

Dmitry Gerasimov*, Peter Arkadiev**

*Institute of Linguistic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, dm.gerasimov@gmail.com

**Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences / Russian State University for the Humanities / Sholokhov Moscow State University for the Humanities, Moscow, peterarkadiev@yandex.ru

TWO TYPES OF DERIVED STATES IN BZHEDUG ADYGHE

1. Bzhedug Adyghe

Bzhedug dialect < Adyghe (West Circassian) < Circassian < North-West Caucasian (Abkhaz-Adyghe) < North-Caucasian phylum

Our Bzhedug data comes mainly the fieldwork materials collected during field-trips to the village of Wochepshiy in July 2014. Many observations presented herein are also true for other Circassian varieties, at least for Temirgoy Adyghe (studied extensively in 2004–2006 and 2010) and Besleney Kabardian (2011–2013).

Important typological features:

- > very little distinction between nouns, adjectives and verbs (Lander & Testelecs 2006);
- > polysynthesis: pronominal affixes expressing all arguments of the verb (S, A, P as well as various indirect objects such as recipient, benefactive, and even location, cf. e.g. Smeets 1992) and a rich system of affixes marking aspectual, temporal and modal meanings (Smeets 1984; Korotkova & Lander 2010; Lander & Letuchiy 2010; Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2011)

Besleney Kabardian

- (1) *sə-gə-zer-a-x"ə-č'era-mə-tetə-č'ə-ž'-a-r*
 1SG.ABS-DIR-REL.FCT-3PL.IO-BEN-LOC-NEG-tic-ELAT-RE-PST-ABS
 'that they could not untie me'

- > double-marking, i.e. presence of both head and dependent marking;
- > ergativity in both head- and dependent-marking (Smeets 1992, Letuchiy 2012), coupled with an impoverished case system comprising only Absolutive (-r, marks S (2a) and P (2b)) and Oblique (-m, marks A (2b), all types of indirect objects (2b), and adnominal possessors (2c); NB personal pronouns, proper names and non-specific nouns normally lack overt case marking, see (Testelecs 2014).

- (2) a. *č'ale-r Ø¹-me-čəje.*
 boy-ABS 3.ABS-DYN-sleep
 'The boy is sleeping.'
- b. *č'ale-m pšəše-m tχələ-r Ø-r-j-e-tə.*
 boy-OBL girl-OBL book-ABS 3SG.ABS-3SG.IO-DAT-3SG.A-DYN-give
 'The boy is giving the book to the girl.'
- c. *čəfə-m Ø-jə-wəne*
 man-OBL 3SG.PR-POSS-house
 'the man's house'

- > a rich system of morphological marking of clausal subordination including various types of nominalizations, relativized predicates, and converbs.
- > a rich system of auxiliary verb constructions marking aspectual and modal meanings in addition to and sometimes on par with suffixes.

¹ Henceforth we will not mark and gloss zero morphemes.

2. The structure of the Circassian verbal complex

Neither templatic, nor layered morphology, but an intricate interaction of both.

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
absolutive	directional	subordinators	applicatives	dative	ergative	jussive	dynamivity	negation	causative	root	directionals, transitivity	propositional operators	absolutive plural	subordinators, force

In many cases the order of morphemes reflects their relative scope, in particular in the slots -8 (subordinators) and -7 (applicatives) and +2 (propositional operators), see Korotkova & Lander 2010, though the overall morphological structure involves complex and opaque interactions between elements in different slots, cf. (Arkadiev & Letuchiy 2011, Letuchiy 2014).

3. Tense marking in Bzhedug

"Primary" tense:

	Present	Past (+2)		Future (+2)
		Preterite	Imperfect	
Bzhedug Adyghe	unmarked ~ dynamic prefix (-3)	- <i>be</i> ~ - <i>β</i> (word-finally)	- <i>təbe</i> ~ - <i>təβ</i> (word-finally)	- <i>t</i>
Temirgoy/Standard Adyghe			- <i>š'təbe</i> ~ - <i>š'təβ</i> ² (word-finally)	- <i>š't</i>

Past: perfective (single bounded event) vs. imperfective (durative or habitual)

- (3a) *traktor-əm čəg"ə-r ə-č"ə-u-β*
 tractor-OBL land-ABS 3SG.ERG-plough-PST
 'The tractor ploughed the field.'
- (3b) *wəš'xə-r qəš'xə-ze traktor-əm čəg"ə-r ə-č"ə-u-təβ*
 rain-ABS rain-SIM tractor-OBL land-ABS 3SG.ERG-plough-IMP
 'During the rain, the tractor was ploughing the field.'

