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Multiple exponence in the Northwest Caucasian languages

Peter Arkadiev

Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Science & Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow

- One of the three indigenous language families of the Caucasus.
- Northwest Caucasian:
 - Circassian: West Circassian (Adyghe), Kabardian
 - Abkhaz-Abaza: Abkhaz, Abaza
 - Ubykh (extinct)

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- Northwest Caucasian:
 - Circassian: West Circassian (Adyghe), Kabardian
 - Abkhaz-Abaza: Abkhaz, Abaza
 - Ubykh (extinct)
- Arguably distantly related to the East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) family (Nikolaev & Starostin 1994).
- No discernible genealogical relationship with the South Caucasian (Kartvelian) family, pace Arnold Chikobava's school of "Ibero-Caucasian linguistics" in Georgia.



- West Caucasian peoples and languages have severely suffered during the Caucasian war (1763-1864) and the ensuing expulsions and resettlements.
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- West Caucasian peoples and languages have severely suffered during the Caucasian war (1763-1864) and the ensuing expulsions and resettlements.
- A number of varieties became extinct, and the whole linguistic landscape was disrupted.
- Currently spoken by ca. 700-800 thousand people in Abkhasia and the Russian republics of Adygeya, Karachaevo-Cherkessia and Kabardino-Balkaria, as well as neighbouring regions.
- A large Northwest Caucasian diaspora in Turkey and other countries of the Middle East, exact number of speakers unknown.

- Major typological traits (Hewitt 2005, Arkadiev & Lander 2020):
 - rich consonantism and empoverished vocalism;
 - weak distinction between major lexical classes;
 - head-marking and polysynthesis;
 - ergativity;
 - complex system of spatial marking in the verb.

- Abaza polysynthetic predicate (textual example, own fieldwork, 2017):
- (1) s-z-a-la-nəqwa-wa-zə-j-š'a-ṭ 1SG.ABS-POT-3SG.N.IO-PVB-pass-IPF-PVB-3SG.IO-seem(AOR)-DCL 'It seemed to him that I would be able to pass there.'

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ABS – absolutive IPF – imperfective AOR – aorist N – non-human DCL – declarative POT – potential IO – indirect object PVB – preverb
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Besleney Kabardian polysynthetic nominal (Yury Lander's fieldwork data; cf. Lander 2017 on the "nominal complex"):

(2) d-jə-[κ^wəneκ^w-bzəλκ^wəκe-daxe-dede]-m 1PL-POSS-neighbour-woman-beautiful-very-OBL 'our very beautiful lady-neighbour'

OBL – oblique case POSS – possessive marker

- Morphotactics:
 - a mixture of templatic and layered ordering (e.g. Korotkova & Lander 2010, Lander 2016 on West Circassian);
 - predominantly adheres to the "one meaning ~ one form" principle;
 - but with some notable exceptions, among which a number of instances of multiple exponence (ME).

- Multiple exponence in Northwest Caucasian:
 - virtually absent from the survey in Harris (2017) in sharp contrast to the data of the other two indigenous families of the Caucasus;
 - present in all languages of the family;
 - in both nominal and verbal domains;
 - examples of almost all types from Harris' typology;
 - affects a variety of inflectional and derivational features;
 - offers some interesting and non-trivial cases.

- Sources of data:
 - published materials on Abkhaz and Ubykh;
 - own fieldwork data and corpora on West Circassian, Kabardian and Abaza.

• ME of person and number of the possessor in co-compounds (Wälchli 2005; Harris 2017: 79-82):

West Circassian (AdCorp)

(3) w-jane-w-jate-xe-r
2SG-mother-2SG-father-PL-ABS
'your parents'

Abkhaz (Hewitt 1979: 218, transcription and glosses adapted)

(4) ja-ça-ja-napa
3SG.M-face-3SG.M-hand
'his face and hands'

- The two members of the co-compound separately inflected for the features of the possessor form a single morphosyntactic word:
 - shared suffixes of plural and case
- (3) w-jane-w-jate-xe-r

 2SG-mother-2SG-father-PL-ABS

 'your parents'

