

INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND CLAUSE COMBINING IN ADYGHE

1. Project

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Place: Hakurinohabl (Shovgenovskoe)
Dialect: Abadzeh/Standard Adyghe

2. Adyghe: data

2.1. General

- Polysynthesis:

(1) sə-qə-t-de-p-fə-ø-r-a-ɤa-ʒe-š'tə-ɤ
1SG.SO-INV-1PL.IO-ASS-2SG.IO-BEN-3SG.IO-OBL-3PL.A-CAUS-read-FUT-PAST
'they caused me to read (it) for you together with us' (example by Yu. Lander)

- Predicate structure: PREFIXES – STEM – SUFFIXES

PREFIXES:

- absolutive prefix (zero/absent in the third person);
- “inverse” prefix *qə-/qe-*;
- derivation complexes: person/number + derivation marker (benefactive, malefactive, associative, instrumental, numerous locative markers, etc.);
- indirect object prefix;
- actor (transitive subject) prefix.

(2) s-jə-ɤ_wəneɤ_wə-m ze-wəç'ə-ž'ə-ɤ
1SG.PR-POSS-neighbour-ERG RFL-kill-REV-PAST
'My neighbour committed a suicide' (= 'killed himself') (example by A. Letuchij).

STEM: lexical root and word-formation suffixes; the causative prefix *ɤe-*, the negative prefix *me-*; the optative prefix *-re*; the “dynamic” prefixes *me-/ma-* and *e-*

SUFFIXES: TAM-markers; the third person plural suffix *xe-*; and “participial” suffix *-re*; “finite” negation *-ep*; case-markers.

- Case marking
 - the absolutive marker *-r* (intransitive subject and transitive direct object);
 - the ergative marker *-m* (almost all other verb arguments including those introduced by derivation);
 - the “instrumental” marker *-č'e* (also *-m-č'e*);
 - the “adverbial marker” *-ew* (different kinds of adjuncts).

- Caseless forms:

(3) s-jə-λ thamate-šx_w
1SG.PR-POSS-husband boss-big
My husband is a big boss. (example by E. Kalinina)

Personal names, personal pronouns and possessive nouns normally do not take absolutive and ergative markers:

- (4) š'amset hazret q-ə-ʔ_weta-ɛ
 Shchamset Hazret INV-3SG.A-tell-PAST
 Shchamset told (something) about Hazret (Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 63).

- most grammatical morphemes in Adyghe are universal: they can be attached to words of different lexical classes. In particular, all lexical roots can be modified with TMA-suffixes, person prefixes, case markers, etc.

- (5) mə bzəɫfəɣə-r se s-jə-š_wəzə-ɛ
 this woman-ABS I 1SG.PR-POSS-wife-PAST
 This woman was my wife. (example by E. Kalinina)

- (6) səd-a wə-z-č'ə-k_wəwe-re-r ? wə-nač'al'njək-a?
 what-Q 2SG.SO-REL-REAS-cry-PRT-ABS 2SG.SO-boss-Q
 Why are you crying (at me)? Are you a boss? (example by E. Kalinina)

Lexical roots of personal and demonstrative pronouns as predicates:

- (7) a. se sə-we.r-ep // se sə-we.rə-ɣe-p
 I 1SG.SO-you-NEG I 1SG.SO-you-PAST-NEG
 I am not you. I was not you.
- b. se qə-we-s-ʔ_wa-ɛ we sə-ze-re-we.r-mə-re-r
 I INV-2SG.IO-1SG.A-tell-PAST you 1SG.SO-REL-FACT-you-?-NEG-PAST-PART-ABS
 I told you that I am not you. (example by D. Gerasimov)

- the verb ~ noun opposition is very weak. The clearest difference between verbs and nouns:
 - nouns, when used without a case marker, can function both as predicates and arguments;
 - verbs, when used without a case marker, can function as predicates only.

- (8) hač'ə qə-ɣ_we-š't
 guest INV-go-FUT
 A guest will come. // *The person who will come is a guest.

- opposition of stative vs. dynamic predicates (for more details cf. Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 104):

Dynamic predicates:

- intransitive dynamic predicates attach the “dynamic” prefix *me-* or *e-*, if their absolutive argument is third person;
- in present, attach the “participle” suffix *-re* (in certain syntactic positions);
- have imperative and optative forms; (...)

Stative predicates:

- do not attach “dynamic” prefixes;
- do not attach the participle suffix;
- have no imperative and optative forms;
- have no future with the suffix *-š't*;
-

- Pronominal Argument hypothesis (Jelinek, Demers 1994; Baker 1995, etc.):
the person/number morphemes within the polysynthetic word are not formal agreement markers, but full-fledged verbal arguments. The status of full NPs is close to that of adjuncts.
- Special status of the absolutive in Adyghe:
the only obligatory argument of any predicate; zero marking in the third person; facultative plural marking with the suffix *-xe*.

2.2. Clause combining in Adyghe: basic strategies

2.1.1. Argument clauses

“Normally both matrix and embedded predicates assign case to their arguments as they would in independent clauses, agreement pattern matching that of case assignment” (Gerasimov 2004).

(1) Case markers (absolutive/ergative)

- (9) aw beletk_wepš’ə-m žawəš’t-ew ze-r-jə-wəməsə-ka-ke-r
but Boletkopsh-ERG so-ADV REL-FACT-3SG.A-accuse-PAST-PAST-ABS
ženč’ete q_wəjəneš_wə qə-te-nesə-ž’ə-κ
Jenchet Qujnesh INV-1PL.IO-reach-REV-PAST
‘... but the fact that Boletkopsh was insulting Jenchet Qujnesh like that reached us...’

