Ubykh

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Contents

Acknowledgments and Dedication

Though this is only an outline of Ubykh grammar and does not pretend to be comprehensive by any means, the presence of my name alone on the front cover is nonetheless rather misleading, as this book would not have been possible without support from many quarters. My thanks go to all who have assisted me on this journey; however, a few in particular deserve mention for special help and support offered during the writing of this book.

I'd firstly like to thank George Hewitt, Professor of Caucasian Languages at the University of London, for graciously fielding many questions over the course of several years, and also for generously providing me with copies of the extensive audio recordings he made with the last native speaker of Ubykh, Tevfik Esenç, in Turkey in 1974. Hewitt's recordings form a substantial part of the corpus on which this grammar is based, and I am immensely grateful to him not only for allowing me the chance to work with this material and to publish numerous extracts from it for the first time in this book, but also for his great collegiality and willingness to share his knowledge. Viacheslav Chirikba of Leiden University also kindly provided me with field recordings he made with Tevfik Esenç in 1991; unfortunately I could not use any of his material here, but I'm grateful to him nonetheless for this and much other academic assistance. My thanks go also to Rebecca Coates, who kindly arranged for the transcription of the Turkish version of the first sample text, and to Refik Kanjhan, who did the transcription. All remaining errors are, of course, my own responsibility.

All of the North-West Caucasian people with whom I've had contact during the nine or so years for which I have been involved with Ubykh have been enthusiastic and encouraging, and I'd like to thank them deeply for welcoming my interest in their cultures and history. Special thanks must go to my good friend Katia Tlisha Abzakh and her siblings Aydin and Natasha, of Circassian and Ubykh ancestry and the first North-West Caucasian people I had the pleasure of meeting in person, for their generosity, encouragement, and friendship as I learned about their ancestral cultures. *Yeden Wen şüışueq'ınax* – thank you so much!

I have been assisted in the writing and conceptualisation of this grammar by other volumes in the *Languages of the World/Materials* series, especially Viacheslav Chirikba's *Abkhaz* (LW/M 119), but also *Nyulnyul* (by William McGregor, LW/M 88) and *Irish* (by Aidan Doyle, LW/M 201). The spectrographs in Figures 1 and 2 were produced with the spectrographic analysis program *WASP* (© Mark Huckvale, University College London), obtainable online from http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/resource/sfs/wasp.htm. The map in Appendix 1 was created using satellite imagery accessed through NASA's virtual globe program *WorldWind* (http://worldwind.arc.nasa.gov/java/). Final images throughout were edited and formatted using *GIMP* 2.6.7 (http://www.gimp.org/).

I would like to dedicate this book to Tevfik Esenç, Hüseyin Kozan, Hikmet Çisemuha, Alemkeri Hunç, Ali Bilaş, Osman Güngör, Musa Kâzim Özdemir, Şevket Gülkan, İliyas Hoskan, Nikok İsmail, Hidayet Kumaç, İliyas bey, Kâmil Sarı, Halil Ural, Saadettin Hunç, and the unidentifiable other speakers whose utterances I have relied on. I hope these Ubykh-speakers would have been satisfied by this description of their language; I hope also they would have been pleased to know that their language has not been forgotten, and still attracts great interest both from linguists and from the surviving descendants of the Ubykh nation.

Rohan Fenwick – Brisbane, Australia (March 2011)

Abbreviations and Symbols

[ ]	(1) latent or deleted phones or morphemes; (2) narrow phonetic transcriptions	HORT	hortative
		id.	*idem*; the same
( )	optional or conditioned phones or morphemes	IMPER	imperative
		IMPF	imperfect
Ø	phonologically null agreement-marker or causative prefix	INSTR	instrumental postposition
		INTENS	intensive
		INTERR	interrogative
		IRR	irrealis
-	inflectional morpheme boundary	ITER	iterative
		JOC, joc.	jocular
:	boundary between portions of a complex morpheme or derived form	lit.	literally
		LOC	locative
		MAL	malefactive
!	morpheme whose position or presence in a word form is unexpected	MIR	mirative past
		NEG	negative
		NFIN	non-finite
1s, 1p	first person singular, plural	NOM	nominaliser
2s, 2p	second person singular, plural	NULL.ABS	null/empty absolutive
3s, 3p	third person singular, plural	NWC	North-West Caucasian
ABS, abs.	absolutive case	OBL, obl.	oblique case
ADV	adverbial	OPT	plain (potentative) optative
AFF	affective	PART	particle
AOR	(past) aorist	p.c.	personal communication
ATTEN	attenuative	PL, pl.	plural
BEN	benefactive	PLUP	pluperfect
C	an unspecified consonant	POSS	possessive
CAUS	causative	POT	potential
COM	comitative(-instrumental)	PRES	present
COND	conditional	PRIV	privative
CONJ	conjunctive element	PROG	present progressive
CONT	continuative	PROT	protasis
CONV	converb	PVB	preverb
COP	copula	QUOT	quotative
DIM	diminutive	RECIP	reciprocal
DYN, dyn.	dynamic	REFL	reflexive
EMPH	emphatic	REL	relative
ERG, erg.	ergative case	relat.	relational case
EXC	excessive	RES	resultative
EXH	exhaustive	SG, sg.	singular
FRUSTR.OPT	frustrative optative	STAT, stat.	stative
FUT	future	V	an unspecified vowel
GEN, gen.	genitive	VOC	vocative
HAB	habitual		

0. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

0.1. The language and its affiliation

Ubykh is a member of the North-West Caucasian (NWC) language family, also called the Abkhaz(o)-Adyghe(an) or Circassian family, of which the remaining languages in the family form two distinct dialect continua. The Abkhaz-Abaza continuum comprises five major dialects conventionally referred to as Abkhaz and two referred to as Abaza, and the Circassian continuum comprises four major dialects referred to as Adyghe or West Circassian, and two referred to as Kabardian or East Circassian[1]. Ubykh forms its own distinct branch of the family, although to which other branch it is more closely related is a matter of some debate. Kumakhov (1984:251-268) sees Abkhaz-Abaza as having been the first language group to split from the Proto-NWC parent language, though Chirikba (1996:7-8) and Lucassen (1997) rather view the initial split as having been between Circassian and Abkhaz-Abaza-Ubykh, and see the many characteristics shared by Ubykh and Circassian as due to prolonged and intense contact influence from the latter.

While the unity of the NWC family is in no doubt, relating it to other language families has been much more challenging, and proposals of wider phylogenetic connections have met with varying levels of acceptance. Colarusso's (1997, 2003) proposal of a genetic link with the Indo-European family seems to have garnered little support from the academic community. The suggested connection to the North-East Caucasian or Nakh-Daghestanian languages (see e.g. Abdokov 1983; Nikolayev and Starostin 1994; Chirikba 1996:402-406) has found wider but not universal acceptance, though even if the idea of a unified North Caucasian family is rejected, the similarities between North-East Caucasian and NWC indicate at the very least a long period of reciprocal influence and substantial transference of lexical roots. Proposals of more long-range genetic connections, however (e.g. Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994; Bengtson 2004), have attracted only small groups of supporters. All proposed superfamilies involving NWC still meet with some scepticism (see e.g. Grant 1995; Nichols 1997; Vovin 1997).

0.2. The historical record

The first known records of the Ubykh language consist of several words and phrases given by the Abkhazian-Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi (though misattributed to *Şadša-Abaza* [Sadz Abkhaz]) in his 17th-century *Seyâhatnâme* (see Provasi (1984), Dumézil (1978, 1988) and Gippert (1992)), followed some two centuries later by a brief wordlist given by the Englishman James S. Bell (see Bell 1840) – oddly, also misattributed to Abaza – in his journal of his residence in the area between 1837 and 1839. Serious linguistic treatment, however, did not begin until the Russian general-cum-ethnographer Baron Peter von Uslar (1887; 1863 in lithograph) produced an Ubykh grammar sketch as part of an ethnographic work on the Abkhaz language, and this is the only major work on the language to have been carried out while the Ubykhs were still in their native lands (§0.3). Further work by the Danish linguist Åge Benediktsen in 1898 now seems to have been lost (Smeets 1997:37, 59), though the German Adolf Dirr, in compiling his grammar and dictionary (Dirr 1928), made

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[1] Chirikba (1996:14, 41) lists the major varieties of the other NWC languages as follows: **Abkhaz** – Abzhywa, Bzyp, Sadz, Tsabal, A(k)hchypsy; **Abaza** – T'ap'anta, Ashkhyrywa/Ashkharywa; **Adyghe** – Shapsygh, Bzhadygh, Abdzakh, Temirgoi; **Kabardian** – Kabardian proper, Bes(le)ney.

some use of Benediktsen's material before its disappearance (see Dirr 1928:2). After Dirr, the Frenchman Georges Dumézil (1931) and Hungarian Julius von (or Gyula) Mészáros (1934) each produced monographs on Ubykh grammar, the latter also including a dictionary, following which there was a lull in Ubykh studies until Dumézil was informed in 1953 that, contrary to his previous belief that no speakers survived, several still lived in the region of Manyas in Turkey (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:6; Smeets 1997:38). As a result, Dumézil would come to devote a large part of the next thirty-odd years to documenting the language.

Although his primary interests in folklore and mythology, combined with a couple of questionable practices in the publication of many of the texts[2], led to the presence of minor lacunae in some of the linguistic data, it is certain that knowledge of Ubykh would now be extremely impoverished were it not for Dumézil. He conducted vast amounts of work with over two dozen Ubykh-speakers for more than half a century from 1930 to 1986, the result of which was several thousand pages of text both in and about all aspects of the language, with particular focuses on folklore, grammar, and etymology (see e.g. the books of Dumézil (1957; 1959a; 1960a; 1962b; 1965; 1967) and Dumézil and Esenç (1975a; 1978), as well as several dozen articles too numerous to list here); doubtless a great deal more Ubykh material recorded by Dumézil is yet to see the light of day. As well as his own extensive work, Dumézil introduced the Norwegian linguist Hans Vogt to the language, in large part to attempt to understand the hugely complex consonantal system; Vogt's work with the language led to the most accurate bilingual Ubykh dictionary to date (Vogt 1963, also containing an additional series of texts), and although even this contains a quite substantial quantity of errors (later revised and corrected by Dumézil (1965)) and omitted a large number of lexemes discovered both before and after its publication, it nevertheless remains a valuable tool.

In addition, it is equally sure that without the considerable skills, patience and generosity of Tevfik Esenç (TE), Ubykh's last fully competent native speaker, Ubykh studies would have been even more seriously impaired. From 1954 (see Dumézil and Namitok 1955a) until his death in 1992, TE worked closely not only with Dumézil and Vogt, but also with many other linguists – notably Dumézil's compatriot and disciple Georges Charachidzé (see Charachidzé and Esenç 1991a-b; 1993a-b), though see also Leroy and Paris (1974), Catford (1986) and Hewitt (1974; 1987), who also worked with TE – to help record all aspects of his language. TE was responsible for the production of more than half of the Ubykh texts in the published corpus, and his faculties with and insights into his language were so esteemed by Dumézil and Charachidzé in particular that he was named as co-author by them on more than a dozen papers, and also as principal collaborator on a monograph on Ubykh verbal grammar (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a). As Smeets (1997:54) notes, it must be remembered that TE gradually became more of a linguist and less of a native speaker as opportunities for speaking Ubykh in naturalistic settings declined and as his association with the linguistic community deepened; nonetheless, his long and priceless labours will always be deeply appreciated by all who study Ubykh.

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[2] Two such practices are important to note. For a period between 1956 and 1965, Dumézil noted stress only rarely, and not at all in connected text; also, Dumézil at an early stage established Tevfik Esenç's idiolect as a sort of 'standard', and often had Esenç revise and 'correct' texts recited by other speakers before publication (§0.5), which may have obliterated important data on idiolectic variation.

0.3. Sociocultural situation

The name 'Ubykh' comes from one of two self-designators in the language. The term *wibíx* is a loan from Adyghe *wəbəx* 'id.', ultimately related to Abkhaz *a-wə́bl[a]-aː* '(the) Ubykh people', and according to Colarusso (2002:98), perhaps to Adyghe *wəbən*, the name of a river in the Caucasus; though Adyghe in origin, the term *wibíx* was widely used among the last Ubykh-speakers. The native self-designator is *tʷɜχí* (cf. Uslar's (1887) Russian term *Пёх* /pʲox/ and Mészáros's (1934) German term *Päkhy*), and the language is referred to in Ubykh indiscriminately as either *tʷɜχí-bzɜ́* (*bzɜ* 'language') or *wibixi-bzɜ*, or simply as *ʃi-bzɜ́* 'our language'. Ubykh was originally spoken in the hinterland around what is now the modern city of Sochi in Krasnodar Krai, an autonomous region of the Russian Federation on the northeast coast of the Black Sea (see the map in Appendix 1). Ubykhia was bounded to the north by either the Shakhe River or the Vardane River and its tributary the Buu, where it met Circassian lands; and to the southeast, it met with Abkhaz-speaking territory at the Khosta, or Khamysh, River (Uslar 1887:75; Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:5; Chirikba 1996:2).

Speakers of NWC languages may have inhabited the area for over two millennia[3]; the names "Aki" and "Aku", found on gold Colchian coins of the second century BC, have been identified with the Abkhaz name for the city of Sukhum(i) (Abkhaz *áqʷ'a*), then the Greek port of Dioscurias (Inal-Ipa 1965:109). However, the first specific mention of the Ubykh people likely comes from Procopius's history *De bello gothico* ('On the Gothic War') of the 6th century AD, in which he locates a tribe named Βροῦχοι (/brûːkʰoi/; cf. Ubykh *tʷɜχí* 'Ubykh', the initial *tʷ-* being phonetically [t͡p] ~ [t͡b̥]) to the north of the Ἄβασγοι /ábasgoi/, a Greek term for an ancient precursor of the Abkhaz-Abaza people (see Chirikba 2003:9)[4]. However, little more of the Ubykhs' history is known until the late 18th century, when they and their fellow NWC peoples entered the pages of history again in a tragic fashion.

The Caucasus has long been considered prime territory for imperialistic drives as a result of its strategic position; substantial parts of the region were invaded or conquered at various times by, among others, the Russian, Ottoman and Persian Empires. For several decades between the late 18th and mid-19th century, the Russian Empire in particular had designs on the northern Caucasus, and carried out protracted military campaigning with the goal of bringing the area under Russian control. Ultimately, following a large-scale invasion effort by Tsar Alexander II and a subsequent prolonged and bloody war across most of the northern Caucasus (including not only NWC-speaking territories, but also a large swathe of other northern Caucasian territory including Chechenia, Ingushetia and Daghestan), the region was eventually conquered by Russian forces in the mid-19th century, and between April and May of 1864 the entire Ubykh nation, along with large parts of the Abkhaz, Abaza and Circassian

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[3] Though the antiquity of the NWC languages in at least parts of the current NWC-speaking region is a political minefield, largely with regard to the presence of Abkhaz in modern Abkhazia. The debate between the Georgian scholars who see Abkhaz as a recent intrusion into historically Kartvelian lands and the Abkhaz scholars who consider Abkhaz indigenous to the region is vitriolic, and fuelled in no small part by rampant nationalism. I have my own opinions on the debate, of course, but as its relevance to Ubykh's modern milieu is rather tangential I refrain from further comment here.

[4] "Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἀβασγῶν ὅρους κατὰ μὲν τὸ ὄρος τὸ Καυκάσιον Βροῦχοι ᾤκηνται, Ἀβασγῶν τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν μεταξὺ ὄντες." ["From the Abasgian [= Abkhazian] border to the Caucasus mountain[s] dwell [the] Broukhoi, being between the Abasgians and the Alans [= Ossetians]."] (*De bello gothico* IV.4).

populations, were forced to emigrate from their ancestral lands and seek refuge elsewhere, an event which triggered the collapse of the Ubykhs as a distinct cultural entity. As it is beyond the scope of this book to discuss the full history of the conflict, which lasted several decades and is politically fraught, I can do little more here than refer the reader to Voroshilov's (2006) history of the Ubykh people, likely the most detailed single account to date of the war as it pertained to the Ubykhs (indeed, more than half of Voroshilov's book is concerned with the events of the Russian-North Caucasian war). Also, Dumézil (1965:15-36) gives a succinct account of the events leading up to the great emigration and the hundred years thereafter from a more ethnographic point of view, and Jaimoukha (2001:58-70) gives a more detailed summary of the events of the war from a more generalised NWC perspective.

In exile, usage and transmission of Ubykh rapidly declined. Jaimoukha (2001:69) estimates that in 1864, some 30,000 Ubykhs left Ubykhia for Ottoman lands, the majority settling in Anatolia. But by the mid-20th century, Ubykh was spoken by only a few dozen in a handful of Turkish villages, notably Hacıosman, Hacıyakup and Karacalar (Balıkesir province) and a cluster of villages, including Kırkpınar, Yanık (Sakarya province) and Maşukiye (Kocaeli province), on the southern edge of Lake Sapanca[5]. Roughly fifty speakers of varying abilities are named in Vogt (1963:257-258) and Dumézil (1965:20-36). Ubykh finally became extinct as a spoken language when its last fully competent native speaker, Tevfik Esenç, died in his sleep on the night of the 7th – 8th October, 1992[6].

0.4. Language contact

Before the 1864 exodus, Ubykhia bordered only other NWC-speaking lands. Shapsygh Adyghe was spoken to the northwest and Hakuchi Adyghe to the northeast of Ubykhia, and Sadz Abkhaz to the southeast (Chirikba 1996:2), though it seems clear that Ubykh must also have had some contact with Bzyp Abkhaz, as the two share several important phonological features, notably the same complex set of 27 sibilant phonemes (Hewitt 1987:24) and also phonemic pharyngealisation (Chirikba 2003:19). Bilingualism with other NWC languages was common, and though it is almost impossible to separate old Circassian loans from those borrowed in the period after the 1864 exodus, a layer of loans from both Bzyp and Sadz Abkhaz may be identified in Ubykh (see Chirikba 1986):

kʷ'ȝbȝ ~ kʷ'ɐbȝ 'to bathe, to wash (oneself)' ← Abkhaz *á-kʷ'aba-ra* 'id.'
ʣȝɕȝ 'to swim' ← Bzyp Abkhaz *á-ʥɕa-ra* 'id.' (cf. Abzhywa *á-ʣsa-ra*)
lȝjʃʷȝ 'code of morals' ← Abkhaz *a-lájʃʷa* 'id.'
tȝχʷtȝj 'holster or cover for a weapon' ← Abkhaz *a-taħʷtáj ~ a-təħʷtáj* 'holster, scabbard'
ʣȝ 'handspan' ← Sadz Abkhaz *á-ʣa* 'id.' (cf. Bzyp *á-ʥa*)
ts'ipχȝ 'key; lock' ← dialectic Abkhaz *a-ts'əpχá* (cf. Abzhywa *a-tsapχá ~ a-tsəpχá*)
rȝkʷ'ȝ 'vine shoot, tendril' ← Abkhaz *a-rákʷ'a* 'id.'

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[5] These villages, from which the identified Ubykh-speakers in this grammar hailed, are shown on the map in Appendix 1. Mészáros (1934:17) also notes a few other villages, not shown on the map, where Ubykh was spoken: Boğazköyü, Çavuşköyü, Haydar (Balıkesir province), Büyükderbent, Kalacık, Hendek (Sakarya province), Akçay (Kocaeli province), and Solucak (Yalova province).

[6] Viacheslav Chirikba (p.c. 2010) informs me that Erol Esenç, Tevfik Esenç's son, still speaks some Ubykh, and is likely the only surviving heritage speaker with any significant ability in the language.

There was a degree of contact with speakers of many other languages at this time (Shagirov 1989), though external loans were usually acquired indirectly, through borrowing from Circassian or Abkhaz. Connections with Megrelian can be seen via Abkhaz intermediaries:

> *bʁʁír* 'sparrow' ← Megrelian *baɣəre* 'id.' via Abkhaz *a-baʁə́r*
> *bзt'* 'young buffalo' ← Zugdidi-Samurzaq'ano Megrelian *bat'i* 'id.', via Abkhaz *a-bát'*
> *kʷírkʷímzз* 'June, July' ← Megrelian *k'virk've* 'July' via Abkhaz *(a-)kʷə́rkʷamza* 'the month of July' (cf. Abkhaz *á-mza* 'moon; month')
> *lébijз* 'cowpea' ← Megrelian *lebia* 'bean'; cf. Abkhaz *a-labqʷə́d* 'cowpea'?
> *kʲ'ir* 'lime; quicklime' ← Megrelian *k'iri* 'id.' via Abkhaz *a-kʲ'ə́r*

Connections to North-East Caucasian are legion but are hard to trace with precision, and whether these are truly old loans or rather reflect genetic relationship is still debated (§0.1), so terms from this family will not be mentioned here. However, clear loans from Greek, Russian, and various Turkic and Indo-Iranian languages may also be found:

> *bréskʲз* 'Wednesday' ← Greek *παρασκευή* /paraskeuéː/ 'preparation'[7], likely via (Old) Adyghe **bereskʲe* (cf. Temirgoi *berestʃezəj* 'Wednesday', Kabardian *berezej* 'id.')
> *qʷibʁén ~ qʷimʁén* 'small jug' ← Russian *кумган* /kumgan/ 'id.', via Adyghe *qʷəmʁan*
> *sʁʁindéq* 'crossbow' ← Turkic (cp. Kumyk *sadaq* 'quiver', Chagat *sagdak* and Turkish *sadak* 'id.'), probably via Adyghe *saʁəndaq* 'quiver' (Chirikba 1996:107-108)
> *kʲ'зnзsíw* 'mercury' ← Turkic (cp. Noghai *könesuv*, Kumyk *günesuv* 'id.'), perhaps via Shapsygh Ad *kʲ'ənesəw*?
> *tʃзrχí ~ tʃзríχ* 'wheel' ← Indo-Iranian (cp. Avestan *tʃaxra* 'id.') via Adyghe *tʃerəχ*
> *tʃзmə́gʲ* 'scythe' ← Ossetic *цæвæг* /tsævæg/ 'id.' via Hakuchi Adyghe *tʃemegʲ*

The 1864 emigration saw pressure upon Ubykh from many sources. A brief period of Laz influence may be reflected by two Ubykh words, *ndʁз* 'sun' and *kзwзr* 'slat, batten' (cp. Laz *ndɣa* 'sun; day' and *k'avari* 'wooden roofing shingle'), perhaps as the Ubykhs moved south around the Black Sea and through Laz-speaking territory into Anatolia, and the intriguing Laz noun *obɣe* 'nest' shows that the influence may have been mutual (cp. Ubykh *ʁbʁʲз́* 'id.'). However, the single largest influence on Ubykh since 1864 has been Circassian, particularly the Hakuchi dialect of Adyghe, and hundreds of Circassian words of all kinds have entered the Ubykh lexicon, often coexisting beside the native equivalents:

> *łʁχ(i) ~ łʁχˤí* 'fetter, hobble' ← Adyghe *łaχ* 'id.'
> *łзpз́d* 'socks, stockings' ← Adyghe *łeped(ə)* 'id.'
> *dзgʷí* 'deaf' ← Adyghe *degʷ(ə)* 'id.'
> *dʒзʁʷзʁʷí* 'enemy' ← Adyghe *dʒeʁʷeʁʷ* 'id.' (= Ubykh *bˤзqˤз ~ bˤзqˤз́*)
> *blʁʁз* 'age-mate, friend of a similar age' ← Adyghe *błʒaʁe* 'id.' (= Ubykh *wíʁз ~ wiʁз́*)
> *dir* 'to swallow' ← Adyghe *dərə-n* 'id.' (= Ubykh *bil*)
> *χʷзʒ* 'to change, to alter' ← Adyghe *χʷeʒə-n* 'id.' (= Ubykh *kʲ'зʁʷ*)

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[7] The Greek word has also furnished Kabardian *berestʃ'ezej* 'Monday', Georgian *p'arask'evi* 'Friday', Laz *p'araske ~ p'arask'e* 'id.' and Ossetic *bæræsk'æ* 'observation of mourning or fasting'.

Naturally, strong lexical pressure also came from Turkish. Many Turkish words are used in the Ubykh texts, although they are often not fully integrated phonologically. As with Adyghe terms, Turkicisms often coexist with native Ubykh synonyms:

dɨwkʲǵn 'shop' ← Turkish *dükkan* 'id.'
hɜlwǵ 'halva, a type of sweetmeat' ← Turkish *helva* 'id.'
dɨwnɐj 'world' ← Turkish *dünya* 'id.'
ɐlɜʂǵ 'gelding' ← Turkish *alaşa* 'id.'
sɜhǵt ~ sɜχǵt ~ sɜǵt [with vowel hiatus!] 'hour' ← Turkish *saat* 'id.'
qʷɨtɜ 'box' ← Turkish *kutu* 'id.' (= Ubykh (*n*)*tɕɜ*)
wɜdɨ ~ wɨrdɜ 'room' ← Turkish *oda* 'id.' (= Ubykh *tɕʷ*(*ɨ*)*jǵ*)

0.5. Status of documentation

Unlike many critically endangered and extinct languages, the status of Ubykh documentation is comparatively good. The language was never written natively, but various complicated and occasionally wildly different transcription systems have been used to present a great many published texts, most spanning a lengthy period between 1928 and 1992. These texts comprise the vast majority of the available corpus, although substantial unpublished collections of texts and audio recordings also exist (see e.g. Charachidzé 1997).

In terms of the textual corpus, it is natural to expect that the older the material, the more difficult it will be to deal with, and though most extant material is of eminently acceptable quality from the point of view of grammar, treatment of the phonetics of Ubykh until about the 1960s is rather untrustworthy. The material from Evliya Çelebi's 17th-century *Seyâhatnâme* uses a transcription based on the Arabic abjad, which is wholly insufficient for representing Ubykh's 80-odd consonants. The *Seyâhatnâme* material is therefore difficult to use from a phonetic viewpoint; however, with care it has been possible to extract useful information on lexemes and grammatical structures, and in one case evidence for an archaic phoneme /$\mathbf{x^w}$/, from it (cf. Chirikba 1996:281). Similarly, transcriptions in Bell (1840), Uslar (1887), Dirr (1928), Dumézil (1931) and Mészáros (1934) should be treated with caution from a phonetic standpoint, although the grammatical detail of these works is essentially accurate and extremely valuable for diachronic study.

By 1954, the consonantal system was fairly well understood (see Dumézil 1954), and with the revelation that rounding and frontness were fundamentally characteristics of consonants, not of vowels, the vocalic system was reduced to a simple height contrast by Dumézil (1958). However, the presence of a phonemic distinction between two open vowels, one affected by secondary consonantal articulation and one not, was only established in around 1962 (see Dumézil 1962b) and it was not noted consistently until 1965 (see Dumézil 1965); indeed, even now the structure of the Ubykh vocalic system is still not fully agreed upon (cf. Vogt 1963:21-28; Dumézil 1965:199-204; Colarusso 1988:293-295; Charachidzé 1989a:364). Further, the practical orthography used by previous researchers depends largely on diacritics to distinguish between related series of consonants and between the two distinct open vowels, and occasional faults in typesetting of these diacritics also led to errors. Thus, documentation dating to before 1965 must be used with appropriate attention to the issues of transcription and phonemic representation, and even in material from after this time errors are not rare.

In addition, the textual corpus consists mostly of staged stories and tales. Though examples of staged conversation are found within narratives, no examples of conversation between multiple Ubykh-speakers have been published, and data on speech performance are lacking from all periods of documentation. Information on the existence of differing speech varieties has also been somewhat limited by Dumézil's tendency, especially in later works, to have TE revise and 'correct' other speakers' texts (see e.g. Dumézil 1960b, 1961b, 1961c, 1962b, 1963a, 1965). Vogt (1963) remains the sole useful Ubykh bilingual dictionary, though it contains a great many errors (§0.2); the lexicons comprising portions of Dirr (1928) and Mészáros (1934) are now of primarily historical interest. The future of the updated and revised dictionary advertised by Charachidzé (1997), based on Dumézil's archives and further material gathered in collaboration with TE, is now uncertain following the sad event of Charachidzé's passing in early 2010; the first volume of my own dictionary, based upon the published texts along with unpublished corpora of field recordings made with TE by Hewitt (1974) and also by Viacheslav Chirikba, is almost complete (Fenwick, in preparation).

Audio recordings exist in some quantity, though large parts of this corpus are unpublished and untranscribed. Several of the texts included in Vogt's (1963) dictionary have been made available on audiocassette. A project is underway at the LACITO Institute of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris to digitalise and make available on the Internet a series of audiocassettes made by Dumézil in 1968 (see e.g. Dumézil 1968a, 1968b), and Catford (1986) made a short series of recordings – also available online – for the purposes of phonetic study. I am currently in the process of analysing the extensive field recordings of Hewitt (1974), and these form part of the corpus upon which this grammar is based.

0.6. Dialects and idiolectic variation
In a brief three-page excursus, Dumézil (1965:266-269) notes a variant form of Ubykh spoken by Osman Güngör (OG), an inhabitant of the village of Karacalar. This form exhibits a series of phonetic reductions and a handful of tense-formants not typical of Ubykh spoken elsewhere and also not always typical of the synchronic and diachronic variation found in the other speakers' varieties. Unfortunately, no further work on OG's variety seems to have been done, as Dumézil (1965:269) states that a planned further investigation in 1965 did not take place. But it seems clear even from this tiny amount of material that OG's form of Ubykh constituted a distinct dialect of the language, as many of its features – notably its divergent tense-marking system (see §2.6.5) – cannot be ascribed to the process of language death.

All other speakers from whom there are recorded texts speak broadly the same variety of Ubykh; however, there remain some minor but important idiolectic variations. Though the vast majority of the data come from TE's idiolect and the largest part of the remainder from Hüseyin Kozan (HKo), I have noted the speaker of each example sentence (except in section 1.*x*, which are all from TE unless otherwise noted) where possible: AB – Ali Bilaş; AH – Alemkeri Hunç; HÇ – Hikmet Çisemuha; HKu – Hidayet Kumaç; HU – Halil Ural; İH – İliyas Hoskan; İb – İliyas bey (surname unknown); KS – Kâmil Sarı; MK – Musa Kâzim Özdemir; Nİ – Nikok İsmail; OG – Osman Güngör; ŞG – Şevket Gülkan (see Appendix 2). Sentences from unidentified speakers are marked (unkn.). Idiolectic variations in phonology are described in §1.2.2, and variations in grammatical features are noted throughout in the appropriate sections.

0.7. Typology

Typologically, Ubykh is a stereotypical NWC language (Hewitt 2005a:122). It is a strongly head-marking and head-final ergative language that is polysynthetic and extremely agglutinative, with virtually the entire argument structure of the sentence being recapitulated in the verb. Prefixing and suffixing morphology are found in roughly equal amounts: in the noun, numerals and possessive and demonstrative markers are prefixed and case and number markings are (mostly) suffixed; in the verb, the prefixal complex is mainly concerned with argument structure and deixis, while the suffixal complex largely deals with tense, aspect and mood marking (§2.6). A very limited degree of incorporation is found (§2.6.4.4). In the noun phrase, Ubykh has as its basic orders Genitive-N(oun), Numeral-N, N-Adjective, Relative-N, and N-Adposition. The basic sentence word-order is Subject-Object-Verb, which is maintained fairly rigidly despite the theoretical possibility of other word orders (§3.2.1).

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. Issues of analysis and transcription

NWC phonological systems have long been the subject of intense study due to their immense complexity. Because of this, conflicting analyses of the phonological systems of every language in the family have been proposed, and Ubykh is no exception. Although I endeavour to present all dissenting opinions, the analysis I use here is my own, and is based mostly on the extensive recordings of TE made by Hewitt (1974) and a few of those made by Catford (1986); all narrow phonetic transcriptions throughout are based on these recordings. I use the International Phonetic Alphabet in both phonemic and phonetic transcriptions throughout; though problematic, this has been done to avoid the problems of the varied and at times unstable transcription systems used in the past (for the reader's interest, eight previous systems are presented in parallel in Appendix 3 alongside my IPA equivalents), and also in view of the challenges in creating a workable practical orthography.

Despite this, it is likely that the dispersal of the Ubykh people means that the immediate future of the language must lie in long-distance and written communication, the Internet being the obvious primary contender. To this end I propose a working Turkish-based orthography for the language in Appendix 4, which I use throughout to transcribe Ubykh names.

1.2. Consonants: realisation and distribution

1.2.1. The general consonantal system

Ubykh has gained a measure of fame in the linguistic community for its plethora of consonant phonemes. Its consonantal inventory of 84 segments, comprising eighty native and four borrowed articulatorily distinct units at ten places of articulation (Table 1), is the largest of any autochthonous Caucasian language[8], and indeed is one of the largest known inventories in

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[8] The 120-member inventory of the Sadz Abkhaz subdialect Khaltsys is reached by means of phonemic gemination; as any Sadz consonant may be geminated, I tend to view gemination as a single suprasegmental feature, which also simplifies analysis of word-initial geminate reduction in Sadz (see Vaux and Pəsiypa 1997:3). The inventory of *articulatorily* distinct Khaltsys consonants is 60. The North-East Caucasian language Archi also has a large inventory, but commentators seem to vacillate

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bilabial	b	p	p'						w	m			
pharyngealised	bˤ	pˤ	pˤ'						wˤ	mˤ			
Labiodental							v	f					
pharyngealised							vˤ						
Alveolar	d	t	t'	dz	ts	ts'	z	s	r	n	l	ɬ	ɬ'
labialised	dʷ	tʷ	tʷ'										
Alveolopalatal				dʑ	tɕ	tɕ'	ʑ	ɕ					
labialised				dʑʷ	tɕʷ	tɕʷ'	ʑʷ	ɕʷ					
Palatoalveolar				dʒ	tʃ	tʃ'	ʒ	ʃ					
labialised							ʒʷ	ʃʷ					
Retroflex				dʐ	tʂ	tʂ'	ʐ	ʂ					
Palatal									j				
Velar	g	k	k'				ɣ	x					
palatalised	gʲ	kʲ	kʲ'										
labialised	gʷ	kʷ	kʷ'					†xʷ					
Uvular		q	q'				ʁ	χ					
palatalised		qʲ	qʲ'				ʁʲ	χʲ					
labialised		qʷ	qʷ'				ʁʷ	χʷ					
pharyngealised		qˤ	qˤ'				ʁˤ	χˤ					
lab. + pharyng.		qʷˤ	qʷˤ'				ʁʷˤ	χʷˤ					
Glottal								h					

Table 1. The Ubykh consonant inventory. 1 – voiced plosive; 2 – voiceless aspirated plosive; 3 – ejective plosive; 4 – voiced affricate; 5 – voiceless aspirated affricate; 6 – ejective affricate; 7 – voiced fricative; 8 – voiceless fricative; 9 – voiced glides and trill; 10 – voiced nasal; 11 – voiced lateral approximant; 12 – voiceless lateral fricative; 13 – ejective lateral fricative ~ affricate. † Extinct (see §1.2.1.1 and footnote 9).

the world, possibly exceeded only by the Chadic language Margi (Hoffmann 1963; Colarusso 1988) and some of the indigenous languages of the Kalahari, such as !Xóõ (Traill 1985).

1.2.1.1. Segmental inventory
The exact size and nature of the inventory is open to some dispute. Of the segments in Table 1, the 80 unshaded consonants are widely accepted as the basic Ubykh inventory (Vogt 1963:18; Chirikba 1996:38; Hewitt 2005a:97); Dumézil and Esenç's (1975a:12-13) and Charachidzé's (1989:362) inventories of 81 differ only by including /k'/, found only in *ʃĭk'léwʒ* 'child's swing, see-saw' (of unknown origin) and some onomatopoeic terms and loans (cf. e.g. *k'ɐk'ɐk'* 'the sound of a chicken clucking'). Also occurring exclusively in onomatopoeic words, loans, and interjections are /g k v/ (cf. *gɨj* 'gee up (to a horse)', *kɐtrén*

as to whether the series of pharyngealised uvular consonants is phonemic (see Chumakina, Brown *et al*. 2008) or not (see Chumakina, Corbett and Brown 2008). If these pharyngealised uvulars are merely surface effects of vocalic or prosodic pharyngealisation, Archi has 70 consonants; if they are indeed underlyingly phonemic, the inventory numbers 81.

'tar', *vɨr* 'the sound of glass breaking'). /ɣ/, too, is found only in words not native in origin, and /h/ only in *hɨ(n)dʒ* 'now' and in interjections and loans, but these phonemes have become completely naturalised. Also, though /n/ is fully phonemic, it iss an optional excrescent consonant before various coronal and dorsal consonants in many lexemes, both in word-initial and word-medial positions: *q'ʒ(n)tɕʷʒ́* 'finger', *(n)tɕʒ* 'box, case', *gʲʒ́(n)tɕʷ'ʒ* 'coal', *(n)dʷʒ́ʂʒ ~ (n)dʷʒʂʒ́* 'rope; reins', *gʲɨ(n)gʲʒ* 'to be afraid', *(n)kʷ'ʒ* 'household'. In rapid speech it also tends to assimilate to a following velar or uvular consonant (Dumézil and Namitok 1954:167).

Colarusso (1992) conducted a phonetic and etymological analysis which claimed to reveal the existence of an 'eighty-first' (sc. 85th?) consonant: a labialised velar voiceless fricative he transcribed as /x̂ʷ/ [sic], realised as a velar or palatal fricative with bilabial frication, [x^ɸ ~ ç^ɸ], and allegedly confused with /ɕʷ/ by previous researchers. Chirikba (1996:328-329) does reconstruct a Proto-Ubykh labialised voiceless velar fricative */xʷ/, cognate with the /xʷ/ surviving in modern Kabardian (Hewitt 2005a:98), and there is some slim but striking direct evidence for the persistence of this phoneme until the 1930s in historical forms of Ubykh[9]; however, Catford (1997:110-111), Smeets (p.c. cited in Hewitt 2005a:97) and Hewitt (p.c. 2011) reject Colarusso's proposed modern Ubykh /x̂ʷ/, and I concur with their rejection. Spectrographic comparison of the sibilants in TE's enunciations of the second-person plural marker *ɕʷ(ɨ)-* (= Colarusso's (1992:150) **sʷə-** in **sʷəɣʷá(ɬa)** 'you (pl.)') and the root *ɕʷʒ* 'white' (= Colarusso's (1992:148) **x̂ʷá**) shows no significant acoustic difference between the two (Figure 1a-d); moreover, the characteristic reduction of peak energy during the articulation of the labialised alveolopalatal fricatives (Figure 1a-b, 1e-f), identified by Hewitt (1987:26), is also reflected in phones for which Colarusso proposes /x̂ʷ/ (Figure 1c-d).

1.2.1.2. Distinctive features and phonetic realisations
Most other analyses of the Ubykh consonantal inventory argue points of phonetics rather than phonemics, and largely focus upon the phonetics of the complex sibilant inventory; see Leroy and Paris (1974) for a phonetic analysis based upon X-ray tracings of TE. Some scholars, such as Vogt (1963:17) and Chirikba (1996:38), call the retroflex series 'alveolar'[10] and consider the palatoalveolar series its palatalised version. Catford (p.c. cited in Ladefoged and

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[9] The modern root *ɬʒxʒ́* 'blood vessel, vein' was transcribed with an optional but clear labial element by both Dirr (1928:116) (as **lˡ⁰aẖ(w)a**) and Dumézil (1937:131) (as **λaχ(w)a**), and Evliya Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme* (*c*. 1650) transcribes *ʃxɨ* 'five' as اَشوُ *'ašwu*, the final waw-damma (see Gippert 1992:23) a strong sign that this word used to have the form *ʃxʷɨ. But the fact that even early writers recognised this */xʷ/ when it still existed – it has now merged with /x/ (Chirikba 1996:280) – casts doubt on Colarusso's assertion that his /x̂ʷ/ could go unrecognised by so many for so long in modern Ubykh.

[10] "Selon Dumézil ces sons sont d'articulation rétroflexe… opinion que nous ne pouvons partager." ["According to Dumézil these sounds are of retroflex articulation… an opinion with which we cannot concur."] (Vogt 1963:17). I see this 'alveolar' characterisation of the retroflex series as based on an overly strict use of the term 'retroflex'. Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:25-30) show that cross-linguistically, the term 'retroflex' is used in practice to encompass a wide range of articulatory gestures from strong (subapico-palatal) to weak (apico-postalveolar) retroflexion; the Ubykh series is only moderately retroflexed, being apico-prepalatal in articulation (Leroy and Paris 1974:266).

Maddieson 1996:161-162) treats the palatoalveolar series as laminal alveolopalatals and the alveolopalatals as a distinct "laminal closed post-alveolar" articulation, transcribing them and their labialised correlates with a unique series of IPA symbols, /dẑ tŝ tŝ' ẑ ŝ dẑʷ tŝʷ tŝʷ' ẑʷ ŝʷ/. Much has also been written about the two labialised sibilant series of Ubykh, and several differing opinions are encountered in the literature. Lucassen (1984) views the five-member series as alveolar and the two-member series as palatoalveolar; Chirikba (1996:39) sees the five-member series as alveolopalatal and the two-member series as retroflex; and Hewitt (1987) and Charachidzé (1989:360) see the five-member series as alveolopalatal and the two-member series as palatoalveolar. This last treatment is the one used in this grammar.

But whatever the phonetic reality, what is clear is that the massive consonantal system of Ubykh is due to the use of articulatory positions along the entire vocal tract; the presence of a tripartite voice distinction between voiced, voiceless aspirated and ejective members in plosives and affricates; and a peculiarly varied range of secondary articulation types, comprising palatalisation, pharyngealisation and labialisation, with the latter two also able to co-occur in the uvular series. Gemination is not phonemic in the 'standard' dialect of Ubykh, but some consonants, especially but not limited to /b bˤ n j ʁ/, may be phonetically geminated in intervocalic environments (Dumézil 1931:8). Phonemically long consonants do, however, exist in the distinct dialect of Ubykh spoken by Osman Güngör (§1.2.2).

1.2.1.2.1. Laryngeal setting
The basic contrasts of laryngeal setting in Ubykh are [unaspirated voiced ~ aspirated voiceless ~ ejective] in plosives and affricates and [voiced ~ voiceless] in fricatives. All sonorants are voiced; /r/ is usually strongly trilled. Voiced plosives are neither aspirated nor especially tense. Voiceless plosives and affricates are aspirated, and aspiration is of only moderate force; however, the voiceless aspirated uvular plosives are susceptible to a strongly affricated release accompanying the aspiration: *ɐ-ʒʷɜqɜ́-q'ɜ* 'X was late' [ɐʒʷɐˈq͡χʰɐq'ɐ].

Ejectivity is rather weak in Ubykh, and distinguishing between ejective and voiceless plosives is sometimes difficult; Vogt (1963:15) describes Ubykh ejectivity as "probablement moins forte qu'en géorgien, souvent assez difficile à saisir pour les dentales labialisées et pour les pharyngales [sic]"[11]. The ejective uvular plosives tend to be particularly weak. /q'/ has the frequent allophones [q͡ʔ ~ ʔ ~ ʔʰ], notably in the past tense suffix *-q'ɜ* (Vogt 1963:21), and less often it may even be reduced to [ʁ] (the pronunciation [ɬɛˈʁɛχ] is found in Hewitt's (1974) recordings of TE for *ɬɜq'ɜ́-χ* 'following, subsequent'; see §4.2); other ejective uvular plosives are also prone to phonetic weakening, and may occasionally be reduced either to voiced fricatives[12] or glottal stops: *ɐ-m-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɛ́j-gʲɐqʷ'* 'let X not go again' [ɐmĭˈc'æˑjɣʲɐʔʷʰ].

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[11] "…probably less strong than in Georgian, often rather difficult to perceive for the labialised dentals and for the pharyngeals [sic]."

[12] Dumézil (1931) also sometimes transcribes voiced uvular fricatives (**γ** in his orthography) where later texts show that ejective plosives are expected (cf. e.g. **λₒəγusä** (Dumézil 1931:162) for *ɬiqʷ'(i̇)sɜ́* 'heroic, brave'), and other texts infrequently show similar substitutions; see e.g. *blɛ́diʁʷ* (for *blɛ́diqʷˤ'* 'blink') in Charachidzé and Esenç (1991a:9), and [ɐ̆]ʐʁɜ ~ [ɐ]ʐʁɜ́ (for *ɐ̆zq'ɜ ~ ɐzq'ɜ́* 'right-hand side') in Mészáros (1934:310) and Vogt (1963:220).
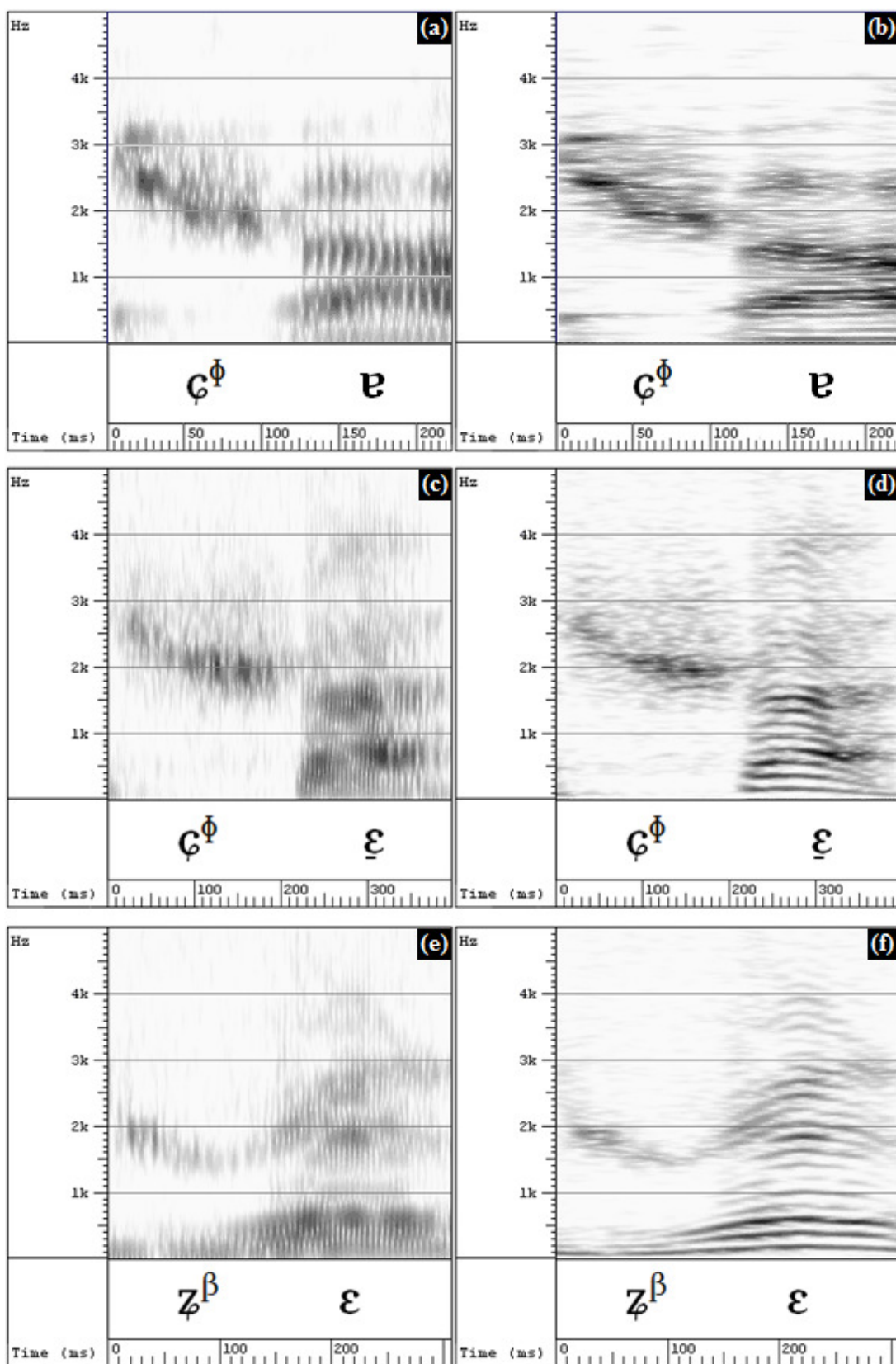
Figure 1a-f. Wide- (*left*) and narrow-band (*right*) spectrographs of TE's labialised sibilants in (a, b) *si-ɕʷ-ɐ́-χʷɝ-n* 'I ask you (pl.)', (c, d) *ɐ-ɕʷɝ́* 'the white' (Colarusso's (1988:148) **x̂ʷá**) (Catford 1986), and (e, f) *ɐ-z-zʷɝ́-n* 'I boil it' (Catford 1986).

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1.2.1.2.2. Palatalisation

Palatalisation is phonemic for uvular plosives and fricatives and velar plosives, though as previously noted, some commentators also treat the palatoalveolar series of sibilants as the palatalised version of the retroflex series. Palatalised velar plosives are realised with simple fronting of place of articulation, ranging from fronted velars [g̟ k̟ʰ k̟'] to true palatals [ɟ cʰ c'] (Leroy and Paris 1974:266), and the voiced velar plosive /gʲ/ in various morphological items is occasionally weakened to [ɣʲ], or [j] for some speakers (Vogt 1963:122-123). By contrast, the palatalised uvulars are realised by spreading the tongue forward along the entire of the soft palate (Leroy and Paris 1974:268), characterised by Colarusso (1988:266) as advancement of the tongue root, thus yielding [ɢ̟ q̟' ʁ̟ χ̟]. Lip-widening also accompanies all phonetically palatalised consonants, including the plain alveolopalatals (Vogt 1963:18).

1.2.1.2.3. Labialisation

Labialisation is the most widely used variety of secondary articulation in Ubykh. It is contrastively phonemic for the alveolar plosives, the alveolopalatal sibilant affricates and fricatives, the palatoalveolar fricatives, the velar plosives, and the plain and pharyngealised uvular plosives and fricatives. Labialisation in Ubykh is a complex affair, having three quite distinct phonetic realisations. For the velar plosives, the uvular plosives and fricatives, and the palatoalveolar sibilant fricatives, labialisation is realised as simple lip-rounding with the lips significantly protruded. In addition, the palatoalveolar /ʒʷ ʃʷ/ are considerably lowered in comparison to their non-labialised counterparts, and spectrographs of /ʒʷ ʃʷ/ exhibit virtually none of the high-frequency noise classically associated with coronal fricatives such as [s ʃ] (Ladefoged 2003:152-154) or the cognate Abkhaz phonemes also transcribed /ʒʷ ʃʷ/ (see e.g. Figure 2a-c). /ʒʷ ʃʷ/ are thus realised phonetically with only a small amount of coronal frication (as [ʒ̞ʷ ʃ̞ʷ]), and very rarely, /ʒʷ/ in particular may lose coronal frication entirely and be realised as an approximant; Dumézil and Esenç (1977a:10) give **wüza** as a variant of *ʒʷɨ-zǝ* 'eleven'. The voiced velar plosive /gʷ/ is also sometimes lowered to [ɣʷ]: *ʃɨ-gʷiʧ̂ʼéq'[ǝ]-ɐ-nɜ:jɬ* 'we were talking' [ʃiɣʷɨˈʧʰɐq'ɐnɛjɬ].

By contrast, labialisation of the alveolar plosives is realised as light but complete (endo-) labial closure, which may be accompanied by lip-trill. Hence, /dʷ tʷ tʷ'/ have the phonetic realisations [d͡b t͡p t͡p'] or less commonly [d͡ʙ t͡ʙ̥ t͡ʙ̥'] (Vogt 1963:16). The third type of labialisation, that of the alveolopalatal sibilant affricates and fricatives, is realised as bilabial frication, which may be accompanied by a slight (Vogt 1963:16-17) or strong (Leroy and Paris 1974:265) labial protrusion. The phonetic realisations of the alveolopalatals are thus roughly [d͡ʑᵝ t͡ɕᶲ t͡ɕᶲ' zᵝ ɕᶲ] or [d͡ʑᵝʷ t͡ɕᶲʷ t͡ɕᶲʷ' zᵝʷ ɕᶲʷ]. Unlike other forms of labialisation, this type does not affect the pronunciation of neighbouring vowels (Vogt 1963:16).

1.2.1.2.4. Pharyngealisation

Pharyngealisation is contrastively phonemic for bilabials and uvulars, and is also present on the voiced fricative /vˤ/, which has no non-pharyngealised counterpart in native lexemes[13].

