LEXICAL AND COMPOSITIONAL FACTORS IN THE ASPECTUAL SYSTEM OF ADYGHE

Peter M. Arkadiev, Institute of Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow
alpgurev@gmail.com, peterarkadiev@yandex.ru

1. Introduction

❶ Adyghe (West Circassian) < Circassian < North-West Caucasian, Russian Federation
Existing sources: Paris 1989 (in French), Smeets 1984 (in English), Rogava & Kerasheva 1962, Kumakhov 1971 (in Russian).

Outstanding typological features:
- ♣ (almost) no distinction between nouns and verbs (Lander & Testelets 2006);
- ♣ polysynthesis (pronominal affixes expressing all syntactic arguments of the predicate, rich system of valency increasing operations);
- ♣ ergativity in both dependent marking (case on NPs) and head marking (pronominal affixes on verbs);
- ♣ rich system of locational preverbs;
- ♣ complex mechanisms of clause combining and sentential complementation (cf. Gerasimov 2006; cf. also Kumakhov & Vamling 1998 for the closely related Kabardian).

The data comes mainly from the fieldwork materials collected during field-trips to village Hakurinohabl, Republic Adygeya, organized by the Russian State University for Humanities in 2004–2005.

❷ Layered theory of aspectuality (Bache 1982, Klein 1994, Smith 1997/1991, de Swart 1998, Filip 1999, Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000 etc.):
- ♣ **actionality** (≈ lexical aspect): aspectual classification of predicates into **states**, **processes**, **events** etc.;
- ♣ **aspectual composition** (Verkuyl 1989, 1993, Krifka 1989, 1992, 1998, Tenny 1994, Filip 1999): interaction of the predicate's actionality with semantic/referential properties of its arguments;
- ♣ **aspectual operators** (Klein 1994, Smith 1995, Depraetere 1995, de Swart 1998): temporal adverbials;
- ♣ **viewpoint aspect**: perfective vs. imperfective (Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985, Smith 1997/1991).

❸ Non-aprioristic typologically-oriented theory of actionality (Tatevosov 2002):
- ♣ **universal actional meanings**: state (S), process (P), multiplicative process (M), entry-into-a-state (ES), entry-into-a-process (EP), quantum-of-a-multiplicative-process (Q);
- ♣ **actional characteristic** of a TA-form: the set of actional meanings a TA-form of a given verb may have;
- ♣ **empirical procedure** for the discovery of actional classes in a particular language:
  two verbs belong to one actional class iff their combinations with the universal aspectual viewpoints (perfective and imperfective) show identical actional characteristics;
- ♣ **cross-linguistic actional classes**: classes which recur in different languages; **NB** the set of cross-linguistic actional classes does not coincide with the set of classes proposed for English by Vendler (1967).

❹ Outline of the talk:
2. The tense-aspect system of Adyghe.
3. Actional classes in Adyghe.
4. Interaction of predicates of different classes with adverbials of temporal duration and temporal extent: Lexical vs. compositional analysis.
5. Morphosyntactic evidence for the compositional analysis.

2. Tense and aspect in Adyghe

❶ 'Static' vs. 'dynamic' predicates (a general North-West-Caucasian feature, Hewitt 2005): more a morphological distinction rather than a semantic one (all morphologically 'static' verbs are semantically stative, but not all semantically stative verbs are morphologically 'static').

The difference between 'static' and 'dynamic' predicates is observed in the Present tense:

(1) a. *č'ale-r   š'ə-t.*
       boy-ABS   LOC-stand
       'The boy is standing.' (static)

    b. *č'ale-r   txaʁepç.*
       boy-ABS   cunning
       'The boy is cunning.' (static)

(2) a. *č'ale-r   ma-ḳwe.*
       boy-ABS   DYN-go
       'The boy is walking.' (dynamic)

    b. *č'ale-m   pjəsme[1]   j-e-txə.*
       boy-OBL   letter   3SG.A-DYN-write
       'The boy is writing a letter.' (dynamic)

Some predicates allow both 'static' and 'dynamic' morphology (with a semantic difference):

(3) a. *č'ale-r   bzaǯ'e.*
       boy-ABS   rascal
       'The boy is a rascal.' (static)

    b. *č'ale-r   me-bzaǯ'e.*
       boy-ABS   DYN-rascal
       'The boy is being naughty (now).' (dynamic)

❷ A 'classical' European tripartite tense system:

♣ **Present** (unmarked with 'static' predicates, 'dynamic' prefix *-e-/me-* with 'dynamic' predicates): allows both Progressive (4a) and Habitual (4b) interpretation.