With stative verbs, normally only the Preterite is used, regardless of aspect.

- (4) *mwež'e β"eg"ə š'ə-tə-β*
 here road LOC-stand-PST
 'There was a road here...'

Preterite is also employed as a "retrospective shift" (Plungian & van der Auwera 2006) marker combining with past and future markers and inducing interpretations such as distant past, annulled result or irrealis³:

- (5a) *p-šə w-adəž' qe-k"ə-β*
 2SG.PR-brother 2SG-IO DIR-GO-PST
 'Your brother has come to visit you [he's waiting].'
- (5b) *p-šə w-adəž' qe-k"ə-wə-β*
 2SG.PR-brother 2SG-IO DIR-GO-PST-PST
 'Your brother had come to visit you [you were not present, so he left].'

² The Adyghe imperfective is historically a combination of the stative verb *š'ə-t-* 'to stand' with the past tense marker.

³ The same is true of other varieties of Adyghe (Korotkova 2009; Arkadiev 2014), while Kabardian uses Imperfective to mark retrospective shift (Somin 2012).

Attached to future forms, the retrospective shift marker yields irrealis or counterfactual meanings (a cross-linguistically common phenomenon, cf. Iatridou 2000).

➤ Below we will focus on some non-trivial uses of the Circassian Preterite which do not seem to naturally follow from its general past/perfective uses, but rather involving reference to a **derived state** caused by the event denoted by the verb root and holding at the topic time.

4. Past as resultative

4.1. Resultative proper

The Preterite suffix can be used to form resultative predicates from telic verbs, which differ from the normal past tense uses in that transitive verbs lack the ergative agent prefix (6a,b); with intransitive bases the uses are not formally differentiated (8b). Syntactically, Resultative forms behave like adjectives, i.e. occur as stative predicates (6b, 7c 8b), or as postpositional modifiers in NPs (6c, 8c).

- (6) a. *te psanč'ew le-r d-kež'a-ŋ* (perfective past)
 we quickly meat-ABS 1PL.ERG-COOK-PST
 'We fried the meat quickly.'
- b. *le-r kež'a-ŋ* (resultative)
 meat cook-RES
 'The meat is fried'
- c. *le=kež'a-ŋ* (resultative)
 meat=cook-RES
 'fried meat'

The bearer of the derived state is always the Absolutive argument of the verb, which is especially easy to notice in case of verbs that have both transitive and intransitive alternates:

- (7) a. *txalə-r ž'ə-ke*
 book-ABS read-PST
 'The book is read' (from transitive *ž'an* 'to read')
- b. **txalə-r je-ž'a-ŋ*
 book-ABS DAT-read:AP-PST
 Expected '=4a' (from intransitive *ježen* 'to read')
- c. *mə č'ale-r je-ž'a-ke ded*
 this boy-ABS DAT-read:AP-PST very
 'This boy is well-read'
- (8) a. *vjanə-r jə-s'ə-ŋ*
 wine-ABS LOC-drink-PST
 'The wine is drunk.' (from transitive *jəs'an* 'to drink')
- b. *lə-r je-s'ə-ŋ*
 man-ABS DAT-drink:AP-PST
 'The man is drunk.'
 'The man had a drink.' (from intransitive *jes'en* 'пить')
- c. *lə=je-s'ə-ŋ*
 man=DAT-drink:AP-PST
 'a drunk man'

In resultatives, the Preterite suffix does not have past time reference:

- resultative predicates denote situations simultaneous to the speech time or narrative line, as can be seen from their interaction with adverbials, cf. (9);
- for non-present reference, resultative predicates attach tense markers, cf. (10).