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[13] Although /vˤ/ is phonetically clearly voiced, Vogt (1963:13), Charachidzé (1989:362-363) and Hewitt (2005:97) treat it phonologically as the pharyngealised form of /f/, and Dumézil (1974:24-26)
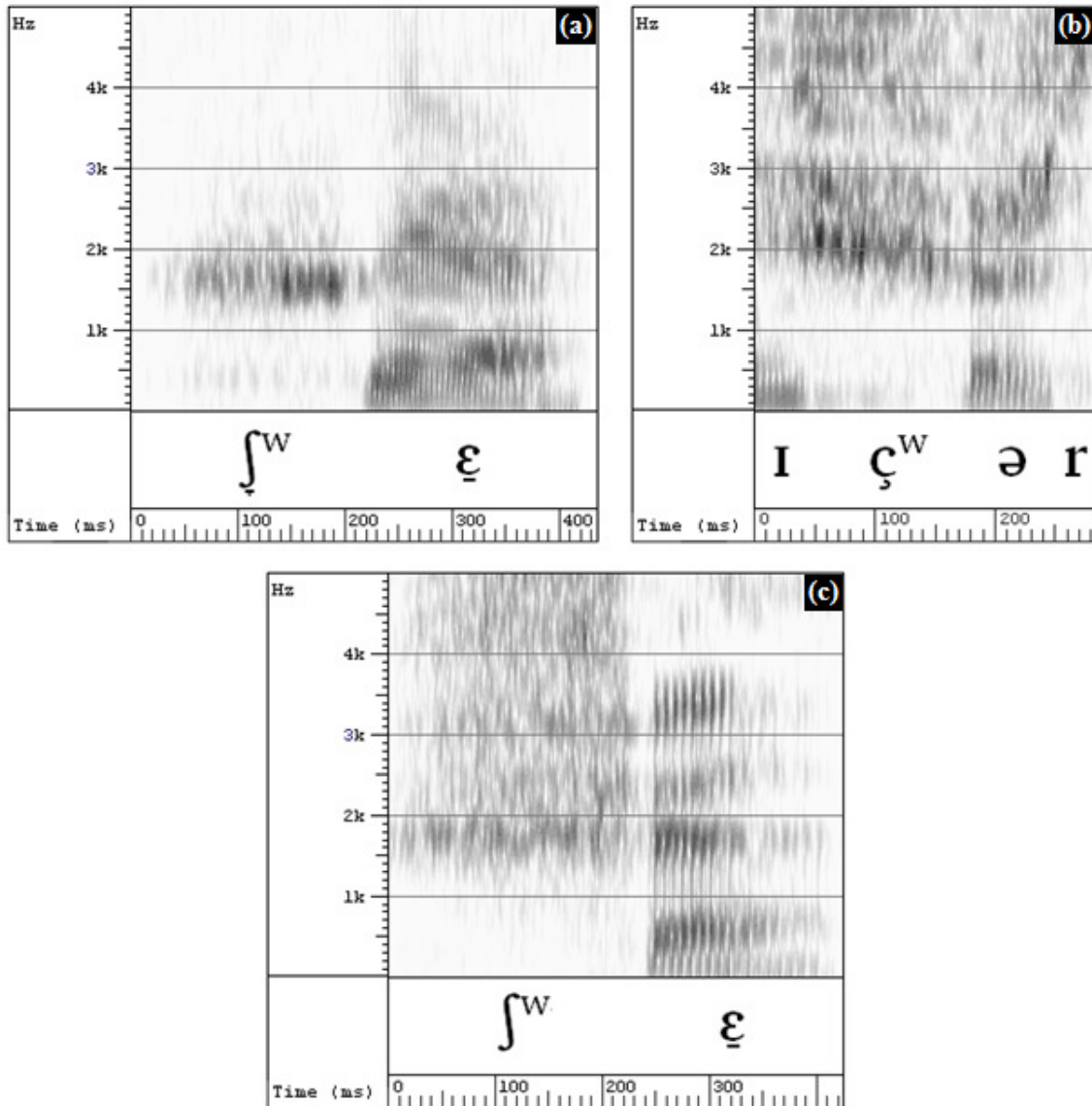
Figure 2a-c. Wide-band spectrographs of three types of ʃʷ. (a) Ubykh ʃʷ [ʃ̣ʷ] in /ʃʷɜ 'sea' (TE) (Catford 1986); (b) Abkhaz ʃʷ [ç̢ʷ] in *jajnə́ʃʷarts* 'to get along with each other' (speaker: A. M. Abramishvili) (Christophe and Gippert 1998); (c) phonetic ʃʷ [ʃ̣ʷ] with the vowel of (a) (speaker: R. S. H. Fenwick).

Pharyngealisation is realised as strong retraction of the tongue root towards the pharyngeal wall, producing a pharyngeal approximant or fricative alongside the main articulation; the blade of the tongue also flexes back to point roughly upwards towards the midpoint of the hard palate (Vogt 1963:18-19; Leroy and Paris 1974:268). Pharyngealisation may often cause sub-phonemic assimilation of nearby non-pharyngealised consonants with a pharyngealised counterpart: ʁˤɜ́-vˤɜ (← ʁɜ́-vˤɜ) 'his moustache', á-wqʷˤ'ɜ ~ á-wˤqʷˤ'ɜ 'the shepherd'.

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provides powerful etymological support for such an analysis. Pharyngealised consonants in Ubykh are often expressive in origin (Chirikba 1996:333), and so in a pragmatic sense it is not hard to see how an original expressively pharyngealised */f/ could become facultatively voiced, as the acoustic distinction between [f] and [fˤ] is difficult to detect.

1.2.2. Idiolectic divergence and phonological erosion

The phonological systems of moribund languages very often undergo rapid decay (see e.g. Cook (1989) on Chipewyan and Sarsi, and Boas *et al.* (2003) on Texas German), and the massively complex phonology of Ubykh is no exception. The extreme rapidity of the language's abandonment after the exodus may be the only reason so little phonological decay was apparent for the last fluent speakers; as it is, a certain degree of destruction of phonological features of pre-exodus Ubykh may nevertheless be observed in the idiolects of all speakers. As previously noted, the 'ideal' phonology given above is that of TE, whose idiolect contained the full inventory of modern Ubykh consonants; the only difference that can be determined between his variety and pre-1864 Ubykh is the lack of the labialised velar fricative */xʷ/ apparently present in older varieties of the language (§1.2.1.1 and footnote 9).

In the speech of the other Ubykh-speakers, phonological erosion takes a few key forms. In general, these do not involve the introduction of new phonetic shapes, but rather are manifested as as mergers of various sets of already existing phonemes. Not all speakers demonstrate these phenomena, but each is found to a greater or lesser extent in the speech of several speakers. As all of these phenomena are found in OG's dialect, I use it here as a demonstration of the types of phonological erosion that can be found more generally in the post-exodus Ubykh idiolects.

OG's variety is the only putative distinct dialect of the language that has been identified, and the only published material from it is described by Dumézil (1965:267-269). It differs from the more widely-spoken variety in a number of significant ways, including a quite divergent tense-marking system (§2.6.5) and some differences in pronominal morphs (§2.3.1). However, perhaps the most striking contrast between OG's variety and the 'standard' form is to be found in the phonology. As well as many irregular phonemic deletions, metatheses and alterations, notably including the introduction of phonemic gemination, several key features are regularly neutralised in OG's variety of the language, leaving an inventory of around 60 consonantal segments (the precise number is uncertain) plus phonemic gemination.

1.2.2.1. Loss of the labialised alveolar plosives dʷ tʷ tʷ'

Vogt (1963:16) noted that for the labialised plosives /dʷ tʷ tʷ'/, several speakers, notably HU, were in the process of losing the lingual articulation and merging the series with the bilabial plosives, either plain (/b p p'/) or, less commonly, pharyngealised (/bˤ pˤ pˤ'/). In OG's dialect, this phenomenon has been generalised to all instances of /dʷ tʷ tʷ'/, which were completely merged with the plain bilabials /b p p'/ with the sole exception of the conditional II tense-marking suffix *-ȝwtʷq'ȝ*, which became *-ȝwtq'ȝ* (§2.6.5):

bȝ (OG) ~ *dʷȝ* (TE) 'to die down'	*t'qʷ'ȝp'ɨ* (OG) ~ *t'qʷ'ȝtʷ'ɨ* (TE) 'twenty'
pȝpȝ (OG) ~ *tʷ́ȝtʷȝ* (TE) 'gold'	*p'ɨ* (OG) ~ *tʷ'ɨ* (TE) 'to dig'

Dumézil (1965:32, 34) notes that this merger was also complete for some partial speakers, and it additionally surfaces in Hewitt's (1974) recording of the partial speaker Saadettin Hunç, for whom *tsˈ'ȝ́pȝ* 'manure' corresponds with TE's *tsˈ'ȝ́tʷȝ* 'id.'.

1.2.2.2. Loss of the alveolopalatal sibilants ʥ ʨ ʨ' ʑ ɕ
In OG's dialect, some instances of the alveolopalatal sibilant series were merged with the corresponding alveolars:

psɨ (OG) ~ pɕɨ (TE) 'warm'   ts'iq' (OG) ~ ʨ'iqˤɜ (TE) 'to lay (an egg)'

This is by no means universal, however, and Dumézil notes that at least pɕɜχʷ 'to blow' was conserved by OG. Hewitt's (1974) recordings show the same reduction phenomenon in the speech of Saadettin Hunç, for whom sɜ 'three' corresponds with TE's ɕɜ 'id.' and ɐ-tsɜ́ 'the young, the fresh' with TE's ɐ-ʨ'ɜ́ 'id.'.

1.2.2.3. Other reduction phenomena in Osman Güngör's dialect
In addition to the loss of the labialised alveolar plosives and some alveolopalatals, OG's dialect demonstrated the following unique phonological divergences from other idiolects:

(a) The velar plosive /gʲ/ in the converb-forming suffixes -gʲɨ and -gʲimsɜ (§3.3.1.1) and the hortative suffix -gʲɐqʷ' (§2.6.7.2) was reduced to /j/ (-j(ɨ), -jimsɜ, -jɐqʷ').

(b) The retroflex affricate /ɖʐ/ merged with its palatoalveolar counterpart /ʤ/ in at least some instances: OG's ʤɨ 'to vomit' corresponds with TE's ɖʐɨ.

(c) The labialised palatoalveolar sibilants /ʃʷ ʒʷ/ were merged with their alveolopalatal counterparts /ɕʷ ʑʷ/: OG's miɕːʷɜ 'bear (animal); day' merges TE's distinct roots miɕʷɜ́ 'day' and miʃʷɜ 'bear', and strikingly, OG's verb root ʑʷɜ 'to cook' confounds TE's minimal pair ʑʷɜ 'to boil, to cook in water' and ʒʷɜ 'to roast, to cook in a fire'.

(d) Pharyngealisation was mostly lost and replaced irregularly by phonemic gemination: OG's ʨʷɜʁʷɨ 'earth', χːʷɜ 'pig', wːɜ 'dog' and mːɜ 'apple' correspond to TE's ʨʷɜʁʷˤɨ, χʷˤɜ, wˤɜ and mˤɜ (although note mɜʤɨ (OG) vs. mˤɜʤɨ (TE) 'hoarfrost'). Note OG's minimal pair ɐ-s-pχɜ-n 'I scatter X' vs. ɐ-s-pχːɜ-n 'I tear X away' (cp. TE's p(ˤ)χˤɜ 'to tear away'). Dumézil does, however, note that the roots ɐbˤɜ́ 'ill, sick' and qʷˤɨ 'to bark (of a dog)' survive intact in OG's dialect.

(e) Palatalisation of the uvular consonants was also almost completely lost, but it was only infrequently replaced by gemination: OG's lɜqɜ 'rock, stone', χɜtsɜ 'fast, rapid', ʁɜ 'meat' and si-qːɜ-n 'I cough' correspond with TE's lɜqʲɜ, χʲɜtsɜ́, ʁʲɜ and si-qʲɜ-n.

(f) /ɣ/ seems to have disappeared.

1.3. Vowels: realisation and distribution
By contrast to the complex array of consonants, the vowel inventory of Ubykh is extremely impoverished. The phenomenon of the 'vertical' vowel system is well documented, in which distinctive features of vowels – usually rounding or fronting, rarely both – are stripped from the syllable nucleus and reassigned to the consonantal periphery, leaving a massively underspecified system of phonological vowels with phonemic contrasts only for the feature of height; such systems have been demonstrated or proposed for many unrelated languages, such as Aranda (Pama-Nyungan), Margi (Afro-Asiatic) (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:286),
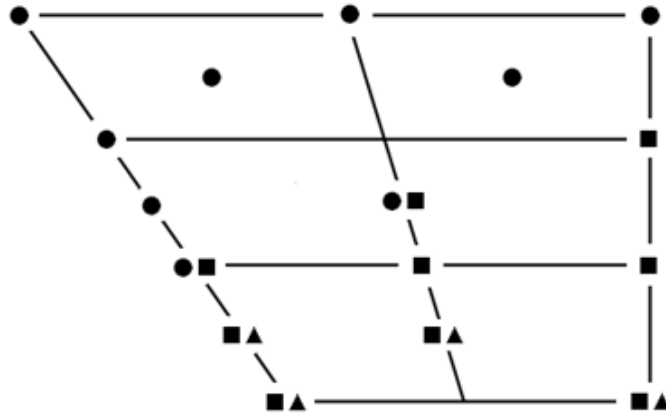
Figure 3. Cardinals attested as vocalic allophones in non-initial positions. ● – allophones of /ɨ/ ([i y ɪ ʉ ʊ ɯ u e ɛ ə ø/œ]); ■ – allophones of /ɜ/ ([a æ ɛ ɐ ɜ ə ɑ ɔ o]); ▲ – attested allophones of /ɐ/ ([a ɐ ɑ æ]).
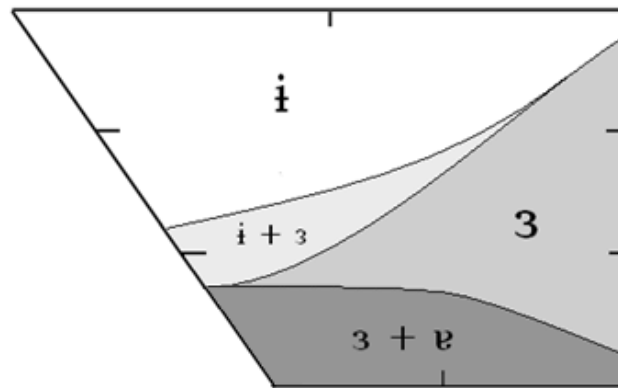
Figure 4. A rough division of the vowel quadrangle into the Ubykh vowel phonemes.

Marshallese (Austronesian) (Bender 1968:23-24), the Sepik and Ramu-Lower Sepik families of Papua New Guinea (see e.g. Foley's (1991:49-50) analysis of Yimas), and even Irish (see e.g. Ó Siadhail 1989:35-37), but those of the NWC family, notably Abaza and Kabardian, have received especially concentrated interest from many commentators (for Abaza, see Allen (1956, 1965); for Kabardian, see Kuipers (1960), Halle (1970), and Catford (1997)).

As with all of the NWC languages, there is some disagreement over the composition of the Ubykh vowel inventory; Ubykh has variously been suggested to have one (Charachidzé 1989a:364), two (plus one long) (Kumakhov 1967:690; Colarusso 1988:293-295; Chirikba 1996:40), three (Dumézil 1965:199-204; Charachidzé 1989a:364), or four (Vogt 1963:25-26) vowel phonemes. I treat the vowels of Ubykh as three phonemic units, contrasting solely for the feature of height and roughly following Dumézil: open /ɐ/, mid-open to open /ɜ/, and close /ɨ/[14]. It is possible to establish minimal triplets such as *ɐʃɨn* 'I reap X' *vs*. *ɐʃɜ̆n* 'I milk X' *vs*. *ɐʃĕn* 'I milk them; I reap them' (Dumézil 1965:202), though unstressed /ɨ/ often alternates with zero, and by charting allophones on the vowel quadrangle (see Figures 3 and 4) one may

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[14] Vogt's (1963:26) /o:/ represents an underlying sequence *-ɜw-*; his minimal pair **səqʷʼəmá:lo:** 'I will play' *vs*. **səqʷʼəmá:law** 'my toy' is better represented as *sɨ-qʷ(ɨ)mɜ́l[ɜ]-ɜw* vs. *sɨ-qʷ(ɨ)mɜ́l[ɜ]:ɐw*.

see that there is a substantial degree of overlap in some environments. From Dumézil's (1965:266-269) account of OG's dialect it is clear that the same three vowels are phonemic in that variety, though lexemes found in both varieties may not always have the same vowels in both. All (and only) vowels form nuclei of phonological syllables.

/ɨ/, the equivalent of /ə/ in virtually all previous phonemic orthographies, is phonemically a close to near-close vowel, realised phonetically in its most neutral environments as [ɨ ~ ə], less commonly as [ɯ]. It is extremely restricted word-initially, appearing only as a variant of the pronominal prefix *ji-* when it is stressed (§2.6.1.1.1): *í-Ø-n-tʷɨ-n* 'X gives Y to Z' ~ *jɨ́-Ø-n-tʷɨ-n* 'id.' (TE) (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:76). In unstressed syllables it is often in free variation with zero, though there are instances where a distinction between /ɨ/ and zero is phonemic, notably in causative verbs: *ɐ-s-qʷ'ɜ́-n* 'I seize X' ~ *ɐ́-Ø-si-Ø-qʷ'ɜ-n* 'I make X seize Y'; Colarusso (1988:363) notes the (near-)minimal pair *ɐ-blɜ́-n* 'the eye (relat.)' ~ *Ø-ɐ-bɨl-ɐ́-n* 'they swallow X'. /ɨ/ often becomes [i] or [ɪ] before and after /j/, next to palatalised velar and uvular consonants (*ɐ-mɨʁʲɜ́-n* 'the road (relat.)' [ɐmɪˈʁʲɛn]), and less frequently after the alveolar and plain alveolopalatal sibilants, the alveolar plosives, and /n/, /l/ and /ɬ/ (*si-dʒɨɬɜ́-n* 'my brother (relat.)' [sɪdʒɪˈɬɛn]); it may become as open as [e] word-finally after /gʲ/, /qʲ/ and /qʲ'/ (Dumézil 1958:199; Vogt 1963:18), and also in other palatalising environments (*ɐ-tɨ́ti-jt'* 'it was the man' [əˈtʰɨtʰejt']). In environments with labialised palatoalveolar fricatives and alveolar plosives, /ɨ/ may become [y] (Vogt 1963:16) or [ʉ] (*ʒʷɨ-mɛʷɜ* 'ten days' [ˈʒʷʉmɛʷɛ]), and in environments containing a labialised velar or uvular consonant or the approximant /w/, may become [ʊ] or [u], or less commonly [ʉ] or [ɯ]; the latter allophone also surfaces before the uvular fricative /ʁ/ (*Ø-Ø-q'ɐ́-mi-ʁ* 'X does not have Y' [ˈq'ɐmɯʁ]). After pharyngealised consonants, Vogt (1963:19) notes that /ɨ/ has a slightly rounded and opened allophone he transcribes as /ö/, presumably phonetic [ø] or [œ].

/ɜ/, the equivalent of Vogt's and Dumézil's /a/, is phonemically an open-mid to near-open vowel, in neutral environments ranging roughly from [ə] ~ [ɛ] ~ [ɜ] ~ [æ], rarely as open as [ɐ]. It may be pronounced as [æ] or [ɛ] in conjunction with palatalised velars and uvulars (although even here it may be unaffected: *Ø-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ-mɜ́-ɕ* 'hasn't X gone?' [jkʲ'ɐq'ɜˈmɜɕ]), and also with /j/, in the sequence /ɜj/ often reducing /j/ to a barely perceptible offglide. In conjunction with labialised consonants, /ɜ/ may frequently be realised as [ɔ] or [o] (although labialising environments do not always condition this phonetic rounding; Dumézil (1958:200) notes a distinction of pronunciation between AB's **k°'onə** and TE's **k°'änə** for the word *kʷ'ɜnɨ́* 'tomorrow'). In the sequence /ɜw/, it almost always is pronounced in a rounded manner and often with clear phonetic length (as [oˑw] or [oːw]), frequently such that the offglide /w/ is lost completely ([oˑ] ~ [oː]): *s-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɐ́j-ɜwt* 'I will go again' [sɨ̥ˈkʲ'ɐjoˑtʰ]. According to Dumézil (1965:201), in the word-initial position there is no phonemic distinction between /ɜ/ and /ɐ/, but as open vowels in word-initial position behave like /ɐ/ phonologically (e.g. in noun compounds), in this grammar I represent all initial open vowels with the grapheme /ɐ/.

/ɐ/ is a near-open to open vowel, equivalent to Dumézil's (1965:199) "*a* constant" and Vogt's /aː/. Despite Vogt (1963:26-27), there are no morphological grounds for treating it as phonemically long /ɜ/, and phonetically it is primarily quality that distinguishes it from /ɜ/ (Dumézil 1965:200). It is usually realised as [a] ~ [ɐ] ~ [ɑ], though when unstressed in initial

position it may rarely be as close as [ə]: *ɐ-títi-jt'* 'it was the man' [əˈtʰitʰejt']. All of its allophones are also potential allophones of /ɜ/, but /ɐ/ may be distinguished phonetically in that it is normally not allophonically conditioned by palatalising and labialising environments (*dɜ-Ø-ɕɐ-w-t'in-gʲɐ́tɕ'* 'as he entered' [dʒɕɐwt'ejnˈɟɐtɕ']), and in neutral environments it is ordinarily fully open, though both rules have exceptions. In the word-initial sequence /ɐj-/, /ɐ/ is most commonly pronounced as [æ] or [ɛ]: *ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ́-n* 'X comes' [ɛjˈc'ɛn], and by analogy it seems this is sometimes possible word-medially as well: *ɐ-m-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɐ́j-gʲɐgʷ'* 'let X not go again' [ɐmɪˈc'æˑjɣʲɐʔʷʰ]. Similarly, in the word-initial group /ɐw-/, /ɐ/ may occasionally be affected by rounding and pronounced as [ɔ] or [o], sometimes with reduction of the offglide: *ɐ-w-q'ɜʂɜ́-ʁ-ɜw:t* 'what you will want' [oˑq'ɑˈʂoʁoˑtʰ]. As previously noted, there seems to be no phonemic distinction between /ɐ/ and /ɜ/ word-initially, but word-initial open vowels behave phonologically like /ɐ/ (even though phonetically they act more like /ɜ/); when a word-initial open vowel is made word-medial through compounding (§2.2.2; §2.2.3.2.2.1), it surfaces as /ɐ/: *bz-ɐ́ntʼɜ* 'river eel' (Vogt 1963:92), *bij-ɐ́tʷɜ* 'pied sheep' (Dumézil 1965:221), *ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ́bʁʲɜ-n* 'X's nest (relat.)' (Vogt 1963:66). As well as the merging of /ɐ/ and /ɜ/ word-initially, /ɐ/ does not appear word-finally except in interjections and onomatopoeic terms (e.g. *bɐɐ* 'the sound of a bleating sheep', *wɐ* 'hello!', *jɐ* 'oh!'), though Dumézil (1965:228) claims that the connective conjunction (§3.3.3.1) is more often pronounced as *gʲɐ* than as *gʲɜ*.

1.4. Clusters

1.4.1. Consonant clusters

The canonical Ubykh syllable form is C(C)V (§2.1.1); a handful of three-term initial clusters surface in *tsɛ́ntχɜ* 'glue', *pstɜ* 'to swell', *ndʁɜ* 'sun', *gʲɬ(n)t'qʷ'ɜ* 'heavy', and *tχrɜ* 'to break, to destroy by breaking', but the first three are loans (cp. Adyghe *ptsantħe* 'glue' and *ps(ə)te-n* 'to swell, to have dropsy', and Laz *ndɣa* 'day; sun') (§0.4) and the native character of *tχrɜ* is also questionable. Vogt (1963:29-30) provides an overview of possible Ubykh consonant clusters. With the sole exception of the *tχr-* of *tχrɜ*, intrasyllabic clusters are either homorganic (both terms at the same point of articulation) or decessive (the first term more anterior in the vocal tract than the last). Most attested syllable-initial clusters start with a bilabial plosive (either plain or pharyngealised), a sibilant fricative, a plain alveolar plosive, or a plain nasal; three lexemes – *dzʁɜ* 'to ask', *tɕxi* 'faeces', and *tɕʷkʷɜ* 'bunch, tuft' – show unique initial terms. The attested initial terms of onset clusters are /b p p' m bˤ pˤ d t t' dz z s n tɕ ɕ tɕʷ ɕʷ ʃ ʐ ʂ/; a list of lexemes illustrating the attested syllable-initial clusters is presented in Appendix 5.

Surface syllable-final clusters are mostly the same as those found syllable-initially, demonstrating that syllable-final clusters are mostly not 'final' at all, but are due to null surface realisations of underlying final /-i/. Vogt (1963:30) claims that clusters of the general form /-rC/ (*-rt -rtɕʷ -rkʲ -rgʷ -rqʷ' -rχ*) are possible syllable-finally where they are impossible syllable-initially, but pairs such as *ʧɜrχ(i)* 'wheel' (Vogt 1963:105) *vs. ʧɜríχ* 'id.' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:125) suggest that such clusters may also be underlyingly disyllabic *-r(i)C(i)* sequences. Truly consonant-final syllables are mostly polymorphemic or found in loan roots. There is no clear pattern for word-medial clusters, and Vogt (1963:105) points out that these too are likely the result of loss of /i/ from underlying sequences of *-(C)Ci(C)C-*.

1.4.2. Vowel clusters

Clusters of vowels – that is, sequences of phonemic vowels – are not generally legal. Where sequences of vocalic units arise, usually by means of nominal compounding or affixation, the more close of the two vowels is usually deleted: *ʁ[ɜ]-ɉχʲɜ-nɜ* 'their stable(s)' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955a:27); *bz-ɉntʼɜ* '(river) eel' (Vogt 1963:92) (← *bzɨ* 'water' + *ʁntʼɜ́* 'snake'). However, vowel hiatus does at times surface for some speakers: *zɜ-dʷɨ-ʁnɨɕʷɜ́-ʃʷɨ-n* (TE) 'a pretty little field (relat.)' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955a:31), *zɜ-pχʲɜdikʷʼɨ-ʁnɨɕʷɜ* (ŞG) 'a beautiful young woman' (Dumézil 1965:154).

1.5. Morphophonology

1.5.1. Assimilation

Morphophonemic assimilation is mainly a feature of the pronominal prefix complex, especially the ergative and oblique pronominal prefixes *s(ɨ)-* 'I, me, to me', *ʃ(ɨ)-* 'we, us, to us' and *ɕʷ(ɨ)-* 'you (pl.), to you (pl.)' (§2.6.1.1.1) and the relative pronominal marker *d(ɨ)-* 'which' (§3.3.2.9). Two types of assimilatory changes take place. Firstly, the pronominal prefixes *s(ɨ)-*, *ʃ(ɨ)-* and *ɕʷ(ɨ)-* have voiced allomorphs *z-*, *ʒ-* and *zʷ-* respectively when immediately preceding a preverb or verb root beginning with a voiced consonant, or before a non-zero causative prefix: *ʁ-s̱-qʷʼɜ́-n* 'I seize X' vs. *ʁ-ẕ-b(ɨ)jɜ́-n* 'I see X'. Where the causative is marked by the zero prefix (§2.6.10.1), such assimilation does not take place: *ʁ-s̱ɨ-Ø-b(ɨ)jɜ́-n* 'I show X to Y'. Secondly, the relativising prefix *d(ɨ)-* usually becomes devoiced *t-* when it precedes a preverb or a verb root beginning with a non-ejective voiceless consonant: *Ø-ḏɨ-qʼɉ-mi-ʁ* '(one) which does not have X' vs. *Ø-ṯ-χʲɜ́-nʁ-qʼɜ-n* '(one) which they call X'.

1.5.2. Dissimilation

The only productive dissimilation process is restricted to several of the preverbs. There is a set of local preverbs in Ubykh which end in *-ʁ-* (§2.6.4.3.1), and if one of these local preverbs precedes the ergative pronominal prefix *nʁ-* 'they', the final *-ʁ-* of the preverb dissimilates to *-ɜ-*: compare *Ø-Ø-ṣɨqʷʼʁ-ni-w-qʼɜ* 'X made Y climb up Z' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:122) *vs.* the reduced form in *Ø-(Ø-)ṣɨqʷʼɜ-nʁ-ʧɜːwi-msɜ* 'they throwing X down (from Y)' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:363).

1.5.3. Deletion

Deletion is the most common means of resolving vowel hiatus (§1.4.2). Elsewhere, deletions are largely associated with specific morphological items. The orientational preverb *j-* 'towards' (§2.6.4.2) may optionally be deleted after the preverb *χʲɜ-* 'for' (§2.6.4.1) without semantic change: *ʁ-w-χʲɜ́-j-s-ʃ-ɜw* 'I will do X for you' (Vogt 1963:216) vs. *ʁ-w-χʲɜ́-s-ʃ-ɜw* 'id.' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:140). The local preverb *zlɜqʼʁ-* 'between' loses its initial *z-* when it appears in conjunction with the pronominal prefixes *ʒ-* (← *ʃ(ɨ)-*) or *zʷ-* (← *ɕʷ(ɨ)-*) (Dumézil 1965:253): *sɜ-ʒ-[z]lɜqʼʁ-łɨ-j* 'what is there (lying) between us?'. In relative forms of causative verbs in which the head of the relative clause is ergative and is marked in the preverbal agreement-complex by the prefix *d(ɨ)-* (§3.3.2.8), this prefix is deleted by haplology before the homophonous singular causative prefix *dɨ-* (§2.6.10.1): *ʁ-j-nʁ-ʃ Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ʁ-[dɨ-]dɨ-ʃ-qʼɜ*

trɐni-ʤ 'it is Tran who made them make X' (Dumézil 1965:50), *si-*[*di-*]*di-p'ʧ'*[*ʒ*]*-ʒw:t-ɨ́ zʒ́-gʷʒrʒ ɐ-z-Ø-di-bjʒ́* (AB) 'show me [one] who will give me hospitality!' (Dumézil 1957:64; Vogt 1963:162), *ʃi-pχⁱʒ́ jinʒ́-n Ø-Ø-ṣʒ-*[*di-*]*di-ʤ*[*ʒ*]*-ɐj-q'ʒ ʁʷʒ wi-ʤ* 'you are the one who saved our daughter from it' (Dumézil 1967:145). The possessive prefix *ʁʒ-* (§2.2.1.3) is also deleted by haplology before the postpositional noun *ʁʒts'ʒ* 'within': *ɐ-wirdʒ-n* [*ʁʒ-*]*ʁʒts'ʒ-ʁʒ* (KS) 'inside the room' (Dumézil 1931:133). The aspectual suffix *-ɐj(ɨ)* (§2.6.6) deletes the final *-ʒw* of the verb *ʁʷʒw* 'to find', yielding *ʁʷɐj* rather than **ʁʷʒwɐj*: *ɐ-z-ʁʷ*[*ʒw*]*-ɐ́ji-n* 'I find X again' (Vogt 1963:228). Also, for the plural tense-markers *-n(ʒ)*, *-q'ʒn(ʒ)* and *-jɬ(ʒ)* (and the latter's derivatives *-q'ʒ:jɬ(ʒ)*, *-nʒ:jɬ(ʒ)* and *-n*[*ʒ*]*-ʒwɨ:jɬ(ʒ)*) in finite verbs (§2.6.3; §2.6.5), the affect marker *-gʷɨ́ʃ(ʒ)* (§2.6.12), the copular clitic *-ʤ(ʒ)* (§3.2.3), and the verb root *nkʲ(ʒ)* 'to be of, to be from', the final *-ʒ* is deleted when it is word-final: compare *ɐ-kʲ'*[*ʒ*]*-ɐ-nʒ:jɬʒ* '[those] who were going' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:161) vs. *ɐ-kʲ'*[*ʒ*]*-ɐ́-nʒ:jɬ* 'they were going'.

1.5.4. Metathesis

Apart from occasional phonetic metathesis of the vowel /ɨ/, which can be alternately analysed as variant realisations of multiple instances of underlying /ɨ/ (cp. *ɐ-ɕʷ-χʲʒ-zɨ-w-q'ʒ-nʒ-ʤ* ~ *ɐ-ɕʷ-χʲʒ-z-wɨ-q'ʒ-nʒ-ʤ* ~ *ɐ-ɕʷ-χʲʒ-si-w-q'ʒ-nʒ-ʤ*) (TE, HKo) 'X was what I brought for you (pl.)' (Dumézil 1963:9)), the only productive metathesis process occurs in the formation of possessed plurals of substantives beginning with /ɐ-/. For consonant-initial substantives, possessed nouns are pluralised by combining the relevant possessive prefix (§2.2.1.3) with the prefix *-ʒw-*: *s-ʒw-ʧɨ* 'my horses' vs. *si-ʧɨ* 'my horse' (Dumézil 1967:155). However, for an *ɐ-* initial root such as *ɐbˤʒ* 'sick (person)', instead of the expected **s-ʒw-ɐbˤʒ*, one finds a metathesis of the *-w-* of the prefix and the *ɐ-* of the noun, and in combination with vocalic hiatus resolution (§1.5.2), the plural takes the form *s-ɐ:w:bˤʒ* 'my sick (people)'.

   However, this construction is seen as strange even by Ubykh-speakers, and is often avoided altogether by dropping the pluralising prefix *-ʒw-* (Dumézil 1965:217), in which case the form without the pluraliser is in practice unmarked for number. Omission of number-marking appears to be possible in other environments as well (§2.2.1.1; §2.2.1.3).

1.5.5. Ablaut

Although ablaut plays a significant role in Abkhaz-Abaza and in Circassian, and traces of related ablaut phenomena remain in Ubykh[15], the sole remaining active ablaut process in the language is the odd reduction of the numeral *ɕʒ* 'three' to *ɕɨ* when it precedes the root *ʃʷʒ* 'hundred' or its homophone *ʃʷʒ́* 'year': *ɕɨ-ʃʷʒ́* 'three hundred', 'three years' (Vogt 1963:175).

1.5.6. Reduplication

Reduplication in Ubykh is restricted largely to the derivation of adverbials from substantive roots (§2.2.1.1.2.2; §2.5.1): *ɐnɨ́ɕʷ*[*ʒ*]*-ɐnɨ́ɕʷʒ-nɨ* 'beautifully' (Vogt 1963:154), *ɐ-pɕi-pɕi-nɨ* 'warmly' (Dumézil and Esenç 1978:86), *gʲʒṣʒ-gʲʒṣʒ-nɨ* (HKo) 'separately' (Dumézil 1957:5).

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[15] Most interesting of the unproductive archaic ablauts may be the verb pair *tʷ'ʒ* 'to arrive at' and *tʷ'ɨ* 'to leave from', reminiscent of the directional ablaut found in Abkhaz local preverb pairs such as *ta-* 'within' vs. *t-* 'from within' and *bʒa-* 'among' vs. *bʒ-* 'from among' (Hewitt 2005a:121).

Reduplication (which may not be synchronically productive) has, however, been attested for a small number of intransitive verbal roots, and in these cases the reduplicated form carries a sense of a prolonged or temporally extended action not expressed by the unreduplicated root:

    ɐ-mɐʁʲɜ́-mɐʁʲɜ-gʲɨ   *ɐ-kʲ'ɜ́-n*   (TE)
    3sABS-tilt-REDUPL-CONV 3sABS-go-PRES
    'it goes wobbling from side to side' (Dumézil 1974:22) (*mɐʁʲɜ* 'to tilt, to become oblique')

    ɐ-ʧɨ   *Ø-kʲ'ir-kʲ'irɨ́-n*   (TE)
    the-horse   3sABS-nePigh-REDUPL-PRES
    'the horse neighs continuously' (Dumézil and Esenç 1977b:22) (*kʲ'ir* 'to neigh (once)')

Similarly, a few intransitive verb roots (notably *kʲ'ɜ* 'to go', *pɬɜ* 'to look' and *qˤɜ* 'to run') have reduplicated forms using two relational preverbs (§2.6.4.1), the benefactive *χʲɜ-* and the comitative *ʤi-*, giving a sense of impatient or agitated continuous atelic action:

    si-χʲɜ-pɬɜ-ʤi-pɬɜ́-n   (TE)
    1sABS-BEN-look-COM-REDUPL-PRES
    'I look around (impatiently) from side to side' (Vogt 1963:157)

    si-χʲɜ-kʲ'ɜ-ʤi-kʲ'ɜ-n   (TE)
    1sABS-BEN-go-COM-REDUPL-PRES
    'I walk around (agitatedly) from side to side' (Vogt 1963:130)

1.6. Suprasegmentals

Ubykh has a complex system of dynamic stress, which is not as strong as in the sister-language Abkhaz, but can form a few minimal pairs: *ɐ́-fʷɜ* 'the year', *ɐfʷɜ́* 'sickle'. Movement of stress rarely has morphological function on its own, although stress-movement often occurs in causative verbs (§2.6.10.1) and a few semantically non-causative but morphologically causative verbs also exist which form their causatives through stress-displacement alone (§2.6.10.1): *ɐ-si-Ø-bilɨ́-n* 'I swallow X' → *ɐ́-Ø-si-Ø-bili-n* 'I make X swallow Y'.

    Stress-mobilisation is otherwise common, being especially frequent in nouns; most nominal prefixing elements condition leftward stress-movement that is in large part lexically determined. For monosyllabic noun roots, retraction of stress is not predictable from the form of the word: *ʦʷɨ* 'ox' → *ɐ́-ʦʷ* 'the ox', but *ʧɨ* 'horse' → *ɐ-ʧɨ́* 'the horse'. For disyllabic roots, Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:18) note that primary stress on the first syllable is usually fixed (*kʷ'ɜ́ʂχɜ* 'nobleman' → *ɐ-kʷ'ɜ́ʂχɜ* 'the nobleman', *pχʲɜ́dikʷ* 'young woman' → *ɐ-pχʲɜ́dikʷ* 'the young woman'), but where primary stress falls on the second syllable of the root, retraction of stress is much less predictable; Chirikba (1996:40) points out that there are two major morphotypes, one for which stress is mobile and one for which it is fixed. Hence, stress-retraction occurs for *gʷimɜ́* 'cow' → *ɐ́-gʷmɜ* 'the cow' and *bɐʤɜ́* 'fox' → *ɐ́-bɐʤɜ* 'the fox', but not for *mɜkʲɨtɜ́b* 'school' → *ɐ-mɜkʲɨtɜ́b* 'the school' and *ɕʷibˤɜ́* 'bread' → *ɐ-ɕʷibˤɜ́* 'the bread'. A

few disyllabic nouns fall into a third stress type, in which stress is retracted to the initial syllable of the root rather than to the prefixed element (*dɪʁʷɨ* 'mouse' → *ɐ-dɪʁʷ* 'the mouse', *bɜnʣɨ* 'fly' → *ɐ-bɜ́nʣ* 'the fly'), and some roots show fluctuation between these three morphotypes (*ʒʷɜnkʲʼɨ* 'flea' → *ɐ-ʒʷɜnkʲʼɨ* ~ *ɐ́-ʒʷɜnkʲʼ* 'the flea', *ʁʷɨnɨ* 'tree' → *wɜ-ʁʷɨnɨ* 'that tree' ~ *ɐ-ʁʷɨ́n* 'the tree', *lɜjlɜ́kʲ* 'white stork' → *wɜ-lɜjlɜ́kʲ* ~ *wɜ-lɜ́jlɜkʲ* ~ *wɜ́-lɜjlɜkʲ* 'that white stork'). The position of stress in trisyllabic and longer forms seems to be more fixed: *ʣʷɜʣʷɜ:fɜ́ʃ* 'food for a celebration' → *ɐ-ʣʷɜʣʷɜ:fɜ́ʃ* 'the celebration food', *jíngʲiliz* 'English' → *ɐ-jíngʲiliz* 'the English', *ɕʷinérɜ:mʣɜ* 'wax candle' → *ɐ-ɕʷinérɜ:mʣɜ* 'the wax candle', though here again many exceptions exist: *tsɜtsɜ́pɜ* 'fern' → *wɜ́-tsɜtsɜpɜ* 'that fern', *ʧiʧɜqʲɜ́* 'burning log' → *wɜ́-ʧiʧɜqʲɜ* 'that burning log' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:18).

Vogt (1963:33) noted a strong resemblance of the Ubykh stress system to that of Abkhaz, an idea confirmed by Dybo (1989:40-42), who concluded that the Ubykh and Abkhaz systems of stress were similar and genetically related. Indeed, Dybo went further and analysed the stress system of Abkhaz and Ubykh as comprising the surface realisation of an underlying pitch-accent system operating on a syllabic basis, similar in basic principles to that of Japanese. Spruit (1985) characterises this underlying pitch-accent in Abkhaz as arising from the interaction between dominant and recessive syllabic elements, and gives the general rule that word-stress appears on "the first D[ominant] in the word not followed by another D (hence on the first D followed by R[ecessive] or word-boundary" (Spruit 1985:32). Dybo proposes that Ubykh follows similar rules, and provides hypothesised pitch patterns for several Ubykh words and morphemes.

However, it seems clear that Ubykh stress is also partly governed by prosody (Dumézil and Namitok 1954:172), and in some cases morphemically identical words possess multiple stress morphs: *ɬédiʧɜ* ~ *ɬɐdíʧɜ* (Vogt 1963:141) ~ *ɬɐdiʧɜ* (Mészáros 1934:336) 'ladder'; *ɐʁ[ɜ]-ɜw-ʧɨ* (Vogt 1963:86) ~ *ɐʁ[ɜ]-ɜ́w-ʧ* (Dumézil 1967:155) 'their horses'; *wɜ-lɜjlɜ́kʲ* ~ *wɜ-lɜ́jlɜkʲ* ~ *wɜ́-lɜjlɜkʲ* 'that white stork' (Dumézil and Esenç 1978:25-26). Moreover, the available analyses of stress in Ubykh are virtually all based upon the speech of TE. In sum, it is clear that on the whole, Ubykh stress is not well understood, and is in desperate need of further analysis (Hewitt 2005a:101). In this grammar I have marked the position of the primary phonetic stress with the acute accent (so: *é ɜ́ ɨ*) wherever it was available.

Tone is not phonemic in Ubykh; Chirikba (1996:41) elicited a list of orthographic homophones from TE, who denied any tonic or intonational differences between them.

2. MORPHOLOGY
2.1. Classes of root
Ubykh possesses two fundamental open root-classes, comprising *substantive* (§2.2) and *verbal* (§2.6) roots. Verbal roots may be simply defined as those roots which may take the full array of tense-aspect-mood markers, and which may take ergative pronominal prefixes. By contrast, the category of substantives may be delimited morphologically as the class of lexemes which cannot take ergative pronominal prefixes and which cannot express dynamic tense (§2.6.1). Verbal and substantive roots each have distinct classes of morphological derivation (§2.2.3.2; §2.6.13). However, any verbal root, along with its associated oblique

preverb(s) (§2.6.4.3), reflexive/reciprocal prefix (§2.6.1.1.3), and causative prefix (§2.6.10.1) – the *verb stem*[16] – may be used as a noun: *jʒ* 'hit, impact, blow' ← *jʒ* to hit, to strike', *pɬʒ* 'look, appearance, aspect' ← *pɬʒ* 'to look at'; *bʁʲʒ:ʧʼʒ:tʷ* 'blanket' ← *bʁʲʒ-ʧʼʒ:tʷ* 'to be put on, to be placed on'; *zɕ:jʒ* 'battle, fight, war' ← *zʒ-jʒ* 'to hit one another'. In addition to these two broad open classes, several closed subclasses of pronouns (§2.3) also exist, as do a couple of other minor word-classes, notably adverbs (§2.5) and a rich variety of interjections (§2.7).

2.1.1. Root shapes

The canonical Ubykh root, syllable, and morpheme takes the shape C(C)V: *lʒ* 'rabbit', *kʷɨ* 'wagon', 'rain', *qʼʒ* 'to speak, to say', *zɨ* 'to become fat', *pχʲʒ* 'daughter', *tχʷɨ* 'butter, fat', *pɕʒ* 'to swell up', *pʼqʲʼɨ* 'to raise (a child), to look after'. Roots of two or more syllables are rarer, and are often substantives, many historically derived, but most multisyllabic roots still conform to the shape {C(C)V}*ₙ*: *lʒqʲʼɕ* 'walnut', *qʷʼʒblʒ* 'woven mat', *dʁʒɕʷɕ* 'laurel', *bzʒbzʒ* 'to tremble', *bˤʒgʲɕdzʒ* 'striped hyaena'. The possible syllable-initial consonant clusters are quite limited; only around 80 different complex onsets are attested (§1.4.1; Appendix 5). Syllables of the shape C(C)VC are largely the result of borrowing (e.g. *qɐjɨq* 'boat' ← Turkish *kayık*) or of the zero realisation of an underlying unstressed close vowel (e.g. *bɐdʒɕʃʷ* 'fox cub; little fox' ~ *bɐdʒʒʃʷɨ* 'id.'). However, there is a substantial set of basic roots of the shape V{C(C)V}*₍ₙ₎*: *ɐvˤʒ* 'thick, coarse', *ɐgʷɨ* 'short, small, fine', *ɐbˤʁˤʒ* 'skinny, bony', *ɐndzɕ* 'frog', *ɐnɕɕʷʒ* 'beautiful'. Only /ɐ/ appears initially in lexical roots, though several bound morphemes begin with /ʒ/ (e.g. *-ʒw* 'Future I tense', *-ʒwn(ɨ)* 'instrumental postposition', etc.). An unusually large number of attested native /ɐ/-initial roots are adjectives (see Appendix 6), a phenomenon also found in the other NWC languages (Chirikba 1996:358).

2.2. Substantives

The class of substantives may broadly be divided into two open classes – the *nouns* (§2.2.1) and *adjectives* (§2.2.2). All substantive roots may act as nouns, although only a subset of these may also act as adjectives. Given that any adjective may also function as a noun, the operational definition of an adjective is not simple to delineate, but they are most easily defined as that set of substantives which are suffixed to the substantives they modify.

Apart from certain types of intensive and attenuative derivation limited only to adjectives (see §2.2.2), there appears to be no other significant lexical or morphological delineation between adjectival and nominal substantives. Some commentators state that certain types of adjectives, such as ordinal numerals and ethnonyms, precede their heads in NWC languages (see Hewitt 2005a:122); in Ubykh, the preposing of ethnonyms is morphologically indistinguishable from genitive or appositional nominal compounding (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1; §2.2.3.2.2.1.2.3), and ordinal numerals form part of a larger class of derived forms that are formally deverbal and relative in nature, and hence precede their heads (§2.4.2.2; §3.3.2.9.3), and so I do not find it necessary to operate with this broader definition of 'adjective'.

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[16] Throughout, I distinguish this complex of morphemes, the *verb stem*, from the *verb root*, signifying simply the primary lexical morpheme of a verb, to which affixes are attached. The verb stem constitutes the semantic core of the Ubykh verb, and is the primary basis for morphological derivation.

2.2.1. Nouns

Note that throughout, all comments applying to nouns should be extended to include adjectives; adjectives may undergo all morphological processes available to nouns, and that small amount of morphology that is restricted to adjectives is outlined in §2.2.2.

The morphology of the Ubykh noun is not particularly simple, but certainly pales beside the complexity of verbal morphology. There is no grammatical system of noun class or gender, and nouns decline only for a few cases, but these cases have complex patterns of use. Ubykh is morphologically and syntactically an ergative language with no significant split-ergative behaviour. Any non-finite verbal form may be used as a noun without limitation, and especially common in this function are headless relative verbs (§3.3.2.9).

2.2.1.1. Case and number

There are two core morphological cases in Ubykh, and three non-core cases (the locative, adverbial and comitative-instrumental). The two primary cases may be broadly characterised as absolute and relational[17], although such a simple characterisation obscures several key details of the system. When referring to the relational case in morphemic analyses and glosses, I have divided it into ergative (ERG) and oblique (OBL) reference, a requirement dictated by the presence of distinct verbal agreement positions for ergative and oblique arguments, which may each govern a distinct constituent in the relational case (§2.6.1.1.1).

2.2.1.1.1. Core cases
2.2.1.1.1.1. The relational case

The relational case variously exhibits genitive, dative and adverbial functions in addition to acting as the marker for ergative and other indirect arguments. It is marked morphologically with the suffix -*n* in the singular and -*nʒ* in the plural. Most commonly, it serves to mark subjects of transitive verbs and dative and oblique indirect objects of both transitive and intransitive verbs:

sɨ-pχʲɜ́ʃʷɨ-n   *jɨ-Ø-dʷɨ́-n*   (TE)
1sPOSS-woman-ERG   3sABS-3sERG-sew-PRES
'my wife is sewing it' (Hewitt 1974)

ʁ-ʃʲɨndʒɜ:ʃʷɜ-nʒ   *wɨbɨ́x*   *Ø-ʁ-bjɜ́-bʒ…*   (TE)
the-Abdzakh-ERG.PL   Ubykh   3sABS-3pERG-see[.PRES]-IRR.PROT
'if the Abdzakhs see an Ubykh…' (Vogt 1963:52)

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[17] Smeets (1997) was among the first to refer to this case in NWC with the label 'relative case', which has some currency in (among others) Aleut and Inuit linguistics in referring to a morphological marker that combines ergative and genitive functionalities (see e.g. Merchant 2008). Previous literature mostly refers to the Ubykh case as the "oblique" (see e.g. Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:10; Charachidzé 1989:370, Hewitt 2005a:102). I have here modified Smeets's term slightly, but only in order that no confusion should arise with the term 'relative' in the sense of verbal relativisation (§3.3.2.9).

sɨ́-tʷɨ-n *jɨ-Ø-s-tʷ-q'ʒ́* (TE)

1sPOSS-father-OBL 3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-give(SG)-PAST

'I gave it to my father' (Vogt 1963:151)

ɦ́-bʋtʃʒ *ɦ́-tɕʷ* *ʁ[ʒ]-ʒ́w-ʤʒgʲʒ-nʒ* (TE)

the-cane the-ox[.OBL] 3sPOSS-PL-thigh-OBL.PL

Ø-ɦ́-zlʒq'ʋ-si-Ø-χɨ-n

3sABS-3pOBL-between-1sERG-CAUS-insert-PRES

'I pass the cane between the ox's legs' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:126)

sʒ́wsiriqʷʒ-n *ɕʷɨ-Ø-miɕʒ́-n* (HKo)

S.-OBL 2pABS-3sOBL-call-PL

'call (to) Sewsırıque!' (Dumézil 1957:1; Vogt 1963:148)

It also finds usage as an indirect object marker even when the verb does not carry oblique agreement (§2.6.1.1):

ɦ́-zʷʒ *Ø-zʒ-wʒ-ni-w:tʷ'-ɦ́j-ʃʋχʲʒ* *ɦ́-mʁʲʒ-n* (TE)

the-sky 3sABS-REFL-PVB-3sERG-remove-ITER[.NFIN]-until the-road-OBL

ʃɨ-kʲ'ʒ́-n[ʒ]-ʒ:mi:t

1pABS-go-PL-FUT.I.NEG

'we will not set out on the road until the sky clears up' (Hewitt 1974)

Note that the affixes of the relational case also have the function of marking nominal number in this case. A handful of nominal forms exist which are, or may optionally be, suppletive for grammatical number (e.g. *pχʲʒʃʷ* 'woman' → *ɕʷimts'ʒ́* 'women'; *kʷʒbʒʒ́* 'man' → *ʂχʒ* 'men'; *tɨt* 'person' → *tɕɨtɕʒ* 'people'; *ʋtɕ'ɨkʲ* 'seed' → *ʋɕkʲ'ɨ ~ ʋɕɨkʲ* 'seed(s)', *mizɨ* 'child' → *tɕ'iɕɨ* 'children'; this last is the adjective 'small'), but these suppletive forms nevertheless take relational-case suffixes that are appropriately marked for number:

ʁʒ-ʒʷ-ʒwnɨ *ʋ-tɕɨtɕʒ-nʒ* *jʒdʒ́* *Ø-ʋ-lʒ-ts'[ʒ]-ɦ́-nʒ:jɬ* (TE)

3sPOSS-old[.OBL]-INSTR the-people-OBL.PL much 3pABS-3pOBL-PVB-pass-PL-IMPF.PL

'in the old days, the people would live for a long time' (Dumézil 1957:40; Vogt 1963:136)

zʒ-wˤʒnʤʒ-ʃʷ *ʋ-tɕ'iɕi-nʒ* *ʋ-ʂʒ-lʒ-nʋ-Ø-tɕʷʒ-gʲɨ…* (HKu)

one-puppy-DIM the-small-ERG.PL 3sABS-head-PVB-3pERG-CAUS-strike-CONV

'the children, beating a little puppy…' (Dumézil 1961b:286)

An interesting construction surfaces in the speech of TE in which coordinated multiple singular nominal phrases standing in the relational case may be marked by adding the *plural* relational-case suffix only to the last noun in the group:

zɜ-ʂɜ:qɜ	*zɜ-ɫɐtʃɜ*	*zɜ-fɜtɕ’ɜ:bzɨ:kʷ’ɜkʷ’ɜ-nɜ*	(TE)
one-scaly.headed	one-lame	one-with.a.runny.nose-ERG.PL	

ɐ-j-nɐ-ʃ-q’ɜ-dz
3sABS-PVB-3pERG-do-PAST[.NFIN]-COP[.STAT.PRES]
'it is what someone with dandruff, someone lame, and someone with a runny nose did'

(Dumézil 1965:156)

although Dumézil (1965:156) also notes that the form with individual marking of the relational case on each noun phrase is equally acceptable:

zɜ-ʂɜ:qɜ-n	[*zɜ-ɫɐtʃɜ-n*	*zɜ-fɜtɕ’ɜ:bzɨ:kʷ’ɜkʷ’ɜ-n*	(TE)
one-scaly.headed-ERG	one-lame-ERG	one-with.a.runny.nose-ERG	

ɐ-j-nɐ-ʃ-q’ɜ-dz][18]
3sABS-PVB-3pERG-do-PAST[.NFIN]-COP[.STAT.PRES]
'id.' (Dumézil 1965:156)

In addition to its ergative and dative functions, the relational case may also mark an oblique nominal which is the target of an oblique (applicative) preverb (§2.6.4.3):

sɜwsɨrɨqʷɜ-n	*sɜwfɨw*	*ʁɜ-djɜ*	*ɐʁʷɜ*	*ʁɜ-ʧɨ-n*	(İb)
S.-ERG	S.[.OBL]	3sPOSS-corpse	he(EMPH)[.OBL]	3sPOSS-horse-OBL	

Ø-Ø-bʁʲɜ-n-bzɜ:tʷɨ-n…
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3sERG-tie.strongly(SG)-CONV
'Sewsırıque, tying Sewfıw's corpse onto his own horse…' (Dumézil 1931:169, 1959a:65)

ɛ́-ʁʷɨndʷɨ	*ɐ-ʁʷɨn-ʂɜ́-n*	*Ø-Ø-ʂɨqʷ’ɐ-tʷ’ɜs-q’ɜ*	(TE)
the-bird	the-tree-head-OBL	3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-sit-PAST	

'the bird sat up on top of the tree' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:122)

The markers of the relational case serve several other functions. The plural form may be used as a vocative marker in the plural, even where there is no environment in the following sentence that might condition such a marker:

ɐ	*p’ʧ’ɜ-nɜ,*	*ɕʷɨ-gʲɨ-nɜ*	*ɐ-ʧ:q’ɜ-ɛ?*	(Nİ)
hey	guest-VOC.PL	2pPOSS-heart-PL	3sABS-frozen[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR	

'hey, guests, are you bored?' (Dumézil 1931:146)

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[18] Dumézil notes only the first word of the construction: "…avec l'ergatif pl. **-na** exprimé dans le dernier sujet, mais portant sur les trois, au lieu de trois ergatifs sg., également possibles, **za-ša=qan**, etc." ["…with the ergative plural *-nɜ* expressed on the final subject, but applying to all three, in place of three singular ergatives, equally possible, *zɜ-ʂɜ:qɜ-n*, etc."]. The portion of this example in square brackets is my reconstruction of the implied form with individually distributed relational markers.

