. part.-Adygh-NOM 3sg.-neg.-know-ger.
"Thus the child was growing, without knowing that it was an Adygh (Circassian)"

Syntactically, participles behave as qualitative adjectives (they are inflected for case and they are placed after the noun they refer to):

сабийр зыъаациэгэр и аныщ
sābyəy-r ze-ɡə-šə-xə-r yə āna-š
child-NOM part.-caus.-feed-NOM poss.3sg. mother-af.
"The one who feeds a baby is its mother" (a proverb)

Participles are inflected for tense, but they do not have forms for all tenses. The verb txa-n "to write" has the forms for the active present participle txar "writing, that writes", the preterite participle txår and the future participle txanwər.

Participles may receive case affixes, but this is often optional:
"He who finds (it), rejoices, he who loses (it) - cries" (a proverb)

"Make your mother say who had killed your father"

"It is to his friend that he set out, and when he got there, he entered the guest-house"

The presence of the case endings -r, -m may indicate definiteness of the argument referred to by the participle. The exact conditions on their use are unknown.
Negation of the participle is expressed by the prefix ə-: ə-təxə "that isn't writing", ə-z-ərə-ləgə "that isn't seeing me". Cf. the opposition between the finite negation (-qəm) and the participial one.68:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{you would see me, 2sg.-neg.-go-cond. I-and 1sg.-go-pres.-af.-neg.}
\end{align*}
\]
"If you don't go, I won't go either"

Participles can be construed with the auxiliary verb χən "be, become":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I cannot do this job" (lit. "This job does not become done by me")}
\end{align*}
\]

III. VERBAL ADVERBS (GERUNDS)

Verbal adverbs (or gerunds) are formed from verbal roots using the same suffixes (-w(ə), -wa, -wəra, -ra, -č'ara) as in the formation of regular adverbs from nouns and adjectives (see above). The particularity of Kabardian verbal adverbs is that they can be inflected for person, and they also distinguish tenses, mood and transitivity/intransitivity.

The transitive verbal adverb yadž-awə "reading", for example, is inflected in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cedʒəcy</td>
<td>dedʒəcy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yedʒəcy</td>
<td>fədʒəcy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eđəcy</td>
<td>eđəcy, eđəxəcy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-yadžawə</td>
<td>d-yadžawə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w-yadžawə</td>
<td>f-yadžawə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yadžawə</td>
<td>yadžə, yadžə-xə-wə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the preterite the suffix -ā- is added, so the forms are syadžəwə, wyadžəwə, etc.

These finite forms of verbal adverbs are equivalent to entire subordinate clauses, so syadžəwə would be translated as "when I was reading", fyadžəwə "when you were reading", etc.

---

68 The difference between these two types of negation is used as the basis for the differentiation of finite and non-finite forms in Kabardian (Kumaxov & Vamling 1995: 6). Non-finite forms can only be used in sentences in which they are dependent on finite forms. The only exception to this thesis are imperatives and interrogative constructions, which do not depend on finite forms and they do have the prefixed negation ə- like non-finite forms.
Псыр щтayэ мыл джaфэщ
Psə-r śt-ā-wa məl džāfa-š
river-NOM freeze-pret.-ger. ice smooth-af.
"Since the river froze, the ice is smooth"

Сэ сцIакъым ап къэкIуэ
Sa s-ś'-q'əm ār q'a-kʷ-wa
I 1sg.-know-pret.-neg. he-NOM dir.-to go-ger.
"I didn't know he had come"

ТIури мафIэм бъэдэсурэ, эы дэп къэльIэри
иIпым и джанэ куэцIыр пхисыкIащ
T'wə-ryə māf'a-m bgada-s-wəra, żə dap ē'alyay-ryə
two-and fire-ERG dir.-sit-ger. one burning.coal fly.off-and
yəşpə-m yə džāna kʷaś'-ər pxyəsəč'-ā-š
dwarf-ERG his shirt lap-NOM burn.through-pret.-af.
"As the two (riders) were sitting by the fire, a burning coal flew off (it) and burned through the dwarf's shirt in his lap"

DIRECTIONALS

The prefix q'a- can be roughly translated as "this way, hither", and the prefix n(a)- as "that way, thither", but their use is quite idiomatic. Their position in the verbal complex is immediately after the first personal prefix, or they come first if the personal prefix is 0- (in the 3 person):

къэкIуэ
0-q'a-kʷ-a
3sg.-this way-pres.-go
"He is coming this way"

ар уи деже нэкIуащ
ā-r wyə day ż 0-na-kʷ-ā-š
he-NOM 2sg.-poss. to 3-thither-go-pret.-af.
"He came towards you (that way)"

In some combinations of personal markers these prefixes do not occur, in others they are compulsory69:

сыножьaщ
sə-na-w-ź-ā-š
1sg.-thither-2sg.-wait-pret.-af.
"I waited for you",

69 Kumaxov 1971: 253. It seems that the use of directionals depends on the "person hierarchy" (see below).
but *sa-w(ə)-ź-ā-š

собыжкащ
sə-və-ź-ā-š "I waited for you (pl.)", but *sa-n(ə)-nə-ź-ā-š
1sg.-2pl.-wait-pret.-af.

къьдоус
q’ə-d-aw-wa "he is hitting us", but *daw-wa
hither-1pl.-pres.-hit

Colarusso (1992: 92-94) calls these prefixes "horizon of interest", which doesn't mean much. It seems that they function in the same way as directional affixes, which exist in many languages (cf. German hin-, her-, auf-, etc.), indicating the direction in which the action is performed. Some of them are so frequent (e. g. the prefix q’ə-) that they must belong to verbal morphology, while others modify only some verbal roots and should therefore be included in the chapter on word-formation (see below). There is no clear borderline between these two groups of prefixes.

According to Colarusso (1992), there are also preverbs which indicate the manner in which the action is performed, or the state (consistency) of the subject, e. g. -xa- "as mass", -də- "as liquid":

псыр къьхъжащ
psə-r 0-q’ə-xa-ź-ā-š
water-NOM 3sg.-hither-as.mass-flow-pret.-af.
"The water flowed out" (if it was thrown out of the bucket, as mass)

псыр къьдыжкащ
psə-r 0-q’ə-də-ź-ā-š
water-NOM 3sg.-hither-as.liquid-to flow-pret.-af.
"The water flowed out" (if it leaked out through a hole or a pipe)

Neither texts nor my informants enabled me to ascertain the existence of these preverbs. The nearest equivalents in the standard language are the directional preverbs da- and xa-, which both denote that the action is performed in some container; it appears, however, that the difference between them lies in the nature of the container: for da-, the container must be empty, while xa- refers to a container that is represented as some kind of mass, or substance.

The prefix da- indicates that the action (or, more frequently, state) of the verb is being performed in a certain area, or (empty) container:

тхълььр шкэфым дэлъщ
txəłə-r škaf-əm da-l-ś
"The book is lying in the vessel"

пхъэр пцIантIэм дэдээн
The prefix *xa-*( xa-) denotes the location in some container (conceived as substance), or the orientation of the action towards the interior:

\[
\text{псым} \quad 
\text{хъээн} \\
\text{psə-m} \quad \text{xa-dza-n} \\
\text{water-ERG dir.-throw-inf.} \\
\text{"to throw into water"}
\]

The prefix *śə*- indicates the place of the action (usually the place from which the action is performed), e. g. *śə-dzən* "to throw off, to throw down from some surface" (cp. *dzən* "throw"), *śə-żən* "to descend from" (cp. *żən* "run"), *śə-lən* "lie on something", *śə-ləg*-ən "to see something somewhere":

\[
\text{Зманыры къуэрт, Уэзырмэси щақуэу мэым щыпсэу}
\text{rt} \\
\text{Zamān-ər} \quad \text{k'aw-rt} \\
\text{Wazərmas-ya} \quad \text{sāk'w-ə-maz-əm} \quad \text{śə-psawə-rt} \\
\text{time-NOM go-impf. W-and} \quad \text{hunt-ger.} \quad \text{wood-ERG dir.-live-impf.} \\
\text{"Time was passing, and Wazirmes was living in the wood (and) hunting"}
\]

The prefix *śə*- can also have temporal meaning; participles prefixed with *śə*- can be translated as temporal clauses introduced by "when", e. g. *śə-k'w*-ə-m "when he went/had gone".

The prefix *tay*- indicates movement onto, or away from some surface, e. g. *tay-dzən* "throw onto":

\[
\text{тхъырм столым тедзəн} \\
\text{txəl-ər} \quad \text{stawl-əm} \quad \text{tay-dza-n} \\
\text{book-NOM table-ERG dir.-throw-inf.} \\
\text{"to throw the book on the table"}
\]

The prefix *ś'a*- indicates the location under something or inside something (conceptualized as being under some cover), e. g. *ś'a-dzən* "to throw something under something", *ś'a-żən* "to run under something", *ś'a-lətən* "to fly away from under something":

\[
\text{уным шъэхэри тъыаац} \\
\text{wəna-m} \quad \text{ś'a-ха-рыə} \quad \text{təs-ā-ś} \\
\text{room-ERG dir.-carry-and sit-pret.-af.} \\
\text{"He came into the room and sat (down)"}
\]

\[
\text{шър бъуаншагъым тьыаац} \\
\text{šə-r} \quad \text{bə-wən'səg-əm} \quad \text{ś'a-t-ś} \\
\text{horse-NOM cave-ERG in-sit-af.} \\
\text{"The horse is in the cave"}
\]
The prefix *bla-* denotes an action by, or past a particular reference point, e.g. *bla-žan* "to run past":

The prefix *f'a-* denotes the falling movement from the surface of something, or the "hanging" position of some object, e.g. *f'a-žən* "jump, fall off":

The prefix *pə-* denotes action which is taking place at the end, or edge of something, e.g. *pə-son* "sit at the edge", *pə-žən* "run off from the edge of something", *pədzən* "throw off from the edge", etc.

The functions of various directionals can be illustrated in the following manner:

Besides these basic directional and locative prefixes, there are also many secondary prefixes, mostly derived from nouns, often nouns denoting body parts:

1. *bġada-* "towards, away from" (cf. *bğa* "breast"): *latan* "fly" vs. *bġadəlatan* "fly towards"
2. *ʔə-* "near, next to, away from" (cf. *ʔə* "mouth"): *latan* "fly" vs. *ʔəlatan* "fly away from" (note that the verbal root also changes its vocalism in derivation)
3. *bɢwərə-* "sideways" (cf. *bɢwə* "hip"): *xʷan* "chase, drive" vs. *bɢwərxʷan* "drive sideways"
4. *č'arə-* "on(to) the edge of, on(to) the top of" (cf. *č'a* "tail, end"): *šan* "lead" vs. *č'arəšan* "lead to the top, or slope of"
5. *źaxa-* "in front of, near" (cf. *źa* "mouth"): *xʷan* "drive" : *źaxaxʷan* "drive towards, drive near to"
6. *paś'a-* "in front of" (cf. *pa* "nose"): *žan* "run": *paś'ażən* "run in front of someone"

These prefixes generally follow the basic prefixes and mostly represent old incorporated nouns (see below).
APPENDIX: VERBAL CLASSES AND PARADIGMS

The division into verbal classes A-H in the Abkhaz-Adyghean languages comes from G. Dumézil. In principle, the division is based on two different criteria: valence and transitivity. In the following exposition we adapted the verbal paradigms from Paris 1969.

