

## 193. Adyghe

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### Abstract

*Adyghe is a highly polysynthetic language with a very weak distinction between nouns and verbs. Compounding and affixation (including both suffixation and prefixation) are widespread. Morphological means often allow recursion and the order of morphemes depends on the semantics to a large extent. Inflection and derivation are not distinguished clearly. While deverbal nominal derivation is highly developed, most “verbal” formation actually applies to all kinds of bases. Minor parts-of-speech like adjectives and adverbs show dedicated markers. Conversion proper is occasional.*

### 1. Introduction

Adyghe is a member of the Circassian branch of the Northwest Caucasian family. The language is primarily spoken (i) in two Russian districts - Republic Adyghea and Krasnodar Krai, and (ii) in the Middle East, mainly Turkey, where many Adyghe migrated in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when their lands were occupied by the Russian Empire. According to Koryakov (2006), the number of Adyghe speakers is about 425,000. This number is debatable, since no precise information on the number of the speakers outside of Russia is available. Adyghe has four dialects: Temirgoi (Chemgui), Abzakh (Abadzekh), Bzhedukh and Shapsug. In Russia, Temirgoi serves as the basis for the standard language, and it is this dialect that I focus on. The standard language uses a Cyrillic-based script.

Adyghe is basically agglutinative, ergative and left-branching, with preposed attributes (unless incorporated), postpositions and SOV neutral order. Arguments are cross-referenced on their heads and optionally expressed by nominal phrases, which can be marked for case. Valency change almost always increases the number of arguments. The cross-reference system is ergative: it distinguishes between the absolutive argument (intransitive subject and transitive patient), the ergative argument (transitive agent) and indirect objects. Interestingly, the absolutive argument in this system is almost never affected by any valency changing rules (Letuchiy 2012). Transitivity of the stem can be defined according to the presence of the ergative cross-reference prefix. The core cases are absolutive and oblique (primarily but not exclusively marking non-absolutive cross-referenced nominals). With some exceptions, pronouns, many proper names and possessed nominals normally lack overt core case marking, as do non-specific nominals.

The standard reference works for Adyghe are the grammars Yakovlev and Askhamaf (1941) and Rogava and Kerasheva (1966) in Russian and the grammatical description of Abzakh by Paris (1989) in French. The recent volume Testelelets (2009) collects a number of studies on Adyghe from a typological perspective. The word-formation of Adyghe is addressed in manifold works including Kumakhov (1964), Smeets (1984), Abregov (2000), Bersirov (2001), Atazhakhova (2006), *inter alia*. The data used here largely rely upon the sources mentioned above, the dictionaries Shaov (1975), Tkharkakho (1991) and Paris and Batouka (1987-2005) as well as field notes made by Peter Arkadiev, Ivan Kapitonov, Vadim Kimmelman, Natalia Korotkova, Anna Kursakova, Alexander Letuchiy, Dmitry Perevozchikov, Liudmila Petrakova, Yakov Testelelets, Arseniy Vydrin and the author.

## 2. General overview

Adyghe is a highly polysynthetic language, which can encode a large bulk of information by morphological means. A speaker of Adyghe often may choose between syntactic and morphological strategies of expressing the same content. For example, the benefactive meaning is expressed either with the verbal prefix *fa-*, or with the postposition *paja*, or even with both:

- (1) *sa wa-ʃ pa:ja ptʃəhaʃha:ʃxa p-fa-s-ʃ'ə-κ*  
 I you(SG)-OBL for supper 2SG.IO-BEN-1SG.ERG-do-PST  
 'I prepared supper for you.'

The canonical word is defined for Adyghe on the basis of morphophonological rules and strict morphological structure. The most important morphophonological rule is the alternation /e/ > /a/. Leaving aside certain well-defined exceptions, it applies once in a word and its place depends on the word structure; see Smeets (1984) for details. This alternation is found in many examples given below, but where I give a stem without its morphological environment (indicated by hyphen at the end), it is not reflected.

The simplified make-up of both nouns and verbs includes five morphological zones (Figure 193.1). (2) presents a verb manifesting morphemes from all of these zones, and (3) shows a nominal complex, a peculiar formation displaying properties of a single word, which involves three of the zones:

- (2) [z-a:-]A[mə-]B[ʁa-]C[ʃ'ə-n]D[-aw]E  
 [RFL.ABS-3PL.ERG-]A[NEG-]B[CAUS-]C[get.wet-MOD]D[-ADV]E  
 'in order not to let himself get wet'  
 (3) [Ø-jə-]A[zə-folk-dʒ'ana-da:xa]D[-r]E  
 [3SG.PR-POSS-]A[one-silk-dress-beautiful]D[-ABS]E  
 'one beautiful silk dress of hers'

Argument structure zone (A)	Pre-stem elements (B)	Causative marker(s) (C)	Stem (D)	Endings (E)
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Figure 193.1 The general make-up of the Adyghe content word

The stem consists of the root(s) and (optionally) various suffixes. In nominal complexes, adjectives, non-referential possessors and certain other modifiers are "incorporated" into the stem. Neoclassical morphology never participates in the formation of the word, albeit it appears as part of borrowed roots. The stem can be modified by causative prefixes. The argument structure zone contains directive prefixes, cross-reference markers (including reflexive, reciprocal and relative markers) and applicative prefixes, which mark the semantic roles of indirect objects and alienable possessors. Endings and the pre-stem zone cover the markers that are closest to inflection, including, in particular, various markers of the syntactic function (cases, markers of subordination and coordination), negators, the suffix *-xa* marking the plurality of the referent (with nouns) or of the absolutive argument (with verbs), and the markers of dynamicity.

The noun/verb distinction is weak, since both nouns and verbs can appear in the positions of the predicate and its arguments (see section 5.). Nonetheless, the two classes are contrasted within the nominal phrase, where only nouns can be modified with relative clauses and serve as a basis for nominal complexes containing preposed modifiers (such as 'one' and 'silk' in (3)). Adjectives in most respects behave like nouns. Of grammatical importance comparable to that of the noun/verb distinction is the contrast between stative and dynamic predicates, which differ in their inventories of grammatical forms. Nouns, adjectives and verbs like 'to sit', 'to stand', 'to lie', 'to correspond', 'to hold' etc. have the grammatical properties of stative predicates but

sometimes have counterparts marked with a dynamic affix; cf. *pχa:s'a* ‘carpenter / is a carpenter’ and its correlate with the dynamic prefix *ma-pχa:s'a* ‘works as a carpenter’. It is not clear whether the dynamic marker derives a new lexeme in such examples.

The description of word-formation in Adyghe raises several problems:

(i) As in many other polysynthetic languages, Adyghe morphology does not fit well into the standard distinction between inflection and derivation. First, morphology that could be considered inflectional for semantic reasons (e.g., tense suffixes) belongs to the same formal class as certain clearly non-inflectional markers. Second, unlike typical derivation, non-inflectional morphology does not always build units of the lexicon. This is due to its high productivity: words involving such morphological units are regularly constructed in the course of speech. This kind of morphology displays similarities to syntax: it allows recursion and compositional variation of the affix order based on the scope of morphemes (Korotkova and Lander 2010; Lander and Letuchiy 2010). Moreover, morphological combinations need not be conventionalized, and as a result, the function of an affix sometimes varies among different speakers. Nonetheless, the combinations of morphemes are much more prone to lexicalization than the combinations of words.

(ii) Syntax and morphology are not always clearly demarcated. This problem is striking primarily in nominal complexes. Elements of such complexes even have their own morphological structure. Naturally, for nominal complexes it is tremendously difficult to draw the line between lexical compounds and combinations produced online. The criteria referring to compounding involve semantic non-compositionality, the parts’ incapability of branching and non-separability. Yet, these criteria are neither necessary nor sufficient. For verbs, the issue manifests itself in non-compositional combinations of apparently distinct words. If these words cannot be separated, their combinations are close to compounding (cf. *š'wə* (\**jən-dad-aw*) *ə-tak'wə-ka* ‘he/she loved (her/him)’, literally: well (\*big-very-ADV) 3SG.ERG-see-PST) and take common nominalizing morphology (*š'wə-tak'wə-nə-β* well-see-MSD-ABSTR ‘love’). Similar to such constructs are productive combinations of Russian infinitives with the verb *š'a-* ‘to make’ like *vyits'irəvəts' š'a-* ‘to agitate for’ based on the synonymous Russian infinitive, yet these are separable:

- (4) *səmpl'otə-m*    *vbrəvotəts'*    *š'wəfə-r*    *ə-š'a-za...*  
 airplane-OBL    cultivate(Russian)    field-ABS    3SG.ERG-make-CONV  
 ‘while working the field from the plane’

(iii) Compounding and derivation are not always clearly distinguished. There are morphemes that appear both as roots and as semantically bleached derivational affixes. Thus *pχa* ‘wood’ also appears as a productive means of forming nouns denoting the material: *dʒ'ana-pχa* ‘the material for the dress’ (cf. *dʒ'ana* ‘dress’), *wəna-pχa* ‘the material for the house’ (cf. *wəna* ‘house’), *saʃkəkə-pχa* ‘the meat for shashlik (a kind of kebab)’.