ɐj   nɜrt-nɜ,   sɜtɜnɐjɜ Ø-dɨ-gʲɨ-tʷʼɜ:sɨ-n   ɐ-bzɨ-qɜfɜ-ʁɜ   (TE)
hey   Nart-VOC.PL   S.   3sABS-REL-PVB-sit(SG)-PRES[.NFIN] the-water-edge-LOC

Ø-Ø-ʧʼɜ-xɜ   lɜqʲɜ   ɐ-kʲʼɐd[ɜ]-ɐ-n
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.sitting(PL)[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   rock   3pABS-move-PL-PRES

'hey, Narts, the rocks at the edge of the water that Setenaye is sitting on are moving!'

(Dumezil 1960b:433)

The relational case also marks the possessor in possessive constructions (§2.2.1.3), and appears regularly on plural possessors:

ɐ-dɨwʂɜ:qʼɜ-nɜ   ɐʁɜ-tɛʷjɜ   (HKo)
the-poor-OBL.PL   3pPOSS-house
'the house of the poor [ones]' (Dumézil 1961c:53)

although the appearance of an overt relational-case marker in the singular is subject to perhaps the largest degree of idiolectic variation of any grammatical feature in Ubykh. The relational-case marker on singular possessors is regularly deleted in the speech of both TE and AH:

wɨ́-tɛʷjɜ   ʁɜ-dɨ́bzɨ-n   (TE)
2sPOSS-house[.OBL]   3sPOSS-eaves-OBL
'([under]) the eaves of your house' (Dumézil 1967:67)

a-dɜv   ʁɜ-gʲɨ   Ø-lɜ-ʧɜ-qʼɜ   (AH)
the-giant[.OBL]   3sPOSS-heart   3sABS-PVB-finish-PAST
'the giant had [had] enough' (Dumézil 1957:55)

According to Dumézil (1965:269), İb and HKo occasionally preserved relational-case markers on singular possessors, but more usually the suffix is deleted in their speech as well:

ɐ-kʷ   ʁɜ-tʼqʷʼɜ-ʧʼɜ   ɐ-ʦʼɜ-n   Ø-Ø-gʷɜdɜ-n…   (HKo)
the-wagon[.OBL]   3sPOSS-two-mouth   the-good-ADV   3sABS-3sERG-push-CONV
'he covering the two ends of the wagon well…' (Dumézil 1961c:44)

jɨ-pχʲɜʃʷ   ʁɜ-lɐkʲʼ   ʁɜ-zɜʤɜ   (İb)
the-woman[.OBL]   3sPOSS-hair[.OBL]   3sPOSS-half
'half of this woman's hair' (Dumézil 1931:155)

and a similar situation is found in the idiolect of HÇ, as in this striking example, which demonstrates two possessive constructions, one with a deleted and one with an intact singular relational-case marker, in the same sentence:

ʁ-qˤɐɕi   *ʁɜ-kʷʼɜʧɜ-gʲiʁi-n*   *Ø-lɜ-s-qʼɜ*   (HÇ)
the-village[.OBL]   3sPOSS-tail-INTENS-OBL   3sABS-PVB-be.sitting(SG)-PAST[.NFIN]
zɜ-diwşɜ:qʼɜ-n   *ʁɜ-ntʷɜ-n*   *i-Ø-jɜ-n…*
one-poor-OBL(!)   3sPOSS-door-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-hit-CONV
'he knocking on the door of a poor [man] who lived right on the edge of the village…'

                                        (Dumézil 1931:112)

In the idiolects of KS and MK, the relational-case suffix is more often (though not always) preserved even in the singular:

ji-pχʲɜdikʷʼi-n   *ʁɜ-mɜɕɜ*   *nɜrt-nɜ*   *Ø-ɐʁ[ɜ]-ɐ-qʷʼ-qʼɜ*   (KS)
this-young.woman-OBL   3sPOSS-word   Nart-OBL.PL   3sABS-3pPOSS-PVB-be.heard-PAST
'The Narts heard news of this young woman' (Dumézil 1931:115)

ɐʁɜ-χʲi-n   *ʁɜ-pʧɜriχɜ*   *ʁɜ-ʧɐdir-ʁɜ*   *ɐ-kʲʼ[ɜ]-ɐj-qʼɜ*   (MK)
3pPOSS-prince-OBL 3sPOSS-attendant   3sPOSS-tent-LOC   3sABS-go-ITER-PAST
'their prince's attendant went back into his tent' (Dumézil 1957:48)

and in OG's dialect, the explicit relational suffix in the singular is also usual here (Dumézil 1965:269):

ɐ-gʷimɜ-n   *ʁɜ-şɜ*   (OG)
the-cow-OBL   3sPOSS-head
'the cow's head' (Dumézil 1965:269)

Dumézil (1959a:14) notes that for those speakers who usually delete case-marking in the singular, retention of the case-marking serves to emphasise the possessor. The relational-case marker can also be deleted when the possessor is not directly adjacent to the possessed nominal:

sɜwsiriqʷɜ *dɜ-gʲi*   *ʁɜ-gʲɜ*   *Ø-zɜ-n-Ø-kʲʼɜɕʷi-n…*   (TE)
S.[.ERG]   now-EMPH   3sPOSS-self   3sABS-REFL-3sERG-CAUS-change-CONV
'Sewsırıque, changing himself again…' (Dumézil 1960b:435)

and may occur even when the possessor and the possessed noun occupy distinct noun phrases within the sentence:

ɐ-χʷɜ́ɖʐɜ   *ʁɜ-tʷiχɜ́kʲʼ*   *Ø-Ø-di-ʧɜ:w-qʼɜ́-mɜ*   (TE)
the-hoca[.ERG]   3sPOSS-neck   3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-fall(SG)-PAST-NEG
'the hoca did not hang his head [lit. 'drop his neck']' (Dumézil and Esenç 1987:3)

although the form with the explicit suffix *-n* is also possible here:

ʁ-χʷɜ́dʐɜ-n   ʁɜ-tʷ*i̥χɜ́kʲ'   Ø-Ø-di-tʃɜ:w-q'ɜ́-mɜ   (TE)
the-hoca-ERG   3sPOSS-neck   3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-fall(SG)-PAST-NEG
'the hoca did not hang his head [lit. '…drop his neck']' (Dumézil and Esenç 1987:3)

Where the possessive prefix of the nominal argument does not share reference with a preceding relational-case noun, naturally the relational suffix is preserved:

zɜ-mi̥zi̥-mi̥ʁʷˤɜ-n   si̥-fɜlɜ   Ø-Ø-tsɜ-q'ɜ   (TE)
one-child-bad-ERG   1sPOSS-face   3sABS-3sERG-burn-PAST
'a brat burned my face' (Dumézil 1960b:436)

The relational suffix on the possessor is also preserved when the possessed noun is inflected for the adverbial case, and also when the possessed noun serves as a stative verb (§2.6.13.1):

ʁ-pχʲɜdi̥kʷ'   zɜ-χʲi̥-gʷɜrɜ-n   Ø-ʁɜ-pχʲɜ-jt'   (HKo)
the-young.woman   one-prince-certain-OBL   3sABS-3sPOSS-daughter-STAT.PAST
'the young woman was a certain prince's daughter' (Dumézil 1960a:19)

zɜ-χʲi̥-n   ʁɜ-pχʲɜ-ni̥   ʁ-blʁ-(ʁɜ-)tʷ'-q'ɜ   (TE)
one-prince-OBL   3sPOSS-daughter-ADV   3sABS-PVB-(PVB-)leave-PAST
'she appeared [to be] a prince's daughter' (Dumézil 1960a:24)

as in the following striking example of a four-constituent possessive chain:

ʁ-lɜ   ʁɜ-bzi̥   ʁɜ-bzi̥-n   Ø-ʁɜ-bzi̥   (TE)
the-hare[.OBL]   3sPOSS-broth[.OBL]   3sPOSS-broth-OBL   3sABS-3sPOSS-broth[.STAT.PRES]
'it is the broth of the broth of the broth of the hare' (Dumézil 1960a:46)

and finally, all speakers, including TE, usually (though do not always) preserve the marker on nominals that bridge two possessive constructions and thus act simultaneously as possessor and possessed constituent:

dzɜ́:mɜ   zɜ-ʃʷɜblɜ́   ʁɜ-χʲi̥-n   ʁɜ́-qʷɜ   (TE)
another   one-country[.OBL]   3sPOSS-prince-OBL   3sPOSS-son
'the son of the prince of another country' (Charachidzé and Esenç 1993a:13)

The addition of suffixing postpositions (§2.2.1.5.1) to the noun complex also causes the relational-case marker to be deleted in the singular:

wɜ-mɛʷ[ɜ]-ɜwn   (TE)
that-day[.OBL]-INSTR
'on that day' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-si-ʁ[ɜ]:ɐfɜ   *dʁɜ-ʃi-gʷɐq'[ɜ]-ɐ-nɜ:jɫɜ…*   (MK)
the-wood[.OBL]-because.of   SUB-1pABS-be.agitated-PL-IMPF.PL.NFIN
'when we were agitated about the wood…' (Dumézil 1957:48)

ɐ́-qʷmɐlɜ:ʃʷɜ́-dɜkʲ'ɜ   *hɜʥ:jɜkʷíp-qˤɐɕi-ʁɜ́*   *ʃ-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ́-n*   (TE)
the-theatre[.OBL]-towards   H.Y.-village-LOC   1pABS-go-PAST-PL
'we went towards the theatre in Hacıyakup village' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-jɜ-qˤɜ-gʲɨ:msɜ   *sɜtɜnɜjɜ-lɐq*   *ɐ-j-ʥi-n*   *ɐ-ʃ-q'ɜ*   (TE)
3sABS-PVB-run-CONVS.[.OBL]-towards 3sABS-PVB-return-CONV 3sABS-become-PAST
'he was coming running back towards Seteneye' (Dumézil 1960b:434)

although the suffixing postpositions *-gʲɐfɨ ~ -jfɨ* 'as much as' and *-gʲɐχʷ(ɜ)* 'id.' may take relational-case marking on an optional basis in the singular:

wɜnɜ(-n)-gʲɐfɨ   (unkn.)
that(-OBL)-as.much.as
'as much as that' (Mészáros 1934:199; Vogt 1963:199)

2.2.1.1.1.2. The absolutive case

The absolutive case marks the subject of intransitive verbs and the direct object of transitive verbs. The absolutive case, in contrast to the relational case, carries no overt marking. Hence, absolutive nouns are unmarked for number, the plurality of the absolutive nominal being rather indicated by one of several grammatical devices within the verbal complex (§2.6.5; §2.6.8) or in the prefixal complex of the noun phrase (§2.2.1.3; §2.3.2):

ɐ-dɨ:χɨ-gʲɨ   *ɐ-witʃɜdɜ-q'ɜ*   (MK)
the-master-EMPH   3sABS-awaken-PAST
'the landlord woke up' (Dumézil 1957:97)

ɐmɜ́t   *ɐ-(Ø-)wɜ-tʷ'-q'ɜ́*   (TE)
A.   3sABS-(3sOBL-)among-leave-PAST
'Ahmet went out (of it)' (Hewitt 1974)

wɜɫɜ-qʷmɐl[ɜ]:ɐkʲ'ɜ   *dɜ-Ø-j-kʲ'ɜ-nɜ-t'in…*   (TE)
those-dancer   SUB-3pABS-PVB-go-PL-when(PAST)
'when those dancers came…' (Dumézil 1962b:48)

However, in possessive constructions (§2.2.1.3) the absolutive argument is often construed as morphologically singular even when a semantically plural argument is clearly intended, and as in many other languages, the presence of an explicit numeral (§2.4.1) also causes an absolutive noun to behave as a grammatical singular:

ʁ-tɕʷ'ʒ-n-gʲɐtɕ'		ʁɜ́-blʒ	Ø-Ø-qʷ'ʒt̪s̪ʒ-nɜ́:jt'	(TE)

3sABS-cry[.NFIN]-OBL-like   3sPOSS-eye   3sABS-3sERG-rub-IMPF.SG

'he was wiping his eyes [lit. 'his eye'] as though he were crying' (Hewitt 1974)

si-tɕʷjʒ́   ʁʒ-t̪s̪'ʒfʒ-ʁʒ́   t'qʷ'ʒ-ʁʷinɨ   (TE)
1sPOSS-house[.OBL]   3sPOSS-front-LOC   two-tree
Ø-lʒ-t
3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'in front of my house there are [lit. 'is'] two trees' (Hewitt 1974)

In addition, words referring to times, such as mʒ(j)tɕʷ' 'morning', ʃʷɨwʒ́, ɕɨɕɨ́ 'night', miɕʷʒ́ 'day', tχɐlʒ́ ~ tχʒlʒ́ 'yesterday' and ɕɨɕɨgʲibʁʲʒ 'midnight', are formally nouns, but may appear in the unmarked form at the beginning of a sentence, in which case they serve as temporal adverbs (§2.5):

zʒ-ʃʷwʒ   ʁ-tɕʷʒ-q'ʒ-ni   zʒ-p'tɕ'ʒbˤʒ   ji-Ø-bjʒ-q'ʒ   (İH)
one-night   3sABS-sleep-PAST-CONV   one-dream   3sABS-3sERG-see-PAST
'one night he slept and had a dream' (Dumézil 1957:29)

tχɐlʒ́   ʃɨ-zʒ-dʑɨ́-nʒ-n   ʃɨ-lʒ-ʒʷʒ́-nʒ-j   (TE)
yesterday   1pABS-RECIP.OBL-be.with-PL-CONV   1pABS-PVB-be.sitting(PL)-PL-CONV
ʃɨ-gʷɨtʃɕq'[ʒ]-ɐ-nʒ:jɬ
1pABS-talk-PL-IMPF.PL
'[only] yesterday we were sitting and talking together' (Hewitt 1974)

In constructions referencing a container and its contents, the noun phrase referring to the containing object also appears in the unmarked form:

zʒ-tɕʷ'ʒ́nt̪ʒ   bzɨ   Ø-Ø-s-tʷɨ-n   (TE)
one-glass   water   3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-give(SG)-PRES
'I give him a glass of water' (Hewitt 1974)

zʒ-q'ʒrtɕʷ'ʒ́   ʁʒ́-zʒ   dɨ́mʒ-qʷˤ'ɨ   (TE)
one-bag[.OBL]   3sPOSS-fullness   chicken-feather
'a bagful of chicken feathers' (Dumézil and Esenç 1978:63)

2.2.1.1.2. Non-core cases

In addition to the absolutive and relational cases, there are three postpositional case-markers in Ubykh: the locative -ʁʒ, the adverbial -n(ɨ) and the comitative-instrumental -ɐlʒ. These may be distinguished from suffixing postpositions in that they are never construed in a genitive construction (§2.2.1.3; §2.2.1.5).

2.2.1.1.2.1. The locative case

The locative case-marker -ʁз, which oddly does not seem to be attested in the plural, primarily forms adverbial phrases that have inessive, adessive or allative meaning:

si-ʦ'зfз-ʁз́   Ø-qʷ'з́:tʷ-q'з   (TE)
1sPOSS-front-LOC   3sABS-stop(SG)-PAST
'he stopped in front of me' (Hewitt 1974)

siʁʷз́   ʦín-ʁз   s-kʲ'з-q'з́:jt'   (TE)
I   China-LOC   1sABS-go-PLUP.SG
'I had gone to China' (Hewitt 1974)

Rarely, the marker can carry ablative force:

ʃʷз:ʂзndʒз-ʁз   ɐ-lз-tʷ'з-q'з́:jɬ   (TE)
İstanbul-LOC   3sABS-PVB-leave-PLUP.PL
'they had come from İstanbul' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955b:441)

The suffix is capable of acting as a temporal locative at least in the speech of HKo, although TE refused the validity of the construction, preferring instead to use the instrumental postposition (§2.2.1.5):

p'ɬ'i-mʨ'з-t'qʷ'зtʷ'-ɐlз   ʒʷi-ɕз-ʃʷз-ʁз   (HKo)
four-times-twenty-COM   ten-three-year-LOC
vs.   …   ʒʷi-ɕз-ʃʷ[з]-зwni   (TE)
                               ten-three-year[.OBL]-INSTR
'in the year [18]93' (Dumézil 1965:40)

Substantives marked with the locative case may appear with more abstract meaning:

ʃx-зwni   bli-ʁз́   (TE)
five[.OBL]-INSTR seven-LOC
'from five to seven' (Hewitt 1974)

A substantive in the locative case may optionally be governed by local preverbs (§2.6.4.3.1) or other types of oblique preverb (§2.6.4.3). This function is shown in those occasional instances where verbal agreement unambiguously reflects morphological government, as in the following, where the prefix ʁ[з]- indicates overt agreement with the locative-case noun:

ɐ-q'зfʷз́q'з-ʁз́   Ø-ʁ[з]-ė-p'ʧ'-ɐji-q'з-mз   (TE)
the-place-LOC   3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-glue-ITER-PAST-NEG
'she did not glue it back onto the place [it was cut from]' (Hewitt 1974)

Compare the following parallel example, where the identical verbal form governs a nominal standing in the relational case:

mɐ-Ø-fɜ́-n-q'-q'ɜ-n   Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ė́-p'ʧ'-ɐji-q'ɜ-mɜ   (TE)
where-3sABS-PVB-3sERG-cut-PAST[.NFIN]-OBL 3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-glue-ITER-PAST-NEG
'she did not glue it back where he cut it [from]' (Hewitt 1974)

However, morphological governance of a locative argument by a preverb is optional, as in the following example the agreement-prefix ɐ- indicates that the preverb does *not* bear agreement for the locative argument, as the marker *ji-* or Ø- would be expected were this the case (§2.6.1.1.1.1):

ʤɜ:mɜ zɜ-ʨʷjɜ-ʁɜ ɐ-ɕɜ-n-ʧɜ:wi-n…   (TE)
another one-house-LOC 3sABS-PVB-3sERG-throw(SG)-CONV
'he, imprisoning him in another house…' (Dumézil 1959a:27)

and where agreement is null it is obvious that either analysis is possible:

zɜ-qˤɨłɨ́-gʷɜrɜ-ʁɜ   Ø-(Ø-)blɐ-tʷˈɜ́:s-q'ɜ   (AB)
one-corner-certain-LOC 3sABS-(3sOBL-)PVB-sit(SG)-PAST
'he sat down in a corner' (Dumézil 1959c:158; Vogt 1963:90)

2.2.1.1.2.2. The adverbial case

The adverbial case-marker *-n(ɨ)* is partly homophonous with the singular form of the relational case, but it is likely not to be merely a variant of the relational-case marker, as Abkhaz (which does not otherwise mark case) also uses *-nə* as a less common alternative to its more usual adverbial- or predicative-case formant *-s* (Hewitt 1979a:101).

Formally identical with the converb-forming suffix *-n(ɨ)* (§3.3.1.3), the adverbial case in Ubykh does not inflect for number. Its primary function is to provide an essive or translative meaning to a substantive:

si-kʷɜbʒɜ   ʁibɜ-χʲɨ-nɨ   łɜwɜ-ʁɜ   ɐ-kʲˈɜ-q'ɜ   (TE)
1sPOSS-husband boat-prince-ADV far-LOC 3sABS-go-PAST
'my husband went abroad as a ship's captain' (Dumézil 1957:100)

ʁ[ɜ]-ɜ́w-ʨɨʨɜ-nɜ   χʲɨ:tʷˈɜ́:s:ʃʷɜ-n Ø-ɐ-qˈɜ́-ʁ-q'ɜ   (TE)
3sPOSS-PL-people-OBL.PL capital-ADV 3sABS-3pOBL-PVB-be.hanging-PAST
'his people had it as [their] capital' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975b:44)

ʃɨ   ʁɜ-kʲˈɜ́:ʁɨ-nɨ   Ø-j-kʲˈɜ-q'ɜ́-j?   (TE)
who[.OBL] 3sPOSS-companion(SG)-ADV 3sABS-PVB-go-PAST-INTERR
'with whom did he come?' (Hewitt 1974)

In this function it provides the complement of the copular verb *ʃɨ* 'to be, to become' (§3.2.3):

ps₃ʃɨ:ʁi-n   *ʃɨ-zₒ-χʲₒ-ʃɨ-n[ₒ]-ₒw*   (HKo)
workmate-ADV   1pABS-RECIP.OBL-BEN-become-PL-FUT.I
'we will become each other's spouses' (Dumézil 1962b:142)

ʁₒ-gʲɨdiʁi-n   *Ø-ʃɨ-gʲɨ*   *Ø-mʁʲʁ-w-qʼₒ*   (TE)
3sPOSS-worry-ADV   3sABS-become-CONV   3sABS-road-enter(SG)-PAST
'it began to worry him' [lit. 'it began to become as his worry'] (Vogt 1963:72)

A substantive in the adverbial case may also act as a preposed modifier to a nominal:

ʁₒ-lₒjʃʷₒ   *t̪ʃʼₒ-nɨ*   *tɨt*   (TE)
3sPOSS-morals   good-ADV   man
'a man of good morals' (Vogt 1963:139)

ʁʃₒ-t̪ʂi-nɨ   *tɨt*   (TE)
shirt-PRIV-ADV   man
'a man without a shirt' (Vogt 1963:85)

ɕₒsₒ-ʃɨ-n   *ʁ-pχʲₒdikʷʼ*   (TE)
bride-becoming-ADV   the-young.woman
'[the] marriageable girls' (Hewitt 1974)

and when the adverbial-case substantive is an adjective, the construction is semantically more or less identical to an ordinary postposed adjective:

ʁtʷₒ-nɨ   *zₒ-t̪ʃɨ*   (TE)   vs.   *zₒ-t̪ʃ-ʁtʷₒ*   (TE)
pied-ADV   one-horse   one-horse-pied
'a piebald horse' (Dumézil 1965:207)   *vs.*   'id.' (Dumézil 1965:207)

By extension, the adverbial case-marker is also the most common means by which generic adverbs are formed from adjectives (§2.2.2) and nouns, optionally in composition with the definite article (§2.2.1.2) and/or reduplication of the root (§1.5.6).

2.2.1.1.2.3. The comitative-instrumental case

The comitative-instrumental case is marked with the suffix *-ʁlₒ*, and when used alone most commonly has the comitative sense of 'along with, accompanying':

ʁ-wrís-ʁlₒ   *zₒ-mɛʷₒ*   *zₒ:jₒ-gʲɨd̪zₒ*   *é-j-nʁ-ʃ-qʼₒ*   (TE)
the-Russian-COM   one-day   battle-large   3sABS-PVB-3pERG-do-PAST
'one day they had a great war against the Russian[s]' (Dumézil 1959a:31; Vogt 1963:84)

However, when used in conjunction with the names of the seasons (*wзfз́dз* 'spring', *dзχʷз́* 'summer', *zʷзtʷʼз́dз* 'autumn', *bзз* 'winter') and with some other substantives, the marker seems to have an adverbial function more similar to that of the instrumental postposition (§2.2.1.5):

> *bз[з]-ė́lз*   *ė-tɕʷíjз-nз*   *ʁ-tɕítɕз-nз*   *Ø-ʁʁ[з]-ė́-qʼзʣ̌i-n…*   (TE)
> winter-COM   the-house-OBL.PL   the-people-OBL.PL   3sABS-3pPOSS-PVB-go.near-CONV
> 'he going near the houses [and] the people during the winter…' (Vogt 1963:37)

> *ė-dзχʷ[з]-ʁlз*   *wi-ʁi-nз́:jtʼ-gʲilз*   *ė-bз[з]-ʁlз*   (TE)
> the-summer-COM   2sABS-dry.out-IMPF.SG-CONJ   the-winter-COM
> *sз-w-ʁз-tʷʼз-qʼз́-j?*
> what-3sOBL-PVB-arrive-PAST-INTERR
> 'you were drying out in the summer, but what happened to you during the winter?'
> (Dumezil 1967:93)

> *ʁ-ʃʷwз*   *ʁ-wзs[з]-ʁlз*   *zз-miwз-lзqʲз-gʲiʣ̌з*   *Ø-ʁ-bjз-qʼз*   (TE)
> the-night   the-dark-COM   one-mill-stone-large   3sABS-3pERG-see-PAST
> '[in] the night, in the darkness they saw a great millstone' (Dumézil 1962b:49)

> *ʧʼзz-ʁlз*   *nзmзzi-nз*   (KS)
> fast-COM   prayer-OBL.PL
> 'prayers for Ramadan' (Dumézil 1931:145)

A similar instrumental sense may also be seen in the derived pronominal *zз́qʼʁlз ~ zзqʼʁlз́* (← *zз* 'one' + (-)*qʼз* 'place' (§2.2.3.2.2) + -*ʁlз*) 'somewhere, anywhere' (§2.3.6) and the derived postposition -*łзqʼʁlз* (← *łзqʼз́* 'footprint' + -*ʁlз*) 'after, following' (§2.2.1.5). The comitative-instrumental suffix also occurs as an optional addition to some non-finite verbal forms. However, it appears most commonly suffixed to each member of a group of two or more of nominals, in which it is the most usual form of coordination (§2.2.1.7):

> *wí-qʷ[з]-ʁlз*   *wi-ɕз́ɕ[з]-ʁlз*   (TE)
> 2sPOSS-son-COM   2sPOSS-daughter.in.law-COM
> 'your son and your daughter-in-law' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:156)

> *ʐ̣:ʁw:lзqʲ[з]-ė́lз*[19]   *qʷʼз:qʷʼзʧʼ[з]:ė́w-ʁlз*   *ʧ̌ʁf[з]-ʁlз*   (TE)
> stone.of.patience-COM   hand.towel-COM   soap-COM
> 'a stone of patience, a hand towel, and some soap' (Dumézil 1967:179)

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[19] Literally 'instrument-for-enduring stone', a type of magical stone in which one confides one's problems and sufferings, ultimately derived from the Persian **sangi sabūr**; compare the Abkhaz equivalent *a-sabər-χaħʷ* (Dumézil 1967:171).

and in this function may appear in either relational or absolute case environments, a factor which may speak against the analysis of this suffix as a true morphological case, although the appearance of -ɐlʒ on a nominal does preclude the appearance of overt relational-case marking in both the singular and the plural (Hewitt 2005a:123):

sɨ́-n[ʒ]-ɐlʒ   sɨ́-tʷ-ɐlʒ   Ø-si-nɛ́-q'ʒ-q'ʒ   (TE)
1sPOSS-mother[.ERG]-COM   1sPOSS-father[.ERG]-COM   3sABS-1sOBL-3pERG-say-PAST
'my mother and my father said it to me' (Vogt 1963:84)

2.2.1.2. Definiteness and indefiniteness

The definite article is the nominal prefix ɐ-, which causes lexically determined displacement of stress (§1.6): dʷɨ 'field, plain' → ɐ-dʷɨ́ 'the field, the plain', tɕʷɨ 'ox' → ɛ́-tɕʷ 'the ox', mʒɛ́ɕ 'word' → ɐ-mʒɛ́ɕ 'the word', bɐdʒɨ́ 'fox' → ɛ́-bɐdʒʒ 'the fox'. However, referentiality provided by relative clauses obviates the need for an overt definite article, and it is normally deleted from the head of a relative clause (Charachidzé 1989a:418)[20]:

d-ʁʒ-tʷ   Ø-dɨwʒ-q'ɨ́   mizɨ́   (TE)
REL-3sPOSS-father   3sABS-die-PAST[.NFIN]   child
'the child whose father has died' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-gʷɨtʃɛq'ʒ-n   tɨt   ɐ-q'ʷiz-ɕ́w:t   (TE)
3sABS-talk-PRES[.NFIN]   man   3sABS-be.silent-FUT.II
'the man who is speaking will be silent' (Hewitt 1974)

though such deletion of the article seems not to be obligatory for all speakers:

siʁʷɨ́   si-d-ɛ́-dʑʁʒ-q'ʒ   ɐ-χɨ́-n   (HKo)
I   1sABS-REL-PVB-inquire-PAST[.NFIN]   the-prince-ERG
'the prince whom I asked' (Dumézil 1957:13; Vogt 1963:110)

ɐ-mdʒʒ-n   Ø-Ø-fɐ-ni-w:tʷ-q'ʒ:jt'-ɨ   ɐ-tsʒtsʒ   (KS)
the-fire-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3sERG-be.standing.DYN.SG-PLUP-NFIN   the-skewer
'the skewer he had put into the fire' (Dumézil 1931:120)

Indefiniteness of nouns is marked by prefixing zʒ- 'one', which does not retract stress from the noun root (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:18), and optionally also suffixing -gʷʒrʒ '(a) certain', which gives the structure more referential force:

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[20] This stands in contrast to the situation in the sister-language Abaza, in which the head noun must retain an overt article if it is to remain semantically definite:

jə-m-tsá   a-qáts'a
3sgABS-NEG-go[.PRES.NFIN]   the-man
'the man who does not go' (Hewitt 2005a:112)

| *ʁ-jɜdɜ-ni* | *zɜ-ʧ̌i-ɬɐp'ɜ-q'ɜkʲ'ɜ* | *Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ʁ-qʷ'-q'ɜ* | (HKo) |

the-much-ADV   one-horse-foot-sound   3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-be.heard-PAST
'he heard the sound of many hoofbeats' (Dumézil 1962b:3)

| *fɐχʲɜ* | *ɐdiɣɜ-ʁɜ* | *zɜ-nɜjnʃʷ-gʷɜrɜ* | *Ø-lɜ-tʷ-q'ɜ* | (TE) |

long.ago   Circassia-LOC   one-young.man-certain   3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PAST
'long ago, in Circassia, there was a certain young man' (Dumézil 1961a:57)

Rarely, *-gʷɜrɜ* may appear alone in this function:

| *mizí-gʷɜrɜ* | *ji-Ø-ʁʷɜ́wi-q'ɜ* | (TE) |

child-certain   3sABS-3sERG-find-PAST
'she gave birth to [lit. 'found'] a child' (Vogt 1963:128)

As the head of a relative clause is normally definite by default and does not ordinarily take the definite article, indefiniteness must be overt in this position:

| *ʁ-pɬ́qʷ'ɜ:q'ɜ* | *Ø-di-q'ɛ́-mi-ʁ* | | *zɜ-nɜ́jnʃʷ* | (TE) |

the-money   3sABS-REL-PVB-NEG-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   one-young.man
'a young man who has no money' (Hewitt 1974)

An equivalent to a partitive is given by the postposition *-nkʲɜ* 'from among' (§2.2.1.5).

2.2.1.3. Possession

Possession in Ubykh is marked simply with a prefix on the possessed noun. In the first and second persons, these prefixes are phonetically identical with the corresponding verbal pronominal prefixes (§2.6.1.1.1), although unlike their verbal equivalents, do not usually undergo assimilation (§1.5.1). Like Abkhaz-Abaza but unlike Circassian, Ubykh does not have a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession.

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Singular	*si-*	*wi-* (jocular?: *χɜ-*)	*ʁɜ-*
Plural	*ʃi-*	*ɕʷi-*	*ɐ̯ʁɜ-* (with some postpositions: *ʁ-*)

Table 2. Possessive prefixes.

These prefixes are ordinarily used as pronominal possessive markers:

| *ʁɜ-p'ʦ'ɜ́* | *Hikméti-ʣ* | (TE) |

3sPOSS-name   H.-COP[.STAT.PRES]
'his name is Hikmet' (Hewitt 1974)

si-tʷ   *ʁɜ́-tɕʷjɜ-ʁɜ*   *jɜ-Ø-txí-n*   (TE)
1sPOSS-father[.ERG]   3sPOSS-room-LOC   NULL.ABS-3sERG-write-PRES
'my father is writing in his room' (Hewitt 1974)

wɨ-tɕ'ɜ:ʃ-ɜwnɨ   *ɐ-w-q'ɜ̝ʂɜ-ʁɨ-ɕ?*   (AB)
2sPOSS-youth[.OBL]-INSTR   3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
 'do you want [what will happen] in your youth?' (Dumézil 1957:79)

ʃɨ-ʃʷɜblɜ-ʁɜ   *ɐ-qʲɜʁɨ-ʃ-q'ɜ́*   (TE)
1pPOSS-country-LOC   3sABS-arid-become-PAST
'there was a drought in our country' (Vogt 1963:63)

However, in addition to their pronominal capacity, the possessive prefixes also surface in genitive noun phrases where the possessor is an explicit noun or pronoun. The order of constituents is possessor-possessed, and the possessor in such a construction stands formally in the relational case (§2.2.1.1.1.1).:

ɐ́-tɐʃmɨqʷˤ'-nɜ   *ɐʁɜ́-tʷ:gʲɨʣɜ*   (TE)
the-tortoise-OBL.PL   3pPOSS-grandfather
'the grandfather of the tortoises' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975b:45)

although in the singular, the relational-case suffix is often deleted, a phenomenon subject to considerable idiolectic variation (§2.2.1.1.1.1). Possessive prefixes precede the prefixed cardinal numerals (§2.4.2.1), but follow the demonstrative determiners *jɨ-* 'this', *jɨɬɜ-* 'these', *wɜ-* 'that' and *wɜɬɜ-* 'those' (§2.3.2):

ʁɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ-q'ɐp'[ɜ]-*ɜwn*   (TE)
3sPOSS-two-hand[.OBL]-INSTR
'with his two hands' (Dumézil 1960b:435)

jɨ-sɨ-ʣʷɜʣʷɜ   (HKo)
this-1sPOSS-celebration
'this festival of mine' (Dumézil 1961c:56)

An oddity of the system is an optional distinction between the unmarked second-person singular prefix *wɨ-* and an archaic and sociolinguistically marked variant *χɜ-* (Mészáros 1934:384). Mészáros viewed this as an optional second-person marker used to address female slaves, but Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:76-79) see the prefix and corresponding verbal pronominal agreement marker *χɜ-* (§2.6.1.1.1) (as well as, presumably, the corresponding free pronoun *χɜʁʷɜ́* (§2.3.1), which Dumézil and Esenç state was by 1975 no longer known even in archaic usage) as being rather more complex in meaning:

"[S]ans distinction de sexe, me disait l'un [des Oubykhs], ces formes pouvaient être employées en parlant aux enfants. En fait, il ne s'agit pas d'un féminin, mais d'une forme aujourd'hui désuète d'interpellation bienveillante, voire honorante, bien que supérieure, et, comme telle, surtout appliquée aux femmes… [Ces formes] s'emploient, selon [TE], à l'adresse des femmes quelles qu'elles soient et il y sent un signe d'honneur, une des marques de la politesse que les Oubykhs comme les Tcherkesses témoignent aux femmes." (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:77)[21]

Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:77) also note that the prefix was by 1975 virtually obsolete in practice[22], and that TE did not produce unelicited instances of these pronominal forms in any text between 1954 and 1967. The prefix *wɨ-* is sociolinguistically unmarked, and is appropriate in any circumstance.

The second-person plural prefix *ɕʷɨ-* also has a nuance of respect, demonstrating a T-V distinction rather like that of Turkish (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:79), but it also behaves differently from other possessive prefixes. Unlike the other plural possessive prefixes *ʃɨ-* 'our' and *ʁʁɜ-* 'their', it may condition the marking of the possessed noun with a plural-marking morpheme *-nɜ*, though this morpheme is not the same as the plural form of the relational-case marker (§2.2.1.1), but is strictly a redundant marker of the plurality of the possessor:

ʃɨ-tɕʷjɜ	*ɕʷɜɫɜ́*	*ɕʷɨ-tɕʷjɜ-nɜ-qʲɜ*	*tɕɜ*	*ɐ-ts'inɜ́*	(TE)
1pPOSS-house	you(PL)	2pPOSS-house-PL-than	more	3sABS-damp[.STAT.PRES]	

'our house is more damp than yours' (Hewitt 1974)

This is demonstrated by the fact that the suffix may also appear when the possessed noun is morphologically absolute and hence carries no overt case-marking:

ɕʷɜɫɜ́	*ɕʷɨ-χʲɨːʃ-nɜ*	*ɐ́-tʃɜ-q'ɜ*	(TE)
you(PL)	2pPOSS-reign-PL	3sABS-end-PAST	

'your reign has come to an end' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975b:44)

although the appearance of the marker is not obligatory:

ɕʷɨ-ɕíɕ	*tʂ'ɜ-n*	*Ø-ʃɨ-χ*	(TE)
2pPOSS-night	good-ADV	3sABS-become-OPT	

'good night!' (Hewitt 1974)

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[21] "Without distinction of sex, one of [the Ubykhs] told me, these forms could be used in speaking to children. In fact, it does not represent a feminine, but a now antiquated form of good-natured heckling, in truth respectful although superior, and as such applied especially to women… [These forms] are used, according to [TE], in the address of women, whoever they may be, and he senses in them a sign of honour, one of the marks of politeness that the Ubykhs, like the Circassians, show to women."

[22] The obsolescence of the *χɜ-* forms by the mid-20th century may be due to the simple fact that, by that time, almost all of the few dozen surviving Ubykh-speakers were middle-aged or elderly men.

and also by the existence of forms in which it appears in tandem with the singular relational-case marker, although it is not known whether the plural form of the relational marker may also appear in this environment:

ɕʷi-pʒpɐs-nʒ-n　　　　　ɐ-j-ni-m-ʃ-q'ʒ-ɕʒ　　　　　　　　zʒ-lɐʒʒ　　　(unkn.)
2pPOSS-priest-PL-OBL　3sABS-PVB-3sERG-NEG-do-PAST-CONV　one-crime
Ø-Ø-bɐʲʒ-Ø-di-ɬ
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-2sERG-CAUS-be.lying(SG)
'blame (sg.) upon your (pl.) priest a crime which he did not commit!' (Dumézil 1965:69)

The plurality of the *possessed* noun is shown by the addition of a prefix *-ʒw-* after the possessive prefix, and this pluralising prefix may appear on a noun in any morphological case:

ʃ-ʒw-ʧɨ　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(TE)
1pPOSS-PL-horse
'our horses' (Vogt 1963:189)

ʁ[ʒ]-ʒ́w-bɨj　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(AB)
3sPOSS-PL-sheep
'his sheep (pl.)' (Dumézil 1959a:44; Vogt 1963:103)

w-ʒ́w-qʷˤ'ɨ　　　　sébʒ　　ɐ-w-ʂʒ-pχʒ-q'ʒ́-nʒ-j　　　　　　　　　(TE)
2sPOSS-PL-feather　why　　3pABS-2sOBL-PVB-fall-PAST-PL-INTERR
'why have your feathers fallen out of your head?' (Dumézil 1967:93-94)

ɐ́-bɐʧʒ　　　ɐ́-tɕʷ　　　ʁ[ʒ]-ʒ́w-dʒʒgʲʒ-nʒ　　　　　　　　　　(TE)
the-cane　　the-ox[.OBL]　3sPOSS-PL-thigh-OBL.PL
Ø-ɐ́-zlʒq'ɐ-sɨ-Ø-χɨ-n
3sABS-3pOBL-between-1sERG-CAUS-insert-PRES
'I pass the cane between the ox's legs' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:126)

However, the affix is not so simply applied for vowel-initial noun roots, in which the *-w-* of the pluraliser and the initial vowel of the noun undergo metathesis, and the resulting illegal sequence *-ʒɐ-* is resolved by deletion (§1.5.2):

s-ɐ:w:bˤʒ　　　(from underlying *s-ʒw-ɐbˤʒ → *s-[ʒ]-ɐ:w:bˤʒ)　　　　　(TE)
1sPOSS-sick.PL
'my sick [people]' (Vogt 1963:83)

although Dumézil (1965:217) notes that this metathesis was considered unusual by the speakers of Ubykh, and very often the prefix *-ʒw-* was ignored completely on *ɐ*-initial roots, the marking of the noun's grammatical number being left to the verbal complex in this case:

s-ɐbˤʒ   *Ø-s-fʒlɐ́-pɫ[ʒ]-ɐ-n*   (TE)

1sPOSS-sick   3pABS-1sOBL-PVB-look-PL-PRES

'my sick [people] are waiting for me' (Dumézil 1965:217)

Indeed, other examples from the texts indicate that the use of the pluralising prefix *-ʒw-* is optional in broader contexts as well. The use of a morphologically singular nominal to represent an underlying semantic plural, either with or without the presence of correlating absolutive plural agreement on the verb, is a not uncommon device in the Ubykh possessive construction:

ɐ-dímɐtɕ'   *ʁ[ʒ]-ɐ́bˤ*   *Ø-wɜ́-si-w:tʷ'-q'ʒ-n*   (TE)

the-egg[.OBL]   3sPOSS-fat   3sABS-PVB-1sERG-take.out.DYN-PAST-PL

'I chose [lit. 'took out from within'] the fat[test] of the egg[s]' (Dumézil 1971:106)

si-blɜ́   *ɐ-sɜ́-Ø-qʷˤ'i-n*   (TE)

1sPOSS-eye   3sABS-1sERG-CAUS-bend-PRES

'I blink my eyes' [lit. 'I bend my eye'] (Vogt 1963:173)

Similarly, some types of possessive relationship that might be expected to exhibit the pluralising prefix *-ʒw-* in fact do not make use of it. Possessed plurals that are semantically distributive – that is, constructions in which each member of a plural possessor possesses a single instance of the possessed noun – are construed as morphologically singular in Ubykh, both in terms of nominal morphology and of verbal agreement, and hence do not ordinarily take the pluralising prefix *-ʒw-*. The absolutive reflexive pronoun *gʲʒ* 'self' and the noun *zʒ* 'fullness, fill' are the most common nominals to appear in such semantically distributive contexts, but any appropriate noun may appear in such a construction:

ɐʁ[ʒ]-ʒw-bɐʂɫiq-nʒ   *ɐʁʒ-zʒ*   *pɜrʒʑijʒ*   *ɐ-j-nɐ-ʃ-q'ʒ*   (TE)

3pPOSS-PL-hood-OBL.PL   3pPOSS-fullness   sloe   3sABS-PVB-3pERG-do-PAST

'they each filled their hood[s] with sloes' (Dumézil 1962b:48)

wʒ-kʷɨɫi-ʃik'lɐwʒ-n   *Ø-Ø-gʲɨ-tʷ'ʒ:ʒʷʒ-nʒ-ɕʒ*   *ɐʁʒ-gʲʒ*   (TE)

that-chain-swing-OBL   3pABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.sitting(PL)-PL-CONV   3pPOSS-self

Ø-ɐ-di-kʲ'ɐdʒ-gʲʒ-nʒ:jt'

3sABS-3pERG-CAUS-move-HAB-IMPF.SG

'they always used to sit on the swing and swing themsel[ves]' (Dumézil 1965:43)

ɐʁʒ-ʂɜ́   *ɐ́-ʧʒʥʒ-nʒ*   *Ø-ɐ-ʂɜ́-n-ɫʒ:tʷ-q'ʒ*   (TE)

3pPOSS-head   the-pike-OBL.PL   3sABS-3pOBL-PVB-3sERG-shove.onto(SG)-PAST

'he stuck their head[s] up on the pikes' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:121)

The singular form is overwhelmingly the most commonly encountered distributive, but despite Dumézil (1965:44), who states that "*aɣa-g'a* est *toujours* sg., chacun n'ayant qu'un «soi»"[23] (my emphasis), at least one example exists indicating that this may not always be the case:

ꞃʁ[ɜ]-ɜw-gʲɜ　　　Ø-zɜ-fɜ-nꞃ-ʧɜ:kʲɜ-q'ɜ-n[24]　　　　　　　　　　　　　(TE)
3pPOSS-PL-self　　3pABS-RECIP.OBL-PVB-3pERG-throw(PL)-PAST-PL
'they threw themselves at each other' (Dumézil 1959a:28)

An environment in which the possessive pluraliser seems to be obligatory is in the case of reciprocal possession, a construction combining the reciprocal prefix *zɜ-* (§2.6.1.1.3.2) with the third-person possessive prefix *ʁɜ-* and the pluraliser *-ɜw-* to form a compound prefixal element that signifies 'possessed by each other'. This reciprocal complex is used to mark a plural noun the constituents of which have a mutual relationship, such as brothers, sisters, companions, or friends:

ꞃ-p'ɬ'i-gʲɨ　　　　　ꞃ-zɜ:ʁ[ɜ]:ɜw-kʲ'ɜ:ʁi-ʃi-nɜ-n…　　　　　　　　　　　(AB)
the-four-EMPH　　3pABS-RECIP.POSS-companion(PL)-become-PL-CONV
'the four together…' [lit. 'the four becoming each other's companions…']
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Dumézil 1959a:45)

ji-ʧ'ɜχʷɜ-ɬɜq'[ɜ]:ꞃlɜ　　　ʃi-zɜ:ʁ[ɜ]:ɜw-nkʲɜ-n　　　　　　　　　　　(AH)
this-today[.OBL]-after　　　1pABS-RECIP.POSS-friend[.STAT.PRES]-PL
'from today on, we are friends' (Dumézil 1957:73)

This complex prefix takes the same form regardless of person, and grammatically behaves as an excrescence of the root. Numerals precede this prefix rather than following it as is normally the case for the possessive prefixes, and the complex of reciprocal possessive plus noun declines and derives as though it were a single complex root:

ꞃ-pɜ́ʂ[ɜ]-ꞃlɜ　　　　ʃi-zɜ:ʁ[ɜ]:ɜ́w-kʲ'ɜ:ʁʲɜ-nɜ-n　　　　　　[ꞃ-]ꞃbˤɜ-nɜ-lꞃq　(MK)
the-pasha-COM　　　1pABS-RECIP.POSS-companion(PL)-PL-CONV　　the-sick-OBL.PL-to
ʃi-ɕɜ́-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ-n
1pABS-PVB-go-PAST-PL
'the pasha and I went in to the sick people together' (Dumézil and Namitok 1954:186)

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[23] "*ꞃʁɜ-gʲɜ* is always singular, each [person] having but one 'self'."

[24] The printed text has **aɣawg'ə**, in my transcription *ꞃʁɜwgʲɨ*. Admittedly this sentence is strange in other ways, as the verb *ʧɜ:w* (sg.) ~ *ʧɜ:kʲɜ* (pl.) 'to fall, to drop' and its derivatives are ordinarily intransitive, and in the absolute plural would require the plural causative prefix *ʁɜ-* (§2.6.10.1). Vogt (1963:118) gives a version of the sentence which was prescriptively rewritten by TE, in which the expected causative index *ʁɜ-* is added, but *ꞃʁ[ɜ]-ɜw-gʲɜ* is reduced to *ꞃʁɜ-gʲɜ*.

ʃɨ-zɜ:ʁ[ɜ]:ɜw-nisɜ́ʁ[25]   (TE)
1pABS-RECIP.POSS-sister.in.law[.STAT.PRES]
'we are [each other's] sisters-in-law' (Vogt 1963:154; Dumézil 1965:235)

The affix appears even in contexts where the reciprocal relationship is not in any way topical:

ɐ́-blɨ-zɜ:ʁ[ɜ]:ɜw-ʤɨɫɜ   *ɐ-tʃɐ́-n*   *Ø-Ø-fɐ́-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ-n*   (TE)
the-seven-RECIP.POSS-brother   the-horseman-OBL   3pABS-3sOBL-PVB-go-PAST-PL
'the seven brothers went to meet the horseman' (Vogt 1963:58)

2.2.1.4. Gradation and comparison

Many operations classically associated with the class of adjectives are also constructed on noun roots in Ubykh. The most usual comparative and superlative formants, as well as the privative and certain intensive, excessive and attenuative formants, act in this way. The resulting forms are syntactically not adjectives but nouns, regardless of whether they are derived from adjective or noun roots, as they can no longer act as postposing modifiers of other nouns as ordinary adjectives can (§2.1.1) and must be preposed, forming a karmadharaya compound with the modified noun (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.3):

ɐ-tɕ[ɜ]-ɐ́niɕʷɜ-mizɨ́   (TE)   vs.   *zɜ-pχʲɜ́ʃʷ-ɐniɕʷɜ*   (TE)
the-more-beautiful-child   one-woman-beautiful
'the prettiest child' (Vogt 1963:99) *vs.* 'a pretty woman' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:155)

However, the privative degree demonstrates forms that share nominal, adjectival and adverbial behaviours, and so the part of speech of derived privatives is uncertain.

2.2.1.4.1. Comparative degree and object of comparison

The comparative degree for most substantives is formed by prefixation of the element *tɕɜ-* 'more' to the substantive in question:

tɕɜ-wɜ   (TE)
more-long
'[one which is] longer' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ́-ndʁɜ-ʤɜ-ɕ   *tɕɜ́-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐfɜ*   *ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-n-ɨ́,*   (TE)
the-sun-COP[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR   more-3sPOSS-benefit   3sABS-PVB-go-PRES-NFIN
wɜnɜ́-ʤɜ-m-ɕɜ   *ɐ́-mʤɜ:qʷɜ-ʤɜ-ɕ?*
that-COP[.STAT.PRES]-NEG-CONV   the-moonlight-COP[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
'is it the sun that is more useful [lit. 'more (of) its benefit comes'], or is it the full moon?'
                                                                                    (Dumézil and Esenç 1987:4)

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[25] Note the lack of the expected plural-agreement *-n* here.

wɜ-ʒɐwɜ   *tɕɜ-gʲidʑɜ-n*   *ɐ-ʃ-ɜw:tʷːqʼɜ*   (HKo)
that-shadow   more-large-ADV   3sABS-become-COND.II
'that shadow would have become bigger' (Dumézil 1961c:48)

or with converbs (§3.3.1), and occasionally elsewhere, by using *tɕɜ* as an independent word:

tɕɜːχʲi-n   *ɐʁɜ-ʂɜ*   *tɕɜ*   *Ø-ɐ-wiqʷˤʼɜ-gʲi*   (TE)
more-ADV   3pPOSS-head   more   3sABS-3pERG-guard-CONV
Ø-wɜ-xɜ-qʼɜ-n
3pABS-PVB-be.standing(PL)-PAST-PL
'they were [there] more prudently' (Dumézil 1962b:86)

although the comparative degree forms for the adjectives *tʂʼɜ* 'good' and *jɜdɟ́* 'many, much' are provided by suppletion, with the complex morphemes *tɕɜl* and *tɕɜχʲ*, respectively, serving as the relevant comparative roots:

zɜːkʲʼɜːtɐlɜ   *ɐ-jɜdɜ-ni*   *ɐ-j-[w-]wi-b[ɜ]-ɐlɜ*   (AH)
suddenly   the-much-ADV   3sABS-PVB-2sERG-carry[.PRES]-IRR.PROT-COM
Ø-tɕɜːl-mɜ-ɕ?
3sABS-better[.STAT.PRES]-NEG-INTERR
'wouldn't it be better if you brought it all in one go [lit. 'suddenly [and] much']?'