 West Circassian
 - coordination of nouns is otherwise overtly marked:
- (5) s-jade-re s-jane-re Kabardian
 1SG-father-COORD 1SG-mother-COORD
 'my father and my mother'

• ME of plural in West Circassian (cf. a discussion in Arkadiev 2014a,b and Harris 2017: 237-8):

'girl'	Sg	PI
Abs	pŝaŝe-r	pŝaŝe-xe-r
Obl	pŝaŝe-m	pŝaŝe-xe-m

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Obl	pŝaŝe-m	pŝaŝe-xe-m ~ pŝaŝe-me ~ pŝaŝe-xe-me

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 ME is optional and in free variation with cumulative and separative exponence

• ME of plural in Ubykh possessed nouns in the oblique case (Fenwick 2011: 49):

```
(6) a. \[ \epsilon - ew - 	ilde z'eg'e - ne \] 3SG-PL-thigh-OBL.PL 3SG-one-thigh 'its thighs' (one of her thighs' (ibid.) (Fenwick Ms: 27)
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More on ME of plurality in Ubykh in the section on verbs.

- Optional ME of oblique case in Kabardian demonstratives (cf. a discussion in Arkadiev 2014a):
- Standard Kabardian (Kumakhov ed. 2006: 119–120): in the plural only:

	'girl'		'that'		
	Sg	PI	Sg	PI	
Abs	pŝaŝe-r	pŝaŝe-xe-r	a-r	a-xe-r	
Obl	pŝaŝe-m	pŝaŝe-xe-m	a- <mark>bə</mark>	a-xe-m ~ a-bə-xe-m	

- Optional ME of oblique case in Kabardian demonstratives (cf. a discussion in Arkadiev 2014a):
- Besleney Kabardian (own fieldwork, 2011): both in the singular and in the plural:

	'girl'		'that'		
	Sg	PI	Sg	PI	
Abs	pŝaŝe-r	pŝaŝe-xe-r	a-r	a-xe-r	
Obl	pŝaŝe-m	pŝaŝe-xe-m	a-bə ~ a-bə-m	a-xe-m ~ a-bə-xe-m	

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	'girl'		'that'		
	Sg Pl		Sg	PI	
Abs	pŝaŝe-r	pŝaŝe-xe-r	a-r	a-xe-r	
Obl	pŝaŝe-m	pŝaŝe-xe-m	a-bə ~ a-bə-m	a-xe-m ~ a-bə-xe-m	

• Cf. the East Caucasian oblique stems (Kibrik 1991).

- ME of nominal plural in Abaza (Tabulova 1976: 47–48) and Abkhaz (Chirikba 2003: 25):
 - the default plural suffix $-k^w a$;
 - the human plural suffix -ca / -cwa;
 - the young animal suffix -ra.

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 - the default plural suffix $-k^w a$;
 - the human plural suffix -ca / -cwa;
 - the young animal suffix -ra.
- The default suffix can attach to the other two suffixes:
- (7) a. $j-aj\check{s}'-\hat{c}a-k^wa$ 'his brothers' Abaza b. $a-h^wa-ra-k^wa$ 'the lambs'

- The plural suffixes differ in their morphosyntactic scope:
 - the lexically restricted suffixes attach directly to the nominal stem;
 - the default suffix $-k^w a$ is a kind of edge inflection that occurs to the right of postnominal adjectival modifiers at the very end of the nominal complex.