- (10) čemə-r qə-s-jə-tə-nə-m qə-tjena-κ
cow-ABS INV-1SG.IO-3SG.A-give-POT-ERG INV-let-PAST
He agreed to give me the cow. (example by D. Gerasimov)

(2) “Instrumental” forms

- (11) se sə-we-λe?_wə qaλem qə-se-p-tə-n-č’e
I 1SG.SO-2SG.IO-ask pencil INV-1SG.IO-2SG.A-give-POT-INSTR
I ask you to give me a pencil. (example by A. Belyaeva)

(3) Postposition governing an ergative phrase

- (12) ə-q_we qə-ze-re-κ_we-ž’ə-ke-m paje, jane me-g_wəš_we
3SG.PR-son INV-REL-FACT-go-REV-PAST-ERG for mother DYN-glad
Mother is glad that her son is back home.

(4) N-forms (“infinitive”)

- (13) se se-čəje-n faje
I 1SG.SO-sleep-POT must
I must sleep. (example by D. Gerasimov)

(5) Adverbial marker *-(n)-ew*

- (14) $\chi_w\text{əsen}$ $\xi\text{ex-ew}$ $g_w\text{əš'ə?ew}$ $q\text{ə-čə}\chi\text{-ew}$ $\chi_w\text{ə-}\text{æ}$
 Husejn hurry-ADV speak-ADV INV-run-ADV become-PAST
 Husejn started speaking and running around fast. (Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 176)

- (15) a. $\chi\text{arjəet}$ $as\lambda\text{an}$ $f\text{ə-tjewe-n-ew}$ $f\text{aj}$
 Hariet Aslan BEN-phone-POT-ADV want
 Hariet wants to phone Aslan. (example by A. Belyaeva)
- b. $\chi\text{arjəet}$ $as\lambda\text{an}$ $je-\lambda e'w\text{ə-}\text{æ}$ $a-\text{š'}$ $q\text{ə-zə-fə-tjewe-n-ew}$
 Hariet Aslan 3SG.IO-ask-PAST that-ERG INV-REL-BEN-phone-POT-ADV
 Hariet asked Aslan to phone her. (example by A. Belyaeva)

(6) Conditional and concessive markers (*-me* and *-mjə*¹)

- (16) $\lambda\text{əzə-r}$ $\check{\text{c}}'\text{ale-m}$ $je-w\text{əp}\check{\text{c}}\text{ə-}\text{æ}$ $me-\check{\text{c}}\text{əje-me}$ $p\text{šaše-r}$
 old.man-ABS boy-ERG 3SG.IO-ask-PAST DYN-sleep-COND girl-ABS
 The old man asked the boy whether the girl was sleeping. (example by D. Gerasimov)

- (17) $\check{\text{c}}'\text{ale-m}$ $je-\xi e\text{-re-p}$ $p\text{šaše-r}$ $me-\check{\text{c}}\text{əje-mjə}$
 boy-ERG 3SG.A-know-PRT-NEG girl-ABS DYN-sleep-CONC
 The boy doesn't know whether the girl is sleeping. (example by D. Gerasimov)

2.1.2. Adjunct clauses

(1) Case forms (ergative): time, condition

- (18) $jakow$ $q\text{ə-z-š'ə-g}_w\text{əš'ə?ə-}\text{æa-}\text{æe-m}$, se $s\text{ə-qe-}\text{κ}_w\text{a-}\text{æ}$
 Jakov INV-REL-LOC-speak-PAST-PAST-ERG I 1SG.SO-INV-come-PAST
 I came when Jakov was speaking.

- (19) $z\text{ə-š'ə-}\lambda e\text{-š'tə-m}$ $jane$ $q\text{ə-r-jə-?}_w\text{e-}\check{\text{Z}}'\text{ə-}\text{æ}$
 REL-LOC-die-FUT-ERG mother INV-OBL-3SG.A-tell-REV-PAST
 $j\text{ə-hade}$ $tje\chi_w\text{e}$ $daxe$ $f\text{-a-}\xi\text{ə-n-ew}$
 POSS-body beautiful cover BEN-3PL.A-make-POT-ADV
 When she was about to die, she asked her mother for a beautiful cover for her body to be made. (Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 420)

¹ -mjə < -me + -jə 'and'.

(2) Instrumental forms: condition, cause, concessive

(20) ar qə-zə-k_we-č'e, se sə-k_we-ž'ə-s't
that INV-REL-go-INSTR I 1SG-go-REV-FUT
If he comes, I will go away. (example by L. Petrakova)

(21) mwərat je-mə-ž'e-č'-jə, jane a-s' ə-š je-çaçe
Murat OBL-NEG-study-INSTR-COH mother that-ERG 3SG.PR-brother 3SG.IO-reproach
Though Murat is lazy, mother reproaches his brother.

(3) Postposition governing an ergative phrase (*paje* 'for': cause, purpose)

(22) a-r jənstjət_wətə-m č'eha-ɤ
that-ABS institute-ERG catch.up-PAST
bere ze-r-jə-ž'e-š'ta-ke-m paje
long REL-FACT-OBL-read-FUT-PAST-ERG for
He managed to enrol an institute, because he had studied a lot. (example by A. Belyaeva)

(4) N-forms: "bare" n-forms seem to be impossible in adjunct clauses.

(5) Adverbial marker -ew: temporal or modal; -n-ew: purpose

(23) jeməzəš'ək_we-r ... ə-š'e-n ə-mə-š-ew ɬaxjəre q-je-pλə
Emyzshchyko-ABS 3SG.A-do-POT 3SG.A-NEG-know-ADV Tahir INV-OBL-look
Emyzshchyko looks at Tahir ... not knowing what to do. (Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 423)

(24) haž'e-m-re ə-q_we-re žaləməke qə-ze-re-r-ə-xə-ke-r
khaji-ERG-and 3SG.PR-son-and cruelly INV-REL-FACT-OBL-3SG.A-treat-PAST-ABS
r-jə-ʔ_we-n-ew jəshaq dež' jə-ha-ɤ
OBL-3SG.A-tell-POT-ADV Ishak to LOC-come-PAST
He came to Ishak to tell him how cruelly khaji and his son treated him. (Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 428)

(6) Converbial markers

-jə: sequence of two immediately following actions

(25) amjənet rweze-xe-r ə-λek_w-jə qe-š'xəpçə-ɤ
Aminet rose-PL-ABS 3SG.A-see-COH INV-smile-PAST
Aminet saw the roses and smiled.