(4) a. *pŝaŝe-r   ǯ'ədede txəλə-m   j-e-ǯ'e.*
       girl-ABS   now   book-OBL   3SG.IO-DYN-read
       'The girl is now reading the book.'

    b. *pŝaŝe-r   mafe qes   txəλə-m j-e-ǯ'e.*
       girl-ABS   day   every   book-OBL 3SG.IO-DYN-read
       'The girl every day reads the book.'

♣ **Preterite** (suffix *-ʁe*): Perfective viewpoint in the past, with both Terminative (5a) and Delimititative (5b) interpretations.

(5) a. *pŝaŝe-r   txəλə-m   je-ǯ'a-ʁ.*
       girl-ABS   book-OBL   3SG.IO-read-PST
       'The girl read the book (to the end).'

    b. *č'ale-r   telewizorə-m   je-pλə-ʁ.*
       boy-ABS   television-OBL   3SG.IO-watch-PST
       'The boy watched television (for some time).'

♣ **Imperfect** (suffix *-š'təʁe*): Progressive-in-the-Past (6a) and Habitual-in-the-Past (6b) interpretations.

(6) a. *wəne-m sə-z-je-he-m   č'ale-r   pŝaŝe-m   de-gwəš'ə'e-š'təʁ.*
       room-OBL 1SG.S-SBD-LOC-go-OBL boy-ABS girl-OBL   SOC-talk-IPF
       'When I entered the room, the boy was talking with the girl.'

    b. *č'ale-r   səhat-jə-ble   čəje-š'təʁe.*
       boy-ABS   hour-INF-seven   sleep-IPF
       'The boy used to sleep for seven hours.'

3. Aspectual classes in Adyghe

Aspectual classes were determined on the basis of the actional meanings of (Progressive) Present and Preterite forms of predicates from a representative sample, see Table 1.

♣ Stative:

(7) a. *rasul   ə-ŝhe[2]   me-wəzə.*
       Rasul   3SG.POSS-head   DYN-ache
       'Rasul has headache.'

    b. *rasul   ə-ŝhe   wəzə-ʁe.*
       Rasul   3SG.POSS-head   ache-PST
       'Rasul had headache (for some time).'

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[1] Indefinite nouns lack overt case marking.
[2] Possessed nouns, proper names and personal pronouns do not (usually) inflect for case.

Table 1. Actional classes in Adyghe

Class	Actional characteristic of the Present	Actional characteristic of the Preterite	Number of predicates	Examples
Stative	S	S	33	*š'əλən* 'to lie', *psewən* 'to live'
Strong Inceptive-Stative	S	ES	10	*ŝen* 'to know', *λeʁwən* 'to see'
Weak Inceptive-Stative	S	ES,S	1	*čəjen* 'to sleep'
Processual	P	P	15	*žegwən* 'to play', *txen* 'to write' (intransitive)
Strong Ingressive-Processual	P	EP	4	*ḳwen* 'to go', *bəbən* 'to fly'
Strong Multiplicative	M	Q	10	*ḳwəwen* 'to shout', *wəẑwəntxen* 'to spit'
Weak Multiplicative	M	Q,M	1	*psken* 'cough'
Punctual	—	ES	8	*ʒən* 'to throw', *qewen* 'to explode'
Strong Telic	P	ES	49	*λen* 'to die', *jetən* 'to give', *ṭən* 'to dig', *qebegən* 'to swell'

♣ Strong Inceptive-Stative:

(8) a. *č'ale-m   pŝaŝe-r   ŝwə   j-e-λeʁwə.*
       boy-OBL   girl-ABS   good   3SG.A-DYN-see
    'The boy loves the girl.'

   b. *č'ale-m   pŝaŝe-r   ŝwə   ə-λeʁwə-ʁ.*
      boy-OBL   girl-ABS   good   3SG.A-DYN-see-PST
   'The boy fell in love with the girl ‖ *loved the girl (for some time).'

♣ Weak Inceptive-Stative:

(9) a. *č'ale-r   me-čəje.*
       boy-ABS   DYN-sleep
    'The boy is sleeping.'

   b. *č'ale-r   čəja-ʁe.*
      boy-ABS   sleep-PST
   'The boy slept (for some time) ‖ fell asleep.'