```
Abaza (textual examples)
(8) [taba-dəw]-kwa
pan-big-PL
'big pans'
```

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- (8) [taba-dəw]-kwa pan-big-PL 'big pans'
- (9) a. α-[bəzŝadərəς^w-ĉa-dəw]-k^wa

 DEF-linguist-HPL-big-PL

 'the great linguists'
 - b. a-[ʒa-ra-maǯ'an-χ^wəc]-k^wa
 DEF-goat.kid-AnPL-naughty-small-PL
 'the small naughty goat's kids'

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- The plural suffixes differ in their morphosyntactic scope:
 - thus, ME of the reinforcement type actually arises due to the concord-like co-occurrence of stem-based and phrase-based inflectional markers;
 - a case of "periodic" ME with a null "carrier"?

ME in the verbal domain

- Multiple exponence in verbal morphology seems to be lacking in the Circassian languages.
- By contrast, Abkhaz, Abaza and Ubykh show a considerable number of different cases of ME in their verbs.

ME in the verbal domain

The schematic verbal template (Arkadiev & Lander 2020: 404)

	prefixes				root	suffixes				
argument structure zone pre-stem elements		stem (Σ) endings								
absolu- tive	subor- dinators	applicatives and indirect objects	erga- tive	preradical negation	causative	root	เมากก	temporal operators	negation	illocutionary operators or subordinators
1	1	>1	1	1	1 or 2	may be complex	>1	>1	1	>1

ME in the verbal domain (1)

 Abkhaz periodic ME in reflexive forms (Chirikba 2003: 38, transcription and glossing adapted):

```
(10) l-ča-l-š'-wa-jţ

3SG.F-RFL-3SG.F.ERG-kill-IPF-DCL

'she is killing herself'
```

ME in the verbal domain (1)

 Abkhaz periodic ME in reflexive forms (Chirikba 2003: 38, transcription and glossing adapted):

```
(10) I-čə-I-š'-wa-jţ

3SG.F-RFL-3SG.F.ERG-kill-IPF-DCL

'she is killing herself'
```

 Cf. the cognate construction in Abaza without ME (Arkadiev & Durneva, to appear):

```
(11) čə-l-33-əj-ṭ
RFL-3SG.F.ERG-wash-PRS-DCL
'She is washing herself.'
```

ME in the verbal domain (1)

 The Abkhaz and Abaza reflexive forms clearly originate from incorporation of an independent reflexive element (probably a body-part noun) with a possessor prefix doubling the features of the ergative agent, cf. Abaza:

```
(12) s-qa sə-r-qwanč'-əj-ṭ

1SG-head 1SG.ERG-CAUS-guilty-PRS-DCL

'I accuse myself.' (Arkadiev & Durneva, to appear)
```

ME in the verbal domain (2.1)

• Abaza (and Bzyp Abkhaz) ME of negation in declarative and polar interrogative forms (cf. Lomtatidze et al. 1989: 111–2).

'come', 3SG.H.ABS	non-finite	declarative
Present	d-ʕa- <mark>mə</mark> -j-wa	d- <mark>g′</mark> -ʕa-j-wa- <mark>m</mark>
Imperfect	d-ʕa- <mark>mə</mark> -j-wa-z	d- <mark>g'</mark> -ʕa- <mark>mə</mark> -j-wa-z-ṭ
Aorist	d-ʕa- <mark>mə</mark> -j	d- <mark>g'</mark> -ʕa- <mark>mə</mark> -j-ṭ
Future I	d-ʕa- <mark>mə</mark> -j-wa-š	d- <mark>g′</mark> -ʕa-j-wa-šə- <mark>m</mark>

• Cf. Standard Abkhaz (Chirikba 2003: 44).

'carry', 3PL.ERG>3SG.H.ABS	non-finite	declarative
Present	jə-rə- <mark>m</mark> -ga-wa	də-r-ga-wa- <mark>m</mark>
Imperfect	jə-rə- <mark>m</mark> -ga-wa-z	də-r-ga-wa- <mark>mə</mark> -z-ṭ
Aorist	jə-rə- <mark>m</mark> -ga	d-rə- <mark>m</mark> -ga-jṭ
Future I	jə-rə- <mark>m</mark> -ga-ša	də-r-ga-ša- <mark>m</mark>

 The prefix g'(a)- in declarative and polar interrogative negative forms is originally an emphatic additive element (Gvanceladze 2010, Pazov 2019), cf. its (archaic) use in nonnegated coordinated verbs:

```
(13) a-š'qa d-g'əj-qalə-n Abaza
DEF-mountain 3SG.H.ABS-ADD-go.up-PST
d-g'əj-γα-tal-χ-d
3SG.H.ABS-ADD-CSL-go.down-RE(AOR)-DCL
'He both climbed the mountain and descended back.'
(Pazov 2019: 221)
```

ADD – additive, CSL – cislocative, H – human, RE – refactive

- A clear case of reinforcement in accordance with the socalled Jespersen's cycle (Jespersen 1917, van Gelderen 2008), often leading to double negation in the languages of the world (cf. Dryer 2013).
- Did not however affect all verbal forms in Abaza, nondeclarative and non-finite forms retaining the more archaic pattern.

 A special case of ME of negation in both Abaza and Abkhaz: prohibitive forms (cf. Gvanceladze 2010: 31-32):

```
(14) \hat{s}^w \partial - m - ca - n
2PL.ABS-NEG-go-NEG.IMP
'(you all) don't go!'
```

Abkhaz

• The etymology of the prohibitive suffix -n is unclear, however, Gvanceladze (2010: 32) gives the following example from earlier records of some varieties of Abaza:

```
(15) s-wə-m-šə-m
1SG.ABS-2SG.M.ERG-NEG-kill(IMP)-NEG
'Don't kill me!'
```

- If (15) is archaic, then the prohibitive -n originates from the ordinary negative -m by dissimilation.
- In this case the prohibitive originally involved doubling of the negative affix.

• ME of negation in negated perfect/iamitive ("nondum", 'not yet', Veselinova & Devos 2021) forms in Abaza and Abkhaz (cf. Klyagina & Panova 2019 on phasal polarity in Abaza):

Abkhaz (Chirikba 2003: 44)

- (16) a. də-r-ga-χ'a-jṭ 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-carry-PRF-DCL 'They have taken him/her.'
 - b. də-rə-m-ga-c-ṭ 3SG.H.ABS-3PL.ERG-NEG-carry-PRF.NEG-DCL 'They haven't taken him/her yet.'

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- A borderline case?

• ME of negation in special negative converbs with the suffix $-k^{w}a$ in Abaza and Abkhaz:

Abaza (textual example)

(17) də-m-psá-s-ķ^wa

3SG.H.ABS-NEG-die-PRF.NEG-CVB.NEG

'while he was still alive', lit. 'when he had not died yet'

• ME of negation in special negative converbs with the suffix $-k^{w}a$ in Abaza and Abkhaz:

Abaza (textual example)

```
(17) də-m-psá-s-kwa
3SG.H.ABS-NEG-die-PRF.NEG-CVB.NEG
'while he was still alive', lit. 'when he had not died yet'
```

Another borderline case?

 Abaza: periodic ME of imperfective aspect in continuative forms (Tabulova 1976: 207; Panova 2021: 48-52):

```
(18) a. də-n.χ-əw-n3SG.H.ABS-work-IPF-PST'S/he was working.' (simple Imperfect)
```

```
    b. də-n.χα-wα-rkw-əw-n
    3SG.H.ABS-work-IPF-CNT-IPF-PST
    'S/he was still working.' (continuative Imperfect)
```

• The imperfective suffix (optionally) precedes the continuative in all forms:

```
(19) a. də-n.χα-wα-rkw-əj-ṭ
3SG.H.ABS-work-IPF-CNT-PRS-DCL
'S/he is still working.' (continuative present)
b. də-n.χ-əj-ṭ
3SG.H.ABS-work-PRS-DCL
'S/he is still working.' (simple present)
```

- The second occurrence of the imperfective suffix is a regular part of the Imperfect form.
- The first part must be a remnant of the former analytic construction with an auxiliary (> continuative) attaching to the lexical verb.
- NB The "bare" imperfective is a regular non-finite form in Abaza:
- (20) h-ʒca-wá h-á-la-ga-ṭ 1PL.ABS-swim-IPF 1PL.ABS-3SG.N.IO-PVB-carry(AOR)-DCL 'We started swimming.' (textual example)

- ME of number of the absolutive argument in Ubykh (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 161–162; Smeets 1997; Fenwick 2011: 135–136).
- Involves numerous elements:
 - absolutive cross-reference prefixes;
 - plural suffixes -a and -n(e);
 - Retrospective suffixes -jt SG $\sim -j\lambda(e)$ PL;
 - causative prefixes da- SG ~ ke- PL;
 - root suppletion with a considerable number of verbs.

• Ubykh stative verbs (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 86) in the present tense:

'be good'	Sg Abs	PI Abs
1	sə-če	š'a-če-n
2	wə-če	ŝ ^w a-če-n
3	(a)-če	a-če-n

• Ubykh dynamic intransitive verbs (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 86) in the present tense:

'go'	Sg Abs	Pl Abs
1	s-ķ'e-n	<u>š'-ķ'-a-n</u>
2	w-ķ'e-n	ŝ ^w -ķ'- a -n
3	(a)-ķ'e-n	a-ķ'-a-n

• Ubykh dynamic transitive verbs (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 88) in the present tense, 3 plural ergative subject:

'see'	Sg Abs	Pl Abs
1	s-a-bje-n	<mark>š'</mark> -a-bj- <mark>a</mark> -n
2	w-a-bje-n	ŝ ^w -a-bj- <mark>a</mark> -n
3	a-bje-n	a-bj- <mark>a</mark> -n

• Ubykh dynamic transitive verbs (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 148) in different tenses, 1Sg ergative subject:

'see'	2Sg Abs	2Pl Abs
Present	wə-z-bje-n	ŝ ^w ∂-z-bj- <mark>a</mark> -n
Imperfect	wə-z-bje-n- <mark>ejţ</mark>	ŝ ^w ə-z-bj- <mark>a</mark> -n- <mark>ejλ</mark>
Future I	wə-z-bje-w	ŝ ^w ∂-z-bje- n -ew
Preterite	wə-z-bje-qe	ŝ ^w ∂-z-bje-ġe-n
Pluperfect	wə-z-bje-qe-jţ	ŝ ^w ə-z-bje-qe-jλ
Future-in-the-Past	wə-z-bje-wə- <mark>jţ</mark>	ŝ ^w ə-z-bje-n-ewə-jλ

- Ubykh causatives from intransitive verbs (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 176), Erg = Causer, Abs = Causee:
- (20) a. wə-sə-m-də-ķ'e-n
 2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-NEG-CAUS.SG-go-PRS
 'I don't make you go.'
 - b. \$\frac{\hat{s}^w}{\para} s\para m \karack' a n \\
 2PL.ABS-1SG.ERG-NEG-CAUS.PL-go-PL-PRS 'I don't make you all go.'

- Ubykh causatives from transitive verbs (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 176), Erg= Causer, Abs = object, IO = Causee:
- (21) a. *a-w-sə-m-də-bje-n*3.ABS-2SG.IO-1SG.ERG-NEG-CAUS.SG-see-PRS
 'I don't show it to you.'
 - b. a-w-sə-m-ka-bj-a-n
 3.ABS-2SG.IO-1SG.ERG-NEG-CAUS.PL-go-PL-PRS
 'I don't show them to you.'

• Ubykh suppletive verbs (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 38-48; Fenwick 2011: 135):

```
(22) a. sə-g'ə-wə-n

1SG.ABS-LOC-enter.SG-PRS

'I go in.'

b. š'ə-g'ə-k'-a-n

1PL.ABS-LOC-enter.PL-PL-PRS

'We go in.' (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 42)
```

• Ubykh complex verb stems with suppletive components (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 38-48):

```
(23) a. sə-ṭwe.sə-n
1SG.ABS-sit.down.SG-PRS
'I sit down.'
```

```
b. š'a-ţwe.žw-a-n

1PL.ABS-sit.down.PL-PL-PRS

'We sit down.' (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 41)
```

 A single verb form can contain multiple loci of number marking (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 173, 165):

```
(24) a. <u>š'a-w-ke-q</u>we.<u>xe-q</u>e-n
1PL.ABS-2SG.ERG-CAUS.PL-stop.PL-PST-PL
'You (sg) made us stop.'
```

b. š'-ķ'-a-ne-jλe-me
 1PL.ABS-go-PL-DYN-RETRO.PL-NEG
 'We were not doing.'

DYN – dymanic marker RETRO – retrospective marker

- Absolutive number marking in Ubykh is not completely redundant:
 - nouns do not distinguish number in the absolutive;
 - 3rd person absolutive prefixes in most cases do not distinguish number, either:

```
(25) a. a-\hat{c}^w a-j-k'e-n

DEF-ox 3.ABS-CSL-go-PRS

'The ox is coming.' (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 162)

b. a-\hat{c}^w a-j-k'-a-n

DEF-ox 3.ABS-CSL-go-PL-PRS

'The oxen are coming.' (ibid.)
```

• The system is further complicated by the tendency, especially in the speech of Tevfik Esenç, the last speaker of Ubykh, to use the plural suffixes whenever the verb contained a 2nd plural affix in any argument position, not just the absolutive (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 162; Smeets 1997; Fenwick 2011: 101-102).

 ME of plural with 2Pl ergative arguments (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 88):

```
(26) a. wə-ž'-bje-n
2SG.ABS-1PL.ERG-see-PRS
'We see you (sg).'
```

```
b. sə-<del>2</del>w-bj-a-n
1SG.ABS-2PL.ERG-see-PL-PRS
'You (pl) see me.'
```

 ME of plural with 2Pl indirect object arguments (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 88):

```
    (26) a. wa-ž'-κe-χ<sup>w</sup>eč'e-n
    2SG.ABS-1PL.IO-LOC-search-PRS
    'You (sg) are looking for us.'
```

```
    b. sə-²w-ʁe-χweč'-a-n
    1SG.ABS-2PL.IO-LOC-search-PL-PRS
    'I am looking for you (pl).'
```

• 2PL does not trigger the plural forms of the causative prefix and of suppletive verbal roots:

```
(27) a-\hat{s}^w \partial -m-d\partial -k'e-ne-be \check{s}'-ew<m\partial >t 3.ABS-2PL.ERG-NEG-CAUS.SG-go-PL-COND become-FUT<NEG> 'You (pl) must send it (there).' (Fenwick 2011: 188)
```

```
(28) š<sup>w</sup>we s<sup>w</sup>-qa-ma-ʁa-ne-ŝ?
matter 2PL.IO-LOC-NEG-be.hanging.SG-PL-Q
'Have you (pl) no work?' (Fenwick 2011: 133)
```

COND – conditional, Q – question marker

 Variation with the retrospective suffixes (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 162; Fenwick 2011: 123):

```
(29) a. \dot{p}\dot{\xi}'e-n\partial s\partial -\hat{s}^w-\chi'e-\dot{s}'-\dot{q}e-j\lambda guest-ADV 1SG.ABS-2PL.IO-BEN-be-PST-RETRO.PL b. \dot{p}\dot{\xi}'e-n\partial s\partial -\hat{s}^w-\chi'e-\dot{s}'-\dot{q}e-ne-jt guest-ADV 1SG.ABS-2PL.IO-BEN-be-PST-PL-RETRO.SG a=b 'I had been your guest.'
```

ADV – adverbial marker, BEN – benefactive applicative

 Variation with the retrospective suffixes (Dumézil & Esenç 1975: 162; Fenwick 2011: 123):

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(29) a. \dot{p}\dot{\xi}'e-n\partial s\partial -\hat{s}^w-\chi'e-\dot{s}'-\dot{q}e-j\lambda guest-ADV 1SG.ABS-2PL.IO-BEN-be-PST-RETRO.PL b. \dot{p}\dot{\xi}'e-n\partial s\partial -\hat{s}^w-\chi'e-\dot{s}'-\dot{q}e-ne-jt guest-ADV 1SG.ABS-2PL.IO-BEN-be-PST-PL-RETRO.SG a=b 'I had been your guest.'
```

ME of number of two different arguments

ADV – adverbial marker, BEN – benefactive applicative

- ME of number in Ubykh verbs technically falls under the label of "accidental" ME according to Harris (2017: 64) but is in fact a highly systematic and pervasive feature of Ubykh morphology – even if unique to the family.
- NB subject to considerable variation observed in the extant records of the language (Smeets 1997):
 - across locations and speakers;
 - in time.

