

ABAZA

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1. Introduction

1.1. Area and speakers

Abaza (*ábaza bəzšá*, ISO 639-3 abq) is spoken mainly in the Karachay-Cherkess Republic in Russia, where the several villages with predominantly Abaza population form the Abazinskiy district located along the banks of the rivers Kuban and its tributary Malyj Zelenčuk (*jənž'əg'-č'k'ən*). The most important villages are Inžič-Čukun (*jənž'əg'-č'k'ən*, the administrative centre of the district), El'burgan (*albəršán*), Kubina (*q'ábájna*) and Psyž (*psəž*). A number of smaller Abaza villages are located outside of the Abazinskiy district in Karachay-Cherkessia, the largest of these being Krasnyj Vostok (*g'əm-lawkt*) in the valley of the river Kuma (*g'əm*) to the east of the Abazinskiy district, as well as in the valley of the river Bol'šoj Zelenčuk (*jənž'əg'-dəw*) to the west. According to the 2010 Russian census, there were slightly less than 38 thousand speakers of Abaza in Russia; the exact number of speakers in other countries, mainly in Turkey (on these, see Chirikba 2012), is unknown but can be estimated as about 10 thousand.

1.2. Dialects

Traditionally (see e.g. Tabulova 1976: 3; Lomtatidze 2006: 98), Abaza is divided into the Tapanta (*tapánta*) and Ashkharywa (*aš'qárawa*) dialects, the former being the variety with the largest number of speakers and the basis of the written standard, while the latter being spoken in a number of minor villages in the valley of the river Bol'šoj Zelenčuk. However, according to Chirikba (2003: 11–14), the Ashkharywa dialect is actually closer to the

Abkhaz dialectal continuum. According to anecdotal evidence, Tapanta Abaza and standard Abkhaz are not mutually intelligible, whereas no data exists on the mutual intelligibility of Tapanta and Ashkharywa. The current description is based on the Tapanta dialect, both in its standard written form and in the oral form as spoken in Inžič-Čukun. Most of the data derives from fieldwork materials collected by the author and his colleagues during three fieldtrips to Inžič-Čukun in July 2017, July 2018 and April 2019 as well as via internet communication with speakers. Examples taken from the small corpus of oral narratives recorded and annotated by our group (see https://linghub.ru/spoken_abaza/) are marked (T); elicited examples are marked (E).

1.3. Sociolinguistic situation

In Russia, Abaza is one of the official languages of the Karachay-Cherkess Republic and has a written standard used in media (e.g. the newspaper *Abazašta*, <http://abazashta.online>) including the internet. Its current use, however, is mostly limited to colloquial situations and rural environments. Most if not all speakers of Abaza in Russia are bilingual in Abaza and Russian, and many are also fluent in Kabardian (East Circassian); Abaza has experienced a considerable influence from the latter, including lexical and even morphological borrowings as well as morpholexical and morphosyntactic calques. Even though Abaza is strictly speaking not endangered (classified by Ethnologue as “developing”, <https://www.ethnologue.com/cloud/abq>), it, together with other local languages, undergoes a constant pressure from Russian, which is the lingua franca and *de facto* the main official language in Karachay-Cherkessia. The international non-profit organization “Alašara” (‘Light’, <http://alashara.org>) based in Cherkessk promotes the Abaza language and culture and maintains contacts with the Abaza living in diaspora.

1.4. State of research

Although systematic investigations of Abaza started during the early Soviet period, it remains the least studied of the Northwest Caucasian languages. No comprehensive grammar is available, all existing descriptions being rather short and fragmentary. The first published description of Abaza is admittedly a short article by Karl Bouda (1940) based on materials published in the Soviet Union and focusing on the differences between Abaza and Abkhaz. The most detailed grammar, Tabulova (1976), only deals with phonology and morphology; other grammars include Genko (1955, actually written in 1930-ies), Serdjučenko (1955) and Lomtatidze (2006), all in Russian. The only reference work on Abaza in English is the grammatical sketch Lomtatidze et al. (1989). Other important works (some of which deal with all Abkhaz-Abaza dialects) include Allen (1956) on verbal morphology, Čkadua (1970) on tense-aspect-mood, Gagiev (2000) on simple clause syntax, Avidzba Z. (2017) on verbal affixes, Avidzva A. (2017) on local preverbs, and a series of works by Ketevan Lomtatidze (1944, 1977, etc.), Brian O’Herin (1992, 1993, 2001, 2002), Rauf Klyčev (1972, 1994, 1995, 2000) and Sergej Pazov (2008, 2009, 2010, 2016 etc.). Dictionaries include an Abaza-Russian dictionary (Tugov 1967, ca. 14 thousand words) and a Russian-Abaza dictionary Žirov & Ekba (1956, ca. 30 thousand words); there also exists an online dictionary based mainly on Tugov (1967), available at <http://www.abazinka.ru/>. A pilot Abaza-Russian parallel corpus based on an almanach published by the “Alašara” society is available at https://linghub.ru/abaza_rus_corpus/search. Dialectological materials include sketches of Tapanta (Lomtatidze 1944) and Ashkharywa (Lomtatidze 1954, both in Georgian) dialects and a dialectological dictionary Tabulova (1999); on Abaza in Turkey, see Dumézil (1968).

1.5. Language history

The linguistic history of Abaza remains obscure, since no written records of the language before the beginning of the 20th century exist. Before the 1860-ies, when massive resettlements and deportations by the Russian imperial forces have dramatically disrupted the

original ethnolinguistic landscape of the Northwest Caucasus, the Abazas occupied the highlands in the basins of the Bolshoy Zelenchuk, Malyj Zelenchuk and Teberda rivers (see Koryakov 2002: map #4). Still before that, the ancestors of Abazas are believed to have lived on the Black Sea side of the Great Caucasian range forming a dialectal continuum with Abkhazians (see e.g. Tabulova 1976: 5–6 and references therein).

2. Phonology

2.1. Vowels and consonants

There are two basic vowel phonemes in Abaza: low /a/ (ɐ, Cyrillic <a>) and (mid-)high /ə/ (i, Cyrillic <ы>). Besides these, there are four additional vowel phonemes found mainly in loanwords or arising by contraction of vowel + glide sequences: /u/ (</əw/ and /wə/), /o/ (</aw/), /i/ (</jə/, /əj/), /e/ (</aj/). In the following, the additional vowels will only be marked as such in loanwords.

The consonant inventory is extremely rich and is shown in Table 1 together with the equivalents of each phoneme in the Cyrillic orthography in angular brackets. Phonemes occurring only in loanwords are given in parentheses.

Table 1. Abaza consonant system

	plosives			fricatives			sonorants	
	–voice	+glottal	+voice	–voice	+glottal	+voice	nasals	resonants
labial	p <п>	p̣ <пI>	b <б>	(f <ф>)	(f̣ <фI>)	(v <в>)	m <м>	w <у>
dental	t <т>	ṭ <тI>	d <д>	s <с>		z <з>	n <н>	r <р>
affricates	c <ц>	c̣ <цI>	ʒ <джз>					
laminal	ç <чв>	ç̣ <чIв>	ʒ̣ <джв>	ʃ <шв>		ʒ̣ <жв>		
palato-alveolar	ç̣ <тш>	ç̣̣ <шI>	ʒ̣̣ <дж>	ʃ̣ <ш>		ʒ̣̣ <ж>		
palatalized	ç' <ч>	ç̣' <чI>	ʒ̣' <джь>	ʃ' <щ>		ʒ̣' <жь>		
lateral				(λ <тл>)	(λ̣ <лI>)	(ʃ' <ль>)		l <л>
palatal								j <й>
velar	k <к>	ḳ <кI>	g <г>					
palatalized	k' <кь>	ḳ' <кIь>	g' <гь>					
labialized	k ^w <кв>	ḳ ^w <кIв>	g ^w <гв>					
uvular	q <хь>	q̣ <кь>		χ <х>		ʁ <гь>		
palatalized		q̣' <кьь>		χ' <хь>		ʁ' <гьь>		
labialized	q ^w <хьв>	q̣ ^w <кьв>		χ ^w <хв>		ʁ ^w <гьв>		
pharyngeal				ħ <хI>		ʕ <гI>		
labialized				ħ ^w <хIв>		ʕ ^w <гIв>		
laryngeal	ʔ <ъ>							

Allophonic variation is significant for vowels, which receive labial or palatal “colouring” from adjacent consonants (e.g. /ə/ becomes similar to [u] after labial consonants and similar to [i] after palatal ones, for more details see Moroz 2018), and much less so for consonants.

The Abaza phonological inventory is remarkable due to both its highly reduced “vertical” vocalism and to its extraordinarily rich consonantal system including such typologically exotic segments as palatalized uvulars. The sibilant system of Abaza is, however, standard for the Northwest Caucasian family; moreover, by lacking glottalized fricatives (apart from Kabardian borrowings) it fares as less “exotic” than that of the neighboring Circassian languages.

2.2. Script and transcription

First attempts to create a script for Abaza based on Arabic date to late 19th and early 20th centuries (Tabulova 1976: 9), but were not successful. A Latin-based alphabet was devised in 1932, and the current Cyrillic-based alphabet in 1938. The written standard, based on the variety of Tapanta dialect spoken in El'burgan, is officially recognized and taught at schools in the Abaza-speaking villages. It is used in press, on the internet, in publications of

fiction and folklore, as well as in representations of Abaza data in linguistic works published in Russia; works published in Abkhazia, even when written in Russian, often employ the Abkhaz script for rendering Abaza. The script is phonological, with certain inconsistencies in rendering the sequences of glides and /ə/.

2.3. Phonotactics

The syllable structure of Abaza admits both complex onsets and complex codas, mainly created by affixation or deletion of unstressed /ə/, consider the common tongue-twister **h-qk-χ-bq̣^wəl-k** 1PL.IO-cream-three-barrel-UNIT ‘our three barrels of cream’. Non-syllabic sonorants can occur in word-initial clusters, cf. **mɬ^wa** ‘road’ or **j-s-taqə-p̣** 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-want-NPST.DCL ‘I want it’, but not in other positions, where they have to be preceded by /ə/, cf. **sə-č-ṭ** 1SG.ABS-sleep(AOR)-DCL vs. **sə-čə-n** 1SG.ABS-sleep-PST.DCL ‘I slept’, **l-pnə** 3SG.F.IO-at ‘at her’ vs. **j-ɬa-jə-r-t-ṭ** 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL ‘they gave it to him’ vs. **j-ɬa-lə-r-tə-n** 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.F.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-PST.DCL ‘they gave it to her’. The voiced sibilant /z/ behaves in this respect like a sonorant, cf. **j-h-č’p-əw-š-ṭ** 3SG.N.ABS-1PL.ERG-do-IPF-FUT-DCL ‘we shall do it’ vs. **j-h-č’p-əw-šə-z** REL.ABS-1PL.ERG-do-IPF-FUT-PST.NFIN ‘what would we do’, **jə-z-č’p-əw-š** 3SG.N.ABS-REL.ERG-do-IPF-FUT ‘the one who will do it’.

Vocalic hiatuses are not permitted (apart from recent borrowings from Russian); when morphology creates a potential sequence of vowels, the first one is deleted: **h-bzáza-ṭ** ‘we lived’ vs. **h-bzáz[a]-əj-ṭ** ‘we live’.

2.4. Prosody

Stress in Abaza is mobile, distinctive and is determined by inherent properties of morphemes, cf. minimal pairs **ɬá-j-ra** CISL-come-MSD ‘to come’ vs. **ɬa-j-rá** CISL-grow-MSD ‘to grow’ (Moroz 2017). The system works basically like that of Abkhaz, which has been described in Spruit (1985) and Dybo (1977, 2000). Abaza stress is described in yet unpublished work by Moroz (2017, 2018) based on fieldwork in Inžič-Čukun; another work on Abaza stress, O’Herin (1992), also unpublished, is based on a different, yet unspecified, source of data.

Each morpheme (more precisely, CV(C) formative) is assigned to one of the following accentual classes: Dominant (D), Recessive (R), Fixed stress (F). The accentual class is a lexical property of each morpheme not correlated with any synchronic phonological or grammatical properties. The position of stress in a wordform is determined by the following accentuation rules:

- (1) a. If the word contains F formatives, the stress falls on the first F formative, otherwise
- b. If the word contains D formatives, the stress falls on the first D formative not followed by another D formative, otherwise
- c. If the word contains only R formatives, the stress falls on the first syllable.

The working of the rules is illustrated in (2)–(4) taken from Moroz (2017) for nominal morphology, and in (5)–(6) taken from Moroz (2017) and (7) from Moroz (2018) for verbal morphology. Importantly, example (7) illustrates that the negation marker *m(ə)-* assimilates its accentual class to that of the following morpheme.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|
| (2) | a. s_D-lá_D
1SG.IO-dog
‘my dog’ | b. sə́_D-la_R
1SG.IO-eye
‘my eye’ | c. s_D-báq̣_F
1SG.IO-barn
‘my barn’ |
| (3) | a. la_D-k^wá_D
dog-PL
‘dogs’ | b. la_R-k^wá_D
eye-PL
‘eyes’ | c. báq̣_F-k^wa_D
barn-PL
‘barns’ |

- (4) a. *lá_D-ta_R*
dog-ADV
‘like a dog’
- b. *lá_R-ta_R*
eye-ADV
‘like an eye’
- c. *báq_F-ta_R*
barn-ADV
‘like a barn’
- (5) a. *ca_D-rá_D*
go-MSD
‘to go’
- b. *pa_R-rá_D*
jump-MSD
‘to jump’
- (6) a. *s_R-cá_D-d_R*
1SG.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL
‘I went’
- b. *sá_R-pa_R-d_R*
1SG.ABS-jump(AOR)-DCL
‘I jumped’
- (7) a. *d_D-g’á_D-m_D-cá_D-t_R*
3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-NEG-go(AOR)-DCL
‘s/he did not go’
- b. *d_D-g’á_D-m_R-pa_R-t_R*
3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-NEG-jump(AOR)-DCL
‘s/he did not jump’

According to Genko (1955: 63), stress in Abaza is dynamic; this, however, has not been independently proven by instrumental analysis. Despite its unpredictability and its role in grammar, Abaza stress is not marked in the orthography, including most of the examples in existing grammars; moreover, of the existing dictionaries only Tugov (1967) marks stress, but just in the headwords.

Abaza has no phonological word-level tone. Sentence intonation has not been investigated.

2.5. Morphophonemics

Abaza morphophonemic rules include the following:

- (a) Vowel hiatus resolution: $V_1+V_2 \rightarrow V_2$ (see 2.3 above).
- (b) Unstressed shwa deletion: /ə/ → ∅ in unstressed syllables unless followed by a tautosyllabic sonorant or /z/; more formally, $C_1ə(C_2) \rightarrow C_1(C_2)$, where $C_2 \notin \{m,n,r,l,w,j,z\}$.

Rule (b) is illustrated by the following examples taken from Moroz (2018):

- (8) a. *mšá_R*
bear
‘bear’
- b. *mšá_R-ta_R*
bear-ADV
‘like a bear’
- c. *sá_D-mš_R-k^wa_D*
1SG.IO-bear-PL
‘my bears’
- (9) a. *wá-ǰ*
2SG.M.ABS-disappear(IMP)
‘disappear!’
- b. *wá-m-ǰə-n*
2SG.M.ABS-NEG-disappear-NEG.IMP
‘do not disappear!’

The only class of exceptions to rule (b) is constituted by some morphemes of the shape CCə subject to rule (c), see examples in (10) from (Moroz 2018).

(c) CCə → CəC in unstressed position

- (10) a. *bzá_R*
tongue
‘tongue’
- b. *bzá_R-ta_R*
tongue-ADV
‘like a tongue’
- c. *sá_D-báz_R-k^wa_D*
1SG.IO-tongue-PL
‘my tongues’
- (11) a. *tǰá_D*
house
‘house’
- b. *tǰá_D-ta_R*
house-ADV
‘like a house’
- c. *s_D-tǰǰ_D-k^wa_D*
1SG.IO-house-PL
‘my houses’

Besides certain nominal and verbal roots, subject to rule (c) are some locative preverbs (historically incorporated roots), cf. *bž’á-χ-ra* ‘take out of smth.’ vs. *bəž’-pš’-rá* ‘look through smth.’, see §3.6.10.

Certain verbal roots ending in /a/ change it to /ə/ (usually dropped) in certain forms, cf. (12) with the verb ‘give’. Precise rules governing this variation are not yet understood, though for the verb *h^w(a)* ‘say’ it appears that the choice of the vowel depends on the presence of an indirect object, cf. (13).

- (12) a. *j-rǎ-s-ta-t*
3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-1SG.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL
'I gave it to them.' (T)
- b. *j-ǝa-wǎ-r-t-t*
3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL
'They gave it to you (man).' (T)
- (13) a. *j-s-h^wa-t*
3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
'I said.' (T)
- b. *j-l-a-s-h^w-t*
3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
'I told her.' (T)

The other morphophonemic rules concern individual morphemes or morphologically defined classes thereof and will be described in the respective sections.

3. Morphology: word classes and inflection

3.1. Overview

Abaza, like other Northwest Caucasian languages, is characterized as polysynthetic, its verbs obligatorily expressing information about all clausal participants and their grammatical roles as well as about spatial configuration, aspect, tense, mood and interclausal relations. Besides that, verbs may contain one or several optional affixes expressing evaluative and aspectual meanings as well as introducing extra participants. Both prefixation and suffixation are rich and productive, showing a mixture of templatic and layered organization. In the nominal domain, compounding is well-developed, though it is often hard to draw a line between it and, on the one hand, affixation and, on the other hand, morphosyntactic modification.

The question of parts of speech is complex with few robust diagnostics pointing towards distinctions between nouns, adjectives and verbs. Abaza can be characterized by “omnipredicativity”, whereby almost any content word can occur in the predicate position and take the stative verbal inflection, see (14a) with a noun, (14b) with an adjective, (14c) with a demonstrative and (14d) with an adverb.

- (14) a. *sará s-an d-adǎg'á-b*
1SG 1SG.IO-mother 3SG.H.ABS-Circassian-NPST.DCL
'My mother is a Circassian.' (T)
- b. *užǎ jǎ-r-ǝpa-wá mač'-p awáj*
now REL.ABS-3PL.ERG-do-IPF little-NPST.DCL DIST
'What they do now is not enough (lit. little).' (T)
- c. *awáj-b awát r-dǎna-k^wa šǎ-?-wǎ r-χ'ábza-k^wa*
DIST-NPST.DCL DIST.PL 3PL.IO-HES-PL REL.MNR-be-PRS.NFIN 3PL.IO-custom-PL
'Such are their customs.' (T)
- d. *sará wǎžžǎ-p s-an-nǎ-ç-wa-š*
1SG now-NPST.DCL 1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-LOC.ELAT-go-IPF-FUT
'I will go NOW (lit. it is now when I will go).' (E)

Verbs, especially dynamic verbs, differ from all other parts of speech in that they can take special morphology (see §3.6) and must be nominalized or relativized in order to occur as arguments or modifiers. Verbs do not take articles or possessor prefixes and, when nominalized, cannot be modified by further relative clauses. On the other hand, non-verbs in predicative position can lack absolutive cross-reference prefixes where these are expected for predicates, see (14b-d) above.

Property words (“adjectives”) constitute a subclass of nouns and have the same distribution, including the ability to project NPs without any overt head noun (15). They differ from object-denoting nominals in that they usually follow the object-denoting words they modify and more easily participate in comparative constructions.

- (15) *awəj a-ɣʷabʒ'a s-a-ĉ-ŝ-əj-t*
 DIST DEF-brown 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DCL
 ‘I fear that brown thing.’ (Fedorenko 2017: ex. 6)

Adverbs can be derived from any content word by the highly productive suffix *-ta*, see (16) with adverbials based on nouns, property words and verbs. Non-derived adverbs like *wəʒə* ‘now’ form a closed class.

- (16) a. *a-rə-pχ'a-ɣʷ-ta s-nə-m-χa-rə-g'əj*
 DEF-CAUS-learn-NAG-ADV 1SG.ABS-LOC-NEG-work-FUT.NFIN-ADD
 ‘although I don’t work as a teacher...’ (T)
- b. *šábəʒ-ta j-ŋa-psá-d a-waʒá*
 strong-ADV 3PL.ABS-CISL-get.tired(AOR)-DCL DEF-people
 ‘The people became very exhausted.’ (T)
- c. *j-s-gʷapχa-za-wá-ta ... s-á-pχ'a-t*
 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-like-INT-IPF-ADV 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-learn(AOR)-DCL
 ‘I liked to learn very much (lit. I learnt liking it very much).’ (T)

Pronouns and numerals can be singled out on both semantic and morphological grounds but syntactically pattern with nominals. Closed (grammatical) word classes are constituted by postpositions and complementizers (most of which are more or less grammaticalized nouns), coordinating conjunctions and various particles.

3.2. Nouns

3.2.1. General structure

The general structure of the nominal word is shown in (17):

- (17) definiteness/possessor – stem – plural – indefiniteness – case – additive

3.2.2. Gender

Abaza distinguishes between human (comprising men, women, children and supernatural rational beings such as God) and non-human genders (comprising all animals and inanimate entities), and, in the human gender, between masculine and feminine subgenders. Gender assignment is strictly reference-based and is manifested mainly in verbal and nominal cross-reference, cf. (18). There is no gender agreement of modifiers in the noun phrase.

- (18) a. *s-abá j-aχš'á*
 1SG.IO-father 3SG.M.IO-sister
 ‘my father’s sister’ (T)
- b. *s-án l-aš'á*
 1SG.IO-mother 3SG.F.IO-brother
 ‘my mother’s brother’ (T)
- c. *a-čə a-š'apə*
 DEF-horse 3SG.N.IO-leg
 ‘the leg of the horse’ (Tabulova 1976: 52)

3.2.3. Number

In the domain of number, singular (generally unmarked) vs. plural are distinguished. The most common plural marker is *-kʷa* (*maβráj-kʷa* ‘blackberries’), but inherited human nouns often attach the suffix *-ĉa* (*sə-nbʒ'aɣʷ-ĉa* 1SG.IO-friend-PLH ‘my friends’); the two suf-

fixes often combine (*sá-nbž'aɣ^w-ča-k^wa* 1SG.IO-friend-PLH-PL ‘my friends’), and many human nouns attach *-k^wa* (*a-sabáj-k^wa* DEF-child-PL ‘children’). In nominal complexes with postpositional modifiers, the human plural suffix always attaches to the head, whereas the general plural suffix follows the modifiers, see §4.1. The general plural suffix requires marking for either definiteness or indefiniteness and does not co-occur with bare nouns.

There are a few morphological idiosyncrasies in number inflection, such as the suppletive forms for ‘person’ SG *ɣ^wəč^wɣ^wəs* ~ PL *waɣá* and ‘girl’ SG *ph^wəs.pa* ~ PL *h^wssa*; the word for ‘man’ (*qáca*) shows truncation in the human plural (*qá-ča*); finally, the ethnonym *abáza* ‘Abaza’ marks plurality by shifting stress to the first syllable: *ábaza*. Nouns denoting young animals show special inflection SG *-s*, PL *-ara*: ‘calf’ SG *h^wə-s* ~ PL *a-h^w-ara* (Tabulova 1976: 49).

There is also an associative plural suffix *-rɣa* attaching to human nouns and personal names and denoting groups, e.g. *nana-rɣa* ‘grandmother and her family’, *dəwda-rɣa* ‘the Duda family’ (Tabulova 1976: 49).

3.2.4. Case

Abaza has no case marking for such grammatical roles as intransitive or transitive subject, direct or indirect object or adnominal possessor. A number of suffixes marking peripheral relations exist:

– instrumental *-la*, whose functions include instrument (19a), place (19b), direction (19c), domain (19d), time (19e), language (19f) and some adnominal dependents (19g).

- (19) a. ***a-bacaçaχ^wa-k^wa-la*** *s-a-g^w-lə-r-cə-d*
 DEF-rod-PL-INS 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-split(AOR)-DCL
 ‘She beat me with the rods.’ (T)
- b. ***a-háq^wara-la*** *há-la-ča-ta* *č-hə-r-pχ-əw-n*
 DEF-gravel-INS 1PL.ABS-LOC-sit-ADV RFL.ABS-1PL.ERG-CAUS-warm-IPF-PST
 ‘We sat on the gravel and were warming ourselves.’ (T)
- c. ***h-wónaɣ^wa-k^wa-la*** *h-ca-χ-t*
 1PL.IO-family-PL-INS 1PL.ABS-go-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘We went back to our families.’ (T)
- d. *wə-g^wə-m-pχaš^w-əw-ma* *l-h^wa-d*
 2SG.M.ABS-NEG.EMP-NEG-be.ashamed-IPF-Q 3SG.F.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
wə-bəzša-la *ɣ^w-ba* *ɣa-wə-g-nəs*
 2SG.M.IO-language-INS two-CLN CISEL-2SG.M.ERG-carry-PURP
 ‘Aren’t you ashamed, she said, of bringing home poor marks in your native language?’ (T)
- e. ***á-raχ^w*** *χ^wəjt-ta* *dará~dará* *tə-ç-əj-t* ***š’əmtá-la***
 DEF-cattle free-ADV 3PL~EMP LOC.ELAT-go-PRS-DCL morning-INS
 ‘The cattle freeley go out on its own each morning.’ (T)
- f. ***jar-g’áj*** ***wrás-la*** *j-s-h^wá-p-ta*
 3SG.N-ADD Russian-INS 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-say-NPST.DCL-ADV
 ‘I’ll say it in Russian.’ (T)
- g. ***lingvistika-la*** *a-q^wšara*
 linguistics(R)-INS DEF-department
 ‘department of linguistics’ (Abazašta 2017)

– adverbial *-ta* forming adverbs and secondary predicates, see (16a) above and (20), as well as marking the head of maximalizing head-internal relative clauses (see §4.4.1).

- (20) *abχaz-k^wa rə-bəzša qrağəɣ^wa-bəzša-ta j-š-š'a-k^w-gəl-əw*
 Abkhaz-PL 3PL.IO-language state-language-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-leg-LOC-stand-PRS.NFIN
 ‘[we know] that Abkhaz has a status of a state language’ (Abazašta 2017)
 – limitive *-za* ‘until’ expresses the limit in space (21a) and time (21b):

- (21) a. *jənž'əg'-č'k^wən ák'ma-la a-z-čpá-za*
 Zelenčuk-small right-INS DEF-water-bank-LIM
 ‘[lands] till the right bank of Malyj Zelenčuk’ (T)
- b. *ž'asə-za a-warad-əj a-ɣa.h^w.r-əj*
 night-LIM DEF-song-ADD DEF-dance-ADD
r-bž'ə g'-a-ča-m-s-t
 3PL.IO-sound NEG.EMP-3N.IO-LOC-NEG-hit(AOR)-DCL
 ‘The sounds of singing and dancing did not stop till late at night.’ (Tabulova 1976: 273)

3.2.5. Additive markers

The additive markers *-əj* and *-g'əj* occupy the rightmost position in the nominal word (they can only be followed by the emphatic suffix *-š'təj*, cf. (22a)); the former mostly serves as coordinator, appearing on all conjuncts, cf. (21b) and (22a); the latter can also be used to coordinate noun phrases (22b), but more often serves to express addition (23a), emphasis under negation (23b) or as a clause-linking device occurring on the first constituent (23c).

- (22) a. *arəj a-χə-ɣ^w-h^wsəsa-k-jə-š'təj pa-k-əj d-sə-ma-n*
 PROX DEF-three-CLH-girl.PL-UNIT-ADD-EMP son-INDF-ADD 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PST
 ‘I had three daughters and one son.’ (T)
- b. *a-ɣ^wə-ž'-g'əj s-aš'a-g'əj sar-g'əj*
 DEF-two-CLH-ADD 1SG.IO-brother-ADD 1SG-ADD
 ‘the two of us, my brother and I’ (T)
- (23) a. *awát-g'əj j-g^wárɣ'a-wa jə-r-fá-n*
 DIST.PL-ADD 3PL.ABS-rejoice-IPF 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-eat-PST
 ‘They, too, ate it gladly.’ (T)
- b. *kaɣəjka-k-g'əj j-g'-ɣa-hə-rə-m-t-χ-wa-z-d*
 penny(R)-INDF-ADD 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-CISL-1PL.IO-3PL.ERG-NEG-give-RE-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
 ‘They did not give us a penny.’ (T)
- c. *h-ɣca-wá h-á-la-ga-n*
 1PL.ABS-swim-IPF 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin-PST
a-š'árda-ɣ^w-g'əj ɣá-qən-h^wə-χ-t
 DEF-many-CLH-ADD CISL-LOC-turn-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘We started swimming, [but] many returned.’ (T)

Both markers can attach to case markers (24):

- (24) a. *mháça-k^wa-l-əj vılka-k^wa-l-əj h-č'-əj-t*
 spoon-PL-INS-ADD fork(R)-PL-INS-ADD 1PL.ABS-eat-PRS-DCL
- b. *mháça-k^wa-la-g'əj vılka-k^wa-la-g'əj h-č'-əj-t*
 spoon-PL-INS-ADD fork(R)-PL-INS-ADD 1PL.ABS-eat-PRS-DCL
 a=b ‘We eat with spoons and forks.’ (E)

3.2.6. Definiteness and indefiniteness

Abaza nominals mark definiteness by the prefix *a-* and indefiniteness by the suffix *-k* also functioning as the numeral ‘one’. The prefix *a-* marks not only anaphoric and situational definiteness (25a,b), but also nominals with unique referents (25c) as well as common nouns with generic reference (25d) (Arakelova 2019: 6). Besides that, plural nouns, even when non-

referential, usually occur with the definite prefix (25e), although this is not an absolute rule, cf. (24).

- (25) a. *čámla-awára r-č'pá-wa j-á-la-ga-ṭ.*
 ladder-long 3PL.ERG-do-IPF 3PL.ERG-3N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
á-čámla r-č'pá-ṭ
 DEF-ladder 3PL.ERG-do(AOR)-DCL
 'They started making a long ladder. They made the ladder.' (T)
- b. *ž-zažə-k ʕa-h-χ^wʕa-n ... j-ʕa-na-r-jə-z*
 cow-one-INDF CISL-1PL.ERG-buy-PST REL.ABS-CISL-3SG.N.ERG-CAUS-go-PST.NFIN
a-tana ... j-hə-k^wə-r-χ-d
 DEF-calf 3N.ABS-1PL.IO-LOC-3PL.ERG-take(AOR)-DCL
 'We bought a cow ... they took from us the calf that it had given birth to.' (T)
- c. *awəj s-g^wə j-a-s-wa a-dəwnaj sə-k^w-b*
 DIST 1SG.IO-heart REL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-hit-IPF DEF-world 1SG.ABS-be.at-NPST.DCL
 'With that heartache I live in the world.' (T)
- d. *á-baga á-ča ʕ^wáž'-p jg'əj a-çəq^wa awára-p̄.*
 DEF-fox 3SG.N.IO-colour yellow-NPST.DCL and 3SG.N.IO-tail long-NPST.DCL
 'The fox has yellow fur and a long tail.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 3)
- e. *a-sabəj-k^wa anáχ' á-rqa a-pnə*
 DEF-child-PL MED.LOC DEF-field 3SG.N.IO-at
jə-š-ná-r-g-wa-z a-ph^wás-k^wa
 3PL.ABS-REL.MNR-TRAL-3PL.ERG-carry-IPF-PST.NFIN DEF-woman-PL
j-r-á-bə-m-h^w-əw-ma
 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-DAT-2SG.F.ERG-NEG-say-IPF-Q
 'Could you please tell them how women used to carry children to the field?' (T, asking to tell a story from the interlocutor's childhood)

The indefinite suffix occurs on singular (26a) or plural (26b) referential nominals introducing new referents; however, these can also be introduced by bare nominals, as in the first clause of (25a), especially when inanimate.

- (26) a. *dagestán d-á-wa-ta č'k^wən-k*
 Dagestan(R) 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-be.from-ADV guy-INDF
q^wərǰák^w sə-cə-j-χ-əw-n
 service 1SG.IO-COM-3M.SG.ERG-work-IPF-PST
 'There was a guy from Daghestan who served in the army with me.' (T, beginning of a story and introducing the protagonist)
- b. *a-mʕ^wa s-š-a-la-c-əw-zə-mca*
 DEF-road 1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-3SG.N.IO-LOC-go-IPF-PST.NFIN-CVB
čla-k^wa-k ʕa-z-ba-ṭ
 tree-PL-INDF CISL-1SG.ERG-see(AOR)-DCL
 'While walking along the road I saw some trees.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 18)

Non-referential bare nominals without either definite or indefinite markers occur in ir-realis contexts such as e.g. imperatives (27a) and wishes (27b) (Arakelova 2019: 8–10) or with intensional verbs (27c).

- (27) a. *zə-bašərbə χ^wʕá!*
 water-bottle buy(IMP)
 'Buy a bottle of water!' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 9)
- b. *nbž'aʕ^w d-ʕa-s-áw-ra s-taqə-n*
 friend 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.ERG-find-MSD 1SG.IO-want-PST
 'I'd like to find a friend.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 10)

- c. *a-dg'əl a-pnə χ'aps' d-a-zə-pšɣ-əj-t*
 DEF-earth 3SG.N.IO-at gold 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-search-PRS-DCL
 'He is looking for gold in the earth.' (Testelelets 2017a: 313)

Non-referential bare nominals show number neutrality (28a) and do not occur with demonstratives (28b); more on their morphosyntactic properties see Testelelets (2017a).

- (28) a. *a-tzə a-pax' čla aʔa-n*
 DEF-house 3SG.N.IO-front tree be-PST
 'There was a tree / were trees in front of the house.' (Testelelets 2017a: 314)
- b. *arəj *(a-)č'k'wən*
 PROX *(DEF-)guy
 'this guy' (Testelelets 2017a: 316)

Generic and indefinite mass nouns also frequently occur unmarked (29a,b).

- (29) a. *(a-)nartəχ^w χ^wábəž-ta j-sabáp-p̄*
 (DEF-)maize strong-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-useful-NPST.DCL
 'Maize is very healthy.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 22)
- b. *h-an jacə ž'ə(-k) l-χ^wɣa-t*
 1PL.IO-mother yesterday meat(-INDF) 3SG.F.ERG-buy(AOR)-DCL
 'Mother bought meat yesterday.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 23)

Under sentential negation, even definite nominals can sometimes occur unmarked (Arakelova 2019: 15–16) (30), but when universal quantification ('not a single') is implied, the indefinite marker together with the additive suffix are used, see (23b).

- (30) *sará (a-)telefon g'-ɣá-s-m-aχ^w-t*
 1SG (DEF-)phone(R) NEG.EMP-CISL-1SG.ERG-take(AOR)-DCL
 'I didn't take my phone.' (Arakelova 2019: ex. 28)

First names and place names do not normally take the definite marker (31a), however, may take verbal non-finite past tense marking on non-first uses in the narrative (31b) (Tabulova 1976: 45). Surnames can take the definite prefix (Tabulova 1976: 44).

- (31) a. *zawałz a-zə č-a-j-rə-q^wara-χ-t h^wa-ta*
 PN DEF-water RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-strangle-RE(AOR)-DCL QUOT-ADV
j-r-a-h^w
 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-DAT-say(IMP)
 'Tell them that Zawal drowned himself.' (T)
- b. *h-pnə bəjzəłz-χ-əw-z d-ca-χə-n*
 1PL.IO-at PN-INC-IPF-PST.NFIN 3SG.H.ABS-go-RE-PST
j-r-a-j-h^w-t
 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 'The aforementioned Bilyal returned home and told them.' (T)

The definite and indefinite markers can co-occur denoting one element from a set;

- (32) *a-čá-k sará j-s-f-əw-š-t*
 DEF-apple-INDF 1SG 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-eat-IPF-FUT-DCL
anax'-anát s-án j-lə-s-t-χ-wa-š-t
 MED.LOC-MED.PL 1SG.IO-mother 3PL.ABS-3SG.F.IO-1SG.ERG-give-RE-IPF-FUT-DCL
 'I'll eat one of the apples, and will give the remaining ones back to my mother.'
 (Arakelova 2019: ex. 16)

The marker *-k* occurs in compounds containing numerals regardless of definiteness of the whole phrase: *pš'ə-məz-k* four-month-UNIT 'four months', *a-χə-ɣ^w-h^wsəsa-k* DEF-three-CLH-girl.PL-UNIT 'the three girls'.

3.2.7. Possession

Possession is expressed by prefixes identical to those marking indirect objects with verbs, see Table 2, and occurring in the same slot as the definite marker. No alienability contrast exists, and both body-part and kinship nouns may, when appropriate, occur without possessive prefixes.

Table 2. Possessive prefixes

	1	2M	2F	3M	3F	3N	Rel
Sg	<i>sə-</i>	<i>wə-</i>	<i>bə-</i>	<i>jə-</i>	<i>lə-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>zə-</i>
Pl	<i>hə-</i>	<i>šə-</i>		<i>rə-</i>			

The relative prefix is used when the possessor argument is bound by a question or relativization operator on the clause level, cf. (33).

- (33) *áʒ-aĉ-k^wa* *z-qa* *z-zə-nq^wə-m-ga-χ-k^wa-wa*
 DEF+old-NPRO-PL REL.IO-head REL.IO-POT-LOC-NEG-carry-RE-PL-IPF
 ‘the old ones, who can no longer take care of themselves (lit. who can no longer carry whose head)’ (T)

Possessive prefixes are the standard way of attaching referential modifiers to nominals (including nominalizations of verbs formally marked as such by suffixes); there is no restriction on inanimate possessors, cf. *albərʒán a-boʒnıca* ‘the hospital(R) at El’burgan’, *watar a-g^waš-k^wa* ‘the doors of the barn’ etc. The third person possessive prefixes are referential and do not require an overt nominal possessor:

- (34) *awəj á-dg’əl j-ájš’-ĉa-k^wa* *jə-r-ĉa-d*
 DIST DEF-land 3SG.M.IO-brother-PLH-PL 3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-sit(AOR)-DCL
 ‘He settled his brothers on this land.’ (T)

3.2.8. Nominal derivation

The primary means of nominal derivation in Abaza are suffixation and compounding. The productive suffixes include (see Genko 1955: 113–115; Tabulova 1976: 59–66):

- ra*: abstract nouns from other parts of speech (including masdars from verbs), cf. *çawlá-ra* deep-NML ‘depth’, *č.k^waba-rá* bathe-NML ‘bathing’;
- ɣ^w*: agent nouns (*n.χa-ɣ^w* work-NAG ‘worker, staff’, *bzáza-ɣ^w* live-NAG ‘inhabitant’) and, more generally, nouns denoting persons (*š’arda-ɣ^w* many-NAG ‘majority’); the same suffix is used as the human class marker with numerals (*ʒa.χə-ɣ^w* ‘thirteen people’);
- ga*: instrument nouns, *á-pχ’a-ga* 3SG.N.IO-learn-NINS ‘(text)book’;
- rta*: locative nouns, *sasə-rta* guest-NLOC ‘drawing-room’, *χ^wə-rta* injure-NLOC ‘wound’;
- ɣa*: abstract nouns (*nbž’aɣ^wə-ɣa* ‘friendship’) and nouns denoting time (*ɣa-gəl-ɣa* CISL-stand-NTMP ‘time to get up’);
- š’a*: manner nouns, *bzáza-š’a* ‘way of life’, *h^wá-š’a* ‘manner of saying’;
- ž*: augmentatives, *k^wəž’ma-ž* ‘a huge wolf’;
- c*: singulatives, *qa-q^wə-c* head-hair-SNG ‘one hair on one’s head’.

Compound nouns with conventionalized semantics may be formed from roots of different categories with different semantic relations between them (Tabulova 1976: 53–59):

- noun-noun compounds with the first root modifying the second (*la-q^wə* eye-hair ‘eyelashes’, *taca-nadə.l.ra* bride-leading.inside ‘wedding’) or with a coordinative relation (*k^wčəw-qəz* hen-geese ‘poultry’);
- endocentric verb-noun compounds with the first root modifying the second (*çər-bž’ə* cry-voice ‘scream’);

– noun-adjective compounds with the second root modifying the first (*aš'-ahba* brother-elder ‘elder brother’, *h^wrá-pšža* grass-beautiful ‘flower’); the adjectival roots *č^wk^wən* and *χ^wəc* ‘small’ can be used as diminutive markers expressing not only size, but also emotional attitude (*a-jačā-χ^wəc* DEF-star-small ‘the dear little star’, AbPo);

– exocentric noun-verb compounds denoting persons (*mc-h^wa* lie-say ‘liar’), things (*žə-r-šš* water-CAUS-boil ‘boiled water’) and events (*la-q^wə* eye-close ‘hide-and-see’).

Reduplication is also attested (Tabulova 1976: 58–59), always with some modification of the copy, either morphological, e.g. change of the prefix (*na-h^wa~ŋa-h^wa* TRAL-say~CISL-say ‘rumours’), or phonological in expressive formations (*taž~máz-k^wa* ‘old women’).

3.3. Adjectives

Property-words do not form a well-defined morphosyntactic class in Abaza. When modifying a noun, most adjectives occur in postposition to their head and form with it a compound (*taba-dáw* ‘big pan’, *čəŋ^wra-baž* ‘rich harvest’); however, some adjectives always occur to the left of their head, cf. *arma-naḗ* ‘left hand’. There is no agreement in gender or number between adjectives and nouns, and adjectives do not have any special inflectional morphology apart from the following:

-*ža*: intensive and superlative (*a-wəs-naḗ^w-ža-k^wa* DEF-deed-base-INT-PL ‘the basest deeds’, AbPo; *qara-ža* ‘very far’); the consonant of the suffix can be doubled (*dəw-žža* ‘the largest’);

-*čā*: attenuative (*aw-čā* ‘longish’).