♣ Processual:

(10) a. *č'ale-xe-r   me-ž'egwə-x.*
        boy-PL-ABS   DYN-play
     'The children are playing.'

    b. *č'ale-xe-r   ž'erwə-ʁe-x.*
       boy-PL-ABS   play-PST-PL
    'The children played (for some time).'

♣ Strong Ingressive-Processual[3]:

(11) a. *č'ale-r   wəne-m   ma-če.*
        boy-ABS   house-OBL   DYN-run
     'The boy is running to the house.'

    b. *č'ale-r   wəne-m   ča-ʁe.*
       boy-ABS   house-OBL   run-PST
    'The boy started running to the house ‖ *came to the house running ‖ *ran to the house for some time.'

♣ Strong Multiplicative:

(12) a. *č'ale-r   me-wež'wəntxe.*
        boy-ABS   DYN-spit
     'The boy is spitting.'

    b. *č'ale-r   wež'wəntxa-ʁ.*
       boy-ABS   spit-PST
    'The boy spat (once ‖ *for some time).'

♣ Weak Multiplicative:

(13) a. *č'ale-r   ma-pske.*
        boy-ABS   DYN-cough
     'The boy is coughing.'

    b. *č'ale-r   pska-ʁe.*
       boy-ABS   cough-PST
    'The boy coughed (once ‖ for some time).'

♣ Punctual:

(14) a. *pŝaŝe-m   ʔwənč'əbzə   q-e-ʁwetə.*
        girl-OBL   keys   DIR-DYN-find
     'The girl (always) finds the keys ‖ *is finding the keys now.'

    b. *pŝaŝe-m   ʔwənč'əbzə   q-ə-ʁwetə-ʁ.*
       girl-OBL   keys   DIR-3SG.A-find-PST
    'The girl found the keys.'

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[3] To this class, to my knowledge, belong only the predicates of manner of motion.

♣ <u>Strong</u> <u>Telic</u>:

(15) a. *thamate-m   ze?ʷəč'e-r   r-j-e-ʁa-ž'e.*
director-OBL   meeting-ABS   3SG.IO-3SG.A-DYN-CAUS-begin
'The director is opening the meeting.'

    b. *txamate-m   ze?ʷəč'e-r   r-jə-ʁe-ž'a-ʁ.*
director-OBL   meeting-ABS   3SG.IO-3SG.A-CAUS-begin-PST
'The director opened the meeting ‖ *tried to open the meeting but failed.'

(16) a. *mələ-r   me-ṭ̂ᵥə.*   b. *mələ-r   ṭ̂ᵥə-ʁe.*
ice-ABS   DYN-melt   ice-ABS   melt-PST
'The ice is melting.'   'The ice melted (completely ‖ $^{??}$partly).'

☞ All actional classes observed in Adyghe are cross-linguistic actional classes.

☞ The fact that the 'weak' (actionally ambivalent) predicates are almost absent in Adyghe is typologically peculiar (but see next section).

4. The interaction with temporal adverbials
❶ Two cross-linguistic types of temporal adverbials:
    ♣ adverbials of temporal duration: *səhatnəqᵥe* 'for half an hour', *taqjəqjəṭᵥe* 'for two minutes' etc.;
    ♣ adverbials of temporal extent: 'Instrumental' suffix *-č'e*: *səhatnəqᵥe-č'e* 'in half an hour', *taqjəqjəṭᵥə-č'e* 'in two minutes'.

❷ The data
➢ Adverbials of temporal extent more or less freely combine with all predicates whose Preterite has an 'entry-into' actional meaning, viz. with Strong Inceptive-Stative (17a), Weak Inceptive-Stative (17b), Strong Ingressive-Processual (17c), Strong Multiplicative (17d), Punctual (17e) and Strong Telic (17f), (17g):

(17) a. *č'ale-m pŝaŝe-r taqjəq-jə-ṭᵥə-č'e   ə-λeʁᵥə-ʁ.*
boy-OBL girl-ABS minute-INF-two-INS   3SG.A-see-PST
'The boy saw the girl in two minutes.'