-(jə)-š: cause

(26) χ arjæt səmaʒe-š wəne-m jə-s
 Hariet be.ill-CONV1 house-ERG LOC-sit
 Hariet is at home because she is ill. (example by A. Belyaeva)

(27) ajdamər jə-mə-je šə-m tjəʃəsh-jə-š psənçʻ-ew ʔ_wəχ_wəš_wətə-žʻə-ɸ
 Ajdamer LOC-NEG-be horse-ERG mount-COH-CONV1 quick-ADV ride.away-REV-PAST
 Ajdamyr mounted somebody's horse and rode away fast.

-t-jə: sequence of actions or cause

(28) jəvan apere šʻə-r ə-wəʔ_wəpšʻə-ɸə-t-jə psənžə-m x-jə-ɸe-fa-ɸ
 Ivan first arrow 3SG.A-let.out-PAST-CONV2 mud-ERG LOC-3SG.A-CAUS-get-PAST
 Ivan shot the first arrow and it got into the marsh.

(29) aslan qe-ɸ_wa-ɸ, χarjæt qə-r-jə-ɸe-bleɸa-ɸe-tjə
 Aslan INV-go-PAST Hariet INV-OBL-3SG.A-CAUS-close-PAST-CONV2
 Aslan came because Hariet had invited him. (example by A. Belyaeva)

-fə and -ze: simultaneity

(30) švete wəpšʻerəha-fə, šxənə-r ʔaš_wə-ɸe
 Sveta cook-SIMUL food-ABS tasty-PAST
 When Sveta was cooking, the food was good.

(31) mašjəne ə-mə-ɸ_wet-ze məfə nəq_wer ɸ_wa-ɸe
 car 3SG.A-NEG-find-SIMUL day half go-PAST
 The car was not found for half a day. ('Half a day passed while the car was not found')
 (Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 423)

(6) Conditional and concessive markers (-me and -mjə)

(32) welosjəped qə-s-a-tə-me, sə-nasəpəš_we-šʻt
 bicycle INV-1SG.SO-3PL.A-give-COND 1SG.SO-happy.person-FUT
 If I will be presented a bicycle, I will be happy.

(33) marat tjeɸ_wa²-ɸe-mjə,
 Marat win-PAST-CONC
 se sə-g_w r-jə-hə-r-ep a-r ze-r-je-š_a-ɸe-r
 I 1SG.PR-heart OBL-3SG.A-carry-PRT-NEG that-ABS REL-MOOD-3SG.A-do-PAST-ABS

² tjeɸ_wa- = tje- + ɸ_wa- 'LOC + go'. Here and below I simply gloss it as 'win'.

Though Marat won I did not like the way he was playing.

2.1.3. Relative clauses

Adyghe has two basic types of relative constructions (Lander 2004a): an external-head construction and an internal head construction.

In an external-head construction, the relative clause stands left to its head noun, which bears the case markers. The main predicate of the relative clause has no case markers or any markers of a dependent predication. In the present tense, the dynamic verbs are marked with the “participle” suffix *-re-*.

In an internal-head construction, the head NP takes the adverbial marker *-ew*. The case of the whole construction is expressed on the main predicate of the relative clause. The *ew*-noun cannot be separated from the relative clause, but it has certain freedom to take different positions within the relative construction.

2.1.4. Generalizations

(34) Dependent clause predicates: (...) – [Tense/Mood] – (...) – [-re-] – [Case/Converb marker]

Table 1. Clause types in Adyghe

STRUCTURE				FUNCTIONS			
	Tense/Mood marker	-re-/zero	Case/Converb marker	Independent clause (declarative/interrogative)	Relative clause	Argument clause	Adjunct clause
1.	- <i>ke-</i> , - <i>š't</i> - ³			+	+	-	-
	- <i>n-</i>			+	+	+	-
	(zero) ⁴			+	-	+	-
2.		- <i>re</i> - ⁵		- (declarative) + (interrogative)	+	-	-
3.	- <i>ke-</i> / <i>-š't</i> -/ <i>-n-</i>		- <i>r</i> , - <i>m</i> , -(<i>m</i>)- <i>ξ'e</i>	-	-	+	+
		- <i>re-</i>					
4.	Past/Future/ <i>-n-</i> / <i>zero</i>		- <i>ew</i> , - <i>me</i> , - <i>m-jə</i>	-	-	+	+
	Past/Future/ <i>-n-</i> / <i>zero</i>		- <i>t-jə</i>	-	-	-	+
	Past/Future/ <i>-n-</i>		- <i>š</i>	-	-	-	+
			- <i>jə</i>	-	-	-	+

³ Past: *-ke-*, Future and Conditional: *-š't-*. Different combinations of these morphemes are also possible.

⁴ The present tense has no special marking. Other cells without no overt morphemes are left empty.

⁵ *-re-* appears in dynamic predicates only, the corresponding forms of the stative predicates have this slot empty.