Adjectival derivation is achieved by suffixation (most of it non-productive) and compounding (Tabulova 1976: 76–80). Productive suffixes include:

-*da*, -*dʔa*: caritive ‘without’ (*qəš-dʔa* ‘without windows’, *amŋa-da* shoes-CAR ‘bare-foot’); the choice between the two allomorphs is unclear, and the morphosyntactic properties of the caritive formation are mixed between that of a property-word (e.g. they can freely occur as predicates) and an adverbial (they usually serve as clause-level modifiers and rarely form compounds with nouns);

-*χ^w*: facilitive, forms adjectives from verbs (*fa-χ^wə* ‘easy to eat’);

-*wačā*: difficilitive, forms adjectives from verbs (*bž'a-wačā* ‘hard to bring up’).

Adjectival compounding:

– exocentric noun-adjective compounds (*ŋə-las* person-quick ‘quick-tempered’, *g^wə-pška* heart-soft ‘kind-hearted’);

– exocentric noun-noun compounds (*čā-psart* mouth-scissors ‘sharp-tongued’, *h^wəh^w-čā* dove-colour ‘dove-grey’);

– endocentric adjective-adjective compounds (*mawra-k^wajčā* brown-black ‘dark-brown’);

– exocentric noun-verb compounds (*rə-ča* forearm-bite ‘poor’, *g^wə-m-čā* heart-NEG-sit ‘uneasy’).

3.4. Pronouns

Pronouns form a heterogeneous class of words with morphological and syntactic peculiarities.

3.4.1. Personal pronouns

Independent personal pronouns are shown in Table 3. Short (unstressed) vs. full (stressed) forms are distinguished, with the former used only rarely.

Table 3. Independent personal pronouns

	1	2M	2F	3M	3F	3N
Sg	<i>sa(rá)</i>	<i>wa(rá)</i>	<i>ba(rá)</i>	<i>ja(rá)</i>	<i>la(rá)</i>	<i>ja(rá)</i>
Pl	<i>ha(rá)</i>	<i>ša(rá)</i>		<i>da(rá)</i>		

Third person pronouns occur only rarely, with demonstratives (§3.4.3) normally used instead. The use of short and full personal pronouns as arguments and possessors is illustrated in (35) and (36).

- (35) a. *wžə-g'əj bzəj h-aba-m-b-əw-ztən ha...*
 now-ADD good 1PL.ABS-REC.ERG-NEG-see-IPF-COND.REAL 1PL
 ‘If we no longer love each other...’ (AbPo)
- b. *q̄rəm wará wə-górec-əw-ma h^wa*
 PN 2SG.M 2SG.M.ABS-mountaineer(R)-PRS.NFIN-Q QUOT
 ‘Krym, are you a mountaineer?’ (T)
- (36) a. *awát zəmΓ^wá sa sə-la-g^wá jə-ç-s-t*
 DIST.PL all 1SG 1SG.IO-eye-heart 3PL.ABS-LOC-hit(AOR)-DCL
 ‘All this has passed through my eyes.’ (T)
- b. *awáj j-w-áj-t šará š-məwrád*
 DIST 3SG.M.ERG-agree-PRS-DCL 2PL 2PL.IO-wish
 ‘He agrees with your wish.’ (T)

Full personal pronouns can attach nominal morphology such as the instrumental (*sara-la* ‘with me’), additive (*sar-g'əj* ‘and I’, NB truncation) and caritive (*sara-d?a* ‘without me’). When used as prediactes, pronominal roots can also be directly inserted into the appropriate verbal morphology (37a), although normally the construction with the copula is used instead (37b).

- (37) a. *sará g'-sá-m-ma j-w-á-z-h^wə-z?*
 1SG NEG-1SG-NEG-Q 3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.IO-DAT-REL.ERG-say-PST.NFIN
- b. *sará g'-s-áḱ^wə-m-ma j-w-á-z-h^wə-z?*
 1SG NEG-1SG.IO-COP-NEG-Q 3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.IO-DAT-REL.ERG-say-PST.NFIN
 ‘a=b Wasn’t it me who told you that?’ (E)

3.4.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns exist only as nominal proforms or predicates, not as possessive modifiers. They are formed by adding the respective possessive prefix to the root *-çə* ‘belong’ serving as an all-purpose nominal proform (Testeleets 2018), cf. (38).

- (38) a. *aráj a-qálpə sará j-s-çə-p̄.*
 PROX DEF-cap 1SG 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-belong-NPST.DCL
 ‘This cap belongs to me.’ (Testeleets 2018: ex. 20)
- b. *w-an-áj w-ab-áj sará s-ç-k^wa*
 2SG.M.IO-mother-ADD 2SG.M.IO-father-ADD 1SG 1SG.IO-NPRO-PL
r-ackás ráça j-áhba-p̄.
 3PL.IO-than more 3PL.ABS-elder-NPST.DCL
 ‘Your parents are older than mine.’ (Testeleets 2018: ex. 10a)

3.4.3. Demonstratives

Abaza has a tripartite system of demonstratives distinguishing proximal, medial and distal deixis (the exact deictic meanings are yet to be determined) and forming a morphological paradigm of their own, shown in Table 4 and illustrated in (39) and (40).

Table 4. Demonstratives

	Sg	Pl	INS	LOC	LAT	ADV
proximal (PROX)	<i>aráj</i>	<i>arát</i>	<i>arála</i>	<i>aráʔa</i>	<i>aráh</i>	<i>arása</i>
medial (MED)	<i>anáj</i>	<i>anát</i>	<i>anála</i>	<i>anáʔa</i>	<i>anáh</i>	<i>anása</i>
distal (DIST)	<i>awáj</i>	<i>awát</i>	<i>awála</i>	<i>awáʔa</i>	<i>awáh</i>	<i>awása</i>

- (39) a. *h-an d-ʕa-s-ʕʕa-t*
 1PL.IO-mother 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-ask(AOR)-DCL
arəj j-a-mʕanə-ja l-hʷa-d.
 PROX REL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-meaning-QN 3SG.F.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Mother asked me “What does this mean?”’ (T)
- b. *aráj h-č’pá-t anáj h-č’pá-t*
 PROX 1PL.ERG-do(AOR)-DCL MED 1PL.ERG-do(AOR)-DCL
 ‘We did this and that.’ (T)
- c. *awát-kʷa r-ákʷ-b j-h-č’pá-z hará*
 DIST.PL-PL 3PL.IO-COP-NPST.DCL REL.ABS-1PL.ERG-do-PST.NFIN 1PL
 ‘That’s what we did.’ (T)
- (40) a. *ará.sa s-g’ə-z-qə-s-wa-šə-m*
 PROX.ADV 1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-LOC-go-IPF-FUT-NEG
 ‘I won’t be able to pass this way.’ (T)
- b. *aná-la h-a-kʷ-də-r-č’a-t*
 MED-INS 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3PL.ERG-CAUS-sit(AOR)-DCL
 ‘They put us there [onto the cart].’ (T)
- c. *awa.ʔa h-ʕa-n-χa-n*
 DIST.LOC 1PL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PST
 ‘We remained there.’ (T)

The plural demonstratives can also attach the regular plural suffix, cf. (39c).

Besides independent use, demonstratives can function as determiners modifying noun phrases. Determiners are clearly free and stressed forms normally requiring the definite form of the following NP and agreeing with it in number (41).

- (41) a. *anəj a-mca ʔa-ʕa-kka-wa a-pnə w-ca-ta*
 MED DEF-fire REL.LOC-CISL-shine-IPF 3SG.N.IO-at 2SG.M.ABS-go-ADV
j-aʔ-əw wə-r-dər
 REL.ABS-be-PRS.NFIN 2SG.M.IO-CAUS-know(IMP)
 ‘Go there where that fire glares and find out what it is.’ (Tabulova 1976: 95)
- b. *awát j-ʕa-n-χá-z a-wʕa-kʷá*
 DIST.PL REL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PST.NFIN DEF-people-PL
 ‘The remaining people.’ (T)

Demonstratives, especially the distal one, are frequently used anaphorically as third person pronouns, cf. (42).

- (42) *wəʕaqa-k_i ʕa-n-χá-t*
 nation-INDF CISL-remain-INC(AOR)-DCL
awása awát_i g’ə-z-ʕa-tə-m-ç-t
 but DIST.PL NEG.EMP-POT-CISL-LOC.ELAT-NEG-pass(AOR)-DCL
 ‘There remained one nation, but they could not get out.’ (T)

3.4.4. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

Reflexivity and reciprocity can be expressed both in the verb (§3.6.8) and by means of independent words. As a reflexive pronoun, the noun *qa* ‘head’ with a possessive prefix coreferential with the subject is used, cf. (43).

- (43) a. *sara_i s_i-qa sə-r-q^wanč’-əj-t*
 1SG 1SG.IO-head 1SG.ERG-CAUS-guilty-PRS-DCL
 ‘I blame myself.’ (Durneva 2020: 20)
- b. *awəj_i l_i-qa j-a-l_i-h^w-χ-t*
 DIST 3SG.F.IO-head 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.F.IO-say-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘She said it to herself.’ (Sonia Durneva’s fieldnotes)

Reciprocal pronouns are based on the numeral ‘one’, cf. *a(za)ž-a(za)ž* (for humans), and *azakə-azakə* (for non-humans), cf. (44).

- (44) a. *a-ž~až zə jə-k^wə-j-č-əj-t*
 DEF-one.H~REC water 3N.SG.ABS-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-pour-PRS-DCL
 ‘They are pouring water on each other.’ (T)
- b. *a-korobka-k^wa a-zakə~a-zakə j-a-k^w-gəla-p*
 DEF-box(R)-PL DEF-one.n~REC 3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-stand-NPST.DCL
 ‘The boxes stand on top of one another.’ (Durneva 2017: ex. 20)

3.4.5. Interrogative and relative pronouns

Interrogative and relative pronouns as such do not exist in Abaza, both functions being expressed by means of verbal morphology, see §3.6.6, §3.6.9. The closest Abaza comes to a dedicated interrogative pronoun is *dəzdá* ‘who’ (< *də-z(-əw)-da* 3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO(-be.part.of)-QH, Pazov 2016: 132), which, as all other interrogative expressions, occurs as a predicate of a pseudocleft construction (for more details, see Arkadiev 2020):

- (45) *jə-z-dár-ra a-taq-əw də-z-dá?*
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.ERG-know-MSD 3SG.N.IO-need-PRS.NFIN 3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-QH
 ‘Who should know it?’ (T)

3.4.6. Indefinite and negative pronouns

Abaza has a complex and not yet fully understood system of indefinite pronouns and related expressions (for a preliminary survey see Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019). Most indefinite pronouns are based on the roots meaning ‘one’, cf. *zaká*, *kará* ‘something, anything’, *(z)ažá*, *ažáras^w* ‘somebody, anybody’, *znək* ‘once, sometime’, *zž’ara* ‘somewhere, anywhere’. Most of them occur in both specific (46) and non-specific contexts (47), although the distributions of individual pronouns do not always overlap.

- (46) a. *wadər^wána á.ž j-h^wá-n*
 then one.CLH 3SG.ERG-say-PST
 ‘Then someone said.’ (T)
- b. *sara k.ara a-zə-s-təj-t*
 1SG something 3SG.N.IO-BEN-1SG.ERG-pay(AOR)-DCL
awasa z-?ar-əw j-g’-sə-z-dər-χ-wa-m
 but REL.IO-amount-PRS.NFIN 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-RE-IPF-NEG
 ‘I paid something but I don’t remember how much.’ (Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019: ex. 4a)
- c. *maqəm-pšza-k zž’ara j-š’tə-ç-əj-t*
 voice-beautiful-INDF somewhere 3SG.N.ABS-LOC.ELAT-pass-PRS-DCL
 ‘A beautiful voice rises somewhere.’ (AbPo)

- (47) a. *sara mz-əj-ŋaʒa.pχ'aʒa z-ʒ'a-kə šaxmat s-rə-c-q^wmar-əj-t*
 1SG month-ADD-each one-CLH-INDF chess 1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-COM-play-PRS-DCL
 ‘Every month I play chess with somebody.’ (Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019: ex. 9c)
- b. *wara k.ara w-fa-ztən s-na-w-aj.s-wa-š-t*
 2SG.N something 2SG.M.ERG-eat-COND.REAL 1SG.ABS-TRAL-2SG.M.IO-beat-IPF-FUT-DCL
 ‘If you ate anything I’ll beat you.’ (Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019: ex. 11a)
- c. *awəj z-nə-k r-ackəs lasə də-ŋ^w-əj-t*
 DIST one-time-INDF 3PL.IO-than quick 3SG.H.ABS-run-PRS-DCL
 ‘He is running faster than any time (before).’ (Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019: ex. 13c)

In free-choice and universal contexts special forms employing relative prefixes and the complex universal concessive conditional suffix *-lakg’əj* are used (see §§3.6.9, 4.4.3); they may attach to lexical (48a) as well as auxiliary verbal roots such as the copula (48b) or the possessive root *-ĉə* (48c); in the latter two cases the resulting expressions function as *sui generis* indefinite pronouns.

- (48) a. *j-ʒa-ca-lá-k-g’əj ... r-án-ĉ-əj r-ába-ĉ-əj*
 3PL.ABS-REL.LOC-go-CNC-INDF-ADD 3PL.IO-mother-PLH-ADD 3PL.IO-father-PLH-ADD
j-ŋa-də-m-rə-pχaš’a-wa-ta
 3PL.ABS-CISL-3PL.ERG-NEG-CAUS-be.ashamed-IPF-ADV
 ‘Wherever they go, they do not bring disgrace on their parents.’ (T)
- b. *s-an sə-la d-ŋa-ça-l-jə-d*
 1SG.IO-mother 1SG.IO-eye 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-LOC-go-PRS-DYN
j-an-ak^w-z-la-k-g’əj
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-COP-PST.NFIN-CNC-ADD-ADD
 ‘My mother appears before my eyes at any time.’ (T)
- c. *awəj d-z-a-ĉə-z-la-k-g’əj j-č’p-əw-š-t.*
 DIST 3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-DAT-belong-PST.NFIN-CNC-INDF-ADD 3SG.M.ERG-do-IPF-FUT-DCL
 ‘Anybody will do it.’ (Arakelova & Arkadiev 2019: ex. 20a)

Negative indefinite expressions contain the additive suffix and require clause-mate negation (49).

- (49) a. *awát z-la-ĉáʒa-wa á-bəzša za-ʒ-g’əj jə-m-dár-wa-ta*
 DIST.PL REL.IO-INS-speak-IPF DEF-language one-CLH-ADD 3SG.M.ERG-NEG-know-IPF-ADV
 ‘Nobody knows the language they speak.’ (T)
- b. *har-g’əj za-k-g’əj g’-ŋa-hə-rə-m-t-χ-d*
 1PL-ADD one-INDF-ADD NEG.EMP-CISL-1PL.IO-3PL.ERG-NEG-give-RE-DCL
 ‘They didn’t give us anything.’ (T)
- c. *zə-n-g’əj j-a-pšə-m-k^wa*
 one-time-ADD 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-similar-NEG-CVB.NEG
h-wəs ŋa-hə-dah^w-t
 1PL.IO-deed CISL-1PL.ERG-succeed(AOR)-DCL
 ‘We were lucky as never (before).’ (T)

3.5. Numerals

Abaza has a mixed decimal-vigesimal numeral system, see Table 5. Numerals up to ‘10’ are simplex, ‘11’ to ‘19’ are formed as not fully regular combinations with ‘10’, and ‘20’ is ‘2×10’. When further units are added, the additive suffix *-əj* is attached to the preceding part of the numeral. ‘30’ is ‘20 and 10’, while ‘40’ is ‘two times 20’ etc. There are several expressions for ‘50’ in addition to the regular ‘2×20+10’: *š-bʒa-k* 100-half-UNIT and *χ^w-ʒa-5×10*.

Table 5. Cardinal numerals

1	za-	17	ž-aj-bž
2	Γ ^w ə-	18	ž-aΓ
3	χə-	19	ž-a-j-ž
4	pš'ə-	20	Γ ^w a-žá
5	χ ^w ə-	21	Γ ^w a-ž-áj-za-k
6	cə-	30	Γ ^w a-ž-áj-žá
7	bžə-	40	Γ ^w á-n-Γ ^w a-žá
8	aΓ-	50	Γ ^w á-n-Γ ^w a-ž-áj-žá
9	žə-	60	χá-n-Γ ^w a-žá
10	žá-	70	χá-n-Γ ^w a-ž-áj-žá
11	ž-aj-z	80	pš'á-n-Γ ^w a-žá
12	žə-Γ ^w	90	pš'á-n-Γ ^w a-ž-áj-žá
13	žá-χ	100	šə-
14	ž-aj-pš'	157	š-aj Γ ^w ə-n-Γ ^w a-ž-áj bž'á
15	žə-χ ^w	500	χ ^w ə-š
16	ž-aj-c	1000	zk'ə-

Most cardinals are not used independently and require a suffix indicating the human vs. non-human class of the referent, cf. *pš'-Γ^wə* ‘four people’ vs. *pš'-ba* ‘four (animals/things)’. The independent numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ are irregular, cf. *za-žá* ‘one person’ vs. *za-ká* ~ *za-žá-k* ‘one (thing)’, *Γ^wə-ž* ‘two people’ vs. the regular *Γ^w-ba* ‘two things’. The nonhuman numeral classifier suffix shows assimilation to the preceding unvoiced consonant, but only with ‘three’, cf. *χ-pa* ‘three things’, but *pš'-ba* ‘four things’, *χ^w-ba* ‘five things’.

When they modify nouns, numerals from 1 to 19 form compounds of the form “numeral – (classifier suffix for humans) – noun – *-k*” (the unit suffix does not occur after ‘10’), cf. *pš'á-məz-k* four-month-UNIT ‘four months’ (T), *a-χə-Γ^w-h^wsəsa-k* DEF-three-CLH-girl.PL-UNIT ‘the three girls’ (T), *ž-aj-pš'-sk^wša* ten-ADD-four-year ‘fourteen years’ (T); the numeral ‘one’ is expressed merely by the unit suffix, cf. *bəžša-kə-n* language-UNIT-PST ‘there was one language’ (T). Higher numerals occur postnominally either as second members of compounds (*sk^wš-χə-n-zák* year-three-time-thousand ‘three thousand years’ (T)), or as independent modifiers with an obligatory classifier suffix (50).

- (50) *awəj a-sk^wšə z k'-aj-ž-š-aj-Γ^wa-ž-aj-ž-ba asqan*
 DIST DEF-year thousand-ADD-nine-hundred-ADD-two-ten-ADD-nine-CLN time
d-ša-d-r-aj-d
 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3PL.ERG-CAUS-go(AOR)-DCL
 ‘She was born in 1929.’ (T)

Ordinals are relativized inceptive forms able to inflect for tense, cf. *j-za-k-χa-wa* REL.ABS-one-UNIT-INC-IPF ‘first (non-human)’, lit. ‘that which becomes one’ or *j-pš'ə-Γ^w-χ-əw-š* REL.ABS-four-CLH-INC-IPF-FUT ‘the person who will be the fourth’ (Tabulova 1976: 88). In this way ordinals can also be built from higher numerals (*jə-š-k-χa-wá* REL.ABS-hundred-UNIT-INC-IPF ‘the hundredth’), including complex ones (*j-Γ^wa-ž-áj-aΓ-ba-χa-wa* REL.ABS-two-ten-ADD-eight-CLN-INC-IPF ‘the twenty-eighth’). Ordinals can also be based on tuples, cf. *j-Γ^wa-n-χa-wa* REL.ABS-two-time-INC-IPF ‘second time’ (Tabulova 1976: 89). The word for ‘first’ is based on the adverb *apqa* ‘before’ (*j-apqa-χa-wa*, Tabulova 1976: 89).

Distributive numerals involve reduplication: *Γ^w-ba* ~ *Γ^w-ba* ‘two each’, *š-Γ^wə* ~ *šə-Γ^w* ‘a hundred people each’ (Tabulova 1976: 89); this formation appears to be limited to numerals containing no more than two morphemes.

Tuples are formed by the element $-n(\partial)$, cf. $z-n\partial$ ‘once’, $\text{f}^w a-n$ ‘twice’, $\text{f}\partial-j-\text{f}^w a-\text{z}\partial-j-\text{z}\partial-\chi^w\partial-n$ hundred-ADD–two-ten-ADD–ten-five-time ‘one hundred thirty five times’ (Tabulova 1976: 88).

Collective numerals are formed by means of a possessive prefix referring to the entities involved and often contain the additive suffix: $a-\text{f}^w ba(-g'aj)$ 3SG.N.IO-two-CLN(-ADD) ‘both (things)’ (Tabulova 1976: 90), $h\partial-\chi\partial-\text{f}^w-g'aj$ 1PL.IO-three-CLH-ADD ‘the three of us’ (T).

3.6. Verbs

3.6.1. The general structure of the verbal complex

Abaza verbal morphology follows a complex template containing ca. 20 slots organized into several zones characterized by distinct behaviour, see Table 6.

Table 6. The verbal template

		“preverbs” (Π)								“stem” (Σ)					“endings”				
-12	-11	-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7
absolute	subordinators, negation	repetitive	potential, involuntative	applicatives	directional preverbs	locative preverbs	indirect object	ergative	negation	causative	sociative	root	directional suffixes	event operators	plural	aspect, tense	negation	past tense, modality	subordinators, force, emphasis

This template is not 100% rigid, with some affixes appearing in different slots depending on their semantic scope and some slots (-11, -8, -6, -5, +2, +6, +7) admitting multiple affixes. Form-meaning relations are quite complex, especially in the domains of tense-aspect, negation and finiteness, where multiple exponence and dependencies between non-adjacent slots are observed.

One of the consequences of the largely templatic organization of Abaza verbal morphology is the frequent occurrence of discontinuous lexical bases consisting of a (sometimes desemantized) root and one or several lexicalized prefixes; the components of such complex stems can be separated by regular inflectional prefixes expressing negation or cross-reference, e.g. $n-\chi a$ LOC.on-make ‘work’ ~ $s\partial-g'n\partial-m-\chi\acute{a}-\text{t}$ 1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-LOC-NEG-make(AOR)-DCL ‘I did not work’ (T).

Stem suppletion is not attested. In some verb roots, the first consonant can be geminated expressing intensification or distributivity, ex. $\text{c}a-ra$ ‘suck’ ~ $\text{c}\acute{a}-\text{c}\acute{c}-\text{f}a-ra$ LOC-suck.INT-ELAT-MSD ‘drain, exhaust’, $p-\acute{q}-ra$ ‘cut, chop’ ~ $p-\acute{q}\acute{q}-ra$ ‘chop into small pieces’ (Lomtadidze 2006: 142).

3.6.2. Agreement and cross-reference

Argument prefixes signal the person, number and, for 2nd and 3rd person singular, gender of the argument, as well as its grammatical role; the latter is primarily expressed by the position rather than the shape of the prefixes. Among the grammatical roles the major division is between absolutive (Abs) and non-absolutive (oblique), and in the latter between ergative (Erg) and indirect object (IO), the latter two being formally virtually non-distinct, see Table 6.

Table 6. Verbal personal prefixes

	absolutive	oblique		absolutive	oblique
1Sg	$s(\partial)/z-$		1Pl	$h(\partial)/\text{f}-$	
2SgM	$w(\partial)-$		2Pl	$\text{f}\acute{s}(\partial)/\text{z}\acute{z}-$	
2SgF	$b(\partial)/p-$		3Pl	$j(\partial)-$	$r(\partial)/d(\partial)-$
3SgM	$d(\partial)-$	$j(\partial)-$	REL	$j(\partial)-$	$z(\partial)-$
3SgF		$l(\partial)-$			
3SgN	$j(\partial)/\emptyset-$	$a-/na-$			

The choice between the voiceless and voiced consonants in the prefixes depends on the following consonant; in general, voicing of unvoiced consonants is attested in Erg prefixes only, cf. (51). The 3Abs non-human or plural prefix *j-* can be omitted if the corresponding full noun phrase immediately precedes the verb (52a,b), and is often absent in non-verbal predicates even when the corresponding argument is absent (see §3.1). However, the stressed absolutive prefix does not drop (52c,d).

- (51) a. ***h-ž-əj-t*** b. ***j-ɣ-ž-əj-t***
 1PL.ABS-dig-PRS-DCL 3SG.N.ABS-1PL.ERG-boil-PRS-DCL
 ‘we dig’ (E) ‘we boil it’ (Tabulova 1976: 114)
- (52) a. ***a-ph^wəs*** ****(d)-ɣa-j-d***
 DEF-woman ****(3SG.H.ABS-)CISL-go(AOR)-DCL***
 ‘The woman came.’ (O’Herin 2002: 64)
- b. ***a-mara*** ***(j-)ɣa-qa-l-əj-d***
 DEF-sun (3SG.N.ABS-)CISL-LOC-go.in-PRS-DCL
 ‘The sun rises.’ (O’Herin 2002: 64)
- c. ***á-ž*** ***(j-)ɣ^w-əj-d***
 DEF-cow (3SG.N.ABS-)grow.thin-PRS-DCL
 ‘The cow is growing thin.’ (Testelefs 2017b: ex. 5a)
- d. ***á-ž*** ****(jə-)ɣ^w-əj-d***
 DEF-cow ****(3SG.N.ABS-)run-PRS-DCL***
 ‘The cow is running.’ (Testelefs 2017b: ex. 5b)

The 3Sg.Erg non-human prefix is *na-* in verbs with locative, directional and applicative prefixes and indirect objects (53a) and *a-* otherwise (53b):

- (53) a. ***a-žó*** ***j-hə-z-ná-χa-z*** ***g’ə-r-dóra-m***
 DEF-water REL.ABS-1PL.IO-BEN-3SG.N.ERG-do-PST.NFIN NEG.EMP-3PL.ERG-know-NEG
 ‘They don’t know what the water did to us.’ (T)
- b. ***š’qa-warad-k*** ***awəj*** ***j-a-h^w-əj-t***
 mountain-song-INDF DIST 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
 ‘It (a mountain river) is singing and mountain song.’ (AbPo)

The 3SG non-human, plural and relative absolutive prefix *jə-* coalesces with the 3SG masculine indirect object and ergative *jə-*: [*j-]j-rə-hazərə-z* [REL.ABS-]3M.ERG-CAUS-ready-PST.NFIN ‘what he prepared’, [*j-]j-č’pa-d* [3SG.N.ABS-]3SG.M.ERG-do(AOR)-DCL ‘he did it’.

The 3PL non-absolutive prefix *r-* dissimilates into *d-* before the causative prefix *r-* (54a,b), including cases with an intervening prefix (54c); this *d-* may devoice into *t-* before a voiceless consonant (54d). Note that the doubling of the causative prefix itself does not result in dissimilation (54b), and neither does 3PL.IO dissimilate before 3PL.ERG (*j-ɣa-rə-r-t-wá-n* 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST ‘they gave it to them’). Besides that, when a causative is nominalized and takes possessive prefixes, the 3PL possessive prefix does not dissimilate either (54e).

- (54) a. ***s-də-r-cá-t***
 1SG.ABS-3PL.ERG-CAUS-go(AOR)-DCL
 ‘They sent me.’ (T)
- b. ***a-bəzša-k^wa*** ***d-də-r-dərə-rk^wən***
 DEF-language-PL 3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-CAUS-know-COND
 ‘if they studied (lit. made themselves know) languages’ (Abazašta 2017)
- c. ***j-d-sə-r-rə-ž-t***
 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-CAUS-roast(AOR)-DCL
 ‘I made them roast it.’ (T)

- d. *r-crəj-bəzša-la* *j-a-ta-t-hə-r-k-wa-mca*
 3PL.IO-native-language-INS 3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3PL.IO-1PL.ERG-CAUS-hold-IPF-CVB
 ‘when we ask them to translate into their native language’ (Abazašta 2017)
- e. *a-bəzša-k^wa* *rə-r-dər-ra*
 DEF-language -PL 3PL.IO-CAUS-know-CAUS
 ‘the study of languages’ (Abazašta 2017)

In relative verbal forms the plural ending *-k^wa* is used to express the plurality of the relativized argument, cf. *j-ʕa-n-χa-k^wá-z* REL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PL-PST.NFIN ‘those who remained’ (T).

3.6.3. Valency classes

Abaza verbs can be monovalent, bivalent or polyvalent, and non-monovalent verbs can be transitive, intransitive or inverse. The valency classes are defined by patterns of verbal cross-reference, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Valency classes of verbs

	I argument	II argument	other arguments	example
transitive	Erg	Abs	(IO, Appl)	<i>dər</i> ‘know’, <i>t(a)</i> ‘give’
intransitive	Abs	(IO, Appl)	(Appl)	<i>bzaza</i> ‘live’, <i>pšə</i> ‘look at’, <i>c-qrəʕa</i> ‘help’
inverse	IO, Appl	Abs	(Appl)	<i>ma</i> ‘have’ <i>q-aštəl</i> ‘forget’

Sample paradigms of person inflection are given in Tables 8–11 (cf. Tabulova 1976: 118–145).

Table 8. Monovalent intransitive verb (*ʕ^wə* ‘run’, present tense).

	Sg	Pl
1	<i>sə-ʕ^w-əj-t</i>	<i>hə-ʕ^w-əj-t</i>
2M	<i>wə-ʕ^w-əj-t</i>	<i>šə-ʕ^w-əj-t</i>
2F	<i>bə-ʕ^w-əj-t</i>	
3H	<i>də-ʕ^w-əj-t</i>	<i>jə-ʕ^w-əj-t</i>
3N	<i>jə-ʕ^w-əj-t</i>	

Table 9. Bivalent intransitive verb (*pšə* ‘look’, aorist).

IO	1Sg	2SgM	2SgF	3SgM	3SgF	3SgN	1Pl	2Pl	3Pl
Abs	—	<i>sə-w-pšət</i>	<i>s-b-pšət</i>	<i>sə-j-pšət</i>	<i>sə-l-pšət</i>	<i>s-a-pšət</i>	—	<i>s-š-pšət</i>	<i>sə-r-pšət</i>
1Sg	—	—	—	<i>wə-j-pšət</i>	<i>wə-l-pšət</i>	<i>w-a-pšət</i>	<i>w-ʕa-h-pšət</i>	—	<i>wə-r-pšət</i>
2SgM	<i>w-ʕa-s-pšət</i>	—	—	<i>bə-j-pšət</i>	<i>bə-l-pšət</i>	<i>b-a-pšət</i>	<i>b-ʕa-h-pšət</i>	—	<i>bə-r-pšət</i>
2SgF	<i>b-ʕa-s-pšət</i>	—	—	<i>də-j-pšət</i>	<i>də-l-pšət</i>	<i>d-a-pšət</i>	<i>d-ʕa-h-pšət</i>	<i>d-ʕa-š-pšət</i>	<i>də-r-pšət</i>
3SgH	<i>d-ʕa-s-pšət</i>	<i>d-ʕa-w-pšət</i>	<i>d-ʕa-b-pšət</i>	<i>j-pšət</i>	<i>jə-l-pšət</i>	<i>j-a-pšət</i>	<i>j-ʕa-h-pšət</i>	<i>j-ʕa-š-pšət</i>	<i>jə-r-pšət</i>
3SgN	<i>j-ʕa-s-pšət</i>	<i>j-ʕa-w-pšət</i>	<i>j-ʕa-b-pšət</i>	<i>hə-j-pšət</i>	<i>hə-l-pšət</i>	<i>h-a-pšət</i>	—	<i>h-š-pšət</i>	<i>hə-r-pšət</i>
1Pl	—	<i>h-na-w-pšət</i>	<i>h-b-pšət</i>	<i>šə-j-pšət</i>	<i>šə-l-pšət</i>	<i>š-a-pšət</i>	<i>š-ʕa-h-pšət</i>	—	<i>šə-r-pšət</i>
2Pl	<i>š-ʕa-s-pšət</i>	—	—	<i>jə-j-pšət</i>	<i>jə-l-pšət</i>	<i>j-a-pšət</i>	<i>j-ʕa-h-pšət</i>	—	<i>jə-r-pšət</i>
3Pl	<i>j-ʕa-s-pšət</i>	<i>j-ʕa-w-pšət</i>	<i>j-ʕa-b-pšət</i>	<i>j-pšət</i>	<i>jə-l-pšət</i>	<i>j-a-pšət</i>	<i>j-ʕa-h-pšət</i>	<i>j-ʕa-š-pšət</i>	<i>j-ʕa-r-pšət</i>

Table 10. Bivalent transitive verb (*ba* ‘see’, aorist).

Abs Erg	1Sg	2SgM	2SgF	3SgH	3SgN	1Pl	2Pl	3Pl
1Sg	—	<i>wə-z-bát</i>	<i>bə-z-bát</i>	<i>də-z-bát</i>	<i>jə-z-bát</i>	—	<i>šə-z-bát</i>	<i>jə-z-bát</i>
2SgM	<i>sə-w-bát</i>	—	—	<i>də-w-bát</i>	<i>jə-w-bát</i>	<i>hə-w-bát</i>	—	<i>jə-w-bát</i>
2SgF	<i>s-b-bát</i>	—	—	<i>də-b-bát</i>	<i>jə-b-bát</i>	<i>h-b-bát</i>	—	<i>jə-b-bát</i>
3SgM	<i>sə-j-bát</i>	<i>wə-j-bát</i>	<i>bə-j-bát</i>	<i>də-j-bát</i>	<i>j-bát</i>	<i>hə-j-bát</i>	<i>šə-j-bát</i>	<i>j-bát</i>
3SgF	<i>sə-l-bát</i>	<i>wə-l-bát</i>	<i>bə-l-bát</i>	<i>də-l-bát</i>	<i>jə-l-bát</i>	<i>hə-l-bát</i>	<i>šə-l-bát</i>	<i>jə-l-bát</i>
3SgN	<i>s-a-bát</i>	<i>w-a-bát</i>	<i>b-a-bát</i>	<i>d-a-bát</i>	<i>j-a-bát</i>	<i>h-a-bát</i>	<i>š-a-bát</i>	<i>j-a-bát</i>
1Pl	—	<i>wə-ɣ-bát</i>	<i>bə-ɣ-bát</i>	<i>bə-ɣ-bát</i>	<i>jə-ɣ-bát</i>	—	<i>šə-ɣ-bát</i>	<i>jə-ɣ-bát</i>
2Pl	<i>sə-ž-bát</i>	—	—	<i>də-ž-bát</i>	<i>jə-ž-bát</i>	<i>hə-ž-bát</i>	—	<i>jə-ž-bát</i>
3Pl	<i>sə-r-bát</i>	<i>wə-r-bát</i>	<i>bə-r-bát</i>	<i>də-r-bát</i>	<i>jə-r-bát</i>	<i>hə-r-bát</i>	<i>šə-r-bát</i>	<i>jə-r-bát</i>

Table 11. Trivalent transitive verb (*tə* ‘give’, aorist, 3SG non-human absolutive)

IO Erg	1Sg	2SgM	2SgF	3SgM	3SgF	3SgN	1Pl	2Pl	3Pl
1Sg	—	<i>j-wá-s-tt</i>	<i>j-bá-s-tt</i>	<i>jó-s-tt</i>	<i>j-lá-s-tt</i>	<i>j-á-s-tt</i>	—	<i>j-šá-s-tt</i>	<i>j-rá-s-tt</i>
2SgM	<i>j-ɣa-sá-w-tt</i>	—	—	<i>jó-w-tt</i>	<i>j-lá-w-tt</i>	<i>j-á-w-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-há-w-tt</i>	—	<i>j-rá-w-tt</i>
2SgF	<i>j-ɣa-sá-b-tt</i>	—	—	<i>jó-b-tt</i>	<i>j-lá-b-tt</i>	<i>j-á-b-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-há-b-tt</i>	—	<i>j-rá-b-tt</i>
3SgM	<i>j-ɣa-sá-j-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-wá-j-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-bá-j-tt</i>	<i>jó-j-tt</i>	<i>j-lá-j-tt</i>	<i>j-á-j-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-há-j-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-šá-j-tt</i>	<i>j-rá-j-tt</i>
3SgF	<i>j-ɣa-sá-l-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-wá-l-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-b-sá-l-tt</i>	<i>jó-l-tt</i>	<i>j-lá-l-tt</i>	<i>j-á-l-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-há-l-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-šá-l-tt</i>	<i>j-rá-l-tt</i>
3SgN	<i>j-ɣa-s-ná-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-w-ná-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-b-ná-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-j-ná-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-l-ná-tt</i>	<i>j-a-ná-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-h-ná-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-š-ná-tt</i>	<i>jə-r-ná-tt</i>
1Pl	—	<i>j-wá-h-tt</i>	<i>j-bá-h-tt</i>	<i>jó-h-tt</i>	<i>j-lá-h-tt</i>	<i>j-á-h-tt</i>	—	<i>j-šá-h-tt</i>	<i>j-rá-h-tt</i>
2Pl	<i>j-ɣa-sá-š-tt</i>	—	—	<i>jó-š-tt</i>	<i>j-lá-š-tt</i>	<i>j-á-š-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-há-š-tt</i>	—	<i>j-rá-š-tt</i>
3Pl	<i>j-ɣa-sá-r-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-wá-r-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-bá-r-tt</i>	<i>jó-r-tt</i>	<i>j-lá-r-tt</i>	<i>j-á-r-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-há-r-tt</i>	<i>j-ɣa-šá-r-tt</i>	<i>j-rá-r-tt</i>

There are no restrictions on the co-occurrence of person values of any arguments; for example, ditransitive verbs freely allow first or second person absolutive themes with third person indirect object recipients, cf. (55).

- (55) *sar-g'áj a-vóžd' s-já-j-tə-n*
 1SG-ADD DEF-chief(R) 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PST
 ‘He handed me over to the chief.’ (T)

The three major verb classes (intransitive, transitive and inverse) differ not only in the linking between arguments and cross-referencing prefixes, but also in other morphosyntactic properties, such as formation of imperative, reflexive and reciprocal forms, summarized in Table 12 and illustrated in (56)–(58). As is clear, inverse verbs differ from transitives only in lacking a proper imperative.

Table 12. Differences between verb classes

	Imperative	Reflexive	Reciprocal
Transitive	2SG.ERG omitted (56a)	č- ABS (56b)	<i>aba-</i> ERG (56c)
Intransitive	2SG.ABS overt (57a)	analytic (57b)	other (57c,d)
Inverse	through causative (58a)	č- ABS (58b)	<i>aba-</i> (58c)

- (56) a. *a-sabáj d-žžá / *də-w-žžá*
 DEF-child 3SG.H.ABS-wash(IMP) / *3SG.H.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-wash(IMP)
 ‘Wash the child!’ (E)
- b. *čə-žžá*
 RFL.ABS-wash(IMP)
 ‘Wash yourself!’ (E)

- c. *a-sabáj-k^{wa} j-abá-ǰǰa-t*
 DEF-child-PL 3PL.ABS-REC-wash(AOR)-DCL
 ‘The children washed each other.’ (E)
- (57) a. **(b-)ǰa-s-pšǎ*
 *(2SG.F.ABS-)CISL-1SG.IO-look(IMP)
 ‘Look at me!’ (E)
- b. *p-qa b-a-pšǎ*
 2SG.F.IO-head 2SG.F.ABS-3SG.N.IO-look(IMP)
 ‘Look at yourself!’ (E)
- c. *ás’-aj áχš’-aj aǰ~aǰ jǎ-pšǎ-t / *j-aba-pšǎ-t*
 brother-ADD sister-ADD one.CLH~REC 3PL.ABS-look(AOR)-DCL / *3PL.ABS-REC-look(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Brother and sister looked at each other.’ (E)
- d. *a-sabáj-k^{wa} j-a-c~ác-qrǎǰ-aj-t*
 DEF-child-PL 3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-COM~REC-help-PRS-DCL
 ‘The children help each other.’ (E)
- (58) a. *sǎ-w-q-r-áštǎl / *sǎ-(w)q-áštǎl*
 1SG.ABS-2SG.M.IO-LOC-CAUS-forget(IMP) / *1SG.ABS-(2SG.M.IO-)LOC-forget(IMP)
 ‘Forget me!’ (lit. make yourself forget me) (E)
- b. *aslán zǎ-n-g’áj č-g’ǎ-j-q-aštǎl-wa-m*
 PN one-time-ADD RFL.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-LOC-forget-IPF-NEG
 ‘Aslan never forgets about himself.’ (E)
- c. *zǎ-n-g’áj h-g’-aba-q-áštǎl-wa-šǎ-m*
 one-time-ADD 1PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-REC-LOC-forget-IPF-FUT-NEG
 ‘We shall never forget each other.’ (E)

In their lexical semantics, transitive verbs differ from bivalent intransitives in that the former tend to denote events with clearly affected or effected patients (‘eat’, ‘drink’, ‘make’, ‘write’, ‘break’, ‘wash’, ‘kill’) or changes of state or position (‘buy’, ‘sell’, ‘give’, ‘take’, ‘carry’, ‘throw’, ‘open’), while the latter express such events as impact (‘hit’, ‘touch’, ‘bite’), directed perception (‘look at’, ‘listen to’, ‘search’), mental state or process (‘fear’, ‘think’, ‘wait’, ‘read’), addressee-directed actions (‘ask’, ‘help’, ‘talk to’). The transitive class also includes such verbs as ‘see’, ‘hear’ and ‘know’. Inverse verbs form a closed class of mostly stative or inceptive predicates denoting possession (‘hold’, ‘have’, ‘lack’), mental states (‘forget’, ‘hate’, ‘understand’) and modality (‘want’, ‘need’). Inverse predicates can also be productively derived from transitive verbs by potential and involuntative preverbs (§3.6.8).

