

Workshop “Verbal complex predicates in a theoretical and cross-linguistic perspective”
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Are there complex predicates formed by reduplication? Evidence from Circassian languages

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Introduction

- Reduplication is usually not mentioned among the common means of complex predicate formation.
- Likewise, the notion “complex predicate” is not evoked in the literature on reduplication, e.g. Li & Ponsford (2019).
- Possible reason: reduplication is often understood as a morpho(phono)logical operation within the boundaries of a word.
- Not everyone agrees (e.g. Stolz & Levkovich 2018, Mattiola & Masini 2022).
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Malto (Dravidian; Puttaswamy 2018: 95-97)

- (1) *ad* *lap-n-i* *lap-n-i-di* *avd-a:d*
3SG.NM eat-PRS-SIM eat-PRS-3SG.NM-SIM speak-3SG.NM
'She spoke while eating.' (simultaneity)
- (2) *hani* *ha:h-in* *mo-oṭi* *ca:ng-ok* *ṭoṭ-a:~ṭoṭ-a:* *ʔarg-i:*
then 3SG.M-ACC eat-INF perch-DAT jump-CP~jump-CP climb-3SG.NM
'Then, it jumped again and again and climbed the shelter to eat him.'
(iterativity)

CP – conjunctive participle, M – masculine, NM – non-masculine, SIM – simultaneity marker

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- I describe a number of constructions in Circassian languages (Northwest Caucasian) that involve (partial) reduplication of fully-fledged verbal forms.

West Circassian (WCCorp)

(3) *sə-xe-pəž'~sə-xe-pəž'-jə* *sə-q-je-xə-ž'ə-ʁ*
1SG.ABS-LOC-poke~1SG.ABS-LOC-poke-ADD 1SG.ABS-CSL-DAT-descend-RE-PST
'I poked it several times and got down.'

- I argue that such constructions can be considered VCPs, whose both components are based on the same lexical verb, i.e. R(eduplicated)VCPs.

ABS – absolutive, ADD – additive, CSL – cislocative, DAT – dative applicative, LOC – locative preverb, RE – refactive

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Circassian languages

- Northwest Caucasian family
- Circassian branch: West Circassian (a.k.a. Adyghe) and Kabardian (East Circassian)
- Considerable dialectal differentiation
- Republics of Adygea, Karachaevo-Cherkessia and Kabardino-Balkaria in Russia
- Ca. 100.000 speakers of West Circassian, ca. 500.000 speakers of Kabardian in Russia
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- Major typological traits (Hewitt 2005, Arkadiev & Lander 2020):
 - rich consonantism and impoverished vocalism
 - weak distinction between major lexical classes
 - head-marking and polysynthesis
 - ergativity
 - complex system of spatial marking in the verb
 - rich system of auxiliary verb constructions

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Including VCPs, see
Arkadiev (to appear)

Circassian languages

- The Circassian verbal template

prefixes									root	suffixes				
argument structure zone						pre-stem elements			stem				endings	
-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
absolute	deictic markers	subordinators	applicatives	dative	ergative	jussive	dynamivity	negation	causative	root	transitivity, directionals	event operators	plural	negation, subordinators

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preradical negation

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Circassian languages

- Auxiliary-verb constructions

Besleney Kabardian (BesCorp)

- (4) *ž'-a-ʔe* *max^wek^w-č'e wə-γəč'e* *mə-χ^wə-n-əw*
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'It is said that one is not allowed to do washing on Thursdays.'
- (5) *jə-fjede* *q̇-w-jə-tə-n-əw* *š'ə.t*
POSS-profit CSL-2SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-MOD-ADV stand
'It must give you profit.'

ABS – absolutive, ADV – adverbial, ANTIP – antipassive, CSL – cislocative, ERG – ergative, IO – indirect object, MOD – modal form, POSS – possessive

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Lexical verb in the
"bare stem" form

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Lexical verb in an overtly marked non-finite form

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Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- Never full reduplication, i.e. V1 and V2 always show formal differences.
- (Almost) never used as independent predicates, but most commonly as verbal adverbs or heads of converbial clauses, like RVCPs in Malto.
- Obligatory sharing of arguments and most operators.
- Strict boundaries between subtypes cannot always be drawn.

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- Parameters of variation:
 - form of V1 (bare stem or overt marking);
 - type of non-finite marking on V2 (if any);
 - extra morphology in V1 and/or V2 (apart from endings);
 - semantics;
 - lexical input – some constructions are clearly more productive than others, but I do not have conclusive data on it.

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Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- V1 = bare stem

West Circassian (WCCorp)

(6) *tə-qə-ŝ^w-a-ẓ̌~tə-qə-ŝ^w-a-ẓ̌-jə*, [...] *tə-qə-ŝ^w-fe-k^wa-ɸ.*
1PL.ABS-CSL-2PL.IO-DAT-wait~1PL.ABS-CSL-2PL.IO-DAT-wait-ADD 1PL.ABS-CSL-2PL.IO-BEN-go-PST
'We waited for you for some time ... and came to you (ourselves).'