Table 1a. Clause types in Adyghe (Classes 1 and 2)

		Tense/Mood marker	-re-/zero	Case/Converb marker	Independent clause (declarative/interrogative)	Relative clause
1.	“Finite”	-ɰe-, -š't-			+	-
		-n-				
2.	“Backgrounded”	-ɰe-, -š't-			- (declarative) + (interrogative)	+
		-n-				
			-re-			

• Constituent types:

1. “Main” predicates: no special marking, no “participle” marker *-re-*. Projected by all open class roots.
2. “Backgrounded” predicates: no case and/or converb markers, the suffix *-re-* in the present tense. Re-forms are possible on their own: in internal head relative clauses, negative predicates, some question types, etc. Projected by all open class roots.
3. “Referential” phrases marked by case affixes including the instrumental *-ç'e* (Class 3 in Table 1). Projected by all open class roots.
4. “Secondary” (dependent) predicates marked by the adverbial marker *-ew* and other markers of dependent predications. Projected by all open class roots.
- (5. “Unmarked absolutes/ergatives” (“weak referential” phrases). Projected by lexical nouns.)

• Referential phrases

By default, any referential phrase refers to its absolutive argument:

- qə-k_wa-ɰe-r – the person who came
 š_we-s-ʔ_we-š'tə-r – something that I will tell you
 š'ə-tə-r – the person who is standing
 š'ə-tə-ɰe-r – the person who was standing

- (35) čəje-xe-re-r qe-wəš'ə-ž'ə-n-x-ew š'ə-tə-ɰe-x
 sleep-PL-PRT-ABS INV-wake.up-REV-FUT-PL-ADV LOC-stand-PAST-PL
 The people who were sleeping were to wake up soon. (Lander 2005a)

To form a phrase with a non-absolutive referent, the prefix *-zə* is used:

- (36) Relative clause
 çəf-ew [a-š' ə-šəp_w txələ-e-r qə-fə-zə-hə-ɰe-r] s-jə-ʔahəl
 man-ADV that-ERG 3SG-sister book-ABS INV-BEN-REL-give-PAST-ABS 1SG.PR-POSS-relation
 The person_j who presented a book to his_{j,k} sister is a relation of mine.

(37) Constituent question

a. xet-a z-jə-txəλ zə-šəpχ_w je-zə-tə-ke-r ?
 who-Q REL-POSS-book REL-sister 3SG.IO-REL-give-PAST-ABS
 Who_j presented his_j book to his_j sister?

b. səd-a š-əm ə-šəpχ_w r-jə-tə-ke-r ?
 what-Q brother-ERG 3SG.PR-sister OBL-3SG.A-give-PAST-ABS
 What did the brother_j present to his_{j, k} sister?

(38) səd-a sə-z-č'e-b-kaρce-re-r ?

что-Q 1SG.SO-REL-REAS-2SG.A-deceive-PRT-ABS
 Why are you deceiving me? (example by A. Belyaeva)

(39) Indirect (constituent) question

se s-še-r-ep ar zə-de-k_wa-ke-r
 I 1SG.A-know-PRT-NEG that.ABS REL-LOC-go-PAST-ABS
 I don't know where he went. (example by D. Gerasimov)

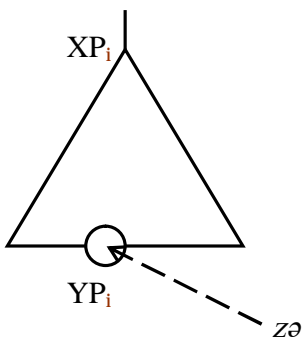
(40) Nominal predicate

a. mə-r [thamatə-m jə-pšaš]
 this-ABS director-ERG 3SG-girl
 This is the director's daughter.

b. [(mə-r zə-pšaše)-r] [thamate]
 this-ABS REL-girl-ABS director
 This is the director's daughter. = [The one_i, whose_i daughter she is]_i is the director.

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(41) zə signals coreference between a dominating and a dominated NP:



- multiple relativization:

(42) m_wertaz m_we bzəlfəʁe-m jə-ç'ale baχč'e-r r-jə-tə-n-ew
 Murtaz this woman-ERG POSS-boy purse-ABS OBL-3SG.A-give-FUT-ADV
 r-jə-ʔ_wa-ʁ
 OBL-3SG.A-say-PAST
 Murtaz told this woman's son to give her the purse back. (example by Yu. Lander)

(43) bzəlfəʁ-ew z-jə-ç'ale m_wertaz baχč'e-r r-jə-tə-ž'ə-n-ew
 woman-ADV REL-POSS-boy Murtaz purse-ABS OBL-3SG.A-give-FUT-ADV
 ze-r-jə-ʔ_we-ʁa-ʁe-r de-sə-ʁ-ep
 REL-OBL-3SG.A-say-PAST-PAST-ABS LOC-sit-PAST-NEG
 [The woman whose_i son was told by Murtaz to give her the purse back]_i was absent.
 (example by Yu. Lander)

3. Information structure and clause combining

3.1. Focus articulation

- Lambrecht (1994, 2001): three types of focus articulation:

(44) PREDICATE-FOCUS STRUCTURE

What happened to your car?

My car/It broke DOWN (Lambrecht 1994: 223).

(45) SENTENCE-FOCUS STRUCTURE

What happened?

My car broke down.

(46) ARGUMENT-FOCUS STRUCTURE

I heard your motorcycle broke down?

MY CAR broke down.

Presupposition (open proposition): 'speaker's x broke down'

Assertion: 'x = the speaker's car'

- Focus receives consistent morphosyntactic marking in remotely related Nakh-Daghestanian languages: the focused constituent is marked by the placement of the copula and other elements of the closed lexical class expressing basic sentence-level categories (polarity, mood, tense, person). The main verb takes a non-finite form. The case-marking and word order do not undergo obligatory changes.

