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TYPOLOGICALLY OUTSTANDING ASPECTS OF THE MORPHOLOGY
OF THE LANGUAGES OF THE CAUCASUS

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1. Layered nominal inflection

Table 1. ARCHI ‘cup’ (Kibrik 2003: 185)

	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>gel</i>	<i>gel-um</i>
Erg	<i>gel-li</i>	<i>gel-um-čaj</i>
Gen	<i>gel-li-n</i>	<i>gel-um-če-n</i>
Dat	<i>gel-li-s</i>	<i>gel-um-če-s</i>

Table 2. TSAKHUR ‘road’ (Lyutikova 2017: 669)

	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>ja²q</i>	<i>ja²q-bi</i>
Erg	<i>ja²q-i-n</i>	<i>ja²q-b-iš-e</i>
Dat	<i>ja²q-i-s</i>	<i>ja²q-b-iši-s</i>

Table 3. AVAR pronominal suppletion (Alekseev & Ataev 1997: 50, 54-55)

	‘son’	2Sg
Nom	<i>was</i>	<i>mun</i>
Erg	<i>was-aš</i>	<i>du-ča</i>
Gen	<i>was-aš-ul</i>	<i>du-r</i>
Dat	<i>was-aš-e</i>	<i>du-e</i>

Table 4. INGUSH attributive modifier inflection, ‘cold wind’ (Nichols 2011: 221)

Nom	<i>shiila mux</i>
Erg	<i>shiilacha mixuo</i>
Dat	<i>shiilacha mixaa</i>
All	<i>shiilacha mixaga</i>

BEZHTA genitive modifier inflection (Kibrik 1995: 220):

- (1) a. *abo-s* *is*
father-GEN.DIR brother.NOM
‘father’s brother’
- b. *abo-la* *is-t’i-l*
father-GEN.OBL brother-OBL-DAT
‘to father’s brother’

BAGWALAL constraints on focus (Kibrik ed. 2001: 691-693)

- (2) a. [*ʕisa-w-R-ō* *waša*]_{NOM} *w-ā*.
Isa-GEN-FOC-M son.NOM M-come
‘ISA’s son came.’

- b. **[fisa-w-R-ō waša-š:u-r]*_{OBL} *awal žērāX*.
 Isa-GEN-FOC-M son-OBL-ERG house builds
 expected: ‘ISA’s son is building a house.’

Table 5. WEST CIRCASSIAN ‘girl’ (own fieldwork data, 2004–2010)

	“definite”		“indefinite”
	Sg	Pl	
Abs	<i>pšaše-r</i>	<i>pšaše-xe-r</i>	<i>pšaše</i>
Obl	<i>pšaše-m</i>	<i>pšaše-xe-m</i>	
Ins	<i>pšaše-m-č’e</i>	<i>pšaše-xe-m-č’e</i>	<i>pšaše-č’e</i>

Table 6. STANDARD KABARDIAN demonstrative inflection (Colarusso 1992: 66)

	Sg	Pl
Abs	<i>a-r</i>	<i>a-xe-r</i>
Obl	<i>a-bə</i>	<i>a-xe-m</i>
Ins	<i>a-bə-č’e</i>	<i>a-xe-m-č’e</i>

Table 7. BESLENEY KABARDIAN demonstrative inflection (own fieldwork, v. Ulyap, 2011)

	Sg	Pl
Abs	<i>a-r</i>	<i>a-bə-xe-r</i>
Obl	<i>a-bə-m</i>	<i>a-bə-xe-m</i>
Ins	<i>a-bə-m-č’e</i>	<i>a-bə-xe-m-č’e</i>

2. Multiple exponence

BATSBI periodic ME of gender (Harris 2009: 268)

- (3) *tišin c’a daħ d-ex-d-o-d-an-iš*
 old house(NOM) PV CM-destroy-CM-PRS-CM-EVID-2PL.ERG
 ‘Y’all are evidently destroying the old house.’