3.6.4. Tense and aspect

Abaza verbs fall into two classes differing in their morphology: stative and dynamic. Stative verbs have an impoverished paradigm and comprise a closed class of verbal predicates denoting posture, location, possession, and certain modal notions, as well as resultative derivatives of dynamic verbs; besides that, non-verbal lexical stems assume stative verbal inflection when used predicatively, see §3.1. Dynamic verbs form an open class, including not only activities and events, but some state-denoting predicates as well, e.g. ‘know’. Stative verbs can be turned into dynamic by means of the inceptive suffix *-χa* and the habitual suffix *-zla*, which, among other things, allow stative verbs to build those forms that cannot be formed directly, e.g. the future. In turn, dynamic verbs can be converted into stative ones by resultative formation applying mainly to transitive verbs. Stative verbs can be either intransitive or inverse, while dynamic verbs can be transitive as well.

Some verbal roots have stative and dynamic variants regularly differing in meaning, cf. *ta-gǎla-* (stative) ‘stand in smth.’ ~ *ta-gǎl-* (dynamic) ‘stand into smth.’; the root *ča* ‘sit’ can occur with both stative and dynamic morphology, while the transitive verb *dǎr* ‘know’ in

negative present tense forms takes stative inflection and shows an extended root, cf. *j-g'ə-r-dará-m* 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3PL.ERG-know.ST-NEG ‘they don’t know’ vs. *jə-g'sə-m-dar-t* 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.ERG-NEG-know(AOR)-DCL ‘I didn’t know’.

The division between the so-called “finite” and “non-finite”, or rather, declarative and non-declarative, forms cross-cuts the tense paradigm. The non-finite forms can be considered morphologically basic, because, first, some declarative forms differ from the corresponding non-finite ones by the presence of special markers, and, second, the non-finite paradigm serves as the basis for a much wider array of forms, such as relativization, converbs, non-declarative moods, as well as (partly) for both the finite and non-finite negative forms.

The paradigms of affirmative and negative finite and non-finite tense forms of stative and dynamic verbs are given in Tables 13–15.

Table 13. Tense forms of stative verbs

	affirmative		negative	
	finite	non-finite	finite	non-finite
Present	<i>-p̣/b</i>	<i>-əw</i>	<i>g'-Π-Σ-m</i>	<i>Π-Σ-m</i>
Past	<i>-n</i>	<i>-z</i>	<i>g'-Π-Σ-mə-z-t/d</i>	<i>Π-Σ-mə-z</i>

Table 14. Dynamic verbs, affirmative forms

	basic			retrospectivized	
	finite	non-finite		finite	non-finite
Present	<i>-əj-t/d</i>	<i>-wa</i>	Imperfect	<i>-wa-n</i>	<i>-wa-z</i>
Aorist	<i>-t/d</i>	∅	Preterite	<i>-n</i>	<i>-z</i>
Future I	<i>-wa-š-t/d</i>	<i>-wa-š</i>	Subjunctive I	<i>-wa-šə-n</i>	<i>-wa-šə-z</i>
Future II	<i>-p̣/b</i>	<i>-ra</i>	Subjunctive II	<i>-rə-n</i>	<i>-rə-z</i>

Table 15. Dynamic verbs, negative forms

	basic			retrospectivized	
	finite	non-finite		finite	non-finite
Present	<i>g'-Π-Σ-wa-m</i>	<i>Π-m-Σ-wa</i>	Imperfect	<i>g'-Π-Σ-wa-mə-z-t ~ g'-Π-m-Σ-wa-z-t</i>	<i>Π-m-Σ-wa-z</i>
Aorist	<i>g'-Π-m-Σ-t</i>	<i>Π-m-Σ</i>	Preterite	<i>g'-Π-m-Σ-z-t</i>	<i>Π-m-Σ-z</i>
Future I	<i>g'-Π-Σ-wa-šə-m</i>	<i>Π-m-Σ-wa-š</i>	Subjunctive I	<i>g'-Π-m-Σ-wa-šə-z-t</i>	<i>Π-m-Σ-wa-šə-z</i>
Future II	<i>g'-Π-Σ-rə-m</i>	<i>Π-m-Σ-ra</i>	Subjunctive II	<i>g'-Π-m-Σ-rə-z-t</i>	<i>Π-m-Σ-rə-z</i>

Notes on the morphology:

(i) The static Present / dynamic Future II suffix *-p̣* has the variant *-b*, which is considered more colloquial; the same concerns the declarative suffix *-t ~ d*.

(ii) The imperfective suffix *-wa* coalesces with the preceding /a/ into /əw/ [u] unless followed by /C/ (the exact conditioning of the rule is not fully clear):

- (59) a. *bzaza-ra* b. *d-bzaz-əw-n* c. *d-bzaza-wa(-ta)*
 live-MSD 3SG.H.ABS-live-IPF-PST 3SG.H.ABS-live-IPF(-ADV)
 ‘to live’ ‘s/he was living’ ‘while s/he is living’ (E)

- (60) a. *dar-ra* b. *jə-z-dar-wa-n*
 know-MSD 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-IPF-PST
 ‘to know’ ‘I knew it’ (E)

(iii) The non-finite Future II suffix usually surfaces as *-r(ə)* before further suffixes.

The Present tense denotes situations whose timespan includes the speech time, such as durative states (61a), progressive processes (61b) or habitual (61c) and generic (61d) situations, as well as historical present (61e).

- (61) a. *zəmɸʷá j-rá-ma-b*
all 3N.ABS-3PL.IO-have-NPST.DCL
'They have everything' (T)
- b. *a-sabáj d-čáw-əj-d*
DEF-child 3SG.H.ABS-cry-PRS-DCL
'The child is crying.' (E)
- c. *áč'á g'-já-r-t-wa-m*
money NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give-IPF-NEG
'They don't pay him.' (T)
- d. *a-sabəj-kʷa-g'əj bzəj jə-ŋ-b-əj-t*
DEF-child-PL-ADD good 3PL.ABS-1PL.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
'And we love children.' (T)
- e. *h-ʔa-cá-χə-z sa məma d-ŋa-sə-njá-n*
1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-go-RE-PST я мама 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.ERG-meet-PST
h-an j-l-á-s-hʷ-əj-t
1PL.IO-mama 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
'When I came home I met my mother and I tell her.' (T)

The past tense of stative verbs denotes states holding before the speech time:

- (62) a. *ž-za.žə-k ... j-hə-ma-n*
cow-one-UNIT 3SG.N.ABS-1PL.IO-have-PST
'We had one cow.' (T)
- b. *awəj ákʷə-m-kʷa za.k-g'əj g'-s-taqə-mə-z-t*
DIST COP-NEG-CVB.NEG one-ADD NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-want-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
'I didn't want anything apart from that.' (T)

The formally unmarked Aorist is a perfective past denoting completed (63a,b) or temporally bounded situations (63c,d), and serves as the main narrative tense.

- (63) a. *j-g'-zə-na-m-za-t ... j-ká-ha-t*
3PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-TRAL-NEG-reach(AOR)-DCL 3PL.ABS-LOC-fall(AOR)-DCL
'They didn't manage to reach it (the sky) ... and fell down.' (T)
- b. *a-cáca dəw-žžá-ta j-ŋa-jə-t*
DEF-turnip big-INT-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-go(AOR)-DCL
'The turnip grew very big.' (T)
- c. *a-waq j-ša-nžək'a.ra j-s-zə-pšŋa-t*
DEF-night 3SG.N.ABS-dawn-UNTIL 3PL.ABS-1SG.IO-BEN-search(AOR)-DCL
'They searched for me till dawn.' (T)
- d. *pš'ə-məz-k sə-n-χá-d*
four-month-UNIT 1SG.ABS-LOC-work(AOR)-DCL
'I worked (there) for four months.' (T)

The Aorist has a special non-temporal use in wishes:

- (64) a. *wə-zɸʷada-χa-t s-aš'a!*
2M.ABS-healthy-INC(AOR)-DCL 1SG.IO-брат
'Be healthy, my brother!' (AbPo)
- b. *j-awəra-χa-t wə-nçra!*
3SG.N.ABS-long-INC(AOR)-DCL 2SG.M.IO-жизнь
'Let your life be long!' (AbPo)

Retrospectivized forms are shifted back into the past with respect to the corresponding basic forms. Thus the Imperfect denotes durative (65a), progressive (65b,c) and habitual (65d) situations in the past.

- (65) a. *zž'ára j-bzáz-əw-n*
 somewhere 3PL.ABS-live-IPF-PST
 'They lived somewhere.' (T)
- b. *a-zəŋ^w s-an-ta-pšə ásqan*
 DEF-river 1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-LOC-look time
šáqə-m-k^wa za.k-g'əj g'-ŋá-mə-j-wa-z-ŋ
 foam-NEG-CVB.NEG one-ADD NEG.EMP-CISL-NEG-go-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
 'When I looked at the river, nothing but foam was coming.' (T)
- c. *jaqa a-sə-žpa-za j-ŋa-s-wa-n*
 night DEF-snow-thick-INT 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-snow-IPF-PST
 'At night thick snow was falling down.' (AbPo)
- d. *za.žə~za.žə-mca j-ŋá-j-wa-n ansəj-wáq-g'əj*
 one ~DISTR-CVB 3PL.ABS-CISL-go-IPF-PST every-night-ADD
 'They would come one by one every night.' (T)

The finite Preterite is mainly used in narratives as a non-final form in sequences of clauses denoting chains of successive events and ending in an Aorist form (66a). It is also used in a reduplicated construction emphasizing durative events, where it follows the Aorist form of the same verb (66b).

- (66) a. *jə-r-ga-n, jə-r-š'ə-n,*
 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-carry-PST 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-cut-PST
dara jə-r-fa-χ-d
 3PL 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-eat-RE-DCL
 'They took it (the calf), slaughtered it and ate it themselves.' (T)
- b. *d-á-q-ŋ-d-á-qə-n*
 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-pull(AOR)-DCL-3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-pull-PST
j-g'ə-r-z-ŋa-lə-m-χ-ŋ
 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-POT-CISL-LOC-NEG-take(AOR)-DCL
 'He pulled and pulled but could not pull it (the turnip) out.' (T)

When used in isolation, the Preterite implies that the result of a past situation no longer holds at reference time (67a), in contrast to the Aorist, which by default implies that the result still holds (67b) (Klyagina 2018: 46–47; Klyagina & Arkadiev 2019):

- (67) a. *səwltan d-ŋa-j-n*
 PN 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-go-PST
 'Sultan came (and went away).' (Klyagina 2018: 46)
- b. *səwltan d-ŋa-j-d*
 PN 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-go(AOR)-DCL
 'Sultan came (and is still here).' (Klyagina 2018: 46)

In non-finite forms, the Preterite denotes situations preceding the reference time set by the matrix clause (68), however, such uses require further investigation.

- (68) *hə-nbž'aŋ^w-ča-k^wa j-ná-mə-j-k^wa-z rá-qaz*
 1PL.IO-friend-PLH-PL REL.ABS-TRAL-NEG-go-PL-PST.NFIN 3PL.IO-for
j-rə-z-ŋá-ŋ-ga-ŋ
 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-CISL-1PL.ERG-carry(AOR)-DCL
 'We brought it for those our friends who had not gone (with us).' (T)

The semantic difference between Future I and Future II is not yet well-understood. Future I is by far the most frequent form of the two, being used for neutral reference to events following the speech time such as predictions (69a,b) or plans (69c,d).

- (69) a. *a-risunḡa a-pnə jə-ʒ-b-əw-š-t*
 DEF-drawing(R) 3SG.N.IO-at 3SG.N.ABS-2PL.ERG-see-IPF-FUT-DCL
 ‘You will see it in the picture.’ (T)
- b. *ʔə-ra z-m-əw rə-bəzša bzaz-əw-š-t*
 write-MSD REL.IO-have-PRS.NFIN 3PL.IO-language live-IPF-FUT-DCL
 ‘Their written language will be alive.’ (Abazašta 2017)
- c. *čə-s-qʷara-χ-wa-š-t j-hʷa-n*
 RFL.ABS-1SG.ERG-strangle-RE-IPF-FUT-DCL 3SG.M.ERG-say-PST
 ‘He said, “I will drown myself.”’ (T)
- d. *s-gʷ-na-j-χ-wa-šə-m h-pnə*
 1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-TRAL-go-RE-IPF-FUT-NEG 1PL.IO-at
 ‘I won’t go back home.’ (T)

Future II has modalized uses such as promises and vows (70a), threats (70b), spontaneous decisions (70c) and questions like (70d). It is not allowed in reference to situations whose occurrence is scheduled or determined by natural laws (70e).

- (70) a. *ara.ʔá a-pnə qalərta h-čʰpá-p-ta*
 PROX.LOC 3SG.N.IO-at stairs 1PL.ERG-do-NPST.DCL-ADV
 ‘We shall build stairs here...’ (T)
- b. *arəj wə-naḡə jə-kʷə-w-ča-p-ta*
 PROX 2SG.M.IO-hand 3SG.M.IO-LOC-2SG.M.ERG-put-NPST-ADV
n-ç-ra-ta j-sə-m-əw haram-ta
 LOC-live-MSD-ADV REL.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PRS.NFIN forbidden-ADV
wə-s-čʰpa-p
 2SG.M.ABS-1SG.ERG-do-NPST
 ‘You raise your hand against him and I will make you alien for the rest of my life.’ (T)
- c. *sará arəj a-televízor-gʷəj na-s-áχʷ-p-ta*
 1SG PROX DEF-tv.set(R)-ADD TRAL-1SG.ERG-take-NPST.DCL-ADV
j-hʷa-t s-qə-s-p
 3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL 1SG.ABS-LOC-cross-NPST.DCL
 ‘I’ll take this tv-set and I’ll cross (the river with it), he said.’ (T)
- d. *s-cá-χə-r-ma?*
 1SG.ABS-go-RE-FUT.NFIN-Q
 ‘Should I go?’ (example courtesy of Evgenia Klyagina)
- e. *sahat-bža-ḡ-la a-sahat-až-ba na-ʒ-əw-š-t /*na-ʒa-p*
 hour-half-UNIT-INS DEF-hour-eight-CLN TRAL-reach-IPF-FUT-DCL /*TRAL-reach-NPST.DCL
 ‘In half an hour it will be eight o’clock.’ (example courtesy of Evgenia Klyagina)

Both future forms can be retrospectivized to form the corresponding Subjunctives. Subjunctive I is used to express situations following a reference point in the past (71a), and has as a variety of modal uses such as apodoses of irrealis conditionals (71b), wishes (71c), epistemic (71d) or situational (71e) possibility.

- (71) a. *wadərʔwána a-ḡalχóz-la d-cá-χ-wa-šə-n*
 then DEF-kolkhoz(R)-INS 3SG.H.ABS-go-RE-IPF-FUT-PST
 ‘Then she was going to return to the kolkhoz (field).’ (T)
- b. *rəça šʰardá wə-č-zə-rkʷən*
 more many 2SG.M.ABS-sleep-PST-COND
rəça máčʰ-ta w-ḡa-ps-əw-šə-n
 more little-ADV 2SG.M.ABS-CISL-get.tired-IPF-FUT-PST
 ‘If you slept more, you would get tired less.’ (E)

- c. *awá-la h-já-h^w-əw-šə-n r-h^wa-t*
 DIST-INS 1PL.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask-IPF-FUT-PST 3PL.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 ‘We would ask him about that, they said.’ (T)
- d. *jará d-g’ə-z-šá-mə-j-t*
 3SG.M 3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-CISL-NEG-go(AOR)-DCL
wəs j-š’árda-ta šá-çç-wa-šə-n
 deed 3SG.N.ABS-many-ADV CISL-go.out-IPF-FUT-PST
 ‘He could not come, he must have been occupied.’ (T)
- e. *j-zə-zca-k^w-əw-šə-z*
 REL.ABS-POT-swim-PL-IPF-FUT-PST
 ‘those who could swim (lit. who would be able to...)’ (T)

The uses of the Subjunctive II are not sufficiently studied and seem to overlap with those of the Subjunctive I, cf. future in the past (72a), non-referential irrealis under negation (72b), and irrealis conditional apodosis (72c).

- (72) a. *wakən-la h-ana-ša-j-χ-rə-z*
 evening-INS 1PL.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-go-RE-FUT.NFIN-PST.NFIN
awa.ʔa h-ata-də-r-ca-χ-wa-n
 DIST.LOC 1PL.ABS-REP-3PL.ERG-CAUS-go-RE-IPF-PST
 ‘In the evenings, when we were going to return home, they would again turn us back.’ (T)
- b. *sara s-a-z-rə-pχ’a-rə-z*
 я 1SG.ABS-DAT-REL.ERG-CAUS-learn-FUT.NFIN-PST.NFIN
də-g’-sə-ma-mə-z-d
 3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-have-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
 ‘I didn’t have anybody who would teach me.’ (T)
- c. *sara j-ša-s-çša-rək^wnə-z ...*
 1SG 3PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-ask-COND-PST.NFIN
š’awap-ta j-s-h^wa-rə-n
 answer-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-say-FUT.NFIN-PST
 ‘If they had asked me, I would have said...’ (AbPo)

In addition to the basic tense-aspect paradigm there is a large number of optional affixes mainly occurring in slot +2 and expressing aspectual and evaluative meanings (Avidzba 2017, Panova 2019a):

-χ’a iamitive ‘already’ (for more details, see Klyagina 2018: 40–46; Klyagina & Panova 2019; Panova 2019a: 26–30); with stative verbs occurs in both present and past tenses (73a), with dynamic verbs is limited to the past (73b); in addition to ‘already’ expresses events that have occurred at least once in the past (experiential perfect) (73a); bare verbal roots with the iamitive can behave as nominals, cf. *apχ’a-χ’a* ‘learned, scholarly’ (possibly a calque from Russian *učenyj* ‘id.’).

- (73) a. *sara dawstan jg’əj adəgeja s-aʔa-χ’a-n*
 1SG Dagestan and Adygheya(R) 1SG.ABS-be-IAM-PST
 ‘I have already been to Dagestan and Adygheya.’ (Abazašta 2017)
- b. *jə-w-f-əw-š-g’əj qa-g’əj zəmɽ^wá s-rə-hazər-χ’a-t*
 REL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-eat-IPF-FUT-ADD head-ADD all 1SG.ERG-CAUS-ready-IAM-DCL
 ‘I have already prepared food and everything for you.’ (T)

-s ‘not yet’, serves as a negative counterpart of the iamitive in dynamic verbs (74) (see Klyagina & Panova 2019), but occurs in slot +4, as evidenced by its position with respect to the plural suffix in non-finite forms (*j-lə-m-ššə-k^wa-s* REL.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-NEG-wash-PL-

NONDUM ‘those that she has not yet washed’ vs. *jə-l-ʒʒa-χ’a-k^wa-z* REL.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-wash-IAM-PL-PST.NFIN ‘those that she has already washed’, Panova 2019a: ex. 67, 60).

- (74) *arəj a-bzaza-ra a-maʒnə*
 PROX DEF-live-MSD 3SG.N.IO-meaning
za.ʒə j-g’ə-j-zə-m-h^wa-s-t wəʒ.ʒan-za-ra
 one 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-POT-NEG-say-NONDUM-DCL this.time-LIM-MSD-SUF
 ‘Up till now nobody has yet said what the meaning of this life is.’ (AbPo)

-rk^wa continuative ‘still’ (Klyagina & Panova 2019; Panova 2019a: 23–26); with dynamic verbs attaches either to the bare stem (75a) or to the imperfective *-wa* (75b); the Imperfect of the continuative can show two instances of the imperfective (75c); does not occur in the Aorist.

- (75) a. *sakəjnət a-qəʃ d-pšə-rk^w-əj-t*
 PN DEF-window 3SG.H.ABS-look-CNT-PRS-DCL
 ‘Sakinat is still looking through the window.’ (Panova 2019a: ex. 51)
- b. *a-č’mazaʒ^w.tara də-n-χa-wa-rk^w-əj-d*
 DEF-hospital 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-work-IPF-CNT-PRS-DCL
 ‘S/he still works at the hospital.’ (Panova 2019a: ex. 52)
- c. *raš’əjd j-ləmha a-h^wssa r-bəʒ’-k^wa tə-ɣ^w-wa-rk^w-əw-n*
 PN 3SG.M.IO-ear DEF-girl.PL 3PL.IO-voice-PL LOC.ELAT-run-IPF-CNT-IPF-PST
 ‘The girls’ voices still resounded in Rashid’s ears.’ (Tabulova 1976: 207)

-la habitual (Panova 2019a: 19–21) expresses regularly occurring events (76); does not occur in Aorist and is mutually exclusive with the iamitive (Panova 2019a: 76).

- (76) *sarə s-an-χ^wəcə-z s-án l-aš’á arəj angljiska-la*
 1SG 1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-small-PST.NFIN 1SG.IO-mother 3SG.F.IO-brother PROX English(R)-INS
j-a-l-rə-pχ’-əw-š-t h^wá
 3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-learn-IPF-FUT-DCL QUOT
j-ʒa-s-á-j-h^w-l-əw-n
 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-3M.ERG-say-HAB-IPF-PST
 ‘When I was a child my maternal uncle used to say that I would become a teacher of English.’ (T)

-zla habitual-dynamic with stative verbs (Panova 2019a: 20–21); in addition to expressing habituality (77a) often serves to turn stative verbs into dynamic with a fuller paradigm of tense-aspect forms, cf. the Future II of ‘have’ in (77b).

- (77) a. *a-č’k^wən-χ^wəc a-čarta d-š’ta-zl-əj-t*
 DEF-guy-small DEF-bed 3SG.H.ABS-lie-DYN-PRS-DCL
 ‘The boy often lies in bed.’ (Panova 2019a: ex. 41b)
- b. *waçəq^wan j-a-ma-zla-ḡ ž’awap*
 then 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-have-DYN-NPST.DCL answer
wara j-wə-r-gələ-z w-a-z-çfa-ra
 2SG.M REL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-CAUS-stand-PST.NFIN 2SG.M.IO-3SG.N.IO-BEN-ask-MSD
 ‘Then the answer to the question you posed will appear.’ (AbPo)

-zapət (< Kabardian) frequentative ‘often’ (Panova 2019a: 21–23); combines with both stative (78a) and dynamic (78b) verbs; with the latter can be reinforced by the habitual *-la* (*r-h^wa-zapət-l-əw-n* 3PL.ERG-say-FREQ-HAB-IPF-PST ‘they used to often say’, Tabulova 1976: 208).

- (78) a. *a-ʒa-šələ-rta h^wənç-zapətə-n*
 DEF-CISL-go.in-NLOC dirt-FREQ-PST
 ‘The entrance was always dirty.’ (Tabulova 1976: 208)

- b. *a-naməca a-bna-la d-ʕa-pš-zapət-wa-n*
 DEF-German(R) DEF-forest-INS 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-look-FREQ-IPF-PST
 ‘The German would often look towards the forest.’ (Tabulova 1976: 208)

-*χ* reflexive ‘back, again’ (Avidzba 1968; Panova 2019a: 11–19, 55–61; 2019b); denotes backwards motion (79a), reversion towards the original state (79b), completion (79c); under negation expresses discontinuity ‘no longer’ (79d). In the meaning of pure repetition is usually reinforced by the prefix *ata-* in slot –10 (79e). The reflexive also often occurs in reflexive (79f) constructions, and is prone to lexicalization (e.g. *dər-χ* know-RE ‘remember’).

- (79) a. *j-z-áč^w-bzáj š-ʕá-j-χ-ja*
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-belong-good 2PL.ABS-CISL-go-RE(AOR)-QN
 ‘It is so good that you came back!’ (T)
- b. *s-g^{wə} a-χ^{wə}.rta sə-w-rə-χ’-χ-əj-t*
 1SG.IO-heart 3SG.N.IO-wound 1SG.IO-2SG.M.ERG-CAUS-cool.down-RE-PRS-DCL
 ‘You cool down the wounds of my heart.’ (AbPo)
- c. *χ-kilómétar-k-əj-bža-k-əj, pš’-ba-k j-na-z-əw-z*
 three-kilometer-unit-ADD-half-UNIT-ADD four-CLN-UNIT REL.ABS-TRAL-reach-IPF-PST.NFIN
á-m^{wə} ʕa-mə-z-dá-χə-n
 DEF-road CISL-LOC-1SG.ERG-cover-RE-PST
 ‘I covered a distance of three and a half to four kilometers.’ (T)
- d. *d-psə-χ-t d-g’-sə-ma-χə-m*
 3SG.H.ABS-die-RE(AOR)-DCL 3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-have-RE-NEG
 ‘He died, he is no longer with me.’ (T)
- e. *č-an-hə-r-pχá áms’tax’ a-zá*
 RFL.ABS-REL.TMP-1PL.ERG-CAUS-warm after DEF-water
č-atá-ta-h-psa-χə-n
 RFL.ABS-REP-LOC-1PL.ERG-pour-RE-PST
 ‘After we had warmed ourselves we went into the water again.’ (T)
- f. *zawağ a-zə č-a-j-rə-q^wara-χ-t*
 PN DEF-river RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-SG.3M.ERG-CAUS-strangle-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Zawal drowned himself.’ (T)

-*za* intensive ‘very much, completely, really’ (Panova 2019a: 30–34, 61–65), possibly related to the verb root meaning ‘reach’; denotes either a high degree of the realization of the situation (80a,b) or the speaker’s assertion of the fact (80c):

- (80) a. *a-qaça dəwmp-ta adg’əl d-kəl-št-ra s-taq-za-χ-əj-t*
 DEF-man at.once-ADV DEF+place 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-vanish-MSD 1SG.IO-want-INT-INC-PRS-DCL
 ‘I start strongly wishing that the husband disappear at once.’ (AbPo)
- b. *fatima ča l-fa-za-t*
 PN apple 3SG.ERG-eat-INT(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Fatima ate an apple completely.’ (Panova 2019a: ex. 77b)
- c. *a-č’k^{wən} a-ča.rta a-pnə d-š’ta-za-p*
 DEF-guy DEF-bed 3SG.N.IO-at 3SG.H.ABS-lie-INT-NPST.DCL
 ‘The boy is indeed lying on the bed.’ (Panova 2019a: ex. 70b)

-*ča* excessive ‘too much’ (Panova 2019a: 34–35):

- (81) a. *awát zəməwá j-š’arda-ča-χá-t j-ʔa-tá-z*
 DIST.PL all 3PL.ABS-many-EXC-INC(AOR)-DCL 3PL.ABS-REL.LOC-be.in-PST.NFIN
 ‘They all became too numerous where they were.’ (T)

- b. *sə-j-pšə-n* *j-ž'a-s-š'a-čá-n*
 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-look-PST 3SG.N.ABS-LOC-1SG.ERG-wonder-EXC-PST
 'I looked at him and greatly wondered.' (T)

-*χα* inceptive, attaches to nominals and stative verbs to form dynamic verbs denoting the coming about of the state, cf (81a) and (82):

- (82) *sará* *j-š-á-s-hʷə-rnəs* *j-s-taqə-p*
 1SG 3SG.N.ABS-2PL.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PURP 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-want-NPST.DCL
s-š-a-rə-pχ'a-ŋʷ-χa-z
 1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-DAT-CAUS-learn-NAG-INC-PST.NFIN
 'I'd like to tell you how I became a teacher.' (T)

-*g'aša*, -*ŋʷəša* intensive 'very much' with stative verbs: *jə-mcəra-g'aša-p* 'it is absolutely empty', *j-ck'a-ŋʷəša-p* 'it is very clean' (Tabulova 1976: 213);

-*ŋʷaca* 'just, only', -*zažək* 'only' (< one-INDF) (Panova 2019a: 45–47) are verb-bound unselective quantifiers taking in their scope any part of the sentence (83a,b); -*ŋʷaca* also has the temporal meaning 'just' (83c), usually realised in the Aorist; these markers are incompatible with the Iamitive.

- (83) a. *zarema* *a-hʷrapšza-kʷa* *zə* *rə-kʷə-l-čə-zažək-wa-n*
 PN DEF-flower-PL water 3PL.IO-LOC-3SG.F.ERG-pour-JUST-IPF-PST
 i. 'Zarema only watered the flowers (she did nothing else).'
 ii. 'Zarema watered only the flowers (and nothing else).'
 iii. 'Only Zarema watered the flowers (and nobody else).' (Panova 2019a: ex. 101)
- b. *fatima* *a-tamš'ak-kʷa* *l-žž'a-ŋʷac-əw-n*
 PN DEF-plate-PL 3SG.F.ERG-wash-JUST-IPF-PST
 i. 'Fatima only washed the plates (she did nothing else).'
 ii. 'Fatima washed only the plates (and nothing else).'
 iii. 'Only Fatima washed the plates (and nobody else).' (Panova 2019a: ex. 100)
- c. *s-ŋa-čə-χa-ŋʷacá-ť*
 1SG.ABS-CISL-awake-INC-JUST(AOR)-DCL
 'I have just woken up.' (E)

-*gʷəš'a*, -*məŋʷa* depreciative 'pity, poor' (Panova 2019a: 41–45): express either the speaker's sympathy with respect to one of the participants of the situation (84a,b) or the speaker's regret about the whole fact (84c).

- (84) a. *madina rasul* *də-j-pš-gʷəš'-əw-n*
 PN PN 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.M.IO-look-DPRC-IPF-PST
 i. 'Poor Madina was looking at Rasul.'
 ii. 'Madina was looking at poor Rasul.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 95b)
- b. *awəj* *moskva* *d-ca-məŋʷa-ť*
 DIST Moscow 3SG.H.ABS-go-DPRC(AOR)-DCL
 'The poor one went to Moscow.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 92b)
- c. *a-pša* *ŋa-s-məŋʷa/-gʷəš'a-ť*
 DEF-wind CISL-hit-DPRC(AOR)-DCL
 'Unfortunately, the wind blew.' (Panova 2019a: ex. 94b)

The suffixes described above may combine with each other, although such combinations only very rarely occur in texts and many of them, including those semantically plausible, are rejected in elicitation (see Panova 2019a: 67–85 for a discussion). Examples (85a,b) present especially long strings of suffixes accepted by our consultants.

- (85) a. *a-ž'á s-rá-ž-čá-ŋ^waca-məŋ^wa-t*
 DEF-meat 1SG.ERG-CAUS-roast-EXC-JUST-DPRC(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Unfortunately, I have just burnt (lit. roasted too much) the meat.’ (E)
- b. *d-ata-ca-χ-zapət-la-rk^w-əj-t*
 3SG.H.ABS-REP-go-RE-FREQ-HAB-CNT-PRS-DCL
 ‘S/he keeps coming again and again.’ (Panova 2019a: ex. 116)

In addition to the temporal and aspectual forms marked by dedicated affixes or affixal combinations, there also exists a resultative form which is encoded by converting the verb into the stative class and (for transitive verbs) removing the ergative prefix, cf. (86).

- (86) a. *a-ph^wáspa á-š ɣa-l-tá-d*
 DEF-girl DEF-door CISL-3SG.F.ERG-open(AOR)-DCL
 ‘The girl opened the door.’ (E)
- b. *hə-š-k^wa tə-p̣*
 1PL.IO-door-PL open(RES)-NPST.DCL
 ‘Our doors are open.’ (AbPo)

The resultative attaches the regular stative verbal morphology and is compatible with most aspectual suffixes; notably, it is the only form where the lamitive co-occurs with negation (87), since the ‘not yet’ suffix *-s* does not occur with stative verbs.

- (87) *arəj a-həjsap j-g'-č'pa-χ'a-m*
 PROX DEF-problem 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-do-IAM-NEG
 ‘This problem is not yet solved.’ (E)

The resultative can function not only as a predicate, but also as an adjectival modifier, cf. *sə-laž-tə-r-ŋ^wŋ^wə* 1SG.IO-tear-LOC.ELAT-CAUS-pour(RES) ‘my tears that have poured out’ (AbPo). Like nominals, the resultative can be further dynamicized by the inceptive suffix thus forming a passive-like form (88) (see §3.6.8).

- (88) *ačə-ja jə-r-zə-w-h^w-əw-š j-š'-χa-z a-ž'amŋat?*
 belong-QN REL.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-2SG.M.ERG-say-IPF-FUT REL.ABS-kill(RES)-INC-PST.NFIN DEF-society
 ‘What will the society say about those who were killed?’ (AbPo)

3.6.5. Evidentiality

Abaza does not have grammaticalized evidential categories; the only formation that can be linked to evidentiality is the Inferential, expressing epistemic evaluation of a proposition. This is a complex formation involving the suffix *-za-* attaching to the non-finite tense suffixes and itself furnished with the Future II (for basic tenses) or Subjunctive II (for retrospectivized tenses) markers. Tables 16–18 show the paradigms of the Inferential for stative and affirmative and negative dynamic verbs (cf. Lomtadze et al. 1989: 115–116; Panova 2019a: 40).

Table 16. Inferential forms of stative verbs

	affirmative	negative
present	<i>-za-p̣</i>	<i>g'-Π-Σ-m-za-p̣ ~ g'-Π-Σ-za-rə-m</i>
past	<i>-za-rə-n</i>	<i>g'-Π-Σ-m-za-rə-z-ṭ</i>

Table 17. Inferential forms of dynamic verbs (affirmative)

	basic	retrospectivized	
present	<i>-wa-za-p̣</i>	imperfect	<i>-wa-za-rə-n</i>
aorist	<i>-za-p̣</i>	preterite	<i>-za-rə-n</i>
future I	<i>-wa-š-za-p̣</i>	subjunctive I	<i>-wa-š-za-rə-n</i>

Table 18. Inferential forms of dynamic verbs (negative)

	basic		retrospectivized
present	$g^{\prime}\text{-}\Pi\text{-}m\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}wa\text{-}za\text{-}\dot{p}$	imperfect	$g^{\prime}\text{-}\Pi\text{-}m\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}wa\text{-}za\text{-}r\dot{a}\text{-}z\text{-}\dot{t}$
aorist	$g^{\prime}\text{-}\Pi\text{-}m\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}za\text{-}\dot{p}$	preterite	$g^{\prime}\text{-}\Pi\text{-}m\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}za\text{-}r\dot{a}\text{-}z\text{-}\dot{t}$
future I	$g^{\prime}\text{-}\Pi\text{-}m\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}wa\text{-}\check{s}\text{-}za\text{-}\dot{p}$	subjunctive I	$g^{\prime}\text{-}\Pi\text{-}m\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}wa\text{-}\check{s}\text{-}za\text{-}r\dot{a}\text{-}z\text{-}\dot{t} \sim$ $g^{\prime}\text{-}\Pi\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}wa\text{-}\check{s}\text{-}za\text{-}r\dot{a}\text{-}m$

The epistemic evaluation in the inferential is anchored to the present tense, and the tense marking of the whole inferential form refers to the time of the event (89); likewise, the inferential has wide scope over negation (90).

- (89) a. *a-bzaza-ra s-aj.g^wʙ-əw-za-ṗ sa š'arda-ĉa-la*
 DEF-live-MSD 1SG.ABS-hope-IPF-INFR-NPST.DCL 1SG much-EXC-INS
 ‘Maybe I trust life too much.’ (AbPo)
- b. *š'ta-k̄ d̄ə-k^w-š̄a-χ'a-za-r̄ə-n k'arəjm*
 trace-INDF 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-fall-IAM-INFR-FUT.NFIN-PST PN
 ‘Karim must have already traced it down.’ (AbPo)
- (90) a. *a-bna h-a-za-rnəs saržna-ŋ^wə-š̄-k̄ aha*
 DEF-forest 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-reach-PURP sazhen-two-hundred-INDF more
g^h-hə-ma-χə-m-za-ṗ
 NEG.EMP-1PL.IO-have-RE-NEG-INFR-NPST.DCL
 ‘For us to reach the forest, there must have been no more than four hundred yards left.’ (Tabulova 1976: 169)
- b. *d̄ə-g^h-ŋa-m̄-j-s-za-r̄ə-z-t*
 3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-CISL-NEG-go-NONDUM-INFR-FUT.NFIN-PST.NFIN-DCL
 ‘He must not have come yet.’ (Tabulova 1976: 170)

Nominals and stative verbs also form the inferential by means of the inceptive suffix *-χa* with Future I (91a) or Future II (91b) markers.

- (91) a. *sə-m-ŋ^waš'-əw-ztən, bə-vrač'-χa-ṗ*
 1SG.ABS-NEG-ERG-IPF-COND.REAL 2SG.F.ABS-doctor(R)-INC-NPST.DCL
 ‘If I am not mistaken, you must be a doctor.’ (Tabulova 1976: 168)
- b. *arə-g'əj h-mama l-ak^w-χ-əw-š̄-t*
 PROX-ADD 1PL.IO-mother 3SG.F.IO-COP-INC-IPF-FUT-DCL
 ‘That must be our mother.’ (Tabulova 1976: 168)

Tabulova (1976: 305–306) mentions the suffix *-ja* attaching to declarative past tense forms and allegedly signaling reported evidentiality; however, in our corpus it only occurs with the speech verb ‘say’ introducing reported speech (92), therefore its status as an evidentiality marker is disputable.

- (92) *sa s-oficér-savétskoj-ármii, j-h^wá-d-ja*
 1SG 1SG.ABS-officer-of.Soviet-army(R) 3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL-SUF
 ‘I’m an officer of the Soviet army, he said.’ (T)

3.6.6. Mood and modality

The two subjunctive moods belong to the tense paradigm and have been discussed in §3.6.4. Here the non-assertive moods will be described.

The imperative consists of the bare stem without any temporal affixes. With transitive verbs, the second person singular ergative prefix is omitted (93a), while the plural ergative prefix remains in place (93b); likewise, the addressee of the imperative is overtly expressed with intransitive verbs (93c). Stative verbs form the imperative with the dynamicizing suffix

-zla (93d). The addressee of the imperative can be expressed by an overt pronoun or nominal (93a,c).

- (93) a. *jálah k^wa-ták^w řá-ta*
 god rain-little CISL-give(IMP)
 ‘Oh God, give (us) a little rain!’ (T)
- b. *č-řa-ř-rə-hazər*
 RFL.ABS-CISL-2PL.ERG-CAUS-ready(IMP)
 ‘Prepare yourselves!’ (Tabulova 1976: 155)
- c. *w-řa-j wara*
 2SG.M.ABS-CISL-go(IMP) 2SG.M
 ‘You go with me!’ (T)
- d. *w-ča-zla*
 2SG.M.ABS-sit-DYN(IMP)
 ‘Keep sitting!’ (Tabulova 1976: 156)

As said in §3.6.3, inverse verbs form their imperative through causativization, lit. ‘cause yourself to V’, see (58a) above.

The prohibitive contains the negative prefix and the suffix *-n* (Π - m - Σ - n); the addressee is always expressed by the appropriate personal prefix, cf. (94a) with an intransitive and (94b) with a transitive verb. Inverse verbs again are first causativized (94c).

- (94) a. *wə-m-g^wərř^wa-n*
 2SG.M.ABS-NEG-grieve-IMP.NEG
 ‘Don’t grieve!’ (T)
- b. *awəj a-řawm-g’əj bə-m-h^wa-n*
 DIST DEF-so.much-ADD 2SG.F.ERG-NEG-say-IMP.NEG
 ‘Don’t say so much!’ (T)
- c. *sə-b-q-bə-m-r-áštələ-n*
 1SG.ABS-2SG.F.IO-LOC-2SG.F.ERG-NEG-CAUS-forget-IMP.NEG
 ‘Don’t forget about me!’ (E)

The imperative of a causative with a 1PL causee serves as a hortative: *h-řə-r-č’á* 1PL.ABS-2PL.ERG-CAUS-eat(IMP) ‘let’s have a meal’ (Genko 1955: 156), *d-hə-r-r-č’a* 3SG.H.ABS-1PL.IO-CAUS-CAUS-eat.ITR(IMP) ‘let’s feed him’ (Tabulova 1976: 156).

Imperative forms attach the suffix *-st* to express a variety of intersubjective flavours such as emphasis or politeness (Tabulova 1976: 155), cf. (95), where the reason for the use of the suffix is unclear.

- (95) *a-təwmán a-pnə j-h^wá-z sə-r-h^wá-ř-st*
 DEF-ten.roubles 3SG.N.IO-at REL.ABS+3SG.ERG-say-PST.NFIN 1SG.IO-CAUS-say-RE(IMP)-EMP
 ‘Let me retell what he said about the ten roubles.’ (T)

The permissive mood (‘let P’) is expressed by the suffix *-zt* with stative verbs (96a) and by the suffix *-r(a/ə)řat* with dynamic verbs (96b). The subject is normally third person, but other persons are also possible.

- (96) a. *zəmr^wa-ř-əw-g’əj a-zř^wáda-ra há-ma-zt*
 all-INT-PRS.NFIN-ADD DEF-healthy-MSD 1PL.IO-have-PRM.ST
 ‘Let us all be healthy! (lit. let health be with us)’ (T)
- b. *a-čəla dəwmp-ta w-kələ-j-rə-řtə-rřat a-nča!*
 DEF-ground at.once-ADV 2SG.M.ABS-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-fall-PRM.DYN DEF-god
 ‘Let God make you fall through the ground!’ (AbPo)

The optative is marked by the suffix *-nda* and expresses the speaker’s wish that the situation takes place (97a); it can attach the suffix of the non-finite past *-z* to emphasize coun-

terfactuality (*s-cá-nda-z* 1SG.ABS-go-OPT-PST.NFIN ‘if only I had gone (then)’ (Genko 1955: 159)), or the suffix of the non-finite future *-ra/ə* (97b), or both (Tabulova 1976: 159).

- (97) a. *sə-r-χ’ə-s-χə-nda* *a-bǰən-sʔa-k^wa*, *a-hak^w!*
 1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-LOC-touch-RE-OPT DEF-wall-low-PL DEF-oven
 ‘If only I could again touch the low walls and the oven [of my house]!’ (AbPo)
- b. *aj*, *awəj* *ʔa-s-κə-nda-ra!*
 oh DIST CISL-1SG.ERG-catch-OPT-FUT.NFIN
 ‘Oh, if only I could catch it (the butterfly)!’ (Tabulova 1976: 159)

There are three types of interrogative forms:

– The yes/no interrogative suffix *-ma* attaches to the non-finite tense markers (98a,b), but usually marks negation by the combination of the general negative prefix *m-* and the emphatic negative prefix *g^ʔ-*, like declarative forms (98c). Negative polar interrogatives are the normal way of forming polite requests (98d), cf. also (25e) above; in this case the emphatic negative prefix is not used..