- (9a) *mefe-s^h ež'aw^we-m pče-r qə-ž^w-a-xə-ŋ*
 day-noon-OBL door-ABS DIR-LOC-3PL.ERG-open-PST
 'At noon, they opened the door.'
- (9b) *mefe-s^h ež'aw^we-m pče-r ž^wə-xə-ŋa-ŋ*
 day-noon-OBL door-ABS LOC-open-PST-PST
 'At noon, the door was open.' [the act of opening occurred before noon]
- (10a) *pče-r ž^wə-xə-ŋ*
 door-ABS LOC-open-PST
 'The door is open.'
- (10b) *sə-qə-z-e-k^we-m pče ž^wə-xə-ŋa-ŋ*
 1SG.ABS-DIR-REL.TEMP-DYN-go-OBL door LOC-open-PST-PST
 'When I came, the door was open.'
- (10c) *wə-qə-zə-k^we-ž'e pče-r ž^wə-xə-ŋe-t*
 2SG.ABS-DIR-REL.TEMP-go-INS door-ABS LOC-open-PST-FUT
 'When you come, the door will be open.'
- (10d) *sədjəw^e wə-qə-k^wa-ke-m-jə pče-r ž^wə-xə-ŋe-təŋ*
 when 2SG.ABS-DIR-go-PST-COND-ADD door-ABS LOC-open-PST-IPF
 'Whenever you came, the door would always be open.'

Morphologically the Resultative forms behave like genuine stative predicates:

➤ under negation, they do not attach the dynamic suffix *-r(e)* characteristic of dynamic verbs:

- (11a) *č'ale-r čəje-z'ə-r-ep^h*
 boy-ABS sleep-RE-DYN-NEG
 'The boy is not sleeping any more.'
- (11b) *pče-r ž^wə-xə-ŋe-z'ə-ep^h*
 door-ABS LOC-open-PST-RE-NEG
 'The door is not open any more.'

➤ however, similar to some static predicates, Resultatives can be combined with markers of dynamicity (*-re* in dependent clauses, *e-* in matrix clauses), receiving a non-episodic (e.g. habitual) reading:

- (12a) *ž'exas^we-r zere-thač'ə-ŋe-r mame q-ə-ž^wa-ŋ*
 floor-ABS REL.FCT-wash-PST-ABS Mom DIR-3SG.ERG-say-PST
 'Mom said that the floor is cleaned.'
- (12b) *š^hembet^h mafə-xe-m ž'exas^we-r zere-thač'ə-ŋe-re-r*
 saturday day-PL-OBL floor-ABS REL.FCT-wash-PST-DYN-ABS
se s-e-še
 я 1SG.ERG-DYN-КПОВ
 'I know that on Saturdays the floor is cleaned.'
- (13a) *twəč'anə-r ž^wə-xə-ŋ*
 store-ABS LOC-open-PST
 'The store is open (now).'
- (13b) *twəč'anə-r thewəmafə-xe-m-jə ž^w-e-xə-ŋ*
 store-ABS sunday-PL-OBL-ADD LOC-DYN-open-PST
 'The store is open even on Sundays.'

➤ like regular stative predicates, Resultatives can not receive the repetitive prefix *-z'ə*, unless in the scope of negation, cf. (14) vs. (10) and (11b):

- (14) **pčē-r* *ʔwə-xə-βe-ž'(ə)*
 door-ABS LOC-open-PST-RE
 Intended: ‘The door is once again open.’

- Overall, Resultatives build by means of the Preterite suffix *-β(e)* behave strikingly similar to English or German stative passives (Kratzer 2000, inter alia).
- It yet remains to be checked systematically whether there is a consistent differentiation of target and resultative readings (but see the next section).
- Combinability with various adverbials and operators is a matter of considerable micro-variation, but many speakers readily allow clearly agent-oriented adverbials. It seems that speakers differ as to how much of the structure is present when the stativizer is attached.
- We suggest that the resultative use of *-β(e)* is a vestige of a previous state of the language system: *β(e)* underwent evolution along the standart path from (resultative) perfect to preterite (Gerasimov & Arkadiev 2014).
- An unexpected parallel from Russian: adjectives like *ustalyj* ‘tired’, *tuxlyj* ‘rotten’, etc. that descend from perfective participles and contain a formant cognate to the modern Past tense marker *-l* (Maslov 1987).
- An unexpected parallel from the history of Japanese: the main Preterite marker *-ta* has evolved from perfect; in Modern Japanese, stative readings of *-ta* are still available in relative clauses, while in Late Late Middle Japanese, they were licit in main clauses as well (Ogihara & Fukushima 2015).
 - (Ogihara & Fukushima 2015) base their argumentation on the idea that stative *-ta* lost the ability to combine with tense operators and so can not appear in tensed clauses. Stative *-β(e)*, as we have seen earlier, combine freely with tense markers. Could this be a parameter of cross-linguistic variation?