                                                                 (Dumézil 1957:55)

zɜ-χʷɜrɜʂ   *tɕɜːχʲ*   *Ø-wi-s-tʷ-ɜw:miːt*   (TE)
one-kuruş   more   3sABS-2sOBL-1sERG-give(SG)-FUT.II.NEG
'I won't give you one kuruş [a monetary unit] more' (Vogt 1963:99)

The usual marker of the object of comparison is *qʲɜ* 'more than'. In TE's speech it is ordinarily suffixed to the substantive serving as the object of comparison, or in the case of the personal pronouns, it appears in a possessive construction (§2.2.1.3):

ɐ-s-tɕʼɜ-n-i-qʲɜ   *tɕɜ-ɬɜwɜ-ʁɟ́*   *s-kʲʼɜ-ʃ[ɜ]-ɜːmiːt*   (TE)
3sABS-1sERG-know-PRES-NFIN-than   more-far-LOC   1sABS-go-POT-FUT.I.NEG
'I cannot go further than what I know' (Dumézil 1967:39)

ji-tít   *wɜ-tít-qʲɜ-gʲi*   *Ø-tɕɜ-χʲɟ́ːjːʃːqʼɜ*   (TE)
this-man   that-man-than-EMPH   3sABS-more-rich[.STAT.PRES]
'this man is richer than that man' (Vogt 1963:169)

siʁʷɟ́   *si-qʲɟ́*   *Ø-tɕɜ-tsɜtsɟ́*   (TE)
I   1sPOSS-than   3sABS-more-little[.STAT.PRES]
'it is smaller than me' (Vogt 1963:169)

However, in relative forms such as the following example where there is no overt object of comparison, *qʲɜ* may appear as a particle on its own:

qʲɜ   *ʨɜ-ɬiqʷ'sɜ*   *Ø-lɜ-mi-t-i-n*   (TE)
than   more-heroic   3sABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(SG)-NFIN-OBL
si-Ø-dʑi-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɜw[26]
1sABS-3sOBL-COM-go-FUT.I
'I will marry [lit. 'go with'] [one] who there is no-one braver than' (Dumézil 1962b:39)

The following examples from HKo go one step further and treat *qʲɜ* apparently as a stative oblique intransitive verb whose oblique argument is the object of comparison:

si-pχʲɜʃʷi-n   *ji-Ø-qʲɜ*   *Ø-ʨɜ-p'ʨ'ɜ:q'ɜ*   (HKo)
1sPOSS-woman-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-than[.NFIN?]   3sABS-more-clean[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]
pχʲɜʃʷ
woman
'a woman who is cleaner than my wife' (Dumézil 1959b:100)

wɜ-ʧ'i:ʃʷi-n   *ʁ-di-bʁʲɜ-s-q'ɜ-n*   (HKo)
that-pony-ADV   3sABS-REL-PVB-be.sitting(SG)-PAST[.NFIN]-OBL
ji-Ø-qʲɜ   *ʨɜ:li-n*
3sABS-3sOBL-than[.NFIN?]   better-ADV
'as a better [horse] than that pony which he was sitting on' (Dumézil 1957:11)

though TE rejected at least the first of these two forms, preferring rather to use *qʲɜ* in its suffixed variant:

si-pχʲɜʃʷi-qʲɜ   *Ø-ʨɜ-p'ʨ'ɜ:q'ɜ*   *pχʲɜʃʷ*   (TE)
1sPOSS-woman-than 3sABS-more-clean[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   woman
'a woman who is cleaner than my wife' (Dumézil 1959b:100; Dumézil 1963:19)

2.2.1.4.2. Superlative degree
The superlative degree is most commonly formed by adding the definite article *ʁ-* (§2.2.1.2) to the comparative form, and like the comparative, it is formally a noun:

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[26] Note the following similar but morphologically non-relative sentence, which occurs earlier in the same text:

ʁʷɜ   *wi-qʲɜ*   *ʨɜ-ɬiqʷ'sɜ*   *Ø-lɜ-mi-t-dɜn*   (TE)
you(SG)   2sPOSS-than   more-heroic   3sgABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(SG)[STAT.PRES]-PROT
si-wi-dʑi-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɜw
1sgABS-2sgOBL-COM-go-FUT.I
'if there is not [one] braver than you, I will marry (lit. 'go with') you' (Dumézil 1962b:38)

ɛ́-tɕз-wз (TE)
the-more-long
'longest' [lit. 'the [one which is] longer'] (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-tɕ[з]-ɛ́nɩɕʷз-mɩzɪ́ (TE)
the-more-beautiful-child
'the most beautiful child' (Vogt 1963:99)

jзnɩz-nз *ɐʁз-ʁʲз-nkʲз* *ɐ-tɕз-z:qʼз* *ɐ-w-ʤi-ʒʷз* (TE)
giant-OBL.PL 3pPOSS-meat[.OBL]-from.among the-more-fatty 3sABS-2sERG-IMPER-roast
'roast the fattiest of the giants' meat' (Dumézil 1957:51)

χзsзni-ʒʷ *ɐ-tɕз-ɬiqʷʼsз* *zз-nзjfʷɪ-n-gʲɐtɕʼ* *lзjfʷз* (HKo)
X.-old the-more-heroic one-young.man-OBL-like moral.code
Ø-χʲз-j-n-ʃ-nз:jtʼ
3sABS-BEN-PVB-3sERG-do-IMPF.SG
'she would treat Old Hasan with honour, like a young man who was the most heroic'
(Dumézil 1959b:117)

2.2.1.4.3. Privative degree

The privative formant is *-tʂɪ*, which may be suffixed to any substantive: *ʂзni-tʂɪ* 'without a table, tableless', *ɐʃз-tʂɪ* 'without a shirt', *pɐɣз:qʼз-tʂɪ* 'humble'. The following form indicates that privatives can act as postposing modifiers of nouns, somewhat like adjectives (§2.2.2):

ɐ-χʲɪ *ʁз-qʷз* *nɐsip-tʂɪ*[27] *ɐ-j-kʲʼз-n* (HKo)
the-prince[.OBL] 3sPOSS-son luck-PRIV 3sABS-PVB-go-PRES
'the prince's luckless son is coming' (Dumézil 1962b:112)

and when preposed, may appear in the adverbial case as adjectives can (§2.2.1.1):

ɐʃз-tʂi-nɪ *tɪt* (TE)
shirt-PRIV-ADV man
'a man without a shirt' (Vogt 1963:85)

However, unlike other types of basic and derived adjectives, the following form indicates that the privative form might not be able to be incorporated into *ʃi* 'to become' (see §2.6.4.4), and also that the adverbial case-suffix *-n(ɪ)* is not necessary when it acts as a preposed modifier[28]:

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[27] Perhaps to be written as one word (*ʁз-qʷз-nɐsip-tʂɪ*)?

[28] Though occasional sporadic forms are found where an unmodified adjective behaves adverbially:
si-ʤзɕ[з]-śwtɪ-n *tʂʼз* *Ø-z-bjз-n* (for expected …*tʂʼз-n(ɪ)*…) (TE)
1sgABS-swim-FUT.II-CONV good 3sgABS-1sgERG-see-PRES
'I love swimming' (Hewitt 1974)

kʲɜ́f-t̡s̡i   s-ʃĭ-n-ɜʁʷɜdɜ   zɜ-mizdʷɜ́-gʷɜrɜ   s-ɬɐp'ɜ-n   (TE)
health-PRIV   1sABS-become-CONV-CONJ   one-needle-certain   1sPOSS-leg-OBL
Ø-Ø-wɜ́-nɐ-ɬ-q'ɜ
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3pERG-be.lying(SG)-PAST
'when I became ill, they gave me an injection in my leg' (Vogt 1963:67)

2.2.1.4.4. Intensive degree

The intensive degree is formed from substantives by suffixing -*gʲɨʁɨ* 'very, indeed', which acts as part of the root and hence appears before case-marking and tense affixes (§2.2.1.1):

ɐ́-ɛɜ:q'ɜ-gʲɨʁɨ   (TE)
the-rotten-INTENS
'the very rotten [one]' (Dumézil 1965:240)

ɐ-t̡s̡'ɜ-gʲɨʁɨ[29]   (TE)
3sABS-good-INTENS[.STAT.PRES]
'it is very good' (Vogt 1963:103)

dɜ-gʲɨʁɨ   si-wĭt͡ʃɜd[ɜ]-ɐj-q'ɜ:jt'   (TE)
now-INTENS   1sABS-awaken-ITER-PLUP.SG
'I had just risen from sleep' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-w-q'ɜs̡ɜ́-ʁ-gʲɨʁɨ   *Ø-s-ɐ-Ø-Ø-tʷ'ɜ́*   (HU)
3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-want(SG)[.NFIN]-INTENS   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-2sERG-CAUS-arrive
'do whatever you want with me!' (Dumézil 1959c:168; Vogt 1963:196)

wɜ-ʃʷɜblɜ-gʲɨʁɨ-ʁɜ   *ɐ-j-nɐ-d͡zɐdɜ-q'ɜ:jt'*   (HKo)
that-country-INTENS-LOC   3sABS-PVB-3pERG-throw-PLUP
'they had thrown him into that very country' (Dumézil 1961c:53)

The intensive degree may also be formed periphrastically with the derived adverb (*ɐ-*)*jɜdɜ́-n* ~ (*ɐ-*)*jɜdɜ-nɨ* 'much, muchly' (§2.2.1.1), from the adjective *jɜdɜ́* 'much, many':

ʁʷɜ   jɜdɜ́-n   ɐ-tɜrɜ́zi-n   wi-gʷĭt͡ʃɐq'ɜ-q'ɜ   (AH)
you(SG)   much-ADV   the-proper-ADV   2sABS-speak-PAST
'you have spoken very frankly' (Dumézil 1957:73; Vogt 1963:190)

ɐ-pχʲɜ́dikʷ'   jɜdɜ-nɨ   Ø-ɐnɨɛʷɜ-jt'   (TE)
the-young.woman   much-ADV   3sABS-beautiful-STAT.PAST
'the young woman was very beautiful' (Hewitt 1974)

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[29] Also an interjection of satisfaction or compliance: compare English 'very well'.

2.2.1.4.5. Excessive degree

The excessive degree is formed from substantives by the addition of the suffix -ʨʷз, which is also the marker of the excessive aspect of verbs (§2.6.6):

siʁʷɞ́-gʲɨ   liwˤз-ʨʷз-nɨ   sɨ-qʷ'ɞ́:tʷ-ʃ[з]-зw:mɨ:t   (TE)
I-EMPH   excess-EXC-ADV   1sABS-stop-POT-FUT.II
'I too will not be able to wait too much longer' (Dumézil and Esenç 1987:3)

jзdɞ́-ʨʷз   Ø-mɨ-ʦ'ɞ́-ɕ[з]-ɐlз…   (TE)
many-EXC   3sABS-NEG-pass-CONV-COM
'not long afterwards…' [lit. 'not too much [time] passing by'] (Vogt 1963:37)

2.2.1.4.6. Attenuative degree

The usual morphological means of forming the attenuative degree is the suffix -qʷ'з, which, like the intensive suffix -gʲɨʁɨ (§2.2.1.4.4), behaves as part of the root and hence appears before case-marking and tense affixes (§2.2.1.1):

pɕɨ-qʷ'з   (TE)
hot-ATTEN
'(luke)warm, tepid' (Vogt 1963:159)

t'зkʷ'ɨ-n   ɐ-qʷ'ɐrt'з:q'з-qʷ'з   (HKo)
little.bit-ADV   3sABS-bent-ATTEN[.STAT.PRES]
'it is a little crooked' (Dumézil 1960a:19)

dз   ʨɕз:l-qʷ'з-n   sɨ-ʃ-ɐj-q'з   (HKo)
now   better-ATTEN-ADV   1sABS-become-ITER-PAST
'I have become a little better now' (Dumézil 1961c:46)

At least in TE's speech, attenuatives may also be formed periphrastically; either an adverbial-case substantive or a substantive marked with the postposition -gʲɐʨ' is used as a modifier for the copula of existence lз-tʷ (sg.) ~ lз-xз (pl.) 'to be (standing) there', as in the following examples:

ɐ-ʥʷзq':q'ɞ́-n-gʲɐʨ'   Ø-lз-t   (TE)
the-sour-OBL-like   3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'[it is] sourish' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-qʷ'éwtʷ'ɐwɨ-n   ɐ-lɞ́-tʷ-q'з:jt'-ʁ[з]:ɐfз…   (TE)
the-joking-ADV   3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PLUP-because
'because he had been rather playful…' (Dumézil 1968b:1)

There are also additional morphological attenuative formants limited to adjectival roots (§2.2.2).

2.2.1.5. Adpositions

Ubykh is exclusively postpositional, and postpositions appear in two main types of morphosyntactic construction. The common NWC means of linking postpositions to their governed nouns is to construe them in a possessive construction (§2.2.1.3), the postposition standing in the same relationship to its governed noun as a possessed noun to its possessor (Hewitt 2005a:106). Ubykh is no exception, and as in possessives, the possessor stands formally in the relational case, though many speakers delete the case-marking in the singular (§2.2.1.1.1.1):

ɐ-mɨ́z	ɐ-pχʲзʣз-ʒ^w	ʁɜ́-lɐq	ɐ-kʲ'з-q'з́	(HKo)
the-child	the-married.woman-old[.OBL]	3sPOSS-up.to	3sABS-go-PAST	

'the child went up to the old woman' (Dumézil 1957:6; Vogt 1963:137)

ɐ-χʲɨ́	ʁз-pχʲз́	sʁ^wз́	sɨ́-ʁ[з]:ɐfз	ɐ́-w-q'зʂз-wʁз	(TE)
the-prince[.OBL]	3sPOSS-daughter	me	1sPOSS-for	3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-request	

'ask for [the hand in marriage of] the prince's daughter for me' (Dumézil 1967:154)

One peculiarity of such constructions is the use of an otherwise obsolete possessive prefix ɐ- in the third person plural of a few postpositions (see §2.2.1.3):

ɐ-jзnɨz-nз	ɐ-lɐqɨ[30]	(HKo)
the-giant-OBL.PL	3pPOSS-to	

'to(wards) the giants' (Dumézil 1965:166)

ɐ-bˤз:ʒ^w-nз	ɐ-dзkʲ'з	ʁз-t͡ʂ'з	Ø-lз-nɨ-Ø-ʁз-n…	(TE)
the-old.man-OBL.PL	3pPOSS-towards	3sPOSS-front	3sABS-PVB-3sERG-CAUS-turn-CONV	

'he turning himself towards the old men…' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:341)

The second genuine type of postpositional construction is achieved through direct suffixation of a postpositional element to the end of a nominal complex; as with possessive-style postpositional constructions, the nominal complex stands in the relational case, and overt relational-case marking in the singular is ordinarily suppressed:

ɐ́-q^wmɐlз:ʃ^wз-dзkʲ'з	hзʤ:jзk^wɨ́p-qˤɐɕi-ʁз́	ʃ-kʲ'з-q'з́-n	(TE)
the-theatre[.OBL]-towards	H.Y.-village-LOC	1pABS-go-PAST-PL	

'we went towards the theatre in Hacıyakup village' (Hewitt 1974)

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[30] According to Dumézil (1965:162), TE preferred to use the suffixed form here rather than the possessive-type construction: ɐ-jзnɨz-nз-lɐq.

w₃-ʃʷ₃blₐ   ʁ-ʤæʥ-n[₃]-₃wnɨ   kʲ’₃:ʃʷ₃   ʁ-l₃-mɨ-t   (AH)
that-land   the-bee-OBL.PL-INSTR   passage   3sABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'there is no passage [to] that land through the bees' (Dumézil 1959a:40)

However, the postpositions *-gʲɐfɨ ~ -jfɨ* 'as much as' and *-gʲɐχʷ(₃)* 'id.'[31] may optionally take relational-case marking even in the singular:

jɨn₃-n-gʲɐχʷ₃   ʃʷ₃   Ø-blɨ́-tʷ’-q’₃   (TE)
this-OBL-as.much.as   year   3sABS-PVB-leave.from-PAST
'he was away for this many years' (Vogt 1963:215)

and the postposition *-gʲɐtɕ’* 'like' (Vogt 1963:122) requires it in all instances, though it is likely that this is a relic of the originally verbal nature of the postposition[32]:

w₃n₃-n-gʲɐtɕ’   ɬiqʷ’s₃ ʁ-w-kʷ’-₃w:tɨ-ni   Ø-ʁgʲ₃:ʃʷ₃   (TE)
that-OBL-like   hero   3sABS-2sERG-kill-FUT.II-CONV   3sABS-shameful.matter[.STAT.PRES]
'it is a shameful thing for you to kill a hero like that' (Dumézil 1959a:31)

wi-kʷ₃bʒ₃-n-gʲɐtɕ’-gʲɪʁi-n   kʷ₃bʒ₃   ʁ-w-χʲ₃-z-ʁʷ₃w-₃w:t   (TE)
2sPOSS-man-OBL-like-INTENS-ADV   man   3sABS-2sOBL-BEN-1sERG-find-FUT.II
'I will find for you a husband just like your [previous] husband' (Dumézil 1959a:28)

A few postpositions may appear in both suffixing and genitive constructions:

ʁ-ps₃:qʷ’[₃]:ɨ́w   Ø-di-χ[₃]-ɨ́-n-i-n₃-lʁq   ʁ-j-kʲ’₃́-n…   (TE)
the-fishing.line   3pABS-REL-knit-PL-PRES-NFIN-OBL.PL-to   3sABS-PVB-go-CONV
'coming to those who made the fishing lines…' (Dumézil 1967:139)

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[31] According to Dumézil (1959b:100), Tevfik Esenç indicated that this and the previous postposition were not quite synonymous, and that he preferred to use *-gʲɐfɨ* with non-human and *-gʲɐχʷ(₃)* with human nouns; however, forms using *-gʲɐχʷ(₃)* with non-human objects are demonstrated by HK:

z₃-mʤ₃-gʲɐχʷ   jɨ-Ø-l₃-ts’₃-q’₃-ni…   (HKo)
one-month[.OBL]-as.much.as   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-pass-PAST-CONV
'a month passing by..' (lit. 'it passing by as much as a month') (Dumézil 1957:5)

and in Hewitt's (1974) recordings, I have found that TE does not restrict the use of *-gʲɐfɨ* to non-human targets either:

jɨɬ₃́-mɨz-n₃   s₃́-n-gʲɐfɨ   ɕʷ₃́ɬ₃   (TE)
these-child-OBL.PL   what-OBL-as.much.as   you(PL)
Ø-ɕʷɨ-χi-n₃́-j?
3sABS-2pOBL-belong.to(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-PL-INTERR
'how many of these children are yours?' (Hewitt 1974)

[32] *-gʲɐtɕ’* is related to an oblique intransitive stative verb *gʲɐtɕ’* 'to be like'; cf. forms like *ʁ-z-gʲɐtɕ’i-jt’* 'he was like me' and *jɨɬ₃-tɨ́t-n₃ Ø-Ø-gʲɐtɕ’i-jt’-m₃* 'he did not resemble these men' (Vogt 1963:122).

(wɨ)ʁʷɜ   w-ɜwnɨ   (TE)
you(SG)   2sPOSS-INSTR
'by means of you' (Dumézil 1965:118)

The attested suffixing postpositions are: -ɜwn(ɨ) 'by means of; from'; -ɜwnʤɜ 'up to, as far
as'; -dɜkʲ'ɜ 'towards'; -dɜqʷ'ɜ 'since; for all the time that'; -fɐ:mɨ:ʃ 'instead of'; -gʲɐfɨ (TE,
HKo) ~ -jfɨ (Ìb, KS) 'as much as'; -gʲɐtɕ' 'like, as'; -gʲɐχʷ(ɜ) 'as much as'; -lɐq ~ (more rarely)
-lɐχ ~ (in OG's dialect only) -lɜqɨn 'to, towards'; -ɬɜq'ɐlɜ 'after, following'; -mɜʤɐlɜ 'except
for'; -ʃɐχʲɜ 'until', -ʁɐfɜ 'for, to, because of', and -ʧ'ɜ 'on the front side of'. As well as these,
the postpositions -dɜkʲ'ɜ and -ɜwn(ɨ) combine to form a compound postposition -dɜkʲ'ɜwn(ɨ)[33],
which marks the agent of Ubykh's passive construction (§2.6.10.2) and also more generally
supplies agents to verbs that lack them:

jinɜ́   sʁʷɜ́   sɨ-dɜkʲ'[ɜ]:ɜwn   ɐ-ʃ-q'ɜ́   (TE)
this   me   1sPOSS-by   3sABS-become-PAST
'this happened because of me' (Dumézil 1967:142)

-nkʲɜ 'from among' is also suffixing, but when it governs a plural possessed noun, it appears
in the possessive form instead, and takes the possessive prefix ɐ-:

ʁ[ɜ]-ɜw-pʧɜriχɜ-nɜ   ɐ-nkʲɜ   t'qʷ'ɜ-ɕɜ-kʷɜbʒɜ   (HKo)
3sPOSS-PL-companion-OBL.PL   3pPOSS-from.among   two-three-man
'two or three men from among his companions' (Dumézil 1965:111)

In addition to these two types of postpositional constructions, Dumézil (1959a:14-15) notes in
addition that a variety of nominals may also provide adpositional meanings, and may either be
suffixed directly or appear in possessive constructions just as ordinary postpositions may.
However, the necessity of further case-marking (usually locative or relational, rarely
comitative-instrumental) on such constructions in context betrays their non-membership in the
class of true postpositions:

ʒʷɨ-mɕʷɜ   ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ́ntɕʷ'ɨ-n   (TE)
ten-day[.OBL]   3sPOSS-before-ADV
'ten day[s] before', 'ten day[s] ago' (Hewitt 1974)

sɨ-tɕʷjɜ́   ʁɜ-ʦ̢'ɜfɜ-ʁɜ́   t'qʷ'ɜ-ʁʷɨnɨ́   (TE)
1sPOSS-house[.OBL]   3sPOSS-front-LOC   two-tree
Ø-lɜ-t
3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'in front of my house there are [lit. 'is'] two trees' (Hewitt 1974)

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[33] Calqued on the Turkish postposition *tarafından* (§2.6.10.2).

ʁɜ-ntʷɜ-ʂɜʤɜ-ʁɜ   zɜ-ʧ'ɐkʲ'ɜ-tɕʷɜ-kʷip   (HKo)
3sPOSS-door-back-LOC   one-felt.cloak-skin-group

ɐ-zɜ-bʁʲɜ-ɬi-n…
3sABS-RECIP.OBL-PVB-be.lying(SG)-CONV

'there being a pile of felt pieces lying on each other behind its door…' (Dumézil 1962b:4)

ʁʷɜ   w-ɐ́fɜ-n   sɜ-s-ɐ-l[ɜ]-ɜwɨ-j   (TE)
you(SG)   2sPOSS-benefit-OBL   what-1sPOSS-PVB-arrive-FUT.I-INTERR
'what [good] will you do for me?' (Hewitt 1974)

although on noun phrases in isolation, such case-marking of the noun seems not to appear:

ɕɜ-kʷɜbʒɜ́-nɜ   ɐʁ[ɜ]-ɐ́fɜ   ʧɜʁʲɜ   (TE)
three-person-OBL.PL   3pPOSS-benefit   *katık*[34]
'food for three people' (Hewitt 1974)

2.2.1.6. *Emphasis*
Morphological emphasis may be provided by the addition of a suffix *-gʲɨ* to a substantive (the variant *-j(ɨ)* is also possible after a final *-ɜ*):

ɐ-nɜ́jnʃʷ   wɜ-zɜ́-q'[ɜ]-ɐlɜ-gʲɨ   Ø-ɐ-wɜ́-n-bjɜ-q'ɜ-mɜ   (TE)
the-young.man   that-one-place-COM-EMPH   3sABS-3pOBL-PVB-3sERG-see-PAST-NEG
'she could not see the young man even there among them' (Dumézil 1967:110)

ʃɨ-wˤɜ́-ʤɜ-ɜʷ-gʲɨ   Ø-Ø-dɨ-tχɜ́ɜ-q'ɜ   (TE)
1pPOSS-dog-black-old-EMPH   3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-be.glad-PAST
'it has made even our old black dog happy' (Vogt 1963:57; Dumézil 1965:240)

ɐ́-gʷmɜ-jɨ   Ø-ɐ́-ɜʷɜ-n   Ø-ɐ-f-q'ɜ́   (TE)
the-cow-EMPH   3sABS-3pERG-roast-CONV   3sABS-3pERG-eat-PAST
'and the cow, they roasted and ate' (Vogt 1963[35])

The suffix appearing in conjunction with the numeral *zɜ* 'one' in its function as an indefinite article (§2.2.1.2) has a nuance of 'any' or 'at all' when appearing with a negative verb:

zɜ-lɐʒɜ-gʲɨ   jɨ-Ø-sɨ-m-bjɜ:ɬ'ɜ-n   (HKo)
one-fault-EMPH   3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-NEG-see.in-PRES
'I do not see any fault in her' (Dumézil 1959b:113)

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[34] A Turkish term with no simple English translation: roughly, 'any food eaten with bread'.

[35] The form with *-jɨ* is taken from the audiocassette of the texts accompanying Vogt (1963); the form in the corresponding text, from Vogt (1963:45), has *-gʲɨ*.

Many other nominal emphasising strategies exist. Clefting (§3.4.1.2) is a common means of emphasising nominal constituents; simple alteration of the basic word order of the verbal clause, most commonly from Agent-Object-Verb to Object-Agent-Verb (§3.2.1), also provides a slight degree of emphasis to the fronted object.

2.2.1.7. Coordination of substantives
2.2.1.7.1. Conjunction
Substantives may be coordinated by adding the comitative-instrumental suffix *-ɐlʒ* (§2.2.1.1.2.3) or the emphatic suffix *-gʲɨ* (§2.2.1.6) to each of the elements to be coordinated:

  sɨ-n[ʒ]-ɐlʒ   *sɨ-tʷ-ɐlʒ*   (TE)
  1sPOSS-mother-COM   1sPOSS-father-COM
  'my mother and my father' (Vogt 1963:18)

  ɐ-nʒjnʃʷ-gʲɨ   *ɐ-pχʲʒdɨkʷ'-gʲɨ*   (TE)
  the-young.man-EMPH   the-young.woman-EMPH
  'the young man and the young woman' (Dumézil 1959a:27)

Rarely, one of each may be employed:

  sʁʷʒ-gʲɨ   *si-ʧ-ɐlʒ*   (HKo)
  me-EMPH   1sPOSS-horse-COM
  'me and my horse' (Dumézil 1957:19)

Two nouns may occasionally be coordinated by combining them into a noun-noun compound which then behaves as a single morphological unit; this is usually done with pairs of nouns that have some semantic relationship to each other (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.2).

2.2.1.7.2. Disjunction
There is no known native means of disjunction, or 'or'-coordination. However, the Turkish *ya… ya* 'either… or' construction, in which a conjunctive particle *ya* is placed in front of each coordinated element, has been borrowed as a means of overtly expressing disjunction:

  siʁʷʒ *jʒ*   *kʷ'ʒnɨ*   *jʒ*   *kʷ'ʒnɨːχɐtʒ*   *zʒ-qˤɐɕi-ʁʒ*   *s-kʲ'[ʒ]-ʒwːt* (İH)
  I   CONJ tomorrow CONJ day.after.tomorrow   one-village-LOC   1sABS-go-FUT.II
  'I will go to a village either tomorrow or the next day' (Dumézil 1960a:47)

Nonetheless, simple juxtaposition may provide an equivalent in some contexts:

  ɐdiɣʒ-bˤʒqˤ'ɨ   *ɐdiɣʒ-ʂʒ*   *ɐ-w-bj[ʒ]-ɐj-ʒwːmiːt*   (TE)
  Circassia-hat   Circassia-head   3sABS-2sERG-see-ITER-FUT.II.NEG
  'you will not see a Circassian hat [or] a Circassian head again' (Dumézil 1962b:48)

bjɜ:dʷɜ   *q'ɜ:dʷɜ*   *ʁ-w-q'ʁ-ʁ-dɜn…*   (HKo)

something.to.see something.to.say 3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-PROT

'if you have something to see [or] something to say…' (Dumézil 1962b:27)

2.2.1.8. Affect

The marker *-gʷɨʃ(ɜ)* (the final *-ɜ* is dropped when word-final; see §1.5.3), which also has a verbal equivalent (see §2.6.12), may be added to any substantive to show its pitiable status, and is hence a morphological marker of commiserative affect:

ʁ-χʷɜdʐɜ-gʷɨʃ-n   *ʁ-ɬɜχɜ-ʁɜ*   *sɨ*   *Ø-fɜ-n-q'ɨ-n…*   (İH)

the-hoca-AFF-ERG   the-forest-LOC   wood   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-cut-CONV

'the poor hoca, cutting wood in the forest…' (Dumézil 1960a:43)

2.2.2. Adjectives

The class of adjectives in Ubykh is marginal, and although there are a few types of morphological operation that seem to be restricted to adjectives, for the most part the adjective is scarcely differentiated from the noun. Adjectives may be basic roots (e.g. *ʁbˤɜ* 'sick'; *ɕʷɜ* 'white'; *ʧ'ɜ* 'good'), or may be derived (§2.2.3.1.1) (e.g. *ʂɨ:q'ɜ* 'washed' ← *ʂɨ* 'to wash'; *pɬɜqʷ'ɜ:q'ɜ* 'counted' ← *pɬɜqʷ'ɜ* 'to count'; *gʲɨgʲɜ:zɜ* 'cowardly' ← *gʲɨ(n)gʲɜ* 'to be afraid'). Any adjective may be used as a noun – sometimes carrying an extended or more abstract meaning (hence *ʁbˤɜ* → 'sick person'; *ɕʷɜ* → 'white or albumen of an egg'; *ʧ'ɜ* → 'good (n.), goodness'; *ʂɨq'ɜ* → 'clean laundry'; *pɬɜqʷ'ɜq'ɜ* → 'money') – and may be inflected as such:

ʁ-dímʁtɕ'   *ʁ[ɜ]-ɨbˤ*   *Ø-wɨ-sɨ-w:tʷ'-q'ɜ-n*   (TE)

the-egg[.OBL]   3sPOSS-fat   3sABS-PVB-1sERG-take.out.DYN-PAST-PL

'I chose [lit. 'took out from within'] the fat[test] of the egg[s]' (Dumézil 1971:106)

ʧ'ɜ   *Ø-zɜ-nɨ-q'ɜ-q'ɜ*   (unkn.)

good   3sABS-RECIP.OBL-3pERG-say-PAST

'they reconciled' [lit. 'they spoke good to each other'] (Dumézil 1959a:71; Vogt 1963:164)

When modifying nouns, basic adjectives form a compound with the modified noun in the order {noun-adjective}, and the whole is treated as a complex nominal morpheme, with case, number and postpositional morphemes being added to the end of the unit:

zɜ:kʲ'ɜ:dzɜ   *bij:wiqʷˤ'ɜ-wˤɜ-gʲidzɜ-nɜ*   *Ø-ʁ-wɜ-ʧ'ɜ:tʷi-n…*   (TE)

many   shepherd-dog-large-OBL.PL   3sABS-3pOBL-PVB-fall(SG)-CONV

'he falling into a pack of big sheepdogs…' (Dumézil 1965:86)

Multiple adjectives may be added to the same noun, in which case the same principle applies:

zɜ-pχʲɜʃʷ-tɕʼɐpʼqʲʼ[ɜ]-ɐniɕʷɜ   (TE)
one-woman-young-beautiful
'a beautiful young woman' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:351)

ʃɨ-wˤɜ́-ʤɜ-ʒʷ-gʲɨ   (TE)
1pPOSS-dog-black-old-EMPH
'even our old black dog' (Vogt 1963:57; Dumézil 1965:240)

The few affixes available exclusively to adjectives and not to nouns are mostly concerned with intensification and attenuation of quality. For the most part, comparative, superlative, intensive and attenuative gradation, as well as derived adverbs, may be based upon any substantive, indicating that these processes are best viewed as fundamentally operating upon nouns rather than adjectives (§2.2.1.4). However, a much rarer and possibly lexically restricted series of intensive and attenuative affixes is found exclusively on adjectival roots. The most common is *-χiχɨ*, attested in the published corpus on the adjectives *pɬɨ* 'red', *ɐtʼɨ* 'soft' and *ɐvˤɜ́* 'coarse':

ɐtʼi-χíχi-nɨ   *ɐ-zɜ-wɜ-n-ɕɜɕ-qʼɜ́*   (TE)
soft-INTENS-ADV   3sABS-REFL-within-3sERG-beat-PAST
'he beat it into itself [until it was] very soft [lit. 'very softly']' (Dumézil 1967:188)

ɐ-tsɜtśɜ   *ɐ-pɬɨ-χiχi-n*   *ɐ-ʃ-qʼɜ-n…*   (KS)
the-skewer   the-red-INTENS-ADV   3pABS-become-PAST-CONV
'the skewer, having become completely red[-hot]…' (Dumézil 1931:120)

A series of other intensive suffixes has been noted, but each has been attested on only one or two adjectives, all but one of which are colour terms, and none of these intensifiers seems to be synchronically productive:

-(p)sɨpsɨ: *ʤɜ-(p)sɨpsɨ́* 'completely black'; *bˤɜ-(p)sɨpsɨ́* 'totally grey' (Vogt 1963:96, 232)
-bzɜbzɜ: *(ɐ-)ʁˤɜ-bzɜbzɜ-qʼɜ́* 'completely green or blue' (Dumézil 1965:220)
-χʲɜχʲɜ: *ɕʷɜ-χʲɜχʲɜ́* 'completely white' (Vogt 1963:178)
-tɕʷintʼqʼɜqʼɜ: *(ɐ-)ʁʷɜ-tɕʷintʼqʼɜqʼɜ* 'completely yellow' (Vogt 1963:227)
-zɜzɜ: *tɕʼɜ-zɜzɜ́* 'completely new' (Vogt 1963:99)

In addition to the nominal attenuative formant *-qʷʼɜ* shared with nouns, the prefix *χʲɜ-* seems to exclusively form attenuative derivatives of adjectives:

tʼɜkʷʼi-n   *χʲɜ-qʷʼɐrtʼɜ:qʼɜ-n*   *ɐ-lɜ-tʷ-qʼɜ*   (HKo)
little.bit-ADV   ATTEN-bent-ADV   3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PAST
'it was slightly bent' [lit. 'it was as slightly bent a little'] (Dumézil 1960a:19)

and the colour adjectives (*ʤ3* 'black', *ɕʷ3* 'white', *pɬi* 'red', *ʁʷ3* 'yellow', *ʁˤ3-qʼ3́* 'blue, green' and *bˤ3* 'grey') may take the compound prefix *χʲ3-ʨʷ3-* (*ʨʷ3* likely being the noun meaning 'skin', or more abstractly 'colour') in the same function:

   χʲ3-ʨʷ3́-bˤ3   (unkn.)
   ATTEN-skin?-grey
   'greyish' (Mészáros 1934:381)

or, less commonly, may take prefixed *ʨʷ3-* alone[36]:

   ɐ-ʨʷ3-ʁʷ3́   (TE)
   the-skin?-yellow
   '[the] yellowish [one]' (Hewitt 1974)

Adverbs are ordinarily formed from adjectives by use of the adverbial case (§2.2.1.1.2.2), though some non-derived and synchronically opaque adverbs exist (§2.4).

2.2.3. Derived substantives
The derivational morphology acting upon Ubykh substantives is varied, but as adjectives are a distinct subset of nominals in Ubykh, derived adjectives comprise a smaller set than derived nouns, and adjectives may only be derived by relatively few means. By contrast, the morphology of derived nouns is extremely complex, and a great many devices exist for deriving nouns from verbs, adjectives and other nouns. Compounding is especially productive for substantives, and is responsible for much of the richness of the surviving Ubykh lexicon; a series of highly productive derivational suffixes also supply a rich variety of deverbal nouns.

2.2.3.1. Derived adjectives
2.2.3.1.1. Deverbal adjectives
The most basic type of derived adjectives are derived from verb stems by adding the past tense suffix *-qʼ3́* (§2.6.5.1) to the stem; the resulting morphologically stripped past-tense verb may then be used as an ordinary adjective. Adjectives derived from morphologically intransitive and transitive verbs have the semantics of past active and past passive participles, respectively. The following lists demonstrate brief selections of attested deverbal adjectives.

   Active (from intransitive verbs) deverbal adjectives: e.g. *bix:qʼ3́* 'perished, destroyed', *ɕ3:qʼ3́* 'rotted, rotten', *did:qʼ3́* 'numb', *d(i)w3:qʼ3́* 'died, dead', *ʤʷ3qʼ:qʼ3́* 'sour, soured', *l3nl3:qʼ3́* 'loose, untied', *pɕ3:qʼ3́* 'swelled, swollen', *pʼʧʼipʼʧʼid3:qʼ3́* 'glittering, shining', *qi:qʼ3́* 'dumbfounded; stupid', *qiʒʷ:qʼ3́* 'ripened, ripe (of grain)', *qʷʼɐrtʼ3:qʼ3́* 'bent', *ʁi:qʼ3́* 'dry, dried out', *tʷʼ3:qʼ3́* 'curdled, suppurated', *ʧi:qʼ3́* 'frozen, cold', *x3ɕ3:qʼ3́* 'tired', *χʷ3ɕ3:qʼ3́* 'bloomed, blossomed'.

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[36] Perhaps comparable to Abkhaz *a-ʨʷ3́-qʼapʃ* 'reddish' from *á-qʼapʃ* 'red' (Chirikba 2003:30)?

Passive (from transitive verbs) deverbal adjectives: e.g. *bzi:q'ӡ* 'cut, sliced', *bʑӡ:q'ӡ* 'tied', *di:t͡ʃ:q'ӡ* 'frozen, (made) cold', *di:ɕʷӡ:q'ӡ* 'well-finished, first-rate', *diʁˤ:q'ӡ* '(new)born', *dʷi:q'ӡ* 'sewn', *ʥiq':q'ӡ* 'salted, (made) salty', *fӡ:q':q'ӡ* 'cut', *gʷi:q'ӡ* 'mashed, ground', *mi:di:t͡sӡ:q'ӡ* 'untamed', *pӡ:q'ӡ* 'woven', *psi:q'ӡ* 'sharp', *q'ӡɕӡ:q'ӡ* 'raised, elevated', *ʁӡt͡s'ӡ:qʷ'ӡtʷ:q'ӡ* 'still, stagnant', *ʃxӡ:q'ӡ* 'wounded', *t'ӡt͡ʃ'ӡ:q'ӡ* 'naked, undressed', *tɕʷӡ:m:di:qʷ'ӡ:q'ӡ* 'untanned, raw (of hide)'.

A specific type of deverbal adjective that has an emphatic habitual meaning is formed by adding the suffix *-ӡӡ* to the end of a verb stem:

tít-qˤ'ӡ:ӡӡ (TE)
man-always.running
'a man who is always running' (Charachidzé and Esenç 1991a:8)

ʃi-ӡӡ:fӡ:wi:ӡӡ-n (AH)
1pABS-always.wrestling.each.other[.STAT.PRES]-PL
'we are always wrestling one another' (Dumézil 1957:57)

ʁ-gʲig ʲӡ:ӡӡ (TE)
3sABS-cowardly[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]
'(one) who is cowardly or always fearful' (Dumézil 1959a:69)

sí-tʷ:gʲiʥӡ　　　　*dɐʁʷӡ*　　*ӡӡ-tít-sӡrmӡqɐwi:ӡӡ-jt'* (TE)
1sPOSS-grandfather　thus　　one-man-always.joking-STAT.PAST
'my grandfather was a very playful man like that' (Charachidzé and Esenç 1991a:3)

Both of these classes of deverbal adjective behave in all respects like basic adjectives. They may be treated as bases for further derivation (§2.2.3.2.1), are normally postposed to the noun they modify, may be incorporated into the verb *ʃi* 'to be, to become' (§2.6.4.4), and may take morphological affixes typical of basic adjectives:

miʃʷi-bzi-ʥʷӡq':q'ӡ　　*ɐ-w-q'ɐ-ʁi-ɕ?* (TE)
grape-juice-sour　　　　3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
'do you have any vinegar?' (Dumézil and Esenç 1987:4)

t'ӡkʷ'i-n　　　　*χʲӡ-qʷ'ɐrt'ӡ:q'ӡ-n*　　*ɐ-lӡ-tʷ-q'ӡ* (HKo)
little.bit-ADV　　ATTEN-bent-ADV　　3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PAST
'it was slightly bent' [lit. 'it was as slightly bent a little'] (Dumézil 1960a:19)

ʁӡ-wӡndʐӡq-qӡfӡ　　　　*t'ӡkʷ'i-n*　　*ɐ-qʷ'ɐrt'ӡ:q'ӡ-qʷ'ӡ* (HKo)
3sPOSS-chimney-side　little-ADV　3sABS-bent-ATTEN[.STAT.PRES]
'the side of its chimney is a little crooked' (Dumézil 1960a:19)

ɐ-kʷɨ:ʐɜ-ʃ-qʼɜ (TE)

3sABS-rainy-become-PAST

'it became rainy all the time' (Dumézil 1965:231)

2.2.3.1.2. *Deadjectival adjectives*

Deadjectival adjective formation in Ubykh is not highly productive, and is limited to noun-adjective compounding (§2.2.2; §2.2.3.2.2). Although compounding of a noun and an adjective usually yields a (compound) noun, a few instances exist in which a noun-adjective compound yields a bahuvrihi-style compound which may itself be used as an adjective.

Often such forms are somewhat tautological (e.g. *ʂɜ* 'head' + *qɕ* 'scaly, scurvy [of the head]' → *ʂɜ:qɕ* 'scaly, scurvy (of the head)', *lékʷimɜ* 'ear' + *dʒgʷɨ* 'deaf' → *lékʷimɜ:dʒgʷɨ* 'deaf'), but this is by no means always the case:

ʂɜ 'head' + *ɐgʲɕ* 'bad' → *ʂ[ɜ]:ɐgʲɕ* 'stupid'
ɬʒpqɨ 'clan, lineage' + *ɐgʲɕ* 'bad' → *ɬʒpq:ɐgʲɕ* 'of bad breeding, of bad lineage'
tχʷʒ 'ashes' + *tsʒ* 'burning' → *tχʷʒ:(n)tsɕ* 'wan, pale, ashen (of complexion)'

2.2.3.2. *Derived nouns*

2.2.3.2.1. *Deadjectival nouns*

The simplest type of derivation in Ubykh is the formation of the deadjectival noun, which is achieved merely by morphologically treating a basic or derived adjective (§2.2.3.1) as a noun (§2.2.2). Both basic and derived adjectives (§2.2.3.1) may be converted in this way:

qʼʒqʼɨ 'sweet' → 'sugar'
ɬɐtʃɕ 'lame' → 'lame person'
ʂχʷʒ 'strong, powerful' → 'strength, force, power'
gʷɨ:qʼɕ 'ground' → 'flour'
χʷʒɕʷʒ:qʼɕ 'blossomed' → 'flower'
pʒ:qʼɕ 'woven' → 'cloth'
ʂʒ:qɕ 'having dandruff or scurf' → 'one who has a scaly or scurvy head'

The other common type of deadjectival noun may be formed by the addition of the suffix *-ʃ*, which signifies an abstract quality associated with the adjective:

ɐgʲɕ 'bad, evil, deficient' → *ɐgʲɕʃ* 'wrongdoing, wrong'
ɐnɕʷʒ 'beautiful' → *ɐnɕʷʒ:ʃ* 'beauty'
bʒχʷɕ 'large' → *bʒχʷɕ:ʃ* 'size, largeness'
dɨwʂʒqʼɕ 'poor, having little money' → *dɨwʂʒqʼɕʃ* 'poverty'
ʈʂʼʒ 'good' → *ʈʂʼʒ:ʃ* 'kindness, goodness, honesty'
ʨʒ, ʨʼépʼqʲʒ 'young' → *ʨʒ:ʃ, ʨʼépʼqʲʒ:ʃ* 'youth'
ʃʷʒkʲɨ 'intact, whole, well' → *ʃʷʒkʲɨ:ʃ* 'health'
wʒsɕ 'dark, obscured' → *wʒsɕ:ʃ* 'darkness, obscurity'

2.2.3.2.2. Denominal nouns

In addition to its function as a deadjectival nominaliser (§2.2.3.2.1), the suffix -*ʃ* is also very common as an abstract-quality formant for nouns, and is one of the most common types of denominal noun formant:

tit 'person', *tɕitɕɜ* 'people' → *títi:ʃ* (sg.), *tɕitɕɜ:ʃ* (pl.) 'humanity'
ʂépłɜ 'leader, boss' → *ʂɐpłɜ:ʃ* 'command, leadership'
tɕʷ(i)jɜ́ 'house' → *tɕʷ(i)jɜ́:ʃ* 'household'
ʂɜχɜt 'witness (person)' → *ʂɜχɜti:ʃ* 'testimony'
kʲ'ɜʁ 'companion' → *kʲ'ɜʁí:ʃ* 'companionship'
łiqʷ'(i)sɜ́ 'hero' → *łiqʷ'(i)sɜ́:ʃ* 'heroism, bravery'
pχʲɜ́dikʷ' 'young woman, maiden' → *pχʲɜ́dikʷ'i:ʃ* 'virginity'

Another productive but less common denominal noun formant is -*pχɜ*, is derived from the Adyghe noun *pχe* 'wood'. Though the suffix also has a distinct usage as a deverbal noun formant (§2.2.3.2.3), when added to a nominal, this suffix forms nouns that refer either directly or more obliquely to the substance or material of the nominal:

dʒijí 'seed(s)' → *dʒiji:pχɜ́* 'seed stock; portion of a seed crop kept aside for propagation'
bˤɜqˤ'i 'hat' → *bˤɜqˤ'i:pχɜ* 'material for making a hat'
χíʃɜ 'garment, article of clothing' → *χíʃɜ:pχɜ* 'cloth, fabric'
kʷ'íbɜ ~ kʷ'ídʷɜ 'slaughter animals, livestock for slaughter' → *kʷ'íbɜ:pχɜ* 'id.'
mˤɜdɫí 'frost, hoarfrost' → *mˤɜdɫi:pχɜ* 'id.'

A third and very highly productive means of forming denominal nouns is diminution, achieved by adding to a noun the diminutive suffix -*ʃʷ(i)*, which may sometimes attract primary stress:

ɐłmíq 'bag, sack' → *ɐłmiqi:ʃʷ* 'pouch'
bɐdʒɜ́ 'fox' → *bɐdʒɜ́:ʃʷ ~ bɐdʒɜ:ʃʷí* 'fox cub, little fox'
bijí 'sheep' → *bij(i):ʃʷ ~ bij(i):ʃʷí* 'lamb'
bzɨ 'water' → *bzɨ:ʃʷ* 'creek, brook'
bzɜ 'tongue' → *bzɜ:ʃʷ* 'uvula'
mɨwɜ́ 'mill' → *mɨwɜ:ʃʷí* 'hand mill, hand grinder'
ʃʷɜ 'sea' → *ʃʷɜ:ʃʷ* 'lake, pond'
tʃɨ 'horse' → *tʃɨ:ʃʷ* 'foal; pony'

It seems at least theoretically possible that a diminutive may itself undergo diminution, though only a single example of this is known: *tsɜní* 'sword' yields *tsɜní:ʃʷ* 'knife', which in its turn yields *tsɜní:ʃʷi:ʃʷ ~ tsɜn(i):ʃʷí:ʃʷ* 'pocket knife'.

A final special type of denominal noun makes use of a bound root -*q'ɜ*, which suffixes to a substantive and has the meaning of 'place':

ɜ́-ɬɜxɜ   *ʁ[ɜ]-ɜ́niɕʷɜ-q'ɜ-ʁɜ*   (TE)

the-forest[.OBL]   3sPOSS-beautiful-place-LOC

'at the forest's [most] beautiful place' (Dumézil and Esenç 1979:20)

dzɜ:mɜ-q'[ɜ]-ɐlɜ   (TE)

another-place-COM

'in another place' (Dumézil 1962b:65)

ɐntɕʷ'(ɨ)-q'[ɜ]-ɐlɜ   *Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ-lɜ-q'ɜ*   *jɜnizi-n*   (HKo)

before-place-COM   3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-reach-PAST[.NFIN]   giant-ERG

ɐ-lɜ-ni-w:tʷ'-q'ɜ

3sABS-PVB-3sERG-take.out.DYN.SG-PAST

'the giant who reached it first [lit. 'in the first place'] took it' (Dumézil 1961c:53)

The bound root *-q'ɜ* also underlies the pronoun *zɜ́q'ɐlɜ ~ zɜq'ɐlɜ́* 'somewhere' (§2.3.6).

2.2.3.2.2.1. Nominal compounding

By far the most common denominal nouns are those formed by lexical means through compounding of substantives, which may be noun-adjective or noun-noun, the latter potentially having genitive (tatpurusha), coordinative (dvandva) or appositional (karmadharaya) sense. Noun-adjective and tatpurusha compounding are overwhelmingly the most commonly encountered types.

2.2.3.2.2.1.1. Noun-adjective compounding

Noun-adjective compounding is the primary means by which attributive adjectives modify nouns in Ubykh (§2.2.2), and although many noun-adjective compounds have naturally acquired extended or metaphorical meanings, the device is fully productive:

kʲ'ɐb ʕɨ 'wolf' + *blɜʁʷʕɜ* 'blind' → *kʲ'ɐbʕɨ-blɜʁʷʕɜ* 'blind wolf'
mizɨ 'child' + *miʁʷʕɜ* 'bad' → *mizi-miʁʷʕɜ* 'bad child'
bʕɜqʕ'ɨ 'hat' + *pɬɨ* 'red' → *bʕɜqʕ'ɨ-pɬɨ* 'red hat → fez'
ɕʷipɨ 'flour' + *ɐvʕɜ* 'coarse, thick' → *ɕʷip-ɐvʕɜ* 'thick flour → *bulgur*, cracked wheat'
χʲɨ 'prince' + *gʲɨdzɜ́* 'big, large' → *χʲɨ-gʲɨdzɜ* 'great prince → sultan, king'

Some noun-adjective compounds may act formally as adjectives (§2.2.3.1.2).

2.2.3.2.2.1.2. Noun-noun compounding
2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1. Genitive (*tatpurusha*)

A tatpurusha compound is simply the result of concatenation of two nouns, in which the usual order is modifier-modified. Such constructions are used to demonstrate an indefinite genitive relationship between the two nouns. This device is highly productive, and virtually any two nouns may appear in such a construction:

mɐmíʁʲ 'a type of red berry' + *midzɨ* 'thorn bush' → *mɐmíʁʲ:midzɨ* '*mɐmíʁʲ*-berry bush'

bzɨ 'water' + *ɐntʼɝ* 'snake' → *bz:ɘntʼɝ* 'eel'

ʧʼɝ 'mouth' + *bzɨ* 'water' → *ʧʼɝ:bzɨ* 'saliva'

lɝ 'army, soldier' + *ʧɝ* 'horseman' → *lɝ:ʧɝ* 'cavalry(man), mounted soldier'

wˤɝ 'dog' + *tsɝkʲʼɨ* 'tooth' → *wˤɝ:tsɝkʲʼ* 'canine tooth, eye-tooth'

jɘbˤɝ 'barley' + *misɝ* 'smell, odour' → *jɘbˤɝ:msɝ* 'the smell of barley'

Tatpurusha compounding is often used to refer to the material or substance of an object:

tʷɝtʷɝ 'gold' + *ʁ(i)bɝ* 'boat' → *tʷɝtʷɝ:ʁbɝ* 'golden boat'

ɐmpʼɝ 'lead' + *zʷɝpχʲɨnɝ* 'cauldron' → *ɐmpʼɝ:zʷɝpχʲɨnɝ* 'leaden cauldron'

w(i)ʨʷʼɝ 'iron' + *kʷɨ* 'wagon' → *w(i)ʨʷʼɝ:kʷ* 'iron wagon → automobile, lorry, bus'

Several elements may be concatenated in this way:

ʧɨ 'horse' + *qʷˤʼɨ* 'hair' + *tʷɝnɨ* 'musical instrument' → *ʧɨ:qʷˤʼɨ:tʷɝnɨ* 'violin'

ʃɝ 'arrow, bullet' + *jɝ* 'blow, impact' + *qʼɝkʲʼɝ* 'voice' → *ʃɝ:jɝ:qʼɝkʲʼɝ* 'sound of a gunshot'

A couple of examples exist in which the order of constituents is inverted and appears as modified-modifier (notably *dʷɨ:qɐmilɝ* 'field of reeds' ← *dʷɨ* 'field' + *qɘmilɝ ~ qɐmilɝ* 'reed'), but this is extremely rare.

A subset of tatpurusha compounds comprises those in which the second element is a nominalised verb stem (§2.2.3.2.3). This type of compound often forms agentive nouns:

pɬɝ 'to look' → *ɐbˤɝ:pɬɝ* 'medical doctor' (*ɐbˤɝ* 'ill, sick')

ʒʷɝ 'to roast, to bake' → *ɕʷɨbˤɝ:ʒʷɝ* 'baker, breadmaker' (*ɕʷɨbˤɝ ~ ɕʷɨbˤɝ* 'bread')

ɕɝ 'to sell' → *ʥʷɝtɝ:ɕɝ* 'seller of boza' (*ʥʷɝtɝ ~ ʥʷɝtɝ* 'boza')

jɝ 'to hit; to play an instrument' → *qɐmilɝ:jɝ* 'flautist' (*qɘmilɝ ~ qɐmilɝ* 'reed; flute'), *tʷɝnɨ:jɝ* 'accordion player' (*tʷɝnɨ* 'accordion')

pχɝʣɝ 'to scatter' → *m(i)ʁɐʨɝ:pχɝʣɝ* 'soothsayer' (*m(i)ʁɐʨɝ* 'bean')

By far the most common of this type is formed with the suffix *-j:ʃ(ɝ)*, a nominalisation of the verb *j-ʃɨ* 'to do' or 'to make', and these compounds may signify not only the person or thing that performs the action, but rarely also the occupation involved:

ɕʷɨbˤɝ 'bread' → *ɕʷɨbˤɝ:j:ʃ* 'baker'

sɝrmɝqɐw 'joking, mockery' → *sɝrmɝqɐwi:j:ʃɝ* 'joker, trickster'

ʃʷ(i)wɝ 'matter, affair' → *ʃʷ(i)wɝ:j:ʃ(ɝ)* 'servant'

ʂχʷɝwɨ 'magic, sorcery' → *ʂχʷɝwɨ:j:ʃ(ɝ)* 'magician, enchanter'

ʨʷɝ 'skin, leather' → *ʨʷɝ:j:ʃ* 'cobbler'

fɝʃ 'food' → *fɝʃɨ:j:ʃ(ɝ)* 'cook, chef; foodmaker'

ɐgʲɝ 'bad, evil' → *ɐgʲɝ:j:ʃ(ɝ)* 'malfeasant, evildoer; wicked deeds, evildoing'

An obviously related but much more limited and probably not synchronically productive construction involved the insertion of a linking vowel *-ɐ-* (perhaps an archaic possessive prefix) between the noun and the nominalised verb root, of which a few examples are known:

miʃʷɐkʷɨ (← *miʃʷ[ʒ]:ɐ:kʷ'ɨ*) 'bear killer, bear hunter' (← *m(ɨ)ʃʷʒ́* 'bear' + *kʷ'ɨ* 'to kill')
psɐqʷ'ʒ (← *ps[ʒ]:ɐ:qʷ'ʒ*) 'fisherman' (← *psʒ* 'fish' + *qʷ'ʒ* 'to catch, to seize')
ʂɐ́zʒ (← *ʂ[ʒ]:ɐ́:zʒ*) 'comb' (← *ʂʒ* 'head' + *zʒ* 'to comb')

ɬɐʃʷʒ (← *ɬ:ɐ:ʃʷʒ*) 'wild goat hunting' (← *ɬɨ* 'wild goat; deer') and *lɐʃʷʒ* (← *l[ʒ]:ɐ:ʃʷʒ*) 'rabbit hunting' (← *lʒ* 'rabbit') are also historically of this type, coming from a now extinct verb root *ʃʷʒ* 'to hunt'[37]. The rare attestation of this type of denominal noun formation indicates that the construction is no longer productive for nouns, although the de*verbal* nominalisers *-ɐw(ɨ)* and *-ɐkʲ'ʒ*, from similar origins, are still fully productive (§2.2.3.2.3).