NOTE. The prefix -q'a-/qə-, which appears in many of the forms in the following paradigms, is a directional prefix ("hither"); it is compulsory in many cases, but the exact conditions for its usage are not well understood. Some linguists believe that the use of this prefix depends on the verbal person hierarchy, i.e. on the person of the "subject" (or the lowest ranking macrorole), and the person of the indirect object (the non-macrorole core argument). If we assume that the personal hierarchy is 1 > 2 > 3, then the use of the prefix q'ə- would be obligatory in those cases where the person which is lower on the hierarchy acts on the person which is higher on the hierarchy (e.g. the 3rd p. "subject" on the 2nd p. "indirect object", or the 2nd p. "subject" on the 1st p. "indirect object"). This assumption is possible (it is consistent with the examples I came across), but it needs to be investigated more thoroughly. Cf. the following two examples:

"You are waiting for me" ("subject" 2sg.<"indirect object" 1sg.)

"My brother gave me a book" ("subject" 3 sg. = "indirect object 3 sg."); in this example it would not be possible to add the prefix q'ə-:

CLASS A - intransitive monovalent verbs

Structure of the verbal complex: Subject-V (= the single macrorole - V)

a) kʷa-n "to go" (dynamic verb)

I. Present
1. sg. s-aw-kʷa "I go"
2. sg. w-aw-kʷa "you go"
3. sg. mā-kʷa "he/she/it goes"
1. pl. d-aw-kʷa "we go"

---

70 I am grateful to Natalia Ivlieva for these examples.
2. pl. f-aw-kʷa "you go"
3. pl. mā-kʷa-(xa) "they go"

Cp. l'or mā-kʷa "the man goes"

II. Preterite

1. sg. səkʷāś "I went"
2. sg. wəkʷāś "you went"
3. sg. kʷāś "he/she/it went"
1. pl. dəkʷāś "we went"
2. pl. fəkʷāś "you went"
3. pl. kʷāś "they went"

III. Future

1. sg. səkʷanś "I will go"
2. sg. wəkʷanś "you will go"
3. sg. kʷanś "he/she/it will go"
1. pl. dəkʷanś "we will go"
2. pl. fəkʷanś "you will go"
3. pl. kʷanś "they will go"

b) śəsən "sit" (static verb)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Present</th>
<th>II Preterite</th>
<th>III. Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. sg. səśəsś</td>
<td>səśəsāś</td>
<td>səśəsənś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sg. wəśəsś</td>
<td>wəśəsāś</td>
<td>wəśəsənś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. sg. śəsś</td>
<td>śəsāś</td>
<td>śəsənś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. pl. dəśəsś</td>
<td>dəśəsāś</td>
<td>dəśəsənś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. pl. fəśəsś</td>
<td>fəśəsāś</td>
<td>fəśəsənś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. pl. śəsś</td>
<td>śəsāś</td>
<td>śəsənś</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CLASS B - intransitive bivalent verbs

Structure of the verbal complex: Subject-Object-V (= the single macrorole - non-macrorole core argument - V)

wa-n "to hit"; źan "to wait for"

I. Present

sə-aw-ab-wa "I hit you (sg.)"
sə-aw-wa "I hit you (pl.)"
s-aw-wa (sawwa) "I hit him/her"
s-yā-wa "I hit them"
wə-q’a-s-aw-wa "you hit me"
q’a-s-aw-wa "he/she hits me"
q’a-s-aw-wa-xa "they hit me"
y-aw-wa "he/she hits him"
yā-wa "he/she hits them"
y-aw-wa-xa "they hit him"
yā-wa-xa "they hit them"

l’ə-r q’a-s-aw-wa "the man is hitting me"; šə-m šə-aw-wa "I am hitting a horse"
(nominative construction)

II. Preterite

sə-n-aw-ź-ā-s "I waited for you (sg.)"
sə-va-ź-ā-s "I waited for you (pl.)"
s-ya-ź-ā-s "I waited for him"
s-ya-ź-ā-s "I waited for them"
wə-q’ə-za-ź-ā-s "You (sg.) waited for me"
wə-q’ə-da-ź-ā-s "You waited for us"
w-ya-ź-ā-s "You waited for him"
w-ya-ź-ā-s "You waited for them"
wə-q’ə-za-ź-ā-s "You waited for me"
wə-q’ə-da-ź-ā-s "You waited for us"
q’ə-za-ź-ā-s "He waited for me"
q’-wa-ź-ā-s "He waited for you (sg.)"
q’ə-va-ź-ā-s "He waited for you (pl.)"
ya-ź-ā-s "He waited for him"
ya-ź-ā-s "He waited for them"
də-n-wa-ź-ā-s "We waited for you (sg.)"
də-va-ź-ā-s "We waited for you (pl.)"
d-ya-ź-ā-s "We waited for him"
d-ya-ź-ā-s "We waited for them"
fə-q’ə-za-ź-ā-s "You (pl.) waited for me"
fə-q’ə-da-ź-ā-s "You (pl.) waited for us"
f-ya-ź-ā-s "You (pl.) waited for him"
f-ya-ź-ā-s "You (pl.) waited for them"
q’ə-za-ź-ā-s "They waited for me"
q’ə-da-ź-ā-s "They waited for us"
q’-wa-ź-ā-s "They waited for you (sg.)"
q’ə-va-ź-ā-s "They waited for you (pl.)"
ya-ź-ā-s "They waited for him"
ya-ź-ā-s "They waited for them"

CLASS C - transitive bivalent verbs

Structure of the verbal complex: Object-Subject - V (= the lowest ranking macrorole, 
Undergoer - the other macrorole, Actor - V)

łāğʷə-ən "to see"
wə-z-aw-łāğʷə "I see you"
s-aw-lägʾə "I see him"
s-aw-lägʾə-xa "I see them"
sə-b-aw-lägʾə < *sə-w-aw-lägʾə "you (sg.) see me"
w-aw-lägʾə "you (sg.) see him"
s-ya-lägʾə "he/she sees me"
w-ya- lägʾə "he/she sees you (sg.)"
wə-d-aw-lägʾə "we see you (sg.)"
fə-d-aw-lägʾə "we see you (pl.)"
d-ā-lägʾə "we see them"
sə-v-aw-lägʾə "you (pl.) see me"
sə-v-aw-lägʾə "you (pl.) see me"
f-aw-lägʾə "you (pl.) see him"
də-v-aw-lägʾə "you (pl.) see us"
f-aw-lägʾə-(xa) "you (pl.) see them"
ya-lägʾə "he/she sees him"
yya-lägʾə-(xa) "he/she sees them"
s-ā-lägʾə "they see me"
w-ā-lägʾə "they see you"
d-ā-lägʾə "they see us"
f-ā-lägʾə "they see you (pl.)"
y-ā-lägʾə-(xa) "they see them"
y-ā-lägʾə "they see him"
lʾə-m sayəlāgʾə "the man sees me"
sə-r sawlāgʾə "I see the horse"

According to C. Paris, verbs of this class do not take the prefix -(a)w- in the 3rd person (Actor) present tense, cf. ya-w-wə "he is hitting him" (B) in contrast with ya-lägʾə "he sees him" (C).

CLASS D – transitive trivalent verbs

Structure of the verbal complex: Object-Indirect Object-Subject-V (= the lowest ranking macrorole, Undergoer - non-macrorole core argument - the other macrorole, Actor)

tə-n "to give"

w-ya-sə-t [wəzot] "I give you to him"
w-yā-sə-t [wazot] "I give you to them"
qʾə-wə-sə-t [qʾəzot] "I give him to you"
qʾə-wə-sə-t-xa "I give them to you"
wə-qʾa-sə-wə-t "he gives you to me"
wə-qʾa-sə-wə-t-xa "they give you to me"
sə-t-ya-t [sareyt] "he gives me to him"
s-ā-ryə-t "he gives me to them"
yə-r-ya-t [ireyt] "he gives him to him"
y-ā-ryə-t [yareyt] "he gives him to them"
"he gives them to him"
"they give him to him"

"I give you the letter"; "I give you to this man"

CLASS E - causatives (valency increases by one in relation to the basic verb; transitive construction)

Structure of the verbal complex: (Object-Indirect Object)-Subject-Causer-V

tə-n "to give"; kʷa-n "to go"; the causative prefix is ġa-

"he gives it to him" :

"I make him give it to him"
"he makes him give it to him"
"they make him give it to him"

"I make you go" = "I send them"
"I make him go"
"I make them go"

CLASS F – verbs derived with some prefixes, e. g. tay- "on"; intransitive verbs

Structure of the verbal complex: Subject-Object-Pref.-V

"fall"

"I fall on you"
"I fall on him"
"I fall on them"
"he falls on you"
"they fall on you"
"he falls on him"

"the child falls on him" I adj. yə-tay-fa "I fall on the man"

CLASS G – verbs derived with some prefixes which are placed between two personal markers, e. g. pə- "all the way, completely"; transitive verbs.

Structure of the verbal complex: Object-Pref.-Subject-V

"to cut"
"I cut you all the way"
Matasović: A Short Grammar of Kabardian

\[ \text{pə-sə-wəp'č'ə} \] "I cut him all the way"
\[ \text{pə-sə-wəp'č'-xa} \] "I cut them all the way"
\[ \text{sə-p-ə-wəp'č'ə} \] "they cut me all the way"
\[ \text{p-ə-qəp'č'-xa} \] "they cut them all the way"

\[ \text{lə-r pə-sə-wəp'č'ə} \] "I cut the man"; \[ \text{lə-m sə-p-yə-wəp'č'ə} \] "the man cuts me"

CLASS H – verbs derived with some directional/local prefixes, e. g. \[ \text{tyə (tay-)} \] "on"; transitive verbs.

Structure of the verbal complex: Object-Subject-Pref.-V

\[ \text{xə-n} \] "to lift"

\[ \text{wə-q'ə-t-tay-sə-xə(ž')} \] [wəq'ətezos'əž'] "I lift you from us"
\[ \text{wə-q'ə-tay-sə-x} \] "I lift you from him"
\[ \text{w-ə-q'a-tay-sə-x} \] "I lift you from them"
\[ \text{sə-p-тр-ay-xə} \] "he lifts me from you"

\[ \text{ha-r q'ə-p-tay-sə-x} \] "I lift the dog from you"
\[ \text{nəfə-m wə-q'ə-tay-sə-x} \] "I lift you from the rock"
WORD-FORMATION

In Kabardian words can be formed by derivation (adding suffixes and prefixes), but also by combining lexical morphemes into compounds.