- (98) a. *a-saǰámšʔa-k^wa* *b-ʔ^wə-ma?*
 DEF-letter-PL 2SG.F.ERG-write(AOR)-Q
 ‘Did you write the letters?’ (E)
- b. *s-anə-ĉ* *ásqan* *jə-z-dár-χ-wa-z-ma* *š’ta?*
 1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-sleep time 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-RE-IPF-PST.NFIN-Q PTCL
 ‘How could I remember it when I had fallen asleep?’ (T)
- c. *wə-g’ə-m-pχaš’-wə-ma*
 2SG.M.ABS-NEG-NEG-be.ashamed-IPF-Q
 ‘Aren’t you ashamed?’ (T)
- d. *j-ʔa-s-á-bə-m-h^w-əw-ma*
 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-2SG.F.ERG-NEG-say-IPF-Q
 ‘Could you please tell me?’ (E)

– Content questions about arguments are formed by the suffixes *-da* (‘who’) (99a) and *-ja* (‘what’) (99b) attaching to the relative verbal forms whose relative prefix refers to the questioned participant (see §4.3.3 and Arkadiev 2020):

- (99) a. *j-wə-c-k^wa-z-da* *l-h^wá-n*
 REL.ABS-2SG.M.IO-be.with-PL-PST.NFIN-QH 3SG.F.ERG-say-PST
 ‘Who was with you? she asked.’ (T)
- b. *jə-z-zə-w-h^w-əw-š-ja* *j-rə-wa-ta*
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-BEN-2SG.M.ERG-say-IPF-FUT-QN 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-part.of-ADV
a-wəs-naq^w-za-k^wa?
 DEF-deed-base-INT-PL
 ‘About what will you say that those belong to the basest deeds?’ (AbPo)

– Content questions about time, place and manner are based on the adverbial relative forms (§3.6.9) with the prefix *-ba* attaching after the relative prefix in slot –11 (100a); this prefix surfaces as *-pa* after voiceless consonants (100b):

- (100) a. *j-a-bá-ʔa-z-βəč’* *aráj* *áχč’a* *j-sə-m-əw?*
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.LOC-Q.ADV-CISL-1SG.ERG-steal PROX DEF.money REL.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PRS.NFIN
 ‘Where did I steal this money that I have?’ (T)
- b. *wə-š-pa-za-ʔá-j-χ?*
 2SG.M.ABS-REL.MNR-QADV-POT-CISL-go-RE
 ‘How could you come back?’ (T)

Interrogative forms can attach the emphatic suffix *-ajš't* ~ *-ajš'd*, whose exact pragmatic contribution is unclear, cf. *j-zə-l-g^wal-j-ajš'd* 3SG.N.ABS-REL.RSN-3SG.F.IO-hope-QN-EMP ‘Why on earth does she need it?’ (T).

3.6.7. Negation

Negation is expressed morphologically on the verb and interacts with the tense-aspect-mood and finiteness system in complex ways (for the paradigms of the affirmative and negative forms of the basic tenses see §3.6.4). The general negation marker is *-mə-*, which appears either as a prefix in slot –3 (separating the “stem” from the “preverbs”) or as a suffix in slot +5 between the primary tense markers and the retrospective shift marker (*-n* ~ *-z*). The position of the negation marker depends on the particular verbal form; in general, all non-declarative forms with the exception of those of the stative verbs mark negation prefixally, cf. (101a–b) vs. (101c), whereas the declarative forms are split into those where *-mə-* is a suffix (the Present of both stative and dynamic verbs (102a), the Past of stative verbs (102b), and both Future tenses (102c)) and those where it is a prefix (the Aorist (103a), the Nondum ‘not yet’ (74) and all retrospectivized tenses); the negative Imperfect has two variants, the one with the suffix and the one with the prefix, of which the first one, the more archaic (it is identical to the corresponding form in Abkhaz and is given as the only variant in Genko 1955: 160–161) (103b), has been ousted by the form with the prefixal negation following the general pattern of retrospectivized forms (103c). Besides the general negative marker *-mə-* the negative declarative (101a, 102, 103) and negative polar interrogative (97c) forms also feature the “emphatic negative” prefix *g'ə-* in slot –11; this marker is historically related to the additive suffix *-g'əj* and must have first been used for emphasis, but now has become an obligatory part of certain negative forms (see Pazov 2019).

- (101) a. *awáj ák^w-p jə-z-ŋa-s-m-áχ^wə-z*
 DIST COP-NPST 3PL.ABS-REL.RSN-CISL-1SG.ERG-NEG-take-PST.NFIN
 ‘That’s why I didn’t take them with me.’ (T)
- b. *za.ž-g'əj s-jə-m-ba-nda*
 one-ADD 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-NEG-see-OPT
 ‘If only nobody saw me.’ (Tabulova 1976: 159)
- c. *ja w-á-zqa-gəla-mə-ztən*
 or 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-stand-NEG-COND.REAL
 ‘Or if you don’t stand near it.’ (T)
- (102) a. *wžá za-ká g'ə-r-čp-wá-m*
 now one-INDF NEG.EMP-3PL.ERG-do-IPF-NEG
 ‘Now they don’t do anything.’ (T)
- b. *za-k-g'əj g'ə-jə-ma-χ-mə-z-t*
 one-INDF-ADD NEG.EMP-3M.IO-have-RE-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
 ‘He didn’t have anything any more.’ (T)
- c. *až-g'əj də-g'-há-k^w-jə-χ-wa-šə-m*
 one.CLH-ADD 3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-1PL.IO-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-take-IPF-FUT-NEG
 ‘No one will take him (God) from us.’ (T)
- (103) a. *jə-g'-sə-m-dár-t*
 3SG.N.IO-NEG.EMP-1SG.ERG-NEG-know(AOR)-DCL
 ‘I didn’t know it.’ (T)
- b. *sə-g'-c-wá-mə-z-d*
 1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-go-IPF-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
 ‘I was not going.’ (Genko 1955: 160)

- c. *bzəj jə-g'-jə-m-b-wá-z-d*
 good 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.ERG-NEG-see-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
 'He didn't like it.' (T)

There are three special forms featuring dedicated affixes not used in affirmative contexts in addition to the regular negation, i.e. the Nondum with the suffix *-sə* (§3.6.4), the Prohibitive with the suffix *-n* (§3.6.6) and the negative converb in *-k^wa* (§3.6.9). On the syntax of negation see also §4.5.

3.6.8. Valency-changing derivations

Most verbs in Abaza are strictly transitive or intransitive; however, there is a number of labile or ambitransitive verbs, whose transitive and intransitive uses differ only in the personal prefixes indexing their arguments (see Gagiev 2000: 179–187). P-labile verbs, whose intransitive and transitive uses share the absolutive patientive argument, are not numerous and include such verbs as *bəl-* 'burn', *p-čə-* 'break', *zə-* 'reach; get', *ɣ^w-q'a-* 'break, split', *ɣ^w-žə-* 'tear, burst'. The A-labile verbs whose transitive and intransitive uses share the agentive argument, which in the intransitive use becomes the absolutive, are more numerous and include many verbs denoting concrete activities, e.g. *maçawa-* 'cook', *bqə-* 'thresh', *žžə-* 'wash', *žə-* 'dig', *ž'əj-* 'forge', *qəč-* 'hew', *pssa-* 'plane', *čča-* 'gnaw', *č-β'β'a-* 'scratch', *šəj-* 'curse', as well as *h^wa-* 'say, tell' (transitive) ~ 'ask' (intransitive with an indirect object). The transitive and intransitive uses of 'eat' are expressed by distinct roots: *fa-* 'eat smth' vs. *ča-* 'eat, have a meal'.

There is a large number of valency-increasing derivations and just a few valency-decreasing ones. Most of these are expressed by prefixes.

– Causative *r-* (slot –2) makes the verb transitive and introduces the ergative causer; the causee (i.e. the first argument of the base verb) is encoded as the absolutive if the verb is intransitive (104) or as an indirect object if the verb is transitive (105); when a ditransitive verb is causativized, the causee is expressed as the indirect object closer to the root than the original IO (106). Four-argument verbs apparently do not admit causativization. On the dissimilation of the 3PL prefixes see §3.6.2.

- (104) a. *fatəjma d-ɣə-čə-χə-d*
 PN 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-awake-INC(AOR)-DCL
 'Fatima woke up.' (Koshevoy 2018: ex. 3a)
- b. *fatəjma l-aba d-ɣə-jə-r-čə-χə-d*
 PN 3SG.F.IO-father 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-awake-INS-DCL
 'Her father made Fatima wake up.' (Koshevoy 2018: ex. 3b)
- (105) a. *fatəjma zə jə-lə-ž-əj-d*
 PN water 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-drink-PRS-DCL
 'Fatima is drinking water.' (Koshevoy 2018: ex. 4a)
- b. *fatəjma a-sabəj zə jə-j-l-rə-ž-d*
 PN DEF-child water 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.M.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-drink(AOR)-DCL
 'Fatima gave the child water to drink.' (based on Koshevoy 2018: ex. 4b)
- (106) a. *aləj tajzada a-tetrad' jə-lə-j-t-əj-t*
 PN PN DEF-notebook(R) 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PRS-DCL
 'Ali gives Tezada the notebook.' (Koshevoy 2018: ex. 6a)
- b. *sara aləj tajzada a-tetrad'*
 1SG PN PN DEF-notebook
j-lə-j-s-rə-t-t
 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-3SG.M.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-give(AOR)-DCL
 'I made Ali give the notebook to Tezada.' (Koshevoy 2018: ex. 6b)

Double causatives are also attested:

- (107) *a-larž'* *a-ʒqa* *jə-w-sə-r-r-c-əw-š-t*
 DEF-grey DEF-river 3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-CAUS-go-IPF-FUT-DCL
 'I'll let you lead Grey (a horse) to the watering place.' (Tabulova 1976: 181)

The causative can apply not only to verbs, but also to nominals, cf. *rə-hazər* CAUS-ready 'prepare', *r-gʷanə* CAUS-near 'bring near', *r-ajgʷa* CAUS-friend 'invite'.

The semantics of the causative includes not only direct (factive) causation of inanimate (108a) and animate (108b) causees, but also varieties of indirect causation such as permission (107), request (108c) and order (108d).

- (108) a. *awáj* *a-ʒaqʷəm-əj-š'təj*, *č'aj-škʷáwkʷ-əj*
 DIST DEF-pancake-ADD-EMP tea-white-ADD
j-ʒá-lə-r-šə-t
 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-boil(AOR)-DCL
 'She made pancakes and white tea.' (T)
- b. *hə-bəzša-g'əj* ***h-lə-r-dər-d***
 1PL.IO-language-ADD 1PL.IO-3SG.ERG-CAUS-know(AOR)-DCL
 'She taught us our own language, too.' (T)
- c. *awát* ***z-rə-qʷmar-wa*** *j-rə-r-t-əj-t*
 DIST.PL REL.ERG-CAUS-play-IPF 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PRS-DCL
 'Those who ask them to play give it (money) to them.' (T)
- d. *awáj* *á-mʷa-kʷa* ***d-jə-rə-č'pa-t***
 DIST DEF-road-PL 3PL.IO-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-do(AOR)-DCL
 'He had the roads constructed.' (T)

The most pervasive type of valency-increasing device in Abaza is the numerous applicative preverbs (see O'Herin 2001). Each applicative is preceded by an indirect object personal prefix cross-referencing the applied argument. There are two types of productive applicatives: applicatives proper, which usually occur in slot –8, and locative applicatives occurring in slot –6. The latter are very numerous and often form more or less lexicalized combinations with verbal roots (see e.g. Klyčev 1995), many of which either do not occur without locatives at all or considerably differ in their meaning when used independently. The locative preverbs will be dealt with in greater detail in §3.6.10, and here I only give examples (109a,b) clearly showing that they introduce arguments.

- (109) a. *phʷəs-k* *d-ʒa-rə-l-s-χə-n*
 woman-INDF 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-LOC.ELAT-1SG.ERG-take-PST
 'I chose a woman among them.' (T)
- b. *šamílʒ* *čə-ʒʷ-ta* *d-na-sə-š'ta-lə-n*
 PN horse-NAG-ADV 3SG.H.ABS-TRAL-1SG.IO-LOC-go.in-PST
 'Shamil went after me on horseback.' (T)

Applicatives proper include:

– Benefactive *zə-*, expressing the beneficiary of the event (110a), goal of motion (110b), topic or domain (110c), stimulus or emotion (110d) and perception (110e):

- (110) a. *sə-š-kʷa* ***w-zə-t-p*** *wara!*
 1SG.IO-дверь-PL 2SG.M.IO-BEN-open(RES)-NPST.DCL 2SG.M
 'My doors are open for you!' (AbPo)
- b. *s-pa* *a-qarč'a-kʷa* *də-r-š'ə-n*
 1SG.IO-son DEF-Karachay-PL 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-kill-PST
d-sə-z-ʒa-r-g-χ-t
 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-BEN-CISL-3PL.ERG-carry-RE(AOR)-DCL
 'The Karachay killed my son and brought him to me.' (T)

- c. *sar-g'əj awəj s-a-z-q^wəc-wa s-ʒəl-c-d*
 я-ADD DIST 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-think-IPF 1SG.ABS-LOC-pass(AOR)-DCL
 ‘I went out thinking about it.’ (T)
- d. *waχ'čá-la zəmΓ^wa-ʒ-áw-g'əj sə-r-zá-raz-þ*
 today-INS all-INT-PRS.NFIN-ADD 1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-content-NPST.DCL
 ‘Today I am satisfied with everything.’ (T)
- e. *awát sə-z-ʒərΓ^w-wá*
 DIST.PL 1SG.IO-BEN-listen-IPF
 ‘They listened to me...’ (T)

The benefactive often expresses the obligatory indirect object (e.g. *zə-pšʒa* ‘search smth.’, *z-čʒa* ‘ask smbd.’) and is often lexicalized, cf. *z-pšə* BEN-look ‘wait’.

– Malefactive *čə-*: the participant adversely affected by the event (111a), experiencer (111b) or stimulus (111c) of negative emotions:

- (111) a. *j-g'ə-j-čə-ča-h-k-wa-m*
 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-MAL-LOC-1PL.ERG-hold-IPF-NEG
 ‘We don’t conceal it from him.’ (Tabulova 1976: 184)
- b. *Γ^w-ba tə-z-ca-wá awəj jə-č-hála-χ-əw-š-t*
 two-CLN LOC.ELAT-REL.ERG-drive-IPF DIST 3SG.M.IO-MAL-hard-INC-IPF-FUT-DCL
 ‘It must be hard for the one who herds two (cows).’ (T)
- c. *sə-z-č-pχaš'a-wa s-satər-k^wa*
 1SG.ABS-REL.IO-MAL-be.ashamed-IPF 1SG.IO-line-PL
 ‘my verses, which I am ashamed of’ (AbPo)

– Comitative *cə-* expresses a co-participant (112a) or an obligatory indirect object (112b); when preceded by the indirect object reciprocal prefix *a(j)-* expresses the meaning ‘together’ (112c). Can be lexicalized, cf. *c-ca* COM-go ‘marry (about women)’.

- (112) a. *buxgálter-qadá-ta d-sá-cə-n-χ-əj-t*
 accountant(R)-chief-ADV 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-LOC-work-PRS-DCL
 ‘She works with me as chief accountant.’ (T)
- b. *a-maladažon-k^wa χ^wábəž-ta jə-r-c-qráʒ-əj-t*
 DEF-newlywed(R)-PL strong-ADV 3PL.ABS-3PL.IO-COM-help-PRS-DCL
 ‘They help the newlywed a lot.’ (T)
- c. *bzəj-ta h-a-cə-n-χ-əj-d*
 good-ADV 1PL.ABS-REC.IO-COM-LOC-work-PRS-DCL
 ‘We work together well.’ (T)

– Judicative *ma-* is used with nominal roots and introduces the person who considers the absolutive argument to belong to the category denoted by the root:

- (113) *d-rá-ma-λəpa-þ-ta áχč'a g'jə-r-t-wa-m*
 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.IO-JUD-expensive-NPST.DCL-ADV money NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give-IPF-NEG
 ‘They consider him expensive and don’t pay him.’ (T)

– Instrumental *la-* introduces instrument (114a) or means (114b):

- (114) a. *a-čərk^wə a-zernó a-lá-ʒ-ča-r-g-əj-t*
 DEF-spade DEF-corn(R) 3SG.N.IO-INS-CISL-LOC-3PL.ERG-carry-PRS-DCL
 ‘They collect corn with spades.’ (T)
- b. *awát z-la-čáza-wa á-bəzša za.ʒ-g'əj jə-m-dár-wa-ta*
 DIST.PL REL.IO-INS-speak-IPF DEF-language one-ADD 3SG.M.ERG-NEG-know-IPF-ADV
 ‘Nobody knows the language they speak.’ (T)

Two applicatives show special behaviour in that they do not increase the valency of the predicate and occur in slot –9 to the left of all other applicatives:

– Potential *zə-* expresses the ability of the agent to bring about the action; with intransitive verbs it does not add an extra argument and does not introduce a personal prefix (115a); the potential of transitive verbs is an inverse predicate, the original agent becoming the indirect object of the applicative (115b,c). This indirect object can still control the reflexive (115d).

- (115) a. ***s-g'ə-z-ʕá-mə-j-χ-d*** ***a-qráǰ***
 1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-CISL-NEG-go-RE(AOR)-DCL DEF-country
 ‘I could not return to my country.’ (T)
- b. ***ʕ-zə.ʕə-k*** ***ʕa-h-χʷʕa-n***
 cow-one-UNIT CISL-1PL.ERG-buy-PST
 ‘We bought a cow.’ (T)
- c. ***knigá*** ***g'-s-zə-m-χʷʕ-əw-z-t***
 book(R) NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-NEG-buy-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
 ‘I could not buy books.’ (T)
- d. ***čə-z-zə-kʷaba-kʷ-əw-z***
 RFL-REL.IO-POT-bathe-PL-IPF-PST.NFIN
 ‘those who could bathe (lit. themselves)’

The negative potential form of ‘know’ is used quite frequently to express lack of knowledge:

- (116) ***z-pnə*** ***s-aʔá-z-g'əj*** ***də-g'-sə-z-dára-m***
 REL.IO-at 1SG.ABS-be-PST.NFIN-ADD 3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-NEG
 ‘I don’t know at whose place I was.’ (T)

– Involuntative *mqa-* behaves in the same way, however, with intransitive verbs it occurs with the dummy 3SG non-human prefix (117a), while transitive verbs undergo inversion (117b).

- (117) a. ***s-a-mqa-čər-t***
 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-INVOL-cry(AOR)-DCL
 ‘I involuntarily screamed.’ (Tabulova 1976: 201)
- b. ***j-s-taq-za-m-kʷa*** ***sə-maza*** ***sə-mqa-hʷa-t***
 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-want-INT-NEG-CVB.NEG 1SG.IO-secret 1SG.IO-INVOL-say(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Absolutely unwittingly I gave out my secret.’ (Tabulova 1976: 202)

There are also two non-productive applicatives with special morphological properties:

– Sociative *a(j)-* occurs in slot –1 closest to the root, but is able to introduce an indirect object prefix in slot –5; the indirect object it introduces is often a co-participant with such verbs as ‘speak’ (118b), but in many cases is determined lexically (118a).

- (118) a. ***a-waʕa*** ***r-crəj-bəzša-la*** ***bzəj-ta*** ***j-ʔa-čaža-wa***
 DEF-people 3PL.IO-native-language-INS good-ADV 3PL.ABS-REL.LOC-speak-IPF
w-a-m-aj-gʷərɤ'-əw-š-ta ***j-g'-aʔa-m***
 2SG.M.IO-3SG.N.IO-NEG-SOC-rejoice-IPF-FUT-ADV 3PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-be-NEG
 ‘One can not but rejoice that people speak their native language well.’ (Abazašta 2017)
- b. ***telefon-la*** ***sə-nbž'a.ʕʷ-ča*** ***s-an-r-a-čaža-wa***
 phone(R)-INS 1SG.IO-friend-PLH 1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-3PL.IO-SOC-speak-IPF
 ‘When I speak with my friends on the phone...’ (Abazašta 2017)

– Dative *a-* occurs after the indirect object prefix in slot –5 in some verbs (*j-a-l-hʷ-t* 3SG.M.IO-DAT-3SG.F.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL ‘she told him’, *wə-l-a-pš-p* 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.F.IO-DAT-

be.similar-NPST.DCL ‘you are like her’) and is obviously lexicalized; note that the partly homophonous dative and sociative differ in their position, cf. (118a) and (119).

(119) *j-r-á-bə-m-h^w-wə-ma*

3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-DAT-2SG.F.ERG-NEG-say-IPF-Q

‘Could you please tell them?’ (T)

Some applicative preverbs, especially the locative ones (§3.6.10), can be used as stative roots, cf. the comitative in (120):

(120) *awat a-wəsa-ŋ^w-g^wəmçə d-rə-c-ta*

DIST.PL DEF-verse-NAG-restless 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.IO-be.with-ADV

‘The restless poet being with them’ (AbPo)

Valency-reducing derivations in Abaza are as follows:

– The resultative, described in §3.6.4, removes the agent from transitive verbs and can thus be considered an analogue of a passive; moreover, some speakers even accept constructions with the inceptive based on the resultative taking the agent phrase in the instrumental case (121a) or, in questions and relatives, an instrumental applicative referring to the agent (121b).

(121) a. *a-çapχa-k^wá č^wķ^wán-k-la j-ŋ-áw-χa-t*

DEF-key-PL guy-INDF-INS 3PL.ABS-CISL-find(RES)-INC(AOR)-DCL

‘The keys were found by some guy.’ (E)

b. *aráj a-tzə z-la-č^wpa-χá-da?*

PROX DEF-house REL.IO-INS-do(RES)-INC(AOR)-QH

‘By whom was this house built?’ (E)

– The reflexive derivations are not valency-reducing in the formal sense of the word, since they do not involve changes in transitivity (see Arkadiev & Durneva 2020). Transitive and inverse verbs are reflexivized by the prefix *čə-* in the absolutive slot and retain the ergative resp. indirect object prefixes referring to the more agentive participant, see §3.6.3. Some transitive trivalent verbs (including causatives) can reflexivize their indirect objects by simply doubling the ergative prefix in the indirect object slot, cf. (122a,b) with the simple indirect object and (122c) with the benefactive.

(122) a. *lə-bəzša-g’əj h-lə-r-dər-d*

3SG.F.IO-language-ADD 1PL.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-know(AOR)-DCL

‘She taught us her language.’ (T)

b. *adəg’a a-qabard-č^werkes-dialekt-k^wa h_i-hə_i-r-dər-t*

DEF-Adyghe DEF-Kabardian-Circassian-dialect-PL 1PL.IO-1PL.ERG-CAUS-know(AOR)-DCL

‘We studied (lit. we taught us) Adyghe and Kabardian dialects.’ (Abazašta 2017)

c. *jə-w_i-zə-w_i-χ^wŋ-əj-t*

3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.IO-BEN-2SG.M.ERG-buy-PRS-DCL

‘You are buying it for yourself.’ (Durneva 2020: 18)

In causatives from transitive verbs the reflexive prefix *čə-* is usually bound by the causee expressed as the indirect object (123a), which implies that the causative scopes over the reflexive; however, examples with opposite scope (first causativization, then reflexivization) are also attested with some verbs (123b).

(123) a. *an fatíma č_i-lə_i-l-rə-žžá-t*

mother PN RFL.ABS-3SG.F.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-wash(AOR)-DCL

‘Mother made Fatima wash herself (=Fatima).’ (Sonia Durneva’s fieldnotes)

- b. *zawałǵ a-ʒə č_i-a-j_i-rə-q^wara-χ-t*
 PN DEF-water RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-strangle-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Zawal drowned himself (lit. Zawal let the water strangle himself).’ (T)

The reflexive has autocausative and anticausative uses with both controlling animate (124a) and non-controlling inanimate (124b) subjects.

- (124) a. *nána č_s-na-lə-r-q^w-t*
 granny RFL.ABS-TRAL-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-bend(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Granny bent (to get something from the floor).’ (Durneva 2020: 22)
- b. *á-čla č_{ná}-na-r-q^w-t*
 DEF-tree RFL.ABS-TRAL-3SG.N.ERG-CAUS-bend(AOR)-DCL
 ‘The tree bent.’ (Durneva 2020: 22)

– There are several morphological means to express the reciprocal, none of which seems to be fully productive. The most common is the prefix *aba-* primarily used in transitive verbs; it occurs in slot –4 displacing the ergative marker, hence the resulting verb can be considered intransitive with the original agent expressed as the absolutive (125a–b).

- (125) a. *jə-ŋ-b-əj-t*
 3PL.ABS-1PL.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
 ‘We see them.’ (E)
- b. *aχš’a-crəj-k l-á-pš-ta h-aba-ba-wá-ta*
 sister-sibling-INDF 3SG.F.IO-DAT-similar-ADV 1PL.ABS-REC-see-IPF-ADV
 ‘We see each other as sisters, and...’ (T)

In ditransitive verbs, the reciprocal marker occupies the indirect object slot and may express the reciprocal relation of the recipient either with the agent (126b), which is retained, or with the absolutive (126c), where it can be argued that the reciprocal is in the scope of the causative.

- (126) a. *awəj ba j-a-l-h^w-əj-t*
 DIST kiss 3SG.M.IO-DAT-3SG.F.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
 ‘She is kissing him (lit. is saying him kiss).’ (Durneva 2017: ex. 24a)
- b. *awát ba abá_i-r_i-h^w-əj-t*
 DIST.PL kiss REC-3PL.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
 ‘They are kissing each other (lit. saying each other kiss).’ (Durneva 2017: ex. 24b)
- c. *a-ŋ^wə-ž’ j_i-aba_i-hə-r-ba-t*
 DEF-two-CLH 3PL.ABS-REC-1PL.ERG-CAUS-see(AOR)-DCL
 ‘We showed them to each other (lit. made them see each other).’ (Durneva 2017: ex. 24c)

The reciprocal *aba-* can sometimes function as a sociative applicative introducing an indirect object rather than expressing reciprocity; note that in this case the verb still becomes intransitive:

- (127) *r.q^wəχə-ŋ^w-čá-g’əj h-r-aba-dər-nəs h-aj-g^wɛ-əj-t*
 study-NAG-PLH-ADD 1PL.ABS-3PL.IO-REC-know-PURP 1PL.ABS-SOC-hope-PRS-DCL
 ‘We hope to get acquainted with the researchers.’ (Abazašta 2017)

Inverse verbs take the prefix *aba-* in the position of the indirect object (58c), and certain intransitive verbs use the special indirect object reciprocal prefix *aj-* (128a). Intransitive verbs with lexicalized applicatives can form the reciprocal by reduplication of the applicative (128b); neither of these mechanisms is productive.

- (128) a. *h-aj-čáž-əw-n*
 1PL.ABS-REC.IO-talk-IPF-PST
 ‘We were talking to each other.’ (T)
- b. *h-a-c~ac-graŋa-ḗ*
 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-COM~REC-help-NPST.DCL
 ‘We shall help each other.’ (Tabulova 1976: 195)

In potential forms of transitive verbs the reciprocal prefix *aba-* remains in the position of the ergative (*h-g’-z-ába-m-dər-t* 1PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-REC-NEG-know(AOR)-DCL ‘we could not recognize each other’ (E)), while the involuntary forms prefer to place the reciprocal marker before the applicative (*h-aba-mqa-q’š’š-t* 1PL.ABS-REC-INVOL-dirty(AOR)-DCL ‘we accidentally dirtied each other’ (E)).

3.6.9. Non-finite forms

The wide variety of Abaza non-finite forms can be roughly divided into nominal, converbal and relative. All non-finite forms lack declarative markers, with the exception of the forms with the adverbial ending *-ta*, which can attach to declarative forms in coordination-like constructions (see below).

The only deverbal nominalization retaining certain verbal properties is the masdar (action nominal) in *-ra*. The suffix attaches to the stem of dynamic verbs, while stative verbs first have to be dynamicized by means of the inceptive *-χa* or habitual *-zla*. The masdar, being the closest equivalent of the European and Russian infinitive, is used in dictionaries as the basic form of verbs. The masdar can be used as a nominal referring to a concrete or generic event or state (129a), in which case it does not take verbal cross-referencing prefixes but can be marked for definiteness (129b), plurality (129d), or possession (129c); the possessor of the masdar usually corresponds to the subject, be it absolutive (129c) or ergative (129d).

- (129) a. *bzaza-ra-ḗ* *a-sə* *ŋa-s-wa-ztən*
 live-MSD-NPST.DCL DEF-snow CISL-snow-IPF-COND.REAL
 ‘It is life when snow falls.’ (AbPo)
- b. *a-zca-rá* *jə-zə-č’pa-k^wa-mə-z*
 DEF-swim-MSD 3SG.N.ABS-REL.ERG-do-PL-NEG-PST.NFIN
 ‘those who could not swim (lit. do the swimming)’ (T)
- c. *j-c-qaráŋa-ra* *sə-ma-ta*
 3M.IO-COM-help-MSD 1SG.IO-have-ADV
 ‘with his help’ (T)
- d. *hə-n-ç-ra-k^wa* *n-h-ç-əj-t*
 1PL.IO-LOC-live-MSD-PL LOC-1PL.ERG-live-PRS-DCL
 ‘We live our lives.’ (AbPo)

The masdar also has verbal uses, mainly as sentential complement (for more details see §4.4.2), in which case it can take full verbal cross-reference including the absolutive (130a) and the ergative (130b).

- (130) a. *d-kəl-št-ra* *s-taq-za-χ-əj-t*
 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-vanish-MSD 1SG.IO-want-INT-INC-PRS-DCL
 ‘I strongly wish that he disappear.’ (AbPo)
- b. *j-q^wəc-š’a* *č-a-c-s-č’pa-ra* *s-məwrad-ta*
 3SG.M.IO-think-NMNR RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-COM-1SG.ERG-do-MSD 1SG.IO-goal-ADV
 ‘my goal being to imitate his way of thinking...’ (AbPo)

There are numerous converbs with general and specialized functions:

– The unmarked form lacking tense endings; with stative verbs it denotes a situation simultaneous to the main clause event (131a); with dynamic verbs it either denotes anteriority

(131b) or simultaneity, in which case it has the imperfective suffix *-wa* (131c); the latter form can also be used as complement with some verbs (131d). The subjects of the two predicates need not coincide (131c).

- (131) a. *χang'arəj a-k^wdər-ta d-ta-ĉa d-q^wəc-əj-t*
 PN DEF-saddle-ADV 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-sit 3SG.H.ABS-think-PRS-DCL
 ‘Khangeri, sitting in the saddle, is thinking.’ (Tabulova 1976: 238)
- b. *a-pšča j-pšča-z j-aba-rə-s j-ŋa-za-n*
 DEF-courtyard REL.ABS-be.in-PST.NFIN 3PL.ABS-REC-CAUS-gather 3PL.ABS-CISL-reach-PST
sawsrəq^wa d-čə-žə-r-χ-t
 PN 3SG.H.ABS-horse-LOC-3PL.ERG-take(AOR)-DCL
 ‘The people who were in the courtyard, having gathered into a mob, took Sosruko from his horse.’ (Tabulova 1976: 238)
- c. *awəj s-g^wə j-a-s-wa a-dəwnaj sə-k^w-b*
 DIST 1SG.IO-heart 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-hit-IPF DEF-world 1SG.ABS-be.on-NPST.DCL
 ‘With this causing me heartache I live in the world.’ (T)
- d. *h-žca-wá h-á-la-ga-t*
 1PL.ABS-swim-IPF 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
 ‘We started swimming.’ (T)

– The adverbial *-ta*, which attaches either to the unmarked form just discussed and is apparently synonymous with it, cf. (132a) with a stative verb and (132b,c) with dynamic verbs.

- (132) a. *a-ĉ-k^wa a-ča-h^wa-ta h-ĉa^wa-t*
 DEF-ox-PL 3SG.N.IO-LOC-yoke(RES)-ADV 1PL.ABS-plough(AOR)-DCL
 ‘We ploughed with the oxen yoked.’ (T)
- b. *áj.s.ra a-čá-s-χ-ta h-an-cá-χ-ra ásqan*
 war 3SG.N.IO-LOC-hit-RE-ADV 1PL.ABS-REL.TMP-go-RE-FUT.NFIN DEF+time
 ‘when we come back after the end of the war’ (T)
- c. *s-qa lə-la-dəw-χa-wa-ta s-lə-cə-n-χ-áj-t*
 1SG.IO-head 3SG.F.IO-INS-big-INC-IPF-ADV 1SG.ABS-3SG.F.IO-COM-LOC-work-PRS-DCL
 ‘I work with her being proud of her.’ (T)

The adverbial also freely attaches to finite tense forms with declarative suffixes (133a–c) and to the imperative (133d) in coordination- or chaining-like structures.

- (133) a. *dasəw jə-m-əw rə-j-t-əj-t-ta*
 everyone 3SG.M.IO-have-PRS.NFIN 3PL.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PRS-DCL-ADV
a-žəjwára-g'əj də-r-k^wab-áj-t
 DEF-idol-ADD 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-bathe-PRS-DCL
 ‘Everyone gives them what he has, and then they bathe the idol.’ (T)
- b. *a-nĉá s-psə z-q^wərmán-əw j-pnə*
 DEF-god 1SG.IO-soul REL.IO-sacrifice-PRS.NFIN 3SG.M.IO-at
h-qá-l-p-ta hə-j-çŋá-p
 1PL.ABS-LOC-go.in-NPST.DCL-ADV 1PL.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask-NPST.DCL
ará.ʔa h-tə-j-š'tə-rnəs
 PROX.LOC 1PL.ABS-LOC.ELAT-3SG.M.ERG-release-PURP
 ‘We’ll climb up to God and ask him to release us from here.’ (T)
- c. *á-maša-k^wa ŋa-r-ž-wá-n-ta a-sabáj-k^wa awá.ʔa*
 DEF-pit-PL CISL-3PL.ERG-dig-IPF-PST-ADV DEF-child-PL DIST.LOC
də-r-gál-wa-n-ta dará raš-əw-n
 3PL.ERG-CAUS-stand-IPF-PST-ADV 3PL weed-IPF-PST
 ‘They used to dig pits, put children there and weed.’ (T)

- d. *wánaŋ^wa d-ŋá-ddal-ta d-ŋa-r-ájg^wa-ta*
 family 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-lead(IMP)-ADV 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-CAUS-friend(IMP)-ADV
psəjmláh j-h^wá
 in.the.name.of.god 3SG.N.ABS-say(IMP)
 ‘Bring him home, make him a guest and give him food.’ (T)

Tabulova (1976: 244) reports that the adverbial form can lack the ergative prefix coreferential to the matrix subject (134), but the texts collected in Inžič-Čukun do not confirm this.

- (134) *wara wə-ŋ^wara ka-rə-š-ta ara.ʔa wə-z-ŋa-j-ja?*
 2SG.M 2M.IO-burrow LOC-CAUS-fall-ADV PROX.LOC 2SG.M.ABS-REL.RSN-CISL-go-QN
 ‘Why did you leave your burrow and come here?’ (Tabulova 1976: 244)

– Negative converb *-k^wa*, only attaches to negated non-finite stems, cf. (135a) with a stative verb and suffixal negation and (135b) with a dynamic verb and prefixal negation.

- (135) a. *awat ċg’ara-k-g’əj s-g^wə j-rə-z-ta-m-k^wa*
 DIST.PL evil-INDF-ADD 1SG.IO-heart 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-be.in-NEG-CVB.NEG
bzəj jə-z-b-əj-ʔ!
 good 3PL.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
 ‘I love them without any evil in my heart!’ (AbPo)

- b. *ha h-vožd’ də-m-psá-s-k^wa*
 1PL 1PL.IO-chief(R) 3SG.H.ABS-NEG-die-NONDUM-CVB.NEG
j-pha d-ŋá-z-gə-n
 3SG.M.IO-daughter 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1PL.ERG-lead-PST
 ‘While our chief was still alive (lit. had not yet died) I married his daughter.’ (T)

– Converb of simultaneity *-mca(ra)*, attaches to the bare stem of stative verbs (136a) and to the imperfective of dynamic verbs (136b), as well as to the manner relative (135c).

- (136) a. *sara s-ċa-mca s-g^wə ara.sa*
 1SG 1SG.ABS-sit-CVB 1SG.IO-heart PROX.ADV
j-ŋa-n[a]-ga-ʔ
 3SG.ABS-CISL-3SG.N.ERG-carry(AOR)-DCL
 ‘While I am sitting, it thus occurred to me.’ (Tabulova 1976: 238)
- b. *s-ph^wəs-nína d-ŋa-s-c-qrəŋ-əw-mca*
 1SG.IO-woman-PN 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-COM-help-IPF-CVB
s-š’əp-k^wá s-rá-k^w-lə-r-gəl-χ-d
 1SG.IO-foot-PL 1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-LOC-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-stand-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘My wife Nina helped me to rise on my legs again (lit. helping me made me rise).’ (T)
- c. *s-š-š’ṭa-zə-mca.ra sə-ċ-ʔ*
 1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-lie-PST.NFIN-CVB 1SG.ABS-sleep(AOR)-DCL
 ‘While I was lying there I fell asleep.’ (T)

The suffix can also attach to pronouns and adverbials, cf. *za.žá~zažá-mca* one~DISTR-CVB ‘one by one’, *awá.sa-mca* DIST.ADV-CVB ‘and so forth’.

– *-pχ’aza* ‘each time’ (< ‘count’):

- (137) *s-g^wə ŋa-r-blə-pχ’aza, s-ka-də-r-pšə-pχ’aza,*
 1SG.IO-heart CISL-3PL.ERG-burn-EACH 1SG.ABS-LOC-LOC-3PL.IO-look-EACH
zak~zak χ^wə.rta-ta j-ŋa-k^w-χ-əj-ʔ sə-nç.ra
 one.CLN~DISTR wound-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-be.on-INC-PRS-DCL 1SG.IO-life
 ‘Each time they burn my heart, each time I look down on them, a wound remains in my heart.’ (AbPo)

– *-əj.ž'ta.ra ~ əj.š'ta.ra* ‘since’:

- (138) *á.px'a.rta s-ŋa-l-g-əjš'tára* *skʷšə* *ŋʷə-n-ŋʷa-z-əj-z-əj-χ*
 DEF+school 1SG.ABS-CISL-LOC.ELAT-finish-SINCE year two-time-two-ten-ADD-ten-ADD-three
çə-t
 pass(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Fifty three years passed since I finished school.’ (T)

– *-nçək'(ara) ~ -nçək'(ara)* ‘until’:

- (139) a. *šamílǵ d-ŋá-jə-nçək'* *s-a-z-pš-əj-t*
 PN 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-идти-UNTIL 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-wait-PRS-DCL
 ‘I am waiting until Shamil comes.’ (T)
- b. *abar.awa.sa a-waq j-ša-nçək'a.ra*
 DIST.EMP.ADV DEF-night 3SG.N.ABS-dawn-UNTIL
a-kət haḡabaḡəq j-a-la-s-ça-t
 DEF-village turmoil 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-put(AOR)-DCL
 ‘In this way I caused turmoil in the village till the end of the night.’ (T)

– *-bərg(za)* ‘as soon as’ (?< ‘exactly’), attaches to the manner relative with the imperfective (140a) or imperfective past (140b) suffixes, or to the temporal relative (140c);

- (140) a. *j-š-ŋa-kʷ-ç-wa-bərg.za* *aža s-pəkʷ*
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-CISL-LOC-pass-IPF-JUST DEF+word 1SG.IO-lips
j-a-čə-z-wa-z-ša *jə-z-b-əj-t* *çakə.ra-k*
 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-vanish-IPF-PST.NFIN-SML 3SG.N.IO-1SG.ERG-see-PRS-DCL secret-INDF
 ‘As soon as the word gets off my lips I feel that it loses a secret.’ (AbPo)
- b. *á-mara š-ta-š-əw-z-bərg* *j-ŋa-la-qʷla-t*
 DEF-sun REL.MNR-LOC-fall-IPF-PST.NFIN-JUST 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-LOC-grow.dusky(AOR)-DCL
 ‘It became dusky as soon as sun set.’ (Tabulova 1976: 211)
- c. *uč'iliš'a d-an-ŋa-l-ga-bərg* *d-ča-za-ta*
 college(R) 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-LOC.ELAT-finish-JUST 3SG.H.ABS-young-INT-ADV
až'əj-rŋa-abaza-tŋača-k *d-ŋa-rə-la-na-ga-t*
 PN-ASSPL-Abaza-family-INDF 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-LOC-3SG.N.ERG-carry(AOR)-DCL
 ‘She got into the Abaza Adžiev family very young, just having finished college.’
 (AbRus)

The suffix can also occur in slot +2 before the imperfective:

- (141) *sara d-š-ŋa-hə-d-gəl-bərg-wa-z*
 1SG 3SG.H.ABS-REL.MNR-CISL-1PL.IO-LOC-stand-JUST-IPF-PST.NFIN
də-z-dər-χ-t.
 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘As soon as he approached us I recognized him.’ (Tabulova 1976: 211)

– Realis conditional *-ztən*, attaches to non-finite basic tenses (historically it probably was a combination of the non-finite past *-z* with *-tən*, cf. Bouda 1940: 248, hence its incompatibility with the retrospectivized forms, but synchronically the affix does not imply pastness), cf. unmarked stative present (142a), dynamic present (142b), aorist (142c) and future (142d). It can have not only conditional, but also temporal uses (142a,c).