2.2.3.2.2.1.2.2. Coordinative (dvandva)
A second type of noun-noun compounding is found in which the nouns comprising the compound have coordinative, rather than genitive, meaning and do not modify each other. Although the vast majority of such compounds might be interpretable as grammatically separate nouns coordinated by apposition (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.2), examples exist in which the coordinated nouns are clearly acting as a single morphological unit:

[ɐ-]ɐdiɣʒ-nʒ   tʷɨ:ʃ-dʒɨɬʒ:ʃ-mʒʤɐlʒ   z[ʒ]-ɐgʲʒ   (TE)
the-Circassian-ERG.PL   fatherhood-brotherhood-except   one-evil
Ø-s-ɐ-nɐ-Ø-tʷ'ʒ-q'ʒ-mʒ
3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-3pERG-CAUS-arrive-PAST-NEG
'the Circassians brought me no ill, only friendly conduct' (Dumézil 1962b:88)

ɐjɬʒ-gʲɨ   tɕʷjʒ:ʃ-kʷ'ʒ:ʃ-gʲɨʤʒ-n   ɐ-Ø-ʃɨ-nʒ-n...   (AH)
other(PL)-EMPH   household-household-large-ADV   3pABS-3sOBL-become-PL-CONV
'the others becoming a great household…' (Dumézil 1959a:41)

ʁʒ-ʧ'ʒ-tʷɨq   Ø-fʒ-n-tɕʷʒ-q'ʒ   (İb)
its-mouth-neck   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-break-PAST
'he injured [lit. 'broke'] its mouth [and] neck' (Dumézil 1931:168)

Unlike tatpurusha compounds, however, it seems that the elements in a dvandva compound may also be inflectionally, and not just derivationally, complex:

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[37] The verb is no longer used alone in modern Ubykh, but it also persists in the otherwise regular deverbal noun *ʃʷɐkʲ'ʒ́* 'hunter', as well as having clear cognates in Abkhaz-Abaza (cf. T'ap'anta Abaza *ʃʷa-ra-ts-ra* 'to hunt', Abkhaz *á-ʃʷa-ra-χ ~ a-ʃʷa-rá-χ* 'wild animals, game' and *a-ʃʷa-rá-tɕa-ra* (Bzyp), *a-ʃʷa-rá-tsa-ra* (Abzhywa) 'to hunt').

sɨ-tʷ-sɨ-nɜ-n-gʲɐtɕ'i-nɨ   *ɐ-sɨ-pɬɜ-q'ɜ-n*   (HU)

1sPOSS-father-1sPOSS-mother-OBL-like-ADV   3pABS-1sOBL-look-PAST-PL

'they looked after me like my [own] father and mother' (Dumézil 1959a:37)

Dvandva compounding is considerably rarer than tatpurusha compounding, and is usually found in compounds of noun pairs considered to have a close semantic relationship, as in the examples above. Other examples include *txɨ* 'writing' + *mɨɕɜ́* 'reading' → *txɨ́:mɨɕɜ* 'reading [and] writing', *p'tɕ'éd(ɨ)ʁɜ* 'paper' + *tx:ɐw* 'pen' → *p'tɕ'ɐdɨʁɜ:tx:ɐw* 'pen [and] paper', *sɜkʷ* 'mane' + *kʷ'ɜʧ́ɜ* 'tail' → *sɜkʷ:kʷ'ɜʧɜ* 'mane [and] tail', *nɜ* 'mother' + *tʷɨ* 'father' → *nɜ:tʷ* 'parents', *pχʲɜʃʷ* 'woman' + *kʷɜbʒɜ́* 'man' → *pχʲɜʃʷ:kʷɜbʒɜ* 'husband [and] wife', and *lɜndʷɜ́* 'livestock, domestic animals' + *ʃʷɜndʷɜ́* 'wild animals, game' → *lɜndʷɜ:ʃʷɜndʷɜ* 'the animal kingdom, all the world's animals'.

2.2.3.2.2.1.2.3. *Appositional* (*karmadharaya*)

A third type of noun-noun compounding exists whereby multiple substantives, each of which has the same referent, are affixed to one another and the whole is treated as a single morphological unit:

ɐ́-bɐriʁ-ʁʷindʷɨ:ʃʷɨ-n-gʲɨ[38]   (TE)

the-sparrow-bird:DIM-ERG-EMPH

'even the little bird, [the] sparrow (erg.)' (Dumézil and Esenç 1985:6)

zɜ-ʁʷindʷɨ-gʲɨdɮɜ-bˤʁˤɜʤɜ-gʷɜrɜ   (HKo)

one-bird-great-eagle-certain

'a certain great bird, the eagle' (Dumézil 1957:5)

2.2.3.2.3. *Deverbal nouns*

Ubykh has a vast array of morphological means for deriving nouns from verbs. The simplest type of deverbal nominalisation is achieved by simply using a verb stem (§2.1) as a noun: *jɜ* 'to strike' → 'hit, impact, blow', *pɬɜ* 'to look at' → 'look, appearance, aspect', *kʲ'ɜ* 'to go' → 'going', *fɨ* 'to eat' → 'food, provisions', *kʷɨ* 'to rain' → 'rain', *q'ɜ* 'to say, to speak' → 'speech, talking', *bɐ̌ʲɜ-kʲ'ɜ* 'to go on → to conquer' → *bɐ̌ʲɜ:kʲ'ɜ* 'conquering, onslaught', *zɜ-jɜ* 'to fight, to wage war (← 'to hit one another')' → *zɜ́:jɜ* 'fight, battle, war'. Such a form may itself be used as an element of a noun-noun compound, and in some instances may function as an agentive-formant when it appears as the final element of a tatpurusha compound (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1).

In addition, virtually any fully inflected finite verb, in any tense, may be changed into a non-finite verb and used as a noun with only a few minor changes in morphological structure (§2.6.3). Also, a few special types of deverbal nominalisation are found that form from verbs

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[38] The usual root for 'sparrow' is *bɐʁɨ́r*, which has likely been metathesised here due to the *ʁʷ*- of the following root.

adverb-like nouns that serve some functions of subordinate clauses or converbs (§2.2.3.2.3.2). As well as these simple non-finite derivations, like all NWC languages Ubykh also has a wide range of deverbal nominalising suffixes, which can productively form many kinds of nouns from a given verb stem.

2.2.3.2.3.1. Basic deverbal noun formants

The prefix *-dʷɜ* marks a derived patient, usually the object upon which the verb's action is or must be performed: *fɨ:dʷɜ* 'food' (← *fɨ* 'to eat'), *ɕɜ:dʷɕ* 'merchandise, thing to sell' (← *ɕɜ* 'to sell'), *dʷɨ:dʷɕ* 'something to sew' (← *dʷɨ* 'to sew'), *jɨ:ʃːdʷɕ* 'thing to do, thing which must be done' (← *j-fɨ* 'to do'). Rarely, the suffix may take an excrescent *-n-* (§1.2.1.1): *ʣʷɕ:dʷɜ* ~ *ʣʷɜ:(n)dʷɕ* 'drink, beverage' (← *ʣʷɜ* 'to drink') (note also *ʃʷɜndʷɕ* 'wild animal(s), game' ← Old Ubykh **ʃʷɜ* 'to hunt'), and the phonetic variant *-bɜ* or *-bˤɜ* has arisen for some speakers due to the sporadic merging of labialised alveolar plosives with bilabials (§1.2.1.2.4): *kʷ'ɨ:dʷɜ* ~ *kʷ'ɨ:bɜ* 'livestock for slaughter' ← *kʷ'ɨ* 'to kill', *ʂɨ:dʷɜ* ~ *ʂɨ:bˤɜ* 'dirty laundry' ← *ʂɨ* 'to wash (clothes)'.

   -ʣɜ marks an instance of an action, and by extension, an opportunity or turn to perform that action: *tʷɨ:ʣɕ* '[instance of] giving; gift, donation' (← *tʷɨ* 'to give'), *jɕ:ʣɜ* 'turn or opportunity to strike' (← *jɜ* 'to hit, to strike'), *ʧɨʣɜ:ʣɜ* 'turn to grind [grain]' (← *ʧɨʣɜ* 'to grind, to mash').

   -xɜ marks the period of time necessary to perform an action or the period of time during which an action is performed: *bɨjɕ:xɜ* 'time to see, period needed to see' (← *bɨjɜ* 'to see'), *blɐ:pɬɕʧɜ:xɜ* 'time (needed) to look through' (← *blɐ-pɬɜʧɜ* 'to look through'), *kʲ'ɕ:xɜ* 'time during which to go' (← *kʲ'ɜ* 'to go'), *ʨʷɕ:xɜ* 'time to sleep' (← *ʨʷɜ* 'to sleep').

   -ʁʲɜ marks the suitable or proper point in time when an action should be done: *fɨ:ʁʲɜ* 'time to eat, mealtime' (← *fɨ* 'to eat'), *kʲ'ɕ:ʁʲɜ* 'time to go, hour of departure' (← *kʲ'ɜ* 'to go'), *ʃɨ:ʁʲɜ* 'reaping time, harvesting season' (← *ʃɨ* 'to reap'), *ʨʷɕ:ʁʲɜ* 'time to sleep, bedtime' (← *ʨʷɜ* 'to sleep').

   -ʃʷɜ marks the locus of an action, the place where it is carried out: *ʤɜ:ʁʷɕ:ʃʷɜ* 'ford of a river' (← *ʤɜ-ʁʷɜ* 'to go across, to traverse'), *ɕɜ:qʷ'ɜ:ʃʷɕ* 'prison' (← *ɕɜ-qʷ'ɜ* 'to hold within, to imprison (within)'), *qʷɨmɐlɜ:ʃʷɜ* 'dance floor' (← *qʷɨmɐlɜ* 'to play; to dance'), *fɨ:ʃʷɜ* 'restaurant, inn' (← *fɨ* 'to eat').

   -ɐkʲ'ɜ, which also marks nominalisations of goal (§2.2.3.2.3.2.1), is the formant of the most common variety of agentive noun. The affix *-ɐkʲ'ɜ* marks the performer of an action: *ɕ[ɜ]:ɐkʲ'ɕ* 'merchant, vendor' (← *ɕɜ* 'to sell'), *dɨ:zʷ[ɜ]:ɐkʲ'ɜ*[39] 'labourer, worker' (← (caus.) *zʷɜ* 'to work, to toil'), *mɨɕ[ɜ]:ɐkʲ'ɜ* 'reader, student' (← *mɨɕɜ* 'to call; to read'), *p[ɜ]:ɐkʲ'ɕ* 'weaver' (← *pɜ* 'to weave'), *χʷ[ɜ]:ɐkʲ'ɕ* 'beggar' (← *χʷɜ* 'to ask, to request, to beg'), *ʂ:ɐkʲ'ɜ* 'washer, fuller' (← *ʂɨ* 'to wash (an object). By extension of this basic meaning, it occasionally also forms nouns referring to an instrument with which an action is performed: *tx:ɐkʲ'ɜ* 'pen, pencil, writing implement' (← *txɨ* 'to write').

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[39] In İH's speech, also *dʷɨzʷɐkʲ'ɜ*, either by regressive assimilation or perhaps by analogy with the noun *dʷɨ* 'field, steppe; outside'.

-ɐw(ɨ), however, is the most common marker of a derived instrument, a tool or implement with which an action is performed: *dʷ:ɐw ~ dʷ:ɐwɨ* 'thread, string' (← *dʷɨ* 'to sew'), *tx:ɐw* 'pen, pencil, writing implement' (← *txɨ* 'to write'), *qʷɨmɐ́l[ʒ]:ɐw* 'toy, game' (← *qʷɨmɐlʒ* 'to play'), *ʂ[ʒ]:ɐwɨ* 'pick(axe)' (← *ʂʒ* 'to dig').

-pʃʒ is the formant of another, less common type of agentive noun, which differs from the more usual formant *-ɐkʲ'ʒ* in having the more specific connotation of one who does an action customarily, habitually, or as their occupation: *ʣʷʒ́:pʃʒ* 'drunkard' (← *ʣʷʒ* 'to drink'), *gʲɨgʲʒ:pʃʒ* 'coward' (← *gʲɨ(n)gʲʒ* 'to be afraid'), *miɛʒ:pʃʒ* 'scholar, sage, learned person' (← *miɛʒ* 'to read'; compare the *-ɐkʲ'ʒ*-derivative *miɛ[ʒ]:ɐ́kʲ'ʒ* 'student, reader').

-ɐtsʒ forms a type of noun that signifies an argument of an action done habitually or customarily: *mi:ʁʷʒw:ɐtsʒ* 'something one would not ordinarily find', *mɛ́:m:kʲ'[ʒ]:ɐtsʒ-n* 'where one does not ordinarily go (relat.)'. By extension, forms such as the following are found:

> *wʒ-ʁʲʒ-nkʲʒ*   *Ø-f:ɐtsʒ-jt'*   (TE)
> that-meat-from.among   3sABS-something.one.customarily.eats-STAT.PAST
> '[some] of that meat was something he would customarily eat' (Dumézil 1960a:86)

-ɬʒ marks the method or way of doing something: *lʒsi:ɬʒ* 'divorce proceedings' (← *lʒs* 'to renounce, to divorce'), *miɛʒ:ɬʒ* 'way of reading' (← *miɛʒ* 'to call; to read'), *ʁʷɨrdʒ́:ɬʒ* 'way of destruction, method of destruction' (← *ʁʷɨrdʒ* 'to destroy, to corrupt, to ruin'). By extension, it can refer to the event of doing something itself: *txɨ́:ɬʒ* 'way of writing; the event of writing' (← *txɨ* 'to write'). Note the following formulaic expression:

> *sʒ-wɨ-lʒ-tʷ-ɬʒ-j?*   (AH)
> what-2sPOSS-PVB-way.of.standing[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
> 'how are you (sg.)?' (Dumézil 1957:73; Vogt 1963:139)

-pχʒ forms a type of deverbal noun signifying a substance or material usually used to perform an action, often in a rather abstract sense and frequently carrying a further nuance of necessity or obligation: *fɨ:pχʒ* 'food, something to eat' (← *fɨ* 'to eat'), *f[ʒ]:ɐj(ɨ):pχʒ* 'debt, something to be paid back' (← *fʒ* 'to pay' + *-ɐj(ɨ)* 'iterative aspect'), *χʲʒ:kʲ'ʒʧʒ:pχʒ* 'way to walk or behave towards someone' (← *χʲʒ-kʲ'ʒʧʒ* 'to approach'). More morphologically complex forms sometimes arise:

> *zʒ:jʒ*   *mɐ-Ø-j-n-ʃɨ-pχʒ-ʁʒ*   *zʒ:jʒ*   *ɐ-j-n-ʃ-gʲʒ-nʒ:jt'*   (HKo)
> war   where-3sABS-PVB-3sERG-do-NOM-LOC   war   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-do-HAB-IMPF.SG
> 'wherever he was to make war, he would always make war' (Dumézil 1963:3)

2.2.3.2.3.2. *Dependent nominalisers*
Dependent nominalisers are a class of deverbal nominalisers that form a type of adverb-like nominal from a verb stem. These dependent nominalisations have some of the characteristics

of converbs (§3.3.1) and are used like adverbs (§2.5), but differ from converbs in that they are morphologically true nominals and so cannot take tense- or agreement-marking.

2.2.3.2.3.2.1. Nominalisation of goal -ɐkʲ'ʒ

The suffix -ɐkʲ'ʒ, which also forms the most common type of agentive noun (§2.2.3.2.3), is added to the verb stem, without prefixal agreement-marking, to form nominalisations that behave as adverbs marking the goal of the action denoted by the verb of the main clause:

  ʂ-ékʲ'ʒ   ɐ-kʲ'ʒ-n   pχʲʒ:ʃʷɨ-nʒ   Ø-ɐ-ʤi-nɨ   (HKo)
  wash-NOM 3sABS-go-CONV woman-OBL.PL 3sABS-3pOBL-be.with-CONV
  ɐ-kʲ'ʒ-q'ʒ
  3sABS-go-PAST
  'he went with [the] women and went to do the washing' (Dumézil 1959b:113)

2.2.3.2.3.2.2. Nominalisation of simultaneity -ʤ

The suffix -ʤ is added to a verb stem to form a nominal that is used adverbially to show an action simultaneous with the action of the main verb of its clause:

  ʁʒ-ʁʷɐ-tʷ'i-ʤ   ɐ-mʁɐtɕʒ:pχʒʤʒ   ji-Ø-bjʒ-q'ʒ   (AB)
  3sPOSS-PVB-leave-NOM   the-soothsayer   3sABS-3sERG-see-PAST
  'as he was going out, he saw the soothsayer' (Dumézil 1959c:153)

  s-kʲ'ʒ-ʤ-gʲiʁi   ɐ-s-é-qʷ'-q'ʒ   (TE)
  1sPOSS-go-NOM-INTENS   3sABS-1sPOSS-PVB-be.heard-PAST
  'I heard it just as I was going' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:59)

2.2.3.2.3.2.3. Nominalisation of simultaneity -(ʦ ʒ)ntʒ

The nominalising suffix -(ʦ ʒ)ntʒ is similar to the nominaliser -ʤ (§2.2.3.2.3.2.2) in that it attaches to a verb stem to form a nominal that is used adverbially to express an action simultaneous with the action of the main verb of its clause. However, Dumézil's (1971:108) French glosses seem to ascribe to it a slight nuance of precision that is apparently not found with -ʤ-nominalisations:

  ʁʷʒ   wɨ-j:kʲ'ʒ   é-lʒ-ʁʒ   si-kʲ'ɜ́-(ʦɜ́)ntʒ-n   (TE)
  you(SG)   2sPOSS-coming   the-army-LOC   1sPOSS-go-NOM-OBL
  Ø-Ø-gʲi-ʧ'ɜ́:tʷ-q'ʒ
  3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.upon-PAST
  'your arrival came just as I was going to the army' (Dumézil 1971:108)

  ʁʒ-qʷ'ɜ́:tʷ-(ʦ ʒ)ntʒ-n   (TE)
  3sPOSS-stop(SG)-NOM-ADV
  'at the moment X stops' (Dumézil 1971:108)

2.2.3.2.3.3. Dephrasal nouns

An uncommon usage exists whereby a complete relative clause (§3.3.2.9) is treated as a unitary morphological complex, leading to a kind of 'dephrasal' noun:

zɜ-qʷˤ'ɨ-dɨ-ʂɜ-mi-ɬ-titi-n   (AH)
one-hair-REL-PVB-NEG-be.lying(SG)[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]-man-OBL
'a bald man (obl.)' [lit. 'a man-on-whose-head-hair-does-not-lie'] (Dumézil 1959a:41)

jɨ-qˤɜpˤ'ɨ-qʷˤɐmˤɜ-dɨ-wɜ-mi-ɬ-ʁʷɨnɨ-n   (TE)
this-branch-knot-REL-PVB-NEG-be.lying(SG)[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]-tree-OBL
'this tree (obl.) on which there is neither branch or knot' (Dumézil and Esenç 1987:2)

wɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ-ʂɤ́-dɨ-q'ɐ-ʁ-bˤʁˤɤ́dʒɜ   (TE)
that-two-head-REL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]-eagle
'that two-headed eagle' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975b:43)

It is possible that such constructions are underlyingly karmadharaya compounds (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.3) (so 'a bald [person], [a] man', 'this [thing] on which there is not branch or knot, [a] tree', 'that [thing] with two heads, [an] eagle'), but in either case, in terms of nominal affixation the surface result is a single morphemically complex unit.

2.2.3.2.4. Combined derivation

Other than the dependent nominalisers, most nominal derivatives may be combined freely:

– *gʲɨ:pɕɨ:ʃ* 'love' ← *gʲɨ* 'heart' + *pɕɨ* 'warm' + -*ʃ* 'abstract nominaliser'
– *ʈʂ'ɜ:bɨjɜ:ʃ* 'love' ← *ʈʂ'ɜ* 'good' + *bɨjɜ* 'seeing' (← *bɨjɜ* 'to see') + -*ʃ*
– *bzɨ:lɤ́:ʃʷ* 'spring' ← *bzɨ* 'water' + *lɜ* 'army' + -*ʃʷ(ɨ)* 'diminutive'
– *tx:ɐ́kʲ'ɜ:ʃʷ* 'pen' ← *txɨ* 'to write' + -*ɐkʲ'ɜ* 'agentive' + -*ʃʷ(ɨ)*
– *mɨʁɐtɕɜ:ɕʷɜ:ʃʷɨ* 'haricot bean' ← *mɨʁɐtɕɜ* 'bean' + *ɕʷɜ* 'white' + -*ʃʷ(ɨ)*
– *dʒʃʷɨ:pɕɨ:dɨ:ʃ:ɐw* 'pullover' ← *dʒʃʷɨ* 'wool' + causative of *pɕɨ-ʃ* 'to warm' + -*ɐw* 'instrumental'
– *tʷɜtʷɜ:sɜkʷ:kʷ'ɜʧʃ* 'golden mane and tail' ← *tʷɜtʷɤ́* 'gold' + *sɜkʷ-kʷ'ɜʧʃ* 'mane [and] tail'

2.3. Pronouns

2.3.1. Personal pronouns

Ubykh's system of free personal pronouns (Table 3) is on the surface quite simple, contrasting only singular and plural number in each of the three persons. However, the usages of the pronouns in this system are very irregular and somewhat capricious, and it is difficult to make general statements applying to the set as a whole.

The most basic portion of the system is the contrast between singular and plural in the first and second persons. However, some idiolectic variation is found in these pronouns. In rapid speech, AB had a tendency to reduce and assimilate the first-person singular pronoun *s(ɨ)ʁʷɤ́*

	1st person	**2nd person**	**3rd person (*emphatic*)**
Singular	*s(i)ʁʷɜ́*	*(w(i))ʁʷɜ́*	*ɐʁʷɜ́*
	AB: also *(s)χʷɜ*	(jocular (?), obsolete: *χɜʁʷɜ́*)	(relat.: *ɐʁʷɜ́-n*)
Plural	*ʃiʁʷɜ́łɜ* (gen.: also *ʃiʁʷɜ́*)	*ɕʷiʁʷɜ́łɜ* (gen.: also *ɕʷiʁʷɜ́*)	*ɐʁʷɜ́łɜ*
	TE: also *ʃɜ́łɜ ~ ʃɜłɜ́*	TE: also *ɕʷɜ́łɜ ~ ɕʷɜłɜ́*	(relat.: *ɐʁʷɜ́łɜ-nɜ*)
	OG: *ʃiʁʷɜ*	OG: *ɕʷiʁʷɜ*	

Table 3. The free personal pronouns.

to *sχʷɜ* or even just *χʷɜ* (Dumézil 1965:205); all speakers tended to do the same to *w(i)ʁʷɜ́*, often reducing it to *ʁʷɜ* (Vogt 1963:205). The plural forms *ʃɜ́łɜ ~ ʃɜłɜ́* 'we, us' and *ɕʷɜ́łɜ ~ ɕʷɜłɜ́* 'you (pl.) are unique to the idiolect of TE; all other speakers of Ubykh condemned their use (Vogt 1963:180, 189), and when brought to TE's attention by other speakers he accepted the correction (Dumézil 1959a:29), but they remained his basic forms for these pronouns, being the only forms generally found in Hewitt's (1974) recordings. In OG's dialect, the usual first- and second-person plural forms were *ʃiʁʷɜ* and *ɕʷiʁʷɜ* (Dumézil 1965:269). Also, a free second-person singular pronoun *χɜʁʷɜ́* is noted by Mészáros (1934:384), carrying the same jocular or teasing sense as the related possessive prefix *χɜ-* (§2.2.1.3) and pronominal agreement-prefix *χɜ-* (§2.6.1.1.1). However, according to Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:77) this pronoun was by 1975 utterly obsolete, no longer being found even in archaic usage.

The remaining forms in the first and second persons are the basic and universally accepted free pronouns, which do not have distinct relational-case forms[40]:

si-nɜ́-n   *siʁʷɜ́ zɜ-dʒfʷi:pɕi:di:ʃ:ɕ́w Ø-s-χʲɜ́-j-n-ʃi-n* (TE)
1sPOSS-mother-ERG   me   one-pullover   3sABS-1sOBL-BEN-PVB-3sERG-make-PRES
'my mother is making a pullover for me' (Hewitt 1974)

ʁʷɜ   *zɜ-gʷitʃ́ɕ́q'ɜ*   *Ø-s-χʲɜ́-Ø-dzædɜ* (AB)
you(SG)   one-conversation   3sABS-1sOBL-BEN-2sERG-throw
'give me a conversation' (Dumézil 1957:91; Vogt 1963:231)

The plurals *ʃiʁʷɜ́łɜ* and *ɕʷiʁʷɜ́łɜ* ordinarily lose their final -*łɜ* when serving as the possessor in genitive constructions (§2.2.1.3) (Dumézil 1959a:29), and so could be said to possess a morphologically distinct "genitive" case:

ɐ-zɜ:jɜ   *ʃiʁʷɜ*   *ʃi-ʂɜ:łi-n*   *ʁɜ-bʁʲɜ-ʁɜ*   *ɐ-ʃ-q'ɜ* (İH)
the-fight us(GEN) 1pPOSS-blanket-OBL 3sPOSS-top-LOC 3sABS-become-PAST
   vs.   …   *Ø-Ø-bʁʲɜ-ʃ-q'ɜ* (TE)
                              3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-become-PAST
'the fight was about our blanket' (Dumézil 1960a:43, 48)

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[40] All NWC languages, and indeed most other Caucasian languages, also generally lack an ergative-absolutive distinction in personal pronouns (Hewitt 2005:104; van den Berg 2005:162-163).

though such disfixation appears to be optional:

ɕʷiʁʷзɬз   ɕʷi-qˤɐɕi(-nз)-ʁз   (TE)
you(PL)   2pPOSS-village(-PL)-LOC
'in your (pl.) village' (Dumézil 1959a:29)

The free pronouns are somewhat emphatic when coreferenced by pronominal verbal prefixes:

siʁʷз́   dɐʁʷз́   si-wiɕз́-n[41]   (TE)
I   thus   1sABS-think-PRES
'I myself think so' (Hewitt 1974)

ji-χɐtз   sʁʷз   ɐ-s-ʧikʷɐ-ti-n   (HKo)
this-waterskin   I   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.standing(SG)-CONV
ɐ-z-w-ɐj-bз…
3sABS-1sERG-bring-ITER-IRR.PROT
'if it is I who brings this waterskin on my shoulders again…' (Dumézil 1965:164)

though emphasis can also be provided overtly by the emphasising clitic -$g^j i$ (§2.2.1.6):

ʃiʁʷзɬз-$g^j i$ t'qʷ'з-ʣɐʣ-bззpз   Ø-wi-ʃ-tʷ-зw:t   (AH)
we-EMPH   two-bee-wing   3sABS-2sOBL-1pERG-give(SG)-FUT.II
'we ourselves will give you two bee wings' (Dumézil 1959a:40)

The third-person free pronouns ɐʁʷз́ (singular) and ɐʁʷз́ɬз (plural) differ in two key aspects from the first- and second-person forms. Firstly, they are much more strongly emphatic than the pronouns in the other persons, so much so that the basic third-person pronouns are in practice supplied by proximal and distal demonstratives (§2.3.2) (Dumézil 1959a:16):

ɐʁʷз   зз-pχ̂з-g^jiʁi-n   (AH)
he(EMPH)[.OBL]   3sPOSS-daughter-INTENS-OBL
'to his very own daughter' (Dumézil 1957:71)

ɬзw[з]-зwni   ɐʁʷз́ɬз   Ø-di-bjз-q'з́:jɬз   tɕitɕз   (TE)
far[.OBL]-INSTR   them(EMPH)   3pABS-REL-see-PLUP.PL.NFIN   people
'the people who had seen those ones from afar' (Hewitt 1974)

However, here again the overt emphatic marker -$g^j i$ can be added for further emphasis:

_____

[41] Hewitt's (1974) Turkish prompt *ben kendim böyle düşünüyorum* demonstrates the emphatic nature
of this construction:

ben   kendi-m   b:öyle   düşün-üyor-um
I   self-1sPOSS in.this.way think-PRES-1sNOMINATIVE
'I myself think so' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐʁʷɜ́łɜ-gʲi　　　　*ɐ-jtɕʷʾɐ-kʲɜ́:xɜ-nɜ-n*　　　　　*ɐ-tɕʷɜ-qʾɜ́-n*　　　　(TE)
they(EMPH)-EMPH　　3pABS-PVB-be.standing(PL)-PL-CONV　　3pABS-sleep-PAST-PL
'they themselves lay down and slept' (Hewitt 1974)

The other major difference between these pronouns and the first- and second-person free pronouns is that both *ɐʁʷɜ́* and *ɐʁʷɜ́łɜ* can be declined in the relational case:

ɐʁʷɜ́-n　　　　*Ø-Ø-ʤɐ́-tʷ-qʾɜ*　　　　　　　*ʁɜ-pχʲɜ́ʃʷ*　　　　(AB)
he(EMPH)-OBL　　3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.standing-PAST[.NFIN]　　3sPOSS-woman
'his wife, who had stood by his own side' (Dumézil 1957:79; Vogt 1963:230)

ɐʁʷɜłɜ́-nɜ　　　　*ɐʁɜ-gʲɜ́*　　　*Ø-ɐ-ʃx[ɜ]-ɐ́ji-qʾɜ*　　　　(TE)
they(EMPH.PL)-ERG.PL　　3pPOSS-self　　3sABS-3pERG-wound-ITER-PAST
'they wounded themselves' (Hewitt 1974)

2.3.2. Demonstrative pronouns and determiners

The complexity of deictic systems in the autochthonous Caucasian languages range from simple two-way systems up to the six-way system exhibited by Godoberi[42]; Ubykh's system is of the simplest type, exhibiting only a two-way distinction between proximal and distal reference. As with the personal pronouns (§2.3.1), the demonstrative pronouns of Ubykh have distinct plural forms; each demonstrative also has a reduced prefixing form, which is utilised as a determiner and attached to an overt noun phrase.

	Free (pronouns)		*Bound (determiners)*	
	Proximal	**Distal**	**Proximal**	**Distal**
Singular	*jinɜ́*	*wɜnɜ́*	*ji-*	*wɜ-*
Plural	*jiłɜ́*	*wɜłɜ́*	*jiłɜ-*	*wɜłɜ-*

Table 4. Demonstrative pronouns and determiners.

The free demonstratives are the most unmarked means of referring pronominally to third-person arguments in Ubykh sentences, as the equivalent personal pronouns have come to acquire an inherently emphatic sense (§2.3.1):

jinɜ　　*dɐʁɜ-Ø-s-qʷʾɜ-ɕ[ɜ]-ɐlɜ*　　　　*pqi-ʧʾ-pqi:ʧʾi-ni*　　　　(AH)
this　　SUB-3sABS-1sERG-seize-CONV-COM　　bone-morsel-REDUPL-ADV
ɐ-j-s-ʃ-ɜw:t
3sABS-PVB-1sERG-do-FUT.I
'when I grab him [lit. 'this'], I will tear him to pieces' (Dumézil 1957:55)

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[42] The Godoberi demonstrative system distinguishes 'this (near speaker)', 'that (near listener)', 'that (distal from speaker)', 'that (distal from listener)', 'that (downwards)' and 'that (aforementioned)' (van den Berg 2005:164).

wзnз-gʲɨ   Ø-z-bjз-q'ɜ́-mз,   *ʣɜ́:mз* Ø-z-bjз-q'ɜ́-mз   (TE)
that-EMPH   3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST-NEG   other   3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST-NEG
'I saw neither him [lit. 'that'] nor anyone else' (Hewitt 1974)

Unlike the personal pronouns in the first and second person, the free demonstrative pronouns may take an overt relational-case marker in both singular and plural:

jinɜ́-n   *ʃɪʁʷɬз*   *ʃɪ-Ø-s̮ɜ́-ʣ[з]-ɐj-n[з]-зw:mɪ:t*   (AB)
this-OBL   we   1pABS-3sOBL-PVB-fall-ITER-PL-FUT.II.NEG
'we will not escape from him again' (Dumézil 1957:91; Vogt 1963:186)

wзɬɜ́-nз   *w-ɐ́-tɕʷi-m-gʲigʲз-ɕз*   *ɐ́-tɕʷjз-ʁз*   *wi-ɕɜ́-w*   (TE)
those-OBL.PL 2sABS-3pOBL-MAL-NEG-be.afraid-CONV   the-house-LOC 2sABS-PVB-enter
'go into the house and do not be afraid of them' (Dumézil 1967:112)

The prefixing forms are functionally demonstrative determiners. As such, they can appear prefixed to nouns, in the position that can otherwise be occupied by the definite article (§2.2.1.2), and naturally these bound forms of the demonstratives do not decline for case, such marking being suffixed to the noun instead:

jɨ-bˤɜ́qˤ'   (TE)
this-hat
'this hat' (Hewitt 1974)

wɜ́-mɕʷ[з]-зwn   (TE)
that-day[.OBL]-INSTR
'on that day' (Hewitt 1974)

jɨɬɜ́-mɨz-nз   (TE)
these-child-OBL.PL
'these children (obl.)' (Hewitt 1974)

wзɬɜ́-mɨz   (TE)
those-child
'those children' (Dumézil and Esenç 1987:4)

The demonstrative determiners precede both possessive prefixes (§2.2.1.3) and cardinal numerals (§2.4.2.1):

jɨ-ʃɨ-bɨj:ʃʷ   (TE)
this-1pPOSS-lamb
'this lamb of ours' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:340)

wɜ-ɕɜ-mɕʷɜ (İH)
that-three-day
'those three days' (Dumézil 1957:58)

2.3.3. Alternative pronouns

The basic Ubykh alternative pronoun ('other, another') is *ɐ́jdʒ* (sg.) ~ *ɐ́jɬʒ* (pl.), which may be declined:

ɐjdʒ   *ʁɜ-zɜdʒʒ-gʲi*   *bˤʒfim-ʁʷɜːqʼʒ-n-gʲɐtɕʼ*   *Ø-lɜ-tʷ-qʼʒ* (TE)
other   3sPOSS-half-EMPH   silk-yellow-OBL-like   3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PAST
'as for the other half of it, it was rather like yellow silk' (Dumézil 1959a:59)

ɕʷibˤʒ   *ɐjdʒ*   *Ø-ɐ-f-ʒwːt-i*   *ɐ-lɜ-ni-wːtʷʼi-n…* (HKo)
bread   other   3sABS-3pERG-eat-FUT.II-NFIN   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-take.out.DYN.SG-CONV
'taking out some bread [and] other [things] for them to eat…' (Dumézil 1962b:142)

ɐ́jɬʒ-nɜ   *Ø-ɐ-dɨ-χʒχʒ-qʼʒ* (TE)
other(PL)-OBL.PL   3pABS-3sERG-CAUS-shock-PAST
'the others surprised him' (Dumézil 1967:53)

Often, it is found coupled with the clitic verb *-χ(i)* (sg.) ~ *-(w)χʷʒ* (pl.) (§3.3.2.9.3). In this case, in its strictest interpretation the complex means 'belonging to another', but in practice it is often used nominally, as a synonym of the lone pronominal:

ɐ́jdʒ-χi-n   *wɜnɕ́*   *Ø-Ø-f-ʒwːt* (TE)
other-belonging.to(SG)-ERG   that   3sABS-3sERG-eat-FUT.II
'the other one will eat that' (Dumézil 1967:187)

si-zɜ-lɐ́kʷʼm[ʒ]-ʒwn   *Ø-Ø-ʁʒtsʼʒ-w-ɕ́w-mʒ* (TE)
1sPOSS-one-ear[.OBL]-INSTR   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(SG)-FUT.I-CONV
ɐjdʒ-χ   *lɐ́kʷʼm[ʒ]-ʒwn*   *Ø-Ø-ʁʒtsʼʒ-tʷʼ-ɐ́j-ʒw*
other-belonging.to(SG)   ear[.OBL]-INSTR   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-leave-ITER-FUT.I
'it will go in one of my ears and out of the other' (Dumézil 1967:54)

w[ʒ]-ɐjdʒ-χ-titi-n-gʲi (unkn.)
that-other-belonging.to(SG)-man-ERG-EMPH
'as for that other man (erg.)' (Dumézil 1965:69)

Another very common alternative pronoun is *dʑɕ́mʒ ~ dʑʒmɕ́* 'other one, another one', which is originally from a negated form of the copular clitic *-dʑ(ʒ)* (§3.2.3.1) and as such seems to most usually surface in conjunction with negative verbs:

wɜnɜ-gʲɨ   Ø-*z-bjɜ-q'ɜ́-mɜ,*   *ʥɜ́:mɜ*   Ø-*z-bjɜ-q'ɜ́-mɜ*   (TE)
that-EMPH   3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST-NEG   other   3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST-NEG
'I saw neither him nor anyone else' (Hewitt 1974)

wɨ-nɜ   *ʦ'ɜ-nɨ*   Ø-*w-bjɜ́-n-dɜ*   *ʥɜ:mɜ́*   *ʁɜ́-nɜ-n*   (TE)
2sPOSS-mother good-ADV   3sABS-2sERG-see-PRES-PROT other[.OBL]   3sPOSS-mother-OBL
wɨ-ʁ[ɜ]-ɛ́-m-ʨʷχˤɜ
2sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-NEG-insult
'if you love your mother, do not insult the mother of another'

                                        (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:142)

ʥɜ:mɜ   *ʁ[ɜ]-ɐʨʷi-n*   *ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ*   (TE)
other   3sPOSS-ill-ADV   3sABS-PVB-go-PAST[.NFIN]
Ø-*lɜ-mi-t*
3sABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'there is no other damage that came from it' (Dumézil 1962b:66)

2.3.4. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

The only dedicated reflexive pronoun in Ubykh is *gʲɜ* '(one's) self', which is used only in reflexive relationships involving the ergative argument. It may appear in either the direct or oblique object position, marked with the relevant possessive prefix (§2.2.1.3):

si-gʲɜ́   Ø-*pɕɨ-si-ʃ-ɜw*   (TE)
1sPOSS-self   3sABS-warm-3sERG-make-FUT.I
'I will warm myself' (Dumézil 1967:68)

kʷ'imíji-n   *ʁɜ-gʲɜ́*   (*ɐ-*)*j-n-ʃi-n…*   (TE)
mosquito-ADV   3sPOSS-self   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-make-CONV
'he turning himself into a mosquito…' (Dumézil and Esenç 1978:52)

si-gʲɜ́-n   *si-ʁ[ɜ]-ɛ́-m-gʲɐʁɜ-lɜ-n*   (TE)
1sPOSS-self-OBL   1sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-NEG-have.confidence-EXH-PRES
'I am not completely sure of myself' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:55)

ɐ-pχʲɜ́dɨkʷ'   *ʁɜ-gʲɜ́-n*   (TE)
the-young.woman[.OBL]   3sPOSS-self-OBL
*mɐ-*Ø-Ø-*χʲɜ-miʁʷˤɜ*   *ɐ-ʃʷɜʧɜ-msɜ*   *ɐ-kʲ'ɜ-n*
where-3sABS-3sOBL-BEN-unlucky[.STAT.PRES.NFIN] 3sABS-laugh-CONV 3sABS-go-PRES
'the young woman goes laughing where it is unfortunate for herself' (Dumézil 1974:21)

However, the noun *ʂɜ* 'head' also finds use as a reflexive pseudo-pronoun, a usage perhaps influenced by a similar usage of Abkhaz *a-χɜ́* (Abzhywa) ~ *a-χˤɜ́* (Bzyp) 'id.':

ɐ-títi-n   *ʁɜ-ṣɔ́*   *tṣ'ɜ-n*   *Ø-Ø-bj[ɜ]-ėji-n*   (TE)

the-man-ERG   3sPOSS-head   good-ADV   3sABS-3sERG-see-ITER-PRES

'the man admires himself' (Hewitt 1974)

zɜ:wɜ:tɕ'ɜ:q'ɜ   *Ø-di-q'ɐ-ʁ-i*   *ʁɜ-ṣɜ-n*   (unkn.)

knowledge   3sABS-REL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-NFIN   3sPOSS-head-OBL

Ø-Ø-lɜ-ṣɜtχʷ[ɜ]-ɜw:mi:t

3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-praise-FUT.II.NEG

'[a person] who has good judgment will not praise themselves'

(Mészáros 1934:155; Dumézil 1960a:87)

Reflexivity between the absolute and oblique arguments is expressed by the use of a special reflexive pronominal prefix *zɜ-* (§2.6.1.1.3.1).

Reciprocality is also expressed morphologically (§2.6.1.1.3.2), but may be reinforced by the phrase *zɐlɔ́ zɐlɔ́* 'each other' (literally, 'one and one'):

z[ɜ]-ɐlɔ́   *z[ɜ]-ɐlɔ́*   *tṣ'ɜ-n*   *ʃi-zɜ-bj[ɜ]-ė-n*   (TE)

one-COM   one-COM   good-ADV   1pABS-RECIP.ERG-see-PL-PRES

'we love one another' (Hewitt 1974)

2.3.5. Interrogative and relative pronouns

Ubykh has a rich array of interrogative and relative pronouns serving in many types of functions; core arguments of the verb may also be relativised by intraverbal means (§3.3.2.8).

2.3.5.1. Interrogative pronouns

The most basic interrogative pronouns are *ʃi* 'who?' and *sɜ ~ sɐ́kʲɜ ~ sɐ́kʲɨ* 'what?'. Each of these pronouns may behave morphosyntactically as does any other noun, being capable of serving as a substantive predicate (§2.6.13.1) and able to be declined in any case:

jinɔ́   *ʃi-n*   *ji-Ø-ɕʷ-tʷ-q'ɔ́-nɜ-j?*   (TE)

this   who-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-2pERG-give(SG)-PAST-PL-INTERR

'to whom did you give this' (Hewitt 1974)

wi-di-łq'ɜ-dʒ   *Ø-sɐkʲɜ-j?*   (HKo)

you-REL-PVB-be.with[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   3sABS-what[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR

'what is it that you're looking for?' (Dumézil 1959b:105)

though *ʃi* and *sɜ* in the absolute case may become affixed to the verb they are governed by:

ʃi-t   *Ø-ɐ-tɕ'ɜ-q'ɜ-mɜ*   (HÇ)

who-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   3sABS-3sERG-know-PAST-NEG

'he did not know who it was' (Dumézil 1931:127)

ʁ[ɜ]-étɕʷɨ-n   sɜ-j-kʲ'ɜ-nɨ-j?   (unkn.)
3sPOSS-detriment-ADV   what-PVB-go-PRES-INTERR
'what evil is he doing?' (Mészáros 1934:342; Vogt 1963:101)

dɜq'ɜ   s[ɜ]-ɐ-w-q'[ɜ]-ɜw:tɨ-n   (TE)
PART   what-3pOBL-2sERG-say-FUT.II-CONV
Ø-Ø-q'ɜʂɜ-ʁ-q'ɜ-j?
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)-PAST-INTERR
'so what did he want you to say to them?' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:341)

Combined with a following noun in a tatpurusha compound (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1), *sékʲɜ ~ sékʲɨ* gives the equivalent of 'what kind of':

ɕʷɨ-sékʲɨ-tɕitɕɜ-nɜ-j?   (TE)
2pABS-what-people[.STAT.PRES]-PL-INTERR
'what kind of people are you?' (Dumézil 1967:114)

jɨnɜ́   Ø-sɐkʲɜ-qʷˤ'ɨ-j?   (İb)
this   3sABS-what-hair[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
'what kind of hair is this?' (Dumézil 1931:155)

The pronoun *sɜ* is the base for several other interrogative forms: *sɜ́(n)gʲɐfɨ ~ sɜ(n)gʲɐfɨ* 'how many? how much?', *sɜ́(n)gʲɐχʷɜ́ ~ sɜ(n)gʲɐχʷɜ́* 'id.', *sédzɜ* 'which?', *sébɜ* 'why?', *sɜ́wnɨ* 'in what way?, how?, why?':

Ø-sɜ-n-gʲɐχʷɜ́-j?   (TE)
3sABS-what-OBL-as.much.as[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
'how many were they?' (Vogt 1963:174)

sédzɜ   ʧɨ   ɐ-ʦ'ɜfɜ́-tʷ-q'ɜ-j?   (TE)
which   horse   3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PAST-INTERR
'which horse came first?' (Hewitt 1974)

wɨʁʷɜ́   wɨ-ʧɨ   Ø-sédzɜ-j?   (TE)
you(SG)   2sPOSS-horse   3sABS-which-INTERR
'which [one] is your horse?' (Charachidzé 1989a:381)

jɨɬɜ́-mɨz-nɜ   sɜ́-n-gʲɐfɨ   ɕʷɜ́ɬɜ   (TE)
these-child-OBL.PL   what-OBL-as.much.as   you(PL)
Ø-ɕʷɨ-χɨ-nɜ-j?
3sABS-2pOBL-belong.to(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-PL-INTERR
'how many of these children belong to you?' (Hewitt 1974)

sʁʷɜ   sébɜ   ji-zɜ́-q'[ɜ]-ɐlɜ   si-(Ø-)ɕɜ-nɐ-qʷ'ɜ-q'ɜ́-j?   (TE)

I   why   this-one-place-COM   1sABS-(3sOBL-)PVB-3pERG-hold-PAST-INTERR

'why did they lock me in this place?' (Dumézil 1967:177)

ji-tít   s[ɜ]-ɜwnɨ   ɐ-w-χʲɜ-lɜ:tí-j?   (unkn.)

this-man   what[.OBL]-INSTR 3sABS-2sOBL-BEN-be[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR

'how is this man related to you?' (Mészáros 1934:381; Vogt 1963:138)

The other interrogative pronouns are morphologically opaque. *ɕɜʁʲɜ́* 'when?, at what time?' always stands alone, usually at the beginning of the sentence:

ɕɜʁʲɜ́   Ø-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɐj-ɜw:tí-j?   (TE)

when   3sABS-go-ITER-FUT.II-INTERR

'when will he go again?' (Vogt 1963:177)

The pronouns for 'how?, in which way?' and 'where?', by contrast, each exhibit a free form and a bound verbal prefixing form. 'Where?' is *mɐ́kʲ'ɜ* in its free form, which serves as the base for *mɐ́kʲ'ɜwn(ɨ)* 'whence?, from where?'; the bound prefixing form is *mɐ-*, which serves as the base for *mɐ́dɜkʲ'ɜ* 'whither?, to where?', and also *mɐ́ʁɜ* 'id.', though the latter was rejected by TE (Dumézil 1965:233):

jɨ́-bzɨ   ʁɜ́-dʒɜ:ʁʷɜ:ʃʷɜ   mɐ́kʲ'ɜ-dʑɜ-j?   (TE)

this-water   3sPOSS-ford   where-COP[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR

'where is the ford of this river?' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955a:10)

mɐ́kʲ'[ɜ]-ɜwnɨ   w-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ́-j?   (TE)

where[.OBL]-INSTR   2sABS-go-PAST-INTERR

'where did you go from?' (Vogt 1963:146)

mɐ́-ɕʷɨ-lɜ-xɜ-nɜ-j?   (TE)

where-2pABS-PVB-be.standing(PL)[.STAT.PRES]-PL-INTERR

'where are you?' (Hewitt 1974)

mɐ:dɜkʲ'ɜ   sɨ-w-w-ɜw:tɨ-j?   (HÇ)

whither   1sABS-2sERG-bring-FUT.II-INTERR

'where will you take me to?' (Dumézil 1931:113)

'How?, in which way?' is in its free form *d(ʁ)ɜn(ɨ)* in the speech of most speakers; in its bound form it is *d(ʁ)ɜ-*, which also serves as the verbal complementising prefix (§3.3.2)[43]:

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[43] The Abkhaz prefix *ʂ(ə)-* 'how; in which way' (cp. the derived interrogative *ʂ:pa-* 'how?') acts as a complementiser in much the same way (Chirikba 2003:69; Hewitt 2005b:346).

ʃʷɜ-kʷɜbʒɜ   *dɜ:n*   *Ø-Ø-kʷ'-ɜwɨ-j?*   (TE)
hundred-man   how   3sABS-3sERG-kill-FUT.I-INTERR
'how will it kill a hundred men?' (Dumézil 1962b:66)

d(ʁ)ɜ:nɨ   *Ø-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ́-j?*   (TE)
how   3sABS-PVB-go-PAST-INTERR
'how did he come?' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:200)

dʁɜ-Ø-w-ʃ-q'ɜ́-j?   (TE)
how-3sABS-2sERG-do-PAST-INTERR
'how did you do it?' (Vogt 1963:113)

though Dumézil (1965:269) notes that in OG's speech, only *dɜ-* is possible:

wɨ-kʲɜf   *dɜ-Ø-lɜ-tɨ-j?*   (OG)
2sPOSS-mood   how-3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
'how are you?' (Dumézil 1965:269)

2.3.5.2. Relative pronouns
2.3.5.2.1. Specific relative pronouns

Most of the interrogative pronouns (§2.3.5.1) may also be used morphologically unchanged in both relative and indirect interrogative contexts:

sɜ   *ʁɜ-bjɜ:ɬ[ɜ]-ɜwnɨ*   *ɐ-w-bj[ɜ]-ɜw:t-ɨ*   (HKo)
what[.OBL]   3sPOSS-way.of.seeing[.OBL]-INSTR   3sABS-2sERG-see-FUT.II-NFIN
sɨ-dʒiɬɜ-ʁɜ:ʒʷɨ-n   *ɐ-wɨ-n-q'[ɜ]-ɜw*
1sPOSS-brother-elder-ERG   3sABS-2sOBL-3sERG-say-FUT.I
'my elder brother is going to ask in what way you'll see him' (Dumézil 1959b:105)

ɕɜʁʲɜ   *sɨ-j-dʒ-ɜw:t*   *ɐ-sɨ-m-tɕ'ɜ-n*   (TE)
when   1sABS-PVB-return-FUT.II[.NFIN]   3sABS-1sERG-NEG-know-PRES
'I do not know when I will come back' (Dumézil 1965:76)

sébɜ-dʐɜ   *ɐ-sɨ-m-tɕ'ɜ́-n*   (TE)
why-COP[.STAT.PRES].NFIN   3sABS-1sERG-NEG-know-PRES
'I do not know why it is' (Dumézil 1957:50)

ɐ-zɜwʐ-gʲɨ   *mɐ-[ɐ-]lɜ́-xɜ-nɜ-n*   *ɐ-lɜ́-gʲi:xɜ-nɜ-gʲɐqʷ'*   (TE)
the-all-EMPH   where-3pABS-PVB-be.standing(PL)-PL-CONV   3pABS-PVB-remain-PL-HORT
'let everyone remain where he is' (Hewitt 1974)

However, the interrogative pronouns *sɜ* ~ *sékʲɜ* ~ *sékʲɨ* 'what?', *sɜ́(n)gʲɐfɨ* ~ *sɜ(n)gʲɐfɨ* 'how many? how much?', *sɜ́(n)gʲɐχʷɜ́* ~ *sɜ(n)gʲɐχʷɜ́* 'id.', *sébɜ* 'why?' and *sɜ́wnɨ* 'in what way?,

how?, why?' also have dedicated specifically relative equivalents, *dikʲ3* 'what', *digʲɐfɨ* 'how many', *digʲɐχʷ3́* 'id.', *dɨb3* 'why' and *dɔ́wnɨ* 'about what, for what, why', respectively:

    jɨn3́   *dikʲ3*   Ø-*si-m-tɕ'3-n*   (TE)
    this   what   3sABS-1sERG-NEG-know-PRES
    'I don't know what this is' (Vogt 1963:114)

    di-gʲɐχʷ3   *tfɨ*   Ø-*l3-tɨ-ʃ3-gʲɨ*   (unkn.)
    REL-as.much.as   horse   3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-CONV-EMPH
    'however many horses there were' (Dumézil 1959a:23)

    dɨb3   *wi-ʃʷ3tʃ3-q'3*   *ɐ-si-w-m-q'3-b3...*   (HKo)
    why   2sABS-laugh-PAST[.NFIN]   3sABS-1sOBL-2sERG-NEG-say[.PRES]-IRR.PROT
    'if you do not tell me why you laughed…' (Dumézil 1957:19)

    d3   *d-3wni*   *si-w-ɐ-ʣʁ[3]-3w:t-ɨ*   *ɐ-si-Ø-q'3*   (HKo)
    now   REL-INSTR   1sABS-2sOBL-PVB-ask-FUT.II-NFIN   3sABS-1sOBL-2sERG-say
    'now tell me what I will be asking you about' (Dumézil 1962b:113)

2.3.5.2.2. Indefinite relative pronouns

There are no dedicated indefinite relative pronouns. However, interrogative pronouns may also have indefinite relative sense when they appear in constructions with non-finite tense-marked verbs or with *-ʃ3*-converbs with the nominal emphatic suffix *-gʲɨ* (§3.3.2.9.1).