(iv) Numerous segments that could be singled out as separate morphemes no longer participate in productive word-formation. For example, *-fə*, apparently with the meaning ‘white’ (cf. also with *fəʒə* ‘white’), is found in *pχa-fə* ‘birch’ (← *pχa* ‘wood’) and in *jat'a-fə* ‘chalk’ (← *jat'a* ‘clay’) but is not used outside of compounds. Further, sometimes roots in compounds have a form that is unpredictable given the current morphemic rules; cf. *ka-* in *kapsə* ‘broth’ (cf. *kə* ‘meat’ and *psə* ‘water’).

Below I restrict myself to only a part of the phenomena potentially related to word-formation. First, I focus on processes in the word, disregarding fixed word combinations, and even here I do not consider endings and pre-stem elements. Second, this article concentrates primarily on synchronically productive word-formation. Third, I discuss only major word classes here, mostly leaving aside the word-formation processes observed in such classes as, for example, pronouns and numerals.

### 3. Composition

#### 3.1. Nominal compounds

##### 3.1.1. Determinative compounds

Determinative compounds constitute a subclass of nominal complexes. Endocentric determinative compounds include combinations of two nouns (*t'aq<sup>w</sup>a-t̥s* 'tribe-name 'tribal name') and combinations of nouns with adjectives (*bka-fx<sup>w</sup>a* 'eagle-grey 'hawk'). The former are based on the patterns with non-referential possessors (cf. the compound *z̥<sup>w</sup>ab<sup>w</sup>a-bən* 'star-family 'constellation' with the complex *z̥<sup>w</sup>ab<sup>w</sup>a-naf* 'star-light') and among other relations are used for the expression of complex kinship relations; cf. *jana-f* (POSS+mother-brother) 'his/her mother's brother'. The endocentric compounds with adjectives typically follow the order 'Noun + Adjective', which is usual for nominal complexes, but occasionally violate it; cf. *ɛ<sup>w</sup>aɟ<sup>j</sup>ə-wəz* 'yellow-disease 'jaundice'. There are several compounds consisting of three parts like *bka-ɟə-ba* 'breast-meat-much 'brisket'. Many endocentric compounds are non-compositional; cf. *na-p̥s̥a:ša* 'eye-girl 'eye pupil, lit. daughter of an eye', *psə-χ<sup>w</sup>əra:j* 'water-round 'lake'.

Typical exocentric determinative compounds are based on the combinations of nouns and adjectives, which, however, characterize the semantic possessor of the noun rather than this very noun; cf. *nasəpə-š<sup>w</sup>ə* 'fortune-good 'fortunate', *g<sup>w</sup>ə-pt̥s̥<sup>w</sup>ana* 'heart-bare 'kind-hearted', *thak<sup>w</sup>əm-t̥f̥əha* 'ear-long 'hare'. Abregov (2000: 163) also mentions compounds based on relative and finite clauses like *zjəwəsha:n* 'master' (← *z-jə-wəz s-ha:n* REL.PR-POSS-illness 1SG.ERG-carry-MOD 'the one whose illness I will carry') and *hajnapa* 'shame' (← *ha: jə-napa* dog POSS-face 'his face is a dog'). In addition, exocentric compounds include nominals based on verbs with incorporated arguments and adjuncts such as *maz-pa-s* 'forest-FRONT-sit 'forest-guard', *t̥f̥<sup>w</sup>aɟa-ja-ka-d̥ɟ<sup>w</sup>a* 'boy-DAT-CAUS-learn 'teacher', *g<sup>w</sup>ag<sup>w</sup>ə-rə-k<sup>w</sup>ə* 'road-TRANS-go 'traveller', *psənt̥f̥<sup>w</sup>a-rə-k<sup>w</sup>ə* 'quick-TRANS-go 'fast runner'. The last example, where the adjectival root comes first, shows that such compounds are not constructed according to the usual pattern whereby adjectives follow their heads. Yet this kind of incorporation is only observed in nominal compounds but not in verbs.

Determinative compounds occasionally use bound roots. For instance, there is a regular derivation with the morpheme *fa* 'to hunt', which otherwise only occurs with other derivational suffixes (cf. *fa:k<sup>w</sup>a* (← {*fa-k<sup>w</sup>a*}) 'hunter' derived by agent nominalization): *ptsəz̥ja:fa* 'fish-hunt 'fisherman', *bka:fa* 'snake-hunt 'snake catcher', *pt̥f̥ana:fa* 'goat-hunt 'goat catcher'.

##### 3.1.2. Copulative compounds

Copulative nominal compounds are also numerous and include combinations of nouns (*jənə.ka-t̥s̥ək<sup>w</sup>ə.ka* 'bigness-smallness 'size'), adjectives (*dag<sup>w</sup>ə-bza:k<sup>w</sup>a* 'deaf-dumb 'deaf-and-dumb') and verbs (*ja-fxa-ja-š<sup>w</sup>a* DAT-eat-DAT-drink 'to feast'). Some copulative compounds allow rearrangement of the components: these usually involve two near-synonymous elements such as *g<sup>w</sup>ə-pt̥f̥a* 'heart-waist = *pt̥f̥a-g<sup>w</sup>ə* 'center', *bən-wənək<sup>w</sup>a* 'family-family = *wənək<sup>w</sup>a-bən* 'family'. A few copulative compounds contain more than two elements: *p'ts̥<sup>w</sup>a-ɛ<sup>w</sup>a-pt̥ə* 'black-ginger-red 'bay (horse)', *pqa-š<sup>w</sup>a-ɟə* 'bone-skin-meat 'body'. Unlike determinative compounds, copulative compounds display parts consisting of several morphological zones albeit sharing endings and occasionally even suffixes. Cf. *s-jana-s-jata-xa-r* 1SG.PR-POSS+mother-1SG.PR-POSS+father-PL-ABS 'my parents', *za-l̥'-za-š<sup>w</sup>əz-xa-r* REC.PR-man-REC.PR-woman-PL-ABS 'husband and wife', *qa-k<sup>w</sup>a-na-k<sup>w</sup>a* HITHER-go-THITHER-go 'visitors', which all show two argument structure zones, as well as *mə-ʔ<sup>w</sup>a-mə-š<sup>w</sup>a* NEG-say-NEG-do 'disobedient' containing two overt pre-stem negators. As the examples show, both appositive and dvandva compounds occur (see also article 41a on co-compounds). None of them need be compositional; cf. *na:pa* 'eye-nose 'face', *pt̥ə.r-stə.r* 'red.hot-hot 'high temperature', *djaɟa.ʔ<sup>w</sup>a-djaɟa:š<sup>w</sup>a* 'quite.fool-less.fool 'dull'.

### 3.2. Verbal compounds

Adyghe lacks productive nominal incorporation. There are, however, apparent verbal compounds that consist of a verbal root and an incorporated nominal root such as *daxa-s̱'a* beautiful-make 'to caress' and *ʃa-sə* horse-sit 'to sit on a horse'. Verbs of this kind are numerous but this model is not productive and it is even doubtful that such combinations should be treated as complex formations synchronically.