- (142) a. *ʔaxʷtán-za.žə-k há-ma-ztən*
 dress-one-INDF 1PL.IO-have-COND.REAL
hará j-h-šá-h-ç-əw-n-ta *á-rqa h-c-əw-n*
 1PL 3SG.N.ABS-1PL.IO-LOC-1PL.IO-put-IPF-PST-ADV DEF-field 1PL,ABS-go-IPF-PST
 ‘When we had a single dress we would put it on and go to the field.’ (T)

- b. *wá-ê-k^wa tə-w-ç-əw-ztən ...*
 2M.IO-cow-PL LOC.ELAT-2SG.M.ERG-drive-IPF-COND.REAL
á-raχ^w-χč'a jǎ-χ^w jǎ-ta
 DEF-cattle-guard 3SG.M.IO-price 3SG.M.IO-give(IMP)
 'If you pasture cows ... pay the herder his wages.' (T)
- c. *s-ɣa-cá-jə-r-pa-χə-ztən a-taca.nadá.l.ra a-pnǎ*
 1SG.ABS-CISL-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-turn-RE-COND.REAL DEF-wedding 3SG.N.IO-at
s-á-d-gəl-ɬ
 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-stand(AOR)-DCL
 'When he returned me back I got to the wedding.' (T)
- d. *wrǎš-la jə-w-h^w-ǎw-šə-ztən*
 Russiam-INS 3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-say-IPF-FUT-COND.REAL
prémija-ta j-ɣa-wǎ-r-t-ɬ-əj
 bonus(R)-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL-ADD
 'To say it in Russian, they gave you a bonus.' (T)

With nominals *-ztən* marks the topic:

- (143) *d-fatəjma-ztən, lará d-maçawǎ-ɣ^w-bɛəj-b*
 3SG.H.ABS-PN-COND.REAL 3SG.F 3SG.H.ABS-cook-NAG-good-NPST.DCL
 'Speaking about Fatima, she is a good cook.' (Lander 2018: ex. 13)

– General conditional *-rək^wən ~ -rək^wən*, attaches either to the bare stem of dynamic verbs (144a) or to retrospectivized tenses (cf. the allomorph *-za* of PST.NFIN), in which case it has irrealis and counterfactual readings regardless of actual temporal reference (144b,c); the non-finite past suffix can also follow the conditional (145c). Stative verbs are only compatible with the retrospectivized conditional (145d).

- (144) a. *h-ʔa-n-χa-wá á.pχ'a.rta w-a-pš-rək^wən*
 1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-LOC-work-IPF DEF+school 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-look-COND
w-g^wə j-á-la-h-əj-ɬ
 2M.IO-heart 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.ABS-LOC-increase-PRS-DCL
 'If you look at the school where we work, your heart rejoices.' (T)
- b. *jə-č'pá-z r-č'pá-za-rək^wən*
 [REL.ABS]3SG.M.ERG-do-PST.NFIN 3PL.ERG-do-PST.NFIN-COND
a-kát-g'əj jə-kka-wá j-gəl-rə-n
 DEF-village-ADD 3SG.N.ABS-shine-IPF 3SG.N.ABS-stand-FUT.NFIN-PST
 'If they did what he did the village would shine.' (T)
- c. *sara j-ɣa-s-çɣa-rək^wnə-z ...*
 1SG 3PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-ask-COND-PST.NFIN
š'awap-ta j-s-h^wa-rə-n
 answer-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-say-FUT.NFIN-PST
 'If they had asked me ... I would have answered thus.' (AbPo)
- d. *w-ǧarəw qaça-ra-ɬak^w-g'əj a-c-wə-ma-za-rək^wən...*
 2SG.M.IO-strength man-NML-little-ADD 3SG.N.IO-COM-2SG.M.IO-have-PST.NFIN-COND
 'If you had a little courage together with your strength...' (Tabulova 1976: 160)

– Reason conditional *-zara* ('if it is the case that'), attaches to the temporal relative:

- (145) *w-an-g^wəbzəka-ǧá-zara abaza-bəzšá-la warád-ḵ h^wa*
 2SG.M.ABS-REL.TMP-clever-INT-COND.RSN Abaza-language-INS song-INDF say(IMP)
 'If you are so clever, then sing a song in Abaza!' (T)

– Concessive *-zɬ.h^wa ~ -zd.h^wa* 'although' (< 'say: let P'), attaches to the stem or the imperfective suffix (*s-ca-wá-zd.h^wa* 1SG.ABS-go-IPF-CNC 'although I am going', Genko 1955: 156), cf. (146a) with a stative and (146b) with a dynamic verb.

(146) a. **s-górecə-zt.h^wa** *ha h-pnə awáj-pš g'-a?á-m*
 1SG.ABS-mountaineer(R)-CNC 1PL 1PL.IO-at DIST-like NEG.EMP-be-NEG
 ‘Although I am a mountaineer, we don’t have such things at our place.’ (T)

b. **j-h^wa-rnəs** **d-ʒa-la-ga-zt.h^wa,**
 3SG.ERG-say-PURP 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-LOC-begin-CNC
dača za-kə d-a-p-na-ǰ'a-χ-wa-n
 other one-INDF 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3SG.N.ERG-hit-RE-IPF-PST
 ‘Although he started talking, something would always interrupt him.’ (Tabulova 1976: 286)

– Concessive conditional (‘even if, even though’) is formed by attaching the additive suffix *-g'əj* either to the realis conditional (147a) or to the non-finite Future II (147b); there is no apparent difference in meaning between the two forms.

(147) a. **a-žə-č^w-k^wá** **š'arda-ɣ^wš j-á?a-χə-mə-ztən-g'əj** **j-a?á-p**
 DEF-old-belong-PL many-CLH 3PL.ABS-be-RE-NEG-COND.REAL-ADD 3PL.ABS-be-NPST.DCL
 ‘Even though there aren’t many old people left, they exist.’ (T)

b. **namáz bə-m-č'pa-rə-g'əj** [**ʒa-iǰǰáha iǰǰáh**] **h^wa**
 prayer 2SG.F.ERG-NEG-do-FUT.NFIN-ADD [Arabic.prayer] say(IMP)
 ‘Even if you don’t pray, say “There is no God other than Allah”.’ (T)

– Universal concessive conditionals are formed by attaching the complex suffix *-la-k-g'əj* to relative forms (see below), where the relative prefix indicates the participant quantified over (148); see also §3.4.6 on the use of such forms as indefinite pronouns.

(148) a. **a-za-ká** **j-na-za-lá-k-g'əj ...**
 DEF-one-INDF REL.ABS-TRAL-reach-CNC-INDF-ADD
a-wnáɣ^wa-čəc j-rə-r-t-əj-t
 DEF-family-new 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PRS-DCL
 ‘One part, whatever it amounts to, ... is given to the new family.’ (T)

b. **a-ǰ^wart** **?a-ca-la-k-g'əj**
 DEF-brood.hen REL.LOC-go-CNC-INDF-ADD
a-k^wtaβ'-k^wa j-rə-z-ʒa-j-χ-əj-t
 DEF-egg-PL 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-CISL-go-RE-PRS-DCL
 ‘Wherever a brood hen goes, it always returns to the eggs.’ (a proverb, AbRus)

– Purposive *-(r)nəs*, attaches to the bare stem and expresses purpose adjuncts (149a) as well as complements of certain verbs (149b).

(149) a. **a-žə** **č-a-j-t-χə-rnəs** **d-ca-t**
 DEF-water RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-RE-PURP 3SG.H.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL
 ‘He went in order to drown himself.’ (T)

b. **awat s-ʒa-rə-pχ'a-rnəs** **s-š-əj-t**
 DIST.PL 1SG.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-read-PURP 1SG.ABS-fear-PRS-DCL
 ‘I am afraid to read them (my poems).’ (AbPo)

– Simulative *-ša* (‘as though’), attaches to non-finite tense forms and is mainly used as a complement to the verb ‘see’ in the construction expressing contrary-to-fact perception or thought.

(150) **a.rá.pχ'a.ɣ^w-ta wə-n-χa-wa-šá** **jə-w-ba-wá-ta**
 teacher-ADV 2SG.M.ABS-LOC-work-IPF-SML 3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-see-IPF-ADV
 ‘it seems to you that you work as a teacher’ (T)

The most important class of non-finite forms is the argument and adjunct relative forms which, besides heading relative clauses proper (§4.4.1), occur in pseudocleft focus con-

structions (§4.9) and serve as the basis for a number of other forms (e.g. interrogative and universal concessive conditional, see above).

Argument relative forms employ the relative prefixes (absolute *jə-* and oblique *zə-*), which substitute the person cross-referencing prefixes in their respective slots, cf. (151a) for the absolute, (151b) for the ergative, (151c) for the indirect object and (151d) for the object of an applicative. Argument relatives can take the plural suffix in slot +3 referring to the relativized argument (151a).

- (151) a. *á.pχ'a.rta j-sə-c-a-pχ'a-k^w-əw-z*
 DEF+school REL.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-3SG.N.IO-learn-PL-IPF-PST.NFIN
 ‘those who studied with me at school’ (T)
- b. *a-m-dər-ra-prapsa š'tə-z-χ-wa r-bl-əj-t*
 DEF-NEG-know-MSD-curtain LOC.ELAT-REL.ERG-take-IPF 3PL.ERG-burn-PRS-DCL
 ‘Those who raise the curtain of ignorance are burnt.’ (AbPo)
- c. *j-də-r-b-əw-šə-n ... sə-z-pχ'á-z*
 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-CAUS-see-IPF-FUT-PST 1SG.ABS-REL.IO-learn-PST.NFIN
 ‘They would show ... what I had learnt.’ (T)
- d. *prósta čəɾɸ^wə a-zernó z-la-zə-r-kk-wá a-más*
 simply(R) spade DEF-corn(R) REL.IO-INS-BEN-3PL.ERG-gather-IPF DEF-barn
 ‘(This is) simply the spade they gather the corn in the barn with’ (T)

Adjunct relative forms employ prefixes occurring in slot –11 (Xagba 2015):

– Locative *?a-* (*a-* in interrogatives); refers to static location (152a) or goal of motion (152b) and can also be used in conditional (152c) and causal (152d) constructions as well as sentential complements (§4.4.2).

- (152) a. *h-?a-n-χa-wá á.pχ'a.rta*
 1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-LOC-work-IPF DEF+school
 ‘the school where we work’ (T)
- b. *h-?a-cá-χə-z sá máma d-ʕa-sə-njá-n*
 1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-go-RE-PST.NPST 1SG mother 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.ERG-meet-PST
 ‘In the place we returned to I met my mother.’ (T)
- c. *arəj j-w-a-s-h^wə-z a-wəs*
 PROX REL.ABS-2SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PST.NFIN DEF-deed
na-w-mə-r-za-wa-ta w-?a-ʕa-ca-pa-χə-z
 TRAL-2SG.M.ERG-NEG-reach-IPF-ADV 2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-CISL-LOC-turn-RE-PST.NFIN
a-wʕa j-šə-r-ba-wa w-qa
 DEF-people 3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-3PL.ERG-see-IPF 2SG.M.IO-head
qə-s-χ-wa-š-t
 LOC.ELAT-1SG.ERG-take-IPF-FUT-DCL
 ‘If you return not having fulfilled the task I gave you, I will decapitate you before the people.’ (Tabulova 1976: 226)
- d. *awáj bzáj-ta w-?a-ʕa-h^wə-z á-qaz*
 DIST good-ADV 2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-CISL-dance-PST.NFIN 3SG.N.IO-for
j-ʕa-wə-r-t-t
 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL
 ‘They gave it (the money) to you because you had danced well.’ (T)

The locative relative prefix combines with the limitive *-za-* to express temporal ‘until’ and ‘while’ clauses (153a) and with the lative *aχ²-*, which can occur both before (153b) and after (153c) the relative:

- (153) a. *á.pχ'a.rta s-á-z-a-pχ'-əw-z-g'əj ...*
 DEF+school 1SG.ABS-REL.LOC-LIM-3SG.N.IO-learn-IPF-PST-ADD
awáj ák^wa-m-k^wa za-k-g'əj g'-s-taqá-mə-z-t
 DIST COP-NEG-CVB.NEG one-INDF-ADD NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-want-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
 'While I studied at school ... I did not want anything else.' (T)
- b. *d-aχ'-?a-ca-g'əj g'-sə-z-dəra-m*
 3SG.H.ABS-LAT-REL.LOC-go-ADD NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-NEG
 'I don't know where he went.' (Xagba 2015: 19)
- c. *də-?a-χ'-c-əw-š a-λanəq^wa*
 3SG.H.ABS-REL.LOC-LAT-go-IPF-FUT DEF-direction
g'ə-j-z-a-lə-r-ga-χ-wa-m
 NEG.EMP-3SG.M.IO-BEN-3N.IO-LOC.ELAT-CAUS-go.out-RE-IPF-NEG
 'He cannot choose the direction he should take.' (Xagba 2015: 19)

– Temporal (a)nə- heads temporal clauses and takes non-finite tense suffixes, cf.

(154a) with the bare stem (aorist), (154b) with the imperfective (present), (154c) with the Imperfect, (154d) with the future and (72a) above with the subjunctive:

- (154) a. *l-an d-an-šá-j-χ ásqañ a-sabáj*
 3SG.F.IO-mother 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-go-RE DEF.time DEF-child
d-g'-lə-m-dár-χ-d
 3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.F.IO-NEG-3HAT^w-RE(AOR)-DCL
 'When her mother came back she didn't know about the child.' (T)
- b. *kañkaz n-χa-ra h-an-ša-j-wa*
 Caucasus LOC-work-MSD 1PL.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-go-IPF
g^wərk'aq^w-dəw-k h-c-əw-z-ša ak^w-p
 feast-big-INDF 1PL.ABS-go-IPF-PST.NFIN-SML COP-NPST.DCL
j-šə-š-ba-wa
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-1PL.ERG-see-IPF
 'When we arrive to the Caucasus for work, it seems to us that we came to a big feast.' (Abazašta 2017)
- c. *j-an-ša-s-da-h^w-wa-z š'arda-n*
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-1SG.IO-LOC-succeed-IPF-PST.NFIN much-PST
 'There were many times when I was lucky.' (AbPo)
- d. *j-an-wə-k^w-q^wla-ra*
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-2SG.M.IO-LOC-get.dusky-FUT.NFIN
w-jə-r-ajg^w-əj-t Γ^wəçΓ^wəs-χama-za-k
 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-friend-PRS-DCL person-alien-INT-INDF
 'When you get caught in the dusk a complete foreigner invites you.' (AbPo)

– Manner š- is the most polyfunctional of the adjunct relative markers; besides manner clauses (155a), it is used in temporal clauses meaning 'as soon as' (155b) and 'while' (see above under -bərg), as well as in sentential complements of factive verbs (§4.4.2).

- (155) a. *wəž.əjnás jə-z-dər-p nbž'áΓ^w*
 henceforth 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-NPST friend
jə-š-jə-š'ta-nəq^w-əw-š
 3PL.ABS-REL.MNR-3SG.M.IO-LOC-behave-IPF-FUT
 'Henceforth I'll know how one should behave with friends.' (T)
- b. *awá.ʔa s-š-áʔa-z*
 DIST.LOC 1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-be-PST.NFIN
abdulgamid j-aš'á-hba ph^wás d-šá-j-gə-n
 PN 3M.IO-brother-elder woman 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.ERG-lead-PST
 'While I stayed there, Abdulgamid's elder brother got married.' (T)

– Reason *zə-* (historically related to the benefactive), expresses reason (156a) and purpose (156b):

- (156) a. *awáj* *ák^w-p̄* *jə-z-ɬa-s-m-áχ^wə-z*
 DIST COP-NPST.DCL 3PL.ABS-REL.RSN-CISL-1SG.ERG-NEG-take-PST.NFIN
 ‘That’s why I didn’t take them with me.’ (T)
- b. *wə-z-ɬa-z-də-z* *w-a-s-h^w-p̄*
 2SG.M.ABS-REL.RSN-CISL-1SG.ERG-lead-PST.NFIN 2SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-NPST.DCL
 ‘I’ll tell you what I called you for.’ (Tabulova 1976: 227)

The adverbial relative prefixes can occur before the reflexive prefix *čə-*, which otherwise occupies the leftmost slot: *š-čə-j-č’pa-wa* REL.MNR-RFL-3SG.M.ERG-do-IPF ‘how he pretends’, *z-čə-qa-w-čə-χ* REL.RSN-RFL-LOC-2SG.M.ERG-hide-RE ‘the reason why you hid here’ (Tabulova 1976: 187). In elicitation, considerable variation is observed, with some speakers preferring the order “reflexive–subordinator”, others the opposite, and still others allowing both, cf. (157) with the adverbial question.

- (157) *š-pá-č-bə-r-bzəj-χa* / *č-š-pá-bə-r-bzəj-χa?*
 {REL.MNR-QADV-RFL.ABS/RFL.ABS-REL.MNR-QADV}-2SG.F.ERG-CAUS-good-INC
 ‘How did you recover (lit. make yourself good again)?’ (E)

3.6.10. Expression of locative meanings

Abaza has a highly developed system of morphological expression of spatial meanings, comprising prefixes and suffixes. The most pervasive part of this system is locative preverbs occurring in slot –6. In addition to several dozen simple preverbs there are complex preverbs consisting of two or even three elements, some functioning as a unit and some apparently semantically complementing each other (e.g. *də-[bž’a-[k.nə-pa]]-t̄* 3SG.H.ABS-LOC.between-LOC.down-jump(AOR)-DCL ‘he jumped down between smth.’ Klyčev 1995: 67, where the preverb farther from the root (‘between’) further specifies the meaning of the verb ‘jump down’ itself containing a preverb). The total number of simplex and complex preverbs as listed in Klyčev (1995) is 150; some of these are highly productive while some combine with just a handful of verbal roots or even with a single root. Some preverbs have transparent and often very specific meanings while some show a considerable degree of lexicalization.

Morphosyntactically, preverbs fall into several types (see Avidzba 2017). Some are canonical applicatives, i.e. introduce a spatial argument and are preceded by an obligatory prefix cross-referencing it, see (109) above; other preverbs, by contrast, do not introduce an argument but themselves express the spatial landmark of the event (158a); still others show mixed behaviour in that they may license an argument but do not cross-reference it (158b) or may introduce an argument optionally.

- (158) a. *w-g^wara-pš-ta* *w-ɬa-j-χ*
 2SG.M.ABS-LOC.courtyard-look(IMP)-ADV 2SG.M.ABS-CISL-go-RE(IMP)
 ‘Look in the courtyard and come back.’ (Klyčev 1995: 69)
- b. *a-bəx’-k^wa* *andak’* *j-bva-šš-əw-n*
 DEF-leaf-PL DEF+ditch 3PL.ABS-LOC.down-fall.INT-IPF-PST
 ‘Leafs were falling into the ditch.’ (Klyčev 1995: 54)

Some of the preverbs are transparently related to nouns or, more rarely, adverbs and verbs, and can be considered an instance of incorporation; those of them denoting body parts bear personal prefixes referring to the possessor (159a), and some of those denoting spatial objects are related to the argument they introduce as more general to more specific (159b); the preverb may even be identical to the external nominal it licenses (159c). Occasional incorporation of adverbs not listed in dictionaries as preverbs is also attested, cf. *j-qara-na-g-əw-š-ta* 3PL.ABS-far-3SG.N.ERG-carry-IPF-FUT-ADV ‘it will carry them far off’ (T).

- (159) a. *a-k^wtaβ' s-naḗə-ça-pə-l-č-t*
 DEF-egg 1SG.IO-LOC.hand-LOC.below-LOC.front-3SG.F.ERG-break(AOR)-DCL
 'She broke the egg in my hands.' (Klyčev 1995: 170)
- b. *a-tawp a-pajš' jə-ɣ^wna-g'až'-t*
 DEF-ball DEF-room 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-LOC.house-roll(AOR)-DCL
 'The ball rolled into the room.' (Klyčev 1995: 86)
- c. *a-ž'ə a-čɣ^wa j-čɣ^wa-q'q'a-t*
 DEF-meat DEF-oven 3SG.N.ABS-LOC.oven-chop.INT(AOR)-DCL
 'They chopped the meat near the oven.' (Klyčev 1995: 212)

Certain complex preverbs actually consist of a simple preverb with a more abstract spatial meaning preceded by an incorporated nominal, e.g. *məɣ^w-qə-* LOC.road-LOC.surface.ELAT 'from a road'.

Some of the preverbs can be used as stative verbal roots, cf. *də-la-p* 3SG.H.ABS-be.in-NPST.DCL 's/he is there' (Tabulova 1976: 104) ~ *j-a-la-gəla-n* 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.in-stand-PST.DCL 'it stood there' (Klyčev 1995: 140), *d-š'ta-p* 3SG.H.ABS-be.on.a.horizontal.surface-NPST.DCL 's/he is lying' ~ *j-š'ta-r-psa-t* 3SG.N.ABS-LOC.ground-3PL.ERG-spill(AOR)-DCL 'they spilt it on the ground' (Klyčev 1995: 342).

By themselves, locative preverbs do not specify direction of motion with respect to the landmark. Many preverbs ending in /a/, including some of those clearly related to lexical nouns, form an elative variant by changing /a/ to /ə/ (see Avidzba 2017: 123–130) (160).

- (160) a. *a-qanž'a a-ɣ^wara j-ta-pssɣa-χ-t*
 DEF-crow 3SG.N.IO-nest 3SG.N.ABS-LOC.in.LAT-fly-RE(AOR)-DCL
 'The crow flew back into its nest.' (Klyčev 1995: 197)
- b. *a-warba a-ɣ^wara j-tə-pssɣa-t*
 DEF-eagle 3SG.N.IO-nest 3SG.N.ABS-LOC.in.ELAT-fly(AOR)-DCL
 'The eagle flew out of its nest.' (Klyčev 1995: 205)

Below is given the list of simplex and complex preverbs together with their meanings based on Klyčev (1995). Note that many preverbs are quasi-synonymous. Complex preverbs are listed under the preverb that contributes the primary meaning; spurious combinations where one of the preverbs scopes over the other and the verb, are ignored. Elative variants of preverbs are given after the tilde. The semantics of the lexical correspondence is provided where available.

– Preverbs usually not taking personal prefixes:

- bβa-* 'down' (*bβa-pš-ra* 'look down', Klyčev 1995: 53) < 'back'
- čɣ^wa-* ~ *čəɣ^w/čɣ^wə-* 'oven' (*čɣ^wa-k^wka-ra* 'drip into an oven', Klyčev 1995: 212; *čɣ^wə-ha-ra* 'smell from an oven', Klyčev 1995: 218) < 'oven'
- čkara-* ~ *čkarə-* 'yard' (*čkara-s-ra* 'snow into the yard', Klyčev 1995: 226; *čkar-psa-ra* 'sweep out of the yard', Klyčev 1995: 231) < 'yard' (not used independently)
- čə-žə-* 'from horseback' (*čə-žə-pa-ra* 'jump from the horse', Klyčev 1995: 237) < *čə-* 'horse'
- čə-* 'skin, cover' (*čə-bbəl-ra* 'burn on the surface', Klyčev 1995: 310) < *čə* 'skin'
- gara-* 'cradle' (*gara-q^wmar-ra* 'play in a cradle', Klyčev 1995: 68) < 'cradle'
- g^wara-* ~ *g^warə-* 'yard' (*g^wara-bzaza-ra* 'live in a yard', Klyčev 1995: 68; *g^war-ca-ra* 'drive smth. out of a yard') < 'fence'
- ka-* 'down' (*ka-ša-ra* 'fall down', Klyčev 1995: 128)
- kə-də-* 'vertical object' (*kə-d-gəla* 'stand near a wall', Klyčev 1995: 128)
- kə-la-* ~ *kə-lə-* 'hole' (*kə-la-psa-ra* 'pour into a hole', Klyčev 1995: 131; *kə-l-psa-ra* 'pour through a hole', Klyčev 1995: 134)

l-bʒa- ‘down from above’ (*l-bʒa-kʷər-ra* ‘crawl down from above’, Klyčev 1995: 155) < ‘descend’

məʃʷ-qə- ‘from a road’ (*məʃʷ-q-pš-ra* ‘look at the sides of a road’, Klyčev 1995: 163) < *mʃʷa* ‘road’

pə- ‘tip’ (*p-q-ra* ‘chop off’, Klyčev 1995: 175) < ‘nose’ (historically)

p-xʷa- ~ *p-xʷə-* ‘aside’ (*p-xʷa-pš-ra* ‘look towards smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 178; *p-xʷ-č-ra* ‘break off from the side of smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 179)

pšca- ~ *pščə-* ‘yard’ (*pšca-n-xa-ra* ‘work in the yard’, Klyčev 1995: 180; *pšč-ca-ra* ‘drive smbd. out of the yard’, Klyčev 1995: 182) < ‘yard’

qə-la- ‘around, on both sides’ (*qə-la-qʷa-ra* ‘swing around’, Klyčev 1995: 272)

qə-nə- ‘around’ (unique: *qə-n-hʷ-ra* ‘turn around’, Klyčev 1995: 272)

qʷə- ‘pond’ (*qʷ-ž-a-ra* ‘break through a dam’, Klyčev 1995: 276) (non-productive)

qʷa-la- ‘ashes’ (*qʷa-la-ʃʷat-ra* ‘hide in ashes’, Klyčev 1995: 273) < *qʷa-* ‘ashes’

qʷ(a)-ça- ‘encircled’ (*qʷa-ça-hʷhʷa-ra* ‘bungle’, Klyčev 1995: 275) (non-productive)

rə- ‘water’ (*r-ga-ra* ‘carry over water’, *r-a-t-ra* ‘melt’, Klyčev 1995: 191) (non-productive)

šʷta- ‘ground, horizontal surface’ ~ *šʷtə-* ‘from below’ (*šʷta-gʷəčʷa-ra* ‘trample smth. on a horizontal surface’, Klyčev 1995: 340; *šʷtə-pssʃa-ra* ‘fly up from below’, Klyčev 1995: 348).

ta- ‘inside’, ‘down’ ~ *tə-* ‘outside’ (*ta-bzaza-ra* ‘live somewhere’, Klyčev 1995: 192; *t-pa-ra* ‘get out of joint’, Klyčev 1995: 205)

žə-kʷə- ‘out of enclosure’ (*žə-kʷ-hʷa-ra* ‘drag out of smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 96)

žə-lə- ‘out of enclosure’ (*žə-l-pš-ra* ‘look out from’, Klyčev 1995: 97)

ʃʷna- ‘house, room’ (*ʃʷna-maχ-ra* ‘faint inside’, Klyčev 1995: 88) < ‘home’

– Preverbs usually taking personal prefixes:

bžʷa- ~ *bəžʷ/bžʷə-* ‘between’ (*bžʷa-žž-a-ra* ‘spit between smth.’ Klyčev 1995: 56; *bəžʷ-ga-ra* ‘carry smth. from space between smth.’) < ‘lap’

ca- ‘back’ (*ca-pš-ra* ‘look back’, Klyčev 1995: 280)

c-kə-la- ~ *c-kə-lə-* ‘from behind’, ‘narrow enclosure’ (*c-k-la-s-ra* ‘hit from behind’, Klyčev 1995: 281; *c-kə-l-ž-a-ra* ‘pull out from a hole’, Klyčev 1995: 281)

cra- ~ *cər/crə-* ‘behind’ (*cra-kša-ra* ‘thrust from behind’, Klyčev 1995: 282; *crə-qʷa-ra* ‘knock off from behind’, Klyčev 1995: 284)

ça- ~ *çə-* ‘below, under’ (*ça-ʃza-ra* ‘bring up a child under one’s roof’, Klyčev 1995: 287; *ç-q-ra* ‘pull from below’, Klyčev 1995: 303)

ʃʷə-ça- ‘under the armpit’ (*ʃʷə-ça-k-ra* ‘hold under the armpit’, Klyčev 1995: 95)

čə-ça- ‘down on earth’ (only with a handful of verbs of falling, e.g. *čə-ça-ša-ra* ‘fall down on earth’, Klyčev 1995: 329)

čpə-nə- ‘bank, edge’ (*čpə-n-sačʷ-ra* ‘burn on the edge of smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 235) < *čpə* ‘bank, side’

ča- ~ *čə-* ‘slope, frontal surface’, ‘face, mouth’ (often lexicalized) (*ča-gəl-ra* ‘stand on the slope’, *ča-gʷa-ra* ‘stuff into mouth’ Klyčev 1995: 312; *č-ʃʷər-ra* ‘crumble, collapse’, *č-t-ra* ‘call, invite’, Klyčev 1995: 324) < *ča* ‘mouth, face’

də- ‘near’ (*s-lə-d-gəla-p* 1SG.ABS-3SG.F.IO-LOC.near-stand-NPST.DCL ‘I am standing near her’, Klyčev 1995: 96); unproductive

gʷa ~ *gʷə-* ‘heart’ (mainly metaphoric, *gʷa-qʷəc-ra* ‘think out in one’s heart’, Klyčev 1995: 72); ‘apart’ (*gʷ-c-ra* ‘crack’, Klyčev 1995: 72) < ‘heart’

- g^wə-nə-* ‘heart’ (lexicalized and unproductive; *g^wə-n-ɣ^w-ra* 3SG.N.IO-LOC.heart-LOC.on-run-MSD ‘understand’, Klyčev 1995: 78)
- g^wə-ça-* ‘in the middle’, ‘towards breast/heart’ (*g^wə-ça-psa-ra* ‘pour smth. in the middle of smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 79)
- k^wə-* ‘surface’ (*k^wə-ɣ^w-ra* ‘write on smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 109); is often lexicalized (*a-k^w-k^w-ra* 3SG.N.IO-LOC.on-hold-MSD ‘decide’, Klyčev 1995: 111) < ‘roof’
- g^wə-k^wə-* ‘on top’ (*g^wə-k^w-pa-ra* ‘jump on top of smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 73)
- k^w-ta-* lexicalized (*k^w-ta-s-ra* LOC.on-LOC.in-hit-MSD ‘push’, Klyčev 1995: 121)
- š’a-k^wə-* ‘feet, basis’ (non-productive) (*š’a-k^w-gəl-ra* ‘become established’, Klyčev 1995: 330)
- k^wa-ça-* ‘inhabited place’ (*k^wa-ça-ɣ^wa-ra* ‘dry in the street’) ~ *k^wa-çə-* ‘out of’, ‘through’ (*k^wa-ç-s-ra* ‘go through’) (non-productive)
- kə-nə-* ‘from above’, ‘from a surface’ (*k^w-nə-q^wa-ra* ‘descend’, Klyčev 1995: 137)
- ta-kə-nə-* ‘down inside’ (*ta-k^w-nə-žž-ra* ‘run down a pipe (about water)’, Klyčev 1995: 209)
- k^wa-* ‘bosom, beside’ (*k^wa-ša-ra* LOC.bosom-fall-MSD ‘find room beside’, Klyčev 1995: 138) < ‘bosom’
- k^wə-* ‘around’, is only used together with the suffix *-ša* (*k^w-da-ša-ra* ‘lead around’, Klyčev 1995: 138–139); on this form see also Klyčev (2000: 29–32)
- qə-k^wə-* ‘around’ (*qə-k^w-pš-ša-ra* ‘look round’, Klyčev 1995: 271)
- la-* ~ *lə-* ‘in a mass’, ‘in contact with’; often lexicalized (*a-la-ga-ra* ‘carry into a mass; start’, Klyčev 1995: 140; *a-l-ga-ra* ‘carry out of a mass; finish’, Klyčev 1995: 150)
- g^wa/g^wə-la-* ~ *g^wə-lə-* ‘inside a container or mass’ (*g^wə-la-ča-ra* ‘pour liquid inside smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 77; *g^wə-l-ča-ra* ‘pour liquid out of smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 78)
- lakta-* ‘face’ (*lakta-k^w-ra* ‘hold smth. before someone’s face’, Klyčev 1995: 153) < ‘face’
- ma-* ‘together’ ~ *mə-* ‘out of contact’ (*ma-t-ra* ‘attach’, Klyčev 1995: 157; *m-c-ra* ‘break off’, Klyčev 1995: 158)
- m-qə-* ‘apart’ (*m-q-tta-ra* ‘spread in different directions’, Klyčev 1995: 164)
- m-ça-* ‘in front of’ ~ *m-çə-* ‘from beside’, ‘in different directions’ (*m-ça-š^w-ra* ‘kill in view of sbmd.’, *m-ç-bləg’a-ra* ‘roll away’, Klyčev 1995: 165)
- mg^wa-* ~ *məg^w/mg^wə-* ‘wrapped up’, ‘in a container’ (*mg^wa-ps-ra* ‘die being wrapped up into smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 160; *mg^w-psa-ra* ‘spill out of a package’, Klyčev 1995: 162) < ‘belly’
- nə-* ‘on a horizontal surface’, often lexicalized (*n-çəw-ra* ‘cry on smth.’, *n-ša-ra* ‘appear, happen’, Klyčev 1995: 168)
- napə-ça-* ~ *napə-çə-* ‘hands’ (*napə-ça-k^w-ra* ‘hold smth. in one’s hands’, Klyčev 1995: 170; *napə-ç-ɣ^wəz-ra* ‘slip out of one’s hands’, Klyčev 1995: 173) < ‘hand’
- nq^wə-* ‘back and forth’, occurs with a few verbs of motion (*nq^w-ga-ra* ‘carry back and forth’, Klyčev 1995: 174) < ‘walk’
- pa-* lexicalized and unproductive (*pa-čaža-ra* LOC.speak-MSD ‘contradict’, Klyčev 1995: 174)
- p-ça-* ‘against’ (*p-ça-gəl-ra* ‘oppose, contradict’, Klyčev 1995: 182)
- pəra-* ~ *pərə-* ‘front’ (*pəra-fa-ra* ‘eat smth. in front of smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 187; *pər-ç-ra* ‘remove’, Klyčev 1995: 190)
- qa-* ~ *qə-* ‘above, over’ (often lexicalized) (*qa-pχ’aza-ra* ‘read prayers over smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 255; *q-t-ra* ‘uncover’, Klyčev 1995: 264) < ‘head’

- qa-ta-* ‘above’ (*qa-ta-s-ra* ‘hit from above’, Klyčev 1995: 269)
- q-tə-* ‘through’ (*q-t-ga-ra* ‘carry through’, Klyčev 1995: 270) (lexicalized, non-productive)
- q^wda-* ~ *q^wəd/q^wdə-* ‘neck’ (*q^wda-zaχ-ra* ‘attach to collar’, Klyčev 1995: 274; *q^wəd-žā-ra* ‘tear from somebody’s neck’, Klyčev 1995: 275) < ‘neck’
- q^w-la-* ‘in tight contact’ (*a-q^w-la-ha-ra* ‘hear each other’s breath’, Klyčev 1995: 276)
- q̇a-* unique: *q̇a-čā-ra* ‘hide’ (Klyčev 1995: 124)
- q̇ə-* ‘from beside’, ‘detach part’ (*q̇ə-ṗla-ra* ‘break off’, Klyčev 1995: 125)
- š’kla-* ‘stirrup’, ‘behind’ (*š’kla-h^wa-ra* ‘attach to the stirrup’, Klyčev 1995: 332) < ‘stirrup’
- š’ta-* ‘after’ (*š’ta-g’až’-ra* ‘roll after smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 334) ~ *š’tə-* ‘from’ (unproductive) (*š’t-ca-ra* ‘drive smbd. away’, Klyčev 1995: 338)
- š’q^wa-* ‘heel’ (unproductive) (*š’q^wa-s-ra* ‘hit somebody’s heel’, Klyčev 1995: 348)
- šə-* ‘foot’, ‘body’ (with a handful of verbs of clothing: *š-h^wa-ra* ‘take clothes off smbd.’, Klyčev 1995: 329)
- waça-* ~ *waçə-* ‘inside a strong container’ (*waça-ž-ra* ‘boil in a container’, Klyčev 1995: 239; *waç-s-ra* ‘go out from inside’, Klyčev 1995: 247) < ‘intestines’
- w(a)h^w-ta* ‘behind’ (*wah^w-ta-š-ra* ‘bark after smbd.’, Klyčev 1995: 249)
- χ^wə-nə-* ‘on a height’ unique: *χ^wə-n-gəl-ra* ‘stand on a height; step upon’ (Klyčev 1995: 249)
- χ’ə-* ‘down a vertical surface’ (often lexicalized) (*χ’-ṗla-ra* ‘spill from above’, *χ’-ṗš-ra* ‘look after’, Klyčev 1995: 277)
- χ’ə-nə-* ‘down a vertical surface’ (*χ’-nə-ha-ra* ‘hang on a vertical surface’, Klyčev 1995: 279)
- za-* ‘cheek’, ‘side’ (*za-s-ra* ‘hit in the face’, Klyčev 1995: 98)
- zqa-* ‘side, near’ (*zqa-ha-ra* ‘lie down near smth.’, Klyčev 1995: 104) < ‘side’
- bra-* ~ *brə/brə-* ‘inside (with strong contact)’ (*bra-žag^wa-ra* ‘fill, stuff’, Klyčev 1995: 80; *brə-ṗla-ra* ‘spill out’, Klyčev 1995: 81)
- ɣ^wə-* 1) ‘in two parts’, ‘into pieces’ (with gemination of the root: *ɣ^w-žā-ra* ‘tear apart’ ~ *ɣ^w-žžā-ra* ‘tear into pieces’, Klyčev 1995: 82) < ‘two’
- ɣ^wə-* 2) ‘past’ (*ɣ^w-pssɣa-ra* ‘fly past’, Klyčev 1995: 84)

Direction of motion with respect to the landmark is sometimes expressed by directional suffixes, none of which appears to be productive (see Klyčev 1972):

- elative *-ɣa*: *j-a-l-ɣ^w-ɣa-ṗ* 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.mass-write-ELAT(RES)-NPST.DCL ‘it is written out from there’ (Klyčev 1972: 31);
- lative *-l(a)*: *j-a-nə-j-ɣ^wə-l-t* 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.horizontal-3SG.M.ERG-write-LAT-DCL ‘he inscribed it there’ (Klyčev 1972: 100);
- *-l-ɣa* ‘across, over’, a lexicalized combination of lative and elative: *qə-čah^wa-l-ɣa* LOC.OVER.ELAT-tie-LAT-ELAT(IMP) ‘tie it up’ (Klyčev 1972: 154);
- ‘around’ *-šā*: always with the preverb *k^wə-*, see above.

The verb root *ša* ‘throw, fall’ has a special elative variant *štə-*: *a-ča-ša-ra* 3SG.N.IO-LOC.down-throw-MSD ‘throw down’ ~ *a-č-št-ra* 3SG.N.IO-LOC.down.ELAT-throw.ELAT-MSD ‘throw from below’ (Klyčev 1972: 164)

Direction of motion with respect to the speaker or deictic center is expressed by directional preverbs *ɣa-* ‘hither’ (cislocative) and *na-* ‘thither’ (translocative) occupying slot –7 between applicatives and locatives. Of the two, the cislocative is by far the most frequent and productive, which is due to it having a number of lexicalized and extended uses. Examples in (161) show the deictic uses of the preverbs.

- (161) a. **b-ʕá-j** *r-h^wa-rák^wən*
 2SG.F.ABS-CISL-go(IMP) 3PL.ERG-say-COND
 ‘When they invite me (lit. when they say “come here”).’ (T)
- b. **s-g’-na-j-χ-wa-šə-m** *h-pnə*
 1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-TRAL-go-RE-IPF-FUT-NEG 1PL.IO-at
 ‘I won’t go back home.’ (T)

The deictic center need not always coincide with the speaker even when the latter is a participant, cf. (162), where the cislocative is addressee-oriented.

- (162) **a-χabár** **šə-z-ʕá-z-g-χ-p̄**
 DEF-news 2PL.IO-BEN-CISL-1SG.ERG-carry-RE-NPST.DCL
 ‘I’ll bring you the news.’ (T)

The cislocative has many extended, semi-lexicalized and fully lexicalized uses not directly connected with motion. It normally occurs in verbs denoting acquisition of something or appearance of something in the subject’s sphere or field of perception, e.g. **ʕa-k-ra** ‘catch, gather’, **ʕ[a]-aw-ra** ‘find’, **ʕa-χ^wʕa-ra** ‘buy’, **ʕa-g^wənʕ^w-ra** ‘understand’ and many others. Sometimes the cislocative expresses inception, cf. **ʕa-š-ra** ‘start boiling’ or **ʕa-čəw-ra** ‘start crying’. Lexicalized uses include such verbs as **ʕa-h^w-ra** ‘dance’, where the prefix no longer expresses any tangible deictic meaning. The traslocative is very often lexicalized and desemantized, which sometimes even leads to verbs containing both prefixes, cf. **ʕa-na-k-ra** ‘catch’ or **ʕa-na-χ^wa-ra** ‘reflect itself’.

The cislocative is systematically used as a quasi-inverse marker in verbs with indirect objects when the latter outrank the subject (absolutive or ergative) on the hierarchy 1 > 2 > 3, see the paradigms of ‘look’ and ‘give’ in tables 9 and 10 above and examples (163a,b) vs. (163c). In this use the cislocative appears to the left of the applicatives in slot –8, cf. (162) vs. (163b).

- (163) a. **kapejka-k-g’əj** **j-g’-ʕa-hə-rə-m-t-χ-wa-z-d**
 penny-INDF-ADD 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-CISL-1PL.IO-3PL.ERG-NEG-give-RE-IPF-PST.NFIN-DCL
 ‘they wouldn’t give us a penny’ (T)
- b. **d-ʕa-sə-z-čʕa-t**
 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-BEN-ask(AOR)-DCL
 ‘He asked me.’ (T)
- c. **hə-j-čʕa-p̄**
 1PL.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask-NPST.DCL
 ‘We’ll ask him.’ (T)

The cislocative sometimes also occurs in verbal forms where both the subject and the indirect object are third person, cf. (164a,b) vs. (164c); the semantic and pragmatic factors guiding this use are not yet well understood.