    b. *č'ale-r   səhat-nəqᵥe-č'e   čəja-ʁe.*   c. *č'ale-r   taqjəq-jə-š'ə-č'e   ča-ʁe.*
boy-ABS   hour-half-INS   sleep-PST   boy-ABS   minute-INF-three-INS   run-PST
'The boy fell asleep in half an hour.'   'The boy started running in three minutes.'

    d. *č'ale-r   taqjəq-jə-ṭᵥə-č'e   wəẑᵥəntxa-ʁ.*   e. *?egᵥawe-r taqjəq-jə-ṭᵥə-č'e qe-wa-ʁ.*
boy-ABS   minute-INF-two-INS   spit-PST   balloon-ABS   minute-INF-two-INS   DIR-explode-PST
'The boy spat (again) in two minutes.'   'The balloon exploded in two minutes.'

    f. *mašine-r   taqjəq-jə-tfə-č'e   qe-wəcᵥə-ʁ.*
car-ABS   minute-INF-five-INS   DIR-stop-PST
'The car stopped in five minutes.'

    g. *pŝaŝe-m   səhat-nəqᵥe-č'e pjəsme-r   ə-txə-ʁ.*
girl-OBL   hour-half-INS   letter-ABS   3SG.A-write-PST
'The girl wrote the letter in half an hour.'

➢ Adverbials of temporal extent never combine with Stative predicates (18a) and are usually not felicitous with Processual predicates (18b):

(18) a. **mə çəfə-r jəλes-jə-tfə-č'e ẑə-ʁe.*   b. $^{??}$*č'ale-r   taqjəq-jə-tfə-č'e qe-ŝᵥa-ʁ.*
this   man-ABS year-INF-five-INS   old-PST   boy-ABS   minute-INF-five-INS   DIR-dance-PST
Intended meaning: 'This man grew old in   'The boy started dancing in five minutes.'
five years.'

➢ Adverbials of temporal duration freely combine with Stative (19a), Weak Inceptive-Stative (19b), Processual (19c), and Weak Multiplicative (19d) predicates:

(19) a. *λəẑə-r   jəλes-jə-ṭₑe   λeš'a-ʁ.*
      old.man-ABS   year-INF-two   lame-PST
      'The old man was lame for two years.'

    b. *pŝaŝe-r   səhat-jə-ble   čəja-ʁe.*
      girl-ABS   hour-INF-seven   sleep-PST
      'The girl slept for seven hours.'

    c. *çəfə-r   səhat-nəqₑe   gₑəš'ə?a-ʁe.*
      man-ABS   hour-half   talk-PST
      'The man talked for half an hour.'

    d. *səmaǯ'e-r   taqjəq-jə-ṭₑe   pska-ʁe.*
      ill-ABS   minute-INF-two   cough-PST
      'The patient coughed for two minutes.'

➢ However, adverbials of temporal duration no less freely combine with Strong Inceptive-Stative (20a), Strong Ingressive-Processual (20b), Strong Multiplicative (20c) and some Strong Telic (20d), (20e) vs. (20f) predicates:

(20) a. *č'ale-m pŝaŝe-r   jəλes-jə-tfe   ŝₑə   ə-λeʁₑə-ʁ.*
      boy-OBL girl-ABS   year-INF-five   good   3SG.A-see-PST
      'The boy was in love with the girl for five years.'

    b. *samoljwetə-r   səhat-jə-ṭₑə   krasnwedar   bəbə-ʁe.*
      airplane-ABS   hour-INF-two   Krasnodar   fly-PST
      'The airplane flew in the direction of Krasnodar for two hours.'

    c. *çəfə-m   čəgə-r   taqjəq-jə-š'e   ə-ʁe-səsə-ʁ.*
      man-OBL tree-ABS   minute-INF-three   3SG.A-CAUS-shake-PST
      'The man shook the tree for three minutes.'

    d. *č'ale-m səhat-nəqₑe   pjəsme-r   ə-txə-ʁ.*
      boy-OBL hour-half   letter-ABS   3SG.A-write-PST
      'The boy wrote the letter for half an hour.'

    e. *mələ-r   mef-jə-tfe   ṭḵₑə-ʁe.*
      ice-ABS   day-INF-five   melt-PST
      'The ice melted for five days.'

    f. **txamate-m   taqjəq-jə-š'e   ze?ₑəč'e-r   r-jə-ʁe-ž'a-ʁ.*
      director-OBL   minute-INF-three   meeting-ABS   3SG.IO-3SG.A-CAUS-begin-PST
      '*The director opened the meeting for three minutes (i.e. he tried to open the meeting for three minutes, but failed, e.g. because the people were too loud.'