Productive compounding involving several verbal roots may be divided into two classes according to whether the relation between the constituent roots is symmetric or asymmetric. Asymmetric verbal compounds all show traces of grammaticalization of the last component. There are two types of asymmetric verbal compounds, which are differentiated according to whether the last component affects transitivity or not. The first type is represented primarily with compounds formed with the root *ħa:* 'to carry', which appears as the second part of the combination, adds the "introvert" semantics of circular motion and always makes the verb transitive (cf. *qa-s-ptə-ħa:-ʁ* DIR-1SG.ERG-look.at-carry-PST 'I looked around it'). The second type of asymmetric compounds employs as the second element the verbal roots *t̪ʰə* 'to go out', *ħa:* 'to go in', *xə* 'to go down', *ʒ'a* 'to depart' (the last two always in combination with the dative applicative), which cannot change the verb's transitivity; cf. *jə-psə-ħa:-ʃt* IN-crawl-go.in-FUT 's/he will crawl into it', *r-jə-fə-ʒ'a-ʃtə-x* DAT-3SG.ERG-drive-depart-FUT-PL 's/he will begin to drive them', *r-jə-ʃa-xə-ʃt* DAT-3SG.ERG-lead-go.down-FUT 's/he will lead (him/her) down'. The semantic contribution of such roots is typically related to motion but is not always transparent: for example, *t̪ʰə* and *ħa:* may add the attenuative semantics (cf. *qə-tja-s-ʔata-t̪ʰə-ʁ* DIR-ON-1SG.ERG-raise-go.out-PST 'I raised (it) a little'). The appearance of roots of this kind is often accompanied by the use of certain applicatives (see, for example, Arkadiev and Letuchiy 2011), that is why combinations like those discussed here are regarded by many authors (including Rogava and Kerasheva) as incorporation of verbal roots into the applicative-root combinations: *ja-[ča]-xə-ʃt* DAT-[run]-go.down-FUT 's/he will run down' ← *ja-xə-ʃt* DAT-go.down-FUT 's/he will go down'. The problem with this is that the transitivity of the resulting compound is determined by the "incorporated" root, while "incorporating" roots belong to the same distributional and functional class as directional suffixes (which cannot function as verbal roots themselves). Hence, this type of asymmetric compounds is probably closer to verbal derivation than to compounding proper.

Symmetric verbal compounds such as *pt̪ʰə'a-ta-ʔa-ta-* jump-ta-jump-ta- 'to flit', *χʷə-pa-ʃəpa-* graze-pa-gather 'to gather up small things' are typically rhyming. Not infrequently such compounds involve synchronically opaque elements (like *-ta* and *-pa* above). In other cases, a part of a compound occurs only within it, even though it has clear meaningful segments; cf. *ʔaba-ʔaba-* 'to fumble' formed out of *ʔaba-* 'to stretch one's hand', which itself originally included the root *ʔa* 'hand', and *ʔaba*, the rhymed part which is not used by itself and includes the root *ʔa* 'foot'. Further, sometimes such compounds include several occurrences of a single stem, but unlike in reduplication, in compounding these occurrences are associated with different ranges of affixes. The most regular formations of this kind consist of two parts, the second of which negates the first. Such constructs are often accompanied by the suffix *-s̱'a* 'to seem' (having scope over both components) and express doubt or fast changes of stages; cf. *j-a-ka-ʒa-j-a-mə-ka-ʒa:-s̱'* 3SG.ERG-DYN-CAUS-roast-3SG.ERG-DYN-NEG-CAUS-roast-SEEM 'now s/he roasts, now does not'. Symmetric verbal compounds may differ from each other in the degree of contingency (e.g., in whether they allow a single argument structure zone).

## 4. Derivation

### 4.1. Nominal derivation

The only prefixes that could be seen as deriving nouns include various applicative markers (see section 4.3.1.), which extend the valency of the base. Most applicatives are used primarily with verbs but occasionally also with nominal complexes; cf. the following example where the

noun ‘teacher’ takes the applicative introducing the (null) cross-reference prefix corresponding to location:

- (5) *ħa:təwəzəq<sup>w</sup>a:ja* Ø-*ʃə-tʃ<sup>ʰ</sup>**aħa:ja.ka: dʒ<sup>ʰ</sup>a-m* *zatʃ<sup>ʰ</sup>a-r-jə* *j-a-ʃ<sup>ʰ</sup>a*  
 Hatazhukay 3SG.IO-LOC-teacher-OBL all-ABS-ADD 3SG.ERG-DYN-know  
 ‘The teacher in Hatazhukay knows everybody.’

The class of applicatives formally includes the alienable possessive prefix *jə-*, which extends the valency by introducing the possessor cross-reference prefix and hence is not inflectional, strictly speaking; cf. *t-jə-zama:n* 1PL.PR-POSS-time ‘our time’. However, Adyghe also has inalienable nouns (certain kin terms, body part terms and some other relational nouns), which take the possessor prefix without applicative morphology (cf. *p-ʃəpχ<sup>w</sup>ə* 2SG.PR-sister ‘your sister’). The appearance of the reciprocal prefix in this position (i.e. without the applicative) derives reciprocal collective nouns for inalienable nouns (*za-ʃəpχ<sup>w</sup>ə-xa-r* REC.PR-sister-PL-ABS ‘the sisters’).

Noun derivation proper is realized by suffixes. The most common suffix deriving abstract nouns is *-b(a)*, which is attached to nominal and adjectival bases (cf. *ts<sup>ʰ</sup>əfə-ka* human-ABSTR ‘humaneness’, *daxa:-ka* beautiful-ABSTR ‘beauty’, *ʔaγa:-ka* high-ABSTR ‘height’) but also to action nouns, called “masdars” (*bana-nə-ka* wrestle-MSD-ABSTR ‘wrestling’). Since masdars can be formed not only from verbal stems but also from non-verbal bases (see section 5.), it is not a rarity that two synonymous abstract nouns can be derived: one with a masdar suffix and another without it (cf. *ʃħa:fjətə-ka* free-ABSTR and *ʃħa:fjətə-nə-ka* free-MSD-ABSTR ‘being free, freedom’). It is interesting also that *-ka* can even take as its base copulative nominal compounds, cf. *g<sup>w</sup>əkap’a.nča-a:ma:ħə.nča:-ka* hopeless-helpless-ABSTR ‘hopelessness and helplessness’.

Other prominent nominal derivational morphemes include *-aʃ<sup>ʰ</sup>* and *-ʔa*, both meaning ‘receptacle (for)’ (*ʃ-aʃ<sup>ʰ</sup>* horse-*aʃ<sup>ʰ</sup>* ‘stable’, *maq<sup>w</sup>-aʃ<sup>ʰ</sup>*, *maq<sup>w</sup>ə-ʔa* ‘hayloft’ ← *maq<sup>w</sup>* ‘hay’). The second of these suffixes also refers to places characterized by large amounts of the referent of the base: *məz<sup>w</sup>a:-ʔa* stone-*ʔa* ‘stony place’, *wətsə-ʔa* grass-*ʔa* ‘grassy place’. Nouns derived with the suffix *-b<sup>w</sup>ə* refer to persons sharing the property denoted by the base; cf. *nəb dʒ<sup>ʰ</sup>a-b<sup>w</sup>ə*, *nəb dʒ<sup>ʰ</sup>a-b<sup>w</sup>ə* ‘friend, person of the same age’ ← *nəb dʒ<sup>ʰ</sup>* ‘age’, *q<sup>w</sup>ad dʒ<sup>ʰ</sup>a-b<sup>w</sup>ə* ‘fellow-villager’ ← *q<sup>w</sup>a: dʒ<sup>ʰ</sup>a* ‘village’. The suffixes *-qə/-qa*, *-χ<sup>w</sup>ə/-χ<sup>w</sup>a* and *-t’a* (all non-productive) derive nouns that characterize their referent for marked body parts; cf. *nəba-q(ə)* belly-*qə* ‘big-bellied’, *za-χ<sup>w</sup>a* tongue-*χ<sup>w</sup>a* ‘sharp-tongued’, *bəka-t’a* chest-*t’a* ‘broad-chested’. There are other non-productive suffixes deriving nouns from nouns and adjectives such as *-ʃa*, *-q<sup>w</sup>a*, *-ʔ<sup>w</sup>a*, *-za*, *-ndʒ<sup>ʰ</sup>*, all referring to curviness of body-parts (e.g., *na:-ʃa*, *na:-za* ‘squint-eyed’ ← *na* ‘eye’), *-ja* deriving, for example, the names of trees (*za:-ja* ‘cornel’ ← *za* ‘cornel’) and toponyms (*wərasə-j* ‘Russia’ ← *wəras* ‘Russian’). Kumakhov (1964) also lists a number of other suffixes that are identified mainly on etymological grounds.

Diminutive (‘little’) and augmentative (‘big’) are conveyed with the suffixes *-zəja* and *-ʃx<sup>w</sup>a* respectively; cf. *da-zəj* ‘hazelnut, lit. little nut’ vs. *da-ʃx<sup>w</sup>a* ‘walnut, lit. big nut’ (← *da* ‘nut’), *txəʔə-zəja* ‘small book’ vs. *txəʔə-ʃx<sup>w</sup>a* ‘big book’ (← *txəʔ* ‘book’).