3.2. Basic clause construction

Presupposition: 'x broke the window'

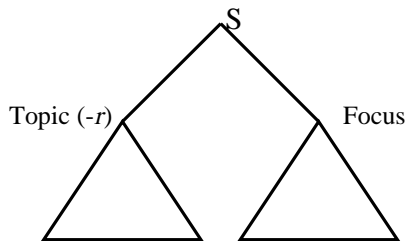
Assertion: 'x = the neighbour'

- (47) a. SOSED razbil okno. // Okno razbil SOSED.
 neighbour broke window window broke neighbour
 b. Éto SOSED razbil okno.
 this neighbour broke window
 It is the neighbour who broke the window.

- (48) a. $\kappa_w \text{əne} \kappa_w \text{ə-m}$ $\hat{s} \text{han}_w \text{ə} \kappa_w \text{əp} \check{c} \text{-r}$ $x\text{-jə-wətə-}\kappa$
 neighbour-ERG window-ABS LOC-3SG.A-break-PAST
 The neighbour broke the window.
 b. [$\kappa_w \text{əne} \kappa_w$] [$\hat{s} \text{han}_w \text{ə} \kappa_w \text{əp} \check{c} \text{-r}$ $x\text{ə-zə-wətə-}\kappa \text{-r}$]
 neighbour window-ABS LOC-REL-break-PAST-ABS
 It was the neighbour who broke the window.
 c. [$\hat{s} \text{han}_w \text{ə} \kappa_w \text{əp} \check{c}$] [$\kappa_w \text{əne} \kappa_w \text{ə-m}$ $x\text{-jə-wətə-}\kappa \text{-r}$]
 window neighbour-ERG LOC-3SG.A-break-PAST-ABS
 It was the window that the neighbour broke.

(49) [XP_1, \dots, XP_n [Absolutive + Predicate]]

(50) Topic: [Referential phrase ZP]_r (ABS) Focus: [Predicate YP]



- (51) d. $\hat{s} \text{han}_w \text{ə} \kappa_w \text{əp} \check{c} \text{-r}$ $x\text{ə-zə-wətə-}\kappa \text{-r}$ $\kappa_w \text{əne} \kappa_w \text{ə-r-ep}$
 window-ABS LOC-REL-break-PAST-ABS neighbour-ABS-NEG
 It is not the neighbour who broke the window.
 e. $\hat{s} \text{han}_w \text{ə} \kappa_w \text{əp} \check{c} \text{-r}$ $x\text{ə-zə-wətə-}\kappa \text{-r}$ [$x \text{et-a}$] ?
 window-ABS LOC-REL-break-PAST-ABS who-Q
 Who broke the window?
 f. $\hat{s} \text{han}_w \text{ə} \kappa_w \text{əp} \check{c} \text{-r}$ $x\text{ə-zə-wətə-}\kappa \text{-r}$ [$\kappa_w \text{əne} \kappa_w \text{ə-r-a}$] ?
 window-ABS LOC-REL-break-PAST-ABS neighbour-ABS-Q
 Was it the neighbour who broke the window?

- the same bipartite structure is characteristic of dependent predications

(52) ew-adverb

a. svetə faj qabartajə-m de-κ_we-n-ew
Sveta want Kabardian-ERG LOC-go-POT-ADV
Sveta wants to marry a Kabardian.

b. svetə faj qabartajə-n-ew zə-de-κ_we-š'tə-r
Sveta want Kabardian-POT-ADV REL-LOC-go-FUT-ABS
Sveta wants that the person who she will marry to be a Kabardian.

(53) concessive

a. marat tjeκ_wa-κe-mjə,
Marat win-PAST-CONC

se sə-g_w r-jə-hə-r-ep a-r ze-r-je-š'a-κe-r
I 1SG.PR-heart OBL-3SG.A-carry-PRT-NEG that-ABS REL-MOOD-3SG.A-do-PAST-ABS
Though Marat won I did not like the way he was playing.

b. tjeκ_wa-κe-r marat-mjə, se sə-g_w r-jə-hə-r-ep ar ze-r-je-š'a-κe-r
win-PAST-ABS Marat-CONC ...
Though it was Marat who won, I did not like the way he was playing.

(54) causal converb

a. jane qe-κ_wa-κe-š, qə-b-de'epə'e-š't
mother INV-go-PAST-CONV1 INV-2SG.IO-help-FUT
Your mother came, and she will help you.

b. qe-κ_wa-κe-r jane-š, qə-b-de'epə'e-š't
INV-go-PAST-ABS mother-CONV1 INV-2SG.IO-help-FUT
The person who came is your mother, and she will help you.

3.3. *Arə*-construction

3.3.1. General

(55) Topic: [Referential phrase]_r(ABS) Focus: [[XP] *arə*]

(56) g. šhan_wəκ_wəpčə-r xə-zə-wətə-κe-r κ_wəneκ_wə-r arə
window-ABS LOC-REL-break-PAST-ABS neighbour-ABS THAT
It is the neighbour who broke the window.

h. šhan_wəκ_wəpčə-r xə-zə-wətə-κe-r κ_wəneκ_wə-r ar-a ?
window-ABS LOC-REL-break-PAST-ABS neighbour-ABS THAT-Q

Is it the neighbour who broke the window?

- i. $\hat{s}han_{w\theta} \mathcal{B}_{w\theta} \mathcal{P}\check{c}e-r$ $x\theta-z\theta-w\theta t\theta-\mathcal{B}e-r$ $\mathcal{B}_{w\theta} \theta ne \mathcal{B}_{w\theta} \theta-r$ $ar-ep$
 window-ABS LOC-REL-break-PAST-ABS neighbour-ABS THAT-NEG

It is not the neighbour who broke the window.

3.3.2. Properties of the $ar\theta$ -predicates

- Paradigm

$ser\theta$ 'I' $ter\theta$ 'ours'
 $wer\theta$ 'you' $\hat{s}_{w\theta} er\theta$ 'you (PL)'
 $ar\theta$ 'that' $ar\theta x$ 'that (PL)'

- $Ar\theta$ -forms cannot be used with the corresponding free pronouns:

- (57) $w\theta-jane$ $g_{w\theta} \theta s' e-r$ (*se) $ser\theta$
 2SG.PR-mother poor-ABS I ME

I (FOC) am your poor mother (Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 84).