4.2. Continuative

The Continuative is formed by a manner relativizer *zere-* and has a meaning roughly equivalent to that of English aspectual ‘still’, presupposing that certain eventuality was true at some moment of time preceding the topic time and asserting that this same eventuality is true at the topic time. This former has a number of non-trivial morphosyntactic properties that betray its non-finite origins (Gerasimov & Arkadiev 2008), but we are not going to dwell on them here.

- (15) *č'ale-r* *zere-čəj*
 boy-ABS REL.MNR-sleep
 ‘The boy is still sleeping.’
- (16) *wəš'x* *qə-zer-je-š'x*
 rain DIR-REL.MNR-rain
 ‘It is still raining.’
- (17) *č'ale-m* *pjəsmə* *zer-jə-tx*
 boy-OBL letter REL.MNR-3SG.ERG-write
 ‘The boy is still writing the letter.’

When Continuative *zere-* is combined with Preterite, the continuative interpretation is retained; since *zere-* has a wider scope over *-β(e)*, the latter is interpreted as resultative, denoting a state that arose as a result of the situation described by the predicate that took place prior to topic time, and that holds at the topic time (probably contrary to expectations):

- (18) *č'ale-r* *zere-čəja-β*
 boy-ABS REL.MNR-sleep-PST
 ‘The boy is still asleep.’

- (19) *č'ale-r zere-ž'eg^wə-β*
 boy-ABS REL.MNR-play-PST
 'The boy is still playing (as he started).'
- (20) *weš'x qə-zer-je-š'xə-β*
 rain DIR-REL.MNR-DAT-rain-PST
 'It is still wet (after the rain).'
- (21) *tjeljefon=nomjerə-r qə-zer-a-β^wetə-ž'ə-β*
 phone=number-ABS DIR-REL.MNR-3PL.ERG-найти-RE-PST
 'The phone number is still not lost again (after they have found it).'
- (22) *č'ale-m pjəsmə zer-jə-txə-β*
 boy-OBL letter REL.MNR-3SG.ERG-write-PST
 'The boy still has his letter written.'

Note that the forms like those in (18-22) are not combinations of the Continuative with the Resultative discussed in 4.1: they retain ergative prefix (21-22) and are not confined to telic predicates (18-20). Atelic predicates in this context are often coerced into achievements denoting entry into a state or activity (18-19); in this case it is such state or activity that falls under the scope of *zere-*, so Continuative forms with or without the Preterite marker turn out virtually synonymous. A different scenario, however, is illustrated in (20), where the target state of the event "it rained" is referred to.

An interesting picture is presented by the interaction of the Continuative with adverbs of duration. With unmarked Present, the latter always induce habitual interpretation (23):

- (23a) *č'ale-m səhatə-nəq^we pjəsmə j-e-txə*
 boy-OBL hour-half letter 3SG.ERG-DYN-write
 'It (usually) takes the boy half an hour to write a letter.'
- (23b) *pšaše-r səhat-jə-ble me-čəje*
 girl-ABS hour-LNK-seven DYN-sleep
 'The girl (usually) sleeps for 7 hours.'

The Continuative falls under the scope of a temporal adverbial:

- (24a) *č'ale-m səhatə-nəq^we pjəsmə zer-jə-tx*
 boy-OBL hour-half letter REL.MNR-3SG.ERG-write
 'The boy has been writing a letter for half an hour already.'
- (24b) *pšaše-r səhat-jə-ble zere-čəj*
 girl-ABS hour-LNK-seven REL.MNR-sleep
 'The girl has been sleeping for seven hours already.'