- An effect of language death?
- Smeets (1997: 59):

"Between 1955 and 1975 rapid changes took place in the marking of plurality in Ubykh predicates, or, shall we say, in the treatment by Tevfik Esenç of the marking of plurality in predicates. <...> At the same time, to all appearances, a meaningful system of optionalities was replaced by the rigid and automatic presence of pluralizing suffixes, mostly in forms in which the indication of plurality was largely or totally redundant."

- A number of patterns of apparently multiple marking of derivational functions.
- Although Caballero & Harris (2012: 165) and Harris (2017: 8) explicitly include derivational categories into the domain of ME, such cases may be more problematic than those concerning inflectional features.

• Abaza: ME of repetitive (Panova 2018: 6-7; 2019):

```
(30) a. d-ata-sa.j-χ-ṭ
3SG.H.ABS-REP-come-RE(AOR)-DCL
'S/he came again.' repetitive
```

- P. ??d-ata-ſa.j-ṭ
 SG.H.ABS-REP-come-(AOR)-DCL
 'S/he came again.' admitted only in certain cases and in certain varieties
- c. d-ſa.j-χ-ṭ
 3SG.H.ABS-come-RE(AOR)-DCL
 'S/he came back.' refactive

- The refactive (Stoynova 2013) is cross-linguistic derivational category expressing such meanings as reditive ('back'), restitutive, repetitive and some others.
- Available in all Northwest Caucasian languages.
- Highly polysemous in Abaza (Panova 2018: 3-6; 2019) and Abkhaz (Avidzba 1968).

• The Abaza refactive can express the repetitive meaning alone (31a), but is usually reinforced by the repetitive prefix ata- (31b) in this function:

```
(31) a. a-\hat{s} j-p.\check{c}\partial-\chi-\dot{t}
DEF-door 3SG.N.ABS-break-RE(AOR)-DCL
b. a-\hat{s} j-ata-p.\check{c}\partial-\chi-\dot{t}
DEF-door 3SG.N.ABS-REP-break-RE(AOR)-DCL
'The door broke again.' (Panova 2018: 3)
```

- In Abkhaz, the cognate prefix and suffix can express the repetitive either alone or in combination (Spruit 1986: 136):
- (32) a. d-ajta-ca-jṭ 3SG.H.ABS-REP-go(AOR)-DCL
 - b. $d-ca-\chi-t$ 3SG.H.ABS-go-RE(AOR)-DCL
 - c. d-ajta-ca-χ-ṭ
 3SG.H.ABS-REP-go-RE(AOR)-DCL
 a=b=c 'S/he went once more.'

- According to Panova (2019), the expression of repetitive in Abaza involves co-occurrence of a "light" and a "heavy" 'again'-markers (Wälchli 2006), which by itself is fairly common cross-linguistically.
- What makes the Abaza (and Abkhaz) situation special is the fact that the "heavy" refactive marker is also an affix and not a free-standing word.

• In all NWC languages, refactive suffixes are (optionally, but frequently) used in reflexive and reciprocal constructions (again a cross-linguistically common pattern, see Stoynova 2009, 2010), see e.g. Letuchiy (2007), Arkadiev & Letuchiy (2010: 504-7) on West Circassian.

- West Circassian (Letuchiy 2007: 781):
- (33) a. s-jə-ʁ^wəneʁ^wə-m a-r ə-wəč̞'ə-ʁ 1SG-POSS-neighbour-OBL DEM-ABS 3SG.ERG-kill-PST 'My neighbour killed him.'
 - b. s-jə-ʁ^wəneʁ^wə-m z-jə-wəḉ'ə-ž́'ə-ʁ 1SG-POSS-neighbour-OBL RFL.ABS-3SG.ERG-kill-RE-PST 'My neighbour killed himself.'

- West Circassian (Letuchiy 2007: 785):
- (34) a. *č'ale-m pŝaŝe-r j-e-λeʁ^wə*boy-OBL girl-ABS 3SG.ERG-DYN-see
 'The boy sees the girl.'
 - b. zeč'e cəf-xe-r zer-e-λeʁ^wə-ž'ə-x all man-PL-ABS REC.ERG-DYN-see-RE-PL 'All the people see each other.'