Table 8. GEORGIAN alternating ME of case: Dative of *rame* ‘something’ (Vogt 1971: 44-46, Harris 2017: 153)

older variant	<i>ra-s = me</i>
intermediate variant	<i>ra-s-me-s</i>
newer variant	<i>ra-me-s</i>

Table 9. KHINALUG reinforcement ME in nominal plurals (Harris 2017: 64)

gloss	Sg	Pl
‘enemy’	<i>dušman</i>	<i>dušman-ir</i>
‘goat’	<i>taka</i>	<i>taka-d</i>
‘drop’	<i>kixir</i>	<i>kixir-d-ir</i>
‘cheese’	<i>eng</i>	<i>eng-ir-d-ir</i>

ABAZA reinforcement ME of negation in finite verbal forms (fieldwork data, Inzhich-Chukun, 2017-2019, textual examples)

- (4) a. *j-sə-m-dār-wa-ta*
 3SG.N.ABS-1SG.ERG-NEG-know-IPF-ADV
 ‘as I did not know that...’ (non-finite)
- b. *jə-gʷ-sə-m-dār-ɬ*
 3SG.N.ABS-NEG-1SG.ERG-NEG-know(AOR)-DCL
 ‘I did not know that.’ (finite)

Table 10 (= 1). ARCHI accidental ME of plural, ‘cup’ (Kibrik 2003: 185)

	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>gel</i>	<i>gel-um</i>
Erg	<i>gel-li</i>	<i>gel-um-čaj</i>
Gen	<i>gel-li-n</i>	<i>gel-um-če-n</i>
Dat	<i>gel-li-s</i>	<i>gel-um-če-s</i>

Ubykh ME of absolutive plural in verbs:

- (5) a. *a-z-ve-dex-á-n*
 3PL.ABS-1SG.ERG-CAUS.PL-stand.PL-PL-PRS
 ‘I make them stand up.’ (Vogt 1963: 112)
- b. *š’-k’-á-ne-jle-me*
 1PL.ABS-go-PL-IPF-RS.PL-NEG
 ‘We weren’t going’ (Fenwick 2011: 122)

3. Distributed exponence

Table 11. GEORGIAN, some tense-aspect-mood forms of ‘hide’

	Active	Passive
Present	<i>mal-av-s</i>	<i>i-mal-eb-a</i>
Imperfect	<i>mal-av-d-a</i>	<i>i-mal-eb-od-a</i>
Future	<i>da-mal-av-s</i>	<i>da-i-mal-eb-a</i>
Conditional	<i>da-mal-av-d-a</i>	<i>da-i-mal-eb-od-a</i>
Aorist	<i>da-mal-a</i>	<i>da-i-mal-a</i>
Optative	<i>da-mal-o-s</i>	<i>da-i-mal-o-s</i>

4. Polysynthesis in West Caucasian

BESLENEY KABARDIAN polysynthetic predicate (own fieldwork, Ulyap, 2011–2013)

- (6) *sə-qə-zer-a-x^wə-č’erə-mə-ʔetə-č’ə-ž’-a-r*
 1SG.ABS-DIR-REL.FCT-3PL.IO-BEN-LOC-NEG-tie-ELAT-RE-PST-ABS
 ‘that they could not untie me from there’

BESLENEY KABARDIAN polysynthetic nominal (Yury Lander’s fieldwork data)

- (7) *d-jə-[B^wəneB^w = bzəlx^wəbe = daxe = dede]-m*
 1PL.PR-POSS-neighbour = woman = beautiful = very-OBL
 ‘our very beautiful lady-neighbour’

WEST CIRCASSIAN polypersonalism (Lander & Letuchiy 2010: 266)

- (8) *sə-qə-t-de-p-fə-Ø-r-a-ka-že-š’tə-b*
 1SG.ABS-DIR-1PL.IO-COM-2SG.IO-BEN-3SG.IO-DAT-3PL.ERG-CAUS-read-IPF-PST
 ‘They were making me read it to you together with us.’

ABAZA polypersonalism (fieldwork data, Inzhich-Chukun, 2017, textual example)

- (9) *j-šə-z-j-á-s-h^w-p*
 3SG.N.ABS-2PL.IO-BEN-3SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-NPST.DCL
 ‘I will tell this to him about you.’