2.3.6. Indefinite pronouns

There are two dedicated indefinite pronouns in Ubykh: *mɔ́ʃ3* 'each, every, each one' and *miʃ3dɔ́* 'a thing, something', which latter is also used as a placeholder noun or cadigan (§3.5).

    mɔ́ʃ3   *ʁ3́-tɕʷj3-ʁ3*   *ɐ-kʲ'[3]-ɕji-q'3*   (HKo)
    each[.OBL]   3sPOSS-house-LOC   3sABS-go-ITER-PAST
    'each of them went back to their house' (Dumézil 1957:43; Vogt 1963:146)

    mɔ́ʃ3-n   *jɨ́-Ø-s-q'3-q'3*   (TE)
    each-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-say-PAST
    'I said it to each one' (Vogt 1963:146)

    ɕ-mʃ3d3   (unkn.)
    the-thing
    'the thing' (Mészáros 1934:241)

mɔ́ʃ3 is not specified for person, and so it can be coreferenced with non-third-person pronominal prefixes:

mɜʃɜ   *ɕʷɨ-q'ɜʃʷɜq'ɜ-nɜ-ʁɜ*   *ɕʷ-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɐj-nɜ-n*   (HKo)
each   2pPOSS-place-PL-LOC   2pABS-go-ITER-PL-CONV

ɕʷɨ-jtɕʷ'ɐ-kʲɜ:x[ɜ]-ɐji-n
2pABS-PVB-be.standing.DYN(PL)-ITER-PL

'each of you go back to your place and lie down!' (Dumézil 1962b:4)

The usual equivalents of other indefinite pronouns are periphrastic, the most common being *zɜgʷɜrɜ́* 'someone, something' and *zɜ́q'ɐlɜ ~ zɜq'ɐlɜ́* 'somewhere':

ɐ-χʷˤɜ-nɜ   *Ø-ɐ-pɫ[ɜ]-ɜw:ti-n*   *zɜ-gʷɜrɜ*   *Ø-Ø-ʁʷɜw-q'ɜ*   (ŞG)
the-pig-OBL.PL   3sABS-3pOBL-watch-FUT.II-CONV   one-certain   3sABS-3sERG-find-PAST

'he found someone to watch the pigs' (Dumézil 1965:155)

tɨtɨ-n   *Ø-Ø-mɨ-bjɜ-ɕɜ*   *zɜ-q'[ɜ]-ɐlɜ*   (HKo)
person-ERG   3sABS-3sERG-NEG-see-CONV   one-place-COM

wɨ-z-dɐq'-ɐj-bɜ   *Ø-tɕɜ:l*
2sABS-1sERG-hide[.PRES]-ITER-IRR.PROT   3sABS-better[.STAT.PRES]

'it is better if I hide you somewhere nobody will see' (Dumézil 1962b:28)

The functions of many other indefinite relatives are served by interrogative pronouns in non-finite verb phrases marked with the emphatic suffix *-gʲɨ* (§3.3.1.2; §3.3.2.9.1).

2.3.7. Negative pronouns
There are no dedicated negative pronouns; the ordinary equivalents are periphrastic, using various noun phrases with the emphatic marker *-gʲɨ* (§2.2.1.6) in conjunction with negative verbs. The most important are *zɜgʲɨ* (in the relational case, *zɜngʲɨ*) 'no-one, nothing' (lit. 'even one'), *zɜq'ɐlɜgʲɨ* 'nowhere' (lit. 'even (in) one place') and *zɜkʲ'ɜgʲɨ* 'never' (lit. 'even once'):

zɜ-gʲɨ   *Ø-Ø-q'ɐ́-mɨ-ʁ*   (TE)
one-EMPH   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-NEG-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]

'he has nobody' (Hewitt 1974)

zɜ-n-gʲɨ-n[44]   *ɨ-Ø-nɨ-m-q'ɜ-ɕɜ…*   (İb)
one-OBL-EMPH-OBL!   3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-NEG-say-CONV

'without having said it to anyone…' (Dumézil 1931:181)

zɜ-q'[ɜ]-ɐlɜ-gʲɨ   *ɐ-kʲ'ɜ́-n[ɜ]-ɜw:mɨ:t*   (TE)
one-place-COM-EMPH   3pABS-go-PL-FUT.II.NEG

'they go nowhere' (Hewitt 1974)

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[44] The expected form is *zɜ-n-gʲɨ*; İb's form may simply be an error (as Dumézil (1931:181) proposed), or may be a sign that *zɜngʲɨ* was becoming lexified as a distinct indefinite pronoun in İb's speech.

zɜ:kʲ'ɜ-gʲɨ   *ɕʷɨ-j-mɨ́-kʲ'*[ɜ]-ɐ-n   (TE)
once-EMPH   2pABS-PVB-NEG-go-PL-PRES
'you never come' (Hewitt 1974)

though a directly negated form *zɜgʲɨ́mɜ* 'nothing' (lit. '(it is) not even one') has been attested:

«*ɕʷɜɬɜ́*   *sɜ-zʷ-ʁɜ-tʷ'ɜ-q'ɜ́-nɜ-j?*»   …   «*Ø-zɜ-gʲɨ́-mɜ*»   (TE)
you(PL)   what-2pOBL-PVB-arrive-PAST-PL-INTERR   3sABS-one[.STAT.PRES]-EMPH-NEG
'"What happened to you?"… "[It is] nothing"' (Dumézil 1967:53)

2.4. Quantification
2.4.1. Quantifiers
Most of the usual quantifiers in Ubykh are formally adjectives (§2.2.2), being postposed to the noun they modify. The most important are *bɐdɜ* 'all, every, the whole of', *zɜwz̧ɨ* 'id.' (and its rare variant *zɜwqʷ'ɨ*), *zɐwɨlɜ* 'a few, several', *jɜdɜ́* 'many, much', *şɜşin ~ şɜşiní* 'each, every', *t'ɜkʷ'* 'a little, a few', *mɜʧ'(ɨ)* 'id.', and perhaps also *zɜʧ'ɨ* 'nothing but, completely':

ɐ-qˤɐɬɜ́-bɐdɜ (TE) 'all of the fortress' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955b:441; Vogt 1963:217)
ɐ-ʃʷɜ-zɜwz̧ɨ-gʲɨ (TE) 'the whole ocean' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:69)
ɐ-qˤɐɕ-zɜwqʷ'ɨ-nɜ-gʲɨ (AH) 'all of the village[r]s' (Dumézil 1957:70)
ʃʷɨq'ɜ́-zɐwɨlɜ (TE) 'a few books' (Hewitt 1974)
bzɨ́-jɜdɜ (TE) 'a lot of water' (Dumézil and Esenç 1977b:22)
miɕʷɜ-şɜşiní (TE) 'each day, every day' (Hewitt 1974)
ʤɜ-t'ɜkʷ' (HKo) 'a little bit of torment' (Dumézil 1957:17)
zɜ-şɜwdɜ-mɜʧ'-gʷɜrɜ (HKo) 'a little bit of cloud' (Dumézil 1961c:48)
Ø-zʷɨmts'ɜ-zɜʧ'ɨ-jt' (TE) 'she was covered in mud' (Dumézil 1959a:33)

jɜdɜ́ 'much, many' may also act more like a numeral[45] and be prefixed to the noun:

jɜdɜ-tɨt   *Ø-Ø-blɜ-nɐ-kʷ'-q'ɜ*   (TE)
many-man   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3pERG-kill-PAST
'they killed many men in it' (Dumézil 1962b:67)

The head of such an overt quantifier may be treated as grammatically singular:

wɜnɜ-ʤɜ-dɜ   *fɜʧ'ɨ-zɐwɨlɜ*   *ɐ-s-χʲɜ-j-Ø-ʃ*   (TE)
that-COP[.STAT.PRES]-PROT   cheese-several   3sABS-1sOBL-BEN-PVB-2sERG-make
'if that is the case, make me a few cheeses' (Dumézil 1957:50)

A non-finite form of the verb *q'ɐ-ʁ* 'to have' is also occasionally found as a pseudo-quantifier, which precedes the noun it modifies and has the meaning 'many, much, plenty':

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[45] As it may in other contexts as well, e.g. the multiplicative *jɜdɜ́-mtɕ'ɜ*(-*kʲ'ɜ*) 'many times' (§2.4.2.4).

ɖzɜ:mɜ   q'ɐ:ʁ:ɨ   bzɜ   i-Ø-n-q'ɜ-q'ɜ   (unkn.)
other   many   language   3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-speak-PAST
'he spoke many other languages to them' (Dirr 1928:46; Dumézil 1959a:71)

Note also the following reduplicated variant in the speech of İH:

q'ɐ:ʁ:ɨ-q'ɐ:ʁ:ɨ   lɜndʷɜ   ɐ-w-χʲɜ-n-w-ɜw   (İH)
much-REDUPL   livestock   3sABS-2sOBL-BEN-3sERG-bring(SG)-FUT.I
'he will bring you plenty of livestock' (Dumézil 1957:59)

2.4.2. Numerals
Numerals, unlike quantifiers, are prefixed to the nouns they modify in Ubykh. The numeral
system is fundamentally vigesimal, like most numbering systems in the Caucasus (Hewitt
2005a:137). A wide range of derived numeral forms may also be observed.

2.4.2.1. Cardinal numerals
The cardinal numerals from one to twenty are:

1	zɜ	6	fɨ	11	ʒʷɨzɜ	16	ʒʷɨf
2	t'qʷ'ɜ	7	blɨ	12	ʒʷɨt'qʷ'ɜ	17	ʒʷɨbl
3	ɕɜ	8	ʁʷɜ	13	ʒʷɨɕɜ	18	ʒʷɨʁʷɜ
4	p'ɬ'ɨ	9	bʁʲɨ	14	ʒʷɨp'ɬ'	19	ʒʷɨbʁʲ
5	ʃxɨ	10	ʒʷɨ	15	ʒʷɨʃx	20	t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'ɨ

Note that the element *t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'ɨ* 'twenty' is *t'qʷ'ɜp'ɨ* in the speech of OG (Dumézil 1965:267),
and though Dumézil does not give the forms explicitly, presumably the merging of /ʒʷ/ into
/zʷ/ and /ʁʲ/ into /ʁ/ in OG's dialect (Dumézil 1965:267-268) has also affected the numerals
from nine to nineteen. The numbers from 21 to 39 are formed by *-ɐlɜ*-coordination
(§2.2.1.7.1) of *t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'ɨ* 'twenty' with the appropriate lower cardinal: *t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'-ɐlɜ́ z[ɜ]-ɐlɜ́*
'21', *t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'-ɐlɜ́ t'qʷ'[ɜ]-ɐlɜ́* '22', *t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'-ɐlɜ́ ʒʷɨ:ʁ[ɜ]-ɐlɜ́* '38', *t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'-ɐlɜ́ ʒʷɨ:bʁʲ-ɐlɜ́* '39'.
The noun associated with such a cardinal appears only in composition with its final portion:

t'qʷ'ɜ́tʷ'-ɐlɜ   ɕi-ʃʷ[ɜ]-ɐ́lɜ-n   (TE)
twenty-COM   three-year-COM-OBL(!)
'twenty-three years (obl.)' (Dumézil and Esenç 1977a:14)

and the final comitative-instrumental suffix seems to be deleted when postpositions are added;
this could be due to the underlying presence of a relational-case marker, conditioned by the
postposition, prohibiting the appearance of the comitative-instrumental marker (§2.2.1.5):

t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'-ɐlɜ   ʒʷɨ:blɨ-mɕʷɜ-ʃɐχʲɜ   (AB)
twenty-COM   seventeen-day[.OBL?]-until
'for thirty-seven days' (Dumézil 1959c:152)

Higher numbers are formed by combining this strategy with prefixation of a multiplicative numeral formed with the suffix *-mtɕ'ɜ* (§2.4.2.4) to the element *t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'ɨ* 'twenty': *t'qʷ'ɜ:mtɕ'ɜ-t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'ɨ* '40' (literally 'two-times-twenty'), *t'qʷ'ɜ:mtɕ'ɜ-t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'-ɐlɨ́ z[ɜ]-ɐlɨ́* '41', *ɕɜ:mtɕ'ɜ-t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'ɨ* '60', and so on up to 99 (though alongside *t'qʷ'ɜ:mtɕ'ɜ:t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'-ɐlɨ́ ʒʷ-ɐlɨ́* '50' is found the alternate form *ʃʷɨ́:zɜ(n)ʤɜ* '50', literally 'hundred-half').

Upon reaching 100, powers proceed in base 10, but broadly follow the same patterns. Hundreds (*ʃʷɜ*; in OG's dialect, *ʃxi:mitɕ'ɜ* 'five times' [sc. twenty] (§2.4.2.4)), thousands (*mijn ~ bɨ(j)n*, or *ʒʷɨ́:ʃʷɜ* 'ten-hundred'), tens of thousands (*ʒʷɨ́:mijn*) and millions (*ʒʷɨ́:ʃʷɜ:mijn* 'ten-hundred-thousand') are counted individually (though *ʃʷɜ* alone may represent '100', and '300' is *ɕi-ʃʷɜ* (§1.5.5), not **ɕɜ-ʃʷɜ*) and coordinated with smaller numerals with the comitative-instrumental suffix *-ɐlɜ* (§2.2.1.7.1), the largest powers appearing first:

bɨ́n-ɐlɜ	*bʁʲɨ-ʃʷ[ɜ]-ɐlɜ*	*p'ɫ'ɨ-ʃʷ[ɜ]-ɜwn*	(TE)
thousand-COM	nine-hundred-COM	four-year[.OBL]-INSTR	

'in the year 1904' (Vogt 1963:66)

Cardinals are prefixed to the noun they modify, follow both demonstrative (§2.3.2) and possessive noun prefixes (§2.2.1.3), and as in many other languages, nouns quantified by a numeral usually behave as grammatically singular and do not take plural case-marking:

ʁɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ-q'ɐp'[ɜ]-ɜwn	(TE)
3sPOSS-two-hand[.OBL]-INSTR	

'with his two hands' (Dumézil 1960b:435)

wɜ-ɕɜ-mɕʷɜ	(İH)
that-three-day	

'those three days' (Dumézil 1957:58)

though verbs that govern such complexes vacillate between singular and plural agreement. The singular agreement is more common but both are acceptable in this environment, and the two variants bear no discernible difference of sense (Dumézil and Esenç 1977a:16):

jɨ-t'qʷ'ɨ́-miz-tʂ'ɜ	*Ø-sɨ́-Ø-miɕ[ɜ]-ɜw:t*	(TE)
this-two-child-good	3sABS-1sERG-CAUS-read-FUT.II	
vs. …	*Ø-z-ʁɨ́-miɕɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜw:t*	(TE)
	3sABS-1sERG-CAUS.PL-read-PL-FUT.II	

'I will make these two good children study' (Dumézil and Esenç 1977a:16)

Cardinals may also stand alone as anaphora (§3.4.3.1), and here also take singular agreement:

ɐ-t'qʷ'ɨ́	*Ø-Ø-di-qɨ́rdɜ-n*	*ɨ́-ɕɜ-gʲi*	*Ø-Ø-f-q'ɨ́:jt'*	(TE)
the-two	3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-hide-CONV	the-three-EMPH	3sABS-3sERG-eat-PLUP.SG	

'hiding the two [of them], he ate the [other] three' (Dumézil and Esenç 1978:85)

Multiple prefixed cardinals have approximative meaning ('one or two', 'two or three', etc.):

ʁ[ɜ]-ɜw-pʧɜriχɜ-nɜ   ɐ-nkʲɜ   t'qʷ'ɜ-ɕɜ-kʷɜbʒɜ   (HKo)
3sPOSS-PL-companion-OBL.PL   3pPOSS-from.among   two-three-man
'two or three men from among his companions' (Dumézil 1965:111)

ʒʷɨ:ʃxi-t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'ɨ-kʷ'ɜ   (unkn.)
fifteen-twenty-household
'fifteen to twenty households' (Dumézil 1931:43)

2.4.2.2. Ordinal numerals
Ordinal numbers are formed by adding the singular root of the clitic verb χ(i) (sg.) ~ (w)χʷɜ 'to belong to' (§3.3.2.9.3) to the appropriate cardinal bearing the third-person plural possessive prefix ɐʁɜ- 'their': ɐʁɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ́-χ 'second', ɐʁɜ-ɕɜ́-χ 'third', etc. Like other types of constructions involving this clitic verb, ordinals are also preposed to the noun they modify:

ɐʁɜ-p'ɬ'ɨ-χ   miɕʷɜ́-gʲɨ   (HKo)
3pPOSS-four-belonging.to(SG)   day-EMPH
'the fourth day' (Dumézil 1957:18)

though a complex of a cardinal plus a noun may form the base of ordinals as well:

ɐʁɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ́-mɕʷɜ-χ   (TE)
3pPOSS-two-day-belonging.to(SG)
'the second day' (Charachidzé 1989:417)

Like other forms using the clitic verb -χ (sg.) ~ -χʷɜ (pl.) (see §3.3.2.9.3), an ordinal numeral may occasionally form a single morphological unit with the modified noun:

j-ɐʁɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ́-χi-mɕʷɜ   (TE)
this-3pPOSS-two-belonging.to(SG)-day
'this second day' (Dumézil 1974:28)

The usual ordinals for 'first', ɛ́ntɕʷ'i-χ or ɐʁɜ-ʦ'ɜfɜ́-χ, are based upon the nominals ɐntɕʷ' '(area) before' and ʦ'ɜfɜ́ 'front', though Vogt (1963:218) and Mészáros (1934:383) note that the regular ɐʁɜ́-zɜ-χ is possible for some speakers.

For higher ordinals, two patterns exist: (a) ɐʁɜ- is added to the first and -χ to the last portion of the numeral: ɐʁɜ-t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'-ɛ́lɜ z[ɜ]-ɐlɜ-χ '21ˢᵗ' (TE) (Charachidzé 1989:417), or -χ may be added to other portions in place of -ɐlɜ: ɐʁɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ́-ʃʷɜ-χ ɕɜ́-mtɕ'ɜ-t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'-ɐlɜ fɨ-χ-ʧ[ɜ]-ɐlɜ 'the 266ᵗʰ horseman' (Charachidzé 1989:418); or (b) only ɐʁɜ- appears on the numeral's last portion: t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'-ɐlɜ́ ɐʁɜ-ʒʷɨ:ʃx-ɐlɜ '35ᵗʰ' (TE) (Hewitt 1974).

The addition of the instrumental postposition -ɜwn(i) gives a type of adverbial ordinal:

ввз-єз-χ-зwn   *в-ṭṣidɨ*   (AB)

3pPOSS-three-belonging.to(SG)[.OBL]-INSTR   the-donkey

Ø-dɨ-χi-jt'   *в-blв:ʁз-t^{w'}-q'з*

3sABS-REL-belong.to(SG)-STAT.PAST[.NFIN]   3sABS-PVB-leave-PAST

'thirdly came out the one who the donkey belonged to' (Dumézil 1959a:46)

2.4.2.3. Distributive numerals

Distributive numbers are formed by adding the suffix *-d^{w}з* (in some idiolects the form is *-bз*, more rarely *-bˤз*, and in OG's dialect only *-bз* exists) to the appropriate cardinal: *zз-d^{w}ź* 'one each', *t'q^{w'}з-d^{w}ź* (OG: *t'q^{w'}з-bз*) 'two each', etc. Such numerals may be preposed to the noun they modify, like cardinals, or may be syntactically more independent:

zз-niq^{j'}ɨ-fв:mɨ:ʃi-n   *t'q^{w'}ź-d^{w}з-niq^{j'}*   (TE)

one-nail[.OBL]-instead.of-ADV   two-each-nail

Ø-Ø-wź-si-Ø-ł-q'з

3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-1sERG-CAUS-be.lying(SG)-PAST

'I put two nails each into it instead of one' (Dumézil and Esenç 1977a:19)

в-tɕ'ɨɕi-nз   *mˤз*   *zз-d^{w}ź*   *Ø-ɨ́-s-t^{w}-q'з*   (TE)

the-children-OBL.PL   apple   one-each   3sABS-3pOBL-1sERG-give(SG)-PAST

'I gave the children an apple each' (Hewitt 1974)

As with cardinals, the use of more than one distributive numeral has approximative sense:

t'q^{w'}з-d^{w}ź   *єз-d^{w}ź*   *ʁ^{w}in-g^{j} idźź*   *ввź-łзms[з]-зwn*   (TE)

two-each   three-each   tree-big   3pPOSS-root[.OBL]-INSTR

ɨ́-jtɕ^{w'}з-nв-tχ^{w}ɨ(-nз)-n…

3pABS-PVB-3pERG-pull.out(-PL)-CONV

'they each pulling out two or three big trees by the roots…' (Dumézil 1977a:19)

Reduplicating a distributive numeral produces a form in which there seems to be an added implication of temporal sequence, as in English 'one at a time', 'two at a time', etc.:

ʁз-łзg^{j}зtsз-n   *q^{wˤ'}i-n*   *Ø-Ø-fз-ł-i*   *zз-d^{w}з-zз:d^{w}з-n*   (AB)

3sPOSS-shin-OBL   hair-ADV 3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.lying(SG)-NFIN   one-each-REDUPL-ADV

в-ʃ-fзtʃ'[з]-зw

3sABS-1pERG-pull.out-FUT.I

'we will pull the hairs that are on his shin out, one by one' (Dumézil 1959a:44)

2.4.2.4. Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals are formed by adding *-mtɕ'з* or *-mtɕ'зk^{j'}з* (in OG's dialect, *-mitɕ'з*) to the appropriate cardinal: *t'q^{w'}ź-mtɕ'з(k^{j'}з)* 'twice', *єź-mtɕ'з(k^{j'}з)* 'three times', and so on:

wɜ-ʃʷɜ-n	*ɐ-χʷˁɜ*	*t'qʷ'ɜ-mtɕ'ɜ:kʲ'ɜ*	*ɐ-ʃɜdɜ-q'ɜ-n*	(TE)
that-year-ADV	the-pig	two-times	3pABS-give.birth-PAST-PL	

'that year, the pigs gave birth twice' (Dumézil 1959a:32)

As with the first ordinal, however, the first multiplicative ('once') is irregular: *zɜkʲ'ɜ́*. A sequence of two or more cardinals, acting as an approximative (§2.4.2.1), may also form the base of a multiplicative number: *t'qʷ'ɜ-ɕɜ-mtɕ'ɜkʲ'ɜ* 'two or three times' (Dumézil and Esenç 1977:20). Some quantifiers (§2.4.1) may also be used as the root of multiplicative numbers: *jɜdɜ́-mtɕ'ɜ(kʲ'ɜ)* 'many times' (Mészáros 1934:164).

2.4.2.5. Iterative numerals

Multiplicative numerals may themselves serve as bases for ordinal numbers, which refer to a single iteration of a series: e.g. *ɐʁɜ-ɕɜ:mtɕ'ɜ:kʲ'ɜ-χ* 'the third time; of the third time' (Vogt 1963:175). With the instrumental postposition *-ɜwn(ɨ)*, the meaning is 'for the nth time':

dɜ-gʲɨ,	*ɐʁɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ́-mtɕ'ɜ:kʲ'ɜ-χ-ɜwn,*		*ɐ-kʷɐji-n* (TE)
now-EMPH	3pPOSS-two-times-belonging.to(SG)[.OBL]-INSTR		the-village-OBL
tχɜ́mɐtɜ-n	*sɨ-Ø-χʲɜ-ʃ-q'ɜ́*		
mayor-ADV	1sABS-3sOBL-BEN-become-PAST		

'I became the mayor for the village again, for the second time' (Vogt 1963:67)

2.4.2.6. Fractions

Fractions – except for '(one) half', which has a distinct lexeme, *zɜ(n)ʤɜ́* – are given using a syntactic formula, either **A**-*ʃ-ɜwn(ɨ)* **B**-*ʃɨ* ('**B** part[s] from **A** part[s]') or **A**-*ʃɨ-n(ɨ) jɨ-Ø-ʃ-q'ɜ-n* **B**-*ʃɨ* ('**B** part[s], **A** parts having been made'), where **B** is the numerator and **A** the denominator:

ɕɜ-ʃɨ-n	*jɨ-Ø-ʃ-q'ɜ-n*	*zɜ-ʃɨ*	(unkn.)
three-part-ADV	3sABS-3sOBL-do-PAST-CONV	one-part	

'one-third' (Mészáros 1934:328)

ɕɜ-ʃ-ɜ́wn(ɨ)	*zɜ-ʃɨ*	(TE)
three-part[.OBL]-INSTR	one-part	

'id.' (Vogt 1963:189)

2.5. Adverbs

It is difficult to speak of a single unified class of adverbs in Ubykh.

Most adverbials fall into one of three main types: (a) morphologically unmodified or unanalysable nouns or (rarely) adjectives used adverbially; (b) nouns or adjectives marked with the non-core cases (§2.2.1.1.2), especially the adverbial-case marker *-n(ɨ)*, or with postpositions (§2.2.1.5) (only a few notable examples will be given here); or (c) adverbial-case forms of roots that are synchronically unanalysable and unattested in isolation. Adverbs

can be said to fall into three semantic classes: temporal adverbs, manner adverbs, and spatial adverbs, though a few unanalysable adverbs exist that have primarily discursive functions (§2.7.1). For the most part, adverbs behave grammatically like substantives (§2.2).

Temporal adverbs include: *mʒ(j)ʨʷ’* ‘(in the) morning’, *mʒʨʷ’(ʁ)q’ʁlʒ* ‘early in the morning’, *ʃʷiwɜ́* ‘(at) night’, *ɕiɕi* ‘id.’, *miɕʷʒtɜ́* ‘during the day’, *ɕiɕim(i)ɕʷʒtʒ* ‘night and day; *fig.* all the time’, *zʷʒpséχʲʒ* ‘until night’, *tχʁlɜ́ ~ tχʒlɜ́* ‘yesterday’, *wʒtsɜ́(ʃʷ(i)wʒ)* ‘last night’, *ʧ’ɜ́χʷʒ ~ ʧ’ʒχʷɜ́* ‘today’ (a variant *ʧ’ɜ́χʲʒ* ‘id.’ is noted by Mészáros (1934:267), but according to Vogt (1963:109) not found in the speech of the inhabitants of Hacıosman), *kʷ’ʒni* ‘tomorrow’, *ɕiɕigʲibʁʲʒ* ‘(at) midnight’, *féχʲʒ* ‘long ago’, *ébʒʒdʒ* ‘in winter’, *ʃʷʒnʃʷi* ‘last year’, *ʃʷʒχʲɜ́* ‘this year’, *zʒkʲ’ʒmʁkʲ’ʒ* ‘from time to time’, *ʁʁˁɜ́dʒqʷ’ʒ* ‘never’. Particularly notable is a series of adverbs derived from *dʒ* ‘now, at this moment; just now’, including *hí(n)dʒ ~ hi(n)dɜ́* ‘id.’ (*hidʒ* being the only possibility in OG’s speech, and according to Dumézil (1959a:41), for HU the variant *χindʒ* may have existed), *dʒbɜ́jdʒ* ‘right now, at this moment’, *dʒʧ’ɜ́lʒ* ‘just now, a moment ago’, *dʒgʲi(lʒ)* ‘again, anew’, *dʒq’ʁlʒ* ‘from now on’, *dʒgʲiq’ʁlʒ* ‘until now’.

Manner adverbs include: *déʁʷʒ ~ dʁʁʷɜ́* ‘so, thus, in this way, like this’, *jʒdɜ́mʨ’ʒ(kʲ’ʒ)* ‘many times’ (cf. the multiplicative numerals, §2.3.7.2.4), *mʒtsɜ́q’ʁlʒ* ‘in vain, fruitlessly’, *pʃ̌mpˁ’ʒwni* ‘[sitting down] heavily’ (← the instrumental postposition -ʒwni, see §2.2.1.5), *zʒkʲ’ɜ́tʁlʒ* ‘suddenly’. The majority of manner adverbs are derived (§2.5.1).

Spatial adverbs include: *ɕɜ́ʁʷʒ* ‘above, upwards’, *lʒʁʷɜ́* ‘downwards, below’, *pʃʒdʒʒkʲ’ɜ́* ‘back to one’s point of origin along the same route as one came’, *pʃʒkʲ’ɜ́* ‘back to one’s point of origin by a different route’. An important subset of this group are the deictic adverbs: *ʁné(n) ~ ʁné(ʁʒ)* ‘here, at this place, hereabouts’ (= Turkish **burada**, **bu yana**), *lé(ʁʒ)* ‘here, hereabouts, in this direction’, *lélʒ ~ lʁlɜ́* ‘id.’, *lʒʁɜ́* ‘there, over there, in that direction’ (= Turkish **şurada**), *ʁnɜ́(n) ~ ʁnɜ́(ʁʒ)* ‘there, at that place, thereabouts’ (= Turkish **orada**, **o yana**). Additionally, the form *ʁnɜ́-n* ‘there (relat.)’ is used as a hesitation form or filler (§3.5).

2.5.1. Derived adverbs

The adverbial case-marker (§2.2.1.1.2.2) is the most common means by which generic adverbs are formed, and may be used to derive adverbs from adjectives and nouns, optionally in composition with the definite article (§2.2.1.2):

ʁgʲɜ́-n   (= *ʁgʲɜ-ni*)   (unkn.)
bad-ADV
‘badly’ (Mészáros 1934:192; Vogt 1963:84)

ʁ-wʒndʐʒ-ni   (TE)
the-secret-ADV
‘secretly, mysteriously’ (Dumézil 1960b:435)

ʁ-wʒsʒ-ni   (TE)
the-dark-ADV
‘in the dark’ (Vogt 1963:42)

A number of such adverbs are derived from nominal roots that have not been otherwise attested alone, or from synchronically unanalysable complexes of morphemes. Some examples are: (ʁ-)pírʁmsɜ-n 'shabbily, badly dressed', blɜb(i)q'ɜbi-n(i) 'against all the evidence, despite what one sees', qɜrɜ́bʁʲɜrɜ-n(i) ~ χʲɜlɜbʁʲɜlɜ-n(i) ~ χʲɜrɜbʁʲɜrɜ-n(i) 'higgledy-piggledy, in a confused fashion', q'ʁpíjsʁpiji-n(i) 'into pieces', q'ɜdɜ́dʑi-n(i) 'by the bridle', sʁpɜsɜlíjɜ-n(i) 'into dust', ʧ'ɜriʧ'ɜ́-n(i) 'newly, over again; back', ʦ'ɜnʉ́t'ɜ-n 'in front'. Also, many morphologically opaque adverbs (§2.5) may optionally take the adverbial case: ʁʁˤɜ́dɜqʷ'ɜ(-n(i)) 'never', miɕʷɜtɜ́(-n(i)) 'during the day', and dɜgʲílɜ(-n(i)) 'again, anew' are some examples.

Many -n(i)-derived adverbs also exhibit reduplication (§1.5.6), and for adverbs derived from nouns this seems to be particularly common:

   ʁníɕ[ɜ]-ʁníɕʷɜ-ni   (TE)
   beautiful-REDUPL-ADV
   'beautifully' (Vogt 1963:154)

   gʲɜ́ʂɜ-gʲɜ́ʂɜ-ni   (HKo)
   separate-REDUPL-ADV
   'separately' (Dumézil 1957:5)

   ʧ'i:ʃʷ-ʧ'i:ʃʷi-ni   ʁ-j-nʁ-ʃi-n…   (AH)
   fragment:DIM-REDUPL-ADV   3sABS-PVB-3pERG-make-CONV
   'they, tearing [lit. 'making'] it into little pieces…' (Dumézil 1957:73)

   q'ʁɕi-q'ʁɕi-ni   (TE)
   village-REDUPL-ADV
   'from village to village' (Dumézil 1959a:28)

The adverb zɜqʷ'izɜ́qʷ'i(ʃʷi)-n(i) 'quietly, softly' is an example for which the non-reduplicated element, zɜqʷ'i-, is not attested alone (Vogt 1963:218).

The converb-forming suffix -msɜ (§3.3.1.1) is also found suffixed to a few nominals, behaving as an adverbial formant that has a continuative nuance:

   dʁʁʷɜ-msɜ   sɜwsiriqʷɜ   ʁ-gʲidɜ-ʃi-n   t'qʷ'ɜtʷ'i-ʃʷɜ-n   (TE)
   thus-CONV   S.   3sABS-large-become-CONV twenty-year-OBL
   Ø-Ø-gʲi-w-q'ɜ
   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(SG)-PAST
   'Sewsırıque turned twenty growing all the time like that' (Dumézil 1960b:434)

   wɜnɜ-msɜ   ji-ʧ'ʁtɕʷɜ-n   ʃi-Ø-ʁɜ-ʁʷɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜw:t   (AB)
   that-CONV   this-slope-OBL   1pABS-3sOBL-PVB-climb-PL-FUT.II
   'we will climb this slope going like that' (Dumézil 1957:90)

zзqʷʼɨ:zзqʷʼɨ-msз	*ɐ-tɕʷj[з]-ɐkʷʼɨ-n*	*Ø-Ø-kʲʼз:łʼз-qʼз*	(AH)
quiet[ly]-CONV	the-house-short-OBL	3sABS-3sOBL-approach-PAST	

'he approached the hut, all the while [going] quietly' (Dumézil 1957:72)

2.6. Verbs

In all NWC languages the verb is the crux of the sentence, and in essence, the entire core structure of the sentence is reasserted in the verb. Ubykh verbs may be either dynamic or stative, and either intransitive or transitive, though agreement for three arguments is quite common and four-way agreement has been attested. Georges Dumézil devised an eight-way classification of NWC verbs based upon valency and the presence or absence of a preverb, a system which has found some use but which overly complicates the understanding of argument structure in these verbs. It is simplest to view the vast majority of Ubykh verbs as falling into a fourfold classification of argument structure divided by transitivity and by the capability or not of a verb to take an oblique argument (§2.6.1.1.1), the latter characteristic being largely but by no means exclusively governed by the presence or absence of a local or directional preverb (§2.6.4.3). The four major classes are:

- intransitives (absolutive subject only; Dumézil's classes A and E);
- transitives (ergative subject, absolutive direct object; Dumézil's classes C and G);
- oblique intransitives (absolutive subject, oblique object; Dumézil's classes B and F);
- oblique transitives (ergative subject, absolutive direct object, oblique object; Dumézil's classes D and H).

though despite this classification, explicit oblique-object agreement may be omitted without other morphological consequence from any oblique intransitive or transitive verb. Also, there is a small group of ergative verbs (traditionally part of a type called 'labile', an overly vague term that nevertheless has some currency), which have the option of deleting the ergative subject and leaving the absolutive argument in the subject position of what then is an intransitive sentence (§2.6.10.3). In addition, a few meanings that in other languages are classically transitive surface as oblique intransitive verbs in Ubykh:

sɨ-wɨ́-jз-n[46]	(TE)	vs. *wɨ-z-bjз́-n*	(TE)
1sABS-2sOBL-hit-PRES		2sABS-1sERG-see-PRES	

'I hit you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:87) *vs.* 'I see you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:88)

sɨ-w-płз́-n	(TE)
1sABS-2sOBL-watch-PRES	

'I am watching you' (Vogt 1963:157)

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[46] Indeed, 'to hit' is an oblique intransitive in all NWC languages; compare Abkhaz *s-bə́-s-wa-jtʼ* 'I [*s-*] hit you (feminine) [*bə́-*]' vs. *bə-z-ba-wá-jtʼ* 'I [*z-*] see you (feminine) [*bə-*]', and Temirgoi Adyghe *sə-we-we* 'I [*sə-*] hit you [*we-*]' vs. *wə-se-łeʁʷə* 'I [*se-*] see you [*wə-*]' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:97).

The verb in Ubykh is by far the most complex grammatical unit in the language. It lends itself well to a templatic analysis, but as Ubykh lacks a counterpart to the Abkhaz masdar, there is not a clear boundary between the structures of the various finite and non-finite forms of the verb. As such, it is simplest to work with a single template that displays all the available morpheme positions (or 'slots'). Though not all slots may be filled simultaneously and some are interdependent, the morpheme slots may be generally outlined thus[47]:

1-2-3-4-<u>5</u>-<u>6</u>-<u>7</u>-<u>8</u>-<u>9</u>-<u>10</u>-<u>11</u>-<u>12</u>-**13**-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-<u>21</u>-22-23-24-25-26-27

(Underlined affix slots cannot be filled on stative verbs; while causatives (cf. slot 12) may be derived from stative verbs, such causatives are morphologically dynamic, not stative.)

1: Interrogative/subordinative prefixes *mɐ-* 'where' and *dʁɜ-* 'how'.
2: Absolutive agreement marker or a prefixed interrogative pronoun (§2.3.5.1).
3: Oblique-1 (first oblique object) agreement marker, agreeing with the argument governed by the relational preverb in slot 4.
4: Relational preverb (§2.6.4.1).
<u>5</u>: Incorporated noun (§2.6.4.4), or Oblique-2 (second oblique object) agreement marker.
<u>6</u>: Local preverb (§2.6.4.3.1).
<u>7</u>: Ablative/translative preverb *ʁɜ-* (§2.6.4.3.2), or the indirective preverb *ɐ-* with possessive prefix marking appropriate nominal agreement (§2.6.4.3.3)
<u>8</u>: Generic preverb *lɜ-*.
<u>9</u>: Orientational preverb *j(ɨ)-*.
<u>10</u>: Ergative agreement marker.
<u>11</u>: Preradical negation *m(ɨ)-* in the dynamic present and imperfect tenses, or the polite imperative prefix *ʤɨ-*.
<u>12</u>: Causative prefix *dɨ-* (singular), *ʁɜ-* (plural).
13: **Root** (which may be simple or compound).

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[47] Charachidzé (1989a:384-385) provides a general outline of the Ubykh verbal affix template, though in the prefixal complex he mistakenly positions the relational preverbs *χʲɜ-*, *ʨʷɨ-* and *ʤɨ-* after the directional/local preverbs and the Oblique-2 agreement marker, and also the generic preverb *lɜ-* before the Oblique-2 agreement marker and the relational preverbs. Note the following counterexamples:

ɐ́-ʨʷjɜ-n		*ɐ-s-χʲɜ-Ø-ʁʷɐ́-tʷ'-q'ɜ-mɜ*	(TE)
the-house-OBL		3sgABS-1sgOBL-BEN-3sgOBL-PVB-leave-PAST-NEG	
'he did not leave the house for me' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:141)			

ɕʷɜɬɜ-gʲɨ		*ʁɜ-bɜʐɜ*	*Ø-ɕʷ-χʲɜ-lɜ-gʲɨ:tʷ'-q'ɜ-n*	(TE)
you(PL)-EMPH		his-penis	3sgABS-2plOBL-BEN-PVB-remain-PAST-PL	
'his penis remained for you all' (Dumézil 1962b:98)				

ʁɜ-ʂɜ́-n		*jɨ-Ø-lɜ́-nɨ-Ø-kʲ'ɜ-n*		*jɨ-Ø-kʷ'-q'ɜ́*	(İH)
his-head-OBL		3sgABS-3sgOBL-PVB-3sgERG-CAUS-go-CONV		3sgABS-3sgERG-kill-PAST	
'she hit his head with it and killed him' (Dumézil 1957:32; Vogt 1963:136)					

14: Intensifying suffix -*bʑɜ*.

15: Habitual aspect -*gʲɜ*.

16: Iterative aspect -*ɐj(ɨ)*.

17: Exhaustive aspect -*lɜ*.

18: Excessive aspect -*tɕʷɜ*.

19: Continual aspect -*zɜɬɜʃɜʁ*.

20: Potential aspect -*fɜ*.

21: Plural marker -*nɜ* in the future I and II and conditional II tenses, and -*ɐ* in the present and imperfect tenses.

22: Tense marking: includes negation marking for the future I and II tenses, and suppletive number marking for the imperfect, conditional I and stative past tenses.

23: Plural marking -*n(ɜ)* in the dynamic past, conditional II, and stative present tenses.

24: Postradical negation -*mɜ* in all tenses except the dynamic present.

25: The affect marker -*gʷɨʃ(ɜ)*.

26: Mood markers (§2.6.7) or converb markers (§3.3.1).

27: Conjunctive elements (§3.3.1.3; §3.3.3).

The minimal indicative dynamic verbal form consists of the root (slot 13) plus an absolutive agreement-marker (slot 2) and a tense-marker (slot 22). Very rarely, the first portion of a complex or compound root may be treated as a preverb and moved to a position before the ergative agreement-marker, as in the following examples:

Ø-Ø-*ʧʼɜ-qʷʼɜ́-nɐ-tʷ-qʼɜ:jtʼ*   *qʷʼ*[ɜ]:*ɕwi-n*   (TE)
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-stop(PVB)-3pERG-stop-PLUP[.NFIN]   trap-OBL
'the trap (obl.) they had put in front of X' (Dumézil and Esenç 1978:98)

ɐ-*ʂɜ́-n*   Ø-Ø-*kʲʼɜ-mɨ-ɬʼɜ́-n*   *ʃʷwɜ-gʲɨ*   (TE)
the-head-OBL 3sABS-3sOBL-approach(PVB)-NEG-approach-CONV matter-EMPH
Ø-*mɨ-ʃɨ-n*
3sABS-NEG-become-PRES
'a thing does not happen if one does not approach the beginning [lit. 'the head']'
                                                         (Dumézil and Esenç 1985:6)

and due no doubt to the instability of the language in its later years as a result of its rapid decline, occasional idiosyncratic variations from the usual affix order are found:

ʃɨ-Ø-*bɜtɕʼɜ-ʁɜ-lɜ-χʷɜ-ʃ*[ɜ]-*ɕj-qʼɜ-nɜ-mɜ*   (TE)
1pABS-3sOBL-PVB-PVB-PVB-pass-POT!-ITER!-PAST-PL-NEG
'we could not pass again under X' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955a:38)

ʃɨ-*lɜ-w-gʲɨ-ʁɜ-x*[ɜ]-*ɐji-qʼɜ-n*   (İH)
1pABS-PVB-3sERG!-remain(PL)(PVB)!-CAUS.PL-remain(PL)-ITER-PAST-PL
'you have saved us' (Dumézil 1957:59)

2.6.1. Argument structure

2.6.1.1. Personal actant marking

Actant-marking in Ubykh takes the form of personal pronominal prefixes that appear in strictly defined loci within the prefixal complex. Pronominal prefixes follow the same person/number distinctions as the personal pronouns (§2.3.1); there is no agreement for class. As do its sister-languages, Ubykh verbs have the capacity to encode up to four arguments:

One actant: *sɨ-bʒɕ́-n* (unkn.)
1sABS-be.angry-PRES
'I am angry' (Mészáros 1934:228; Vogt 1963:88)

Two actants: *ɐ-s-kʷ'ʒbɕ́-n* (unkn.)
3sABS-1sERG-bathe-PRES
'I bathe X' (Mészáros 1934:192)

Three actants: *ɐ-wɨ́-s-tʷɨ-n* (TE)
3sABS-2sOBL-1sERG-give(SG)-PRES
'I give X to you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:90)

Four actants: *ɐ-s-χʲɕ́-w-ʁʒ-ni-w:tʷ'-ɐj-ʒw:t* (TE)
3sABS-1sOBL-BEN-2sOBL-PVB-3sERG-remove.DYN-ITER-FUT.II
'X will take Y back from you for me' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:102)

However, four-actant verbs are rare, and verbs generally do not exhibit more than three agreement-prefixes at one time. Usually these comprise absolutive (slot 2) and ergative (slot 8) pronominal prefixes along with one of the two oblique markers (slot 3 or slot 5) with or without an accompanying preverb, though rarely trivalent oblique intransitive verbs appear, making use of both the Oblique-1 and Oblique-2 agreement positions:

ɕ́-tɕʷjʒ-n   *ɐ-s-χʲʒ-Ø-ʁʷɕ́-tʷ'-q'ʒ-mʒ* (TE)
the-house-OBL   3sABS-1sOBL-BEN-3sOBL-PVB-leave-PAST-NEG
'X did not go out of the house for me' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:141)

ɐ-s-tɕʷɨ-Ø-ʁʷɐ-tʷ'-q'ʒ (TE)
3sABS-1sOBL-MAL-3sOBL-PVB-leave-PAST
'X came out of Y against my wishes' (Dumézil 1963:10)

2.6.1.1.1. Agreement markers

There are three morphologically distinct sets of agreement markers (often styled 'Column I', 'Column II' and 'Column III' in the literature), representing absolutive, oblique and ergative noun phrases in the clause respectively. Although there are two distinct oblique-agreement slots in the verbal template (§2.6), the two oblique slots share an identical set of morphs.

Person	Number	Absolutive	Oblique (1 and 2)	Ergative
1ˢᵗ	sg.	*s(ɨ)-*	*s(ɨ)- ~ z-*	*s(ɨ)- ~ z-*
	pl.	*ʃ(ɨ)-*	*ʃ(ɨ)- ~ ʒ-*	*ʃ(ɨ)- ~ ʒ-*
2ⁿᵈ	sg.	*wɨ-*	*w(ɨ)-*	*w(ɨ)-*
	sg. (joc.?)[48]	*χʒ-*	*χʒ-*	*χʒ-*
	pl.	*ɕʷ(ɨ)-*	*ɕʷ(ɨ)- ~ zʷ-*	*ɕʷ(ɨ)- ~ zʷ-*
3ʳᵈ	sg.	*ʁ-, jɨ-, ɨ-, Ø-*	*Ø-*	*n(ɨ)-, Ø-*
	pl.	*ʁ-, jɨ-, Ø-*	*ʁ-*	*ʁ-, nʁ-*

Table 5. The prefixal pronominal agreement markers.

The Oblique-1 prefixes are limited to marking agreement before a relational preverb (§2.6.4.1); by contrast, the Oblique-2 prefixes not only mark agreement associated with local and directional preverbs (§2.6.4.3.1), but are also capable of signifying agreement with a simple oblique (i.e. dative) argument, as in the following example:

zʒ-mˤʒ   *Ø-t-χʲʒ-wɨ-s-tʷɨ-n*   *tɨt*   (TE)
one-apple   3sABS-REL-BEN-2sOBL-1sERG-give-PRES[.NFIN]   man
'the man for whom I give an apple to you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:184)

The use of plural absolutive agreement-markers conditions the presence of plural affixes associated with tense-marking (§2.6.5). From about 1965, a second-person plural prefix in any agreement position also regularly conditioned plural agreement in verbal tense-marking (§2.6.8), though Smeets (1997) notes that the phenomenon also occurred irregularly before this time. Occasionally tense-based plural agreement may follow a Circassian-like pattern, surfacing only with third-person absolutive plural markers as in the following trio of examples from Hewitt (1974), but this seems to be confined to elicited paradigms and is not generally observable in connected narrative (see also Smeets 1997:47)[49]:

ʃɨ-j-kʲ'[ʒ]-ɛ́-nʒ:jt'   (TE)   vs.   *ɕʷɨ-j-kʲ'[ʒ]-ɛ́-nʒ:jt'*   (TE)
2pABS-PVB-go-PL-IMPF.SG!   2pABS-PVB-go-PL-IMPF.SG!
'we were coming' (Hewitt 1974)   *vs.*   'you (pl.) were coming' (Hewitt 1974)

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[48] See §2.2.1.3 for a more detailed explanation of the precise usage of this archaic prefix.

[49] In Smeets's (1997) excellent investigation of plural-marking patterns across the 350-odd years of Ubykh's written attestation, he notes that this phenomenon is not new in Ubykh and dates back at least to the period before the 1864 exodus, as in the following triad from Uslar (1887; 1863 in lithograph):

  ʃɨ-tɨt-ts'ʒ   vs.   *ɕʷɨ-tɨt-ts'ʒ*   (speakers all unkn.)
  1pABS-person-good[.STAT.PRES]   2pABS-person-good[.STAT.PRES]
  'we are good people'   *vs.*   'you (pl.) are good people'
      vs.   *Ø-tɨt-ts'ʒ-n*
              3pABS-person-good[.STAT.PRES]-PL
      vs.   'they are good people'

Note, however, that the plural marker *-ʁ-* still surfaces in all three of Hewitt's forms above.

vs.　　*ɐ-j-kʲ'[ʒ]-ė-nʒ:jł*　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(TE)

　　　　3pABS-PVB-go-PL-IMPF.PL

vs.　　'they were coming' (Hewitt 1974)

Only occasionally may a verb carry two agreement-prefixes with the same reference. Where a single actor fulfills two grammatical roles, reflexive or reciprocal constructions (§2.6.1.1.3) are usually required, though some local and directional preverbs (§2.6.4.3.1) – notably *ʂʒ-*, *ʤɐ-* and *łɐ-* – permit actant-marking coreferential with another agreement-prefix. Note also this unusual example of coreferential actant-marking with the benefactive *χʲʒ-* (§2.6.4.1):

ɕʷɐʷʒłʒ　　　*zʒ-kʷ'ʒʂχʒ*　　　*χʲi-ni*　　　*ɐ-ɕʷ-χʲʒ-ɕʷ-ʃ-nʒ-bʒ*　　　　　　　(TE)

you(PL)　　one-freeman　　prince-ADV　　3sABS-2pOBL-BEN-2pERG-make[.PRES]-PL-IRR.PROT

'if you (pl.) make a freeman a prince for you[rselves]' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:342)

2.6.1.1.1.1. Allomorphy

As may be seen from Table 5, there is substantial allomorphy in the prefixal agreement markers. In the first and second persons of the oblique and ergative prefix sets, the voiceless allomorphs are basic, but become voiced (§1.5.1) when they appear immediately preceding a preverb, causative prefix or root that begins with a voiced consonant:

wi-s-kʷ'i-n　　　　　　　(TE)　　　　vs.　　*wi-z-bijʒ-q'ʒ́*　　　　　　(TE)

2sABS-1sERG-kill-PRES　　　　　　　　　2sABS-1sERG-see-PRES

'I kill you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:148)　*vs.*　'I saw you' (Vogt 1963:143)

ɐ-s-q'ɐ-ʁ　　　　　　　(TE)　　　　vs.　　*ɐ-z-gʲifʒ-jʒ-q'ʒ*　　　　　　(TE)

3pABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]　　3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-hit-PAST

'I have them' (Dumézil 1957:100)　　　　*vs.*　'X hit my chest' (Dumézil 1965:228)

ɐ-z-ʁʒ-kʲ'ʒ-n[ʒ]-ʒw:tʷ:q'ʒ　(TE)　　　　　　vs.　　*ɐ-s-q'ʒ́-n*　　　　　(unkn.)

3sABS-1sERG-CAUS.PL-go-PL-COND.II　　　　　3sABS-1sERG-say-PRES

'I would have made them go' (Dumézil 1962b:88) *vs.* 'I say X' (Mészáros 1934:193)

Note that the presence of epenthetic *-i-* may also block assimilation in non-causative forms:

ɐ-si-wtɕʷéχi-n　　　　(= *ɐ-z-witɕʷéχi-n*)　　　　　　　　　　　　(TE)

3sABS-1sERG-encircle-PRES

'I am encircling it' (Vogt 1963:203; Dumézil 1965:248)

though occasionally assimilation occurs here even when a surface epenthetic *-i-* is present:

ɐ-ɕʷ-χʲʒ-zi-w-q'ʒ-nʒ-ʤ　　(= *ɐ-ɕʷ-χʲʒ-z-wi-q'ʒ-nʒ-ʤ* ~ *ɐ-ɕʷ-χʲʒ-si-w-q'ʒ-nʒ-ʤ*)　(TE, HKo)

3sABS-2pOBL-BEN-1sERG-carry-PAST-PL.NFIN-COP[.STAT.PRES]

'X was what I brought for them' (Dumézil 1963:9)

Ergative agreement markers preceding the zero morph of the causative prefix (§2.6.10.1) take the full -*ɨ*-final forms, and do not demonstrate assimilation:

ʁ-Ø-sɨ-Ø-bjɜ́-n   (TE)   vs.   ʁ-z-bjɜ́-n   (TE)
3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-CAUS-see-PRES   3sABS-1sERG-see-PRES
'I show X to Y' (Vogt 1963:96)   *vs.*   'I see X' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:88)

though in OG's dialect, the full and unassimilated forms are common variants even in the general case, and are not a reliable indicator of underlying causativity:

ʁ-sɨ-ʤʷ[ɜ]-ɜwɨ:n   (OG)   vs.   ʁ-z-ʤʷɜ́-n   (TE)
3sABS-1sERG-drink-PROG   3sABS-1sERG-drink-PRES
'I am drinking X' (Dumézil 1965:268)   *vs.*   'id.' (Vogt 1963:231)

2.6.1.1.1.1.1. Third-person agreement markers

By comparison to the oblique third-person pronominal prefixes, the third-person markers of absolutive and ergative agreement display peculiarly complicated allomorphy, and the rules governing this allomorphy are explained here; all examples in this section are taken from Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:86-96) and are from TE unless otherwise stated.

The absolutive singular marker has four allomorphs: ʁ-, jɨ-, ɨ- and zero. ʁ- usually appears when there is no other third-person pronominal agreement marker (oblique or ergative), immediately following it: ʁ-kʲʼɜ́-n 'he goes', ʁ-sɨ́-jɜ-n 'he hits me', ʁ-z-bjɜ́-n 'I see it', ʁ-fɜ́-n-qʼɨ-n 'he cuts it', ʁ-wɨ-s-tʷɨ-n 'I give it to you'. It may optionally be deleted, usually when preceded by its referent: wɜnɜ-gʲɨ́ Ø-z-bjɜ-qʼɜ-mɜ 'I did not see that' (Hewitt 1974), but also elsewhere: dʁɜ-n-gʲɨ́ Ø-ʕʷɨ-ʁɜ-gʲɨgʲɜ́-qʼɜ-nɜ-j? 'how did you scare it?' (AH) (Dumézil 1957:56). ʁ- may also optionally appear as an absolutive marker preceding an oblique preverb with null third-person agreement-marking: ɜ́-tɕʷjɜ-n ʁ-Ø-ʁʷʁ-nʁ-ʤɜ́dɜ-qʼɜ 'they threw it out of the house' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:127), though jɨ- may also appear in this environment. jɨ- usually appears when the following agreement marker, whether oblique or ergative, is also third-person singular: jɨ-Ø-bjɜ́-n 'X sees Y', jɨ-Ø-jɜ-n 'X hits Y', jɨ-Ø-s-tʷɨ-n 'I give X to Y', jɨ-Ø-bʁʲɜ-sɨ-w:tʷʼɨ-n 'I lift X off Y'. Like ʁ-, it may optionally be deleted when preceded by its referent: ʁɜ-nɜ Ø-Ø-ʂiqʷʼʁ-w-nɜ:jtʼ-gʲɨ:lɜ-n 'although X's mother (ʁɜ-nɜ) was climbing Y' (Dumézil 1959c:165). ɨ- is a rare variant of jɨ- sometimes appearing when the prefix is stressed[50]: ɨ́-Ø-tʷʼɨ-n 'X digging Y' (Vogt 1963:58), ɨ́-Ø-n-qʼɜ-qʼɜ 'X said Y to Z' (Vogt 1963:234; Dumézil 1968a). Finally, the zero morph appears when the following agreement marker, whether oblique or ergative, is third-person plural: Ø-ʁ-bjɜ́-n 'they see X', Ø-ɜ́-jɜ-n 'X hits them', Ø-ɜ́-ʃ-tʷɨ-n 'we give X to them'.