➢ The only actional class whose members normally do not combine with durational adverbials is the Punctual class (21a); however, in appropriate contexts recategorization is possible (21b):

(21) a. **?egₑawe-r   taqjəq-jə-ṭₑe   qe-we-ʁ.*
      balloon-ABS   minute-INF-two   DIR-explode-PST
      '*The balloon exploded for two minutes.'

    b. *?egₑawe-xe-r taqjəq-jə-ṭₑe   qe-we-ʁe-x.*
      baloon-PL-ABS minute-INF-two   DIR-explode-PST-PL
      'The balloons exploded (one after another) for two minutes.'

❸ How to explain the behaviour of the adverbials of temporal duration?
➢ Two possible accounts:
   ♣ **The 'lexical' account** (cf. Tatevosov 2002 and especially Tatevosov 2005 for Bagwalal, Mari and Tatar): Adyghe 'Strong' predicates are in fact 'Weak', i.e. inherently actionally ambiguous: their Preterite forms always allow both telic (ES, EP, Q) and atelic (S, P, M) interpretations, but the latter requires special context which is provided precisely by the durational adverbials.
   ♣ **The 'compositional' account** (cf. Depraetere 1995, Smith 1995, de Swart 1998): Adyghe actional classes are as in Table 1; the actional properties of the predicate may be subject to change when it is combined with adjuncts of various kinds.

5. Arguments for the compositional account

❶ 'Weak' Inceptive-Stative and Ingressive-Processual verbs in other languages allow atelic interpretation regardless of whether durational adverbials are present.

BAGWALAL (Avar-Andi < North-East Caucasian, Tatevosov 2002: 383, 385)

(22) a. *moHammad-i-la   o-b   zadača b-uhã.*
         Mohammed-OBL-DAT   this-N   task   N-understand
         'Mohammed came to understand this task ‖ understood this task for some time.'

      b. *pat'imat   qari.*
         Fatima   cry
         'Fatima started crying ‖ cried for some time.'

➢ There is at least one predicate in Adyghe which behaves like Bagwalal *-uhã* 'understand', viz. *čəjen* 'sleep' (9). Other Inceptive-Stative and Ingressive-Processual ('initiotransformative' in terms of Johanson 1996, 2000) predicates are rather similar to Bagwalal *hã* 'see', cf. (23) and (8) or Tatar *kajna* 'boil', cf. (24) and (11):

BAGWALAL (Tatevosov 2002: 382):

(23)   *moHammad-i-ba   ʕali hã.*
        Mohammed-OBL-AFF   Ali   see
        'Mohammed saw (= caught sight of) Ali ‖ *saw Ali for some time.'

TATAR (Turkic < Altaic, Tatevosov 2002: 385):

(24)   *su   kajna-dɤ.*
        water boil-PST
        'Water came to boil, started boiling ‖ *boiled for some time.'

➢ As far a I can judge from Tatevosov 2001: 251–263, 'Strong' verbs in Bagwalal do not combine with durational adverbials. However, their counterparts in Adyghe do it freely.

☞ Co-occurrence with durational adverbials in Bagwalal is determined on the level of the **lexicon**, whereas in Adyghe it is rather a matter of semantic compatibility.

❷ There are morphological forms of predicates whose interpretation is sensitive precisely to the actional properties as stated in Table 1[4].

➢ A non-finite form in *zere-...-ew* denoting the event immediately preceding the one denoted by the main clause:

(25)   *ə-ŝhe   qə-zer-jə-ʔat-ew   sə-wa-ʁ.*
        3SG.POSS-head   DIR-SBD-3SG.A-raise-CNV 1SG.A-shoot-PST
        'As soon as he raised his head, I shot.'

➢ The meaning of constructions with *zere-...-ew* crucially depends on the actional characteristic of the Preterite. Cf. Stative (26a) and Strong Inceptive-Stative (26b) predicates:

(26) a. *č'ale-r zere-səmaʒ'-ew, šk_welə-m   ḳ_wa-ʁe.*
         boy-ABS SBD-ill-CNV   school-OBL go-PST
         'The boy, still being ill, went to school. ‖ *The boy went to school as soon he became ill.'

      b. *šaḳ_we-m   pŝaŝe-r ṣ̂_wə zer-jə-λeg_w-ew   qə-š'a-ʁ.*
         hunter-OBL   girl-ABS good SBD-3SG.A-see-CNV DIR-marry-PST
         'The hunter married the girl as soon as he fell in love with her ‖ *still being in love with her.'