Deverbal derivation is also diverse. The suffix that marks the modal future with verbs also derives forms closest to action nouns, so-called “masdar” forms. These are less derivational, yet they may take possessive morphology instead of standard argument morphology (*jə-qa-k<sup>w</sup>a-ʒ<sup>ʰ</sup>ə-n* POSS-DIR-go-RE-MSD ‘his return’ ← *qa-k<sup>w</sup>a-ʒ<sup>ʰ</sup>ə* DIR-go-RE- ‘to return’) and serve as bases for denominal abstract nouns (see above). In addition, there are a few highly productive suffixes deriving deverbal nouns such as the following ones, all illustrated with nouns derived from *ʃxa-* ‘to eat’:

- (a) *-k<sup>w</sup>a*, expressing the habitual agent; e.g., *ʃxa:-k<sup>w</sup>a* ‘eater’,
- (b) *-tʃ<sup>ʰ</sup>a*, expressing the typical manner: *ʃxa:-tʃ<sup>ʰ</sup>a* ‘the way of eating’,
- (c) *-p’a*, expressing the place: *ʃxa:-p’a* ‘café, the place for eating’ (cf. *p’a* ‘bed, place’),

(d) *-ɸʷə*, expressing the time: *ʃxa-ɸʷə* ‘the time of eating’ (cf. *ɸʷə* ‘time’).

Although some of these morphemes appear as lexical nouns as well (especially in compounds; cf. *qʷəʃha-ɬa.pa-tʃəʒʲa-pʷa* mountain-foot-far-place ‘the place at far-away feet of mountains’, *ħa:da-ɸʷə* deadman-time ‘death hour’), their appearance immediately after bare verbal stems, abnormal for nouns in compounds, suggests their grammaticalization. Similar meanings can easily be conveyed by means of the relativization of the subject (*ʃxa-ra-* eat-DYN- ‘the one who eats’), manner (*za-ra-ʃxa-ra-* REL.IO-MNR-eat-DYN- ‘the way (s)he eats’), place (*zə-ʃə-ʃxa-ra-* REL.IO-LOC-eat-DYN ‘where (s)he eats’), and time respectively (cf. *zə-ʃxa-ra-* REL.TMP-eat-DYN- ‘when he eats’), but deverbal nouns are presumably more prone to be associated with habitual events rather than with concrete events. Kumakhov (1964: 131-132) also mentions the marker *-tʃʲaʲ* that derives deverbal nouns with the semantics of bad manner (e.g., *ʃə-ʔa-tʃʲaʲ* ‘the bad manner of life’ ← *ʃə-ʔa-* LOC-be-), but it can be considered a combination of the manner nominalization with the adjective *ja* ‘bad’.

An important feature of such deverbal derivation is that it takes as a base the whole combination of the stem with the argument structure zone. As a result, the nominalization may contain both cross-reference prefixes associated with the verbal stem and possessive morphology peculiar to deverbal nouns, which appears before all other prefixes. Cf. the following example, where the verbal morphology serving as the base for the derivation is bracketed: *w-jə-[qə-s-a-pʰə]-tʃʲaʲ* 2SG.PR-POSS-[DIR-1SG.IO-DAT-look.at]-MANNER ‘your manner of looking at me’. However, the prefixes cross-referencing the absolutive and the ergative arguments are not retained in the bases for the nominalizations: when needed, the relevant arguments are introduced as possessors, even simultaneously; cf. *ja-w-jə-[ɬa-ʔasa]-tʃʲaʲ* 3PL.PR+POSS-2SG.PR-POSS-[CAUS-calm]-MANNER ‘their manner of making you calm’.

Another typologically remarkable suffix deriving nouns from verbs is *-(a)fa*, which derives nouns referring to leftovers such as *pəwəptʃʲaʲfa* ‘scrap’ ← *pə.wəptʃʲə-* ‘to cut off’, *ʁəbʒʲaʲfa* ‘crackle’ ← *ʁəbʒʲa-* ‘to be fried’, *wəpsaʲfa* ‘shaving’ ← *wəpsa-* ‘to shave’, *twətən-ʃʷaʲfa* ‘cigarette-butt’ ← *twətən ja.ʃʷa-* ‘to smoke, lit. to drink tobacco’. This suffix can presumably be related to the lexical root *fa* ‘to fall’.

Besides the above-mentioned suffixes deriving nouns from verbs, there are also others which are either of limited productivity or not productive at all.

## 4.2. Adjectival derivation

Relational adjectives proper comprise items borrowed from Russian without any Adyghe morphology and a class of adjectives derived with the suffix *-ra*. The latter includes the adjectives derived from time words (e.g., *njapa-ra* today-ADJ ‘today’s’, *dʒə-ra* now-ADJ ‘modern’), interrogative pronouns (*sədə-ra* what-ADJ, *xat-ra* who-ADJ ‘any’), locational terms, mostly originating from body-part terms (*a-pa-ra* 3PL.PR-nose-ADJ ‘first, front’, *a-wəʒə-ra* 3PL.PR-trace-ADJ ‘last’). In addition, the suffix *-ra* together with the suffix *-na* takes part in the formation of ordinal numerals (cf. *ja-tʷa-na-ra* 3PL.PR+POSS-two-na-ADJ ‘second’). The suffix has an allomorph *-raʲ*, which occurs when an adjective appears in the predicate position (the final -j could be considered a separate copula suffix, but in the Kabardian cognates it is found in non-predicate syntactic contexts); cf.:

- (6) *a:*    *ɣa:zjatə-r*            *təɸʷasa-raʲ*  
       that newspaper-ABS    yesterday-ADJ  
       ‘That newspaper is yesterday’s.’

Privative (caritive) semantics (‘without’) is conveyed by suffixes *-nča* and *-tsəz* (the last is clearly of Turkic origin); cf. *qʷəʒka:ʒə-nč*, *qʷəʒka:ʒ-t्सəz* ‘impotent’ ← *qʷəʒka:ʒ* ‘potentiality’. Here also belong denominal adjectives marking the insufficiency of a property or its non-positive manifestation, which are marked with *-dʒʲa* (*kʷatʃʲa:-dʒʲa* power-*dʒʲa* ‘feeble’) or *-kʷa* (*bza:-*

*k<sup>w</sup>a* speech-*k<sup>w</sup>a* ‘dumb’).

Intensity and excessive intensity are expressed by reduplication (see section 7.), but also with certain suffixes: *-dada*, *-ja*, *-bza* ‘very’ (*ɬaɣa-dada*, *ɬaɣa-ja* ‘very high’, *pɬəzʲə-bza* ‘bright red, lit. very red’), *-psə*, *-ɽ<sup>w</sup>a*, *-tʃʲaɣa* ‘quite’ (*ɬaɣa-psə*, *ɬaɣa-ɽ<sup>w</sup>a* ‘quite high’, *ba-tʃʲaɣa* ‘quite many’), *-ʃa* ‘too’ (*ɬaɣa-ʃa* ‘too high’). The problem with these suffixes is that they normally occur in the final part of the nominal complex, after all possible roots (i.e. usually they are not followed by other adjectival roots); as a result, it is not apparent whether they modify the final adjective only or the whole nominal complex.

Adjectival attenuation is expressed with the suffix *-ʃa* (*pɬəzʲə-ʃ* red-*ʃa* ‘reddish’) and the suffix *-ʃ<sup>w</sup>a* (*ɬ<sup>w</sup>aɣʲə-ʃ<sup>w</sup>a* yellow-*ʃ<sup>w</sup>a* ‘yellowish’). The latter also conveys the meaning ‘to seem’ and allows recursion (cf. *ɬ<sup>w</sup>aɣʲə-ʃ<sup>w</sup>a-ʃ<sup>w</sup>a*- yellow-SEEM-SEEM ‘looking yellowish; even paler than yellowish’). Some of these suffixes are also found with verbal bases.