COMPOUNDS

Like other Abkhaz-Adyghean languages, Kabardian forms words of a more complex, abstract meaning by joining two or more (usually monosyllabic) words of a simpler, concrete meaning. Compounds with nouns denoting body parts and organs such as "heart" are especially common. Guessing the meaning of a compound is quite frequently not a simple task:

- na-f' "eye-rotten" = "blind"
- pa-s-a "nose-sit-on" = "early"
- na-p'c" "eye-lie" = "false"
- na-ps "eye-water" = "tear"
- na-f' "eye-good" = "goodness"
- bza-gw "tongue-heart" = "tongue" (as an organ of speech)
- maf'a-gw "fire-cart" = "train"
- ?a-pa "hand-nose" = "finger"
- ha-dza "barley-tooth" = "grain"
- thak"wma-c'ah "ear-long" = "rabbit"
- ša-la "new-meat" = "young man, boy"
- da-lxw "together-be born" = "brother (with respect to sister)"
- dog"w'z "thief-old" = "wolf"
- āda-āna "father-mother" = "parents"
- l'ōž-fəzož "man-old-woman-old" = "grandparents"
- faw-šəğw "honey-salt" = "sugar"
- maz-džad "forest-hen" = "pheasant"
- xa-qa "sea-pig" = "dolphin"
- wəna-c'a "house-name" = "surname"
- šxa-ɡa "eat-time" = "lunch"
- š'ō-dāga "earth-grease" = "petroleum"
- žəş-βy "night-summit" = "deep night"
- šə-ps "milk-water" = "sap (of plants)"
- hada-ma "corpse-smell" = "smell of a corpse"
- šd-dəğwə "horse-thief" = "horse-thief"
- dogw'z "thief-old" = "wolf"
- l'ō-k'wa "man-go" = "messenger"
- džašə-dz "bean-throw" = "fortune-teller"

As can be seen from the examples, there are compounds in which both parts are nouns (āda-āna "parents"), compounds in which nouns are combined with adjectives (na-f "blind") and compounds in which nominal words or adpositions are combined with verbs (pa-s-a "early"). In most cases, the meaning of the compound can be both
nominal and adjectival, which is a consequence of a poor syntactical differentiation between nouns and adjectives in Kabardian.

In the examples above only two words were joined into a compound, but many Kabardian compounds consist of more than two parts. Compounding is almost a recursive process in Kabardian; using the elements ʌ'ə "man", źə "old", ʃə "good", -šxə "big" and kə "to go" the following compounds can be formed:

- ʌ'ə-źə "old man"
- ʌ'ə-kə "messenger"
- ʌ'ə-fə "good man, good-natured man"
- ʌ'ə-źə-fə "good old man"
- ʌ'ə-kə-fə "good messenger"
- ʌ'ə-kə-źə-fə "good old messenger"
- ʌ'ə-źə-fə-šxə "big good old man"

When a noun is modified in a double possessive relation (according to the formula X of Y of Z), the first possessive relation is expressed with a compound, e. g.

Adygæлъ и къярур
Adyga-(yə q’ärwa-r)
Adyghean-blood poss. power-NOM
"The power of Adyghean blood"

Some compounds retain two accents. They are often built with rhyming morphemes (German Reimbildungen), or they contain fully reduplicated morphemes. Such compounds usually have intensive or copulative meaning (the Sanskrit dvandva-type):

- yašxa-yafa "eating-drinking" = "a feast"
- pq’əna-pq’ənəwa "in little pieces"
- natx-patx "beautiful" (of a girl)
- q’aġaš-nağaš "here and there, in a zigzag manner"
- ława-pč’awa "jumping, bouncing"

NOMINAL SUFFIXES
- -ąy (suffix for the formation of tree names): day "walnut tree": da "walnut"; źəγąy "oak": źəγ "tree"
- -ś (suffix denoting place/dwelling): haś "dog house": ha "dog": šaś "barn": šə "horse"
- -żyay (diminutive suffix): dżadżyay "chicken": dżad "hen"
- -ğa (suffix for abstract nouns): l’ọga "manhood, manliness": lọ "man"
- -k’wa (suffix for names of professions): txaŋk’wa "writer": txan "to write"

---

71 According to Kuipers 1960: 34.
-ġwə (suffix for nouns denoting participants of an action or members of a group): qʷāžaġʷə "fellow-villager": qʷāža "village", lažaģʷə "co-worker, colleague": lažan "to work".

-fə (suffix meaning "a kind of"): ʷəzfaqə "a kind of disease": ʷəz "disease". Nouns with this suffix are probably originally nominal compounds with the noun fa "skin".

VERB FORMATION BY PREFIXING

Kabardian verbs are often formed with prefixes of nominal origin. Many such prefixes (preverbs) are derived from nouns denoting body parts, and they usually add spatial meaning to the verb's original meaning (see the section on directionality):

na-kʷə-n "to go from there" (cf. na "eye", kʷən "to go")
da-la-n "to lie in something" (cf. lən "to lie")
šə-ʔan "to be in something": ār qālam šə-ʔ-ə-s "he was in town" (cf. ʔan "to be, to have")

In the case of Kabardian local prefixes it is difficult to decide whether they belong to word-formation or to the verb morphology. They express meanings which are in English and other European languages usually expressed by local prepositions, cf. the following examples:

بزیر یئم بژبلیتاش
bzwə-ɾ əna-m bla-lat-ə-s
sparrow-NOM house-ERG by-fly-pret.-af.
"The sparrow flew past the house"

(the prefix bla- denotes movement past or by something)

ەڕەس ژێخە ڕپەشیز
ţəgə-ɾ əɾəx" tray-š’a
tree-ERG hoar-frost on-do
"The hoar-frost covers the tree"

(they prefix tr(ay)- denotes movement onto the surface of something)

However, some local prefixes can correspond to Croatian verbal prefixes:

کەژەمەڕ ەڕەس ەڕژەڕا ژێکەکەش
qʷədāma-ɾ ژəɾ-əm ārgʷəɾə ɡʷə-č’-a-ț-ə-s
branch-NOM tree-ERG again at-to go-back-pret.-af.
"The branch adhered (in growing) to the tree again"
Croatian: "grana je opet priраšla stablu"

(they prefix ɡʷə- denotes connecting with something, cf. ɡʷə "heart")

Берд шым ژئپاشу тешіш
Byard šə-m zapasəwə tay-s-š
B. horse-ERG well on-sit-af.
"Berd sits on the horse well (correctly)" (= "Berd rides well")

From the typological point of view, local/directional prefixes of the Kabardian verb are not that unusual, since these kind of prefixes exist in European languages as well, cf. the almost synonymous expressions in Croatian skočiti preko ograde ("to jump over the fence", with a preposition) and preskočiti ogradu ("to jump the fence", with a local prefix on the verb). However, though both these strategies of expressing spatial relationships exist in Kabardian, verbal prefixes are much more frequent in this language than are local postpositions.

VERBAL SUFFIXES

A) Several suffixes affect the valence of verbs:

The suffix -č'ə- is used to turn intransitive monovalent verbs into intransitive bivalent verbs:

ł'an "to die": yə-łə-č'ə-n "to die of something"

Suffixes -ł(a) and -x(ə) also affect the valence of a verb, but not its transitivity. Both of them additionally seem to have directional meaning: -ł means approximately "near to", and -x means "away from": yaža-n "run": yaža-ł'a-n "run towards (someone or something)"; hən "carry": ya-ha-xə-n "carry down to", kʷan "to go": ya-kʷa-ł'a-n: "to approach something", żan "to run": "to run away from":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ар  абъы</th>
<th>йожэх</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ā-r</td>
<td>ā-bə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.-NOM</td>
<td>3sg.-ERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;he runs away from this&quot; (intransitive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Шур мафIэм екIуальцх
ауэ бъэдыхъэн ирикуакъым

Šwə-r mäf'a-m ya-kʷa-l'-ā-ś.
rider-NOM fire-ERG 3sg.-go-suff.-pret.-af.

āwa bğadə-ha-n yo-r-ya-kʷ-ā-q'əm
but dir.-carry-inf. 3sg.-3sg.-3sg.-dare-pret.-neg.
"The rider went towards the fire, but he did not dare to approach it"

The fact that the verb derived with the suffixes -x- and -ł'- does not change its transitivity is shown by the form of the 3rd person sg. present (y-aw-ža-x, which is the intransitive bivalent form) and by the case marking pattern in the sentence (šwər is in
the nominative of the intransitive subject, māf'am in the ergative of the oblique argument).

B) Other suffixes have adverbial meaning, and can perhaps be treated as incorporated adverbs:

The suffix -xʷə(č'a) is added to a participial form of the verb to express that the action of the verb is simultaneous with the action of the finite verb (Abitov (ed.) 1957: 99):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{узыкър} & \quad \text{нЭтыхыкъэ, пхъэм} & \quad \text{зегъэпэху} \\
\text{waś-ər} & \quad p'-atə-xʷəč'a, pəə-m & \quad z-ya-ə-psaxw
\end{align*}
\]

axe-NOM 2sg.-lift-suff.  wood-ERG refl.-3sg.-caus.-relax

"While you're lifting the axe, the wood is relaxing" (a proverb)

The suffix -xʷəč'a is used to indicate that the action of the verb has been already completed; it can usually be translated as "already" (Abitov (ed.) 1957: 117):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{дя ячитэлым инститyтыр къыyxэкIащ} \\
\text{dya waɕyətayl-əm yənstyətwət-ər qə-wəx-ə-č'a-š}
\end{align*}
\]

our teacher-ERG university-NOM dir.-finish-pret.-suff.-af.

"Our teacher has already finished university"

As the last two examples show, the action of both the finite verb and the participle can be be either punctual or durative. Accordingly, the suffix of simultaneity can sometimes be translated as "while", and sometimes as "until".

The suffix -č'a is used to indicate that the action of the verb has been already completed; it can usually be translated as "already" (Abitov (ed.) 1957: 117):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ди учительным институтыр къуухэIащ} \\
\text{dya waɕyətayl-əm yənstyətwət-ər qə-wəx-ə-č'a-š}
\end{align*}
\]

our teacher-ERG university-NOM dir.-finish-pret.-suff.-af.

"Our teacher has already finished university"

The suffix -pa- has perfectivizing meaning; it seems to indicate that the action has been fully accomplished:
лэжьэн лаž-а "work" : лэжьэпэн лаž-а-pa-н "accomplish"; ыхэн шxa-н "eat" : ыхэнэпэн шxa-pa-н "eat up"

The suffixes -š(a) and -q"a mean something like "too much, excessively":

ыхэн шxa-н "eat": ыхэнэпэн шxa-š-an "eat too much, eat excessively"

псэлъэн псла-н "talk": псэлъэкъун псла-q"a-н "talk too much"

The suffix -xxa is best translated as "at all"; it reinforces the negation:

сыкъэзырщ сə-хазə-š "I am ready, I am prepared": сыкъэзырыхэщ сə-хазə-ха-š "I am already prepared"

INCORPORATION

Object incorporation is no longer a productive word-formation process, but some verbs with incorporated objects have become lexicalized, e.g. ya-pa-wa-n (3sg.-nose-hit-inf.) "hit on the nose (and stop)", ya-shə-bəgarə-k"a-n (3sg.-horse-breast-go-inf.) "press (someone) while riding a horse, attack". Such verbs with incorporated objects usually contain the dummy 3sg. personal prefix ya- (see above).

Incorporated nouns are usually body-part terms. They can be incorporated also as locational adverbs, functioning almost like directional/locational pre-verbs; 72 they are usually combined with other directional prefixes, e.g. ẓa-da-plа-n (mouth-dir.-look-inf.) "look into one’s mouth", ʂhа-șə-dzə-n (head-dir.-throw-inf.) "throw off the top part of something", ʔa-pə-wədə-n (hand-dir.-beat-inf.) "get something out of someone’s hands". It is unclear to what extent this pattern of incorporation is productive.