Cf. similar type of focus marking in Lummi (Straits Salish) (Jelinek 1998).

- (58) a. $n\theta-men=sx^w$ LUMMI
 1sPOSS-father=2sNOM
 You're my father.
 b. $n\theta k^w=y\theta x^w=\emptyset$ $c\theta$ $n\theta-men$
 YOU=MODAL=3ABS DET 1sPOSS-father
 It must be YOU, [who are] my father. (Jelinek 1998: 146)

- (59) ar $we.r-ew$ $q\theta-\check{c}e\check{c}'\theta-\mathcal{B}$ // ar $we.r-m\theta.r-ew$ $q\theta-\check{c}e\check{c}'\theta-\mathcal{B}$
 that YOU-ADV INV-turn.out-PAST that YOU-NEG-ADV INV-turn.out-PAST
 It turned out that it were you. // It turned out that it were not you. (example by D. Gerasimov)

- Control and agreement

- (60) $\hat{s}_{w\theta} er\theta$ $a-xe-r$ $q\theta-z\theta-\lambda e \mathcal{B}_{w\theta} \theta-\mathcal{B}e-r / q\theta-z\theta-\lambda e \mathcal{B}_{w\theta} \theta-\mathcal{B}e-xe-r$
 YOU(PL) THAT-PL-ABS INV-REL-see-PAST-ABS / INV-REL-see-PAST-PL-ABS
 It is you who saw them.

- Tense and mood

- (61) a. $ser\theta$ $tj\check{e}k_{w\theta} a-\mathcal{B}e-r$
 ME win-PAST-ABS
 It is I who won.

- b. serə-*æ* tje_wκ_a-*æ*-r
ME-PAST win-PAST-ABS
It was I who won.
- c. serə-š't tje_wκ_e-š'tə-r
ME-FUT win-FUT-ABS
I (FOC) will win. It is I who will win.
- d. moskva κ_wa-*æ*-r svet arə-n faje
Moscow go-PAST-ABS Sveta THAT-POT maybe
The person who went to Moscow is probably Sveta.

- Derivation

- (52) c. svetə faj qabartajə-r ar-ew/arə-n-ew zə-de-κ_we-š'tə-r
Sveta want Kabardian THAT-ADV/THAT-POT-ADV REL-LOC-go-FUT-ABS
Sveta wants the person who she will marry to be a Kabardian.
- (54) c. qe-κ_wa-*æ*-r jane arə-š, qə-b-de'epə'e-š't
INV-go-PAST-ABS mother THAT-CONV1 INV-2SG.IO-help-FUT
The person who came is your mother, and she will help you.
- (53) c. marat arə-mjə tje_wκ_a-*æ*-r, se səg_w r-jə-hə-r-ep ar ze-r-je-ša-*æ*-r
Marat THAT-CONC win-PAST-ABS ...
Even though it was Marat who won, I did not like the way he was playing.
- (25) b. *amjənet ə-λek_wə-r rweze-xe-r ar-jə qe-š'xəpçə-*æ*-r
Aminet 3SG.A-see-ABS rose-PL-ABS THAT-COH INV-smile-PAST-ABS

3.3.3. Sentence types that allow an arə-construction

- the arə-constructions are possible only in declarative and interrogative sentences:

- (62) a. se t_wert s-šə-n !
I pie 1SG.A-make-POT
Shall I make a pie! (example by N. Serdobol'skaya)
- b. *serə t_wert zə-šə-nə-r !
ME pie REL-make-POT-ABS

- Many languages have special syntactic constructions designed for argument-focus marking and possible only in declarative and interrogative sentences. This is true for the European cleft constructions, for the Russian construction with the word *éto* (example 47b) and for the morphosyntactic focus marking in the languages of the East Caucasian language group.

3.3.4. Constituent types possible in the focus position

- NP attributes: pied-piping

(63) adjective?

a. se sə-faj adəge q_waje s-šefə-n-ew
 I 1SG.SO-want Adyghean cheese 1SG.A-buy-POT-ADV
 I want to buy some Adyghean cheese.

b. adəge q_waje-r arə s-šefə-n-ew sə-faje-r (*adəge arə)
 Adyghe cheese-ABS THAT 1SG.A-buy-POT-ADV 1SG.SO-want-ABS
 I want to buy some ADYGHEAN cheese. / I want to buy some ADYGHEAN CHEESE.

(64) non-derived adverb

a. njepe azamat šk_welə-m k_we-š't-ep
 today Azamat school-ERG go-FUT-NEG
 Azamat is not going to school today.

b. njepe arə azamat šk_welə-m zə-mə-k_we-š'tə-r
 today THAT Azamat school-ERG REL-NEG-go-FUT-ABS
 Azamat is not going to school TODAY.

(65) instrumental

a. cace-m-č'e se-šxe
 fork-ERG-INSTR 1SG.A-eat
 I eat/am eating with a fork.

b. cace-m-č'e arə sə-z-ra-šxe-re-r
 fork-ERG-INSTR THAT 1SG.A-REL-INST-eat-PRT-ABS
 I eat/am eating WITH A FORK.

(66) postpositional phrase

a. wəne wəpe-m čəx-xe-r qə-š'e-č'ə-x
 house in.front.of-ERG tree-PL-ABS INV-LOC-grow-PL
 There are trees growing in front of the house.

b. wəne wəpe-r arə nah čəg-xe-r qə-zə-š'e-č'-xe-re-r
 house in.front.of-ABS THAT more tree-PL-ABS INV-REL-LOC-grow-PL-PRT-ABS
 The trees grow in front of the house (not in any other place).