There are several affixes deriving deverbal adjectives with the meaning of inclination: *-rəj*, *-pxa*, *-ɣa*, *-ɣə* (of Turkic origin), *-rəɣa*, *-rəna*; cf. *g<sup>w</sup>əpʃəsə-rəj*, *g<sup>w</sup>əpʃəsə-px*, *g<sup>w</sup>əpʃəsə-ɣ* ‘thoughtful, pensive’ (← *g<sup>w</sup>əpʃəsə*- ‘think’), *g<sup>w</sup>əzaʒ<sup>w</sup>a-ɣ* = *g<sup>w</sup>əzaʒ<sup>w</sup>a-px* ‘hurried’ ← *g<sup>w</sup>əzaʒ<sup>w</sup>a*- ‘hurry’, *g<sup>w</sup>əsə-ɣ* = *g<sup>w</sup>əsə-px* ‘capricious’ ← *g<sup>w</sup>əsə*- ‘be capricious, play up’, *ɬəʃtə-px* ‘timid’ ← *ɬəʃtə*- ‘frighten’, *q<sup>w</sup>əta-ɣa* ‘inclined to be broken’ ← *q<sup>w</sup>əta*- ‘break’. With minor exceptions such as *ɬfa-rəj* ‘fecund’ (← *ɬfan* ‘give birth’), they characterize the absolutive argument of the verbal stem.

### 4.3. Verbal derivation

All kinds of derivation forming verbs follow the same set of principles. Hence the discussion below follows the morphological zones rather than the classes of bases.

#### 4.3.1. The argument structure zone

The argument structure zone has the structure as given in Figure 193.2. The prefixes cross-referencing the absolutive and ergative arguments as well as the temporal prefix, which appears in temporal relativization (‘when’), are disregarded below. All other prefixes are given in their basic forms, but in some contexts they undergo the meaningless alternation /a/ > /ə/.

Absolutive cross-reference prefix		Directive		Temporal		Applicative complexes		Ergative cross-reference prefix
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Figure 193.2 The argument structure zone of the Adyghe verb form

**Directives.** The main directive preverb is *qa-* ‘hither’. There are quite a few lexicalized combinations involving this prefix: e.g., *qa.sə-* (the root *sə-* is not used without preverbs), *qa-k<sup>w</sup>a-* (← *k<sup>w</sup>a-* ‘to go’) both roughly meaning ‘to come’. The same preverb *qa-* is used as a marker of inversion, i.e. of marked or unexpected alignment of arguments (cf. Ø-*ja-p-tə-ɬ* 3SG.IO-DAT-2SG.ERG-give-PST ‘you gave (it) to him/her’ vs. *qə-w-jə-tə-ɬ* DIR-2SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-PST ‘s/he gave (it) to you’). Circassian languages also possess another directive preverb *na-* ‘thither’. In Adyghe it is obsolete and only found in few lexemes like *na.sə-* ‘to reach’.

**Applicatives.** Along with the prefixes that cross-reference the absolutive and ergative arguments, the argument structure zone of the Adyghe word may contain applicative complexes which introduce indirect objects. The most typical applicative complex consists of a cross-reference prefix (null for 3<sup>rd</sup> singular indirect objects) and a prefix that specifies its role; cf. the bracketed benefactive complex ‘for you’ in *qə-[p-fa]-s-fatʃə-ʃt* DIR-[2SG.IO-BEN]-1SG.ERG-weigh-FUT ‘I will weigh (this) for you’. Two kinds of applicative complexes can be distinguished, namely the dative complexes and the specialized applicatives.

The dative complex includes the dative marker (*j*)e- (which under certain conditions



appears as *r-*) and involves an indirect object whose semantic role can be determined on the basis of the semantics of the stem and need not be specified, such as the recipient of the verb ‘to give’ (*qə-[s-a]-p-tə-ɛ* DIR-[1SG.IO-DAT]-2SG.ERG-give-PST ‘you gave me (that)’), the addressee of the verb ‘to say’ (*qə-[w-a]-s-ɽʷa-ʃt* DIR-[2SG.IO-DAT]-1SG.ERG-say-FUT ‘I will tell you (that)’), the undergoer of formally intransitive verbs that normally presuppose the presence of (at least) two arguments but show low semantic transitivity (e.g., *wə-qə-[s-a]-p-tə-ɛ* 2SG.ABS-DIR-[1SG.IO-DAT]-look-PST ‘you looked at me’, *tə-[ʃʷ-a]-wa-ʃt* 1PL.ABS-[2PL.IO-DAT]-beat-FUT ‘we will beat you’), the causee of causative verbs formed from transitive stems ([*ja*]-*s-a-ɛa-ʃʷa* [3PL.IO+DAT]-1SG.ERG-DYN-CAUS-know ‘I teach (lit. cause to know) you (that)’), etc. With many verbs dative complexes are optional (like other applicatives, see below): for instance, the verb stem ‘to give’ easily appears without any marking of the recipient, as in *p-tə-ɛa* 2SG.ERG-give-PST ‘you gave (that)’. The dative marker is also the only applicative morpheme that in some morphophonological contexts disappears, thus retaining a “bare” indirect object cross-reference prefix (cf. *qə-s-jə-ɽʷa-ʒʷə-ɛ* DIR-1SG.IO-3SG.ERG-say-RE-PST ‘s/he answered (that) to me’, where the dative prefix has a null allomorph). The place of the dative complexes is fixed: such complexes appear after all other applicative complexes, except for the inadvertitive (see below).

Specialized applicative complexes include those formed with markers of various peripheral roles such as benefactive *fa-* ([*a*]-*fa*)-*s-ʃʷə-ʃt* [3PL.IO-BEN]-1SG.ERG-do-FUT ‘I will do it for them’) and malefactive *ʃʷə-* (*wə-[s-ʃʷə]-j-a-wə-tʃʷ* 2SG.ABS-[1SG.IO-MAL]-3SG.ERG-DYN-kill ‘it kills you against my will’), both expressing in fact a great variety of semantic relations, comitative (*q-[a-d]-a-čə-ħa* DIR-[3PL.IO-COM]-3PL.ERG-run-carry ‘they together with them run all over [the garden]’) and a number of locative prefixes. The latter introduce indirect objects referring to locations and express dozens of locative relations: *jə-*, *da-*, *xə-* ‘in, inside’, *kʷatsʷə-* ‘inside’, *tja-* (← *taja-*) ‘on’, *pa-* ‘in front of’, *tʃʷa-*, *tʃʷə-* ‘under’, *bɛʷə-*, *gʷa-* ‘at the side of’, *ɽʷə-* ‘at’, *qʷa-* ‘in the corner’, *ʃʷa-* ‘on the tip of’, *lə-* ‘following’, *bɛza-* ‘passing by’ and others; cf. verbal stems derived from the root *s-* ‘sit’: *da-s-* ‘sit in’, *kʷatsʷə-s-* ‘sit inside’, *tja-s-* ‘sit on’, *gʷa-s-* ‘sit at the side of’, *qʷa-s-* ‘sit in the corner of, behind’, etc. In addition, there is a general locative marker *ʃə-*, which does not specify the locative relation. The applicative prefixes occasionally combine with each other (cf. *qə-[Ø-pa-tʃʷa]-fa-ɛ* DIR-[3SG.IO-FRONT-UNDER]-fall-PST lit. ‘it fell under front of him/her’) and with various body part terms (cf. [*Ø-za-d*]-*jə-t-ħa-ɛ* [3SG.IO-mouth-IN]-3SG.ERG-lie-carry-PST ‘s/he put it into his/her mouth’), the meaning of such combinations being by no means always compositional (cf. *qə-[Ø-za-xa]-kʷata-ɛ* DIR-[3SG.IO-mouth-IN]-move-PST ‘s/he moved up to him/her’). Most non-locative applicatives originate from locative ones; cf. an example with two prefixes *da-*: [*za-də*]-[*Ø-da*]-*tʃʷə-ma* [REC.IO-COM]-[3SG.IO-IN]-go.out-COND ‘if they go out together (lit. with each other)’. Another similar applicative marker is *-rə*, which introduces an instrument ([*Ø-rə*]-*t-a-ʃʷa* [3SG.IO-rə]-1SG.ERG-DYN-do] ‘we are doing (that) with it’), but also refers to the path (e.g., [*Ø-rə*]-*čə-ɛ* [3SG.IO-TRANS]-run-PST ‘s/he ran through it’) and as such combines with other locative prefixes (cf. [*Ø-kʷatsʷə-rə*]-*bəbə-tʃʷə-ʒʷə-ɛ* [3SG.IO-INSIDE-TRANS]-fly-go.out-RE-PST ‘(the bird) flew through it’). The possessive applicative prefix *jə-* (morphophonologically different from the homonymous locative prefix), which is typical for nouns (see section 4.1.), in the verbal domain is only found with the root *ʔa-* ‘be’; cf. *s-jə-ʔ* 1SG.PR-POSS-be ‘I have (this)’.