---

SYNTAX

NOUN PHRASES (NP)

Possessive constructions follow the HM (*head-marking*) pattern. "A man’s house" is thus literally "A man his-house":

Инэм инехъуэ
?ана-m yə-tayp’a

"the cover of the table, tablecloth"

хым инпэр
ha-m yə-pa-r

"dog’s nose, dog nose"

In the contemporary standard language the possession marker is sometimes written separately, as an independent word:

Налшеч К’абардыэ-Балъэрм и къалацькаш
Nälşəč Q’abardyan-Bałq’arə-m yə q’älə-şə-ʃ

Nalchik Kabardino-Balkaria-ERG poss.3sg. city-head-af.

"Nalchik is the capital city of Kabardino-Balkaria"

Kabardian, unlike Abkhaz and Adyghean, does not distinguish alienable and inalienable possession, but there are traces of this opposition in the Besleney dialect of Kabardian\(^73\).

Demonstrative pronouns precede the noun they refer to, and sometimes they merge with it as prefixes (see above). They can be separated from the noun by a participle, which is the equivalent of a relative clause in English:

мы фэ къэфхьа шымээджыр Дэбэч эзы Тхьэгъэлэдж хуищайэ
ma fa q’a-f-h-ā šamadžə-r Dabač yazə Thaġaladž xʷ-yr-ʃ-ā-wa

"This scythe you brought was made by Dabač personally for Thagoledž"

A possessive pronoun can occur between a demonstrative pronoun and a noun:

мы си съиджым
mə syə ssədž-əm

"this anvil of mine", lit. "this my anvil"

---

\(^{73}\) See Kumaxov 1984: 87-93, Balkarov 1959. It seems that Kabardian had the (Common Adyghean) opposition between alienable and inalienable possession, but it lost it.
Qualitative adjectives (which can be used as stative verbs) follow the head noun, while relational adjectives (usually nouns used attributively) precede it:

пшаша даха : пхъэ унэ
pšāša dāxa : pχə wəna
girl beautiful wood house
"beautiful girl" "wooden house"

Cardinal numerals (with the exception of з "one") follow the head noun, while the ordinal numerals precede it:

маза ха, мазэх
māza xə, māzax
month 6
"six months"

ADJECTIVE PHRASES

Adjectives can be heads of nominal complements, which regularly follow them:

пхъэ шын а къыжь из шху
pχə šən n q'-ə zəxə
wood glass-old full sour.milk
"A wooden glass full of sour milk"

I found no examples of the predicative use of adjective phrases.

SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF THE SENTENCE

Kabardian distinguishes three constructions: nominative, ergative and indefinite.

In the nominative construction the subject (the only macrorole argument) is in the nominative and the verb is in the intransitive form. If there is an (indirect) object (i.e. if the verb is semantically bivalent), the second argument is in the ergative:

Сэтэнэй дахээ тэджэш
Satanyay dāxa-r tədz-ā-ś
S. beautiful-NOM get up-pret.-af.
"Beautiful Satanaya got up"

I found no examples of the predicative use of adjective phrases.

yченикыр тхылым йоджэ
wəčaynyəkə tə-xlə-y aw-dža
student-NOM book-ERG 3sg.-pres.-read
"The student is reading a book"

74 The so-called "dative" or "inverse" construction (Kardanov 1957) is actually a nominative construction.
In the **ergative** construction the subject (the highest ranking macrorole argument) is in the ergative, and the verb is transitive. The direct object is in the nominative:

инъежъэм нартхэр къагъэгъузаш
yənəź-xa-m nārt-xa-r q’-ā-ğagʷz-ā-ś
I.-pl.-ERG Nart-pl.-NOM dir.-3pl.-crush-pret.-af.
"The Iniž (giants) crushed the Narts"

The causative verb is always transitive, so the ergative construction is used with a causative verb:

фызым лыр изъакъуэ
fəzə-m l’ə-r yə-ğā-kʷa
woman-ERG man-NOM 3sg-caus.-go
"The woman sends a man"

In the **indefinite** construction the subject and the object have no case endings. This construction is common in proverbs, in the oral tradition; the verb's arguments are indefinite:

мыщэ дыгъужь фIэбэлaц
məśa dəġwəź f’a-balācə-ś
bear wolf advers.-hairy-af.
"To the bear the wolf is hairy" (a proverb)

The verb is stative, and thus intransitive, in this construction.

**NOMINAL SENTENCE**

Kabardian has no copula, the nominal predicate is juxtaposed to the subject:

си цыыр Алим
syə c’ə-r Alyəm
1sg.-poss. name-NOM A.
"My name is Alim"

Adjectives and common nouns in a sentence with a nominal predicate take the affirmative suffix (thus becoming stative verbs):

маэр ицш
Māza-r yəz-ś
moon-NOM full-af.
"The moon is full"

Мыр мээш
Ma-r maz-ś
this-NOM forest-af.
"This is a forest"
EQUI-NP DELETION

In a coordinated construction, when two verbs share the same argument, this argument can be omitted if the agent is the first argument (agent) of a transitive verb or the only argument of an intransitive verb (i.e. the "subject" in the same sense as in English):

"The man saw the woman and left"

"The young man saw the girl and left"

"The boy came and saw the girl"

"The boy promised the girl he would come" (lit. "gave the girl his word he would come").

This shows that Kabardian is not a syntactically ergative language, such as, e.g., Dyirbal or Chukchi.

As can be seen from the examples above, when two verbs differing in transitivity are coordinated, the shared subject is in the case assigned to it by the nearest verb (the ergative if this is the transitive verb, the nominative if this is the intransitive verb). However, there seem to be cases when the shared argument is in the ergative case, although the intransitive verb is closer to the shared argument. This matter requires further research.

SUBORDINATION

Most structures, which are equivalent to subordinate sentences in the European languages, are in Kabardian and other West Caucasian expressed by special verbal forms. These are typically infinitives, participles and gerunds:

When he approached her, he spoke

"The dog barks where he is not fed (where they do not feed him)" (a proverb)

"Yamínezh himself is plowing the ground (in order to) sow the seeds of Thagaledž"

"But how did you know my hearing was bad (lit. that I had slow ear)"

"I am afraid that you will be without a lot (inheritance)"

"We finished writing" or "We stopped writing"

"We finished writing" or "We stopped writing"
With many verbs the person of one argument in the subordinate clause is necessarily the same as the person of one argument in the main clause (the so-called control constructions):

хъыджэбзым джэгу кIуэн пaсэy щIидзaщ χədžabzə -m džag w k’w a -n pāsawə ś’-yə-dz-ā-ś

The girl started going to dances early

In the previous example, the verb in the subordinate clause k’w an has got the same subject as the verb in the main clause š’adzan ("to start"). Co-referent argument in control constructions may be indexed on the subordinate verb:

щIалэм          тxылъыр              ихьынy                           хуeaщ  ś’āla -m          txəłə -r yə-hə-nwə                           x  w ay-ā-ś

The boy wanted to carry the book

Which form the linked verb will take depends mostly on the type of matrix verb it is associated with. As a rule, verbs having obligatory control (i.e. verbs with obligatory co-reference between one argument of the matrix verb and one argument of the linked verb) take the infinitive, while other verbs take either the participle or the gerund (most can take both of these forms).

In subordinate structures the subordinated verb can carry the personal prefixes and the reflexive prefix:

щIалэ цIыкIуым         хъыджэбз цIыкIур            зэyэжынy            жыиIащ  ś’āla c’ək’-ə-m χədžabz c’ək’-ə-r za-wa-žə-nwə  žə-y?-ā-ś

The boy asked the girl to give him the book

76 The problem is that the difference between finite and non-finite forms in Kabardian cannot be easily defined and compared to the difference in Indo-European languages. Traditionally, some forms that can have personal endings (e.g. participles) are considered to be non-finite in Kabardian, and the form of the negation serves to distinguish finite from non-finite forms (Kumaxov & Vamling 1995); the negation mə- characterizes the non-finite forms, and the negation -q’əm the finite forms.
"The boy told the little girl to hit herself"

сэ абы тхыль къызитыну сыкъыгъуقاц
sa ā-bə təxəl q'ə-z-ya-ə-ə-nwə sa-q'-ya-ə-gə-gə-ə-ə-
"He promised me he would give me the book."

Уэ слъaгъум фIы дыдэy сыкъyолъaгъу
Wa s-lāg"ə-m f'ə dədawə sə-q'ə-w-aw-lāg"w
2sg. 1sg.-see-ERG good much 1sg.-dir.-2sg.-pres.-see"
"I see that you love me very much" (lit. "I see that you are the one who sees me well very much")

The use of personal prefixes on infinitives and gerunds is sometimes optional.

As can be seen from the preceding examples, in subordinate structures the main verb comes after the subordinate verb; this is in keeping with the general principle of Kabardian syntax, according to which the head of a construction is placed after the dependent:

Constructions in which the subordinate clause is placed after the main clause are also possible, but they are marked:

щIалэм ищIат хъыджэбзыр къызэрыкIуэныр
ś'āla-r yə-š'-āt ḡədžabzə-r q'ə-zərə-k"ə-n-ər
boy-ERG 3sg.-know-ant.pret. girl-NOM dir.-refl.-go-inf.-NOM
"The boy knew that the girl would come."

Many permutations of the word order are possible, but the subordinated structure cannot be "interrupted" by the main verb.

There are also structures with subordinators, but they are stylistically marked and they seem to be developing under the influence of Russian (Kumaxov 1989: 348). Sentences with the complex conjunction sətwə žəp'əm, sət šhač'a žəpp'əma
"because, since" are of that type:

77 It seems that these conjunctions are calques of the Russian poetomu, potomu čto (see Kumaxov 1984: 150).
"For now it is not that important, since these young men haven't done much yet".

Note also that the conditional sentences can be construed with the conjunction šətma "if", rather than with the conditional mood of the verb (see above); the conjunction šətma is originally the verb šətən "be, find oneself" in the conditional mood:

"You can (surely) pull out Badinoqo's spear-shaft from the ground, if you are wooing Badah"

There are a few subordinators that developed from postpositions governing participles or infinitives. The subordinator łāndara "since" is combined with the instrumental form of the participle, e.g. zarə-kʷa łāndara "since (the time that) he went".

The temporal subordinator yə pa "before" is actually composed of yə "its" and pa "nose, front part"; the same syntagm can be used as a spatial postposition ("in front of")

"We'll cut off a stick and beat him before we throw him into water"
clause, in accordance with the rule that Kabardian is not syntactically ergative (see above):

щ Ь ал э м хьыджэбъыр илъэгъуну хуеаш
ś'āla-m ḱədžəbə-zə-r ya-lāgʷ-₃wə xʷay-ā-ś
boy-ERG girl-NOM 3sg.-see-fut. want.pret.-af.
"The boy wanted to see the girl."

щ Ь ал э м тхьлыыр ихьыну хуеаш
ś'āla-m txələ-r yə-hə₃wə xʷay-ā-ś
"The boy wanted to carry the book."