With forms marked with Preterite *-β(e)*, adverbials of duration are interpreted as falling under the scope of resultative and, consequently, under the scope of continuative, returning a non-trivial interpretation of the kind 'there holds a state that arose due to eventuality described by the predicate continuing for the duration of time indicated by the adverbial'; the eventuality itself does not hold at the topic time (25):

- (25a) *č'ale-m səhatə-nəq^we pjəsmə zer-jə-txə-β*
 boy-OBL hour-half letter REL.MNR-3SG.ERG-write-PST
 'The boy had been writing a letter for half an hour, and now is not writing any more.'
- (25b) *č'ale-r səhat-jə-ble zere-čəja-β*
 boy-ABS hour-LNK-seven REL.MNR-sleep-PST
 'The boy had slept for seven hours, and now is not asleep.'

So, within the scope of Continuative, Preterite is interpreted as some kind of (unspecified) derived state.

4.3. Continuative in temporal clauses

As has been shown in (Gerasimov & Arkadiev 2007, 2009; Arkadiev 2009), the interpretation of temporal adverbial clauses with converbs containing the above-discussed *zere-* prefix crucially depends on actional properties of the verb. *Zere-*forms of atelic predicates denote unbounded events/states that are in effect when the eventuality expressed by the main verb takes place ('while P, Q'; 26), while with telic predicates similar constructions denote immediate precedence of a bounded event ('as soon as P, Q'; 27).

(26) *č'ale-r krasnadare zere-š'hə-ŋ-ew pjəsmə q-j-e-txə*
 boy-ABS Krasnodar REL.MNR-LOC-be-ADV letter DIR-3SG.ERG-DYN-WTITE
 'While staying in Krasnodar, the boy is writing a letter.'

(27) *se wəramə-m sə-qə-zere-t'je-h-ew weš'xə-r q-je-š'xə-β*
 I street-OBL I SG.ABS-DIR-REL.MNR-LOC-go.out-ADV rain-ABS DIR-DAT-rain-PST
 'As soon as I went outside, it started raining.'

Similar construction with converbial suffix *ze-* can only denote simultaneity, and select predicates that can denote unbounded situations:

(28) *weš'x qə-zer-je-š'xə-ze čəje-g^w*
 rain DIR-REL.MNR-DAT-ИДТИ.О.ДОЖДЕ-SIM sleep(IMP)-DUM
 'While it is still raining, have some sleep.'

When the Preterite suffix is introduced into *zere-*converb, the interpretation shifts to the simultaneous one, cf. (29), which suggests that the Preterite form in this construction is interpreted as stative, just like independent Continuative:

(29) *weš'x qə-zer-je-š'xə-βe-ze xate-m tə-de-ž^w-βa-h*
 rain DIR-REL.MNR-DAT-rain-PST-SIM garden-OBL 1 PL.ABS-LOC-2 PL.ERG-CAUS-go.out(IMP)
 'While the rain is over and haven't started again, let's go out into the garden.'

Bzhedug speakers prefer *-ze* in cases when *-β(e)* is introduced; some of them even reject forms containing the more ambiguous *-ew*:

(30) *??? qə-zere-β^wa-β-ew /^{ok} qə-zere-β^wa-βe-ze tə-de-ž^w-βe-g^wəš'hə?*
 DIR-REL.MNR-go-PST-ADV/...-SIM 1 PL.ABS-COM-2 PL.ERG-CAUS-talk(IMP)
 'While he is still here, let's talk to him.'

Again, like independent Continuative, converbial forms under discussion are not necessarily Absolutive-oriented and retain ergative prefix of transitive verbs. As a consequence, with transitive predicates, constructions derived from full-fledged verbs (31a, 32a) and constructions derived from Resultatives (31b, 32b) are formally differentiated:

(31a) *we a-š' jə-š'əβən-xe-r zere-β-βe-βəλə-βe-ze,*
 you that-OBL POSS-clothes-PL-ABS REL.MNR-2SG.ERG-CAUS-hide(INTR)-PST-CNV
a-r mwe-ž'e ɽ^wə-č'ə-ž'ə-n leja-t-ep^h
 that-ABS this-INS LOC-exit-RE-POT be.able-FUT-NEG
 'While you keep his clothes hidden, he can't leave.'