(67) ew-adverbial

thaḱumaλe-xe-r jane qe-r-jə-tə-β-ew arə svetə qə-ʔ_wa-βe-r
 earring-PL-ABS mother INV-OBL-3SG.A-give-PAST-ADV THAT Sveta INV-say-PAST-ABS
 Sveta said THAT MOTHER PRESENTED HER EARRINGS.

(68) tjə-converb

sə-qə-ʒe-mə-ḱ_wa-βe-r s-jə-pšaše səmaʒe-tjə arə
 1SG.SO-INV-LOC-NEG-go-PAST-ABS 1SG.PR-POSS-girl be.sick-CONV2 THAT
 (Why didn't you come? –) I didn't come, because my daughter fell ill.

(69) conditional clause

- a. welosjəped qə-s-a-tə-me, sə-nasəpəš_we-š't
 bicycle INV-1SG.SO-3PL.A-give-COND 1SG.SO-happy.person-FUT
 If I will be presented a bicycle, I will be happy.
- b. welosjəped qə-s-a-tə-me arə,
 bicycle INV-1SG.SO-3PL.A-give-COND THAT
 nasəpəš_we sə-zə-χ_wə-š'tə-r
 happy.person 1SG.SO-REL-become-FUT-ABS
 I will be happy (only) if I will be presented a bicycle.

3.3.5. Focus-raising?

(1) within the main clause, *arə* focuses all full XP types. The attributes within an argument or adjunct NP are focused with the pied-piping effect, example (63).

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(2) within a complex sentence, the dependent clauses show the following properties as to the possibilities of the *arə* focusing out of a dependent clause:

POSITION	Abs/Erg	Instr	-n	-(n)-ew	-jə, -tjə, -š, -fe	-me, -mjə	-ze
Argument clause	Abs ⁶ + (other?)	Abs +	+	+		Abs +	
Adjunct clause	+	Abs +	+	+	+	– (?)	–

(52) ergative within an ew-adverbial

- d. svetə qabartajə-r arə zə-de-ḱ_we-n-ew zə-faje-r
 Sveta Kabardian THAT REL-LOC-go-POT-ADV REL-want-ABS
 Sveta wants to marry a Kabardian. // It is a Kabardian who Sveta wants to marry.

⁶ Focusing of other arguments is highly improbable, though I have obtained some dubious examples.

- (70) a. svetə faj jə-pšaše djərektərə-m d-jə-kə-k_we-n-ew
Sveta want POSS-girl director-ERG ASS-3SG.A-CAUS-go-POT-ADV
Sveta wants her daughter to marry the director.
- b. djərektərə-r arə zə-faje-r svetə jə-pšaše d-jə-kə-k_we-n-ew
director-ABS THAT REL-want-ABS Sveta POSS-girl ASS-3SG.A-CAUS-go-POT-ADV
Sveta wants her daughter to marry THE DIRECTOR. ('It is the director who Sveta wants her daughter to marry.')
- (71) absolute phrase within a dominating absolute (indirect question)
- a. se aslan zə-de-k_wa-kə-r s-še-r-ep
I Aslan REL-LOC-go-PAST-ABS 1SG.A-know-PRT-NEG
I don't know where Aslan went. (example by D. Gerasimov)
- b. se aslan arə zə-de-k_wa-kə-r sə-mə-še-r-er
I Aslan THAT REL-LOC-go-PAST-ABS 1SG.A-NEG-know-PRT-ABS
I don't know where ASLAN went.
- (72) absolute and ergative phrases within a dominating absolute (indirect question)
- a. aslan jə-swəret ze-r-jə-tə-kə-r s-še-re-p
Aslan POSS-portrait REL-OBL-3SG.A-give-PAST-ABS 1SG.A-know-PRT-NEG
I don't know to whom Aslan presented his portrait.
- b. swəretə-r arə aslan ze-r-jə-tə-kə-r sə-mə-še-r-er
portrait-ABS THAT Aslan REL-OBL-3SG.A-give-PAST-ABS 1SG.A-NEG-know-PRT-ABS
I don't know to whom Aslan presented THE PORTRAIT.
- c. *aslan arə jə-swəret ze-r-jə-tə-kə-r ...
Aslan THAT POSS-portrait REL-OBL-3SG.A-give-PAST-ABS ...
I don't know to whom ASLAN presented his portrait.
- c. *nan arə aslan ze-r-jə-tə-kə-r ...
mother THAT Aslan REL-OBL-3SG.A-give-PAST-ABS ...
I don't know what Aslan presented to his MOTHER.
- (73) absolute phrase within an indirect question marked with the conditional morpheme *-me*
- ramazan arə məjeq_wape k_we-š't-me sə-mə-še-r-er
Ramazan THAT Maykop go-FUT-COND 1SG.A-NEG-know-PRT-ABS
I don't know ABOUT RAMAZAN if goes to Maykop.

(74) constituent of an ergative phrase (temporal adjunct; zə—m)

- a. t-jane buloč'ke-xe-r z-je-ʒaže-m,
 1PL.PR-mother roll-PL-ABS REL-3SG.A-bake-ERG
 te hač'e-xe-r qə-t-fe-k_wa-ʒe-x
 we guest-PL-ABS INV-1PL.IO-BEN-go-PAST-PL
 When mother baked rolls, some guests came to see us. ('... the guests came to us')
- b. t-jane buloč'ke-xe-r arə z-je-ʒaže-m,
 1PL.PR-mother roll-PL-ABS THAT REL-3SG.A-bake-ERG
 te hač'e-xe-r qə-zə-t-fe-k_wa-ʒe-r
 we guest-PL-ABS INV-REL-1PL.IO-BEN-go-PAST-ABS
 Guests came to see us when mother baked ROLLS.