A single verb often contains several applicatives; their maximal number depends on the speaker but only rarely exceeds two and the verbs with three and four applicatives (e.g., [*Ø-ʃʷə*]-[*Ø-də*]-[*p-fə*]-[*Ø-fa*]-*s-a-txə* [3SG.IO-MAL]-[3SG.IO-COM]-[2SG.IO-BEN]-[3SG.IO-BEN]-1SG.ERG-DYN-write ‘I write (this) to him/her instead of you together with him/her against his/her will’) are not at all common, though easily analyzed by speakers. The same applicative may occur at least twice if it refers to different relations (cf. *s-[a-fə]-[Ø-fa]-txa* 1SG.ABS-[3PL.IO-BEN]-[3SG.IO-BEN]-write ‘I write to him for them’), although sometimes this

difference is tricky and is possibly related to a lexicalized combination of an applicative with the stem ([*ɑ-də*]-[*zə-da*]-*s-a-hə* [3PL.IO-COM]-[RFL.IO-COM]-1SG.ERG-DYN-carry ‘I carry (it) with me together with them’). The order of applicatives depends on their scope, as becomes clear in causative forms; cf. the contrast between [*ɑ-də*]-[*Ø-f*]-[*Ø-ja*]-*z-ka-txə-ɛ* [3PL.IO-COM]-[3SG.IO-BEN]-[3SG.IO-DAT]-1SG.ERG-CAUS-write-PST ‘I together with them asked (caused) him/her [to write for her]’ and [*Ø-f*]-[*ɑ-d*]-[*Ø-ja*]-*z-ka-txə-ɛ* [3SG.IO-BEN]-[3PL.IO-COM]-[3SG.IO-DAT]-1SG.ERG-CAUS-write-PST ‘I asked him/her [to write together with them for her]’ (with wide and narrow scopes of the comitative applicative complex respectively) as well as the non-ambiguity of *Ø-ja-š<sup>w</sup>-a-z-ka-tə-ʃt* [3SG.IO-DAT]-[2PL.IO-DAT]-1SG.ERG-CAUS-give-FUT ‘I will make him/her give (it) to you’ (but not \*‘I will make you give it to him/her’) where the first dative complex (which introduces the causee prefix) clearly has scope over the second.

For different combinations of applicatives with stems, their degree of lexicalization is apparently different. On the one hand, there are combinations that clearly do not involve lexicalization, where applicative complexes fulfill a strictly grammatical function. Thus, for example, certain applicatives are found only in relativized forms, an example being the applicatives formed with the prefix introducing the reason: cf. *sə-[z-tʃ<sup>a</sup>]-mə-k<sup>w</sup>ɑ-ka-r* 1SG.ABS-[REL.IO-REAS]-NEG-go-PST-ABS ‘the reason why I did not go’ vs. the infelicitous \**sə-[Ø-tʃ<sup>a</sup>]-k<sup>w</sup>ɑ-ɛ-ap* 1SG.ABS-[3SG.IO-REAS]-go-PST-NEG (expected ‘I did not go because of this’). Further, with transitive stems certain applicative markers are regularly used for the non-canonical marking of agents; the cases in point include the “potential” construction, where the prefix corresponding to the potential (transitive) agent appears within a benefactive complex (cf. [*p-f*]-*jə-wətə-n-ap* [2SG.IO-BEN]-IN-pull.down-MOD-NEG ‘you will not be able to bring (him) down’) and the inadvertitive construction, where the agent prefix is introduced with a dedicated inadvertitive prefix *ʔatʃ<sup>a</sup>*- ‘unexpectedly for’ ([*s-ʔatʃ<sup>a</sup>]-wətʃ<sup>a</sup>ɑ-ɛ* [1SG.IO-INADV]-kill-PST ‘I accidentally killed her/him’; with intransitive stems the same marker adds a participant with agent-like properties [*Ø-ʔatʃ<sup>a</sup>]-k<sup>w</sup>ada-n* [3SG.IO-INADV]-perish-MOD ‘(s/he will perish because of him/her’).

On the other hand, many combinations of applicatives with stems are non-compositional; cf. *fa-g<sup>w</sup>əš<sup>w</sup>ɑ*- BEN-happy ‘to congratulate’, *ʃə-ʃəna*- LOC-be.afraid- ‘to be afraid of’. Tradition also insists on the inclusion of many forms with applicatives into the dictionaries (even where such combinations are compositional), occasionally in combination with reflexive and reciprocal markers (cf. *za-ʔ<sup>w</sup>ə-ʃajə*- REC.IO-AT-stretch- ‘to move apart’; cf. *ʔ<sup>w</sup>ə-ʃajə*- AT-stretch- ‘to move aside’). Apparently when a meaning can be conveyed both syntactically and morphologically, choosing the morphological means instead of a syntactic construction is more likely where a fixed concept is to be expressed. It is worth mentioning finally that posture roots -*s* ‘to sit’, -*t* ‘to stand’ and -*l* ‘to lie’ cannot be used without locative prefixes at all; cf. *tja-s*- ‘to sit on’, *tʃ<sup>a</sup>-t*- ‘to stand under’, *xa-l*- ‘to lie in’. There are also other bound roots such as -*ʔa* ‘to be’ and probably related -*ja* as well as -*ʃ* ‘to be a part’, which are not used without prefixes either, but take only a limited range of highly grammaticalized applicatives; cf. *ʃə-ʔa*- LOC-be- ‘to be in, exist’, *jə-ʔa*- POSS-be ‘to be at’ (the verb of predicate possession), *fa-ja* BEN-*ja*- ‘to want, must’, *jə-ja*- POSS-*ja*- ‘to belong’, *ʃə-ʃ*- LOC-be.part ‘to be a part of’.

#### 4.3.2. Causative derivation

The causative marker *ka*- is the only prefix that follows the pre-stem markers. It is very productive, albeit more research is needed to establish whether the real use of causatives depends on the lexicon. The absolute argument is not affected by causativization rules irrespectively of the transitivity of the causativized stem. The causer is normally cross-referenced with the ergative prefix (unless it is not “demoted” in a potential or an inadvertitive construction or removed in certain other forms like resultative and masdar), and the agent of a causativized transitive stem is expressed as a dative object; cf. *tə-b-ka-g<sup>w</sup>əš<sup>w</sup>ɑ-ɛ* 1PL.ABS-2SG.ERG-CAUS-

happy-PST ‘you made us happy’ derived from an intransitive stem and *ja-b-ka-š’a-ɤ* 3PL.IO+DAT-2SG.ERG-CAUS-know-PST ‘you made them know (this)’ derived from a transitive stem. Note that causatives may also be derived from nouns and even nominal complexes; cf. *wə-z-ka-tʃ’a-ka-ts’ək’wə-ʔwəʃə-ʃt* 2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-boy-small-clever-FUT ‘I will make you a clever boy’.

As has been mentioned by Kumakhov (1964: 151), Smeets (1984: 273) and Paris (1989: 182), among others, Circassian languages allow double causatives; cf. *r-α-r-jə-ka-ka-wəts’wα-ɤ* IN-3PL.IO-DAT-3SG.ERG-CAUS-CAUS-stand.up-PST ‘he made him put it, lit. cause it to stand, there’. Interestingly, where the appearance of an “unexpected” indirect object makes it possible to identify double causation, one of the causative markers can often be omitted; cf. *qə-s-jə-ka-(ka-)tʃ’a:nə-ɤ* DIR-1SG.IO-3SG.ERG-CAUS-(CAUS-)sharp-PST ‘s/he made me sharpen (it)’ (see Lander and Letuchiy 2010 for discussion).

#### 4.3.3. Stem

The stem contains a root, or several roots, and optionally a range of suffixes.

A few roots display a meaningful vowel alternation /ə/~/a/, which occurs in the last syllable and has one of two functions: (i) either the roots with /ə/ are transitive, while the corresponding roots with /a/ are intransitive, as in *txə-* (transitive) vs. *txa-* (intransitive) ‘to write’, *ʔab’ə-* ‘see’ vs. *ʔab’a-* ‘to be seen’, or (ii) the roots with /ə/ have elative semantics (‘from’), while the corresponding roots with /a/ have illative semantics (‘to’), as in *da-ʃə-* ‘to take out’ vs. *da-ʃa-* ‘to take into’. The range of the roots allowing this alternation appears to be determined by the lexicon. This alternation can also be described as a kind of suffixation by a single vowel, which is not typical for Adyghe, however.