In these examples the main verb is intransitive (xʷayən "to want"). However, nouns denoting the agent take the ergative suffix, and nouns denoting the patient of the action of the main verb are in the nominative. The reason for this is that case assignment in the main clause in Kabardian can be determined by the role which the argument of the verb of the main clause has in the subordinate clause; if the shared argument of the main and the subordinate clause is the doer of the action (or the highest ranking macrorole) of a transitive verb\textsuperscript{78} in the subordinate clause, then this argument is marked by the ergative case, even though the verb in the main sentence is intransitive. If, on the other hand, this argument is the patient or the only argument of an intransitive verb in the subordinate clause (e. g. yawan "to hit"), it will be marked by the nominative case:

щ Ь ал э р хьыджэбъым есъуны хуеат
ś'āla-r ḱədžəbə-zə-m ya-wə₃-wə xʷay-āt
boy-NOM girl-ERG 3sg.-hit-fut. want-ant.pret.
"The boy wanted to hit the girl."

The actual rules for case assignment in subordinate control constructions are more complex and cannot be fully explained here, since they partly depend on the information structure of the sentence (i.e. on the relation between the topic and the focus), and on the word order in the sentence (see Kumaxov & Vamling 1996 and Matasović 2007). It seems that in the speech of younger speakers (perhaps under the influence of Russian?) constructions in which the verb of the subordinate clause assigns the case to the argument which it shares with the verb in the main clause are becoming increasingly rare.

MODAL VERBS

Modal verbs such as ḱəčən, xʷəzəfəচən "be able, can", bawršən "must" are used as matrix verbs taking linked clauses as complements; their complements can be infinitives or verbal nouns (masdar), but, as a rule, not gerunds or participles (Kumaxov & Vamling 1998. 265ff.):

\textsuperscript{78} In the sentence ś'āla-m txələ-r yə-hə₃wə xʷay-ā-ś the verb hən "to carry" is transitive, which can be seen by the order of personal prefixes, cf. e. g. wə₃-aw-hə₃-r "I carry you" (2sg.-1sg.-pres.-to carry-af.).
I 1sg.-can-pret.-af. that house-NOM 1sg.-do-inf.
"I was able to build that house"

"We will not be able to build the house"

Note that the possessive prefix on ś’on shows that it is a (verbal) noun; the noun wəna "house" is in the ergative, which is the default case in the possessive noun phrase, and ś’on is in the nominative case because the matrix verb is transitive.

The "debitative modal" xʷyawn is not inflected for person; it should be understood as meaning "it is necessary that X", taking whole clauses as complements. In this way it is differentiated from the verb xʷyawn "want", which has the full set of personal prefixes, but also takes clausal complements (in obligatory control constructions):

"During the year, my horse must eat one stack of hay and one measure of corn every night".

"From now on, it is you who must become judges of the village"

PHASAL VERBS

Like modal verbs, phasal verbs also take clausal complements, and require coreference between the shared arguments (the actor of the matrix verb must be coreferent with the subject of the linked, embedded verb):
"But the month of May came, and the grass began to grow"

"I finished writing my book"

Reported speech can also be expressed by a subordinate construction with a participle, infinitive, or a gerund:

"The hunter said he was going to the forest."

"The woman said her daughter was working."

"The mother told her son to wash himself."

The difference between subordinating reported speech by means of a participle and a gerund seems to lie in the level of commitment to the truthfulness of the speech. The use of gerund seems to imply less commitment by the speaker (Jakovlev 1948: 52f.).
AGREEMENT

There is no category of gender, and no number and definiteness agreement within the noun phrase (NP), as was shown in the chapter on nouns. Verbs agree in person with the subject, object, and indirect object (if we can talk about person agreement on the verb), and agreement in number is very limited. The verbal suffix for the plural of the subject can be left out if the subject is placed immediately before the verb:

лыхэр макъуэ(хэ)
l'ə-xa-r mā-kʷ-a-(xa)
man-pl-NOM 3sg-go-(pl.)
"People go"

According to C. Paris (1969: 161), the suffix for the plural of the subject is compulsory only if the subject is separated from the verb by other words. This is more or less confirmed by the examples I was able to elicit.

Transitive verbs agree in person and number with the subject, i.e. with the doer of the action (marked for the ergative):

Нартихэм я ешхьэфэр яхэт
Nārt-xa-m yā yaşhayafar yā-wəx-āt
N.-pl.ERG. 3pl.poss. peace 3pl.begin-ant.pret.
"The Narts restored peace"

NEGATIVE CONCORD

Kabardian is a language with negative concord. If there is a negated verb in the sentence, the negative (and not the indefinite) pronoun is used, as in Croatian, for example:

Сосрыкъуэ зыры жимыIу макъуэ
Sawsrəqʷ-a zəryə ž-ye-mə-ʔa-wə mā-kʷ-a
S. nothing dir.-3sg.-neg.-say-ger. 3sg.pres.-to go
"Sosruko goes without saying anything"

Croatian: Sosruko ide ništa ne govoreći
Note that there is no negative concord in (Standard) English: 
*Sosruko goes without saying anything/#nothing.*

**PRO-DROP**

Since the information about the grammatical relations within a sentence is codified in the verbal complex, all other syntactical elements can be left out. So instead of *sa ār zğazaśāš* "I filled it" one can say just zğazaśāš (where 0- is the prefix for 3sg., z- the prefix for 1sg. (< s), and the verb is gazaśan "to fill").

Compare also:

*$ זוּ מֶבֶד אוֹד$ $ אוֹדְיָר$

*sa məva s-aw-dz-r "I throw a rock": s-aw-dzə-r "I throw it"

I rock (3sg.)-1sg.-pres.-throw (3sg.)-1sg.-throw-af.

**RELATIVE CLAUSES**

In Kabardian, the translational equivalents of relative clauses are usually expressed by participial constructions (in square brackets):

*ap мышьпягсар цьыт стормкым жьэкъъэну хуежъам а-ɾ [məʒəźawə šət stawražə-m] ʒa-xala-nwə xʷay̬-ʔat

he-NOM near-by stand(part.) guard-ERG dir.-throw oneself-inf. try-ant.pret.

"He tried to throw himself on the guard who was standing near-by.";

*ap зыгъэхъэйф нартыр нарт хэзм хэшэрт, нартыл'I хъуау ябжырт

[а-ɾ zə-ɡa-χyay-f nārt-əɾ] nārt xāsa-m x-ā-ša-rt,


nārta-I' χʷ-ā-wə yā-bžə-ɾt

Nart-hero become-pret.-ger. 3pl.-consider-impf.

"The Nart who was able to move it (sc. Hlapsh's rock) they used to take to the Nart council (and) they considered him to have become Nart hero."

*Tхъэгъэлэдж ху жылэпхъэy Нартxэ къaритaр

Емьэнзъъ жьфлыхъац*

*[Thagaładž xʷə ʒəlâpχawə Nārt-xa q-ā-r-yə-t-ʔa-ɾ]*

T millet seed N-pl. dir.-pl.-3sg.-3sg.-give-pret.-NOM

Yamənaź yā-f'-əə-h-ʔə-s

Y. 3pl.-advers.-3sg.-carry-pret.-af.

"The millet seed, that Thagaladž gave the Narts, Yaminaž stole (it) from them."
The head of the relative clause usually follows it (exx. 1, 2), but it can also be inserted into it (3). There are no real relative pronouns; however, (under the influence of Russian?) interrogative pronouns can be used with a relative function:

\[
\text{хэт мылъажьэми, ар шxэркъым} \\
\text{xat mə-ləźa-m-ya, ā-r šxə-r-q'əm}
\]

who no-work-ERG-and this-NOM eat-pres.-neg.  
"Who doesn't work, doesn't eat" (a proverb)

**COORDINATION**

Coordinated clauses are linked asyndetically by clitics/suffixes (e. g. ruə "and", see above):

\[
\text{ар жиIэри иxъым} \quad \text{ЛЪэпщ еуIцIац} \\
\text{ā-r žyə-a-ryə naχ-šə-r Ŭapś ya-wəps'-ā-ś}
\]

that-NOM say-and the youngest-NOM L 3sg.-ask-pret.-af.  
"The youngest one said that and asked Hlapsh"

Most likely under the influence of Russian, conjunctions which are separate, independent words have also developed, e. g. āwa "but", ya "or", šətma "if":

\[
\text{сэ ар къeзджaт} \quad \text{ауə къэкIуaкъым} \\
\text{sa ā-r q'-ya-z-dž-āt āwa q'a-k"-ā-q'əm}
\]

I he-NOM dir.-3sg.-1sg.-invite-ant.pret. but dir.-come-pret.-neg.  
"I invited him, but he didn't come"

\[
\text{е улIьн} \quad \text{е улIэн} \\
\text{ya wa-ɭ'-n} \quad \text{ya wa-ɭ'a-n}
\]

or 2sg.man-inf. or 2sg.-die-inf.  
"Either be a man, or die" (a proverb)

**THE ORDER OF SYNTACTIC ELEMENTS**

Like most Caucasian languages\(^79\), Kabardian is basically an SOV language, though other (stylistically marked) word orders appear as well:

\[
\text{Сосрыкъуэ гъуэгуaнэ бзaджэм тeyyaщ} \\
\text{Sawsrəqʷ-a ġawagʷəna bzādža-m tayw̙w-ā-ś}
\]

S. journey bad-ERG set off-pret.-af.  
"Sosruko set off for his difficult journey"

\[
\text{гʷaгʷəna bzādžam tayw̙wāš Sawsr̮əqʷ-a} \\
\]

"Sosruko set off for his difficult journey"

\[
\text{абы сэ ишIалIхъэм свицыуэзац} \\
\]

\(^{79}\text{See e. g. Klimov (ed.) 1978: 50 ff.}\)
ābə sa ś'āla-xa-m sə-ş-yā-xʷaz-ā-š
there 1sg. boy-pl.-ERG 1sg.-dir.-3pl.-meet-pret.-af.
"I met the boys there"

If the object of this sentence is in focus (i.e. the stress is on boys), the word order changes:

cə ʃāla-xəm aby ʃi-haxyuxčən
sa ś'āla-xa-m abə s-yə-xa-şə-xʷaz-ā-š
"I met the boys there"

(pay attention also to the change in the order of the deictic marker sə and the person marker -y-xa-).

Also, if the subject of a transitive verb denoting an action is inanimate, and the object animate, the unmarked word order is OSV:

ʃ'āla-r ʃym ʃtəklač
ś'āla-r psə-m yə-txal-ā-š
boy-NOM water-ERG 3sg.-strangle-pret.-af.
"The boy drowned" (literally: "the water strangled the young man")

The same OSV order obtains in embedded, subordinate clauses, with infinite verbal forms:

Džad džadəč' a yə-ğə-ʔəšə-ə-wə f-laɡʷ-ā-š
chicken egg 3sg.-caus.-smart-back-ger. 2pl.-see-pret.-af.
"You saw how the egg makes the chicken smart"

Interrogative pronouns and other interrogative words stand in the place of the constituent which they substitute (i.e. Kabardian is a language of the Wh-in-situ type):

xətym lyyr k'ęxynxya
xat-əm ər ʃə-ə-wə-x ō
who-ERG meat-NOM dir.-refl.-eat-inter.-pret.
"Who ate the meat?"

l'yym sətyr k'ęxynxya
lə-m sət-ər ʃə-y-xw-ə-x ō
man-ERG what-NOM dir.-3sg.-eat-inter.-pret.
"What did the man eat?"