(31b) *a-š' jə-š'əβən-xe-r zere-βe-βəλə-βe-ze,*
 that-OBL POSS-clothes-PL-AB REL.MNR-CAUS-hide(INTR)-PST-CNV
a-r mwe-ž'e ɽ^wə-č'ə-ž'ə-n leja-t-ep^h
 that-ABS this-INS LOC-exit-RE-POT be.able-FUT-NEG
 'While his clothes are hidden, he can't leave.'

(32a) *doske-m qə-zere-tr-jə-tx-a-βe-ze*
 board-OBL DIR-REL.MNR-LOC-3SG.ERG-WRITE-LAT-CAUS-CNV
je-β^wa-λe-r-jə je-ž'
 DAT-go-DIR-CNV-ADD DAT-read(IMP)
 'While his writing is still on the blackboard, go and read.'

Abbreviations

A – agent; ABS – absolutive; ADV – adverbial; BEN – benefactive; COND – conditional; COORD – coordination; DAT – dative; DEM – demonstrative; DIR – directive preverb; DYN – dynamic preverb; ELAT – elative; ERG – ergative; FCT – factive; FUT – future; IMD – immediative; INC – inceptive; INS – instrumental; INT – intensive; IO – indirect object; IPF – imperfective; LOC – locative preverb; MNR – manner; NEG – negation; OBL – oblique; PL – plural; POSS – possession; PR – possessor; POT – potential; PST – preterite; QUOT – quotative; RE – repetitive; REL – relativization; RES – resultative; S – intransitive subject; SG – singular; TEMP – temporal relation.

References

- Arkadiev P.M. (2009). Lexical and compositional factors in the aspectual system of Adyghe // L. Hogeweg, H. de Hoop, A. Malchukov (eds.), *Cross-Linguistic Semantics of Tense, Aspect and Modality*. (Linguistik Aktuell 148) Amsterdam—Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 55–82.
- Arkadiev P.M. (2014). Sistema form pljuskvamperfekta v šapsugskom dialekte adygejskogo jazyka [System of pluperfect forms in the Shapsugh dialect of Adyghe] // *Voprosy jazykoznanija* 4, 46–65.
- Arkadiev P.M., D.V. Gerasimov (2009). From instrument to manner to tense-aspect: A diachronic scenario from Adyghe. Paper presented at the 42nd Annual Meeting of Societas Linguistica Europaea, Lisbon, 9–12 September 2009.
- Arkadiev P.M., A.B. Letuchiy (2011). Prefixes and suffixes in the Adyghe polysynthetic wordform: Types of interaction // V. S. Tomelleri, M. Topadze, A. Lukianowicz (eds.), *Languages and Cultures in the Caucasus*. München, Berlin: Otto Sagner, 495–514.
- Baglini R. (2012). The scalar source of stative passives // *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 16*. Cambridge, MA, 2012.
- Baglini R. (2013). Deriving target and resultant states // R. E. Santana-LaBarge (ed.). *Proceedings of the 31st Annual Meeting of the West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Somerville, MA, 2013.
- Gerasimov D.V., P.M. Arkadiev (2007). A peculiar resultative in Adyghe and what it can tell about aspectual composition in the language. Paper presented at the *Conference on the Languages of the Caucasus*, Leipzig, 7–9 December 2007.
- Gerasimov D.V., P.M. Arkadiev (2014). Peculiar of past time reference in Circassian. Paper presented at the *Chronos XI* conference, Pisa, 16–18 June 2014.
- Hewitt B.G. (ed.) (1989). *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus, Vol. 2. The North West Caucasian Languages*. Delmar, NY: Caravan.
- Iatridou S. (2000). The grammatical ingredients of counterfactuality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31/2, 231–270.
- Kennedy C. (1999). *Projecting the Adjective: The Syntax and Semantics of Gradability and Comparison*. New York: Garland.
- Kennedy C. (2010). The Composition of Incremental Change // *Proceedings of 12th International Symposium on Chinese languages and linguistics, Taipei: Academia Sinica*.
- Kennedy C., B. Levine (2008). Measure of change: The adjectival core of degree achievements // *Adjectives and adverbs: Syntax, semantics, and discourse*, 156–182.
- Kennedy C., L. MacNally (2005). Scale structure, degree modification, and the semantics of gradable predicates // *Language* 81, 345–381.
- Korotkova N.A. (2009). “Prošloe” i “sverxprošloe” v adygejskom jazyke [“Past” and “superpast” in Adyghe] // Testelec (ed.) 2009, 262–286.
- Korotkova N.A., Yu.A. Lander (2010). Deriving suffix ordering in polysynthesis: Evidence from Adyghe // *Morphology* 20, 299–319.
- Kratzer A. (2000). Building statives // L. J. Conathan et al. (eds.). *Proceedings of the 26th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. Berkeley
- Korotkova N.A. (2009). “Prošloe” i “sverxprošloe” v adygejskom jazyke [“Past” and “superpast” in Adyghe]. In: Testelec (ed.) 2009, 262–286.
- Lander Yu.A., A.B. Letuchiy (2010). Kinds of recursion in Adyghe morphology // H. van der Hulst (ed.), *Recursion and Human Language*. Berlin, New York: Mouton De Gruyter, 263–284.
- Lander Yu.A., Ya.G. Testelecs (2006). Nouniness and specificity: Circassian and Wakashan. Paper presented at the conference *Universals and Particulars in Parts-of-Speech Systems*, Amsterdam.
- Letuchiy A.B. (2012). Ergativity in the Adyghe system of valency-changing derivations // G. Authier, K. Haude (eds.), *Ergativity, Valency and Voice*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 323–354.
- Letuchiy A.B. (2014). The causative derivation and ordering of morphosyntactic operations in Adyghe. Ms.