Some roots are etymologically complex; cf. *t’ə.s-* ‘to sit down’ and *s-* ‘to sit’. Many synchronically simple roots contain the former “verbalizing” prefix *wə-* (cf. *wəʔkəjə-* ‘to make small’ and *ʔkəj* ‘small’, *wəʔgabə-* ‘to become damp’ and *ʔgabə* ‘damp’), which is not active, though. In rare cases one can observe reanalysis leading to the formation of roots in progress. For example, Gishev (1983: 109) cites two possible causative verbs derived from the verb ‘to walk about’ (originally *z-ja-k’wα-* RFL.IO-DAT-go) - *z-ja-ka-k’wα* and *ka-z.ja.k’wα* ‘make him/her walk about’ (imperative); clearly, in the last verb, the combination of the former root ‘go’ with the historically applicative complex no longer behaves as a complex formation, as the former applicative appears after the causative, within the stem.

The suffixes closest to the root include the directional markers *-ja* ‘up’ (which obligatorily combines with the locative applicative *da-*; cf. *da-ʔaba-ja-ɤ* IN-stretch.hand-UP-PST ‘s/he raised the hand’) and *-ʔ’a* ‘towards’ (*r-jə-wəbətə-ʔ’a-ɤ* DAT-3SG.ERG-catch-TOWARDS-PST ‘s/he caught (this) near it, pressed (this) to it’). Formally, these suffixes belong to the same class as the roots participating in asymmetrical verbal compounds (see section 3.2.).

There are also numerous suffixes that convey meanings mostly related to tense, aspect and modality. By far the most frequent of them, albeit the most prone to lexicalization, is the suffix *-ʒ’ə*, whose basic semantics is reversive (‘back’; cf. *q-jə-ħa-ʒ’ə-ɤ* DIR-IN-go.out-RE-PST ‘s/he went out back home’) and refractive (‘again’; cf. *j-a-t’ə-ʒ’ə* 3SG.ERG-DYN-dig-RE ‘s/he digs it again’), but which also serves various other functions including “medial” ones, for example it is regularly (yet not obligatorily) used in reflexive and reciprocal forms (*z-α-wəʔəfə-ʒ’ə-ɤ* RFL.ABS-3PL.ERG-hide-RE-PST ‘they hid themselves’). Other important suffixes include *-š’wə* ‘to be able to’ (*jə-s-ʔ-ħa-ʒ’ə-š’wə-ʃt* IN-1SG.ERG-lie-carry-RE-ABLE-FUT ‘I will be able to put it back’), debitive *-pχa* ‘ought to’ (*α-š’ə-pχa-ʒ’ə-ɤ* 3PL.ERG-do-DEB-RE-PST ‘they again should have done that’), *-pa* ‘definitely’ (*k’wα-ka-pa* go-PST-DEFINITELY ‘s/he definitely went away’), immediate past *-tʃ’a* ‘a while ago’ (*sə-jə-ka-tʃ’a* 1SG.ERG-oil-PST-IMMEDIATE.PST ‘I have just oiled (that)’), the suffix clearly corresponds to *tʃ’a* ‘new’, and *-xa* ‘already’ (*wə-qa-k’wα-ka-x* 2SG.ABS-DIR-go-PST-ALREADY ‘you have already come’; *ja-s-ʔ’wα-xa-ʃt* DAT-1SG.ERG-say-ALREADY-FUT ‘I will first, lit. already, tell him (that)’), which

also fulfills a number of other discourse-related functions. The degree markers *-psə* and *-ʔʷa* ‘quite’, *-ʃa* ‘too’ discussed in section 4.2. for adjectives regularly appear in the verbal stems as well; cf. *w-a-gʷəṣʷa-psə* 2SG.ABS-DYN-be.glad-QUITE ‘you are quite happy’, *ṣʷ-a-ʃənaɪ-ʔʷa* 2PL.ABS-DYN-be.afraid-QUITE ‘you are quite frightened’, *w-a-gʷəṣʷa-ʃa* 2SG.ABS-DYN-be.glad-EXC ‘you are too happy’. The suffix *-ṣʷa* ‘to seem’ can also be used with verbs, even after tense marking; cf. *ʃə-ʃəna-ka-ṣʷa-ʃtə-ka* LOC-be.afraid-PST-SEEM-AUX-PST ‘it seemed that s/he had been frightened by it’.

There are a few markers whose appearance is normally accompanied by the absence of the prefixes cross-referencing the ergative argument (with transitive verbs) and the absolutive (with intransitive verbs, but note that the 3<sup>rd</sup> person absolutive is not cross-referenced in other forms as well). These include, first of all, the markers *-ɓʷaṣʷə* ‘easy’ and *-ɓʷaʃa* ‘difficult’ (both diachronically bimorphemic and include the common part *-ɓʷa* on the one hand and *ṣʷə* ‘good’ and *-ja* ‘evil, bad’ on the other hand); cf. *ka-ʃəna-ɓʷaṣʷa* CAUS-frighten-EASY ‘it is easy to frighten him/her’, *qa-wəbətə-ɓʷaʃa* DIR-catch-DIFFICULT ‘it is difficult to catch (it)’. Nonetheless the relevant argument cross-reference markers still can appear either directly (*s-ṭaɓʷə-ɓʷaʃ* 1SG.ERG-see-DIFFICULT ‘it is difficult for me to see (it)’) or as experiencer malefactive objects (*s-ṣʷa-ṣʷa-ɓʷaṣʷə* 1SG.IO-MAL-plough-EASY ‘it is easy for me to plough’).

Most suffixes denoting tense proper (*-ka* PST, *-ʃt* FUT, *-n* MOD) belong to the same formal class as the above-mentioned suffixes, and the past suffix *-ka*, in fact, even regularly derives “resultative” forms (referring to a state resulting from an action denoted by the base), which can be lexicalized. Tense suffixes can combine with each other (*tja-s-ṭ-ḥa-nə-ka* ON-1SG.ERG-lie-carry-MOD-PST ‘I would put (this) on (this)’, *tər-a-ṭ-ḥa-ka-ʃt* ON-3PL.ERG-lie-carry-PST-FUT ‘it is likely that they put (this) on (that)’), sometimes allow recursion (*ʃɣa-ka-ka-ka* eat-PST-ALREADY-PST ‘s/he had already dined’) and precede suffixes that are usually considered derivational (*sə-ʃə-ɓʷəpʃa-ka-ṣʷa* 1SG.ABS-LOC-forget-PST-SEEM ‘s/he seemingly has forgotten me’, *ja-ṣʷa-ka-j* DAT-drink-PST-VERY ‘s/he is very drunk’). Further, the appearance of tense markers on nouns makes it possible for the latter to combine with adverbs. Yet such formations continue to combine also with adjectives and relative clauses and hence retain nominal properties as well:

- (7) *qa-t-a-ṭṣʷa-ṭṣʷa-zapətə-ʃtə-ka* *jəṭasə-ba-ra* *natʃaɪlɪnjəkə-ka-r*  
 DIR-1PL.IO-DAT-scold-constantly-AUX-PST year-many-ADVERBIAL boss-PST-ABS  
 ‘my former long-time boss who constantly scolded us’

The order of suffixes is generally compositional: the suffixes with wider semantic scope follow the suffixes with narrower scope. This implies possible meaningful variation in their order (cf. *gʷəṣʷa-ṣʷa-ṣʷa-ʃə-ɓʷ* be.glad-SEEM-RE-PST ‘s/he pretended again that s/he was happy’ vs. *gʷəṣʷa-ʃə-ṣʷa-ɓʷ* be.glad-RE-SEEM-PST ‘s/he pretended that s/he was happy again’), see Korotkova and Lander 2010 for details. Importantly, however, speakers may vary in their judgments of some apparently meaningful suffixal combinations as felicitous.

#### 4.4. Adverbial derivation

Adverbial expressions are usually derived with the ending *-aw*, which appears on stems that are considered verbal (*ə-ʃ-aw* 3SG.ERG-lead-ADV ‘while leading (him/her)’), nominal and adjectival (*wənaʔʷət-aw* servant-ADV ‘as a servant’, *tʃəʒi-aw* close-ADV ‘closely’), and occasionally even on postpositions (*paɪj-aw* for-ADV ‘being for’). This model is extremely productive and is not likely to derive words that permanently enter the lexicon, although a few combinations of verbs and adjectives with *-aw* are lexicalized (cf. *bɣatʃi-aw* ‘superfluously’ ← *bɣa-tʃi-ə* BY-go.out- ‘pass’).