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[50] Similarly, in Abkhaz the absolutive pronominal prefix ə- is an allomorph of jə- when the prefix is stressed and the verb immediately follows its referent (e.g. a-ʒá ə́-pa-wa-jtʼ 'the hare is jumping') (Chirikba 2003:40). The apparent Ubykh counterexample ɨ-Ø-jɜ́-n 'he hits it' (Vogt 1963:234), with unstressed ɨ-, is likely an error, as when the verb jɜ 'to hit' exhibits an oblique argument, stress normally falls on a pronominal prefix rather than the root (see Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:87).

The absolutive plural marker has three allomorphs: *ɐ-*, *ji-* and zero. These appear in largely the same environments as the homophonous singular allomorphs, with the sole exception that in the plural, *ɐ-* is (usually) not deleted when preceded by its referent.

The ergative singular marker has only two allomorphs: *n(i)-* and zero. *n(i)-* appears when the verb contains an oblique argument or a preverb with or without accompanying agreement: (*jí-*)*Ø-n-tʷi-n* 'X gives Y to Z', *wí-z-bʁʲɜ-ni-w:tʷ'i-n* 'X lifts you off me', *ɐ-bij:ʃʷi-n ʁɜ-gʲɜ Ø-lɜ-n-ɕʷíχʷɜ-gʲi:msɜ* 'while the lamb was rubbing itself' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:340), and the zero morph appears elsewhere: *si-Ø-di-qʷ'ɜ́:tʷ-q'ɜ* 'X made me stop' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:173), *si-Ø-bjɜ́-n* 'X sees me'.

The ergative plural marker has two allomorphs: *nɐ-* and *ɐ-*. *nɐ-* appears when the preverbal complex contains either an oblique argument or a preverb of any type (§2.6.4) with or without accompanying oblique agreement: *ɐ-nɜrt-nɜ-lɐq ɐ-lɜ-nɐ-ɕʷidɜ-q'ɜ lɜndʷɜ-n* 'the livestock (relat.) they drove away from near the Narts' (Dumézil 1957:21), *sí-w-nɐ-tʷi-n* 'they give me to you', *ɕʷí-z-bʁʲɜ-nɐ-w:tʷ'i-n* 'they lift you all off me'. The morph *ɐ-* appears in all other environments: *s-ɐ-bjɜ́-n* 'they see me', *s-ɐ-di-qʷ'ɜ́:tʷ-q'ɜ* 'they made me stop' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:173).

2.6.1.1.2. Illustrative paradigms

The following paradigms demonstrate full personal conjugations in the present tense for four basic monomorphemic verb roots: the intransitive *kʲ'ɜ* 'to go', the oblique intransitive *jɜ* 'to hit', the transitive *b(i)jɜ* 'to see' and the oblique transitive *tʷi* 'to give (to)'.

2.6.1.1.2.1. Intransitive verb: **kʲ'ɜ** 'to go'

From Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:86). Subject = ABS[51].

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
sg.	*s[i]-kʲ'ɜ́-n*	*wi-kʲ'ɜ́-n*	(*ɐ-*)*kʲ'ɜ́-n*
pl.	*ʃ[i]-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɛ́-n*	*ɕʷ[i]-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɛ́-n*	*ɐ-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɛ́-n*

2.6.1.1.2.2. Oblique intransitive verb: **jɜ** 'to hit'

From Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:87) and Dumézil (1976:10). Subject = ABS, object = OBL.

	1sOBL	2sOBL	3sOBL
1sABS	–	*si-wí-jɜ-n*	*sí-Ø-jɜ-n*
2sABS	*wi-sí-jɜ-n*	–	*wí-Ø-jɜ-n*
3sABS	*ɐ-sí-jɜ-n*	*ɐ-wí-jɜ-n*	*jí-Ø-jɜ-n*
1pABS	–	*ʃi-wí-j[ɜ]-ɐ-n*	*ʃi-Ø-j[ɜ]-ɐ-n*
2pABS	*ɕʷi-sí-j[ɜ]-ɐ-n*	–	*ɕʷí-Ø-j[ɜ]-ɐ-n*
3pABS	*ɐ-sí-j[ɜ]-ɛ́-n*	*ɐ-sí-j[ɜ]-ɛ́-n*	*jí-Ø-j[ɜ]-ɐ-n*

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[51] Note that before the verb root *kʲ'ɜ* 'to go', the unstressed *-i-* of the agreement-prefixes *s(i)-*, *ʃ(i)-* and *ɕʷ(i)-* is very often lost or at least devoiced.

	1pOBL	2pOBL	3pOBL
1sABS	–	*si-ɕʷɨ-j[ʒ]-ɐ-n*	*s-ɐ́-jʒ-n*
2sABS	*wɨ-ʃɨ-jʒ-n*	–	*w-ɐ́-jʒ-n*
3sABS	*ɐ-ʃɨ-jʒ-n*	*ɐ-ɕʷɨ-j[ʒ]-ɐ-n*	*Ø-ɐ́-jʒ-n*
1pABS	–	*ʃɨ-ɕʷɨ-j[ʒ]-ɐ-n*	*ʃ-ɐ́-j[ʒ]-ɐ-n*
2pABS	*ɕʷɨ-ʃɨ-j[ʒ]-ɐ-n*	–	*ɕʷ-ɐ́-j[ʒ]-ɐ-n*
3pABS	*ɐ-ʃɨ-j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	*ɐ-ɕʷɨ-j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	*Ø-ɐ́-j[ʒ]-ɐ-n*

2.6.1.1.2.3. Transitive verb: **b(i)jʒ** 'to see'

From Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:88-89). Subject = ERG, object = ABS.

	1sABS	2sABS	3sABS
1sERG	–	*wɨ-z-b(i)jɔ́-n*	*(ɐ-)z-b(i)jɔ́-n*
2sERG	*si-w-b(i)jɔ́-n*	–	*(ɐ-)w-b(i)jɔ́-n*
3sERG	*si-Ø-b(i)jɔ́-n*	*wɨ-Ø-b(i)jɔ́-n*	*(ji-)Ø-b(i)jɔ́-n*
1pERG	–	*wɨ-ʒ-b(i)jɔ́-n*	*(ɐ-)ʒ-b(i)jɔ́-n*
2pERG	*si-zʷ-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	–	*(ɐ-)zʷ-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*
3pERG	*s-ɐ-b(i)jɔ́-n*	*w-ɐ-b(i)jɔ́-n*	*Ø-ɐ-b(i)jɔ́-n*

	1pABS	2pABS	3pABS
1sERG	–	*ɕʷɨ-z-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	*ɐ-z-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*
2sERG	*ʃɨ-w-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	–	*ɐ-w-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*
3sERG	*ʃɨ-Ø-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	*ɕʷɨ-Ø-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	*(ji-)Ø-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*
1pERG	–	*ɕʷɨ-ʒ-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	*ɐ-ʒ-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*
2pERG	*ʃɨ-zʷ-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	–	*ɐ-zʷ-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*
3pERG	*ʃ-ɐ-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	*ɕʷ-ɐ-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*	*Ø-ɐ-b(i)j[ʒ]-ɐ́-n*

2.6.1.1.2.4. Oblique transitive verb: **tʷi** 'to give'

From Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:90-92). Subject = ERG, object = ABS, indirect object = OBL.

1st singular ERG					
	2sOBL	3sOBL		2pOBL	3pOBL
2sABS	–	*wɨ-Ø-s-tʷi-n*	2sABS	–	*w-ɐ́-s-tʷi-n*
3sABS	*ɐ-wɨ-s-tʷi-n*	*ji-Ø-s-tʷi-n*	3sABS	*ɐ-ɕʷɨ-s-tʷ-ɐ-n*	*Ø-ɐ́-s-tʷi-n*
2pABS	–	*ɕʷɨ-Ø-s-tʷ-ɐ-n*	2pABS	–	*ɕʷ-ɐ́-s-tʷ-ɐ-n*
3pABS	*ɐ-wɨ-s-tʷ-ɐ-n*	*ji-Ø-s-tʷ-ɐ-n*	3pABS	*ɐ-ɕʷɨ-s-tʷ-ɐ-n*	*Ø-ɐ́-s-tʷ-ɐ-n*
1st plural ERG					
	2sOBL	3sOBL		2pOBL	3pOBL
2sABS	–	*wɨ-Ø-ʃ-tʷi-n*	2sABS	–	*w-ɐ́-ʃ-tʷi-n*
3sABS	*ɐ-wɨ-ʃ-tʷi-n*	*ji-Ø-ʃ-tʷi-n*	3sABS	*ɐ-ɕʷɨ-ʃ-tʷ-ɐ-n*	*Ø-ɐ́-ʃ-tʷi-n*
2pABS	–	*ɕʷɨ-Ø-ʃ-tʷ-ɐ-n*	2pABS	–	*ɕʷ-ɐ́-ʃ-tʷ-ɐ-n*
3pABS	*ɐ-wɨ-ʃ-tʷ-ɐ-n*	*ji-Ø-ʃ-tʷ-ɐ-n*	3pABS	*ɐ-ɕʷɨ-ʃ-tʷ-ɐ-n*	*Ø-ɐ́-ʃ-tʷ-ɐ-n*

2ⁿᵈ singular ERG

	1sOBL	3sOBL		1pOBL	3pOBL
1sABS	–	sí-Ø-w-tʷɨ-n	1sABS	–	s-ė-w-tʷɨ-n
3sABS	ɐ-sí-w-tʷɨ-n	jí-Ø-w-tʷɨ-n	3sABS	ɐ-ʃí-w-tʷɨ-n	Ø-ė-w-tʷɨ-n
1pABS	–	ʃɨ-Ø-w-tʷ-ɐ-n	1pABS	–	ʃ-ė-w-tʷ-ɐ-n
3pABS	ɐ-sí-w-tʷ-ɐ-n	jí-Ø-w-tʷ-ɐ-n	3pABS	ɐ-ʃí-s-tʷ-ɐ-n	Ø-ė-w-tʷ-ɐ-n

2ⁿᵈ plural ERG

	1sOBL	3sOBL		1pOBL	3pOBL
1sABS	–	sí-Ø-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n	1sABS	–	s-ė-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n
3sABS	ɐ-sí-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n	jí-Ø-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n	3sABS	ɐ-ʃí-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n	Ø-ė-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n
1pABS	–	ʃɨ-Ø-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n	1pABS	–	ʃ-ė-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n
3pABS	ɐ-sí-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n	jí-Ø-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n	3pABS	ɐ-ʃí-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n	Ø-ė-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n

3ʳᵈ singular ERG

3ʳᵈ singular ERG	1sOBL	2sOBL	3sOBL
1sABS	–	si-wí-n-tʷɨ-n	sí-Ø-n-tʷɨ-n
2sABS	wi-sí-n-tʷɨ-n	–	wɨ-Ø-n-tʷɨ-n
3sABS	ɐ-sí-n-tʷɨ-n	ɐ-wí-n-tʷɨ-n	(jí-)n-tʷɨ-n
1pABS	–	ʃɨ-wí-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	ʃɨ-Ø-n-tʷ-ɐ-n
2pABS	ɕʷi-sí-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	–	ɕʷɨ-Ø-n-tʷ-ɐ-n
3pABS	ɐ-sí-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	ɐ-wí-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	(jí-)n-tʷ-ɐ-n
	1pOBL	2pOBL	3pOBL
1sABS	–	si-ɕʷí-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	s-ė-n-tʷɨ-n
2sABS	wi-ʃɨ-n-tʷɨ-n	–	w-ė-n-tʷɨ-n
3sABS	ɐ-ʃɨ-n-tʷɨ-n	ɐ-ɕʷí-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	Ø-ė-n-tʷɨ-n
1pABS	–	ʃi-ɕʷí-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	ʃ-ė-n-tʷ-ɐ-n
2pABS	ɕʷi-ʃɨ-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	–	ɕʷ-ė-n-tʷ-ɐ-n
3pABS	ɐ-ʃɨ-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	ɐ-ɕʷí-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	Ø-ė-n-tʷ-ɐ-n
3ʳᵈ plural ERG	1sOBL	2sOBL	3sOBL
1sABS	–	si-wí-nɐ-tʷɨ-n	sí-Ø-nɐ-tʷɨ-n
2sABS	wi-sí-nɐ-tʷɨ-n	–	wɨ-Ø-nɐ-tʷɨ-n
3sABS	ɐ-sí-nɐ-tʷɨ-n	ɐ-wí-nɐ-tʷɨ-n	(jí-)nɐ-tʷɨ-n
1pABS	–	ʃi-wí-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n	ʃɨ-Ø-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n
2pABS	ɕʷí-sí-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n	–	ɕʷí-Ø-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n
3pABS	ɐ-sí-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n	ɐ-wí-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n	(jí-)nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n
	1pOBL	2pOBL	3pOBL
1sABS	–	si-ɕʷí-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n	s-ė-nɐ-tʷɨ-n
2sABS	wi-ʃɨ-nɐ-tʷɨ-n	–	w-ė-nɐ-tʷɨ-n
3sABS	ɐ-ʃɨ-nɐ-tʷɨ-n	ɐ-ɕʷí-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n	Ø-ė-nɐ-tʷɨ-n
1pABS	–	ʃi-ɕʷí-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n	ʃ-ė-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n
2pABS	ɕʷi-ʃɨ-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n	–	ɕʷ-ė-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n
3pABS	ɐ-ʃɨ-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n	ɐ-ɕʷí-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n	Ø-ė-nɐ-tʷ-ɐ-n

2.6.1.1.3. Reflexive and reciprocal prefixes

2.6.1.1.3.1. Reflexivity

Reflexive relationships involving the ergative argument and either the absolutive or the oblique argument are normally expressed by usage of the free reflexive pronoun *gʲɜ* 'self' in combination with a possessive prefix (§2.2.1.3; §2.3.4).

For reflexivity between the absolutive and oblique arguments, by contrast, a special reflexive pronominal prefix *zɜ-* is used, which may appear only in the slot for the oblique agreement marker:

ʁɜ́-bẓɜ   ɐ-zɜ-wɜ-gʲɨ́:tʷi-n   (TE)
3sPOSS-tongue   3sABS-REFL-PVB-remain-PRES
'he stutters' [lit. 'his tongue mixes with itself'] (Vogt 1963:199)

ɕɜ-nɨ́   ɐ-zɜ-fɜ́-s-q'-ɜw:t   (TE)
three-ADV   3sABS-REFL-PVB-1sERG-cut-FUT.II
'I will cut it [lit. 'cut it apart from itself'] into three' (Dumézil and Esenç 1977a:12)

The reflexive prefix *zɜ-* and the reflexive pronoun *gʲɜ* may appear together in the same sentence, in which case the oblique, absolutive and ergative arguments all have the same referent:

sɜwsɨriqʷɜ   dɜ-gʲɨ   ʁɜ-gʲɜ   Ø-zɜ-n-Ø-kʲ'ɜɕʷi-n…   (TE)
S.[.ERG]   now-EMPH   3sPOSS-self   3sABS-REFL-3sERG-CAUS-change-CONV
'Sewsırıque, causing himself to change again…' (Dumézil 1960b:435)

2.6.1.1.3.2. Reciprocality

The reciprocal prefix *zɜ-* is phonetically identical to the reflexive prefix (§2.6.1.1.3.1), and can likewise appear in the slot for the oblique agreement marker, in which case the reciprocal relationship may be construed as between the oblique and either the ergative or the absolutive arguments:

ʁʷ[ɜ]-ɕ́lɜ   siʁʷ[ɜ]-ɕ́lɜ   kʲ'ɜ:ʁɨ́:ʃ   (TE)
you-COM   I-COM   companionship
Ø-zɜ-dʒi-ʃ-ʃ-ɐji-f[ɜ]-ɜw:mi:t
3sABS-RECIP.OBL-COM-1pERG-make-ITER-POT-FUT.II.NEG
'you and I can no longer be companions' (Vogt 1963:50)

ɐ-zɜwẕ-gʲɨ   ɐ-zɜ-ɬq'ɜ-dʒi-nɜ-n   ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ-n   (HKo)
the-all-EMPH   3pABS-RECIP.OBL-PVB-follow-PL-CONV   3pABS-PVB-go-PAST-PL
'they all came following after each other' (Dumézil 1957:2)

but by contrast, the reciprocal prefix may also appear in the ergative agreement marker slot, and in this case the reciprocal relationship is between the ergative and the absolutive arguments of the verb:

   ʧ'ɜ-n   *ʁ-zɜ-bjɜ-nɜ-gʲɨ*   *ʁ-lɜ-xɜ-q'ɜ-n*   (HKo)
   good-ADV   3sABS-RECIP.ERG-see-PL-CONV   3pABS-PVB-be.standing(PL)-PAST-PL
   'they kept loving each other [lit. 'seeing each other well']' (Dumézil 1962b:30)

2.6.1.1.4. Impersonality and argument-deletion

There are various mechanisms at work in Ubykh that permit the deletion or omission of some pronominal prefixes. In all transitive and oblique transitive verbs, the absolutive agreement slot may be filled with a special pronominal prefix *jɜ-*, which is an impersonal prefix indicating the overt lack of an absolutive direct object:

   ʧ'ɜχʷɜ́ *ʁʲɜ* *Ø-s-f-q'ɜ́-mɜ*   (TE)   *vs.* *ʧ'ɜχʷɜ́*   *jɜ-s-f-q'ɜ́-mɜ*   (TE)
   today meat 3sABS-1sERG-eat-PAST-NEG   today   NULL.ABS-1sERG-eat-PAST-NEG
   'I have not eaten meat today' (Hewitt 1974) *vs.* 'I have not eaten today' (Hewitt 1974)

   ʃɨʁʷɜɬɜ   *jɨ-ʃʷɜ-ʁɜ*   *jɜ-ʃ-kʷ'ʁχ-n[ɜ]-ɜw:t*   (HU)
   we   this-sea-LOC   NULL.ABS-1pERG-walk.around-PL-FUT.II
   'we will walk around in this sea' (Dumézil 1959c:168)

Oblique arguments and corresponding agreement-prefixes of oblique intransitive or, rarely, oblique transitive verbs may be omitted without other morphological consequence:

   sɨ-wɨ-jɜ-n   (TE)   *vs.* *sɨ-jɜ́-n*[52]   (TE)
   1sABS-2sOBL-hit-PRES   1sABS-hit-PRES
   'I hit you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:87) *vs.* 'I hit' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:87)

   ɕʷɨbˤɜ   *ʁɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ-bzɜ́χ*   *Ø-gʲɨ-nɨ-w:tʷ'-q'ɜ*   (TE)
   bread[.OBL]   3sPOSS-two-slice 3sABS-PVB-3sERG-take-PAST
   'he took two slices of bread' (Vogt 1963:46)

Agent-deletion is rarely possible, though there is a small and lexically specified set of ergative verbs (§2.6.10.3) whose agents can be omitted without other morphological consequence.

2.6.2. Stative vs. dynamic verbs

There is a basic distinction in Ubykh between stative and dynamic verbs, though the distinction is rather poorly developed in comparison to the system in its sister-language Abkhaz (see Hewitt 2005a:111). Indeed, it is difficult to speak of a distinct class of 'stative

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[52] Note the distinction of stress between this and *sɨ́-Ø-jɜ-n* 'I hit X'.

verbs' in Ubykh; the morphological framework of stative verbs is in practice a means of deriving verbs from substantives. Any substantive may form the root of a stative verb: χⁱɨ 'prince' → sɨ-χⁱɨ 'I am a prince', ɐbˤʒ 'ill, sick' → s-ɐbˤʒ 'I am ill', though the distinction between a stative verb and a possessed noun in the present tense is only rarely morphologically detectable:

sɨ-tʷ	(TE)	vs.	*sɨ-tʷɨ*	(TE)
1sPOSS-father			1sABS-father[.STAT.PRES]	
'my father' (Vogt 1963:33)		*vs.*	'I am a father' (Vogt 1963:33)	

and even here the distinction is regularly maintained only by some speakers, as Dumézil (1965:40) points out that HKo levels both of the above forms to *sɨ-tʷɨ*.

Stative verbs are morphologically impoverished; they are able to appear only in the present and past tenses, for which they have morphologically distinct markers (§2.6.5.3). Stative verbs are capable of bearing only absolutive agreement and oblique agreement conditioned by the preverbs χⁱʒ-, tɕʷɨ- or ʤɨ- (§2.6.1.1.1), but a full dynamic morphology is accessible by incorporating the substantive root (§2.6.4.4) into the verb *ʃɨ* 'to be, to become':

wɨ-tɨt-ʃ-qʼʒ-mʒ (HU)
2sABS-man-become-PAST-NEG
'you did not become a man' (Dumézil 1959c:167)

ɐ-ʑʷʒ Ø-ʦʼʒ-ʃ-ʒwːt (TE)
the-sky 3sABS-good-become-FUT.II
'the sky will be(come) fine' (Dumézil 1962b:165)

Although the copulas of existence (§3.2.3.3) take tense-marking typical of stative verbs in the present, they are in fact irregular in this sense, as they may otherwise take the full array of dynamic tenses (§2.6.5) and also take preradical negative-marking even in the present tense (§2.6.9).

2.6.3. Finiteness
The distinction between finiteness and non-finiteness is a fundamental feature of Ubykh verbs. Virtually any fully inflected finite verb, in any tense, may be made non-finite with only a few changes in morphological structure. These non-finite verbs are formally absolutive participles, being morphologically dependent relative clauses with an implicit absolutive head (§3.3.2.9):

ɐ-s-qʼʒ-n-ɨ	(TE)	vs.	*ɐ-s-qʼʒ-n*	(TE)
3sABS-1sERG-say-PRES-NFIN			3sABS-1sERG-say-PRES	
'what I say, (that) which I say' (Vogt 1963:234)		*vs.*	'I say it' (Vogt 1963:234)	

The morphological differences between these non-finite clauses and the finite verbs from which they are derived are as follows (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:181):

(1) Negation (§2.6.9) in non-finite clauses is strictly prefixal in all tenses: *ʁ-sɨ́-m-b(ɨ)jɜ-q'ɜ* 'what I did not see' ← *ʁ-z-b(ɨ)jɜ-q'ɜ́-mɜ* 'I did not see it'; *ʁ-w-q'ɜşɜ́-mɨ-ʁ-ɜw:t* 'what you will not want' (cp. *s-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɜ́w:mɨ:t* 'I will not go').

(2) The non-finite clause often undergoes stress-displacement (§1.6): *ɜ́-ʃ-q'ɜ* 'what came about, that which happened' ← *ʁ-ʃ-q'ɜ* 'it came about, it happened'.

(3) A final underlying /-ɨ/ realised as zero in the finite form may surface in the non-finite form, and may, but need not, attract stress: *ʁ-s-q'ɜşɜ-ʁ-ɨ* 'what I want' ← *ʁ-s-q'ɜşɜ́-ʁ* 'I want it', *ʁ-z-b(ɨ)j[ɜ]-ɜ́w:t-ɨ* 'what I will see' ← *ʁ-z-b(ɨ)j[ɜ]-ɜ́w:t* 'I will see it'.

(4) The vowel *-ɜ* which is deleted from the plural tense-markers *-q'ɜ:jɫ(ɜ)*, *-ʁ-nɜ:jɫ(ɜ)*, *-n[ɜ]-ɜwɨ:jɫ(ɜ)* and *-n(ɜ)* (§2.6.5) when they appear word-finally in finite verbal forms remains intact in the non-finite form: *ʁ-lɜ-ʒʷɜ-q'ɜ:jɫɜ* '[those] who were sitting there' (compare *ʁ-lɜ-tʷ'ɜ-q'ɜ:jɫ* 'they had left'), *ʁ-kʲ'[ɜ]-ʁ-nɜ:jɫɜ* '[those] who were going' ← *ʁ-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɜ́-nɜ:jɫ* 'they were going'.

Note that only prefixal negation and overt final *-ɜ* are completely reliable indicators of a verb's non-finiteness. The other processes are not exceptionless, and non-finite forms exist which are identical to the finite verb from which they are derived, such as *jɨ-Ø-s-tʷɨ-n* 'I give it to him/her' ~ 'what I give to him/her' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:92).

2.6.4. Prefixed adverbial elements
2.6.4.1. Relational preverbs
There are three relational preverbs, which occupy a distinct slot in the preverbal complex and impart a grammatical role rather than a positional locus to the noun they govern; the governed noun is marked with the relational case. The relevant preverbs are *χʲɜ-* (benefactive: 'for the benefit of; for, to'), *tɕʷɨ-* (malefactive: 'against, doing harm to, to the detriment of') and *dʒɨ-* (comitative: 'along with, accompanying'):

jɜ-zɜ-dʒɨ-nʁ-dzʷɜ-q'ɜ   (TE)
NULL.ABS-RECIP.OBL-COM-3pERG-drink-PAST
'they drank together [lit. 'with each other']' (Dumézil 1960a:34)

zɜ-nɜjnʃʷɨ-n   *Ø-Ø-dʒɨ-nʁ-Ø-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ*   (HÇ)
one-young.man-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-COM-3pERG-CAUS-go-PAST
'they married her to [lit. 'caused her to go with'] a young man' (Dumézil 1931:142-143)

ʁɜ-p'ʧ'ɜ́-n   *Ø-Ø-χʲɜ́-n-kʷ'(ɨ)-q'ɜ*   *niʧɨ*   (TE)
3sPOSS-guest-OBL 3sABS-3sOBL-BEN-3sERG-kill-PAST[.NFIN]   sacrificial.beast
'the sacrificial animal which he killed for his guest' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955a:43)

z[ʒ]- élʒ-z[ʒ]-élʒ   *ʋʁ[ʒ]-ʒw-gʲɨ*   *Ø-zʒ-χʲʒ-ʦɜ́-nʒ-gʲɨ*   (TE)
one-COM-one-COM   3pPOSS-PL-heart   3sABS-RECIP.OBL-BEN-burn-PL-CONV
Ø-mʋʲʋ-kʲʒ-q'ɜ́-n
3pABS-PVB-enter(SG)-PAST-PL
'their hearts began to burn for one another' (Dumézil 1967:109)

ʋ-s-ʨʷɨ-Ø-ʁʷʋ-tʷ'-q'ʒ   (TE)
3sABS-1sOBL-MAL-3sOBL-PVB-leave-PAST
'she came out of it against my wishes' (Dumézil 1963:10)

ʃɨʁʷʒ   *ʃɨ-mɨz*   *ʋ-ʃ-ʨʷɨ-dw[ʒ]-ʒw:tʷ:q'ʒ:jt'*   (AB)
us(GEN)   1pPOSS-child   3sABS-1pOBL-MAL-die-COND.II
'our child would have died [and been taken] from us' (Dumézil 1960a:48)

2.6.4.2. Orientational preverb

The orientational preverbs in the NWC languages are verbal prefixes that provide a directional deixis to the action of the verb. Ubykh has the smallest inventory of orientational preverbs in the family, consisting of the sole member *j(ɨ)-*, which has the meaning of 'hither' or 'in the direction of the speaker'. The classic distinctions are found with the verbs *kʲ'ʒ* 'to go' (→ *j-kʲ'ʒ* 'to go hither = to come') and *wɨ* 'to carry' (→ *j-wɨ* 'to carry hither = to bring'):

ʋ-kʲ'ɜ́-n   (TE)   vs.   *ʋ-j-kʲ'ɜ́-n*   (TE)
3sABS-go-PRES   3sABS-PVB-go-PRES
'he goes' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:86)   *vs.*   'he comes' (Hewitt 1974)

ʋ-z-wɨ́-n   (unkn.)   vs.   *ʋ-j-z-wɨ́-n*   (TE)
3sABS-1sERG-carry-PRES   3sABS-PVB-1sERG-carry-PRES
'I carry it' (Mészáros 1934:179)   *vs.*   'I bring it' (Vogt 1963:216)

though the preverb has wide applicability elsewhere:

ɛ́-j-n-tx-q'ʒ:jt'   (TE)
3sABS-PVB-3sERG-write-PLUP.SG
'he had written it [and sent it] here' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:135)

wɨ-gʲʒ   *Ø-z-bʁʲʒ-j-nʋ-kʷ'*   *Ø-ʁ[ʒ]-ʋ-w-dɨ-ʃ-q'ʒ*   (TE)
2sPOSS-self   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-PVB-3pERG-kill   3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-3sERG-CAUS-do-PAST
'you made them come here to kill you for me' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955b:449)

2.6.4.3. The oblique preverbs

The verbal prefixes occurring between the relational preverb and the orientational preverb are perhaps more complex than any other part of Ubykh verbal morphology. In this part of the

prefixal complex stands the Oblique-2 agreement-marker, along with a series of elements, usually referred to as *preverbs*, that may be governed by the Oblique-2 agreement-marker and provide additional semantic or grammatical information to the verb.

2.6.4.3.1. Local and directional preverbs

The local and directional preverbs, which may appear directly after the Oblique-2 agreement-marker, provide a location or focus of an action with respect to the oblique argument they govern. They largely subsume the roles played in other languages by adpositions, though these too exist in Ubykh (§2.2.1.5). Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:103-104) draw a distinction between 'local preverbs' and 'determinants', viewing the latter as nouns incorporated into the verbal complex, and it appears that a very restricted type of substantive incorporation is still possible (§2.6.4.4), but despite Dumézil and Esenç's claim that determinants may be distinguished by being governed by possessive prefixes rather than oblique agreement-markers (§2.6.1.1.1), in practice such a claim is unsupportable, as may be seen from the following examples of preverbs classified by Dumézil and Esenç as 'determinants':

ʃɨ-zɜ́-pʃɜ-pχ[ɜ]-ɐ-n   (TE)
1sABS-RECIP.OBL-backside-scatter-PL-PRES
'we scatter from each other' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:118)

wɜ-mɨwɜ   xɜtxɨ-ɬɜ:pqɨ-nɜ   Ø-ɐ-q'ɐ-ʁ   (TE)
that-mill   X̂.-clan-OBL.PL   3sABS-3pOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'the X̂etx̂ɪ clan own that mill' (Dumézil 1962b:50)

But even so, the attested Ubykh preverb inventory is still much smaller than the 123 Abkhaz local preverbs listed by Spruit (1983). Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:105-128) list 43 preverbs:

bɜtɕ'ɜ-	to, from, or at the area below or beneath; under, but not touching, an object
blɐ-	to, from, or in a narrow sheathlike or passagelike space
blɜʦ'ɐ-	in front of the eyes of, in the vision of
bʁʲɜ-	to, from, or on the top of; above an object, whether in contact or not
ɕɜ-	to, in, or into something covered and enclosed, especially a building or room
ʣɐ-	to, from, or at the side of; beside; passing beside or across an object
ʤɐ-	to do with the back or torso (especially with verbs to do with clothing)
ʤɜ-	to, from, or at the area behind or at the back of an object
fɐ-	to, in, or at the front of, meeting with, contesting with
fɐ-	to, in, into, or out of a fire
fɜ-	to, from, or at the end or side of; on a non-horizontal surface
gʲɨ-	to do with the heart
gʲɨ-	to, from, at, in, or on a flat, broad or open surface or area
gʲɨfɜ-	to do with the chest or bosom
jɜ-	to, from, or at the place beneath; underneath and in contact with an object

jtɕʷ'ɐ-	to, from, or on the ground or the earth
łɐ-	to do with the legs or feet (especially with verbs to do with clothing)
łɜfɜ-	to, from, or next to the base of; around the base or feet of an object
łɜjɜ-	to, from, or at the area under the base of an object; around an object's foot
łɜq'ɐ-	(with dynamic verbs) on the track of something, following after something
łɜq'ɜ-	(with stative verbs) on the track of something, following after something
łɜqʷ'ɜ-	[equivalent to *łɜq'ɐ-*]
mɐʲɐ-	to do with a road, travel or journey
pʃɜ-	to do with the bottom or backside, or the area behind something
q'ɐ-	to do with the hand or with possession
q'ɜfɐ-	away from the hand
q'ɜjɜ-	to, from, or in the area under the hand
q'ɜʁɜ-	out of the hand or out of one's control (see §2.6.4.3.1.1)
q'ɜʂɜ-	to do with volition or desire
ʁɜʦ'ɜ-	to, from, or in a cavity or hollow inside or within something
ʁʷɐ-	out of something covered and enclosed, especially a building or room
ʂɜ-	to do with the head, top, or individuality of something
ʂiqʷ'ɐ-	to, from, or on the top of an elevated or high object
tɕʷɜ-	to do with the skin
ʧikʷɐ-	to, from, or on top of one's shoulders or upper back
ʧ'ɐ-	to, from, or on the long side of an object
ʧ'ɐgʲɨ-	to, from, or at the area near to or close to something
ʧ'ɜ-	to, from, at, in, or on the edge, border or mouth of an object
ʦ'ɜ-	to, from, or in the area in front of or before something
ʦ'ɜfɐ-	(with dynamic verbs) in the face of or in front of something
ʦ'ɜfɜ-	(with stative verbs) in the face of or in front of something
wɜ-	to, from, or within a mass or group of homogeneous objects or matter
zlɜq'ɐ-	to, from, or in the space between objects

Preverbs ending in *-ɐ-* usually dissimilate to *-ɜ-* before the pronominal prefix *nɐ-* (§1.5.2).

There is also a wide array of preverbs attested with only a single verb; while some may just reflect limited attestation, many of these are historically composite or have origins in loans from other languages, and some cannot be treated semantically as anything more than a disjunct part of the root. Some examples are:

bɜjnɜ-w (sg.) ~ *bɜjnɜ-kʲɜ* (pl.)	'to become lost (voluntarily), to (choose to) disappear'
binɜ-tʷ (sg.) ~ *binɜ-xɜ* (pl.)	'to be within (a pit or ditch)'
dʷɨːgʲɨ-w (sg.) ~ *dʷɨːgʲɨ-kʲɜ* (pl.)	'to go outside, to go into the outdoors'
gʲɨʂɜ-qˤɜ	'to throw away in disgust'
nɜ-gʷɨjɜ	(+ the preverb *ɐ-*) 'to doubt, to have doubts about'
jɜ-jɜ	'to smoke or fume the body as a remedy'
jɜ-qˤɜ	'to run towards' (cf. the orientational preverb *j-*?)

qɐ-ts'ɜ	'to believe (a person)'
q'ɜ:fɜ-gʷɜ	'to help, to assist'
ʁʷɜ-q'	'to be ashamed of'
tɕʷɜ:gʲi-tʷ (sg.) ~ *tɕʷɜ:gʲi-xɜ* (pl.)	'to be asleep'
tfɜ:bʁʲɜ-s (sg.) ~ *tfɜ:bʁʲɜ-ʑʷɜ* (pl.)	'to be on a horse'; in dynamic form, 'to mount a horse'
tfɜ:zʷɜ-tʷ'ɜ	'to dismount a horse'
ʑʷɜ:jɜ-tʷ	'to be pointed upwards, to be pointed towards the sky'

2.6.4.3.1.1. The preverb q'ɜʁɜ- 'out of the hand'

In addition to its literal role as a preverb meaning 'out of one's hand' or 'from one's hand', the preverb *q'ɜʁɜ-* also functions in a more figurative sense, to show that an action was done out of the control of or without the willingness of the subject:

Ø-(Ø-)*q'ɜ:ʁɜ-ʃʷɜtfɜ-q'ɜ*   (HKo)
3sABS-(3sOBL-)PVB-laugh-PAST
'he couldn't help but burst out laughing' (Dumézil 1962b:16)

With transitive verbs, this sense of the preverb causes a striking change in verbal morphology, causing the usual ergative subject to be demoted to oblique status with a corresponding change to the agreement-prefixes, leaving the verb without an overt ergative subject[53]:

ji-χʲɨ-n   *zɜ-tɨt-gʷɜrɜ*   Ø-Ø-*q'ɜ:ʁɜ-kʷ'-q'ɜ*   (HKo)
this-prince-OBL   one-man-certain   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-kill-PAST
'this prince accidentally killed a man' (Dumézil 1962b:13; Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:119)

2.6.4.3.2. The preverb/preverbal postfix ʁɜ-

In addition to the local and directional preverbs, there is another preverbal element that may be governed by the Oblique-2 agreement-marker: the preverb *ʁɜ-*. This prefix imparts a generally ablative sense to the argument it governs (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:79-80):

ɐ-w-ʁɜ́-si-w:tʷ'i-n   (TE)
3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-1sERG-take.DYN-PRES
'I take it away from you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:80)

a sense preserved in the now monomorphemic preverb *q'ɜʁɜ-* 'out of the hand' (cf. *q'ɐ-* 'in the hand, to do with the hand', originally from **q'ɜ* 'hand' + the preverb *ɐ-* (§2.6.4.3.3)):

siʁʷɜ   *si-w-q'ɜ:ʁɜ-tʷ'-ɐj-ɜw*   (HKo)
I   1sABS-3sOBL-PVB-escape-ITER-FUT.I
'I will escape from you again' (Dumézil 1957:19)

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[53] As Hewitt (2005:118) points out, the corresponding prefixes of unwillingness in Abkhaz (*amχa-*), Abaza (*amqa- ~ əmqa-*) and Circassian (*ʔetʃ'e-*) also cause exactly this type of ergative demotion.

Sometimes the prefix *ʁ*ɜ- rather gives a sense of 'behind' or 'from behind':

   ɕʷi-z-ʁɜ-l[ɜ]-ɐ-n   (TE)
   2pABS-1sOBL-PVB-reach-PL-PRES
   'you (pl.) are catching up with me' (Dumézil 1965:231)

Its most productive usage, however, is as a postfix for a local or directional preverb, in which case it provides translative force to the preverb's inherent illative, ablative or allative sense:

   ɐ-qʷˤʼɜ́-n   *ʃi-Ø-bɜʨʼɜ-ʁɜ-lɜ-χʷɜ-qʼɜ-n*   (TE)
   the-cavern-OBL   1pABS-3sOBL-PVB-PVB-PVB-pass-PAST-PL
   'we passed through [lit. 'through under'] the cavern' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:106)

   zɜ-qˤɐɕí-n   *Ø-Ø-gʲi-ʁɜ-lɜ-χʷɜ-gʲɨ…*   (TE)
   one-village-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-PVB-PVB-pass-CONV
   'as he was passing through a village…' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:115)

2.6.4.3.3 The indirective preverb ɐ-

The preverb *ɐ*- appears on several verbs to provide a morphemic slot with which a second or third argument, whose relationship to the subject is more indirect than that of a simple oblique object, may be introduced. It is the only Ubykh preverb that uses the possessive markers (§2.2.1.3) instead of the oblique agreement markers (§2.6.1.1.1) to mark its nominal agreement:

   si-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ́-lɜqʷʼi-n   (unkn.)   vs.   *si-lɜqʷʼɨ́-n*   (TE)
   1sABS-3POSS-PVB-listen-PRES   1sABS-listen-PRES
   'I am listening to it' (Mészáros 1934:393)   *vs.*   'I am listening' (Vogt 1963:137)

   Ø-ɐ́ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ-n-ɕɜ-qʼɜ   (TE)   vs.   *ɐ́-s-ɕɜ-n*   (TE)
   3sABS-3pPOSS-PVB-3sERG-sell-PAST   3sABS-1sERG-listen-PRES
   'she sold her to them' (Dumézil 1967:144)   *vs.*   'I sell it' (Vogt 1963:176)

   si-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ́-ʥʁɜ-n   (TE)   vs.   *si-ʥʁɜ́-n*   (unkn.)
   1sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-ask-PRES   1sABS-ask-PRES
   'I am asking him' (Vogt 1963:231)   *vs.*   'I am asking' (Mészáros 1934:282)

though like other preverbs it may also take the reciprocal prefix *zɜ*- (§2.6.1.1.3.2):

   ɐ-z[ɜ]-ɐ-gʷiʧʼɕqʼɜ-nɜ-gʲɨ…   (TE)
   3pABS-RECIP.OBL-PVB-talk-PL-CONV
   'they talking to one another…' (Dumézil 1967:179)

ɐ-ɕʷ-χʲɜ-z[ɜ]-ɜ́-s-ʃ-ɐ-n   (TE)
3pABS-2pOBL-BEN-RECIP.OBL-PVB-1sERG-do-PL-PRES
'I split them apart for you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:102)

2.6.4.3.4. *The generic local preverb* lɜ-
Standing apart from the other local preverbs is the prefix *lɜ-*, which is a preverb that provides to a verb a sense of generic and unspecified location. Unlike the other local preverbs, it does not ordinarily govern an oblique argument in the relational case:

ɐʁ[ɜ]-ɜw-qɐtir   *ɐ-lɜ-nɐ-ɕʷiχʷɜ-nɜ-gʲɨ…*   (TE)
3pPOSS-PL-mule   3pABS-PVB-3pERG-drive-PL-CONV
'they urging on their mules…' (Dumézil 1960a:46)

siʁʷɜ   *kʲ'ɜ:ʁi-n*   *Ø-s-q'ɐ-ʁ-i*   (HKo)
I   companion(SG)-ADV   3sABS-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-NFIN
ɐ-lɜ-l[ɜ]-ɜw
3sABS-PVB-suffice-FUT.I
'what I have as companion[s] will suffice' (Dumézil 1962b:27)

although in the absence of other local preverbs it may (optionally) do so:

zɜ-ɬɜmsɜ́-gʷɜrɜ-n   *ɐ-bʕɜ́:ʒʷ*   *ʁɜ-ṣɜ́*   *Ø-Ø-lɜ-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ́*   (HKo)
one-root-certain-OBL   the-old.man[.OBL]   3sPOSS-head   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-go-PAST
'the old man's head struck a certain root' (Dumézil 1957:43; Vogt 1963:136)

This preverb is functionally separate from the others, and may co-occur with other preverbs:

ɐ-ʧɨ-n   *ɐ-wɜ́wɜ-mʁʲɐtʷ'ɜ*   *Ø-Ø-ɬɜjɜ-ʁɜ-lɜ-si-Ø-χʷɜ-q'ɜ*   (TE)
the-horse-OBL   the-saddle-strap   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-PVB-PVB-1sERG-CAUS-pass-PAST
'I passed the saddle strap under the horse' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:105)

2.6.4.4. *Incorporation*
Although the local preverbs (§2.6.4.3.1) may be signs that incorporation was at one stage fully productive in an older form of Ubykh, incorporation of substantives is found only to a very limited extent in the modern language. The only productive type of incorporation is found with the copular verb *ʃɨ* 'to be, to become' (and its causative); a substantive may be incorporated into the prefixal complex of this verb, seemingly in place of the Oblique-2 agreement marker (§2.6.1.1.1), and this is the most usual means of accessing dynamic morphologies for stative verbs (§2.6.2):

wɨ-tɨt-ʃ-q'ɜ-mɜ   (HU)
2sABS-man-become-PAST-NEG
'you did not become a man' (Dumézil 1959c:167)

Ø-kʷ'ʒ ş-ʃ-ʒw:t-gʲɐfɨ   *lʒndʷʒ*   (AB)
3sABS-sufficiency-become-FUT.II[.NFIN]-like   livestock
'goods [lit. 'livestock'] which will be enough' (Dumézil 1959a:44)

ʃɨ-n   *ɐ-tɕ'ʒ-Ø-dɨ-ʃ-ɐjɨ-q'ʒ-j?*   (TE)
who-ERG   3sABS-new-3sERG-CAUS-do-ITER-PAST-INTERR
'who renewed X?' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-tʃɨ   *dʒ-Ø-zʒ-χʲʒ-ţş'ʒ-ʃɨ-nʒ-t'ɨn…*   (TE)
the-horse   SUB-3pABS-REFL.OBL-BEN-good-become-PL-CONV
'when the horses got in shape…' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:341)

The incorporated substantive is functionally equivalent to a substantive in the adverbial case (§2.2.1.1.2.2):

ɐ-ţş'ʒ-ʃ-ʒw:mɨ:t   (TE)   *vs.*   *ɐ-ţş'ʒ-n*   *ɐ-ʃ-ʒwɨ:jt'*   (KS)
3sABS-good-become-FUT.II.NEG   the-good-ADV   3sABS-become-COND.I
'it won't go well' (Dumézil 1962b:172)   *vs.*   'it would've gone well' (Dumézil 1931:132)

2.6.5. Tense

Ubykh's tense-system is broadly similar to that found in the other NWC languages. Dynamic verbs in standard Ubykh possess nine basic tenses, and in OG's dialect, ten. The distinction between the past aorist and past perfect, still found in Abkhaz, has been neutralised and Ubykh now possesses only a simple past tense. Hewitt (1979:6) divides the dynamic tenses of Abkhaz into two parallel groups, and such a grouping may be applied to Ubykh as well, though morphological relationships between the two groups are not as transparent in Ubykh. In Group I appear the basic tenses, the *present*, *future I*, *future II* and *past* (= Hewitt's 'aorist'[54]), and in Group II appear the past or derived counterparts of the Group I tenses, the *imperfect*, *conditional I*, *conditional II* and *pluperfect*. There are two further tenses in Group I that do not have Group II counterparts; there is a *mirative past*, derived from the Old Ubykh past aorist, and in OG's dialect only, a *present progressive* tense not found in any other Ubykh variety. For the stative verbs, only a *present* and a *past* may be observed, the remaining tenses being accessed by substantive-incorporation (§2.6.4.4).

Tense-marking also conditions affixal or suppletive marking of number for the absolutive argument of the sentence, and the particular number-marking strategy used is dependent upon the tense in question. The appearance of tense-associated plural markers may also be conditioned by verbal agreement with a second-person plural argument, no matter whether absolutive, ergative or oblique (§2.6.8). Smeets (1997:46) notes that this latter phenomenon is

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[54] I do not use the label 'aor[ist]' for the Ubykh past-tense marker *-q'ʒ ~ -q'ʒn(ʒ)*, as in the modern language it has both aorist and perfect past meanings; also, *-q'ʒ ~ -q'ʒn(ʒ)* was originally the marker of the perfect, not the aorist, which had a distinct marker in Old Ubykh (see footnote 55).

first found in the *Seyâhatnâme*, but is subject to considerable variation until around 1955, at which stage it became more regularised. Sporadically in elicited paradigms a more Circassian-like pattern is found, with overt plural agreement only for third-person plural absolutive arguments (see §2.6.1.1.1), but this is not usually reflected in the texts.

The position of verbal negation is also dependent upon the tense in question (§2.6.9).

2.6.5.1. The Group I dynamic tenses

The five primary Group I tenses – six in OG's dialect – are, following Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:148) and Dumézil (1965:268-269) (tenses with no Group II counterpart are in grey):

	sg.	pl.		sg.	pl.
Present	*-n*	*-ɐ-n*	**Future I**	*-ʒw*	*-n[ʒ]-ʒw*
Past	*-q'ʒ*	*-q'ʒ-n(ʒ)*	**Future II**	*-ʒw:t*	*-n[ʒ]-ʒw:t*
Mirative past	*-jt'*	*-jɫ(ʒ)*	**(Progressive)**	*-ʒwiːn*	?

Table 6. The Group I dynamic tense-markers.

Examples of the senses of the first four tense-types are as follows (all of these examples are from Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:148)):

  wɨ-s-kʷ'ɨ-n   vs.   *wɨ-s-kʷ'-q'ʒ́*
  2sABS-1sERG-kill-PRES   2sABS-1sERG-kill-PAST
  'I kill you, I am killing you' *vs.*   'I killed you, I have killed you'

  wɨ-s-kʷ'-ʒ́w   vs.   *wɨ-s-kʷ'-ʒ́w:t*
  2sABS-1sERG-kill-FUT.I   2sABS-1sERG-kill-FUT.II
  'I will (certainly) kill you' *vs.*   'I will (probably) kill you'

The 'standard' Ubykh present tense represents both aorist and progressive meanings, so the form *jʒ-s-fɨ-n* is both 'I eat' and 'I am eating'. However, in OG's dialect these are separated into two distinct tenses (Dumézil 1965:267-268), the present aorist (morphologically identical to the present of 'standard' Ubykh) and the present progressive, whose morphological plural form is not known:

  ɐ-mid͡ʒʒ *ɐ-bʒ-n*   (OG)   vs. *ɐ-mid͡ʒʒ* *ɐ-b[ʒ]-ʒwiːn*   (OG)
  the-fire 3sABS-die.down-PRES   the-fire 3sABS-die.down-PROG
  'the fire dies down' (Dumézil 1965:267) *vs.* 'the fire is dying down' (Dumézil 1965:267)

The Ubykh past tense appears to have arisen from an old perfect tense, and it still possesses this function in the modern language:

  t͡ʃ'ʒχʷʒ́   *ʁʲʒ*   *Ø-s-f-q'ʒ́-mʒ*   (TE)
  today   meat   3sABS-1sERG-eat-PAST-NEG
  'I have not eaten meat today' (Hewitt 1974)

jɨ-zɜ́-q'[ɜ]-ɐl[ɜ]-ɜwn   *ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ́*   (TE)
this-one-place-COM-INSTR   3sABS-PVB-go-PAST
'he has come from this place' (Hewitt 1974)

However, the past tense has also absorbed the functions of the Old Ubykh past aorist **-jt'*
(singular) ~ **-jɫ* (plural)[55], as in the following example, TE's translation of the Turkish past
aorist verb **gösterirdi** 'he used to show':

ɐ-sɨ́-ni-Ø-bjɜ-q'ɜ   (TE)
3sABS-1sOBL-3sERG-CAUS-see-PAST
'he used to show it to me' (Hewitt 1974)

The past-tense marker *-jt'* ~ *-jɫ* still exists, but is extremely rare in the corpus and has acquired
mirative overtones, being used when an action is in some way surprising or runs counter to
expectations[56] (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:151):

«*ɐ-w-bjɜ-f[ɜ]-ɜw:tɨ-n*   *Ø-lɜ-mɨ́-t*»   (TE)
3sABS-2sERG-see-POT-FUT.II-CONV 3sABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
ɐ-w-q'ɜ-q'ɜ:jt'-gʲɨ:lɜ   *ɐ-z-bj[ɜ]-ɐ́jɨ-jt'*
3sABS-2sERG-say-PLUP-CONJ   3sABS-1sERG-see-ITER-MIR
'although you said "it is not possible for you to see him", I saw him again anyway'
                                                      (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:151)

zɜ:kʲ'ɜ́:tɐl[ɜ]-ɜwn   *ɕʷi-blɐ-ʁɜ-tʷ'ɨ-jɫ*   (TE)
suddenly[.OBL]-INSTR   2pABS-PVB-PVB-come.out-MIR.PL
'you all suddenly [and unexpectedly] appeared' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:151)

The plural form of the past tense, *-q'ɜn(ɜ)*, drops its final *-ɜ* when word-final in finite verbs:

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[55] This past aorist is only known from the Old Ubykh forms preserved in Evliya Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme*
(*c*. 1650), but the presence of several such forms in the *Seyâhatnâme*, along with the complete absence
of the perfect *-q'ɜ* ~ *-q'ɜn(ɜ)* from this material, is strong evidence that *-jt'* ~ *-jɫ* had not yet acquired its
restricted mirative sense and was in fact an ordinary but distinct past aorist tense at the time:

χʷˤɜ   *Ø-ʒ-ɐʷʒwɨ-jt'*,   *ɐ-ʃ-fɨ-jt'*   *Seyâhatnâme*: خُوزْغَوذْ آشْفِذْ   (unkn.)
pig   3sABS-1pERG-find-AOR   3sABS-1pERG-eat-AOR   *xuwžǧawid 'ašfid*
'we found a pig, [and] we ate it' (Dumézil 1978:64)

sɜ-j-zʷ-wɨ-jɫ-ʃɜj?   *Seyâhatnâme*:   سَيُوزِل شَا   (unkn.)
what-PVB-2pERG-bring(SG)-AOR.PL-EMPH.INTERR   *sayuwzil ša'*
'so what did you all bring?' (Gippert 1992:28)

[56] This shift in sense is likely the result of post-exodus influence from Turkish, which also has two
distinct simple past tenses; the distinction between the Turkish direct past *-DI* and inferential past *-mIş*
is basically evidential, but the *-mIş*-past also has strong mirative connotations (Slobin and Aksu 1982).

ʃ-kʲ'ʒ-q'ʒ́-nʒ-mʒ (TE)   vs.   *ʃ-kʲ'ʒ-q'ʒ-n* (HU)
1pABS-go-PAST-PL-NEG   1pABS-go-PAST-PL
'we did not go' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:165) *vs.*   'we went' (Dumézil 1959a:36)

ɐ-dw[ʒ]-ɐj-nʒ-ʃɐχʲʒ́   *ɐ-zʒ-ʤi-lʒ́:χʒ-q'ʒ-n* (TE)
3pABS-die-ITER[.NFIN]-PL-until 3pABS-RECIP.OBL-COM-remain(PL)-PAST-PL
'they lived with each other until they died' (Hewitt 1974)

The distinction between the Future I and Future II tenses is a subtle but important one, and is primarily modal in nature. The Future I tense has a connotation of immediacy, certainty, obligation or intentionality that is absent from the Future II:

ɐ-ʃ-ʒ́w,   *ɐ-wɨ-s-tʷ-ʒw* (TE)
3sABS-be-FUT.I   3sABS-2sOBL-1sERG-give(SG)-FUT.I
'all right, I will (certainly) give it to you' (Hewitt 1974)
   (in response to the request *siɐʷʒ́ zʒmʤʒ́ sɪɛʷtʷʒwiɛ?* 'will you give me a match?')