ADD – additive, BEN – benefactive, CSL – cislocative, DAT – dative applicative

Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- V1 = overtly-marked non-finite form

Besleney Kabardian (BesCorp): conditional converb

(7) *q̇ə-ž'-a-ʔe-me~q̇ə-ž'-a-ʔ-əw-re* *ja-č'ewəxə-m*
CSL-PVB-3PL.ERG-say-COND~CSL-PVB-3PL.ERG-say-ADV-CVB POSS-end-OBL
mašjane zeč'e-r-ja zerə-x^w.je-r q̇ə-ž'-a-ʔ-a
car all-ABS-ADD FCT-want-ABS CSL-PVB-3PL.ERG-say-PST
'they talked for a long time and finally they said that they all wanted a car'

ADV – adverbial, COND – conditional, FCT – factive subordinator, OBL – oblique case, PVB – preverb,

Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- V2 with the additive marker *-ja* (perhaps the most widespread type):

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- (6) *tə-qə-ŝ^w-a-ž~tə-qə-ŝ^w-a-ž-ja*, [...] *tə-qə-ŝ^w-fe-k^wa-ɸ.*
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Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- V2 with the adverbial marker (can be followed by a further non-finite ending in Kabardian, cf. (7) above):

West Circassian (WcCorp)

- (8) *alle, qə-z-ne-s~qə-z-ne-mə-s-ew,*
PN CSL-1SG.IO-LOC-reach~CSL-1SG.IO-LOC-NEG-reach-ADV
sa-wəž jə-t-ew qə-z-d-e-pšə
1SG.PP-after LOC-stand-ADV CSL-1SG.IO-COM-DYN-crawl
'Alla, *barely touching me*, is crawling behind me.'

COM – comitative applicative, DYN – dynamic prefix, LOC – locative preverb, PN – proper name, PP – postpositional series of personal indexes

Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- No non-finite marking on either verb; possible but apparently rare:

Standard Kabardian (Bersirov 2001: 217)

(9) *ŝež'aB^we* *χ^w-a~mə-χ^w-a* *žə-s-ʔ-ew*
noon become-PST~NEG-become-PST PVB-1SG.ERG-say-ADV
'While I was thinking (lit. saying) whether it was already noon or not...'

Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- Presence of extra morphology (further) distinguishing V1 and V2 correlates with the semantics of the overall construction:
 - identical stems of V1 and V2: longer or shorter duration of the event

West Circassian (WCCorp)

(6) *tə-qə-ŝ^w-a-ž~tə-qə-ŝ^w-a-ž-jə*, [...] *tə-qə-ŝ^w-fe-ḵ^wa-ʁ.*
1PL.ABS-CSL-2PL.IO-DAT-wait~1PL.ABS-CSL-2PL.IO-DAT-wait-ADD 1PL.ABS-CSL-2PL.IO-BEN-go-PST
'We waited for you for some time ... and came to you (ourselves).'

ADD – additive, BEN – benefactive, CSL – cislocative, DAT – dative applicative

Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- Presence of extra morphology (further) distinguishing V1 and V2 correlates with the semantics of the overall construction:
 - identical stems of V1 and V2: longer or shorter duration of the event

West Circassian (WCCorp)

- (6) *tə-qə-ŝ^w-a-ž~tə-qə-ŝ^w-a-ž-jə*, [...] *tə-qə-ŝ^w-fe-k^wa-ɸ.*
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- Presence of extra morphology (further) distinguishing V1 and V2 correlates with the semantics of the overall construction:
 - cislocative ‘hither’ and refractive ‘backwards’ markers in either V1 or V2: motion in different or opposite directions

Besleney Kabardian (BesCorp): cislocative on V1, refractive on V2

(10) *q̇ə-də.r-je-k̇^we-č̇'-me~də.r-je-k̇^we-č̇'ə-ž̇'-əw-re*

CSL-LOC-DAT-go-exit-COND~LOC-DAT-go-exit-RE-ADV-CVB

‘he **walked to and fro** around (the store) for some time, and then...’

CSL – cislocative, DAT – dative applicative, LOC – locative applicative, RE – refractive

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West Circassian (Bersirov 2001: 216): both cislocative and refractive on V2

(11) *z-jə-pλə-h~zə-q-jə-pλə-ha-ž'-jə*

RFL.ABS-3SG.ERG-look-carry~RFL.ABS-**CSL**-3SG.ERG-look-carry-**RE**-ADD

‘**She looked around herself** and [shouted to the opposite bank of the river].’