• West Circassian (Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2010: 505):

```
(35) a. a-r k^we-\check{z}'\partial-ke

DEM-ABS go-RE-PST

'He went back.'

b. p\check{c}e-r q^w\partial te-\check{z}'\partial-ke

door-ABS break-RE-PST

'The door broke again.'
```

- Should this be considered a case of ME of reflexive and reciprocal?
- Probably not:
 - refactive suffixes do not express reflexivity/reciprocity by themselves;
 - the reditive 'back' meaning of the refactive is apparent in such constructions;
 - the refactive also appears with non-morphological reflexives.

 Refactive with a non-morphological reflexive in Abaza (Arkadiev & Durneva, to appear):

```
(36) a. j-an də-l-c-qra\(\gamma\)-i, 3SG.M-mother 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.F.IO-COM-help-PRS-DCL 'He helps his mother.'
```

```
b. j-qa d-a-c-qra a-χ-əj-ṭ
3SG.M-head 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-COM-help-RE-PRS-DCL
'He helps himself.'
```

COM – comitative applicative

ME of elative orientation in Abaza and Abkhaz.
 Abaza

- (36) a. d-a-la-lew
 - b. $d-a-l-k^w ar-fa-k$ 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC:mass.ELAT-crawl-ELAT(AOR)-DCL 'He crawled out of it.' (Klychev 1972: 84)

- NWC languages have rich and complex systems of spatial marking in the verb (see Arkadiev & Lander 2020: 412-415 for an overview and references):
 - locative prefixes (preverbs), ca. 150 in Abaza and Abkhaz;
 - directional suffixes (lative vs. elative).

- Many locative preverbs in Abkhaz and Abaza have basic forms in -a and elative forms in -a/zero (Klychev 1994, Avidzba 2017):
- (37) a. waça-bləg'a-ra 'roll into something' b. waç-bləg'a-ra 'roll out of something' (Klychev 1995: 238, 246)

- Most verbs combine with elative forms of preverbs directly, but some require the elative suffix α as well.
- In some cases, the suffix is optional (Klychev 1972: 82-88):

```
(38) j-qə-j-ʁ<sup>w</sup>əĉ(-ʕa)-ṭ
3SG.N.ABS-LOC:top.ELAT-3SG.M.ERG-cut.off(-ELAT)(AOR)-DCL
'He cut it off from above.' (ibid.: 84)
```

 By contrast, the elative suffix is never used alone without an appropriate preverb, apart from a small number of lexicalised instances (Klychev 1972: 80-82):

```
(39) a. p\check{s}\hat{s}a 'search' < p\check{s}a 'look' + ELAT
```

- b. χ^{w} 'buy' $< \chi^{w}$ 'take' + ELAT
- c. c 'ask' < ?? + ELAT

- Northwest Caucasian languages actually present a rich and diverse set of ME patterns:
 - in both nouns and verbs;
 - in both inflection and derivation;
 - from all classes of Harris (2017)'s typology but one.

type	example
periodic	person in co-compounds; person in Abkhaz reflexive; Abaza imperfective in continuative forms
reinforcement	Abaza and Abkhaz nominal plural; Kabardian oblique case; Abaza negation; Abaza repetitive; Abaza and Abkhaz elative
accidental	West Circassian and Ubykh oblique plural; Ubykh verbal number; Abaza nondum and negative converb

- ME in Northwest Caucasian languages shows considerable variation:
 - cross-linguistic, even between closely-related varieties (Abkhaz vs. Abaza, West Circassian vs. Kabardian etc.);
 - inter-linguistic, e.g. optionality of many ME patterns.

- While some examples of ME found in Northwest Caucasian languages may seem "trivial" from a cross-linguistic perspective, others are not:
 - a novel source of periodic ME (incorporated nominal reflexives);
 - ME of rare categories (elative, repetitive);
 - ME of the nominal plural in Abaza and Abkhaz looks like a case of reinforcement but in fact has morphosyntactic underpinnings pointing towards a different analysis;
 - the exuberant ME of number in Ubykh verbs is probably a result of (sub)conscious "self-standardisation" effected by the last fluent speaker of a dying language.



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