- (164) a. **awəj** **garód-tak^w** **ʕa-lə-r-tə-n**
 DIST orchard(R)-little CISL-3SG.F.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST
 ‘They gave her a little orchard.’ (T)
- b. **wadər.ʕ^wána** **a-pajʕambár** **d-ʕa-rə-z-čʕa-t**
 then DEF-prophet 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-BEN-ask(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Then the prophet asked them.’ (T)
- c. **áχč’a** **h-pnə** **á-pš-ta** **a-q^wabəz.č’ə**
 def+money 1PL.IO-at 3SG.N.IO-similar-ADV DEF-accordion.player
jə-g’-lə-r-t-wa-m
 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.F.IO-3PL.ERG-give-IPF-NEG
 ‘They don’t give the money to the accordion player, as we do.’ (T)

The translocative sometimes occurs in combinations of 1st person subject with a 2nd person indirect object (165a), but this use is rare and optional, cf. (165b).

- (165) a. *s-na-wə-ça-pš-əj-t*
 1SG.ABS-TRAL-2SG.M.IO-LOC-look-PRS-DCL
 ‘I am looking at you.’ (AbPo)
- b. *dača-warád-k w-a-s-h^w j-a-wá-š-ma*
 other-song-INDF 2SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say 3SG.N.ABS-be.allowed-IPF-FUT-Q
 ‘May I sing another song for you?’ (T)

3.6.11. Verbal derivation

Derived verbs are mainly formed by means of valency-changing affixes (applicatives, causative, reciprocal and reflexives, §3.6.8) and locative preverbs (§3.6.10), both of which are prone to lexicalization. Of the aspectual suffixes described in §3.6.4, only the reflexive *-χ* can be regarded as able to form new lexemes. The primary means of forming verbs from other parts of speech is conversion (recall that almost any content word can take stative verbal inflection); dynamic verbs can be formed from nominals by means of the inceptive suffix *-χα* (§3.6.4) and again by causativization. On the intensive/distributive gemination in verbal roots see §3.6.1. Verb-forming compounding is attested (e.g. *z-ca-ra* water-go-MSD ‘swim’, *na-ŋ^w-ŋa-ŋ^w-ra* TRAL-run-CISL-run ‘run to and fro’), but is not productive.

3.7. Adverbs

Most adverbial expressions are inflectional forms of nominals or verbs formed by means of the adverbial ending *-ta* (e.g. *lasá-ta* ‘quickly’) or the instrumental ending *-la* (e.g. *lasá-la* ‘soon’), see Tabulova (1976: 263–267). Reduplication is also productive (e.g. *lasá~las* ‘quickly’, *zná~zən* ‘from time to time’); on special adverbial forms of demonstratives see §3.4.3. Underived adverbs form a closed class and mostly denote time (e.g. *wžə* ‘now’, *jacá* ‘yesterday’ or *çəpχ* ‘last year’).

Many adverbs are formed by compounding, e.g. *qa-m-kə-χ-la* head-NEG-hold-RE-INS ‘headlong’, *jara-zə-n-la* it-one-time-INS ‘at once’, *wž-ŋan-za.ra* now-time-LIM ‘until now’ etc. (see Tabulova 1976: 256–258), *mš-əj-ŋa-za* day-ADD-CISL-reach ‘every day’ (Tabulova 1976: 253).

Some adverbs are formed by attaching converb suffixes (§3.6.9) to nominals, e.g. *awəj-naçk’a.ra* DIST-UNTIL ‘meanwhile’ and *awəj-pχ’aza* DIST-EACH ‘each time’ (Tabulova 1976: 259), *mač’~mač’ə-mca* little~RED-CVB ‘gradually’ (Tabulova 1976: 261–262), *wžə~wžə-bərg* now~RED-JUST ‘immediately’ (Tabulova 1976: 253). On relativization-based free-choice expressions with the universal concessive conditional suffix *-lakg’əj* see §3.4.6.

Dedicated affixes forming adverbs are few; the one is *-n(ə)* denoting temporal intervals and attaching to verbs, cf. *a-n-χa-n* DEF-LOC-work-time ‘at the time of work’ (Tabulova 1976: 266); given that such adverbs take the definite article and that the same element occurs in such nouns as *ŋap-ná* ‘spring’, it remains unclear whether formations with *-nə* are adverbs and not nouns. The other adverbial affixes are *-rak* ‘whole’ (*jacə-rak* ‘for the whole of yesterday’, Tabulova 1976: 251), *-rk^waχ* ‘again’ (?< continuative + reflexive; *waçə-rk^waχ* ‘tomorrow again’, *j.ata-rk^waχ* ‘again’, Tabulova 1976: 252), *-əjnas* ‘further’ (*wž-əjnas* ‘henceforth’), *ansəj-* ‘each’ (*ansəj-mšə* ‘every day’), *jənəj-* ‘whole’ (*jənəj-bən-k* ‘for the whole winter’, Tabulova 1976: 252).

Adverbs may combine with the intensifying suffix *-za*, e.g. *š’əmta-za* ‘early in the morning’ (Tabulova 1976: 267), sometimes with the attenuative rather than intensifying semantics, cf. *ajša-za* ‘somewhat bitterly’ (Tabulova 1976: 266).

3.8. Postpositions and locationals

Postpositions are mostly grammaticalized nominals with possessive prefixes, more rarely fossilized converbs. The following postpositions are attested:

– *-pnə* ‘at’, used in spatial (166a), temporal (166b) and more abstract (166c) meanings:

- (166) a. *h-babuška l-pnə h-ʕa-n-χa-n*
 1PL.IO-granny(R) 3SG.F.IO-at 1PL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PST
 ‘We remained at our granny’s place.’ (T)
- b. *s-aba j-bž’ə ʕa-s-ʕa-t*
 1SG.IO-father 3SG.M.IO-voice CISL-1SG.ERG-hear(AOR)-DCL
jara awəj a-daqəjqa a-pnə
 3SG.N DIST DEF-moment 3SG.N.IO-at
 ‘At that very moment I heard my father’s voice.’ (Tabulova 1976: 270)
- c. *a-təwmán a-pnə j-h’á-z*
 DEF-ten.roubles 3SG.N.IO-at REL.ABS+3SG.ERG-say-PST.NFIN
 ‘what he said about the ten roubles’ (T)

The postposition can attach suffixes, e.g. *j-pnə-za* 3SG.M.IO-at-LIM ‘towards him’ (T). The pronominal possessor prefix is referentially autonomous, so the postposition can freely occur without any overt nominal complement (167).

- (167) *j-pnə w-a-n-jə-r-pχ’a-wa*
 3SG.M.IO-at 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-spend.night-IPF
 ‘He lets you spend night at his place, and...’ (AbPo)
 – *a-qaz(-la)* ‘because, for’, expresses cause (168a) and purpose (168b)
- (168) a. *awəj bžáj-ta w-ʔa-ʕa-h^wə-z á-qaz*
 DIST good-ADV 2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-CISL-dance-PST.NFIN 3SG.N.IO-for
j-ʕa-wə-r-t-t
 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL
 ‘They gave it (the money) to you because you had danced well.’ (T)
- b. *s-ps.adg’əl a-qaz-la s-aša-k^wa s-h^w-əj-t*
 1SG.IO-homeland 3SG.N.IO-for-INS 1SG.IO-song-PL 1SG.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
 ‘I sing my songs for my homeland.’ (AbPo)
 – *-wa* ‘among’, expresses belonging to a group or set (169)

- (169) *awat rə-wa š’arda-ʕ^wə a-ʕ^wəma-qrəz-k^wa j-aʔa-ta*
 DIST.PL 3PL.IO-among many-CLH DEF-foreign-country-PL 3PL.ABS-be-ADV
 ‘Many of them being from foreign countries...’ (Abazašta 2017)
 – *aʕan* ‘at the time’: *a-pχən aʕan* ‘in the summer’ (T);
 – *-aχ’ə-la* ‘towards’: *a-č’k^wən-čə r-aχ’ə-la* DEF-guy-PLH 3PL.IO-towards-INS ‘towards the guys’ (Tabulova 1976: 271);
 – *-ala-la* ‘compared to’:

- (170) *awat r-ala-la hara hə-mč’əmqa-ǰ!*
 DIST.PL 3PL.IO-comparison-INS 1PL 1PL.ABS-strong-NPST.DCL
 ‘Compared to them, we are strong!’ (Tabulova 1976: 272)
 – *-ackəs* ‘than’, marks the standard of comparison, see §4.6.
 – *-nəs(-la)* ‘for the sake of’, used in oaths (cf. the purposive converb *-(r)nəs*, §3.6.9):

- (171) *sawsrəq^wa an j-nəs-la nəχa j-h^wa-t*
 PN god 3SG.M.IO-sake-INS oath 3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Sosruko swore to God.’ (Tabulova 1976: 272)

– *ak^wa-m-k^wa* COP-NEG-CVB.NEG ‘except, besides’:

- (172) *awat-əj j-dəw-ĉa-m a-wasa-h^wəč’-əj r-ak^wa.m.k^wa*
 DIST.PL-ADD REL.ABS-big-EXC-NEG DEF-sheep-herd-ADD 3PL.IO-besides
daĉa–mlək^w-k-g’əj g’-ġa-r-da-mə-h^w-t
 other-possession-INDF-ADD NEG.EMP-CISL-3PL.IO-LOC-NEG-get(AOR)-DCL
 ‘They did not gain any booty besides those things and a small herd of sheep.’ (AbRus)

– *-qġ’aĉəla* ‘because of, instead of’:

- (173) *a-č’amaza-ŋ^w j-qġ’aĉə-la adg’əl jə-ĉa-r-ž-əj-t*
 DEF-be.ill-NAG 3SG.M.IO-instead-INS DEF+earth 3SG.N.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-bury-PRS-DCL
 ‘They bury it (the doll) instead of the sick person.’ (AbRus)
 – *-cənq^wə* ‘instead of’: *w-cənq^wə* ‘instead of you’ (Tabulova 1976: 272);
 – ABS-*ġa-l-ĉ-la* CISL-LOC.ELAT-pass-INS ‘because of’: *a-pġa-ra j-ġa.l.ĉ.la* DEF-hot-
 NML 3SG.N.ABS-because ‘because of the heat’ (Tabulova 1976: 272);
 – *-apš(-ta)* ‘like’ (< ‘similar’):

- (174) *awasa abaza–bəzša awəj a-pš-ta jə-g’-bajrg’ġə-m*
 but Abaza–language DIST 3SG.N.IO-similar-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-well.known-NEG
 ‘But the Abaza language is not so (lit. like this) well know.’ (Abazašta 2017)

Locationals are originally nominal lexical items denoting spatial regions and functioning as nominals, adverbs and postpositions (Tabulova 1976: 274–279); some of them can also occur as locative preverbs. They are listed below:

- *-paχ’* ‘front’ (< *paχ* ‘frontal part of a yard’) (175a);
- *-š’taχ’* ‘behind’ (175b), *-mš’taχ’* ‘after’ (see also §3.9);
- *-qaχ’* ‘on top of, over’ (< *qaχ* ‘surface’) (175c);
- *-ĉaχ’* ‘below’, cf. its adverbial use in (175d);
- *-zqa* ‘beside’ (< *zqa* ‘side’) (175e);
- *-ĉəq^wa* ‘after’ (< *ĉəq^wa* ‘tail’), (175f); the derived adverbial meaning ‘after that, then’ is more common, (175g);
- *-arg^wan* ‘near’ (< *arg^wanə* ‘located nearby’) (175h);
- *-š’apə* ‘under’ (< *š’apə* ‘foot’), (175i);
- *-waĉa* ‘inside’ (< *waĉa* ‘intestines’), note the temporal use in (175k);
- *-tará* ‘instead’ (< *tará* ‘container’), *l-tara-la* ‘instead of her’ (Tabulova 1976: 278);
- *-g’ag’ara* ‘around’ (< *g’ag’a* ‘circle’), (175l);
- *-bž’ara* ‘between’ (< *bž’ara* ‘chink’), (175m).

- (175) a. *a-waŋa r-paχ’ s-ġa-gəl-ta*
 DEF-people 3PL.IO-front 1SG.ABS-CISL-stand-ADV
 ‘when I stand before the people’ (AbPo)
- b. *awát-g’əj wə-š’taχ’ə-la jə-w-g-əj-t-ta*
 DIST.PL-ADD 2SG.M.IO-behind-INS 3PL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-carry-PRS-DCL-ADV
 ‘leaving those things behind you’ (T)
- c. *a-karbəž’-k^wa r-qaχ’ sə-k^w-lə-n*
 DEF-brick -PL 3PL.IO-top 1SG.ABS-LOC-go.in-PST
 ‘I lay down on the bricks.’ (T)
- d. *a-š’qa–zəŋ^w ĉaχ’ə-la j-t-rə.s-əj-t*
 DEF-mountain–river below-INS 3SG.N.ABS-LOC-run-PRS-DCL
 ‘A mountain river runs down.’ (AbPo)
- e. *sara a-ləgaž–hamzat jə-zqa-la s-ġa-ĉa-t*
 1SG DEF-old.man–PN 3SG.M.IO-side-INS 1SG.ABS-CISL-sit(AOR)-DCL
 ‘I sat down near old Hamzat.’ (Tabulova 1976: 278)

- f. *zəmɫʷa r-çəqʷa hʷsəjn d-ɬa-çəzə-t*
all 3PL.IO-after PN 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-speak(AOR)-DCL
'Husin was the last one to speak (lit. spoke after everybody).' (Tabulova 1976: 277)
- g. *w.a.çəqʷa.n s-aš'a j-a-s-hʷ-t*
then 1SG.IO-brother 3SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
'Then I told my brother.' (T)
- h. *a-la-dəw-g'əj ... awat ... r-argʷan j-gəla-n*
DEF-dog-big-ADD DIST.PL 3PL.IO-near 3SG.N.ABS-stand-PST
'The huge dog ... was standing near them.' (Tabulova 1976: 276)
- i. *a-kʷəž'ma a-çla a-š'əpə jə-çə-çə*
DEF-wolf DEF-tree 3SG.N.IO-under 3SG.N.ABS-LOC-sit.down
'the wolf having sat under the tree...' (Tabulova 1976: 277)
- k. *s-çərqa-χ'a-t skʷš-ɫʷə-n-ɫʷa-ž-əj-žə-ba r-waça*
1SG.ABS-walk-IAM-DCL year-two-time-two-ten-ADD-ten-CLN 3PL.IO-inside
'I have walked thus for fifty years already.' (AbPo)
- l. *j-aba-dəw j-g'ag'a.ra d-na-ɫʷ-ɬa-ɫʷ-wa-n*
3SG.M.IO-father-big 3SG.M.IO-around 3SG.H.ABS-TRAL-run-CISL-run-IPF-PST
'[The child] was running around his grandfather.' (Tabulova 1976: 279)
- m. *h-ɫʷə-ž' h-bž'ara*
1PL.IO-two-CLH 1PL.IO-between
'between the two of us' (Tabulova 1976: 279)

3.9. Minor word classes

The coordinating conjunctions in Abaza include *jg'əj* 'and' coordinating nominals (176a) and predicates (176b), and *awasa* (176c) and *ma* (176d) 'but' coordinating clauses.

- (176) a. *abχaz jg'əj abaza bəzša-kʷa*
Abkhaz and Abaza language-PL
'the Abkhaz and Abaza languages' (Abazašta 2017)
- b. *zəmɫʷa-ž-əw-g'əj bəzəj-n jg'əj bəzəj-p*
all-INT-PRS.NFIN-ADD good-PST and good-NPST.DCL
'They all were and are good.' (T)
- c. *wəɬa.qá-k ɬa-n-χá-t awása awát*
nation-INDF CISL-remain-INC(AOR)-DCL but DIST.PL
g'ə-z-ɬa-tə-m-ç-t
NEG.EMP-POT-CISL-LOC.ELAT-NEG-pass(AOR)-DCL
'Only one nation was left, but they could not get out of there.' (T)
- d. *d-ɬa-kʷ-šə-t ma w-qa-pssɬa-l!*
3SG.H.ABS-CISL-LOC-go.around(AOR)-DCL but 2SG.ABS-LOC-fly-LAT(IMP)
'He went around (the rock), but one can't climb it up!' (Tabulova 1976: 285)

The conjunction *jg'əj* can attach the plural suffix (177a) and function as an additive particle (177b):

- (177) a. *h-án-çə-kʷa jg'əj-kʷa h-ába-çə-kʷa*
1PL.IO-mother-PLH-PL ADD-PL 1PL.IO-father-PLH-PL
'our mothers and fathers' (T)
- b. *wara jg'əj wə-bəzša-ta ɫʷ-ba ɬa-w-g-wa-ta*
2SG.M and 2SG.M.IO-language-ADV two-CLN CISL-2SG.M.ERG-get-IPF-ADV
'And you get a poor mark even in your native language...' (T)

There is also a co-ordinating conjunction *wa* occurring before each conjunct (178):

- (178) *wa k^wa-ták^w, wa ʒ-tak^w jálah h^wa h-náq^w-əw-n*
 and rain-little and water-little god QUOT 1PL.ABS-walk-IPF-PST
 ‘We were going around saying, God, a little rain, a little water!’ (T)

Conjunctions denoting alternatives include *ja* ‘or’ coordinating both nominals (179a) and clauses (179b), *znə ... znə* ‘either ... or’ coordinating both nominals and clauses and occurring before each conjunct (179c) and *maw.m.k^wa* ‘or’ coordinating clauses and requiring the interrogative form of the predicate (179d).

- (179) a. *sará wafa.qá-ta eseser j-t-əw zəm^wá r-pnə*
 1SG nation-ADV USSR(R) REL.ABS-be.in-PRS.NFIN all 3PL.IO-at
za-ká~zak warád ja kuplét-k z-dór-əj-d
 one-INDF~DISTR song or verse-INDF 1SG.ERG-know-PRS-DCL
 ‘I know one song or verse from all nations of the USSR.’ (T)
- b. *w-á-ʒ.qa-gəla-ta ja w-á-ʒ.qa-gəla-mə-ztən*
 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-stand-ADV or 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-stand-NEG-COND.REAL
 ‘either while you are standing there or while you are not there’ (T)
- c. *z-nə j-ʒa-sə-k^w-k^wk^wa-wa,*
 one-time REL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-LOC-drip.INT-IPF
z-nə j-ʒa-sə-k^w-χ^wχ^wa-wa,
 one-time REL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-LOC-splash.INT-IPF
z-nə j-ʒa-sə-k^w-čča-wa a-laʒ-k^wa
 one-time REL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-LOC-seethe-IPF DEF-tear-PL
 ‘the tears that either drip, or splash, or seethe upon me’ (AbPo)
- d. *š’ard-əw-ma maw.m.k^wa mač’-əw-ma sk^wšə-40?*
 many-PRS.NFIN-Q or few-PRS.NFIN-Q year-40
 ‘40 years, is to much or few?’ (AbRus)

Subordinating conjunctions are few and mostly coincide with postpositions; they include *ásqan*, *áʒan* ‘time, when’ (180a) and *amš’tax’* ‘after’ (180b), both requiring the temporal relativization of the subordinate predicate.

- (180) a. *a-q^wərǰəq^w-χa-ra h-a-l-gá-ta h-an-ʒá-j-χ*
 DEF-service-INC-MSD 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.ELAT-finish-ADV 1PL.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-go-RE
ásqan sará sarátov s-ca-ʔ
 time 1SG Sarátov(R) 1SG.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL
 ‘When we returned from military service, I went to Sarátov.’ (T)
- b. *č-an-hə-r-pχá á-mš’tax’ a-ʒá*
 RFL-REL.TMP-1PL.ERG-CAUS-warm 3SG.N.IO-after DEF-water
č-atá-ta-h-psa-χə-n
 RFL.ABS-REP-LOC-1PL.ERG-pour-RE-PST
 ‘After we had warmed ourselves we went into water again.’ (T)

Another subordinator is the quotative marker *h^wa* (< ‘say’) introducing reported speech (181a) (see §4.4.2) and proper names (182b):

- (181) a. *qram wará w-górec-əw-ma h^wa*
 PN 2SG.M 2SG.M.ABS-mountaineer(R)-NPST.NFIN-Q QUOT
jará awá.sa-bərg d-ʒa-sə-z-çʒa-ʔ
 3SG.M DIST.ADV-JUST 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-BEN-ask(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Krym, are you a mountaineer? — that’s exactly what he asked me.’ (T)
- b. *atájev-abdulgamíd-abdulatípovič’ h^wá*
 PN-PN-PN(R) QUOT
 ‘His name is Ataev Abdulgamid Abdulatipovich.’ (T)

Numerous particles, interjections and onomatopoeic words are described in Tabulova (1976: 289–332). The most important of these are *š'ta* ‘yes, so, well’ used both as an affirmative answer to a polar question (182a) and as a polyfunctional discourse particle (182b), and *mawmaw* ‘no’.

- (182) a. *š'ta, j-ŋa-z-g-d, s-h^wa-d.*
 yes 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-1SG.ERG-get(AOR)-DCL 1SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Yes, I got it (the poor mark), I said.’ (T)
- b. *sar-g'áj sá-čə-n já-g'-sə-m-dər-χ-t š'ta*
 1SG-ADD 1SG.ABS-sleep-PST 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.ERG-NEG-know-RE(AOR)-DCL PTCL
 ‘And I fell asleep and forgot about it, that’s how it was.’ (T)

Tabulova (1976: 321–332) lists numerous onomatopoeic expressions such as *dəg^w-dəg^w* ‘like a child walks’ (Tabulova 1976: 322) or *sərx* ‘when something is chopped suddenly’ (Tabulova 1976: 328); they are not attested in our corpus of oral narratives, which tentatively implies that such expressions are not frequently used in contemporary speech.

4. Syntax

4.1. Noun phrase and Postpositional phrase

The core of the noun phrase is constituted by the nominal complex, a morphosyntactic unit consisting of a head (usually a noun) and its modifiers and showing some properties of a grammatical word. The nominal complex inflects as a whole for definiteness, possession, number and case; see the general and somewhat simplified structure of the nominal complex in Table 19, and compare it with (17) in §3.2.1.

Table 19. Structure of the nominal complex

DEF/POSS	numerals 1–19	nominal modifiers	head (+PL.H)	property modifiers	higher numerals	PL	INDF	CASE	ADD
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It is unclear to what extent the nominal complex forms a phonological unit, however, at least some modifiers (monosyllabic numerals and adjectives) clearly form a single stress domain with the head noun (e.g. *truba-ŋ^wáž'-k^wa-ķ* pipe(R)–yellow-PL-INDF ‘yellow pipes’, Fedorenko 2017: ex. 3). Tabulova (1976: 68) writes that in the nominal complex stress falls on the last lexical unit, however, this remains to be tested empirically.

The syntactic integrity of the nominal complex manifests itself in that its elements cannot inflect on their own, apart from the plural of human nouns, which always occurs on the noun itself whereas the general plural suffix attaches to the right of the whole complex (183a). It is impossible to embed into a nominal complex a noun with a marker of case or additivity (183b); such modifiers necessarily occur outside the nominal complex (183c), even if semantically they modify only a part of it (183d). Nominal complex can also attach predicate morphology, which also modifies it as a whole (183e).

- (183) a. *a-bəzša-dərə-ŋ^w-čə-dəw-k^wa*
 DEF-language-know-NAG-PLH-big-PL
 ‘the great linguists’ (Abazašta 2017)
- b. **arqa-la-truba-k^wa*
 field-INS-pipe-PL
 intended: ‘pipes going through the field’ (Fedorenko 2017: 4)
- c. *lingvistika-la a-q^wšara*
 linguistics(R)-INS DEF-department
 ‘the linguistics department’ (Abazašta 2017)

- d. *h-ʔa-n-χa-wá* *á.pχ'a.rta... šábəž-ta* *a.pχ'a.rta-bzáj-ḗ*
 1PL.ABS-REL.LOC-LOC-work-IPF DEF+school strong-ADV school-good-NPST.DCL
 ‘The school we work at ... is a very good school.’ (T)
- e. *púškin* *já-nbž'aŋ^w-čá* *jə-r-dár-wa-n*
 PN 3SG.M.IO-friend-PLH 3SG.N.IO-3PL.ERG-know-IPF-PST
awáj *d-š-wása-ŋ^w-haraḱá-z*
 DIST 3SG.H.ABS-REL.MNR-verse-NAG-high-PST.NFIN
 ‘Pushkin’s friends knew he was a great poet.’ (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 10)

The elements of a nominal complex normally cannot be coordinated alone; at least, this concerns heads (184a) and postpositional modifiers, in which case the whole complex must be repeated (though head ellipsis is possible, as in (184b)). However, prepositional modifiers can be coordinated by the conjunction *jg'əj* (184c); that at least the second modifier forms a complex with the head noun is evidenced by the absence of the definite marker on the latter, cf. the structure with an unequivocal external modifier in (183c).

- (184) a. *a.pχ'a.rta-klás* *ajša-dáw-k^w-əj* *a-rəmza-dáw-k^w-əj*
 DEF+school-class(R) table-big-PL-ADD DEF-chair-big-PL-ADD
j-ŋ^wna-gəla-b
 3PL.ABS-LOC-stand-NPST.DCL
 ‘Big tables and chairs stand in the classroom.’ (Fedorenko 2018: ex. 14)
- b. *a-qaḱam_i-č'əχ^w-k^w-əj* *a-Ø_i-qapš'^w-k^w-əj* *j-ŋa-sə-t*
 DEF-pen-blue-PL-ADD DEF-red-PL-ADD 3PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-give(IMP)
 ‘Give me the blue and the red pens.’ (E)
- c. [*abχaz* *jg'əj* *abaza*]-*bəzša-k^wa*
 Abkhaz and Abaza-language-PL
 ‘the Abkhaz and Abaza languages’ (Abazašta 2017)

A nominal complex can itself be emdedded into a larger nominal complex, cf. *la-č'əχ^w* eye-blue ‘blue-eyed’ in (185):

- (185) *a-ph^wəspa-[la-č'əχ^w]-č'k^wən*
 DEF-girl-eye-blue-little
 ‘A little girl with blue eyes.’ (Fedorenko 2017: ex. 8)

A human noun with a human plural suffix *-čá* can function as a prepositional modifier in a nominal complex (186a), but a noun with the general plural suffix *-k^wa* cannot (186b):

- (186) a. *h-č'k^wən-čá-q^wmár-ga-k^wa*
 1PL.IO-boy-PLH-play-NINS-PL
 ‘our toys for boys’ (Fedorenko 2017: ex. 8a)
- b. **h-č'k^wən-k^wa-q^wmár-ga-k^wa*
 1PL.IO-boy-PL-play-NINS-PL
 intended: ‘=a’ (Fedorenko 2017: ex. 8b)

Any lexical part of the nominal complex that includes the head noun can be substituted by the proform *-čə* (Testelelets 2018), cf. (187), which is ambiguous because the proform can correspond to substrings of different sizes.

- (187) *sara* [[*s-as*]-[*məβra-awəra*]] *ara.ʔa* *j-aʔa-ḗ*,
 1SG 1SG.IO-shirt-sleeve-long PROX.LOC 3SG.N.ABS-be-NPST.DCL
wara *w-[[čə]-ajšəs]* *awa.ʔa* *j-aʔa-ḗ*
 2SG.M 2SG.N.IO-belong-short DIST.LOC 3SG.N.ABS-be-NPST.DCL
 ‘My shirt with long sleeves is here, and yours i. with short ones | ii. which is short is there.’ (Testelelets 2018: ex. 12)

The hesitation marker *dəna* can also replace modifiers in the nominal complex without affecting the head (Testelelets 2018):

- (188) *ʔax^wtan-dəna lara jə-l-χ^wʔa-d*
 dress-HEs 3SG.F 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-buy(AOR)-DCL
 ‘She bought a dress of I-don’t-remember-what colour (or other quality).’ (Testelelets 2018: ex. 42b)

Adjectival modifiers can be extraposed and occur as clause-level adverbials or secondary predicates (189):

- (189) *sa s-č’ʔ^wšč’a-k^wa-g’əj ck’á-ta j-k.na-há-n*
 1SG 1SG.IO-clothes-PL-ADD clean-ADV 3PL.ABS-LOC-hang(RES)-PST
 ‘My clean clothes were hung there as well (lit. were hung clean).’ (T)

The modifiers external to the nominal complex include demonstratives (190a), possessor phrases (190b), case-marked nominals (183c), relative clauses (190a,c), quantifiers (190c) and complex numerals (190d), which together with the nominal complex form a complete noun phrase. The tentative order of the elements of the noun phrase is “demonstrative – relative clause – NP-modifier – nominal complex – quantifier/numeral – relative clause”.

- (190) a. *awát [j-ʔa-n-χá-z] a-wʔa-k^wá*
 DIST.PL REL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PST.NFIN DEF-people-PL
 ‘those people who remained’ (T)
- b. *[jacá s-z-á-čážá-z] wara w-aš’á*
 yesterday 1SG.ABS-REL.IO-SOC-talk-PST.NFIN 2SG.M 2SG.M.IO-brother
 ‘your brother, with whom I talked yesterday’ (Fedorenko 2017: 9)
- c. *[hə-r.q^wəχ-ra-k^wa j-ʔa-rə-la-lə-z]*
 1PL.IO-investigate-MSD-PL REL.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-LOC-go.in-PST.NFIN
a-bzaza-ʔ^w-čá zəməʔ^wa
 DEF-live-NAG-PLH all
 ‘all the inhabitants (of the village) who participated in our studies’ (Abazašta 2017)
- d. *á-sk^wš zk’á-ž-šá-pš’ə-n-ʔ^wa.ž-əj-žá-bá*
 DEF-year thousand-nine-hundred-four-time-twenty-ADD-ten-CLN
 ‘the year 1990’ (T)

Relative clauses can be both prenominal (191a) and post-nominal (191b); in the latter case they are internally-headed (for more details on the syntax of relative clauses, see §4.4.1).

- (191) a. *awát z-la-čážá-wa á-bəzšá*
 DIST.PL REL.IO-INS-speak-IPF DEF-language
 ‘the language they speak’ (T)
- b. *a-sabáj-χ^wəc z-má-k^w-əw*
 DEF-child-little REL.IO-have-PL-PRS.NFIN
 ‘the small children that they have’ (T)

In general, in order to be able to take external modifiers the nominal complex should be marked for definiteness or indefiniteness (see Testelelets 2017a), which may suggest that Abaza has some sort of NP/DP distinction. However, the data collected so far is not fully conclusive. An interesting asymmetry exists between bare common nominals on the one hand and pronouns, proper names, and nominals with determiners or (in)definiteness markers in the predicate position: while bare nominals must take stative verbal inflection (see 14a) and cannot occur with the copula (192a), all other kinds of nominals show the opposite behaviour (192b).

- (192) a. **ph^wəspa-g^wəbzəka l-aḱ^w-ḵ* *bzəj jə-z-ba-wa*
 girl-clever 3SG.F.IO-COP-NPST.DCL good REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-IPF
 intended: ‘It’s clever girls whom I love.’ (E)
- b. *ph^wəspa-g^wəbzəka-ḱ / a-ph^wəspa-g^wəbzəka / awəj a-ph^wəspa /*
 girl-clever-INDF / DEF-girl-clever / DIST DEF-girl
zalajna l-aḱ^w-ḵ bzəj jə-z-ba-wa
 PN 3SG.F.IO-COP-NPST.DCL good REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-IPF
 ‘It is a clever girl / the clever girl / that girl / Zalina whom I love.’ (E)

The postpositional phrase has the structure [noun phrase IO-postposition] (193), which is actually identical to the structure of a noun phrase with a possessor.

- (193) [*a-karbəž’-k^wa ʔa-də-r-ba.χ-wa-z* *a-baḳ*] *a-pnə*
 DEF-brick-PL REL.LOC-3PL.ERG-CAUS-dry-IPF-PST.NFIN DEF-barn 3SG.N.IO-at
 ‘in the barn where they used to bake bricks’ (T)

4.2. Clause structure

4.2.1. Word order

The basic order of clausal constituents is SOV (194a), but NPs are usually omitted, so clauses with more than one overt argument are rare in texts. While dependent clauses are usually head-final, in main clauses various permutations of word order are in principle possible, cf. OSV in (194b), and postverbal arguments are not prohibited, either (194c).

- (194) a. *wadərɸ^wána ph^wəs-ḱ l-sabáj d-ʕa-l-q-áštələ-n*
 later woman-INDF 3SG.F.IO-child 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3SG.F.IO-LOC-forget-PST
 ‘Later one woman forgot about her child.’ (T)
- b. *š’qa-warad-ḱ awəj j-a-h^w-əj-t*
 mountain-song-INDF DIST 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-say-PRS-DCL
 ‘It (the river) is singing a mountain song.’ (AbPo)
- c. *abar-awáj á-pš-ta j-bzáza-k^wa-d¹ a-waʕá*
 EMP-DIST 3SG.N.IO-similar-ADV 3PL.ABS-live-PL(AOR)-DCL DEF-people
 ‘Thus lived the people.’ (T)

In constructions with a direct and an indirect object either one may follow the other, cf. (195a,b):

- (195) a. *abaza-k^wa a-mg’al-g’əj rə-s-ta-t*
 Abaza-PL DEF-millet.bread-ADD 3PL.IO-1SG.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL
 ‘I gave Abaza the millet bread.’ (T)
- b. *sar-g’əj a-vóžd’ s-jə-j-tə-n*
 1SG-ADD DEF-chief 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PST
 ‘He handed me over to the chief.’ (T)

Bare nominals must normally immediately precede the verb (Testelelets 2017a: 315–316) (196a), however, this is not an absolute requirement (196b).

- (195) a. *ana.ʔa čə ḱa-ha-t*
 MED.LOC horse LOC-fall(AOR)-DCL
 ‘There fell a horse.’ (Testelelets 2017a: 315)
- b. *%čə a-bna j-la-l-t*
 horse DEF-forest 3SG.N.ABS-LOC-go.in(AOR)-DCL
 ‘A horse went into the forest.’ (Testelelets 2017a: 315)

¹ Note the unexpected plural suffix in a declarative form.

The position of adverbials is also free; they may be placed clause-initially (194a,c), before the verb (197a), between the nominal constituents (197b), or clause-finally (197c).

- (197) a. *jará awá.ʔa dǎ-ça-r-ça-χ-t*
 3SG.M DIST.LOC 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-bury-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘They buried him there.’ (T)
- b. *h-sabáj-k^{wa} χ^wábəž-ta ʔadáb-əj naməs-əj rǎ-ma-p̄*
 1PL.IO-child-PL strong-ADV manner-ADD modesty-ADD 3PL.IO-have-NPST.DCL
 ‘Our children are very modest and mannered.’ (T)
- c. *hǎ-k^{wə-n} awá.ʔa*
 1PL.ABS-be.on-PST DIST.LOC
 ‘We were there.’ (T)

All of this points towards a flat constituent structure on the clause level.

4.2.2. Case alignment and grammatical relations

There is no case marking on any core nominals, so the case alignment of core grammatical roles is neutral, see examples above. Alignment of verbal indexing is ergative-absolutive if just monovalent intransitive and transitive verbs are considered, and split ergative-accusative if bivalent intransitive verbs are also taken into account, see §3.6.3. There are no productive voice operations.

In the domain of reflexive and reciprocal anaphora it is important to distinguish between verbal marking (see §3.6.8) and expression by independent pronouns (see Arkadiev & Durneva 2020). The latter is oriented toward the more agentive participant and is in general controlled by the S/A argument and cannot be bound by a lower grammatical role, cf. (198) for a transitive verb and (199) for a bivalent intransitive one.

- (198) a. *a-ph^wəspa_i a-ɣ^wəga a-pnə l-qa_i l-ba-χ-əj-d*
 DEF-girl DEF-mirror 3SG.N.IO-at 3SG.F.IO-head 3SG.ERG-see-RE-PRS-DCL
 ‘The girl sees herself in the mirror.’ (Testelelets 2017b: ex. (10a))
- b. *#l-qa_i a-ph^wəspa_{j/*i} a-ɣ^wəga a-pnə d-a-ba-χ-əj-d*
 3SG.F.IO-head DEF-girl DEF-mirror 3SG.N.IO-at 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-see-RE-PRS-DCL
 ‘Her head again sees the girl in the mirror.’ (*=a) (Testelelets 2017b: ex. (10b))
- (199) a. *l-qa_i d_i-a-ĉ-ŝ-əj-t*
 3SG.F.IO-head 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DCL
 ‘She fears herself.’ (E)
- b. **l-qa jə-l-ĉ-ŝ-əj-t*
 3SG.F.IO-head 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DCL
 #‘Her head is afraid of her.’ (E)

Subject-object asymmetries grouping together S and A as opposed to P and IO are also observed in the so-called weak crossover effects, which in Abaza are manifested in the use of the 3rd person vs. relative possessive markers in relativizations and questions with coreference between the possessor and the relativized or questioned participant (Testelelets 2017b). Thus, in (200a) with a question targeting the agent of a transitive verb the relative prefix must be used on the object to indicate coreference between its possessor and the agent, while in (200b) with a question about the object coreferential with the possessor of the agent only the 3rd person possessive prefix is allowed. Examples (201a,b) from Testelelets (2017b: 4) show that the arguments of bivalent intransitive verbs behave in the same way.

- (200) a. *zə_i-wnaʔwasa d-ɣa-z_i-də-z d-z-aĉə-ja_iʔ*
 REL.IO-acquaintance 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-REL.ERG-lead-PST.NFIN 3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-belong-QN
 ‘Who_i brought his_i acquaintance?’

- (205) a. *awá.ʔa šǎla [j-]ʔa-rǎ-r-t-ǎj-t*
 DIST.LOC flour [3SG.N.ABS-]CISL-3PL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PRS-DCL
 ‘There they give them flour.’ (T)
- b. *b-sabǎj-k^wa za-ḵ r-á-h^wa*
 2F.SG.IO-child-PL one-INDF 3PL.IO-DAT-say(IMP)
 ‘Tell your children something.’ (T)
- c. *a-ḡabar-k^wa internet j-ta-z-ḡa-wa*
 3SG.N.IO-story-PL internet(R) 3PL.ABS-LOC-REL.ERG-put-IPF
 ‘the one who posts news on the internet’ (T)

Sometimes the 3SG non-human cross-reference marker does not correspond to any referential argument and can be considered ‘expletive’, cf. the absolutive in *j-q^wla-n* 3SG.N.ABS-get.dark-PST ‘it got dark’, the indirect object in *j-a-z-ha-t* 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-grow(AOR)-DCL ‘it grew (lit. for it)’, the ergative in *h-a-r-g^wanǎ-ta* 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-CAUS-near-ADV ‘so that we approach (it), lit. it puts us near (it)’.

The 2SG masculine marker and overt pronoun (206a) can be interpreted as generic (often including the speaker), and the 3PL marker can be interpreted as indefinite (206b).

- (206) a. *awat anǎ-w-ba-ra*
 DIST.PL REL.TMP-2SG.M.ERG-see-FUT.NFIN
war-g^ʔj rǎḡa w-haḡaḡ-ḡa-ra w-taq-ḡ-ǎj-t
 2SG.M-ADD more 2SG.M.ABS-kindhearted-INC-MSD 2SG.M.IO-want-INC-PRS-DCL
 ‘When one (lit. you) sees them, one starts to wish to become better, too.’ (Abazašta 2017)
- b. *l-abá zk^ʔǎj-ḡ-ḡ-ǎj-ʔ^waḡǎ-ḡa-ḡ ásqan*
 2SG.F.IO-father thousand-nine-hundred-ADD-twenty-ten-three time
dǎ-r-š^ʔ-ǎj-t
 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-kill-PRS-DCL
 ‘Her father was killed (lit. they killed her father) in 1933.’ (T)

Agreement in number is obligatory for animate (including both humans and animals) arguments (207a) and optional for inanimate ones (207b).

- (207) a. *a-wasa-k^wá r-pnǎ/*a-pnǎ h-ca-p*
 DEF-sheep-PL 3PL.IO-at/3SG.N.IO-at 1PL.ABS-go-NPST.DCL
 ‘We will go to the sheep.’ (example courtesy of Yury Lander)
- b. *a-háq^w-k^wa r-pnǎ/a-pnǎ ḡ^wǎmp ʔa-j-ǎj-t*
 DEF-stone-PL 3PL.IO-at/3SG.N.IO-at strawberry CISL-go-PRS-DCL
 ‘Near the stones, strawberries grow.’ (example courtesy of Yury Lander)

4.3. Major sentence types

4.3.1. Affirmative declarative clauses

The most notable feature of Abaza independent affirmative (as well as some negative) declarative clauses is the presence of declarative marking on the main verb, as opposed to all other sentence types. Otherwise, declarative clauses do not show any significant syntactic differences from non-declarative and most subordinate clauses, at least in what concerns expression of arguments and their cross-reference on the verb. With respect to word order, declarative clauses do not differ from other types of independent clauses.

4.3.2. Imperative and optative clauses

Imperative and optative clauses do not show and special syntax; on the morphology of the imperative, prohibitive and optative, see §3.6.6. The addressee of the imperative can be expressed by an overt nominal (208).

Identity questions are based on the lexical stem *maʃnə* ‘role, content’ and target its absolutive argument (213), the interrogative suffix being always non-human.

- (213) a. *wará jə-w-maʃnə-ja?*
 2SG.M REL.ABS-2SG.M.IO-role-QN
 ‘Who are you (man)?’ lit. ‘What is your role?’ (E)
- b. *aráj j-a-mʃanə-ja?*
 PROX REL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-role-QN
 ‘What does this mean?’ (T)

To question the object of a postposition, the relative prefix is attached to the postposition while the interrogative suffix appears on the verb (214).

- (214) *z-ackás lasə wə-ʃʷ-wa-da?*
 REL.IO-than fast 2SG.M.ABS-run-IPF-QH
 lit. ‘You run faster than who?’ (E)

Questioning the adnominal possessor involves first forming a pseudocleft construction with the nominal as the predicate, and then forming a question targeting the possessor (=indirect object) of the latter (215).