➢ Strong Inceptive-Stative predicates do not allow atelic interpretation of the *zere-...-ew* form; however, the Weak Inceptive-Stative predicate *čəjen* 'to sleep', **does allow** the atelic interpretation, cf. (27a), (27b) and (27c):

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[4] The material presented in this subsection was collected by Dmitry Gerasimov in Hakurinohabl in 2006.

(27) a. *č'ale-r   zere-čəj-ew,   pč'əhaṗe   ə-λeʁwə-ʁ.*
    boy-ABS   SBD-sleep-CNV   dream   3SG.A-see-PST
    'As soon as the boy fell asleep, he saw a dream.'

   b. *č'ale-r   zere-čəj-ew,   qarəwə-m   qə-xe-χwa-ʁ.*
    boy-ABS   SBD-sleep-CNV   strength-OBL   DIR-LOC-become-PST
    'As soon as the boy had slept (for a while), he acquired strength.'

   c. *č'ale-r   zere-čəj-ew,   wəne-m   r-a-xə-ʁ.*
    boy-ABS   SBD-sleep-CNV   house-OBL   3SG.IO-3SG.A-carry-PST
    'While the boy was still sleeping, they carried him out of the house.'

➢ Those Telic predicates which allow atelic interpretation with durational adverbials, do not allow it in the *zere-...-ew* construction, cf. (28a) and (28b):

(28) a. *č'ale-m   č'ewə-r   səhat-nəqwe   ə-ʁela-ʁ.*
    boy-OBL   fence-ABS   hour-half   3SG.A-paint-PST
    'The boy has been painting the fence for half an hour.'

   b. *č'ale-m   č'ewə-r   zer-jə-ʁal-ew,   weŝwə   q-je-xə-ʁ.*
    boy-OBL   fence-ABS   SBD-3SG.A-paint-CNV   hail   DIR-LOC-come.down-PST
    'Just as the boy finished painting the fence, it started to hail. ‖ *While the boy was still painting the fence, it started to hail.'

➢ Incidentally, the putative 'Strong' vs. 'Weak' Telic distinction based on the behavior of durational adverbials is not as rigid as a lexical contrast might be: some native speakers allow more Telic predicates to combine with adverbials of duration than others; however, it does not seem that any of the native speakers allow the atelic interpretation of the *zere-...-ew* forms of Telic predicates.

☞ The non-finite *zere-...-ew* forms preserve the independently established distinction between the Strong and Weak Inceptive-stative predicates, but fail to reveal any contrast between those Telic predicates which co-occur with the durational adverbials and those which do not.

☞ Both these facts strongly suggest that in Adyghe (at least) temporal adverbials of duration constitute a separate level of aspectual operators, which may change the actional properties of the predicate in a semantically-driven compositional way.

6. Theoretical implications

❶ Adyghe material provides important evidence for the idea that aspectual structure has a richer architecture than is usually assumed even by the proponents of 'two-component' theories (cf. Sasse 2002): between the 'inner' level of lexically-driven actional properties of predicates and the 'outer' level of viewpoint operators there is at least one separate level of aspectual operators, viz. the temporal adverbials. The degree of prominence and importance this level acquires is subject to cross-linguistic variation; Adyghe is an example of a language where this level is very prominent.

❷ The use of temporal adverbials for various aspectual tests (e.g. the common tests for telicity/atelicity) should be extremely cautious: it is justified only when there is independent evidence that adverbials do not shift the actional meaning of the predicate as they do in Adyghe.

Abbreviations
A – agent, ABS – absolutive, AFF – affective, CAUS – causative, CNV – converb, DAT – dative, DIR – directional preverb, DYN – dynamic prefix, INF – interfix, INS – instrumental, IO – indirect object, IPF – imperfect, LOC – locative preverb, N – neuter, OBL – oblique, PL – plural, POSS – possessive, PST – preterite, S – single core argument of intransitive predicate, SBD – subordinator, SG – singular, SOC – sociative

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