The order of the arguments in front of the verb is the mirror image of the order of personal prefixes in the verbal complex in a transitive construction; in an intransitive construction the order of the arguments is the same as the order of personal prefixes:

80 According to Kumaxov (ed.) 2006, I: 496 the unmarked position of question words is at the beginning of the sentence, e. g. Dāpśaš wa-ʃ'a-kʷa-ʃə-nə "When will you be back?".
Matasović: A Short Grammar of Kabardian

You hit me (intransitive construction)

I see you (transitive construction)

The rule for the relation between verbal arguments and person markers with transitive verbs can be represented in this way:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{Arg. 1} & \text{Arg. 2} & \text{Arg. 3} & \text{Arg. 4} & \text{PM 1} & \text{PM 2} & \text{PM 3} & \text{PM 4} & \text{Root} \\
\end{array}
\]

verbal complex

TOPICALIZATION/FOCALIZATION

The relation between new and old information in the sentence is expressed syntactically in Kabardian, i.e. by the order of syntactic categories in the sentence. Focalization is a process by which the new, unexpected information in the sentence (rhema, what is in focus) is emphasised. The focalized element usually comes at the beginning of the sentence:

Who built the house?

The carpenter built the house.

In the previous example the word answering the question "who" is in focus, the noun pχāś’a. The SVO order at the same time denotes that the topic of the sentence is at the end (the noun wəna)\(^{81}\). If the question is "what did the carpenter do?", i.e. if wəna

\(^{81}\) See Kumaxov & Vamling 2006: 107 ff.
"house" is not the topic of the sentence, then the noun wəna will not be at the end of the sentence, but in front of the verb (i.e., we have the unmarked SOV order):

сыт пхъaщIэм ищIэр
sat pχāś’a-m yə-ś’-ā-r
what carpenter-ERG 3sg.-do-pret.-NOM
"What did the carpenter do?"

пхъaщIэм унэ ищIaщ
pχāś’a-m wəna yə-ś’-ā-ś
carpenter-ERG house 3sg.-do-pret.-af.
"The carpenter built a house."

Embedded subordinated clauses, when in focus, also precede the main verb:

хэт  фылъежьа? Ди адэр  зыукIам дылъежьащ
xat  fə-lyəz’-ā? Dyə ādr  zə-wəč’-ā-m  do-lyəz’-ā-ś
who 2pl.seek-pret. our father-NOM part.-kill-pret.-NOM 1pl.-seek-pret.-af.
"Who were you looking for? We were looking for the one who had killed our father"

Wh-words, which are focal as a rule, must be placed before the verb:82

хэт ищIэр  унэ
xat yə-ś’-ra  wəna-r?
who 3sg.-do-inter. house-NOM
"Who is building the house?"
*wənar xat yəś’ra?
*wənar yəś’ra xat?
*yəś’ra xat wənar?
*yəś’ra wənar xat?

The general rule for topicalization/focalization seems to be the following:

The focalized element ("rhema") must be placed in front of the verb.

The focalized element may be sentence-final, but then it has to be marked by the copula/affirmative marker -ś:

абы  пхыльыр  зыритэй  Муратц
ā-bə  tədə- r  za-r-yə-t-ā- r  Məwrāt-ś
"To Murat did he give the book", or "It was Murat that he gave the book to".

мыр  езыр  къынчалъхуар  фи  хэкурц
ma-r  yəzə-r  q’ə-šālx”-ā-r  fyə  xək”ə- r-ś
this-NOM himself-NOM dir.-be.born-pret.-NOM your(pl.) country-NOM-af.

82 See Kumaxov & Vamling 2006: 89.
"The place where he himself was born is your country"

и псыр зыхэльыр и шырыч
yə psa-r zə-xə-lə-r yə šə-r-š
"That in which his soul lies is his horse"

Aside from the copula/affirmative marker –š, the suffixes -t (for imperfect), -q’a, -ra (interrogative suffixes) can also occur as focus markers:

eгъэджакъэкъ тхэльыр фызәм езятэр
yağadžak’w-a-q’a txəłə-fəzə-m ya-zə-t-ə-r
teacher-focus(inter.) book-NOM woman-ERG 3sg.-part.-give-pret.-NOM
"The teacher gave the book to the woman" ("It was the teacher that gave the book to the woman")

In all focalization constructions the main verb is replaced by the participle. These constructions are typologically similar to the Insular Celtic constructions in which the copula is used for focalization, or to French constructions of the type c’est X qui...
PRAGMATICS AND THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION

The patterns of communication among the Kabardians and other Adyghean peoples are defined by strict norms of "Adyghean customs" (ādəγa xābzə, see above)83. The Adyghean customs are based on a few seemingly simple principles: modesty and reticence, a strict sex role division with an accentuated manliness and audacity of men, respect for older people, a protective, chivalrous attitude toward women, and extreme hospitality. This world view and way of life has brought about some particularities in the manner of communication among different social, sex and age groups. Although distinct language varieties characteristic for men, on the one side, and women, on the other side, have not developed among the Kabardians and other Circassians (as e. g. among the Chukchi people in east Siberia), there are, nevertheless, some differences between the idioms used by men and women, and linguistic forms used by younger and older speakers are also different in mutual communication.

Expressions appropriate for older people when addressing younger people (but not the other way around) include:

НэсыпыфIэ yхъу Nasəpəf'a wəχʷə "be happy"
үпсэy wəpsawə "hello!"
ТIэсэ T’āsa "my dear"

Also, it is considered inappropriate for a younger person to greet an older one with the Common Muslim greeting "Salam alaykum", and to address an older person by their name. Generally speaking, the use of personal names is almost tabooed among close relatives; for example, a woman never calls her mother-in-law by name, but by a descriptive expression such as су псэ нэху syə psa naxʷ "my bright soul". Similarly, a wife has to come up with a special name for her husband, because it is inappropriate to call him by the name given to him by his parents. On the other hand, Kabardian doesn't have special pronouns used when addressing someone formally, i.e. there is no difference between the formal and the familiar "you" when addressing another person. However, under Russian influence, in the contemporary urban speech it is considered polite to use fa "you" (pl.) rather than wa "you" (sg.) when addressing older people and people that one does not know very well.

Here are some expressions appropriate for women, but not for men84:

ale, ale гущэ ā-?ay, a-?ay gʷəšə (interjections of admiration, astonishment, verbal crutches)
Тxэ, сымышIэ Txa, səməš’a "by god, I don't know"
Аллэхь Allah "god, by god"

83 See Bgažnokov 1978; most examples in this chapter are taken from this book. Cf. also Mafedzev 2000.
84 My Kabardian informants tell me that in the speech of the younger generation the difference between "female" and "male" expressions is almost completely lost, but they do say that, for example, women usually use the name Allah to invoke God, while for men it is more common to address him using the word Txa.
These are expressions appropriate for men, but not for women:

Iэгъу, йэгъ, йо, yэI ?ağw, ?ağ, ?aw, wa? (these have a similar function as verbal crutches in the language of women)

тxэ соIуэ тxa saw?a "I swear to god"; тxa yə c'əč'a saw?a "I swear by god's name"

Уэллэхьи Wallahyə "god, by god".

Aside from the special characteristics of the idioms used by men and women, there are also special varieties of Kabardian used, for example, by hunters, or young people when conversing without the presence of older people. Some topics are considered inappropriate in the conversation between male speakers (e.g. talking about women and children). Due to a pronounced code of honour insults are not taken lightly, so that verbal communication outside of the family is conducted very cautiously, in order not to offend the person you are talking to; the order of speaking is strictly fixed (young people always speak after older people). On the whole, communication in Kabardian leaves an impression of laconic expression and restraint.
THE LEXICON

The core layer of the Kabardian lexicon was inherited from the Proto-Abkhaz-Adyghean language; words belonging to this layer are mostly included in the core lexicon. These are nouns denoting body parts (e.g. гвə "heart" = Abkhz а-gwə, на "eye" = Abkh. а-la, фа "skin" = Abkh. а-cə'a), kin terms (ана "mother" = Abkh. ан, ада "father" = Ubykh тəрə, qʷə "son" = Ubykh. qʷə), and some basic verbs (e.g. ʂən "to know" = Abkh. а-c'ara) and adjectives (e.g. ʐə "old" = Abkh. а-ʐə), etc. Culturally and historically important are common nouns belonging to the sphere of flora and fauna, e.g. the nouns denoting bear, fox, dog, cow, pig, fish, bee, millet, nut, and plum, as well as the names of the metals copper, gold, and tin.

Words common to the Adyghean-Kabardian branch of the Abkhaz-Adyghean languages represent the next layer of the lexicon. Among them there is an especially large number of words belonging to the semantic spheres of agriculture (e.g. Adyghean and Kabardian ван "to plow", Adyg. квəбза, Kab. вabdза "plow", Adyg. and Kab. ха "barley", Adyg. маш, Kab. маш "millet (Panicum tiliaceum)", Adyg. кауко, Kab. гəадз "wheat"). The terminology from the sphere of farm animal breeding is also common, especially for the breeding of horses (шə), cf. Kabardian and Adyghean ларəг "stirrup", фəкə "foal", Adyghean ʃəkə, Kabardian ʃəʔə "little foal", Adyg. ʃəра, Kab. хəрə "a breed of thoroughbred Adyghean horses", etc.

Loan-words from Turkish and Turkic languages very frequently belong to the sphere of trade, economy and technology, cf. ʃəм "ruble", мяень "a thousand", сəбə "shop", тəв "cannon", шəвəн "kettle", ɓабə "duck", бəрə "black pepper", бəрəг "flag". Many Farsisms (words of Persian origin) have entered Kabardian through Turkic languages, e.g. дəйн "faith", бəзар "market", пəшəх "emperor", хавə "air", etc. Aside from these recent borrowings, there are also old Iranian loan-words in Kabardian, which could have been borrowed from Scythian or Alanic (the ancestor language of the today's Ossetian) in the prehistoric period. Many such words were borrowed into other Caucasian languages; for example, Iranian *пəsu "sheep" (Cf. Skr. пəsu, Lat. pecu) was borrowed into Abkhaz with the meaning "sheep" and into Georgian as пəси "price"; the same meaning is found in Kabardian вəса "price". A typologically similar semantic development ("sheep" > "property" > "money") has been recorded in other languages, for example in Latin in the relation between pecu "sheep" and pecūniа "money". Some Kabardian words are almost certainly (Indo-)Iranianisms, but because of the shortness of attested forms we cannot be entirely sure, e.g. шə "hundred" (Avestan satəm), ʥə "goat" (Vedic аjə-); some words might be even older Indo-European loan-words, e.g. ʃəрə "crane", (cf. Latin грūs, Armenian krunk, Lithuanian gervė, etc.).

A younger layer of loan-words are also Arabic loan-words, which penetrated Kabardian mostly through the language of the Kur'an. They belong to the religious and the ethical-philosophical sphere of the lexicon, e.g. аłəх "god, Alah", ʂəнат "heaven", гʷəнə "sin", сəнат "hour", сəбəр "quiet, serene", мəхана "meaning.