- (215) *jə-z_j-sabəj_i-əw-da_j [a-páχ’ j_i-na-ʃʷ-ʃá-wa]?*
 3PL.ABS-REL.IO-child-PRS.NFIN-QH DEF-yard REL.ABS-LOC-run-ELAT-IPF
 ‘Whose children are running in the garden?’ (lit. Who is the one whose children are those who are running in the garden?) (E)

Questions like ‘Which book did you read?’ are based on predicates ‘be like’ or ‘belong’, which occur as prenominal modifiers to the head noun. The question targets their indirect object, and the non-human interrogative suffix occurs at the end of the whole complex. The sentence, like in questions about the possessor of an argument, forms a pseudocleft with the main predicate relativized (216).

- (216) *abaza-bəzša z-a.pš-bəzša-ja j-z-a.pš-əw*
 Abaza-language REL.IO-similar-language-QN 3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-similar-PRS.NFIN
 ‘Which language is the Abaza similar to (lit. What is the language like that the Abaza language is similar to)?’ (Abazašta 2017)

Questions about quantity are formed by means of a lexical item *?ara* ‘as much’, which takes an indirect object relative prefix and either forms a nominal complex with its head noun, the remainder of the clause being relativized (217a), or functions like a postposition (217b).

- (217) a. *z-?ara-á.pχ’a.ga-ja bə-z-pχ’á-z?*
 REL.IO-as.much-book-Q.N 2SG.F.ABS-REL.IO-read-PST.NFIN
 ‘How many books have you read?’ (lit. How many books are such that you read?) (E)
- b. *abaza-alfavit a-harəf-k^wa z-?ara j-na-za-wa-ja?*
 Abaza-alphabet(R) 3SG.N.IO-letter-PL REL.IO-as.much 3PL.ABS-TRAL-reach-IPF-Q.N
 ‘How many letters are there in the Abaza alphabet?’ (AbRus)

The same morphological strategy is used to form questions about purpose (218a) and cause (218b), both featuring the reason relativization prefix *zə-* and the non-human interrogative suffix.

- (218) a. *qáça də-z-lá-ma-χ-ja*
 man 3SG.H.ABS-REL.RSN-3SG.F.IO-have-RE-QN
 ‘What does she need a man for?’ (T)

- b. *awása wá-nbž'aŋ^w-čá-k^{wa} z-ŋá-wə-m-d-ja*
 but 2SG.M.IO-friend-PLH-PL REL.RSN-CISL-2SG.M.ERG-NEG-lead(AOR)-QN
 ‘But why didn’t you come with your friends?’ (T)

Argument questions can contain independent interrogative words (corresponding to ‘what’ and ‘who’) occurring as predicates in pseudocleft structures and being either genuine interrogative verbal forms based on the root ‘belong’ (see e.g. Genko 1955: 105), like *d-z-ačá-ja* ‘who’, lit. ‘what does s/he belong to’ (218a), or transparently historically going back to such forms, like the slightly decategorized *ačá-ja* ‘what’ in (218b) or the phonologically eroded *dá-z-da* ‘who’ (218c), historically based on the root *-wa-* ‘be part of’ (Pazov 2016). The argument question markers occur on these interrogative words rather than on the lexical predicate, which reflects the pseudoclefted structure of these constructions: the main predicate of the pseudocleft is the interrogative word with the question marker, while the remainder of the sentence is a headless relative clause.

- (218) a. *š'ta awáj aŋán d-z-ačá-ja*
 PTCL DIST DEF+time 3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-belong-QN
j-z-lə-r-b-áw-š'
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-see-IPF-FUT
 ‘Whom will she show it then?’ (T)
- b. *ačá-ja, š'ta, wžá-g'əj j-ŋa-wá-z-t-wa g^{wərŋ}ará?*
 belong-QN PTCL now-ADD 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-REL.ERG-give-IPF grief
 ‘What makes you grief?’ (lit. What is it that gives you grief?) (AbPo: 15)
- c. *jə-z-dár-ra a-taq-áw də-z-dá?*
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.ERG-know-MSD 3SG.N.IO-need-PRS.NFIN 3SG.H.ABS-REL.IO-Q.H
 ‘Who should know it?’ (T)

Such interrogative words can inflect for tense (219).

- (219) *jə-h-č'p-áw-šə-z ačá-z-ja š'ta?*
 REL.ABS-1PL.ERG-do-IPF-FUT-PST.NFIN belong-PST-Q.N PTCL
 ‘What would we have done?’ (lit. What was it that we would have done?)

Questions about adverbials such as ‘when’, ‘where’ and ‘how’ are formed differently, i.e. by means of the prefix *-ba-* ~ *-pa-* attaching to the adverbial relativization prefixes in slot –11. See a question about time with the temporal relativizer *(a)n-* in (220a), a question about location in (220b) and a question about spatial goal in (220c), both with the locative relativizer *(?)a-*; in (220d) the locative relativizer occurs with an additional lative marker in a question about spatial source, and (220e) illustrates a question about manner with the manner relativizer *š-*.

- (220) a. *šamílž aráj áχč'a n-bá-ŋa-z-ɓəč'*
 PN PROX DEF+money REL.TMP-QADV-CISL-1SG.ERG-steal(AOR)
 ‘Shamil, when did I steal this money?’ (T)
- b. *j-a-bá-ŋa-z-ɓəč' aráj áχč'a*
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.LOC-QADV-CISL-1SG.ERG-steal(AOR) PROX DEF+money
j-sá-m-əw?
 REL.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PRS.NFIN
 ‘Where did I steal this money that I have?’ (T)
- c. *š-a-ba-ca-χ, ažá-ta j-aʔ-əw?*
 2PL.ABS-REL.LOC-Q.ADV-go-RE word-ADV REL.ABS-be-PRS.NFIN
 ‘Where have you gone, the words that there are?’ (Vysotsky)

- d. **w-a-χ'-pá-ŋa-j-wa?**
 2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-LAT-Q.ADV-CISL-go-IPF
 'Where are you coming from?' (E)
- e. **ajša-baja-ta j-š-h-zə-qə-r-ŋ^wa-z**
 table-rich-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-1PL.IO-BEN-LOC-3PL.ERG-cover-PST.NFIN
š-pa-w-q-aštəl-wa-š?!
 REL.MNR-QADV-2SG.M.IO-LOC-forget-IPF-FUT
 'How will we (lit. you) forget that they laid a rich table for us?!' (Abazašta 2017)

Independent adverbial interrogative words are based on the copula with the remaining part of the clause encoded as the corresponding adjunct relative (221); they are attested in elicitation, but used only rarely.

- (221) **j-a-bá-k^w-əw** **w-ʔa-bzáza-wa?**
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.LOC-Q.ADV-COP-NPST.NFIN 2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-live-IPF
 'Where do you live?', lit. 'Where is it where you live?' (example courtesy of Anastasia Panova)

Multiple interrogatives of the kind *Who bought what?* or *Where did who go?* are not possible in Abaza, being obviously ruled out by the relativization-based morphological strategy of question formation.

It is possible to question arguments and adjuncts in certain kinds of complement clauses. This topic is not yet sufficiently studied, but the elicited data suggests that with respect to questions about arguments of embedded clauses there is a difference between complement clauses occupying the absolutive position in the matrix clause and those occupying a non-absolutive (e.g. indirect object) position. In the former case, the matrix verb simply attaches the interrogative suffix and the embedded verb takes the relative prefix, as with the verb 'want, need' in (222) and (218c) above. In the latter case, however, both the embedded and the matrix verbs are relativized, and the matrix verb can even take an applicative hosting the appropriate relative prefix, cf. (223b) with the question into a purpose clause, where the matrix verb takes a benefactive.

- (222) [**a-sağámš?a z-ŋ^w-ra**] **a-taq-əw-da?**
 DEF-letter REL.ERG-write-MSD 3SG.N.IO-need-QH
 'Who should write the letter?' (E)
- (223) a. **jacá wə-z-pχ'a-wá wə-*(z)-la-gá-ja?**
 yesterday 2SG.M.ABS-REL.IO-read-IPF 2SG.M.ABS-*(REL.IO)-LOC-begin(AOR)-QN
 'What did you start reading yesterday?' (E)
- b. [**jə-w-ba-rnás**] **á.pχ'a.rta w-zə-z-ca-wá-da?**
 REL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-see-PURP DEF+school 2SG.M.ABS-REL.IO-BEN-go-IPF-QH
 'In order to see whom do you go to school?' (lit. For whom do you go to school to see (them))?' (E)

In questions about adjuncts of embedded clauses, it is always the matrix verb that bears interrogative inflection (224a), however, it can also occur on the embedded verb as well, thus yielding a peculiar pattern of double marking (225a).

- (224) a. **wə-n-χa-wá w-a-bá-la-ga?**
 2SG.M.ABS-LOC-work-IPF 2SG.M.ABS-REL.LOC-Q.ADV-LOC-begin(AOR)
 'Where did you start working?' (E)
- b. **ruslán d-an-bá-ŋa-gəl-ra an-bá-taq-əw?**
 Ruslan 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-Q.ADV-CISL-stand-MSD REL.TMP-QADV[3SG.N.IO]-need-PRS.NFIN
 'When should Ruslan get up?' (E)

Echo-questions are formed by attaching the additive suffix *-əj* to the interrogative form (225).

- (225) *ačə-ja j-s-č'p-əw-š, g^waš'aməda? — jə-w-č'p-əw-š-əj?..*
 belong-QN REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-do-IPF-FUT PN REL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-do-IPF-FUT-ADD
 'What shall I do, Goshamida? — What will you do?..' (Tabulova 1976: 175)

4.4. Complex sentences

4.4.1. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are based on relative verbal forms whose structure has been described in §3.6.9; this section is largely based on Sorokina (2017, 2018) and Rossius (2017). Relative clauses in Abaza can be internally and externally headed as well as headless; externally headed relative clauses are always prenominal (226a), while internally headed ones can be both postnominal (226b) and circumnominal (226c). The prenominal construction is by far the most frequent in texts, while the circumnominal one is so far attested almost only in elicitation (Sorokina 2017: 14).

- (226) a. [*j-g^wə ara.ʔa j-ta-šə-z*] *a-χə*
 3SG.M.IO-heart PROX.LOC REL.ABS-LOC-fall-PST.NFIN DEF-bullet
arə-la jə-q^wda ja-ʕa-l-ç-χə-n
 PROX-INS 3SG.M.IO-neck 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-LOC.ELAT-pass-RE-PST
 'The bullet that hit his heart passed through the neck.' (T)
- b. [*a-zəjwára jə-nq^wə-r-gá-z-g'əj*] *a-zə*
 DEF-idol REL.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-carry-PST.NFIN-ADD DEF-water
d-a-r-t-χ-əj-t-ta
 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3PL.ERG-give-RE-PRS-DCL-ADV
 'Then they finally throw the idol that they had carried around into the water.' (T)
- c. [*jacə a-cg^wə χ-cg^wə-k ʕa-z-rə-j-z*]
 yesterday DEF-cat three-cat-INDF CISL-REL.ERG-CAUS-go-PST.NFIN
jə-sə-r-č'a-t
 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-eat(AOR)-DCL
 'I fed the cat that yesterday gave birth to three kittens.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 61)

A relative clause can be extraposed to the right of the main clause verb (227).

- (227) *sə-nbž'aŋ^w-čə-k^wa sə-cə-n ...*
 1SG.IO-friend-PLH-PL 1SG.ABS-go-PST
 [*á.pχ'a.rta j-sə-c-a-pχ'a-k^w-əw-z*]
 DEF+school REL.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-3N.IO-study-PL-IPF-PST.NFIN
 'I went with my friends, with whom I study at school.' (T)

Normally both the external and the internal head of relative clauses must be a DP, i.e. contain a marker of (in)definiteness or possessor cross-reference. An exception to this is constituted by internally-headed relative clauses with the bare head marked by the adverbial ending *-ta*; semantically, they belong to the so-called maximalizing type of relative clauses, see (228).

- (228) *a-pqá a-zamán [waʕa.qá-ta a-dəwnáj jə-k^wə-z]*
 3SG.N.IO-before DEF-time nation-ADV DEF-world REL.ABS-be.on-PST.NFIN
š-abgá-z j-a-z-kkə-ta zž'ára j-bzáz-əw-n
 REL.MNR-whole-PST.NFIN 3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-gather-ADV somewhere 3PL.ABS-live-IPF-PST
 'In former times all the nations that there were in the world lived in some place together.' (T)

Perhaps the most frequently occurring type of relative clauses is the headless one (229); into this type I also tentatively include relatives modified by a demonstrative (229c):

- (229) a. [wʒə́ jə-r-čpa-wá] mač'p̄ awáj
 now REL.ABS-3PL.ERG-do-IPF little-NPST.DCL DIST
 'What they do now is not enough.' (T)
- b. [alláh jə-z-la-jə-h^wa-z] ʒa-rə-da-h^w-t̄
 God 3PL.ABS-REL.IO-INS-3SG.M.IO-ask-PST.NFIN CISL-3PL.IO-LOC-arrive(AOR)-DCL
 'They got what they had asked God about.' (T)
- c. [awəj j-h-č'pá-z] a-pən-g'áj sə-r-c-qráʒa-n
 DIST REL.ABS-1PL.ERG-do-PST.NFIN 3SG.N.IO-at-ADD 1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-COM-help-PST
 'I also helped them in that what we had done.' (T)

Both externally-headed and internally-headed relative clauses can be restrictive (226a,c) and appositive (226b), although the latter prefer the postnominal position (Sorokina 2018: 4). The head of the relative clause can be a pronoun (230a), a proper name (230b) or denote a unique referent (230c).

- (230) a. [š-pnə́ jacə́ hará sas-rá j-ná-j-k^wa-z],
 2PL.IO-at yesterday 1PL guest-NML REL.ABS-TRAL-go-PL-PST.NFIN
 waχ'čə-g'ə́j h-ná-j-wa-š-t̄
 today-ADD 1PL.ABS-TRAL-go-IPF-FUT-DCL
 'We, who visited you yesterday, will come today, too.' (Sorokina 2018: ex. 7a)
- b. [a-kət ahba-čə r-sovet wənaša a-qə-z-čə-wa]
 DEF-village elder-PLH 3PL.IO-council order 3SG.N.IO-LOC-REL.ERG-put-IPF
 ž'ž'əw-qrəm
 PN-PN
 'the president of the village's elders' council Krym Dzhuzhnev' (Abazašta 2017)
- c. a-tzə-č'k^wən š'arda ç-wa-ta j-g'-ta-gəla-χə-m
 DEF-house-little many pass-IPF-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-LOC-stand-RE-NEG
 [j-ʒa-s-g^wa.la.šə-z] a-χak^w
 REL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-miss-PST.NFIN DEF-homeland
 'The little house has long ago disappeared from my homeland, which I miss.'
 (AbPo)

That postnominal relatives are in fact internally-headed is revealed by their syntactic behaviour common with circumnominal ones, suggesting that in both cases the nominal head is embedded into the relative clause; by contrast, the head of prenominal relatives forms an NP on its own (Sorokina 2018: 2–3). This is manifested in that only the external head can take case markers induced by the matrix clause (231a), which are otherwise attached to the relative clause predicate (231b,c), and especially by the fact that the whole internally-headed relative clause must attach the copula in the predicative position (232b,c), while the external head can take on stative verbal inflection (232a).

- (231) a. [jacə j-s-χ^wʒa-z(*-la)] a-mašina-la s-ʒa-j-χ-d
 yesterday REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-buy-PST.NFIN(*-INS) DEF-car(R)-INS 1SG.ABS-CISL-go-RE-DCL
 'I came in a car that I bought yesterday.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 77a)
- b. [jacə a-mašina(*-la) j-s-χ^wʒa-z*(-la)]
 yesterday DEF-car(R)(*-INS) REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-buy-PST.NFIN*(-INS)
 s-ʒa-j-χ-d
 1SG.ABS-CISL-go-RE-DCL
 '=b' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 77bc)

- c. [aχč'a(*-la) j-sə-m-əw*(-la)] kvartira
 DEF+money*(-INS) REL.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PRS.NFIN(*-INS) flat(R)
 g'ə-w-zə-χʷɿ-əw-šə-m
 NEG.EMP-2SG.M.IO-POT-buy-IPF-FUT-NEG
 'One can't buy a flat with the money I have.' (Sorokina 2018: ex. 5cd)
- (232) a. aslán [j-an-ákʷ-əw-z-la-k-g'əj] j-ɣá-χ'ša-wa
 PN 3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-COP-PRS.NFIN-PST.NFIN-CNC-INDF-ADD REL.ABS-CISL-come.late-IPF
 d-ɣʷčɿʷəs-p/ á-ɣʷčɿʷəs] ákʷ-p
 3SG.H.ABS-person-NPST.DCL / DEF-person COP-NPST.DCL
 'Aslan is a/the person who always comes late.' (Sorokina 2018: ex. 4a)
- b. aslán [j-an-ákʷ-əw-z-la-k-g'əj] á-ɣʷčɿʷəs
 PN 3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-COP-PRS.NFIN-PST.NFIN-CNC-INDF-ADD DEF-person
 (*d-ɣʷčɿʷəs-p) j-ɣá-χ'ša-wa] j-ákʷ-p
 (*3SG.H.ABS-person-NPST.DCL) REL.ABS-CISL-come.late-IPF 3SG.M.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
 'Aslan is the person who always comes late.' (Sorokina 2018: ex. 4b)
- c. aslán [á-ɣʷčɿʷəs (*d-ɣʷčɿʷəs-p)]
 PN DEF-person (*3SG.H.ABS-person-NPST.DCL)
 j-an-ákʷ-əw-z-la-k-g'əj j-ɣá-χ'ša-wa]
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-COP-PRS.NFIN-PST.NFIN-CNC-INDF-ADD REL.ABS-CISL-come.late-IPF
 j-ákʷ-p
 3SG.M.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
 '=b.' (Sorokina 2018: ex. 4c)

In internally-headed relatives, the head may be preceded by adverbials (226c), (232b), and, if the relativized position is the absolutive, by the ergative subject (233a) or by an indirect object (233b).

- (233) a. [zəmɿʷa-g'əj a-χat-kʷa jə-r-dər-wa] j-aʔa-b
 all-ADD DEF-rule-PL REL.ABS-3PL.ERG-know-IPF 3PL.ABS-be-NPST.DCL
 'There are rules that everyone knows.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 63)
- b. [sara jacə a-hʷrapšza-kʷa j-ɣa-sə-r-tə-z]
 1SG yesterday DEF-flower-PL REL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST.NFIN
 j-ɿʷa-χ-t
 3PL.ABS-dry-RE-DCL
 'The flowers that I was given yesterday withered.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 65)

However, when the ergative position is relativized upon, the absolutive cannot precede the head (234a); in adverbial relativization, the position of the absolutive is not constrained (234b).

- (234) a. * [jacə hʷənap a-cgʷə j-ɣa-zə-kə-z]
 yesterday mouse DEF-cat 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-REL.ERG-catch-PST.NFIN
 χ-cəgʷ-č'ər-k ɣa-na-rə-j-t
 three-cat-baby-INDF CISL-3SG.N.ERG-CAUS-go(AOR)-DCL
 intended: 'The cat that had caught a mouse yesterday, gave birth to three kittens.'
 (Sorokina 2017: ex. 66)
- b. [s-an-dəw a-tʒə d-ʔa-bzaza-z] h-təj-d
 1SG.IO-mother-big DEF-house 3SG.H.ABS-REL.LOC-live-PST.NFIN 3PL.ERG-sell(AOR)-DCL
 'We sold the house where my grandmother lived.' (Sorokina 2017: ex. 69)

In relativization of the possessor of the internal head, the latter cannot occur between the element containing the relative prefix and the verb:

- (235) a. **a-cg^{wə}** **z-çəq^{wə}** **a-š** **j-bž'a-χa-z**
 DEF-cat REL.IO-tail DEF-door 3SG.N.ABS-between-INC-PST.NFIN
 ‘the cat whose tail stuck in the door’ (Sorokina 2017: ex. 70c)
- b. ***z-çəq^{wə}** **a-cg^{wə}** **a-š** **j-bž'a-χa-z**
 REL.IO-tail DEF-cat DEF-door 3SG.N.ABS-between-INC-PST.NFIN
 intended: ‘=a’ (Sorokina 2017: ex. 70a)

Relativizable positions include the absolutive S (236a), the absolutive P (236b), the ergative A (236c), the indirect object (236d), the applicative objects (236e), the demoted agent in potential forms (236f), the possessor (236g) and the postpositional object (236h), including the standard of comparison (236i).

- (236) a. **a-dawəša-ra** **a-pnə** **j-ŋa-n-š-əj-t**
 DEF-quiet-NML 3SG.N.IO-at 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-LOC-appear-PRS-DCL
[s-g^{wə} **j-ŋa-l-ç-wa]** **a-satər-k^{wə}**
 1SG.IO-heart REL.ABS-CISL-LOC.ELAT-pass-IPF DEF-verse-PL
 ‘In the stillness are born the verses that pass through my heart.’ (AbPo)
- b. **[a-čəɾɛ^{wə}** **jə-nq^{wə}-r-ga-wa]** **də²-g'-ŋ^{wə}č^{wə}ŋ^{wə}sə-m**
 DEF-spade REL.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-carry-IPF 3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-person-NEG
 ‘The spade they are carrying around is not a person.’ (T)
- c. **s-zə-r-pχ'a-z** **s-jə-z-h^{wə}ah^{wə}-əj-t**
 1SG.ABS-REL.ERG-CAUS-spend.night-PST.NFIN 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-BEN-praise-PRS-DCL
 ‘I praise him who let me spend night at his place.’ (AbPo)
- d. **[a-ŋ^{wə}** **a-bajk** **zə-r-tə-z]**
 DEF-person DEF-spade REL.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST.NFIN
n-χa-ra **d-a-la-ga-d**
 LOC-work-MSD 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
 ‘The person who they gave the spade started working.’ (Sorokina 2017: ex. 27)
- e. **r-vožd'** **j-ák^{wə}-n** **[k^{wə}ərmáš** **z-zə-r-č'p-əw-z]**
 3PL.IO-chief(R) 3SG.M.IO-COP-PST bow REL.IO-BEN-3PL.ERG-do-IPF-PST.NFIN
 ‘It was their chief whom they made a bow.’ (T)
- f. **čə-z-zə-k^{wə}aba-k^{wə}-əw-z ...** **č-a-zá-h-ça-n**
 RFL.ABS-REL.IO-POT-bathe-PL-IPF-PST RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-1PL.ERG-put-PST
 ‘Those who could bathe ... we went there.’ (T)
- g. **aj** **a-bzəj-bá-ra** **[j-dəw-əw** **zə-lšá-ra]**
 PTCL DEF-good-see-MSD 3SG.N.ABS-big-PRS.NFIN REL.IO-be.able-MSD
 ‘Oh love, whose power is great!’ (T)
- h. **[z-pnə** **s-a?á-z-g'əj]** **də-g'-sə-z-dára-m**
 REL.IO-at 1SG.ABS-be-PST.NFIN-ADD 3SG.H.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-NEG
 ‘I don’t know at whose place I was.’ (T)
- i. **[a-kartóf** **z-áčkəs** **qašá** **g'-á?a-m]** **a-stól** **já-k^{wə}-p**
 DEF-potato(R) REL.IO-than tasty NEG.EMP-be-NEG DEF-table(R) 3SG.N.ABS-be.on-NPST
 ‘The potatoes, whose taste is not surpassed by anything, are on the table’. (Rossius 2017: ex. 30)

According to Rossius (2017: 6–11), there are several strategies of relativization of the adnominal possessor. The possessor of the absolutive S of an intransitive verb is relativized by substituting its own personal prefix by the relative one without relativizing the verb (236g), (237a), and likewise is relativized the possessor of an indirect object (237b). By contrast,

² Note the unexpected human absolutive prefix cross-referencing an inanimate participant.

when the possessor of the ergative argument is relativized, the verb must also obligatorily take the relative prefix (237c). Finally, the relativization of the possessor of the absolutive P of a transitive verb shows variation between these two strategies (237d).

- (237) a. *d-abár* [*awáj* *a-ph^wás* *z-phá* *fatájma*]
 3SG.H.ABS-here.is DIST DEF-woman REL.IO-daughter PN
də-l-pš-wá
 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.F.IO-look-IPF
 ‘Here is that woman whose daughter is looking at Fatima.’ (Rossius 2017: ex. 12a)
- b. [*a-ph^wás* *z-sabáj* *təwráχ* *j-a-s-h^wá-z*]
 DEF-woman REL.IO-child fairytale 3SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PST.NFIN
d-č’mazaŋ^w-χá-t
 3SG.H.ABS-sick-INC(AOR)-DCL
 ‘The woman whose child I told fairytales to fell ill.’ (Rossius 2017: ex.24)
- c. [*z-án* *ʔaχ^wtán-pšzá* *z-zaχá-z*] *a-sabáj*
 REL.IO-mother dress-beautiful REL.ERG-sew-PST.NFIN DEF-child
 ‘the child whose mother has sown a beautiful dress’ (Rossius 2017: ex. 23)
- d. [*a.rə.pχ^wá-ŋ^w* *z-ph^wás* *bzáj* *jə/də-z-ba-wá*]
 DEF+teach-NAG REL.IO-woman good REL.ABS/3SG.H.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-IPF
sará *bzáj* *s-g’ə-j-b-əw-m*
 1SG good 1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-3SG.M.ERG-see-IPF-NEG
 ‘The teacher whose wife I like does not like me.’ (Rossius 2017: ex. 18)

Time, place and manner adverbials can also be relativized by means of special adverbial relativization prefixes described in §3.6.9, see examples in (238).

- (238) a. [*qajdəχ^w-bašnja* *ʔa-k^w-gəl-əw*] *a-haŋa-ra*
 PN-tower(R) REL.LOC-LOC-stand-PRS.NPST DEF-high-NML
h-qa-l-t
 1PL.ABS-LOC-go.in(AOR)-DCL
 ‘We climbed the hill where the Adiyukh tower stands.’ (Abazašta 2017)
- b. *j-an-ŋa-s-da-h^w-wa-z* *š’arda-n*
 3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-1SG.IO-LOC-succeed-IPF-PST.NFIN many-PST
 ‘There were many times when I was lucky.’ (AbPo)
- c. *awa-sa* *ač^w-p* [*jənž’əg’.č’k^wən-g’əj* *j-š-ŋa-jə-z*]
 DIST.ADV COP-NPST.DCL PN-ADD 3PL.ABS-REL.MNR-CISL-go-PST.NFIN
 ‘That’s how they came to Inzhich-Chukun.’ (Abazašta 2017)

In those cases when the construction contains several personal prefixes co-indexed with the relativized argument, all of them must be substituted by the relative prefix in all relativization-based structures (cf. O’Herin 2002: 264–265). This occurs in indirect object reflexive constructions (239a), in constructions with adnominal possession (239b) and even in multi-clausal constructions (240a). Note that if one of the “subordinate” personal prefixes is not changed into the relative one, only the referentially disjoint interpretation is possible (240b), in contrast to constructions without relativization (240c).

- (239) a. *awáj* *z_i-zə_i-r-dár-wa-z-da?*
 DIST REL.IO-REL.ERG-CAUS-know-IPF-PST.NFIN-QH
 ‘Who learned that?’ (E)
- b. *áza-č-k^wa_i* *z_i-qa* *z_i-z’-nq^wə-m-ga-χ-k^wa-wa*
 DEF+old-NPRO-PL REL.IO-head REL.IO-POT-LOC-NEG-carry-RE-PL-IPF
 ‘The old ones, who cannot take care of themselves (lit. carry their head around) any more.’ (T)

- (240) a. *j_{i/*j}-sá-c-na-jə-rnəs* *jə-z_i-taq-əw-da?*
REL.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-TRAL-go-PURP 3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-need-PRS.NFIN-QH
‘Who wants to go with me?’ (E)
- b. *d_{j/*i}-sá-c-na-jə-rnəs* *jə-z_i-taq-əw-da?*
3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-TRAL-go-PURP 3SG.N.ABS-REL.IO-need-PRS.NFIN-QH
‘Who_i wants him/her_{j/*i} to go with me?’ (E)
- c. *d_{i/j}-sá-c-na-jə-rnəs* *jə-l_i-taqə-b*
3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-TRAL-go-PURP 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-need-NPST.DCL
i. ‘She wants to go with me.’
ii. ‘She wants him/her to go with me.’ (E)

Elements of certain embedded clauses can also be relativized, see the complement of the modal ‘must’ in (241) showing the same pattern as described for questions in §4.3.3.

- (241) [*s-ʔa-ʔa-čá-s-ra* *a-taq-čá-z*] *j-sə-m-dár-wa-ta*
1SG.ABS-REL.LOC-CISL-hit-MSD 3SG.N.IO-need-INC-PST.NFIN 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-NEG-know-IPF-ADV
‘I didn’t know where I had to stop.’ (T)

4.4.2. Complementation

There are numerous strategies of marking sentential complements, determined partly by their semantics and partly by the matrix verb. The following description, largely based on Letuchiy (2018), is very preliminary and mainly just lists the attested patterns. The normal position of the complement clause is before the main clause, however, the opposite order is also found, both in elicitation and in texts, see (246b) below.

– Bare (imperfective) complements without any tense or subordination markers are primarily attested with phasal verbs (‘begin’, ‘finish’) (242a), but also with verbs like ‘get used to’ (242b), ‘get tired of’ and ‘learn’. The bare form in complement clauses can also attach the converb suffix *-mca* (242c). When embedded under the imperative form of ‘begin’, the bare form of transitive verbs can lack the 2SG ergative prefix (242d).

- (242) a. *h-zca-wá* *h-á-la-ga-ʔ*
1PL.ABS-swim-IPF 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
‘We started swimming.’ (T)
- b. *azamát* [*zəmʔ^wa-g’əj* *j-ʔá-j-pš-wa*]
PN all-ADD 3PL.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.IO-look-IPF
d-á-š’ca-ʔ
3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-get.used(AOR)-DCL
‘Azamat got used to everyone looking at him.’ (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 2)
- c. [*awat* *s-č’pa-wa-mca*] *č-a-s-rə-š’ca-n*
DIST.PL 1SG.ERG-do-IPF-CVB RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-get.used(AOR)-PST
‘I got used to making them (i.e. knitting socks).’ (T)
- d. [*w-dájrs-k^wa* (*w-*)*č’pa-wá*] *w-á-la-ga*
2SG.M.IO-assignment-PL (2SG.M.ERG-)do-IPF 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(IMP)
‘Start doing your homework!’ (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 79)

– The masdar in *-ra* is the primary means of marking irrealis complements and occurs with verbs like ‘want’, ‘must’ (243a) and ‘like’ (243b), but also with phasal verbs (243c). In all such cases both the verbal masdar with full verbal cross-reference (243a) and nominal masdar with possessive or definiteness marking (243b,d) or even without any marking (243c) is possible, and the choice between the two strategies is not yet fully understood. The nominal masdar can also denote definite events and thus occur with factive verbs as well (243d).

- (243) a. **[a-garod h-χč'a-ra]** **a-taqə-n**
 DEF-orchard(R) 1PL.ERG-guard-MSD 3SG.N.IO-need-PST
 ‘We had to guard the orchard.’ (T)
- b. **a-q^wamar-ra h-qnaχə-n**
 DEF-play-MSD 1PL.ABS-like-PST
 ‘We liked to play.’ (T)
- c. **č-k^waba-rá h-a-l-gá-t**
 RFL.ABS-bathe-MSD 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.ELAT-finish(AOR)-DCL
 ‘We finished bathing.’ (T)
- d. **[a-ph^wáspa l-las-ξá-j-ra]** **s-aj-g^wərv'-áj-t**
 DEF-girl 3SG.F.IO-quick-CISL-go-MSD 1SG.ABS-SOC-rejoice-PRS-DCL
 ‘I rejoice at the girl’s quick coming.’ (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 58)

– The purposive in *-(r)nəs* also marks irrealis complements with modal verbs like ‘want’ (244a) and deontic ‘must’ as well as with the verbs ‘hope’ (244b), ‘fear’ (244c), ‘like’ and manipulative verbs like ‘ask’ and ‘order’ (244d).

- (244) a. **sará j-š-á-s-h^wə-rnəs** **j-s-taqə-p**
 1SG 3SG.N.ABS-2PL.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PURP 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-want-NPST.DCL
s-š-a.rá.pχ'a-Γ^w-χa-z
 1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-teach-NAG-INC-PST.NFIN
 ‘I’d like to tell you how I became a teacher.’ (T)
- b. **sarátov s-ca-t** **[a-pχ'a-rá sə-çá-lə-rnəs]**
 Saratov(R) 1SG.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL DAT-learn-MSD 1SG.ABS-LOC-go.in-PURP
s-g^wáka-ta
 1SG.ABS-hope-ADV
 ‘I went to Saratov hoping to enter studies.’ (T)
- c. **h-rə-χa-m-za-rnəs** **h-š-əj-t**
 1PL.ABS-3PL.IO-LOC-NEG-reach-PURP 1PL.ERG-fear-PRS-DCL
 ‘We fear not being able to fulfill them.’ (Abazašta 2017)
- d. **zalájna aslán d-já-h^wa-t**
 PN PN 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask(AOR)-DCL
[a-tzá.k^w j-rá-taraz-χ-nəs]
 DEF-roof 3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-right-RE-PURP
 ‘Zalina asked Aslan to fix the roof.’ (E)

– The adverbial *-ta* occurs on indirect speech complements of verbs of speech (245a) and with negated verbs of cognition (245b) and modality (245c).

- (245) a. **azamát j-h^wa-t** **[j-χač-k^wá j-č'pá-ta]**
 PN 3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL 3SG.M.IO-assignment-PL 3SG.ERG-do-ADV
 ‘Azamat said that he had done his homework.’ (E)
- b. **jə-g'sə-z-dár-χ-wa-m**
 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-know-RE-IPF-NEG
[a.rá.pχ'a-Γ^w-ča kára-zə-n j-Γa-χ'sá-ta]
 DEF+teach-NAG-PLH some-one-time 3PL.ABS-CISL-be.late-ADV
 ‘I don’t remember the teachers ever coming late.’ (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 84)
- c. **w-a-m-aj-g^wərv'-əw-š-ta** **j-g'a?a-m**
 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-NEG-SOC-rejoice-IPF-FUT-ADV 3PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-be-NEG
 ‘It is impossible not to be happy about it.’ (Abazašta 2017)

– Relativization is used in complements denoting open propositions with variables (“indirect questions”) (246a,b).

(246) a. [a-ʒó j-hə-z-ná-χa-z] g'ə-r-dəra-m
 DEF-water REL.ABS-1PL.IO-BEN-3SG.N.ERG-do-PST.NFIN NEG.EMP-3PL.ERG-know-NEG
 ‘They don’t know what water did to us.’ (T)

b. j-də-r-b-əw-šə-n j-h^wa-d
 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-CAUS-see-IPF-FUT-PST 3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 [sə-z-pχ'á-z, s-š-á-pχ'a-z,
 1SG.ABS-REL.IO-learn-PST.NFIN 1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-3SG.N.IO-learn-PST.NFIN
 sə-z-zó-na-za-z]
 1SG.ABS-REL.IO-BEN-TRAL-reach-PST.NFIN
 ‘They wanted to show them, he said, what I had learnt, how I had learnt, what I had achieved.’ (T)

– Manner relativization in *š-*, on the other hand, is a prominent means of forming propositional complements with a wide range of matrix predicates, both factive like ‘know’ (247a) or ‘be happy’ and non-factive like ‘say’ (247b), ‘think’ or ‘doubt’ (247c), as well as perception verbs (247d).

(247) a. wará jə-w-dər-əw-z-ma
 2SG.M 3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-know-IPF-PST.NFIN-Q
 [azamát w-tʒó d-š-bzáz-əw-z]?
 PN 2SG.M.IO-house 3SG.H.ABS-REL.MNR-live-IPF-PST.NFIN
 ‘Did you know that Azamat had lived in your house?’ (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 8)

b. [azamát č'áq^wa šə-j-χ^wʒa-χ'á-z]
 PN bread REL.MNR-3SG.M.ERG-buy-IAM-PST.NFIN
 ʒa-s-á-j-h^w-t
 CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 ‘Azamat told me he had already bought bread.’ (E)

c. [wʒə-g'əj jə-z.nə-m-k^wa ara.ʔa h-ʒa-jə-rnas
 now-ADD 3SG.N.ABS-once-NEG-CVB.NEG PROX.LOC 1PL.ABS-CISL-go-PURP
 š-h-taq-χ-əw-š] k'ang'aš g'-a-la-m
 REL.MNR-1PL.IO-want-INC-IPF-FUT doubt NEG.EMP-3SG.N.IO-be.in-NEG
 ‘There is no doubt that we would like to return here again.’ (Abazašta 2017)

d. [abaza-bəzša-la dara š-čaža-wa] h-a-z-ʒər^w-wa-n
 Abaza-language-INS 3PL REL.MNR-speak-IPF 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-listen-IPF-PST
 ‘We were listening how they spoke the Abaza language.’ (Abazašta 2017)

Locative relativization in *ʔa-* is also used to mark complementation, but is more restricted than manner relativization, e.g. does not occur with ‘know’ (248a), however, is attested with such factive predicates as ‘it is good that’ (248b), ‘be upset’ or ‘rejoice’ (248c).

(248) a. #jə-z-dər-əj-t [waχ'čá j-ʔa-pχaʒ^w-əw]
 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-know-PRS-DCL today 3SG.N.ABS-REL.LOC-warm-PRS.NFIN
 ‘I know where (*that) it is warm today.’ (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 13)

b. j-bzəj-p [waχ'čá j-ʔa-pχaʒ^w-əw]
 3SG.N.ABS-good-NPST.DCL today 3SG.N.ABS-REL.LOC-warm-PRS.NFIN
 ‘It’s good that today is warm.’ (Letuchiy 2018: ex. 14)

c. [a-waʒa r-crəj-bəzša-la bzəj-ta j-ʔa-čaža-wa]
 DEF-people 3PL.IO-native-language-INS good-ADV 3PL.ABS-REL.LOC-speak-IPF
 w-a-m-aj-g^wərb'-əw-š-ta j-g'-aʔa-m
 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.IO-NEG-SOC-rejoice-IPF-FUT-ADV 3PL.ABS-NEG.EMP-be-NEG
 ‘It is impossible not to be happy about the people speaking their native language well.’ (Abazašta 2017)

The locative relativization can optionally attach the postposition *aqaz(la)* ‘because’ when occurring with verbs with an emotional or evaluative component like ‘be angry’, ‘be upset’ (249a) or ‘praise’ (249b).

(249) a. *fatájma l-g^{wə} j-a-s-ṭ*
 PN 3SG.F.IO-heart 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-hit(AOR)-DCL
 [*l-aš’á d-ʔa-lá-də-m-sələ-z (a-qaz)*]
 3SG.F.IO-brother 3SG.H.ABS-REL.LOC-3SG.F.IO-LOC-NEG-touch-PST.NFIN 3SG.N.IO-for
 ‘Fatima got upset because her brother did not visit her.’ (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 20)

b. *máma azamát d-lə-r-čq^{wə}á-ṭ*
 mum PN 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-be.praised(AOR)-DCL
 [*d-ʔa-l-c-qráʕa-z (á-qaz)*]
 3SG.H.ABS-REL.LOC-3SG.F.IO-COM-help-PST.NFIN 3SG.N.IO-for
 ‘Mum praised Azamat for having helped her.’ (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 18)

– Nonveridical (simulative) nominalization in *-šá* refers to imaginary events and occurs in complements of verbs of seeming or pretending, usually with the matrix verb ‘see’, cf. (250a) and (150) in §3.6.9, but in fact with a broader range of verbs, cf. (250b).

(250) a. [*a-mš a-čla jə-z-qa-mə-l-wa-š-šá*] *j-ba-n*
 DEF-bear DEF-tree 3SG.N.ABS-POT-LOC-NEG-climb-IPF-FUT-SML 3SG.M.ERG-see-PST
 ‘It seemed to him that the bear would not be able to climb the tree.’ (lit. he saw as though...) (Tabulova 1976: 171)

b. [*zəm^{wə}a-g’əj jə-b-dər-wa-z-šá*] *b-čáž-əj-ṭ*
 all-ADD 3PL.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-know-IPF-PST.NFIN-SML 2SG.F.ABS-speak-PRS-DCL
 ‘You speak as though you knew everything.’ (E)

– The quotative complementizer *h^{wə}a* follows direct speech complements with speech verbs (181a) above, (251a) and some emotional predicates, like ‘be afraid’ (251b)

(251) a. [*arəj anglíska-la j-a-l-rə-pχ’-əw-š-ṭ*] *h^{wə}a*
 DIST English(r)-INS 3PL.ABS-DAT-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-learn-IPF-FUT-DCL QUOT
 [*j-ʕa-s-á-j-h^{wə}-l-əw-n*]
 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say-HAB-IPF-PST-DCL
 ‘He would tell me that I (lit. “she”) would become an English teacher.’ (T)

b. [*á-š’tanč ʕa-sə-s-wa-š-ṭ*] *h^{wə}a s-a-č-š-əj-ṭ*
 DEF-snake CISL-1SG.IO-hit-IPF-FUT-DCL QUOT 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DCL
 ‘I’m afraid that a snake will bite me.’ (cf. Letuchiy 2018: ex. 25)

A very special case is constituted by the verb *z-š’a-* ‘seem’, which forms a single word with the head of its complement (morphologically bound complementation, see Panova 2019, 2020 for a detailed description). The two verbs retain independent argument structures and temporal reference and can be separately modified by adverbials (252a,b).