CSL – cislocative, RE – refractive, RFL – reflexive

Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- Presence of extra morphology (further) distinguishing V1 and V2 correlates with the semantics of the overall construction:
 - negation on V2: uncertainty or irrelevance as to the (non-)occurrence of the event

West Circassian (WCCorp)

- (12) *qə-d-je-z-ke-šte-š't-jə~qə-d-je-zə-mə-ke-šte-š't-jə*
CSL-COM-DAT-REL.ERG-CAUS-take-FUT-ADD~CSL-COM-DAT-REL.ERG-NEG-CAUS-take-FUT-ADD
pə-mə-λ-ew wətag^wə-m jə-č'ə-ž'ə-β
LOC-NEG-lie-ADV square-OBL LOC-exit-RE-PST
'He left the square without worrying *whether anyone would support him or not.*'

COM – comitative applicative, DAT – dative applicative, LOC – locative preverb, OBL – oblique case, REL – relativiser

Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- Presence of extra morphology (further) distinguishing V1 and V2 correlates with the semantics of the overall construction:
 - negation on V2: uncertainty or irrelevance as to the (non-)occurrence of the event
 - with some verbs ‘barely V’, cf. (8):

West Circassian (WCCorp)

- (8) *alle, qə-z-ne-s~qə-z-ne-mə-s-ew,*
PN CSL-1SG.IO-LOC-reach~CSL-1SG.IO-LOC-NEG-reach-ADV
sa-wəž jə-t-ew qə-z-d-e-pšə
1SG.PP-after LOC-stand-ADV CSL-1SG.IO-COM-DYN-crawl
‘Alla, *barely touching me* (lit. touch-not-touch), is crawling behind me.’

DYN – dynamic prefix, PN – proper name, PP – postpositional series of personal indexes

Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- Morphosyntactic integration of RVCPs:
 - V1 and V2 are inseparable
 - obligatory sharing of all arguments
 - obligatory sharing of tense and mood (if available)
 - NB sharing is realised by V1 and V2 bearing identical morphology related to person, valency and TAM
 - subordination is usually expressed by endings on V2 only (although V1 can sometimes either double these endings (12) or have its own endings)
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Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- Suffixes with scope over the whole RVCP on V2 only:

West Circassian (WCCorp): simulative and plural

(13) *ǰ'exaŝ^we-m* *qə-ne-s~qə-ne-mə-sə-ŝ^we-x-ew* *fəž'ə-bze-x*
floor-OBL CSL-LOC-reach~CSL-LOC-NEG-reach-SML-PL-ADV white-INTF-PL
'very white [curtains], **barely touching** the floor'

INTF – intensification, SML – simulative

Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- Prefixes with scope over the whole RVCP on V1 only:

West Circassian (WCCorp): absolutive and subordinator

(14) *sa-zere-č'e.q^wa-ze-be~č'e.q^wa-za-b-ew*
1SG.ABS-MNR-LOC-turn-PST~LOC-turn-PST-ADV
'while I still was tightly pulled [into clothes]'

- Similar patterns reported by Loseva (2013) for Besleney Kabardian

MNR – manner subordinator

Full-verb reduplication in Circassian

- Compare similar behaviour of VCPs with auxiliaries

Besleney Kabardian (elicited, own fieldwork): absolute, subordinator, case

(15) *a-bə j-e-ŕe se sə-zərə-mə-žej ze-pə-tə-r*
 DEM-OBL 3SG.ERG-DYN-know 1SG 1SG.ABS-FCT-NEG-sleep REC.IO-LOC-stand-ABS
 ‘S/he knows that it is not the case that I sleep all the time.’

- Cf. Kimmelman 2010 and Kushnir 2011 on West Circassian

DEM – demonstrative, DYN – dynamic prefix, FCT – factive subordinator, REC – reciprocal

Summary and discussion

- Full-verb reduplication is well-attested in Circassian languages.
- Such patterns are constructions with conventionalised forms and meanings, rather than purely syntactic/stylistic repetitions of independent verbs.
- These constructions show a high degree of morphosyntactic integration and clearly monoclausal behaviour.
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Summary and discussion

- RVCPs are probably attested much more widely:
 - predicate focus marking and other functions in many African languages (Bond & Anderson 2014; Becker & Nformi 2016, *inter alia*);
 - various constructions with verb doubling in East Slavic (e.g. Paillard & Plungian 1993; Kopotев & Kwon 2024) and more generally (Hein 2020);
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Ukrainian (Kopotev & Kwon 2024: 28, transliteration and glosses adapted):
infinitive + finite verb in a kind of concessive/frustrative construction

- (16) *čyta-ty=to vin čytaj-e, ale ne rozumij-e*
read-INF=PTCL 3SG.M.NOM read-PRS.3SG but NEG understand-PRS.3SG
'As far as reading (it), he is reading (it), but he does not understand (it).'

Turkish (Erbaşı 2018: 185): converbs by full verb doubling (cf. Malto)

- (17) *Uyu-du~uyu-du ödev-i yap-a-ma-dı.*
sleep-PST~sleep-PST homework-ACC do-ABIL-NEG-PST
'S/he kept sleeping (and thus) s/he could not do the homework.'

INF – infinitive, M – masculine, PTCL – particle

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- RVCPs are special in both their formal properties and the types of meanings they tend to express cross-linguistically.
- However, the traditional domain of VCPs also includes rather heterogenous types of phenomena.
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A large field of sunflowers with bright yellow heads and green leaves, stretching towards a distant horizon under a clear, light blue sky. The sunflowers are densely packed and appear to be in full bloom.

Thank you for your attention!
Danke für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit!
Тхьа шъуегъэпсэу!

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