KABARDIAN locative applicatives (Kumakhov 1964: 165)

- (10) a. *tjepšec’ə-m jə-λə-n*
 plate-OBL LOC:container-lie-MSD
 ‘to be on a plate’

- b. *škampə-m de-λə-n*
cupboard-OBL LOC:enclosure-lie-MSD
'to be in a cupboard'
- c. *dave-m xe-λə-n*
oil-OBL LOC:mass-lie-MSD
'to be in oil'
- d. *šxəʔenə-m kʷeçə-λə-n*
blanket-OBL LOC:through-lie-MSD
'to be in a blanket'

ABAZA highly specialized applicatives

- (11) *j-s-napə-ça-pə-l-č-t*
3SG.N.ABS-1SG.IO-LOC:hand-LOC:below-LOC:front-3SG.F.ERG-break(AOR)-DCL
'She broke it in my hands.' (Klychev 1995: 170)
- (12) *j-lə-qʷdə-l-žə-t*
3SG.N.ABS-3SG.F.IO-LOC:neck-3SG.F.ERG-tear(AOR)-DCL
'She tore it from her neck.' (Klychev 1995: 275)

WEST CIRCASSIAN applicative recursion (Lander & Letuchiy 2010: 269)

- (13) *s-a-fə-Ø-f-e-txe*
1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-3SG.IO-BEN-DYN-write
'I write to him for their benefit.' / 'I write to them for his benefit.'

Table 12. The West Caucasian verbal template (Arkadiev & Lander to appear):

prefixes				root	suffixes					
argument structure zone				pre-stem elements	stem				endings	
absolutive	subordinators	applicatives and indirect objects	ergative	preradical negation	causative	root (simple or complex)	aspectual, modal and evaluative operators	temporal operators	suffixal negation	illocutionary operators or subordinators
1	1	>1	1	1	1 or 2	1	>1	>1	1	>1

WEST CIRCASSIAN scope-ordering of suffixes (Lander 2016: 3523)

- (14) a. *gʷəšʷe-šʷe-žʷə-β*
be.glad-SML-RE-PST
's/he pretended again that s/he was happy' (refactive > simulative)
- b. *gʷəšʷe-žʷə-šʷa-β*
be.glad-RE-SML-PST
's/he pretended that s/he was happy again' (simulative > refactive)

ABAZA discontinuous dependencies (cf. Lomtadze et al. 1989: 111-112)

- (15) a. *d-c-wə-n*
3SG.H.ABS-go-IPF-PST.DCL
'S/he was going.' (finite)
- b. *j-c-wə-z*
REL.ABS-go-IPF-PST.NFIN
'the one who was going' (non-finite)

BESLENEY KABARDIAN floating prefixes (own fieldwork data, Ulyap, 2011)

- (16) a. *sə-ǰ-a-de-k^w-a*
 1SG.ABS-DIR-3PL.IO-COM-go-PST
- b. *s-a-ǰə-de-k^w-a*
 1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-DIR-COM-go-PST
 a = b ‘I came with them’.

WEST CIRCASSIAN: mismatch of syntactic and morphological constituency in the nominal complex (Lander 2017: 90)

- (17) [*a g^wəšʔəʔe-xe-r z-e-s-ʔ^we-re*] = *pšêšêb^wə-r*
 that word-PL-ABS REL.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-DYN = female.friend-ABS
 ‘the female friend to whom I told those words’

Abbreviations

ABS — absolutive; ADV — adverbial; AOR — aorist; BEN — benefactive; CAUS — causative; CM — class marker; COM — comitative; DAT — dative; DCL — declarative; DIR — directional preverb; DYN — dynamicity; ELAT — relative; ERG — ergative; EVID — evidential; F — feminine; FCT — factive; FOC — focus; GEN — genitive; H — human; IO — indirect object; IPF — imperfective; LOC — locative preverb; M — masculine; MSD — masdar; N — neuter; NEG — negation; NFIN — non-finite; NOM — nominative; NPST — nonpast; OBL — oblique; PL — plural; POSS — possessive; PR — possessor; PRS — present; PST — past; PV — preverb; RE — reffective; REL — relativizer; RS — retrospective shift; SML — similative.

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