In addition, there are a small number of suffixes that derive adverbs from nominals. The

suffix *-ra* derives adverbs with time reference: *zarwəḡa-ra* several-*ra* ‘several times’, *maḡa-ra* day-*ra* ‘in the day-time’, *ṭṭə-ra* winter-*ra* ‘in winter’, *ba-ra* many-*ra* ‘for a long time, frequently’. The following example demonstrates that the adverbial *-ra* can even attach to nominal complexes rather than simple words:

- (8) *səḥaṭ-zarwəḡa-ra bzadḡaṣ'a-xa-m a-da-gʷəḡəḡa-ka-x*  
 hour-several-*ra* offender-PL-OBL 3PL.IO-COM-talk-PST-PL  
 ‘They talked with the offenders for several hours.’

Another relevant morpheme is *-ḥa*, which is related to the verb ‘to carry’ and forms denominal adverbs characterizing the motion predicate with respect to its purpose:

- (9) *mazə-m pχa-ḥa tə-kʷa-n faj-aw qə-t-jə-ṭʷa-ḥ*  
 forest-OBL wood-*ḥa* 1PL.ABS-go-MSD must-ADV DIR-1PL.IO-3SG.ERG-say-PST  
 ‘She told us we should go to the forest for wood.’

## 5. Conversion

As noted above, the distinction between nouns and verbs in Adyghe is weak: verbs easily head nominal phrases, thus representing a kind of free relative, and nouns may function as predicates (Lander and Testeleis 2006). Cf. the contrast between (10) and (11). Adjectives do not differ from nouns (and verbs) in this respect (12).

- (10) *ḥaṭṭə-a-r qa-kʷa-ḥ*  
 guest-ABS DIR-go-PST  
 ‘The guest came.’

- (11) *qa-kʷa-ḥa-r ḥaṭṭə-a*  
 DIR-go-PST-ABS guest  
 ‘The one who came is a guest.’

- (12) *daχa-m naḥjə daχʷə-r naḥə-ṣʷ*  
 beautiful-OBL than good-ABS more-good  
 ‘The good one is more useful than the beautiful one.’

Nouns and adjectives, further, can take morphology that is usually considered verbal (e.g., tense markers; see section 4.3.3.) and even serve as bases for masdars:

- (13) *naṣəpə.ṣʷa-nə-m paɟa tsəḡə-m səd-a a-naḥ-aw jə-ḡəṭṭə-aχa-r?*  
 fortunate-MSD-OBL for person-OBL what-Q 3PL-more-ADV POSS-need-ABS  
 ‘What does the human need above all in order to be happy?’

The semantic regularity, the predictability of the form and the omnitude of this polyfunctionality prevents it from being considered conversion understood as a means of creating new lexemes. However, we also find in addition occasional examples of verb-noun conversion proper where the derived nominal refers to the process or the result of the situation denoted by the stem; cf. *psaṭa-* ‘to speak; speech, word’, *gʷəḡəḡa-* ‘to think; thought’, *gʷəḡəḡa-* ‘to be angry; anger’.

Certain verbs which do not include overt person markers (mostly resultative verbs, but also, for some speakers, stative verbs unmarked for tense) may appear in the nominal complex in the position reserved for adjectives; cf. *pšaṣa-[ḡə-mə-sə]-r* girl-[LOC-NEG-sit]-ABS ‘the girl who cannot keep still’. Theoretically this can be represented as an instance of verb-adjective conversion.

## 6. Backformation

Backformation is attested in the Adyghe word *sjəmpararət* ‘creamer’ (with the absolutive form *sjəmpararətə-r* and the oblique form *sjəmpararətə-m*), which is clearly the result of borrowing of the Russian *s’əpparatər*. The final *-r* was apparently reanalyzed as a case marker and, hence, was dropped in making other forms.

## 7. Reduplication

Reduplication is found in different word classes, but in many cases it is hard to delimitate it from compounding, since simple reduplication is not widespread. Typically, reduplication patterns in Adyghe are not regular: it is important to know whether the base has a reduplicated correlate or not. Unmotivated reduplication (such as ideophones) is not considered here.

With nominals and adverbials, simple full reduplication is rare and non-productive (*ɬʷər* ‘a kind of wooden ball’ → *ɬʷər-ɬʷər* ‘the game using *ɬʷər*’), although there are multiple examples of unmotivated simple full reduplication (cf. *psəpsə* ‘gauze’). More widespread is echo reduplication, whereby in polysyllabic bases the first syllables are changed in the reduplicants and in monosyllabic bases a similar segment is added. Among the echo reduplication models, the one operating with the syllable *ʒʷə-/ʒʷa-* and conveying the sense ‘and the like’ is the most productive; cf. *ʔa:ftwabwəs-ʒʷa:ftwabwəs* ‘bus and the like’ ← *ʔa:ftwabwəs* ‘bus’, *ʃamsat-ʒʷa:msat* ‘Shamset and people like her’ ← Shamset (proper name), *tsə-ʒʷatsə* ‘wool and the like’ ← *tsə* ‘wool’. Other models of echo reduplication are also found: cf. *ʔaʃʷə-ʔʷəʃʷə* ‘sweets’ ← *ʔaʃʷə* ‘sweet’, *ħa:qʷə-ʃəqʷə* ‘tableware’ ← *ʃəqʷə* with the same meaning, *qabza-ʔabza-* ‘very clean’ ← *qabza-* ‘clean’. Discontinuous reduplication is observed both with nouns and with adjectives: *ʔə-ʒʷa-ʔə* ‘meat and the like’ ← *ʔə* ‘meat’, *tʃʷa-rə-tʃʷa* ‘very new’ ← *tʃʷa* ‘new’. With nouns such reduplication usually denotes the plurality of kinds and with adjectives it conveys the semantics of intensity.

More frequently, the reduplication of nominal and adjectival stems is found in expressions marked with the adverbial suffix *-aw*; cf. the distributive *tʃʷəpʷa-tʃʷəpʷa-aw* ‘here and there; in some places’ ← *tʃʷəpʷa-* ‘place’ and the intensive *ʃaf-ʃaf-aw* ‘in secret’ ← *ʃaf* ‘secret’, *ʃaf-aw* ‘in secret’.

Motivated verbal reduplication is not easily differentiated from compounding (see section 3.2.). It is mostly discontinuous (including additional interfixes, *-ra-*, *-na-* and possibly others) and occasionally leads to vowel changes; cf. *ʒa-ra-ʒa-* ‘be irritated’ ← *ʒa-* ‘to fry/roast’, *ɬə-na-ɬə* ‘whimper’ ← *ɬə-* ‘to weep’. Verbal echo reduplication involves the segment *ħa:*; cf. *wə-qə-s-a-ħa:ɬʷə-ʃʷəɬʷə-ɬ* 2SG.ABS-DIR-1SG.IO-DAT-envy-PST ‘you envied me’ (this example also demonstrates that in such verbs the reduplicator immediately precedes the verbal stem and follows other prefixal morphological zones).

## 8. Blending, clipping, and word-creation

Neither blending nor clipping are actively used, although the blending of Russian stems is observed in compounds such as the reported curse *bolʃe-bət* (← Russian *bolʃevik* ‘Bolshevik’ and *bət* ‘seat, bottom’ belonging to the child language). Non-borrowed acronyms can be met in written texts, especially official ones. New words are primarily created by compounding and affixation and can employ Russian stems (cf. the curse *ħa:sabak* made of the Adyghe and Russian roots with the meaning ‘dog’).

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## Abbreviations

ABS absolutive cross-reference	ERG ergative cross-reference	PL plural
ABSTR abstract noun	EXC excessive	PP postpositional object cross-reference
ADD additive	FUT future	PR possessive cross-reference
ADJ adjectivization	INADV inadvertitive	PST past
ADV adverbial	IO indirect object cross-reference	Q question
AUX auxiliary stem	LOC locative	RE reversive/refactive
BEN benefactive	MAL malefactive	REAS reason prefix
CAUS causative	MNR manner prefix	REC reciprocal
COM comitative	MOD modal future	REL relative
CONV converb	MSD masdar	RFL reflexive
DAT dative prefix	NEG negation	SG singular
DEB debitive	OBL oblique case	TMP temporal 'when'
DYN dynamic marker	POSS possessive derivation	TRANS translative

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