86 Šagirov 1977, I: 16.
sense", āq'əl "reason, mind", čəbər "news", šač "doubt", iəzər "punishment", barəčat "abundance", nəsəp "happiness", nələt "curse, damnation", zamən "time", sabap "benefit", dəwənəyay "world", etc. These words are quite numerous in Kabardian and most of them are not perceived as borrowings any longer. Arabic roots occur in some compounds containing native elements, cp. e.g. swərat "picture": swərattayx "photographer" (cp. Kab. tayxən "take off, take away"). The name of Kabardia's capital, Nalchik (Kab. Nālšək) contains the stem nāl "horse-shoe", which comes from Arabic (na‘l).

Finally, the chronologically last layer or borrowings are Russian loan-words, which flooded the Kabardian language in the 20th century. Russian loan-words cut across all spheres of the lexicon except the core lexicon; an especially large number of them belong to the scientific-technological terminology and the administration terminology, e. g. nəwəka "science", məşəxəna "automobile", səməвлəyt "aeroplane", rəşəpəwəlyəca "republic", rəydəktəwr "editor". It is interesting, however, that the borrowing of suffixes for the formation of abstract nouns did not occur, for example the Russian suffix -cija (> Kabardian -ca); this suffix occurs in Kabardian in words such as rəyzəwəlyəcə "resolution", rəyvəwəlyəcə "revolution", məşənxəyzəcə "mechanization", but it doesn't occur in any word with a Kabardian root. Unlike a few suffixes borrowed from Turkish (e. g. the suffixes -lə, -lə < -li, cf. wəğwər-lə "good, benevolent"), the Russian suffixes cannot be added to Kabardian roots, i.e. they haven't become productive in Kabardian.

Aside from direct borrowings, there are also many Russian calques in Kabardian, e. g. txəłəyəcə "reader" (Rus. čitatel'), səbəzəšəša "hoover" (Rus. pylesos), šəә?əła "refrigerator" (Rus. xolodil'nik), bəşənəğa "linguistics" (Rus. jayzkoznanie), etc.

Although Russianisms are in Kabardian often pronounced quite differently than in Russian, the official orthography (especially after World War II) in most cases prescribes an identical way of writing them as in Russian. In older Kabardian books the name "Russia" will be found as ārəsəy, but today it is written Rawssəyəya (in Cyrillic Poccue), and the noun "bank", which is pronounced with the glottalized k' (bānk'), is written, like in Russian, bānk (in Cyrillic bānk). The noun meaning "newspaper" was written at first as k'əzəyət, but today, under the influence of Russian (gazeta), it is written gazet (in Cyrillic gəzəm).

Anglicisms, which have lately been penetrating all the languages of the world, enter the Kabardian standard language via Russian, e. g. kəwmpyawtəyr "computer", yəntayrnayt "Internet", byəznəys "business", etc.

87 It is interesting to note that Sh. Nogma's "Kabardian dictionary", compiled in the first half of the 19th century, contains only 2,5 % of words borrowed from Russian (Apažev 2000: 234).
88 Kumaxova 1972.
89 For a general survey of Kabardian lexicology and lexicography see Apažev 2000.
TEXTS

1. A Very Simple and Instructive Text about Rabbits
(Source: Gwəğwat, L. et alii Adəğabza, El'brus, Naľ'čik 1984).

Thak'wəmač'əh.
Rabbit (rabbits)
Thak'wəmač'əh-ər mazə-m š-aw-psaw.
rabbit-NOM forest-ERG dir.-pres.-to live
ār pč'awəra mā-ža.
he-NOM fast 3sg.pres.-run
Thak'wəmač'əh-əm ya šər-xa-r ša-č'a
rabbit-ERG young-pl.-NOM milk-INTR
ya-ğa-şxa. Thak'wəmač'əh-əm wədz
3sg.-caus.-eat rabbit-ERG grass
ay-šx, žəɣ-ər ya-ğw äbo pər
3sg.-to eat wood-NOM 3sg.-gnaw he-ERG hay-stack
f'ə-wa ya-lāg wə. Thəmač'əh-ər
well-ADV 3sg.-see rabbit-NOM
ğamäx' am šxʷa-š, šəmäx' am
in the summer grey in the winter
xʷəž-š.
white-af.
2. How Sosruko Stole Fire
(Source: GʷəGʷat, L. et alii Adəgabza, El'brus, Naľ'čik 1984).

PART I

Нарт шу гүп зөлкүү күлүүгү эжяйт. Гүүгүз здыйтэм, уа бэзджэ къатахүүз. Нартхэр ээчэләктэхбөй гүүгуцкъэым тету, Сосрыкъээ къакдэлышащ.
— Мәфлэ улэ, Сосрыкъээ? Щыълэм дес!
— Сэ къэзгъээкъэхью, фыкъысэпэлэ,— жәэ-рі Сосрыкъээ и Тхъээжэйэм зредэ, Хъэрэмэ-люащъэ дожеріз зеплъэх, щы гъүнэм зы чээнанэж къыщелъэгүу, йүъэз щухъэзту.
Сосрыкъээ чэцэнэм нээрэ дэплэмэ, мәфлэм къегъээлэкъэй Иныжым не закъүү къельгъэгу. Сосрыкъээ пшъантлэм шүүз дэплыщ. Мәфлэм бъэдэлэ Иныжымым эпкъэри зы пхъэдзаккэ къыпхъэутээ. Пхъэдзаккэ къыпыхъуа дэпир Иныжымым и нэжъэрым ихуащ.


Vocabulary:

bγada-lən "lie next to"
bzādža "bad"
čašāna "tower"
dap "hot coals"
dapč'ən "jump in"
dapлан "look in"
dažən "run up the hill"
gʷagʷ "road"
gʷəna "territory"
Hara-ma name of a mythological mountain
kʷan "go"
māf’a "fire"
Nārt "Nart" (hero of old times)
qʷəplan "wait for"
qʷətay-zən "happen, occur"
šə "horseman"
šəʔa "coldness, cold"
shašən "stand above stg."
šə "land, earth"
tay-tən "find oneself, be"
Tjažay-y name of Sosroko’s horse
wäya "cold"
yapč’ən "jump through, jump over"
PART II

Сосрыкъү э махуницкэ къэкъуаг, Иныжъыр къэушири и мафиэм зы пхъэдзакэ къызэрытыр къишлэш. Гъумэтлымэурэ Иныжъыр къызэфли- тысьээш, къылээзэрэбьыъурэ Сосрыкъуэр къи- гъуэти пхъэдзаклэр трихыжащ.

Сосрыкъуэ, уае къигъэхъуф и хабээти, Иныжъыр хым хигъэшъээнэ мурэд ишлэш. Абы Иныжъыр Ізмалкэ хым хигъэувэри уае ирищэкъываш.

— Къэлэт иджы! Мылыр иджыри зэрыубы- дакъым, — жиэурэ Иныжъыр хигъэшъэри Сосрыкъуэ махъэр къихъри нартхэм къахы- хъэжаш.
3. Sosruko and Totresh
(Source: Nārtxar, Nal'chik 1951)

Сосрыкъуэрэ Тотрэшрэ

Уйий, уйий, пышнальъэш — жи.
Сосрыкъуэ и фащэш — жи!
Уей, зы махуэ гуэрти
Дыгъери жъэрэжъэу
И Тхъуэжъеижъири
Уйей, тхъэкІумэ лалэу,
Єзы Сосрыкъуэрэри
И шым елэлэыху
ПщІантІем къыдохъэж.

Translitterated:

Wyəyy, Wyəyy, pšənālaš - žyə
Sawsrəqʷə yə fāşaš - žyə
doğaryə žarāţawə
Wayy, zə māxʷə gʷartə
Yo Txəβayəryə
Wayy, thakʷəma ləlawə,
yəyə Sawsrəqʷəryə
yə šəm yalalaxəwə
pś'ənt'əm q'ədawhaž.

Vocabulary:

dəga - day
fāşa - 1. Kabardian national dress; 2. form, appearance
gʷər - some
lāla - weak, shabby
māxʷə - day
pšənāla - ballad
pśənt'ə - gate
q'ədahan - bring in(to), get in
šə - horse
thakʷəma - ear
Txəβayə - name of Sosruko’s horse
wyəyy - Hey!
yalalaxə - hang
yəzə - himself
žyə - they say (particle)
źaraţən - burn, be hot
źə - old
4. Kabardian proverbs
(Source: Adəγabza psāłāla, Naľčik 1999).

1. Ya wəł'ən ya wəł'an.
2. Ł'awa tay'əm wyə warad yəğaşərq'əm.
3. Fəz bzadža haš'a məğašxaš.
4. Fəz bəda yəl' halalš.
5. āq'ol zyə?an şan ya?as.
7. ādɔyəm yə nać məq'əmyə şəq'əra p'əstära wyəğaşxənš.
8. C'əx'ər l'ama, yə c'ar q'awnaryə, vər l'ama, yə far q'awna.
10. Śhar psawəma pə?a śəş'tarq'əm.
11. Ł'anəm l'əğa xalš.

Vocabulary:

1. lə "man"; l'an "die"
2. warad "song"; ešən "become weary, become tired"
3. fəz "woman"; bzadžə "bad"; haš'a "guest"; šxan "eat"
4. bəda "strong"; halal "what is desirable"
5. āq'ol "mind, wisdom"; şan "character"
6. l'əğə "manliness"; āžəl "death"; śəş'tan "fear"
7. ādɔyə "Adygh; Circassian"; məq'ə "poor"; šəq'ə "salt"; p'əstä "pasta (Circassian dish)"
8. c'əxə "person"; c'a "name"; vo "ox"; fa "skin"; q'ənan "remain"
9. q'āma "dagger"; q'axən "cut"; psāla "word"; žə?an "say, utter"
10. śhə "head"; psawən "live"; pə?a "hat"
11. xaļən "lie (in something)"
5. How Karashawey got his bride
(Source: Narty. Adygskij geroičeskij èpos, Moscow 1974)
6. Žabagy Kazanoko playing alchiki
(Source: *Q'azanawq"a Žabāğə*, Nālšak 1984)

Alchiki (the Russian term for Kabardian č'an) is a traditional game played with sheep, or cattle bones. It is widespread among many peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus, and it occurs in many variants. The rules always involve trying to get as many alchikis (bones) as you can, at the expense of your opponent.
REFERENCES


Abdokov, A. I. O zvukovyix i slovarnyx sootvetstvijax severokavkazskix jazykov, El'brus, Nal'čik 1983.


Bgažnokov, B. G. Adygskij ētiket, El'brus, Nal'čik 1978.


Colarusso, J. Kabardian (East Circassian), Lincom Europa, Munich 2006.


Dumézil, G. Introduction à la grammaire comparée des langues caucasiennes du nord, Champion, Paris 1933.
Matasović, R. "The "Dependent First" Syntactic Patterns in Kabardian and other Caucasian Languages", paper from the "Conference on the Languages of the Caucasus" held at the Max-Planck Institut für Evolutionäre Anthropologie in Leipzig, December 2007.

For information on the history of Kabardians and other Adyghean peoples see http://www.usacba.org

About the customs, dances and culture of the Adyghean peoples see http://adighastory.tripod.com.