(75) ergative within a temporal adjunct marked with -fe

- a. maskwa se-k_we-fe tfe fedjəze sə-čəja-ʒ
 Moscow 1SG.SO-go-while five.times about 1SG.SO-sleep-PAST
 On my way to Moscow I fell asleep five times.
- b. maskwa arə se-k_we-fe tfe fedjəze sə-zə-čəja-ʒe-r
 Moscow THAT 1SG.SO-go-while five.times about 1SG.SO-REL-fall.asleep-PAST-ABS
 It was on my way to MOSCOW that I fell asleep five times.

3.3.6. The reference of the topic phrase

- Normally, the topic and the focus are coreferential. The reference of the topic phrase is marked by the position of the prefix zə- according to the rule (41):

(76) [serə/ werə/terə/ svet arə] [a qeʒakə-r zəj-f-jə-š'efə-ʒe-r]
 ME/ YOU/OURS/ Sveta THAT that flower-ABS REL-BEN-3SG.A-buy-PAST-ABS
 He bought these flowers for me / for you / for us / for Sveta.(=Sveta_j is [the person for whom he bought these flowers]_j)

- (77) a. jaš'anew λəžə-m pceqentfə-r x-jə-ʒage-tjə
 third.time old.man-ERG fishing-rod-ABS LOC-3SG.A-cast-CONV2
 pcežəje-dəše-r q-ə-wəbətə-ʒ
 fish-gold-ABS INV-3SG.A-catch-PAST
 When the old man cast his net for the third time, he caught a goldfish.
- b. jaš'anew λəžə-m pceqentfə-r x-jə-ʒage-p-tjə arə
 third.time old.man-ERG fishing-rod-ABS LOC-3SG.A-cast-NEG-CONV2 THAT

pcežəje-dəše-r qə-z-č'-jə-mə-wəbətə-ke-r
 fish-gold-ABS INV-REL-REAS-3SG.A-NEG-catch-PAST

Since THE OLD MAN DID NOT CAST HIS NET FOR THE THIRD TIME, he did not catch the goldfish. ([The cause of not having caught ...] is [that the old man did not cast his net].)

- When the topic phrase has no derivational position with the appropriate semantics, *zə* takes the position of the temporal argument (the very left of all derivational positions, immediately after the inversive prefix). This argument has no marker of the derivation type:

(77) c. jaš'anew λəžə-m pceqentfə-r x-jə-ʒage-tjə arə
 third.time old.man-ERG fishing-rod-ABS LOC-3SG.A-cast-CONV2 THAT
 pcežəje-dəše-r qə-z-jə-wəbətə-ke-r
 fish-gold-ABS INV-REL-3SG.A-catch-PAST
 When the old man cast his net for the third time, he caught a goldfish.

- The same is true for most cases of focusing a constituent of a dependent clause:

d. jaš'ane-r-ew arə λəžə-m pceqentfə-r x-jə-ʒage-tjə
 third-PRT-ADV THAT old.man-ERG fishing-rod-ABS LOC-3SG.A-cast-CONV2
 pcežəje-dəše-r qə-z-jə-wəbətə-ke-r
 fish-gold-ABS INV-REL-3SG.A-catch-PAST-ABS

It was the third time that the old man cast his net and only then he caught a goldfish. ('It was the third time that [having cast his net t, he caught a goldfish].')

- The only exception is focusing an absolutive argument within an absolutive phrase: in this case, *zə* does not appear at all, cf. examples 71, 72, 73.

3.3.7. Conclusions: Adyghe as a pronominal argument language?

1. For argument-focusing within dependent predications, the type of the focused phrase is much more important than the type of the dominating phrase: absolutives are strongly preferred if we try to focus a constituent within a referential phrase (case-marked);
 2. Absolutives demonstrate their special status also in the *zə*-marking of the topic phrase: it remains unmarked not only in case of the focusing of an absolutive NP, but also in case of the focusing of an absolutive within another absolutive.
 3. The opposition of adjuncts and complements in *arə*-construction is very weak, if present at all. Most dependent clause markers allow argument-focusing both when "governed" by matrix predicates and when used as "true" clause adjuncts.
 4. Almost all types of dependent clauses allow focusing of their constituents.
 5. The hypothetical "focus-movement" violates the island-constraints: focusing is possible within clause adjuncts and within indirect questions.
- no focus-movement at all?

We deal here with the basic sentence construction (50). Some special properties of this construction can be attributed to the lexical features of the *arə*-predicates.

11 pt	Шрифт:
50	

- the “predicative” way of encoding argument-focus relations is typical of polysynthetic languages.

Jelinek explains it by the Pronominal Argument hypothesis: pronominal arguments are rigidly built into the predication to encode the predicate ~ argument relations. That is why languages like Lummi (58) and Adyghe use the most basic mechanism of sentence generation: they identify the focus of the sentence with its main predicate.

11 pt, Проверка

Шрифт:

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ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3 – 1st, 2nd, 3^d person; A – transitive subject (agent); ABS – absolutive; ADV – adverbial (-ew); ASS – associative; BEN – benefactive; CAUS – causative; COH – coherence particle; CONC – concessive; COND – conditional, CONV1 – converb -s; CONV2 – converb -tje; DYN – “dynamic” prefix; ERG – ergative; FACT – “factive” valency; FUT – future; INSTR – instrumental; INV – “inverse”; IO – indirect object; LOC – locative; OBL – oblique; PL – plural; POSS – possessive; POT – potential; PR – possessor; PRT – “participial” suffix -re-; Q – question particle; REAS – cause/reason; REL – “relative” prefix -zæ; REV – reversive suffix -žæ; SG – singular; SIMUL – simultaneity; SO – intransitive subject/transitive direct object (absolutive argument).

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