(252) a. [*s-z-á-la-nəq^{wə}a-wa*]-*zə-j-š’a-ṭ*
 1SG.ABS-POT-3SG.N.IO-LOC-walk-IPF-LOC-3SG.M.IO-seem(AOR)-DCL
 ‘It seemed to him that I could go there.’ (T)

b. *sara jacə [wara wax’čə χabajz*
 1SG yesterday 2SG.M today PN
 [*wə-c-əw-š’]-z-s-š’-əw-n*
 2SG.M.ABS-go-IPF-FUT-LOC-1SG.IO-seem-IPF-PST
 ‘Yesterday I thought you would go to Xabez today.’ (Panova 2019c: ex. 22)

That the two verbs form a single morphological complex is evidenced by negation and adverbial relativization, which both apply to the construction as a whole, i.e. their prefixal

parts attach to the left of the dependent verb's stem and not of that of the matrix, cf. (253) and (254) contrasting morphologically bound and ordinary complementation.

- (253) a. *sara* [*d-ʕa-j-ta*] *g'-qa-s-ç-əw-m*
 1SG 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-go-ADV NEG-LOC-1SG.ERG-believe-IPF-NEG
 'I don't believe he came.' (Panova 2019: ex. 16)
- b. [*awəj d-g'-ʕa-j*]-*zə-s-š'-əw-m*
 DIST 3SG.H.ABS-NEG-CISL-go-LOC-1SG.IO-seem-IPF-NEG
 'I don't think he came.' (Panova 2019: ex. 17)
- (254) a. [[*d-š-psə-z*] *anə-l-ba*]
 3SG.H.ABS-REL.MNR-die-PST.NFIN REL.TMP-3SG.F.ERG-see
d-çəwa d-a-la-ga-t
 3SG.H.ABS-cry+IPF 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
 'When she saw that he had died, she started crying.' (Panova 2019: ex. 18)
- b. [[*d-an-psə*]-*zə-l-š'a*]
 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-die-LOC-3SG.F.IO-seem
d-çəwa d-a-la-ga-t
 3SG.H.ABS-cry+IPF 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL
 'When she thought he had died, she started crying.' (Panova 2019: ex. 19)

Recursive embedding of complement clauses is well-attested, see (255) from a spontaneous oral narrative.

- (255) [[[*indéjec-k^{wa} š-ʕa-h^w-wá* *j-š-bzáza-wa*]
 Indian(R)-PL REL.MNR-CISL-dance-IPF 3PL.ABS-REL.MNR-live-IPF
s-a-pš-rá] *s-taqá-ta*] *j-h^wa-d*
 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-look-MSD 1SG.IO-want-ADV 3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 'He said he wanted to watch how Amercian Indians danced and lived.' (T)

There is no evidence of any special behaviour of control constructions as opposed to other complementation patterns, neither is there any evidence of raising structures. Control of the lexical reflexive in a complement clause by the matrix subject is not ungrammatical, but dispreferred, cf. (256), which only three of six consultants accepted.

- (256) *aslan_i* [*rəwslan_j j_{i/j}-qa* *d-a-z-zəɾʕ^{wə}-rnəs*]
 PN PN 3SG.M.IO-head 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-listen-PURP
j-a-j-h^w-t
 3SG.M.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 'Aslan told Ruslan to listen to himself (=Ruslan / %=Aslan).' (Durneva 2020: 21–22)

4.4.3. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial relations are mainly marked by general and specialized converbs as well as by adverbial relativization, see §3.6.9 for greater detail. Normally, adverbial clauses precede the main clause, but they may also be center-embedded, as in (257c), and occur to the right, as in (258b).

Temporal clauses are primarily marked by the temporal relativization in *an-*, often with the grammaticalized nominal *ásqan* 'time' (257a,d). Depending on the temporal form of the verb, this construction can indicate either simultaneity (257a) or precedence (257b) with respect to the event of the main verb. Importantly, when the matrix cause refers to the future, the temporal relativization also takes the non-finite future suffix (257c), which also apparently occurs in habitual contexts as well (257d).

- (257) a. [**d-an-ɣa-h-á-čáž-əw-z** **ásqan**]
 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-1PL.IO-SOC-speak-IPF-PST.NFIN DEF+time
ará.sa awáj a-pš ɣ^w-ɣa.nšá.ra-čət-k j-h^wá-d
 PROX.ADV DIST 3SG.N.IO-similar two-event-piece-UNIT 3SG.M.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL
 ‘While he talked to us, he told us two stories.’ (T)
- b. [**dawžatmárza-g’áj d-an-psá**]
 PN-ADD 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-die(AOR)
awá.ʔa də-r-gá-n də-ča-r-ča-χ-t
 DIST.LOC 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-carry-PST 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-3PL.ERG-put-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘When Doljatmurza also died, they brought him there and buried.’ (T)
- c. *abaza-bəzša [sk^wšə-š-k an-a-qə-č-ra-g’áj]*
 Abaza-language year-hundred-UNIT REL.TMP-3SG.N.IO-LOC.ELAT-pass-FUT.NFIN-ADD
j-bzaz-əw-š-t
 3SG.N.ABS-live-IPF-FUT-DCL
 ‘The Abaza language will live even when a hundred years have passed.’ (Abazašta 2017)
- d. [**a-šála-la j-aná-w-k^wha-ra** **ásqan**]
 DEF-flour-INS 3SG.N.ABS-REL.TMP-2SG.M.ERG-knead-FUT.NFIN DEF+time
j-wə-m-rə-baš’a-n
 3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-NEG-CAUS-hard-IMP.NEG
 ‘When you knead with flour, don’t make (the dough) hard.’ (T)

Other means of encoding temporal clauses include the unmarked form (258a), the adverbial form in *-ta* (258b), the converb in *-mca* (258c), as well as the realis conditional (142c) and the general conditional (258d). Expressions of more specialized temporal relations (‘while’, ‘as soon as’, ‘until’ etc.) have been described in §3.6.9.

- (258) a. **s-a-z-q^wəc-wa** **s-žəl-č-d**
 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-think-IPF(NFIN) 1SG.ABS-LOC-pass(AOR)-DCL
 ‘I went away, thinking about it.’ (T)
- b. *ár.sa h-š’ťá-zl-əw-š-ma [zə-k-g’áj h-á-m-q^wa-wa-ta]*
 PROX.ADV 1PL.ABS-lie-DYN-IPF-FUT-Q one-INDF-ADD 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-NEG-bend-IPF-ADV
 ‘Shall we keep lying like that doing nothing?’ (T)
- c. [**jə-pəc-k^wa jə-čə-r-χ-wa-mca.ra**]
 3SG.M.IO-tooth-PL 3PL.ABS-LOC.ELAT-3PL.ERG-take-IPF-CVB
askolka-k^wa ɣa-qa-r-gəl-χ-t
 DEF.fragment(R)-PL CISL-LOC-3PL.ERG-stand-RE(AOR)-DCL
 ‘While taking out his teeth they removed the fragments (of the missile).’ (T)
- d. [**a-rqa s-ɣá-j-χə-rk^wən** **h-aj-čáž-əw-n**]
 DEF-field 1SG.ABS-CISL-go-RE-COND 1PL.ABS-REC.IO-talk-IPF-PST
 ‘When I went back from the field we used to talk to each other.’ (T)

Conditional clauses are marked by the realis conditional (259a) and by the general conditional; the latter can be used to mark realis conditionals (259b) and irrealis and counterfactual conditionals. In the latter case it is either preceded or followed by the non-finite past marker (260a,b), and the main clause verb appears in the subjunctive. The irrealis conditionals do not mark temporal reference and are compatible with various temporal interpretations, cf. (260a) with the explicit past time adverbial and (260b), which can be both (past) counterfactual and (future) hypothetical. By contrast, the realis conditional marks tense in a regular way for non-finite forms, with the exception of the past, see §3.6.9.

- (263) *awá.sa-mca.ra j-h^wa-d [j-šə-ž-ba-wá*
 DIST.ADV-CVB 3SG.ERG-say(AOR)-DCL 3SG.N.ABS-REL.MNR-2PL.ERG-see-IPF
á-pš-ta] s-dəna-dəw-χa-d
 3SG.N.IO-similar-ADV 1SG.ABS-HES-big-INC(AOR)-DCL
 ‘In this way, he said, as you see, I became great.’ (T)

4.5. Negation

Negation is morphologically expressed on predicates, see §3.6.7; there is no constituent negation. In order to express negation on nominals or their modifiers, relative clauses are used, cf. *j-pšža-m á-ŷ^wəçŷ^wəs* REL.ABS-beautiful-NEG DEF-person ‘the unpretty person’, and negative adverbials are likewise negated converbs (264).

- (264) *j-qara-m-ḵ^wa a-ž^wawra də-ça-čə-ta*
 3SG.N.ABS-distant-NEG-CVB.NEG DEF-shadow 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-sit-ADV
awat j-χč^w-əw-n
 DIST.PL 3SG.ERG-guard-IPF-PST.DCL
 ‘He sat not far away in the shadow and guarded (sheep).’ (T)

When the negated element is focused, it becomes a negative predicate:

- (265) *sara j-a-ta-s-ḵ-wa j-g^w-ažanaqa-m, aža-b*
 1SG REL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-hold-IPF 3SG.N.ABS-NEG.EMP-sentence-NEG word-NPST.DCL
 ‘I translate not sentences but words.’ (Lit., ‘What I translate is not a sentence, (it) is a word.’) (cf. Lander 2018: ex. 24)

There are negative polarity items formed by the additive marker *-g^wəj*, see §§3.2.5, 3.4.6, which may be licensed both by local (266a) and matrix (266b) negation.

- (266) a. [*za.ž-g^wəj j-ŷa-mə-jə-wa-šə-z-šə*] *jə-z-b-əj-t*
 one-ADD 3PL.ABS-CISL-NEG-go-IPF-FUT-PST.NFIN-SML 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
 ‘It seems to me that nobody will come.’ (E)
- b. [*za.ž-g^wəj də-z-ba-rnəs*] *g^w-s-taqə-m*
 one-ADD 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PURP NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-want-NEG
 ‘I don’t want to see anybody.’ (E)

4.6. Comparative constructions

The standard of comparison is marked with the postposition *ackəs* ‘than’, while the parameter of comparison can be optionally preceded by the elements *rəça* or *rahá* ‘more’ (267a–b), which are usually absent. The parameter of comparison may be a verb (267c), including a negated one (267d), as well as a noun (267e). Example (268a) below shows that the parameter can also be expressed by an idiomatic expression.

- (267) a. *a-qaça j-š^wa ackəs jə-laž rəça j-λəpa-p*
 DEF-man 3SG.M.IO-blood than 3SG.M.IO-tear more 3SG.N.ABS-worthy-NPST.DCL
 ‘Man’s tears are worthier than his blood.’ (AbRus)
- b. *awəj sa sə-šə-ŷ^w-wá ackəs rahá lasə-ta d-pχ^wəz-əj-t*
 DIST 1SG 1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-write-IPF than more quick-ADV 3SG.H.ABS-count-PRS-DCL
 ‘He counts quicker than I write.’ (Romanova 2018: ex. 15)
- c. *aža-čg^wa a-χə ackəs j-sač^w~wač^w-əj-t*
 DEF+word-evil DEF-bullet than 3SG.N.ABS-burn~RED-PRS-DCL
 ‘An evil word injures more than a bullet.’ (AbRus)

- d. *zəmɣʷa r-ackəs bzəj j-lə-m-b-əw-z*
 all 3PL.IO-than good 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-NEG-see-IPF-PST.NFIN
a-sabəj-kʷa an-də-r-čəwa-z akʷə-n
 DEF-child-PL REL.TMP-3PL.ERG-CAUS-cry+IPF-PST.NFIN COP-PST
 ‘What she disliked most of all was when children were made cry.’ (AbRus)
- e. *awəj rəça d-sə-ɣʷza-p wará w-ackəs*
 DIST more 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-friend-NPST.DCL 2SG.M 2SG.M.IO-than
 ‘He is more my friend than you.’ (E)

The elements *rəça* and *rahá* are more often used in absolute comparative constructions without a standard (268).

- (268) a. *há rəça gʷə z-wáça-kʷa-z*
 1PL more heart REL.IO-be.inside-PL-PST.NFIN
 ‘we, who were more courageous’ (lit. in whom there was more heart) (T)
- b. *a-dəwnaj a-waça-la raha j-bargʷ-əw a-bəzša-kʷa*
 DEF-world DEF-inside-INS more REL.ABS-hard-PRS.NFIN DEF-language-PL
 ‘the most complex languages in the world’ (Abazašta 2017)

Superlative constructions are expressed as comparative constructions with a generic or universal standard (267d), which can be inferred from the context (268b), or by means of the intensifying suffix *-zça* (269).

- (269) *a-mgʷal-dəw-zça-k* *ɣa-rə-l-h-χə-n*
 DEF-millet.bread-big-INT-INDF CISL-3PL.IO-LOC.ELAT-1PL.ERG-take-PST
 ‘We chose the largest piece of millet bread.’ (T)

4.7. Coordination and chaining

Coordination of noun phrases by means of additive suffixes and conjunctions has been described in §3.2.5 and §3.9. To this should be added a construction with the desemanticized noun *qa* ‘head’ used in non-exhaustive lists (‘and so on’, ‘and the like’):

- (270) *baraχló-kʷa-gʷəj qa-gʷəj zəmɣʷá j-rə-ma-b*
 clothes(R)-PL-ADD head-ADD all 3PL.ABS-3PL.IO-have-NPST
 ‘They have clothes and what not, everything.’ (T)

For coordination of clauses by conjunctions see §3.9. Other means of clausal coordination include the use of additive markers on the first element of the conjoined clause (271a), often involving parallel structures with the same subject; the occurrence of the additive marker as a verbal prefix in slot –11 is also reported in grammars (271c) and discussed in Pazov (2019), but is not attested in our corpus. Regarding the use of the additive marker, it appears to serve as a means of discourse cohesion rather than coordination proper, since the clauses linked in this way need not be parallel or consecutive (271b).

- (271) a. *a-minístr-gʷəj d-ɣa-j-χ-d*
 DEF-minister-ADD 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-go-RE(AOR)-DCL
sar-gʷəj a-vóždʷ sə-j-jə-tə-n
 1SG-ADD DEF-chief(R) 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PST
 ‘The minister returned and gave me over to the chief.’ (T)
- b. *awəj ásqan awəj aχčʷa-dəw-n šʷta*
 DIST DEF+time DIST money-big-PST PTCL
 ‘At that time it was a large sum of money, indeed.’

awá-g'áj ta-s-čá-χə-n **wžə** **awáj** **šamŋg** **d-ŋá-jə-ŋzək'**
 DIST-ADD LOC-1SG.ERG-put-RE-PST now DIST PN 3SG.H.ABS-CISL-go-UNTIL

s-a-z-pš-áj-t **sa ...** **š'ta**
 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-BEN-wait-PRS-DCL 1SG PTCL
 'So I put it back and waited till Shamil came.'

š'až'ə-ta-g'áj **s-ŋá-gəl-d**
 early-ADV-ADD 1SG.ABS-CISL-stand.up(AOR)-DCL
 'I woke up early.' (T)

- c. **wə-g'-ŋa-psa-t** **a-χ'ta-g'áj** **w-a-š'ə-t**
 2SG.M.ABS-ADD-CISL-get.tired(AOR)-DCL DEF-cold-ADD 2SG.M.ABS-3SG.N.ERG-exhaust(AOR)-DCL
 'You are tired and frozen.' (Tabulova 1976: 282)

Turning to clause chaining, in addition to the use of the additive marker as in (271b) it is normally achieved by the following means:

– Adding the adverbial suffix *-ta* to the appropriate declarative form; this kind of marking is compatible with both successive events (272a) and simultaneous states (272b), and is possible with any tense form (see §3.6.9).

- (272) a. **awáj á-h^wspa-la** **a-g^wə** **j-a-ŋ^w-sə-r-sa-χ-áj-t-ta**
 DIST DEF-knife-INS DEF-heart 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-CAUS-split-RE-PRS-DCL-ADV
j-a-k^w-sə-r-č-áj-t-ta...
 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-CAUS-press-PRS-DCL-ADV
 'I cut it in two in the middle and then press (the parts) together.' (T)

- b. **h-χ^wəcə-n-ta** **a-q^wamar-ra** **h-qnaχə-n**
 1PL.ABS-little-PST.DCL-ADV DEF-play-MSD 1PL.ABS-like-PST.DCL
 'We were children and liked to play.' (T)

– Marking the non-final clauses with the past marker *-n* (see §3.6.4); this strategy occurs mostly with successive events when the last clause is also in the past tense, though other tenses in the main clause are also attested (273a). Both same-subject (273a,b) and different-subject (273c) chains are possible.

- (273) a. [**awat** **s-č'pa-wa-mca** **č-a-s-rə-š'ca-n**]
 DIST.PL 1SG.ERG-do-IPF-CVB RFL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-get.used-PST
 [**wəž.ŋan-za.ra-g'áj** **j-s-č'p-əj-t** **awáj** **nask'i**]
 this.time-LIM-ADD 3PL.ABS-1SG.ERG-do-PRS-DCL DIST socks(R)
 'I learnt to make them (i.e. knit socks) and make them till this time, socks.' (T)
- b. [**r-qa-k^wá** **zəmŋ^wá** **h-aχ'k'á-la** **j-ŋa-d-r-áχa-n**]
 3PL.IO-head-PL all 1PL.IO-side-INS 3PL.ABS-CISL-3PL.ERG-CAUS-turn-PST
 [**j-ŋa-š'tá.l-d**]
 3PL.ABS-CISL-lie.down(AOR)-DCL
 'Everyone turned their heads towards us and prostrated themselves.' (T)
- c. [**a-cqa** **h-ca-n**] [**awa.ʔa** **h-š-ta-z**]
 DEF-river 1PL.ABS-go-PST DIST.LOC 1PL.ABS-REL.MNR-be.in-PST.NFIN
a-nartəχ^w **a-k^wtəw-k^wa** **j-qə-r-h^wə-l-ŋa-t**]
 DEF-maize DEF-hen-PL 3SG.N.ABS-LOC.ELAT-3PL.ERG-steal-LAT-ELAT(AOR)-DCL
 'We went to the river, and while we were there the hens ate the maize.' (T)

Chaining of declarative clauses without any special marking is also attested, cf. (274a) with the aorist and (274b) with the imperfect.

- (274) a. **a-wandər** **h-a-k^wə-də-r-č-a-χ-t**
 DEF-cart 1PL.ABS-3N.IO-LOC-3PL.ERG-CAUS-sit-RE(AOR)-DCL
 'They put us on a cart.'

anə-la h-a-k^w-də-r-çə-t
 MED-INS 1PL.ABS-3N.IO-LOC-3PL.ERG-CAUS-sit(AOR)-DCL
 ‘They put us there.’

anə-la hə-r-š'təj-t kartof ʕa-h-q^wša-t
 MED-INS 1PL.ABS-3PL.ERG-send(AOR)-DCL potato(R) CISL-1PL.ERG-gather(AOR)-DCL
 ‘They sent us there, and we gathered potatoes.’ (T)

- b. [*j-aba-k^w-χ-wa-n dar-g'əj*], [*j-amaḵ-wa-n aj.baš'.ra-la*],
 3PL.ABS-REC.IO-LOC-take-IPF-PST 3PL-ADD 3PL.ABS-struggle-IPF-PST war-INS
[jə-mč'amqa-z a-wʕa-žlara pχ'a-r-c-əw-n z.ž'a.ra-la]
 REL.ABS-poor-PST.NFIN DEF-people-society LOC-3PL.ERG-drive-IPF-PST somewhere-INS
 ‘They used to kill each other, fight in wars, drive poor nations into remote places.’
 (AbPo)

4.8. Locative, existential, possessive and non-verbal clauses

Locative and existential predication is mainly encoded by specialized locational predicates coinciding with certain locative preverbs; the object whose location or existence is described is the absolutive, while the location is an oblique object, which can be cross-referenced in the verb (275a), but may also remain unindexed (275b).

(275) a. *s-ʔa-ca-z a-front d-a-la-ta*
 1SG.ABS-REL.LOC-go-PST.NFIN DEF-front(R) 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-be.in-ADV
 ‘The (man) I married was at the battlefield...’ (T)

- b. *a-ž'əp həla-ḵ ta-n*
 DEF-pocket heavy-INDF be.in-PST
 ‘There was something heavy in my pocket.’ (T)

Location and existence can also be expressed by the generic locative-existential verb *aʔa* ‘be’ with the same argument frame (276a,b):

(276) a. *awat jənž'əg'.č'ḵ^wən-kət ʕ^wə-mč'ə.baž' j-aʔa-n*
 DIST.PL PN-village two-week 3PL.ABS-be-PST
 ‘They spent (lit. were) in Inzhich-Chukun two weeks.’ (Abazašta 2017)

- b. *alláh d-aʔa-ḵ*
 god 3SG.H.ABS-be-NPST.DCL
 ‘There is God.’ (T)

Predicative possession is mainly expressed by the inverse stative verb *-ma-* ‘hold, have’ with the absolutive possessee and the possessor as the indirect object:

(277) a. *pa-za.žə-ḵ d-sə-ma-n*
 son-one-INDF 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-have-PST
 ‘I had one son.’ (T)

- b. *á-ʕapən ásqaṇ raχ^wə g'-hə-ma-χ-mə-z-t*
 DEF-spring 3SG.N.IO+time cattle NEG.EMP-1PL.IO-have-RE-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
 ‘In spring we didn’t have cattle anymore.’ (T)

There are two types of non-verbal predication:

– Direct insertion of non-verbal lexical items or full nominal complexes into stative verbal morphology, see §3.1 (278a); this mechanism is absolutely productive with nouns and adjectives and more restricted with adverbs and quantifiers. Nominals with possessive prefixes and full nominal possessors (278b) as well as external heads of relative clauses (278c), see also §4.4.1, can occur in this construction.

(278) a. *awát rə-bəzša abaza-bəzšá-ḵ*
 DIST.PL 3PL.IO-language Abaza.PL-language-NPST.DCL
 ‘Their language is Abaza.’ (T)

- b. *a-qaça-k^wa wə-r-qaça-ḫ*
 DEF-man-PL 2SG.M.ABS-3PL.IO-man-NPST.DCL
 ‘You are a man of men (i.e. an honourable man).’ (AbPo)
- c. *murat [j-arg^wan-əw a-wəram j-bzaza-wa]*
 PN REL.ABS-close-PRS.NFIN DEF-street REL.ABS-live-IPF
d-č’rəq^w-č’pa-ŋ^w-b
 3SG.H.ABS-shoe-make-NAG-NPST.DCL
 ‘Murat is a shoe-maker who lives at the neighboring street.’ (Yury Lander’s field-
 notes)

– Construction with the copula *aḳ^w(a)*, which can take as its complement (cross-referenced as an indirect object) full-fledged noun phrases with (in)definiteness, plural and/or case markers and various modifiers (see §4.1) (279a), personal pronouns (279b), adverbials (279c), and even full clauses (279d) and direct speech (279e). The copula is used as a focus marker in pseudo-clefted structures, on which see §4.9.

- (279) a. *sara j-a-l-ḳ-ŋa-ta sə-z-də-n-ḳa-l-wa*
 1SG 3SG.N.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC.ELAT-hold-ELAT-ADV 1SG.ABS-REL.IO-LOC-LOC-work-LAT-IPF
[*mar-a-ŋa-ççə-rta-ḳavḳaz a-waŋa.qa-bəzša-k^wa* r-aḳ^w-ḫ
 sun-CISL-rise-NLOC-Caucasus 3SG.N.IO-nation-language-PL 3PL.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
 ‘What I am particularly working on is the languages of the East Caucasus.’ (Aba-
 zašta 2017)
- b. *sar-g’əj g’-s-aḳ^wə-m k^wərmáš z-zə-r-č’pa-wa*
 1SG-ADD NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-COP-NEG bow REL.IO-BEN-3PL.ERG-do-IPF
 ‘It’s not me before whom they make a bow.’ (T)
- c. *wžə aḳ^w-ḫ d-an-á-la-ga*
 now COP-NPST.DCL 3SG.H.ABS-REL.TMP-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)
 ‘He has just started (lit. it is now when he started).’ (T)
- d. *har-g’əj [táḳ^w h-máš’-əw-ta] áḳ^wə-n h-š-aḳá-z*
 1PL-ADD little 1PL.ABS-hungry-PRS.NFIN-ADV COP-PST 1PL.ABS-REL.MNR-be-PST.NFIN
 ‘We were a little hungry (lit. how we were was a little hungry).’ (T)
- e. [*urožáj báž-ta j-č’pá h^wá*] ***áḳ^w-ḫ***
 harvest(R) rich-ADV 3SG.ABS-do(IMP) QUOT COP-NPST.DCL
sará j-ŋa-nə-s-š’-t-wa
 1SG REL.ABS-CISL-LOC-1SG.ERG-throw-IPF
 ‘(they said: God) make a good harvest, — that’s what I have in mind.’ (T)

The copula shows special behaviour with respect to person marking (Lander 2017). First, the copula almost never takes absolute prefixes, even though it is normally preceded by its indirect object complement. Second, although usually the indirect object prefix in the copula cross-references its predicative complement, as in (279a,b), it can also cross-reference the (absolute) subject if it is higher than the complement on the person (280a) or number (280b) hierarchy.

- (280) a. *sara w-pa-ḳ s-aḳ^wa-b /*j-aḳ^wa-b*
 1SG 2SG.M.IO-son-INDF 1SG.IO/*3SG.M.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
 ‘I am one of your sons.’ (Lander 2017: ex. 9)
- b. *ḳ^w-mašəna-ḳ a-kortez (r-)aḳ^w-b*
 five-car(R)-INDF DEF-convoy(R) (3PL.IO-)COP-NPST.DCL
 ‘Five cars are a convoy.’ (Lander 2017: ex. 15)

4.9. Information structure

Topical elements are normally clause-initial and can be integrated (281a) or non-integrated into the overall structure of the clause and resumed by a pronoun (281b). According to Lander (2018), such resumption of non-integrated topics is obligatory (281c).

- (281) a. *lávəw-rɣa mhamatg'arəj ... a-h j-pnə də-n-χ-əw-n ...*
 PN-ASSPL PN DEF-king 3SG.M.IO-at 3SG.H.ABS-LOC-work-IPF-PST
 'Mehmet-Girey Loov served the tsar.'
mhamatg'arəj j-ɣa-jə-r-t-t ədg'al ...
 PN 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.IO-3PL.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL DEF+land
 'They gave Mehmet-Girey land ...'
awəj ədg'al j-əjš'-čə-k^wa jə-r-čə-d
 DIST DEF+land 3SG.M.IO-brother-PLH-PL 3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-sit(AOR)-DCL
 'On this land he settled his brothers.' (T)
- b. [*əj.s.ra j-ʔ-əw j-ph^wəs*]
 DEF+war REL.ABS-be-PRS.NFIN 3SG.M.IO-woman
awəj garód-tak^w ɣa-lə-r-tə-n
 DIST orchard(R)-little CISL-3SG.F.IO-3PL.ERG-give-PST
 'A soldier's wife [the wife of the one who is at war], they gave her a small orchard.' (T)
- c. *arəj a-χán – *(arə-la) a-mčə a-pə-s-χ-əj-t*
 PROX DEF-saw PROX-INS DEF-wood 3SG.N.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-cut-PRS-DCL
 'This saw, I saw wood with it.' (cf. Lander 2018: ex. 4,5)

Left-dislocated topics can also be marked by the realis conditional marker *-ztən*, attached either directly to the topicalized nominal (282a) or to the copula when the nominal is definite (282b).

- (282) a. *j-š'tančə-ztən, zəmɣ^wa čg'a-ta sə-r-č-š-əj-d*
 3PL.ABS-snake-COND.REAL all evil-ADV 1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-MAL-fear-PRS-DCL
 'As to snakes, I awfully fear them all.' (Lander 2018: ex. 14)
- b. *arəj ə-š'ta-k^wa r-ək^wə-ztən, a-šər dəw-za-p*
 PROX DEF-track-PL 3PL.IO-COP-COND.REAL DEF-animal big-INFR-NPST.DCL
 'As to these (animal) tracks, the animal must be big.' (Lander 2018: ex. 12)

Right-diclocated (anti)topics are also attested:

- (283) *də-č'k^wən-ta d-á-la-ga-t žantajmár-fəw'əd*
 3SG.H.ABS-young-ADV 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-begin(AOR)-DCL PN-PN
 'He started (his career) young, Dzhantemir Fuadov.' (T)

There are no special constructions for predicate and sentence focus. Normally the word order in such sentences is predicate-final, cf. sentence focus in (284a) and predicate focus in (284b). NPs introducing new referents can sometimes occur postverbally (284c), but this seems to be a marked option.

- (284) a. *aj.k^wá-kastjúm-k-g'əj čəc-ta j-k.na-há-n*
 trousers-suit(R)-INDF-ADD new-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-LOC-hang(RES)-PST
 'There hung a new suit with trousers.' (T)
- b. *wadərɣ^wána a-pajɣámbar aláh də-j-çɣá-t*
 then DEF-prophet god 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.M.IO-ask(AOR)-DCL
 'Then the prophet asked God.' (T)
- c. *sarə d-sə-cə-n-χ-əj-t χ^wbəj-zója*
 1SG 3SG.H.ABS-1SG.IO-COM-LOC-work-PRS-DCL PN-PN
 'Zoya Khubieva works with me.' (T)

Argument focus is marked by means of pseudocleft constructions with the focused element marked as a predicate with or without the copula and the rest of the sentence relativized (on copular constructions see §4.8). The order of the focus and presupposition is not fixed, cf. focus – presupposition in (285a) and presupposition – focus in (285b).

- (285) a. ***babuška l-aḱʷ-p*** *hara h-za-ʕza-χə-z*
 granny(R) 3SG.F.IO-COP-NPST.DCL 1PL 1PL.ABS-REL.ERG-bring.up-RE-PST.NFIN
 ‘It is the granny who brought us up.’ (T)
- b. *awa.ʔá j-ʕa-ta-χa-kʷá-z* ***ábaza-kʷa r-ákʷa-p***
 DIST.LOC REL.ABS-CISL-remain-INC-PL-PST.NFIN DEF+Abaza.PL-PL 3PL.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
 ‘Those who remained there are the Abaza.’ (T)

The choice between the copular and non-copular construction depends on the definiteness of the focused element and on the semantics of the construction. In identifying focus with a definite focused element the copula is used (285), (286a), while in ascriptive focus, where a property rather than an entity is in focus, the predicate morphology is attached directly to the stem (286b).

- (286) a. ***awat aža-kʷa r-aḱʷa-b*** *sara j-s-hʷa-wa*
 DIST.PL DEF+word-PL 3PL.IO-COP-NPST.DCL 1SG REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-say-IPF
 ‘What I am saying is these words.’ (Lander 2018: ex. 22)
- b. ***aža-kʷá-b*** *sara j-s-hʷa-wá*
 word-PL-NPST.DCL 1SG REL.ABS-1SG.ERG-say-IPF
 ‘What I am saying is words.’ (Lander 2018: ex. 23)

Both copular and copulaless focus constructions show syntactic properties distinguishing them from ordinary biclausal constructions. In particular, the focused element, morphologically marked as the predicate, can occupy the position appropriate for its syntactic role in a simple sentence, thus technically being embedded into the relative clause (287a); in such cases the focused element can retain morphological marking indicating its role in the corresponding simple clause (287b).

- (287) a. *s-pa məwradəjn j-ákʷa-p*
 1SG.IO-son PN 3SG.M.IO-COP-NPST.DCL
aχš ʕa-jə-z-tə-z
 DEF+money CISL-3SG.M.IO-REL.ERG-give-PST.NFIN
 ‘It is Muradin who gave money to my son.’ (Lander 2018: ex. 25)
- b. *ocenka awəj a-ručʷka-la aḱʷa-p*
 mark(R) DIST DEF-pen(R)-INS 3SG.N.IO+COP-NPST.DCL
j-z-la-sə-r-gəl-wa
 3PL.ABS-REL.IO-INS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-stand-IPF
 ‘It is (with) this pen that I put marks with.’ (Lander 2018: ex. 27)

5. Lexicon

The lexicon of Abaza is not sufficiently studied, apart from some works on borrowings (see e.g. Šagirov 1989, Xaratokova 2010, 2011, Xaratokova et al. 2015). Dictionaries include an Abaza-Russian dictionary (Tugov 1967, ca. 14 thousand words) and a Russian-Abaza dictionary Žirov & Ekba (1956, ca. 30 thousand words); there also exists an online dictionary based mainly on Tugov (1967), available at <http://www.abazinka.ru/>.

The main sources of borrowed lexical items have been Arabic (most probably through Turkic languages), from where come words having to do with Islam, and later Russian, which has contributed and continues to contribute numerous words (including internationalisms) dealing with modern material culture, administration, science and education. More interesting are the numerous borrowings from Circassian, more particularly, Kabardian (see Šagirov

1989: 43–58; Xaratokova 2011; Xaratokova et al. 2015: 125–186), covering such lexical fields as bodyparts (*dáma* ‘wing, shoulder’ < Kab. *dame*), names of animals and plants (*bag* ‘spider’ < Kab. *bež*’, *q^wadáma* ‘branch’ < Kab. *q^wadame*), natural objects (*psáh^wa* ‘river valley’ < Kab. *psax^we* ‘river’), artifacts (*bžən* ‘wall’ < Kab. id., *pajš* ‘room’ < Kab. *peš*, *fač’áŋ^w* ‘sugar’ < Kab. *fewšəB^w*), cultural objects (*warád* ‘song’ < Circ. *wered*), as well as more abstract vocabulary (*taḱ^w* ‘a little’ < Kab. *teḱ^w*, *haḷa* ‘burden, heavy’ < Kab. *hele*, *χ^wajt* ‘free’ < Kab. *x^w-jə-t* BEN-LOC-stand ‘free, have a right to’). As in other Northwest Caucasian languages, verbs are almost never borrowed as such, at least from unrelated languages (verbal borrowings from Circassian are attested, cf. *bzaχ-* ‘disappear’ < Circ. *bzex-*, *pərx-* ‘snore’ < id.); although any lexical item can be converted into a stative verb in Abaza, dynamic verbal roots of foreign origin are either non-existent or very rare. Russian verbal loans follow the light verb strategy, being inserted in the infinitive together with the verb *čpa* ‘do’ bearing the appropriate verbal morphology:

- (288) *dáže a-mašána-k^wa mešát’ jə-r-č’p-áj-t*
 even(R) DEF-car(R)-PL disturb(R) 3SG.N.ABS-3PL.ERG-do-PRS-DCL
 ‘They (cows) even create obstacles for cars.’ (T)

Among remarkable features of the Abaza lexicon the rich system of verbs denoting ‘going’ and ‘coming’ deserves mention. This system, not yet understood in full detail, includes a considerable number of verbal roots. The basic verb of going, used without locative or directional preverbs and unmarked with respect to deixis, is *-ca-*; deictically oriented motion is encoded by the root *-jə-* always occurring with one of the deictic preverbs: *ŋa-j-ra* CISL-go-MSD ‘come hither’ vs. *na-j-ra* TRAL-go-MSD ‘go thither’. Non-deictically oriented directed motion is expressed by the root *-ç-* ‘pass’, which can occur with locative preverbs, cf. *ŋa-l-ç-ra* CISL-LOC.ELAT-pass-MSD ‘come out of’. Finally, the root *-šəl-*, lexicalized with the translocative preverb, expresses entering houses and rooms (*na-šəl-ra* ‘go in’).

6. Sample text

Narrator: Fatima Bitovna Ajsanova (b. 1959), English teacher at Inzhich-Chukun school. Recorded in July 2017, length 00’56". Transcription and primary annotation: Aleksej Koševoy.

- (1) *sará s-χ’áz fatájma-p̄*
 1SG 1SG.IO-name Fatima-NPST.DCL
 ‘My name is Fatima.’
- (2) *sará j-š-á-s-h^wə-rnəs j-s-taqá-p̄*
 1SG 3SG.N.ABS-2PL.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-PURP 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-want-NPST.DCL
s-š-a-rə-pχ’a-ŋ^w-χa-z
 1SG.ABS-REL.MNR-3SG.N.IO-CAUS-learn-NAG-INC-PST.NFIN
 ‘I want to tell you how I became a teacher.’
- (3) *sará s-an-χ^wácə-z s-án l-aš’á*
 1SG 1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-little-PST.NFIN 1SG.IO-mother 3SG.F.IO-brother
aráj anglíska-la j-a-l-rə-pχ’əw-š-t h^wá
 PROX English(R)-INS 3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-3SG.F.ERG-CAUS-learn-IPF-FUT-DCL QUOT
j-ŋa-s-á-j-h^w-l-əw-n
 3SG.N.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-3SG.M.ERG-say-HAB-IPF-PST
 ‘When I was a child, my mother’s brother used to say (lit. to tell me) “She will teach English”.’
- (4) *sar-g’áj awáj s-qá j-ta-s-ḱá-n*
 1SG-ADD DIST 1SG.IO-head 3SG.N.ABS-LOC-1SG.ERG-hold-PST

- á-pχ'a-rta* *s-ʔá-z-a-pχ'-əw-z-g'əj*,
 DEF+3SG.N.IO-learn-NLOC 1SG.ABS-REL.LOC-LIM-3SG.N.IO-learn-IPF-PST.NFIN-ADD
s-an-ʕá-l-ga-g'əj *awəj* *ákʷə-m-kʷa*
 1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-LOC.ELAT-carry(AOR)-ADD DIST 3SG.N.IO+COP-NEG-CVB.NEG
za-k-g'əj *g's-taqá-mə-z-ʔ*
 one-INDF-ADD NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-want-NEG-PST.NFIN-DCL
 'I remembered it, and I also didn't want anything else while I attended school and after I had finished it.'
- (5) *á-pχ'a-rta* *s-an-ʕá-l-ga*
 DEF+3SG.N.IO-learn-NLOC 1SG.ABS-REL.TMP-CISL-LOC.ELAT-carry(AOR)
a-institut *s-cá-ʔ*
 DEF-college(R) 1SG.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL
 'When I finished school I went to college.'
- (6) *j-s-gʷapχa-za-wá-ta* *bzəj-ʒʒá* *jə-z-ba-wá-ta*
 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-like-INT-IPF-ADV good-INT 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-IPF-ADV
s-á-pχ'a-ʔ
 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-learn(AOR)-DCL
 'I liked to study very much.' (lit. I studied enjoying it greatly)
- (7) *á-pχ'a-rta* *s-ʕa-l-g-əjʂ'tára*
 DEF+3SG.N.IO-learn-NLOC 1SG.ABS-CISL-LOC.ELAT-carry-SINCE
skʷʂá *ʕʷə-n-ʕʷa-ʂ-əj* *ʂ-əj-χ* *çá-ʔ*
 year two-time-two-ten-ADD ten-ADD-three pass(AOR)-DCL
 'Since I had finished school, 53 years passed.' (This is an error, the speaker had in mind "33 years".)
- (8) *awəj.ʂ'tára-g'əj* *sará* *á-pχ'a-rta* *a-sabəj-kʷa* *ang'ləz-bəzʂa-la*
 DIST.since-ADD 1SG DEF+3SG.N.IO-learn-NLOC DEF-child-PL English-language-INS
j-a-s-rə-pχ'-əj-d
 3PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-learn-PRS-DCL
 'Since that time I have been teaching English to children at school.'
- (9) *sará* *a-sabəj-kʷa* *bzəj* *jə-z-b-əj-ʔ*
 1SG DEF-child-PL good 3PL.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
sə-n-χá-rta-g'əj *bzəj-ʒʒá* *jə-z-b-əj-ʔ*
 1SG.IO-LOC-work-NLOC-ADD good-INT 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-see-PRS-DCL
 'I like children, and I like my work very much, too.'

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Abbreviations

1 — 1st person; 2 — 2nd person; 3 — 3rd person; ABS — absolutive; ADD — additive; ADV — adverbial; AOR — aorist; ASSPL — associative plural; BEN — benefactive; CAR — caritative; CAUS — causative; CISL — cislocative; CLH — human numeral classifier; CLN — non-human numeral classifier; CNC — concessive; CNT — continuative; COM — comitative; COND — conditional; COP — copula; CVB — converb; DAT — dative applicative; DCL — de-

clarative; DEF — definite; DIR — directional; DIST — distal demonstrative; DISTR — distributive; DPRC — depreciative; DYN — dynamic; EACH — ‘each time’; ELAT — elative; EMP — emphatic; ERG — ergative; EXC — excessive; F — feminine; FREQ — frequentative; FUT — future; H — human; HAB — habitual; HES — hesitation marker; IAM — iamitive; IMP — imperative; INC — inceptive; INDF — indefinite; INFR — inferential; INS — instrumental; INT — intensive; INVOL — involuntative; IO — indirect object; IPF — imperfective; ITR — intransitive; JUD — judicative; JUST — ‘just’; LAT — lative; LIM — limitive; LOC — locative (preverb or suffix); M — masculine; MAL — malefactive; MED — medial demonstrative; MNR — manner; MSD — masdar; N — non-human; NAG — agent nominal; NEG — negation; NFIN — non-finite; NINS — instrument nominal; NLOC — locative nominal; NML — nominalization; NMNR — manner nominal; NONDUM — ‘not yet’; NPRO — nominal proform; NPST — nonpast; NTMP — temporal nominal; OPT — optative; PL — plural; PLH — human plural; PN — proper noun; POT — potential; PRM — permissive; PROX — proximal demonstrative; PRS — present; PST — past; PTCL — particle; PURP — purposive; Q — polar question; QADV — adverbial question; QH — human question; QN — non-human question; QUOT — quotative; R — Russian loan; RE — reffective; REAL — realis; REC — reciprocal; RED — reduplication; REL — relativizer; REP — repetitive; RES — resultative; RFL — reflexive; RSN — reason; SG — singular; SINCE — ‘since’; SML — similative; SNG — singulative; SOC — sociative; ST — stative; SUF — suffix; TMP — temporal; TRAL — translocative; UNIT — numeral unit marker; UNTIL — ‘until’.

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