A few texts about Kabardian and in this language are available at: http://www.circassianlibrary.org

For the transliteration of the Kabardian Cyrillic see J. Gippert, Alphabet Systems Based upon the Cyrillic Script (http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/caucasus/kaukaschr.pdf)

The most extensive bibliography of Russian works on Kabardian can be found in the comparative grammar by M. A Kumaxov (Kumaxov 1989) and the monograph on Kabardian, edited by the same author (Kumaxov (ed.) 2006).
APPENDIX I: KABARDIAN AND OTHER CAUCASIAN LANGUAGES TODAY

Note:

ALUANIAN = Dagestanian languages
NAKH = Chechen, Ingush and Bats (Batsbi)
APPENDIX II: ADYGH (CIRCASSIAN) TRIBES IN THE 18TH CENTURY
APPENDIX III

A table of phonological correspondences between Kabardian and Adyghean
(according to Šagirov 1977: 25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kabardian</th>
<th>Adyghean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>šw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f'</td>
<td>šw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xw</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dž</td>
<td>dž, č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č</td>
<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gw</td>
<td>kw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>c, čw, żw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ż</td>
<td>ż, k, č, dž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>š, š</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š'</td>
<td>č', k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qw</td>
<td>qw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Western Adyghean dialects (Shapsugh and Bzhedukh) are the most archaic Circassian dialects with respect to consonantism. They have a fourfold system of stops, distinguishing voiceless aspirated (p'), voiced (b), ejective (p') and voiceless unaspirated, or "preruptive" (p). It seems that Kabardian had such a system still in the beginning of the 19th century, because traces of it can be found in Sh. Nogma's writings (Udžuxu 1976). In literary Kabardian, the voiceless unaspirated stops and affricates became voiced, merging with the original voiced series, and creating a number of homonyms, cp. Kab. da 1. "nut", 2. "we" vs. Bzhedukh da "nut", ta "we", or Kabardian dza 1. "army", 2. "tooth" vs. Bzhedukh dza "army", ca "tooth", etc.
## APPENDIX IV

### INDEX OF KABARDIAN GRAMMATICAL MORPHEME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>aw</code></td>
<td>Present (for dynamic verbs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ā</code></td>
<td>Demonstrative pronoun (“this/that”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-ā</code></td>
<td>Preterite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>āpsyə</code></td>
<td>Optative particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-āt</code></td>
<td>Anterior preterite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>āwa</code></td>
<td>“but”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>bla</code></td>
<td>Directional (“by”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-bza</code></td>
<td>Comparative suffix; “very”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-č'a</code></td>
<td>Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-č'ə</code></td>
<td>“already” (verbal suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-č'ə</code></td>
<td>“maybe” (verbal suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-č'ara</code></td>
<td>Adverbializer; gerund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-č'at</code></td>
<td>Optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-č'ə</code></td>
<td>Valency adding suffix (for intransitives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>d</code></td>
<td>1st. person plural verbal prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>da</code></td>
<td>Conjunctivity (sojuznost)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>da</code></td>
<td>Directional (“in”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dana</code></td>
<td>“where”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dayž</code></td>
<td>“towards”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dāpsa</code></td>
<td>“how much, how many”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dāva</code></td>
<td>“how”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dyə</code></td>
<td>1st. person pl. possessive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dəda</code></td>
<td>Comparative and superlative particle; “very”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>f</code></td>
<td>2nd person pl. verbal prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-f</code></td>
<td>“potential”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-fa</code></td>
<td>“kind of” (nominal suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>fa</code></td>
<td>2nd person pl. possessive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>f'əč'(a)</code></td>
<td>“except”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>g</code></td>
<td>Directional (“together with”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>g</code></td>
<td>“some” (quantifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ga</code></td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-ga</code></td>
<td>Abstract noun formative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-gan</code></td>
<td>Evidential (probability)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-gā</code></td>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-gāt</code></td>
<td>Anterior pluperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>hawa</code></td>
<td>“no”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-hə</code></td>
<td>Transitiveizing suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ləndara</code></td>
<td>“since the time that”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-l'(a)</code></td>
<td>Valency increasing suffix; adds directional meaning (“towards”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>m</code></td>
<td>Ergative (Oblique) case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-m</code></td>
<td>Imperfect of stative verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-m(a)</code></td>
<td>Conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-m(y)ə</code></td>
<td>Permissive; “although”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ma</code></td>
<td>(mā-) 3 sg. of intransitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maw-</td>
<td>demonstrative pronoun (&quot;that&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɔ-</td>
<td>negation (for infinite forms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɔ, mɔ-</td>
<td>demonstrative pronoun (&quot;that&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>categorical future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n(a)-</td>
<td>directional (&quot;thither&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nawə́</td>
<td>&quot;after&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nax</td>
<td>comparative particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nša</td>
<td>&quot;without&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nt</td>
<td>subjunctive / future II (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nwɔ</td>
<td>Infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nwɔ</td>
<td>factual future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nwɔt</td>
<td>future II (conditional)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nɔt'a</td>
<td>&quot;yes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>perfectivizing suffix (indicates accomplished action)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'ara</td>
<td>interrogative particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psaw</td>
<td>&quot;every&quot; (quantifier)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-q'a</td>
<td>interrogative, exclamatory, and focus marking suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'as</td>
<td>&quot;every&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'a-</td>
<td>directional (&quot;hither&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-q'am</td>
<td>negation (for finite forms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-q&quot;a</td>
<td>suffix indicating excessive action; &quot;too much&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r</td>
<td>Nominative (Absolutive) case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-r</td>
<td>facultative present of dynamic verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>gerund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ra, -ryə</td>
<td>conjunction (clitic); &quot;and&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(r)t</td>
<td>imperfect of dynamic verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rya-</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/-z-</td>
<td>1st person sg. verbal prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syə</td>
<td>1sg. possessive pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɔma</td>
<td>associative plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sət</td>
<td>&quot;what&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s</td>
<td>affirmative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-s-</td>
<td>suffix indicating excessive action; &quot;too much&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sə</td>
<td>(elative) superlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sə</td>
<td>interrogative particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sə́-</td>
<td>directional; &quot;from the surface of&quot;; &quot;when&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sə́tma</td>
<td>&quot;if&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sə́r(at)</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃhač'a</td>
<td>&quot;after, because of&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃhaž</td>
<td>&quot;every&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-šx&quot;a</td>
<td>&quot;great&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʃ'a-</td>
<td>directional prefix; &quot;under&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>imperfect of dynamic verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>suffix used in reinforcing the imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tam(a)</td>
<td>irrealis conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tay-</td>
<td>directional; &quot;on&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w/-b-</td>
<td>2nd person sg. verbal prefix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wyə 2sg. possessive pronoun
wə- factitive
-wə Adverbial case; gerund; adverbiazing suffix
xa-/xə- directional ("towards the interior")
-xə plural
-x(a)- "already"
xa "who"
-xxa- "reinforced negation"
-xə transitivizing suffix
xʷa-Lxʷə- version
xʷada "like"
\(x^w a\)....-fa "somewhat" (circumfix modifying adjectives)
xʷə- potential
-\(x^w a([a]{c\prime})\) suffix expressing simultaneity of the action, "while"
xʷay- debitative modal
y-\(r\) 3rd. person sg. verbal prefix
ya "or"
yay attributive 3sg. possessive pronoun
yāy attributive 3pl. possessive pronoun
yazə emphatic pronoun; "personally", "himself"
yā 3pl. possessive pronoun
-\(yə\) admirative
yə 3sg. possessive pronoun
yəč'yə "and"
za-/zə- participle forming prefix
za-/zə-/z- reflexive
za-/zara- reciprocal
zara- "instrumental" participle prefix; subordinating prefix on participles
zyə relative possessive pronoun; "whose"
zəda- "together"
-\(z(a)\) "back, again"; repetitive
zyəryə "quotative particle"
-\(z\)ay diminutive suffix
-ə transitivizing suffix
-\(?a\) indefinite person marker, "somebody"
?aš'ə- involuntative
-\(?a\) superlative (elative); "diminutive" comparative
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of abbreviations................................................................................................................. 2

PREFACE.......................................................................................................................... 5

INTRODUCTION................................................................................................................. 9

PHONOLOGY......................................................................................................................... 9
Vowels................................................................................................................................. 9
Consonants.......................................................................................................................... 9
Apophony (Ablaut)............................................................................................................... 11
Stress.................................................................................................................................. 12
Syllable............................................................................................................................... 13

ORTHOGRAPHY.................................................................................................................. 15

MORPHOLOGY......................................................................................................................... 17
Nominal inflection............................................................................................................... 17
Number............................................................................................................................... 17
Case.................................................................................................................................. 18
Definiteness......................................................................................................................... 23
Adjectives............................................................................................................................ 25
Personal and demonstrative pronouns................................................................................. 27
Possessive pronouns............................................................................................................ 27
Interrogative pronouns........................................................................................................ 27
The emphatic pronoun......................................................................................................... 28
Quantifiers........................................................................................................................ 29

Invariable words.................................................................................................................. 30
Numerals............................................................................................................................. 30
Adverbs............................................................................................................................... 31
Postpositions......................................................................................................................... 32
Particles, conjunctions and interjections............................................................................ 33

Verbs.................................................................................................................................. 35
The verbal complex............................................................................................................ 35
Verbal negation................................................................................................................... 36
Person................................................................................................................................ 37
Indefinite person.................................................................................................................. 39
Transitivity.......................................................................................................................... 39
Labile (diffuse) verbs.......................................................................................................... 46
Causative............................................................................................................................. 46
Involuntative......................................................................................................................... 49
Factive................................................................................................................................. 51
Active (dynamic) and stative verbs.................................................................52
Applicatives.......................................................................................................53
I. Version (Benefactive/Malefactive) ...............................................................53
II. Conjunctivity (Comitative).........................................................................55
Reciprocity........................................................................................................57
Reflexivity..........................................................................................................58
Deontic modality..............................................................................................61
Personal and directional prefixes...................................................................62
Tenses.................................................................................................................63
Interrogative......................................................................................................70
Moods...............................................................................................................72
Evidentiality.......................................................................................................76
I. Infinitive........................................................................................................77
II. Participles....................................................................................................78
III. Verbal adverbs (gerunds)...........................................................................81
Directionals.....................................................................................................83

APPENDIX: VERBAL CLASSES AND PARADIGMS........................................87

WORD-
FORMATION...................................................................................................93
Compounds......................................................................................................93
Nominal suffixes..........................................................................................94
Verb formation by prefixing..........................................................................95
Verbal suffixes..............................................................................................96
Incorporation.................................................................................................98

SYNTAX........................................................................................................99
Noun phrases (NP).......................................................................................99
Adjective phrases......................................................................................100
Syntactic structure of the sentence..........................................................101
Nominal sentence.......................................................................................101
Equi-NP deletion.......................................................................................102
Subordination..............................................................................................102
Case assignment in subordinate clauses.................................................107
Modal verbs.................................................................................................108
Phasal verbs.................................................................................................109
Reported speech.........................................................................................109
Agreement..................................................................................................110
Negative concord.......................................................................................111
Pro-drop......................................................................................................111
Relative clauses.........................................................................................112
Coordination...............................................................................................113
The order of syntactic elements..............................................................113
Topicalization/focalization......................................................................115

PRAGMATICS AND THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF
COMMUNICATION......................................................................................117