- Maslov Yu. (1987). Perfektnost' [Perfectivity] // *Teorija funkcionalnoj grammatiki. Vvedenije. Aspektualnost. Vremennaja lokalizovannost'. Taksis*. [The theory of functional grammar. Introduction. Aspect. Temporal localization. Relative tense]. Leningrad: Nauka, 195–209.
- Michaelis L.A. (1996). On the use and meaning of *already* // *Linguistics and Philosophy* 19, 477–502.
- Michaelis L.A. (2004). Type shifting in Construction Grammar: an integrated approach to aspectual coercion // *Cognitive Linguistics* 15, 1–67.
- Nishiyama A., J.-P. Koenig. What is a perfect state? // *Language* 86.
- Ogihara T., Fukushima T. (2015). Semantic properties of the so-called past tense morpheme in Late Late Middle Japanese // *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 24, 75–112.
- Paducheva E. (2014). Klassifikatsiya Maslova/Vendlera i ee netrivialnyje primenenija [The Maslov/Vendler classification of predicates and its non-trivial applications] // Paper presented at the international conference *Academic Legacy and Further Development of Ideas of Yuri Maslov*, St. Petersburg, 20-22 November.
- Parsons T. (1990). *Events in the Semantics of English*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Plungian V.A., J. van der Auwera (2006). Towards a typology of discontinuous past marking // *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 59/4, 317–349.
- Rogava G.V., Z.I. Keraševa (1966). *Grammatika adygejskogo jazyka [A Grammar of Adyghe]*. Krasnodar, Mажkop: Krasnodarskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo.
- Smeets R. (1984). *Studies in West Circassian Phonology and Morphology*. Leiden: Hakuchi.
- Smeets R. (1992). On valencies, actants and actant coding in Circassian // B.G. Hewitt (ed.), *Caucasian Perspectives*. München, Newcastle: LINCOM Europa, 98–144.
- Somin A.A. (2012). *Vid, vremja i modal'nost' glagola v besleneevskom dialekte kabardino-čerkeskogo jazyka [Verbal aspect, tense and modality on the Besleney dialect of Kabardian]*. MA thesis, Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow.
- de Swart H. (1998). Aspect shift and coercion // *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16/2, 347–385.
- Testelec Ja.G. (ed.) (2009). *Aspekty polisintetizma: Očerki po grammatike adygejskogo jazyka [Aspects of Polysynthesis: Studies in Adyghe Grammar]*. Moscow: RSUH.