ɛʷɨ-j-kʲ'ʒ́-n[ʒ]-ʒwɨ-ɛ? (TE)
2pABS-PVB-go-PL-FUT.I-INTERR
'will you come?' (Hewitt 1974)

As a result, the Future I has somewhat wider application than classical future tenses in other languages, and may serve in first person forms as an exhortatory marker:

ʃɨ-kʲ'ʒ́-n[ʒ]-ʒw (TE)
1pABS-go-PL-FUT.I
'let's go!' (Hewitt 1974)

It may also appear in semantically general or temporally unbounded statements:

wʒ́-zʒ-q'[ʒ]-ɐlʒ   *Ø-ɐ-mɨ-ɐʷʒw-bʒ,*   *jɨ-zʒ-q'[ʒ]-ɐlʒ* (TE)
that-one-place-COM   3sABS-3pERG-find-IRR.PROT   this-one-place-COM
ɐ-j-kʲ'ʒ́-n[ʒ]-ʒw
3pABS-PVB-go-PL-FUT.I
'if they do not find it there, they come [lit. 'will come'] here' (Hewitt 1974)

or even in expressions of wishes despite the existence of a distinct optative mood (§2.6.7.3), as in the following, TE's translation of Turkish **meşhur olasın** 'may you be famous!':

wi-p'ʦ'ʒ́:qʷ':q'ʒ-nɨ   *wi-ʃ-ʒ́w* (TE)
2sPOSS-fame-ADV   2sABS-be-FUT.I
'may you be famous!' (Hewitt 1974)

By contrast, the Future II is a more unmarked and generic future tense:

si-kʲ'[ʒ]-ɛ́j-ʒw:t (TE)

1sABS-go-ITER-FUT.II

'I will go' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-gʷit̆ɛ́q'ʒ-n tit *ɐ-qʷ'iz-ʒ́w:t* (TE)

3sABS-speak-PRES[.NFIN] man 3sABS-be.silent-FUT.II

'the man who is speaking will be silent' (Hewitt 1974)

dʒ sʁʷʒ t'qʷ'ʒ́:mt̆ɛ'ʒ:t'qʷ'ʒtʷi-t͡s'ipχʒ Ø-wi-s-tʷ-ʒw:t (TE)

now I forty-key 3sABS-2sOBL-1sERG-give(SG)-FUT.II

'now I will give you forty keys' (Hewitt 1974)

and in OG's variety only, alternates freely between *-ʒw:t* and *-ʒwi:t* (Dumézil 1965:266-268):

ɐ-j-kʲ'[ʒ]-ɐj-ʒwi̇́:t (OG) vs. *ɐ-kʲ'[ʒ]-ɛ́j-ʒw:t* (TE)

3sABS-PVB-go-ITER-FUT.II 3sABS-go-ITER-FUT.II

'he will come back' (Dumézil 1965:267) *vs.* 'he will go back' (Hewitt 1974)

wi-nijʒt ɐ-ʁʷird[ʒ]-ʒwi:t (OG)

2sPOSS-intention 3sABS-be.ruined-FUT.II

'you will be foiled' [lit. 'your intention will be ruined'] (Dumézil 1965:267)

2.6.5.2. The Group II dynamic tenses

Though there are only four Group II tenses for all speakers, there is more variation in the forms involved, due in part to their morphologically complex nature. Each is a derivative of a corresponding Group I tense. The Group II tense-markings in TE's speech are as follows:

	sg.	pl.		sg.	pl.
Imperfect	*-nʒ:jt'*	*-ɐ-nʒ:jɬ(ʒ)*	**Conditional I**	*-ʒwi:jt'*	*-n[ʒ]-ʒwi:jɬ(ʒ)*
Pluperfect	*-q'ʒ:jt'*	*-q'ʒ:jɬ(ʒ) ~ -q'ʒ:nʒ:jt'*	**Conditional II**	*-ʒw:tʷ:q'ʒ*	*-(n[ʒ]-)ʒw:tʷ:q'ʒ(-n)*

Table 7. The Group II dynamic tense-markers.

Examples of the senses of these four tense-types are as follows (all of these four examples are from Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:148)):

wi-s-kʷ'i-nʒ:jt' (TE) vs. *wi-s-kʷ'-q'ʒ́:jt'* (TE)

2sABS-1sERG-kill-IMPF 2sABS-1sERG-kill-PLUP

'I was killing you, I used to kill you' *vs.* 'I had killed you'

wi-s-kʷ'-ʒ́w:tʷ:q'ʒ (TE) vs. *wi-s-kʷ'-ʒ́wi:jt'* (TE)

2sABS-1sERG-kill-COND.II 2sABS-1sERG-kill-COND.I

'I was going to kill you' *vs.* 'I would have killed you'

As with the plural past tense (§2.6.5.1), the final -ʒ of the plural forms of the imperfect, pluperfect and conditional II tenses is deleted when word-final in finite verbs (§1.5.3):

ʁ-j-kʲ'[ʒ]-ė-nʒ:jɬ　　　　　　(TE)　　vs.　ʃ-kʲ'[ʒ]-ė-nʒ:jɬʒ-mʒ　　　　　　　　　(TE)
3pABS-PVB-go-PL-IMPF.PL　　　　　1pABS-go-PL-IMPF.PL-NEG
'they were coming' (Hewitt 1974) *vs.* 'we weren't going' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:165)

ʃ-kʲ'ʒ-q'ɜ́:jɬʒ-mʒ　　　　(TE)　　　　　　vs.　ɕʷɨ-kʲ'ʒ-q'ɜ́:jɬ　　　　　(TE)
1pABS-go-PLUP.PL-NEG　　　　　　　　　2pABS-go-PLUP.PL
'we hadn't gone' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:165)　*vs.*　'you all had come' (Hewitt 1974)

The conditional tenses signify a kind of 'future-in-the-past', marking future-like tense within the context of a past narrative. As with the future tenses, the distinction between the two is primarily modal, though the situation of the plain future tenses is reversed, it being the conditional II that carries a sense of certainty or intention (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:155), and the conditional I a more uncertain or irrealis sense, often being used to form the apodosis of a protasis marked with the irrealis conditional-marker -bʒ (§2.6.7.4). Compare:

zʒ-pχʲɜ́ʃʷ-ʁniɕʷʒ　　　　dɜ́-Ø-j-kʲ'[ʒ]-ʒw:tʷ:q'ʒ　　　　Ø-ʁ[ʒ]-ė-qʷ'-gʲʒ-nʒ:jt'　　　(TE)
one-woman-beautiful　SUB-3sABS-PVB-go-COND.II　3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-be.heard-HAB-IMPF
'she was always hearing that a beautiful woman would be coming'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:155)

wʒ-tɨt　　　ʁ-z-ʁʷʒw-q'ʒ-bʒ　　　　　　ʁ-s-kʷ'-ʒwɨ:jt'　　　　　(unkn.)
that-man　3sABS-1sERG-find-PAST-IRR.PROT　3sABS-1sERG-kill-COND.I
'if I found that man, I would have killed him' (Dumézil 1959a:74)

The conditional II tense-marker is -ʒw(ɨ):t:q'ʒ in OG's dialect (Dumézil 1965:269):

sɨ-j-kʲ'[ʒ]-ʒw(ɨ):t:q'ʒ　　　　　　　　　　　(OG)
1sABS-PVB-go-COND.II
'I would have come' (Dumézil 1965:269)

and a variant -ʒw:tʷ:q'ʒ:jt' is attested in the speech of AB:

ʃɨʁʷʒ　　　ʃɨ-miz　　　ʁ-ʃ-tɕʷɨ-dw[ʒ]-ʒw:tʷ:q'ʒ:jt'　　　(AB)
us(GEN)　1pPOSS-child　3sABS-1pOBL-MAL-die-COND.II
'our child would have died and been taken from us' (Dumézil 1960a:48)

The position of number-marking in the conditional II tense is variable. Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:148), taking a prescriptive stance, state that number-marking follows the tense-marking, an additional plural marker optionally appearing directly before the tense suffix:

ɕʷɨ-z-bjə́(-n[ʒ])-ʒw:tʷ:q'ʒ-n   (TE)
2pABS-1sERG-see(-PL)-COND.II-PL
'I was going to see you all' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:148)

However, the following examples indicate that the preposed plural marker may also appear alone, without an additional postposed plural agreement, and in Hewitt's (1974) recordings it is in fact this type of preposed plural marking that is most commonly encountered:

sɨ-qʁɐl-lɐq   *ɐ-z-ʁʒ-kʲ'ʒ-n[ʒ]-ʒw:tʷ:q'ʒ*   (TE)
1sPOSS-king-towards   3pABS-1sERG-CAUS.PL-go-PL-COND.II
'I was going to send them to my king' (Dumézil 1962b:88)

ɕʷɨ-kʲ'ʒ-n[ʒ]-ɕ́w:tʷ:q'ʒ-mʒ-ɕ?   (TE)
2pABS-go-PL-COND.II-NEG-INTERR
'weren't you about to go?' (Hewitt 1974)

The marker of the pluperfect tense in OG's dialect is rather *-q'ʒwɨt* (Dumézil 1965:269), though its plural form is not known:

sɨ-j-kʲ'[ʒ]-q'ʒ:w(ɨ):t   (OG)
1sABS-PVB-go-PLUP
'I had come' (Dumézil 1965:269)

The ordinary plural form of the pluperfect tense marker in 'standard' Ubykh is the regular suppletive marker *-q'ʒ:jɬ*. However, where a second-person plural agreement-prefix appears in a non-absolute position and therefore conditions plural verbal agreement (§2.6.1.1.1), a synthetic plural variant, *-q'ʒ:nʒ:jt'*, is also possible:

jɨ-Ø-ɕʷ-tʷ-q'ʒ:nʒ:jt'-mʒ   (AB)
3sABS-3sOBL-2pERG-give(SG)-PLUP.PL-NEG
'you (pl.) had not given her to him' (Dumézil 1957:65)

p'ʧ'ʒ-nɨ   *sɨ-ɕʷ-χʲʒ-ʃ-q'ʒ́:nʒ:jt'*   (TE)
guest-ADV   1sABS-2pOBL-BEN-be-PLUP.PL
vs.   … *sɨ-ɕʷ-χʲʒ́-ʃ-q'ʒ́:jɬ*   (TE)
                  1sABS-2pOBL-BEN-be-PLUP.PL
'I had been your (pl.) guest' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:162)

2.6.5.3. *The stative tenses*

Only two stative tenses exist: the *stative present* and the *stative past*. As with the dynamic tenses, the markers are suppletive for the number of the absolutive argument.

	Singular	**Plural**
Present	*-Ø*	*-n(ɜ)*
Past	*-jt'*	*-jɬ(ɜ)*

Table 8. The stative tense-markers.

ɐ-s-tɕʷɨ-ɬɜqʼɜ́   (TE)
3sABS-1sOBL-MAL-precious[.STAT.PRES]
'it is dear to me' (Vogt 1963:142)

ʃɨ-t͡sʼɜ́-n   (TE)
1pABS-good[.STAT.PRES]-PL
'we are good' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:150)

ɐ-pχʲɜ́dɨkʷʼ   jɜdɜ-nɨ́   Ø-ɐnɨɕʷɜ-jtʼ   (TE)
the-young.woman   much-ADV   3sABS-beautiful-STAT.PAST
'the young woman was very beautiful' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-gʲɨɖʑɜ́-jɬɜ-mɜ   (TE)
3pABS-big-STAT.PAST.PL-NEG
'they were not big' (Charachidzé 1989a:389)

The full range of dynamic tenses (§2.6.5.1; §2.6.5.2) is accessed by incorporating the stative root into the verb *ʃɨ* 'to be, to become' (§2.6.4.4).

2.6.6. Aspect

Apart from the aspectual distinctions encoded within the tense system (§2.6.5), Ubykh possesses five other basic aspects, the *habitual*, *iterative*, *exhaustive*, *excessive* and *potential*, and perhaps an additional *continuative* aspect. The habitual marks an action done regularly or habitually, and is marked with the suffix *-gʲɜ*:

ɐ-kʲʼɜ́-ɕɜ   wɜnɜ́-nkʲɜ   Ø-ɐ-mɨ́-bijɜ-ɕɜ   Ø-Ø-fɨ-gʲɜ-nɜ:jtʼ   (TE)
3sABS-go-CONV   that-from   3sABS-3pERG-NEG-see-CONV   3sABS-3sERG-eat-HAB-IMPF
'she would always go and eat of it' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-z-bjɜ-gʲɜ́-n   (TE)
3sABS-1sERG-see-HAB-PRES
'I see him regularly' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:55)

The iterative marks an action done again, more, or in return, and is marked with *-ɐj(ɨ)*:

ɐ-qʼɜʃʷɜ́qʼɜ-ʁɜ́   Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɨ́-pʼtʃʼ-ɐji-qʼɜ-mɜ   (TE)
the-place-LOC   3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-glue-ITER-PAST-NEG
'she did not glue it back onto the place [it was cut from]' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-wɨ́-s-tʷ-ɐji-n (TE)
3sABS-2sOBL-1sERG-give-ITER-PRES
'I give it back to you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:52)

wɨ-kʲ'[ʒ]-ɛ́j-ʒw:t (TE)
2sABS-go-ITER-FUT.II
'you will go again' (Hewitt 1974)

With negative verbs it provides a sense of 'no more' or 'no longer':

ɐ-ʃindʒʒ-n-gʲɨ   *ɕʷibˤʒ*   *Ø-Ø-ʁʒts'ʒ-gʲɨːɬ-ɐj-q'ʒːjt'-mʒ* (İH)
the-bin-OBL-EMPH   bread   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-remain-ITER-PLUP-NEG
'even in the [bread] bin there had no longer been any bread' (Dumézil 1960a:47)

ji-ʃʷʒblʒ   *siʁʷʒ*   *s-ʒwn*   *ɐ-fʒl[ʒ]-ɐj-mʒ* (HKo)
this-country   me   1sPOSS-INSTR   3sABS-face[.STAT.PRES]-ITER-NEG
'I cannot stay any longer in this country with honour' (Dumézil 1961c:42)

The iterative occasionally provides a more exhaustive or conclusive sense, as in the following examples, where a strict iterative aspect would not ordinarily be motivated:

ɐ-mʁétɕʒ-dʒʒ   *ɐ-ʃ-q'ʒ́ːjt'-ɐχ*   *ɐ-s-ʃ[ʒ]-ɛ́j-q'ʒ* (TE)
the-bean-black   3sABS-become-PLUP-RES   3sABS-1sERG-pick-ITER-PAST
'the broad bean[s] had ripened, and so I harvested them' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:62)

ɐ-dw[ʒ]-ɐj-nʒ-ʃɐχʲʒ́   *ɐ-zʒ-dʒi-lʒ́ːxʒ-q'ʒ-n* (TE)
3pABS-die-ITER-PL[.NFIN]-until   3pABS-RECIP.OBL-COM-remain-PAST-PL
vs.   …   *ɐ-zʒ-dʒi-lʒːx[ʒ]-ɐj-q'ʒ-n* (HKo)
3pABS-RECIP.OBL-COM-remain-ITER-PAST-PL
'they lived with each other until they died' (TE: Hewitt 1974; HKo: Dumézil 1963:8)

siʁʷʒ́   *si-ʂɐpʃɨ-n*   *si-gʲʒ́*   *Ø-s-ʃx[ʒ]-ɛ́ji-q'ʒ* (TE)
I   1sPOSS-on.one's.own-ADV   my-self   3sABS-1sERG-wound-ITER-PAST
'I hurt myself' (Hewitt 1974)

The canonical exhaustive aspect, which marks an action done to completion or to fulfilment, is marked with the suffix *-lʒ*:

jʒ-Ø-f-lʒ-q'ʒ́-dʒ   *é-ʂʒnɨ*   *Ø-s-q'ʒ́ɕ[ʒ]-ɐj-ʃ[ʒ]-ʒw* (TE)
NULL.ABS-3sERG-eat-EXH-PAST-PROT   the-table   3sABS-1sERG-lift-ITER-POT-FUT.I
'if he has finished eating, I can take the table away' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:54)

ʁɜ-ɬɐp'ɜ́   *dʁɜ-Ø-Ø-p't͡ɕ'ɜ-lɜ́-t'in…*   (MK)
3sPOSS-foot   SUB-3sABS-3sERG-clean-EXH-CONV
'when he had finished cleaning his feet…' (Dumézil and Namitok 1954:186)

Note the particular nuance of the following example:

ɐ-w-kʷ'ɨ-l[ɜ]-ɜw   (AB)
3sABS-2sERG-kill-EXH-FUT.I
'you will make sure you kill him' [lit. 'you will finish killing him'] (Dumézil 1959a:46)

The excessive aspect, marked with the suffix *-t͡ɕʷɜ*, marks an action done too much or to excess:

jɜ-s-fi-t͡ɕʷɜ-n   (TE)
NULL.ABS-1sERG-eat-EXC-PRES
'I eat too much' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:56)

si-Ø-t͡ɕʷi-gʲɨgʲɜ-t͡ɕʷɜ-n   (TE)
1sABS-3sOBL-MAL-fear-EXC-PRES
'I am very afraid of him' (Vogt 1963:125)

si-gʲibʒ-t͡ɕʷɜ-n-qʲɜ-mɜ-ɕɜ   *si-Ø-jɜ-n*   (TE)
1sABS-be.angry-EXC-CONV-than-NEG-CONV   1sABS-3sOBL-hit-CONV
ɐ-si-Ø-χʲɜ-q'ɜ
3sABS-1sERG-CAUS-collapse-PAST
'I was so angry that I hit him and made him collapse' (Dumézil 1960a:69)

Ubykh verbs have the ability to mark potentiality within the verbal complex; the potential aspect marks an action which can be done or is capable of being done by the subject, and is marked with the suffix *-fɜ*:

Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ-m-q'ɜd͡z-fɜ-nɜ:jt'   (HKo)
3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-NEG-approach-POT-IMPF
'he wasn't able to approach her' (Dumézil 1959b:68)

ʃɨ-tʷ'ɜ́:ʒʷɜ-fɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜw:t   (TE)
1pABS-sit(PL)-POT-PL-FUT.II
'we shall be able to sit' (Hewitt 1974)

sɨ-bzɜ   *Ø-Ø-qʷ'ɜ-n*   *si-gʷit͡ʃɜq'ɜ-fɜ-q'ɜ-mɜ*   (TE)
1sPOSS-tongue   3sABS-3sERG-seize-CONV   1sABS-speak-POT-PAST-NEG
'my tongue was seized and I was not able to speak' (Dumézil 1967:111)

although lexical verbs of potentiality of course also exist (§3.3.5).

The element -zзłзfзʁ is clearly a reflexive derivative of the verb łзfз-ʁ 'to be suspended from the base of', but appears to be a fully integrated continuative suffix in verb forms such as these:

ʁз-kʷ'з-q'зkʲ'з   ʁ-qʷ'ɨ-zз:łзfз:ʁɨ-nз:jt'   (AH)
3sPOSS-moaning-voice   3sABS-be.heard-CONT-IMPF
'his plaintive voice could continually be heard' (Dumézil 1957:73; Vogt 1963:218)

nзmзzз   ʁ-j-nʁ-ʃ-zз:łзfз:ʁɨ-q'з:jt'   (KS)
prayer   3sABS-PVB-3pERG-do-CONT-PLUP
'they had always made their prayers' (Dumézil 1931:145)

jin[з]-зwnɨ   sɨ-lз-χʷз-zз:łзfз:ʁ-nз:jt'   (İH)
this[.OBL]-INSTR   1sABS-PVB-pass-CONT-IMPF
'I always used to pass by here' (Dumézil 1960a:45)

Various of these aspects may be combined, and Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:70) note that the combinations -ʁj(ɨ)-lз, -ʁj(ɨ)-fз, -ʁj(ɨ)-lз-fз and -ʨ ʷз-fз are possible:

ʁ-m-gʷɨ̈ʧɕ̌q'[з]-ʁj-fз-ɕз   ʁз́-bzз   Ø-Ø-qʷ'з-q'з́   (TE)
3sABS-NEG-speak-ITER-POT-CONV   3sPOSS-tongue   3sABS-3sERG-seize-PAST
'his tongue was seized and he was no longer able to speak' (Dumézil 1967:111)

jɨ́-Ø-s-tʷ-ʁj-lз-f[з]-зw:mɨ:t   (TE)
3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-give-ITER-EXH-POT-FUT.II.NEG
'I will not be able to give it back to him completely' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:70)

ʁ-s-ʨ'[з]-ɛ́j-lз-n   (TE)
3sABS-1sERG-know-ITER-EXH-PRES
'I remember it perfectly' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:70)

jз-s-fɨ-ʨ ʷз-fз́-n   (TE)
NULL.ABS-1sERG-eat-EXC-POT-PRES
'I can eat too much' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:70)

and at least the potential aspect may appear in conjunction with the complex continuative element -zзłзfзʁ:

sɨ-płз-zз:łзfз:ʁ-f[з]-з:mɨ:t   (TE)
1sABS-look-CONT-POT-FUT.I.NEG
'I will not be able to be watching all the time' (Dumézil 1965:252)

The discontinuous (*-tʷ* (sg.) ~ *-xʒ* (pl.)) and frequentative-intensive (*-ʧʒ*) aspects to which Charachidzé (1989a:388) refers are lexically determined and unproductive.

2.6.7. Mood

Ubykh has eight morphologically distinct moods: *indicative*, *imperative*, potentative and frustrative *optative*, irrealis and realis *conditional*, and binary and complex *interrogative*. The imperative mood exhibits several morphological complications that make its formation rather convoluted, but all of the other moods are formed by simple affixation.

2.6.7.1. Indicative

The indicative mood carries no special morphological marking.

2.6.7.2. Imperative

The imperative mood does not possess a single consistent morphological pattern. The imperative may be morphologically distinguished by the absence of tense-marking morphology, though a plural marker *-n* does appear, under the same conditions as the number-marking associated with tense-affixes (§2.6.5). Two forms of the imperative exist, one which is more polite and the other more direct, brusque or curt. Overt agreement for the subject (i.e. the addressee of the imperative) is deleted in some instances, the patterns of which are greatly dependent upon the argument structure of the verb, and also upon the presence or absence of negation (§2.6.9). The examples in this section are all from Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:87) unless otherwise cited.

For intransitive and oblique intransitive verbs, subject-agreement in the direct imperative is always overt in both singular and plural, positive and negative:

wɨ-kʲ'ʒ́	(TE)	vs.	*ɕʷɨ-kʲ'ʒ́-n*	(TE)
2sABS-go			2pABS-go-PL	
'go (sg.)!'		*vs.*	'go (pl.)!'	

wɨ-m-kʲ'ʒ́	(TE)	vs.	*ɕʷɨ-m-kʲ'ʒ́-n*	(TE)
2sABS-NEG-go			2pABS-NEG-go-PL	
'don't (sg.) go!'		*vs.*	'don't (pl.) go!'	

wɨ-sɨ́-jʒ	(TE)	vs.	*ɕʷɨ-sɨ́-jʒ-n*	(TE)
2sABS-1sOBL-hit			2pABS-1sOBL-hit-PL	
'hit (sg.) me!'		*vs.*	'hit (pl.) me!'	

wɨ-sɨ-mɨ́-jʒ	(TE)	vs.	*ɕʷɨ-sɨ-mɨ́-jʒ-n*	(TE)
2sABS-1sOBL-NEG-hit			2pABS-1sOBL-NEG-hit-PL	
'don't (sg.) hit me!'		*vs.*	'don't (pl.) hit me!'	

The polite imperative may be distinguished in verbs not ending in *-ʒ* by the appearance of an overt *-ɨ* after the root:

wɨ-qʷʼɨz-ɨ   (TE)   vs.   wɨ-qʷʼɨz   (TE)
2sABS-be.silent-IMPER   2pABS-be.silent
'(please) be quiet!'   *vs.*   'silence!'

and also in this pair of examples from Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:158):

wɨ-ʁ[ʒ]-ɐ-qʼʒdɮ-ɨ   (TE)   vs.   wɨ-ʁ[ʒ]-ɐ-qʼɕdɮ   (TE)
2sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-approach-IMPER   2sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-approach
'(please) approach, come (as a guest)!' *vs.*   'approach, come (as a guest)!'

For transitive verbs, subject-agreement is deleted in the singular of positive direct imperatives:

ɐ-Ø-bjɕ   (TE)
3sABS-2sERG-see
'(please) see (sg.) it!'

while in prohibitions and in the plural, subject-agreement is retained:

ɐ-w-m-bjɕ   (TE)   vs.   ɐ-ɕʷɨ-m-bjɕ-n   (TE)
3sABS-2sERG-NEG-see   3sABS-2pERG-NEG-see-PL
'don't (sg.) see it!'   *vs.*   'don't (pl.) see it!'

The polite imperative of transitive verbs is formed from positive imperatives only, by the addition of a prefix *dʒɨ-*:

ɐ-wɨ-dʒɨ-bjʒ (= ɛ́-w-dʒɨ-bjʒ)   (TE)   vs.   ɐ-ɕʷɨ-dʒɨ-bjʒ-n   (TE)
3sABS-2sERG-IMPER-see   3sABS-2pERG-IMPER-see-PL
'(please) see (sg.) it!'   *vs.*   '(please) see (pl.) it!'

though when the transitive verb is causative, this prefix cannot appear, and in such instances the polite imperative may only be formed by overt final *-ɨ* (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:158).

Finally, for oblique transitive verbs, subject-agreement is suppressed in all positive imperatives, but appears in prohibitions:

jɨ-Ø-Ø-tʷɨ   (TE) vs.   jɨ́-Ø-w-mɨ-tʷ   (TE)
3sABS-3sOBL-2sERG-give   3sABS-3sOBL-2sERG-NEG-give
'give (sg.) X to Y!'   *vs.*   'do not (sg.) give X to Y!'

jɨ-Ø-Ø-tʷɨ-n	(TE)	vs.	*jɨ-Ø-ɕʷɨ-m-tʷɨ-n*	(TE)
3sABS-3sOBL-2pERG-give-PL			3sABS-3sOBL-2pERG-NEG-give-PL	
'give (pl.) X to Y!'		*vs.*	'do not (pl.) give X to Y!'	

The polite imperative may again be formed only by the appearance of *-ɨ*, as in this pair of examples from Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:158):

ʁ-z-bʁʲʒ-Ø-w:tʷ'-ɨ	(TE)	vs.	*ʁ-z-bʁʲʒ́-Ø-w:tʷ'*	(TE)
3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-2sERG-remove-IMPER			3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-2sERG-remove	
'take X from on top of me!'		*vs.*	'get X off me!'	

A type of emphatic imperative is formed by the addition of a suffix *-mʒɕ* to the end of an imperative verb (§2.6.11).

'First-person' and 'third-person' imperatives are given through other means. The usual first-person exhortative strategy is to use an ordinary verb in the Future I tense (§2.6.5.1):

zʒ-fɨ:ʃʷʒ-ʁʒ   *ʃɨ-Ø-ɕʒ-kʲʒ-n[ʒ]-ʒw-mʒ*   (TE)
one-eating.place-LOC   1pABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(PL)-PL-FUT.I-CONV
jʒ-ʃ-f-ʒw
NULL.ABS-1pERG-eat-FUT.I
'let's [lit. 'we will'] go into a restaurant and eat' (Dumézil 1965:157)

ʃɨ-kʲ'ʒ́-n[ʒ]-ʒw   (TE)
1pABS-go-PL-FUT.I
'let's go!' (Hewitt 1974)

or, alternatively, by a causative (§2.6.10.1), parallel with English 'let's…':

wɨ-dʒ́:tʷ,   *ʃɨ-Ø-ʁʒ-kʲ'ʒ́-n*   (TE)
2sABS-stand(SG)   1pABS-2sERG-CAUS.PL-go-PL
'stand up, [and] let's go!' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:158)

Third-person exhortations have a special morphological marker *-gʲʁqʷ'*, or *-jʁqʷ'* in OG's dialect (and according to Vogt (1963:123) occasionally in the speech of others as well):

ʁ-zʒwẓ-gʲɨ   *mʁ-[ʁ-]lʒ́-xʒ-nʒ-n*   *ʁ-lʒ́-gʲi:xʒ-nʒ-gʲʁqʷ'*   (TE)
the-all-EMPH   where-3pABS-PVB-be.standing(PL)-PL-CONV   3pABS-PVB-remain-PL-HORT
'let everyone remain where he is' (Hewitt 1974)

ʁ-j-mɨ́-kʲ'ʒ-gʲʁqʷ'   (TE)
3sABS-PVB-NEG-go-HORT
'let him not come' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-jɐqʷ' (OG)
3sABS-PVB-go-HORT
'let him come' (Dumézil 1965:269)

2.6.7.3. Optative moods

The plain or potentative *optative* mood is formed by adding to a tenseless verb the suffix *-χ* after a final *-ɨ* or consonant, or *-ɐχ* after a final *-ɜ* or the pluraliser *-nɜ* (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:156):

wɜ́:ʂχʷɜ   *Ø-wɨ-j[ɜ]-ɐ́χ* (unkn.)
lightning   3sABS-2sOBL-hit-OPT
'may lightning strike you!' (Mészáros 1934; Dumézil 1965:251)

Ø-Ø-ʥʷɜ-ʃɜ-gʲɨ   *Ø-Ø-χʲɜ-mɛʷɜ-ʃɨ-χ* (unkn.)
3sABS-3sERG-drink-CONV-EMPH 3sABS-3sOBL-BEN-fortunate-become-OPT
'may it be lucky for whomever drinks it!' (Dumézil 1965:69)

The compound suffixes *-dɜʃ* and *-dɐχ* may form a distinct *frustrative optative* mood, appearing in conjunction with the past-tense suffix *-q'ɜ* (§2.6.5.1). This is a type of optative representing the specific nuance of a wish or desire for which an opportunity to fulfill it has gone unsatisfied, and is equivalent to English 'if only…':

ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ́-nɜ-dɜ:ʃ (TE)
3sABS-PVB-go-PAST-PL-FRUSTR.OPT
'if only they had come!' (Vogt 1963:112)

wɨ-djɜ   *Ø-z-bjɜ-q'ɜ-dɜ:ʃ* (TE)
2sPOSS-corpse 3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST-FRUSTR.OPT
'if only I had seen your corpse!' (Dumézil 1965:225-226)

ʃ-ɜ́w-χɨʃɜ-gʲɨ   *ɐ́-w-m-tsɜ-q'ɜ-nɜ-d[ɜ]:ɐχ* (TE)
1pPOSS-PL-garment-EMPH   3pABS-2sERG-NEG-burn-PAST-PL-FRUSTR.OPT
'if only you had not burned our clothes!' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:156)

2.6.7.4. Conditional moods

Ubykh possesses two distinct verbal suffixes that mark verbal protases, the irrealis *-bɜ* and the realis *-dɜ(n)*. The marker *-bɜ*, being primarily irrealis in sense, is most frequently used as a protasis-marker with the pluperfect, imperfect and past tenses:

wɨ-dwɜ-q'ɜ:jt'-bɜ   *jɨnɜ-qʲɜ*   *Ø-tɕɜ:lɨ-jt'* (TE)
2sABS-die-PLUP-IRR.PROT   this-than   3sABS-better-STAT.PAST
'it would have been better than this if you had died' (Dumézil 1960b:435)

jɨ-fɜtɕ'ɜ   *ɐ-s-fɜ-mɨ-tʷ-q'ɜ-bɜ…*   (HKo)
this-nose   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-NEG-be.standing(SG)-PAST-IRR.PROT
'if I did not have this nose…' (Dumézil 1959b:114)

In the present, there is no overt tense-marking:

zɜ-bɜnɨ́-qʲɜ   *Ø-z-ʁʷɜ́w-bɜ*   *ɐ-s-f-ɨ́w*   (TE)
one-grass-than   3sABS-1sERG-find[.PRES]-IRR.PROT   3sABS-1sERG-eat-FUT.I
'if I find just one [blade of] grass, I will eat it' (Charachidzé and Esenç 1993b:32)

and in a few examples, such forms take on an extended meaning almost like a converb:

Ø-Ø-p'qʲ'ɨ-bɨ́   *ɐ-tʂ'ɨ́-n*   *Ø-Ø-pɬɨ́-jɨ*   (TE)
3sABS-3sERG-raise[.PRES!]-IRR.PROT   the-good-ADV   3sABS-3sOBL-watch-CONV
Ø-Ø-dɨ́-zɨ-gʲɨ   *ɐ-bɨ́jːʃʷ-gʲɨ*   *ɐ-z-q'ɨ́ːjt'*
3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-become.fat-CONV   the-lamb-EMPH   3sABS-become.fat-PLUP
'he raising [lit. 'if he raised'] it, the lamb had got fat by him looking after and fattening it'
                                                                          (Dumézil 1968b:1)

The irrealis protasis-marker may be extended by the comitative-instrumental suffix *-ɐlɜ*
(§2.2.1.1.2.3) without apparent semantic change:

ɐ-ʃɨ-Ø-brɐzɜ-b[ɜ]-ɐlɜ…   (HKo)
3sABS-1pERG-CAUS-turn[.PRES]-IRR.PROT-COM
'if we return…' (Dumézil 1960a:23)

By contrast, the marker *-dɜ(n)* is realis in sense, cannot be accompanied by the comitative-instrumental marker, and does not affect tense-marking in the present:

wɨ-nɜ   *tʂ'ɜ-nɨ́*   *Ø-w-bjɨ́-n-dɜ*   *dʑɜːmɨ́* *ʁɨ́-nɜ-n*   (TE)
2sPOSS-mother   good-ADV   3sABS-2sERG-see-PRES-PROT   other   3sPOSS-mother-OBL
wɨ-ʁ[ɜ]-ɨ́-m-tɕʷχˤɜ
2sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-NEG-insult
'if you love your mother, do not insult another's mother' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:142)

nɐsɨp   *ɐ-w-q'ɐ-ʁ-dɜn*   *wɨ-j-dʑ-ɜw*   (HKo)
luck   3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-have[.STAT.PRES]-PROT   2sABS-PVB-return-FUT.I
'if you are lucky, you will come back' (Dumézil 1957:19)

A concessive meaning ('even if') is formed by adding the emphatic marker *-gʲɨ* (§2.2.1.6) to either of the conditional formants (though the optional *-n* of the concessive formant *-dɜ(n)* does not appear in such emphatic forms):

ʃɨ-lɜ-mɨ́-x[ɜ]-ɐj-fɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜw:t-dɜ-gʲɨ…   (TE)
1pABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(PL)-ITER-POT-PL-FUT.II-PROT-EMPH
'even if we will not be able to stay…' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:208)

wɨ-psɜ́   *Ø-Ø-bʁʲɜ́-w-dɨ-wɜdɨjɜ-bɜ-gʲɨ*   *wɜnɜ́* (TE)
2sPOSS-soul   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-2sERG-CAUS-be.lost[.PRES]-IRR.PROT-EMPH   that
ɐ-w-tʷ'ɜ́d[ɜ]-ɜw:tɨ-n   *ɐ-lɜ́jʃʷɜ-mɜ*
3sABS-2sERG-send-FUT.II-CONV   3sABS-moral.code[.STAT.PRES]-NEG
'even if you lose your life for it, it is not right for you to give it away' (Vogt 1963:37)

2.6.7.5. Interrogative moods

Ordinary non-emphatic interrogative sentences in Ubykh have two distinct markers. The suffix *-ɕ* (which also underlies the final portion of the emphatic imperative marker *-mɜɕ*; see §2.6.11) is added to a clause's finite verb to mark a binary or yes-no question:

ɕʷɨ-dɨ́-ɕɜ-xɜ-nɜ   *tɕʷjɜ*   (TE)
2pABS-REL-PVB-be.standing(PL)[.STAT.PRES]-PL.NFIN   house
ɐ-łɜq'ɜ́-ɕ?
3sABS-dear[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
'is the house in which you live expensive?' (Hewitt 1974)

ʃʷɜ   *Ø-ɕʷ-q'ɐ-mɨ́-ʁɨ-nɜ-ɕ?*   (TE)
matter   3sABS-2pOBL-PVB-NEG-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-PL-INTERR
'have you no work?' (Hewitt 1974)

kʷɜ́njɜ-ʁɜ   *ɕʷ-kʲ'ɜ-bzɜ́-q'ɜ-nɜ-ɕ?*   (TE)
Konya-LOC   2sABS-go-EMPH-PAST-PL-INTERR
'have you (pl.) ever been to Konya?' (Hewitt 1974)

The marker may also appear in indirect interrogatives, as in the following usage:

[ɐ-]ɐbˤʁˤɜ-ɕ   *ɐ-z:q'ɜ-ɕ*   (HKo)
3sABS-skinny[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR   3sABS-fat[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
ɐ-sɨ-m-tɕ'ɜ-ɕɜ…
3sABS-1sERG-NEG-know-CONV
'without my knowing whether it was skinny or fat…' (Dumézil 1963:2)

Content-questions, by contrast, are marked with the suffix *-j*:

jɨnɜ́   *ʃɨ-n*   *Ø-Ø-ʁɜ-ɕʷɨ-w:tʷ'-q'ɜ́-nɜ-j?*   (TE)
this   who-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-2pERG-take.out.DYN-PAST-PL-INTERR
'from whom did you take this?' (Hewitt 1974)

sɐbɜ   wɜ-bɨj:wɨqʷˤ'ɜ-diwʂɜ:q'ɜ-n   wɨ-Ø-jɜ-q'ɜ-j?   (HKo)
why   that-shepherd-poor-OBL   2sABS-3sOBL-hit-PAST-INTERR
'why did you hit that poor shepherd?' (Dumézil 1963:5)

jɨɫɜ́-mɨz-nɜ   sɜ́-n-gʲɐfɨ   ɕʷɜ́ɫɜ   (TE)
these-child-OBL.PL   what-OBL-as.much.as   you(PL)
Ø-ɕʷɨ-χɨ-nɜ-j?
3sABS-2pOBL-belong.to(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-PL-INTERR
'how many of these children belong to you?' (Hewitt 1974)

Like the binary interrogative marker, *-j* also surfaces in indirect interrogatives, as in the following example:

jinɜ́   sɜ   ʁɜ-d:wɜ́djɜ:ɬ[ɜ]-ɜwnɨ   (HKo)
this   what[.OBL]   3sPOSS-way.of.losing[.OBL]-INSTR
ɐ-ʃɨ-Ø-wɜ́dj[ɜ]-ɜwɨ-j   ɐ-ʃɨ-Ø-q'ɜ́-n
3sABS-1pERG-CAUS-lose-FUT.I-INTERR   3sABS-1pOBL-2pERG-say-PL
'tell us in what way we should execute him' (Dumézil 1957:1; Vogt 1963:114)

The use of negative affixes in interrogative verb forms (§2.6.9) produces leading questions expecting the answer 'yes':

ʁʷɜ   hɜdʒi:jɜkʷɨpɨ-kʷɐ́ji-n   wɨ-Ø-nkʲɜ́-mɜ-ɕ?   (MK)
you(SG)   H.Y.-village-OBL   2sABS-3sOBL-be.of[.STAT.PRES]-NEG-INTERR
wɨ-p'ʦ'ɜ́   Ø-wɜsmɜn-mɜ-ɕ?
2sPOSS-name   3sABS-O.-NEG-INTERR
'Aren't you from Hacıyakup village? Isn't your name Osman?'

                                    (Dumézil and Namitok 1954:186)

In addition to the two markers *-ɕ* and *-j* is a third, more marked interrogative-marking suffix, *-ʃɜj*, which forms a more pressing interrogative mood for both binary and content-questions:

mɐ-s-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɜ́wɨ-ʃɜj?   (TE)
where-1sABS-go-FUT.I-EMPH.INTERR
'where then will I go?' (Charachidzé 1989a:455)

q'ɜq'ɨ́   Ø-Ø-q'ɐ-ʁ-ʃɜj?   (TE)
sugar   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-EMPH.INTERR
'so does he have any sugar?' (Vogt 1963:188)

Syntactic means of emphasising elements of the question also exist, notably interrogative clefting (§3.4.1.2.2).

2.6.8. Plurality

One of the most striking features of the Ubykh verbal complex as compared to those of its sister languages is the plethora of distinct means of plural marking. As noted previously, the absolutive case of nouns is generally unmarked for number (§2.2.1.1.1.2), and to compensate Ubykh has developed several alternative methods of marking plurality of the absolutive argument. There are possibilities for overt plural-marking found in the prefixal complex of the noun, notably in the possessive (§2.2.1.3) and demonstrative prefixes (§2.3.2), but there are also three primary ways of marking plurality of the absolutive argument within Ubykh verbs: (a) suppletion of the root or of one or both parts of a compound root (§2.6.8.1); (b) suppletion of the causative prefix in morphologically causative verbs, fluctuating between *di-* (sg.) and *ʁɜ-* (pl.) (§2.6.10.1); (c) any of several affixation or suppletion strategies associated with specific tense-forming suffixes (§2.6.5). The appearance of plural forms of tense-markers may also be conditioned by verbal agreement with a second-person plural argument, no matter whether absolutive, ergative or oblique (§2.6.1.1.1), as in the following verb forms, all from Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:90-91):

ɕʷi-si-n-tʷ-ɐ-n	(TE)	vs.	*ji-Ø-ɕʷ-tʷ-ɐ-n* (TE)
2pABS-1sOBL-3sERG-give-PL-PRES			3sABS-3sOBL-2pERG-give-PL-PRES
'X gives you (pl.) to me'		*vs.*	'you (pl.) give X to Y'

vs. *si-ɕʷi-n-tʷ-ɐ-n* (TE)

1sABS-2pOBL-1sERG-give-PL-PRES

vs. 'X gives me to you (pl.)'

One consequence of this is that a second-person plural argument appearing in the ergative or oblique positions may obscure the plurality of a third-person absolutive argument:

ɐ-ɕʷi-n-tʷ-ɐ-n (TE)

3s/3pABS-2pOBL-3sERG-give-PL-PRES

'X gives Y/them to you (pl.)' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:91)

2.6.8.1. Suppletion of the root

The following verb roots have distinct suppletive forms for singular (or collective) and plural absolutive arguments:

Singular	Plural	Meaning
tʷi	*xɜ*	to be in a standing position (on)
si	*ʒʷɜ*	to be in a sitting position (on)
ɬi	*ɬɜ*	to be in a lying position (on)
ʁi	*ʁʲɜ*	to be in a hanging or suspended position (on)
tʷi	*qʲɜ*	to give
wi	*kʲɜ*	to enter; to carry, to take, to bring
χi	*(w)χʷɜ*	to belong to

However, there a large number of complex verb roots which are in one way or another derived from these basic verbs, and these also exhibit suppletion. Too many of these complex roots exist for them to be listed here, but some common examples are *dɜtʷ* ~ *dɜxɜ* 'to stand up', *qʷ'ɜ* ~ *qʷ'ɜkʲɜ* 'to grab, to hold, to seize', *witɕ* ~ *kʲɜtɕ* 'to steal', *tʃ'ɜtʷ* ~ *tʃ'ɜxɜ* 'to put (onto), to place', *widʒ* ~ *kʲɜdʒ* 'to bring', and *gʲitʷ* ~ *gʲixɜ* 'to stay, to remain'.

2.6.9. Negation

Negation is marked by verbal affixation. There are two negative affixes in Ubykh, a prefix *m(i)-* and a suffix *-mɜ*, and the choice of which is to appear in a given verbal complex is dependent upon the tense and finiteness of the verb. The negative prefix *m(i)-* is the marker used for ordinary verbs in the dynamic present tense, and also for the copulas of existence in the present tense:

zɜ:kʲ'ɜ-gʲɨ	*ɕʷi-j-mi-kʲ'[ɜ]-ė-n*	(TE)
once-EMPH	2pABS-PVB-NEG-go-PL-PRES	
'you never come' (Hewitt 1974)		

zɜ-gʲɨ	*Ø-s-q'ɜṣɜ-mi-ʁ*	(TE)
one-EMPH	3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]	
'I don't want anything' (Hewitt 1974)		

The suffixal negation-marker *-mɜ* is the usual negative marker in both the stative present and stative past tenses:

ɐ-ʃⁱʷɨ́-mɜ	(TE)
3sABS-matter[.STAT.PRES]-NEG	
'it is easy' [lit. 'it is not a matter'] (Hewitt 1974)	

wɜɬɨ́	*siʁʷɨ́*	*Ø-si-gʲė́tɕ-nɜ-mɜ*	(TE)
those	me	3pABS-1sOBL-be.like[.STAT.PRES]-PL-NEG	
'they are not like me' (Vogt 1963:122)			

ɐ-gʲɨdɮɨ́-jt'-mɜ	(TE)
3sABS-big-STAT.PAST-NEG	
'it was not big' (Charachidzé 1989a:389)	

ɐ-gʲɨdɮɨ́-jɬɜ-mɜ	(TE)
3pABS-big-STAT.PAST.PL-NEG	
'they were not big' (Charachidzé 1989a:389)	

It is also the usual negation marker for finite verbs in the past, pluperfect, conditional I and conditional II dynamic tenses, and also the most common negator of the imperfect tense:

wзnз-gʲɨ Ø-z-bjз-q'ɜ́-mз, *dzɜ́:mз* Ø-z-bjз-q'ɜ́-mз (TE)
that-EMPH 3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST-NEG other 3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST-NEG
'I saw neither him nor anyone else' (Hewitt 1974)

wзnз-dzз-dзn *ɐ-tɨt* *ɐ-dwз-q'з:jt'-mз* (HÇ)
that-COP[.STAT.PRES]-PROT the-person 3sABS-die-PLUP-NEG
'in that case, the man had not died' (Dumézil 1931:129)

jɨ-msɜ́ *ɐ-s-ɛ́-pχʲ[з]-зwɨ:jt'-mз* (HKo)
this-odour 3sABS-1sPOSS-PVB-be.emitted-COND.I-NEG
'I would not have smelt this odour' (Dumézil 1959b:114; Vogt 1963:161)

ʁʷз *wɨ-ʂɛ́pʃɨ-n* *j-ɛ́mзl* *ɐ-w-ʁʷɜ́w-f[з]-зw:tʷ:q'з-mз* (TE)
you(SG) 2sPOSS-on.one's.own-ADV this-possibility 3sABS-2sERG-find-POT-COND.II-NEG
'you were not going to find this possibility on your own' (Dumézil 1967:76)

zз-gʲɨ Ø-Ø-ʁз-l[з]-зwɨ-n Ø-Ø-ɬɜ́kʲ'i-nз:jt'-mз (TE)
one-EMPH 3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-approach-FUT.I-CONV 3sABS-3sERG-be.able-IMPF-NEG
'no-one was able to catch up to him' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:51)

However, in the imperfect tense, although suffixal negation is the most common strategy either suffixal or prefixal negation is possible:

Ø-ɐ-mɨ-tɕ'з-nз:jt' (TE) vs. Ø-ɐ-tɕ'з-nз:jt'-mз (TE)
3sABS-3pERG-NEG-know-IMPF 3sABS-3pERG-know-IMPF-NEG
'they used not to know it' (Dumézil 1965:233) *vs.* 'id.' (Dumézil 1965:233)

Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:168) claim that a slight distinction between the two exists: "A l'imparfait, on rencontre exceptionnellement, peut-être par analogie du présent, l'indice négatif infixé… il y a alors un rapport de cause à effet avec ce qui suit"[57].

In the Future I and Future II tenses, the negative affix appears after the root, but infixed into the tense marker itself, clearly originating from ancient compounds of morphemes:

zз:kʲ'ɜ́ Ø-z-bjз-q'ɜ́ *wзnз-ɬɜ́q'[з]:ɐlз* (TE)
once 3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST[.NFIN] that[.OBL]-after
ɐ-s-ʂɜ́-ʃʷзd[з]-ɐj-зw:mɨ:t
3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-forget-ITER-FUT.II.NEG
'what I have seen once I will not forget again' (Hewitt 1974)

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[57] "In the imperfect, one encounters rarely, perhaps by analogy with the present, the infixed negative marker… in this case there is a cause-effect relationship with the following [sentence]".

siᵏʷӡ   *si-q'ɐp'ӡ*   *ji-Ø-si-Ø-kʲ'ӡt'ʷ'-ӡ:mi:t*   (TE)
I   1sPOSS-hand   3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-CAUS-encircle-FUT.I.NEG
'I will not put my hand around it' (Dumézil 1959a:55)

In all non-finite verbs, negation is prefixal regardless of tense:

ɐ-w-q'ӡʂ́-mi-ʁ-ӡw:t   (TE)
3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-NEG-be.hanging(SG)-FUT.II[.NFIN]
'what you will not want' (Hewitt 1974)

ʁӡ-pχʲӡʃʷ   *ɐ-mi-dwӡ-q'ӡ-ɕӡ*   *ɐbˤʁˤӡ:ɕʷinkʲ'i-n*   *ɐ-ʃ-q'ӡ-ni…*   (HKo)
3sPOSS-woman 3sABS-NEG-die-PAST-CONV skinny-ADV   3sABS-become-PAST-CONV
'his wife having become so skinny as to be nearly dead [lit. 'without having died']…'
                                                                (Dumézil 1962b:121)

ɐ-sí-m-b(i)jӡ-q'ӡ   (TE)
3sABS-1sERG-NEG-see-PAST[.NFIN]
'what I did not see' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:181)

2.6.10. Valency-changing mechanisms
2.6.10.1. Causative
Ubykh has both morphological and syntactic means of causative-formation. Morphological causatives are fully productive and may be formed from intransitive, oblique intransitive and transitive verbs, but like its sister-language Abkhaz, Ubykh generally avoids quadripersonal verbs, and so causatives of oblique transitives are normally formed by a periphrastic method.

Morphological causatives in Ubykh are marked by the prefix *di-* or zero in the absolute singular and *ʁӡ-* in the plural, immediately preceding the root:

ɐ-si-Ø-dӡ:tʷí-n   (unkn.) vs. *ɐ-z-ʁӡ-dӡ:x[ӡ]-ė-n*   (TE)
3sABS-1sERG-CAUS-stand(SG)-PRES   3pABS-1sERG-CAUS.PL-stand(PL)-PL-PRES
'I make X stand up' (Mészáros 1934:175) *vs.*   'I make them stand up' (Vogt 1963:112)

The singular prefix *di-* always appears when the verb carries the negative prefix *m(i)-* (§2.6.9), but when there is no negative prefix, the appearance or not of the prefix *di-* is conditioned by the form of the ergative pronominal prefix which immediately precedes it:

Ergative agreement		Caus. prefix	Ergative agreement		Caus. prefix
1st sg.	*s(i)-*	Ø-	1st pl.	*ʃ(i)-*	Ø-
2nd sg.	*w(i)-*	*di-*	2nd pl.	*ɕʷ(i)-*	Ø-
3rd sg.	Ø-	*di-*	3rd pl.	*ɐ-*	*di-*
	n(i)-	Ø-		*nɐ-*	Ø-

Table 9. Causative prefixation after ergative-agreement markers.

though Dumézil (1965:269) notes that the causative prefix may also appear in OG's speech when the ergative agreement-marker is first person singular, perhaps restored by analogy with the second person singular form, which does use the overt causative prefix:

Ø-sɨ-dɨ-kʲ'[ʒ]-ʒwɨːn[58]   (OG)
3sABS-1sERG-CAUS-go-PROG
'I am making X go' (Dumézil 1965:269)

When the zero allophone of the singular causative prefix is used, in TE's speech the ergative agreement-prefix takes its full and unassimilated form:

ʁ-Ø-sɨ-Ø-bjɜ́-n   (TE)   vs.   ʁ-z-bjɜ́-n   (TE)
3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-CAUS-see-PRES   3sABS-1sERG-see-PRES
'I show X to Y' (Vogt 1963:96)   *vs.*   'I see X' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:88)

though note that in OG's dialect, as well as occasionally in the speech of others, the use of the full vowel-grade prefixes is not a reliable marker of morphological causativity:

ʁ-sɨ-ʣʷ[ʒ]-ʒwɨːn   (OG)   vs.   ʁ-z-ʣʷɜ́-n   (TE)
3sABS-1sERG-drink-PROG   3sABS-1sERG-drink-PRES
'I am drinking X' (Dumézil 1965:268)   *vs.*   'id.' (Vogt 1963:231)

The agent of causation is inserted as the ergative subject in all morphologically causative verbs, and as a result the prefixal agreement-structure is restructured to compensate for this insertion. Intransitive verbs become transitive causatives, the causee – the absolute subject of the basic intransitive – becoming the absolute object of the causative:

ɜ́-brʁʒɜ-n   (TE)   →   ʁ-sɨ́-Ø-brʁʒɜ-n   (TE)
3sABS-turn-PRES   3sABS-1sERG-CAUS-turn-PRES
'it turns' (Dumézil and Esenç 1973:34)   →   'I cause it to turn' (Vogt 1963:91)

Oblique intransitive verbs become oblique transitives, but the argument-structure is otherwise unaffected; the causee – the absolute subject of the basic intransitive – remains the absolute argument position in the causative form, and the oblique argument also remains oblique in the causative:

sɨ-Ø-jʒ-n   (TE) →   wɨ́-Ø-sɨ-Ø-jʒ-n   (TE)
1sABS-3sOBL-hit-PRES   2sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-CAUS-hit-PRES
'I hit X' (Vogt 1963:211)   →   'I make you hit X' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:176)

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[58] Note that this is superficially identical to the expected form for 'X is making me go', which would be sɨ-Ø-dɨ-kʲ'[ʒ]-ʒwɨːn.

Transitive verbs also become oblique transitives, but in this instance the agreement pattern is restructured; although the absolutive argument remains unaffected, the causee – the *ergative* subject of the basic transitive – is displaced by the insertion of the agent of causation, and is demoted to the oblique object position:

ʁ-w-bjɜ́-n (TE) → ʁ-w-sɨ́-Ø-bɨj[ɜ]-ɜw (TE)
3sABS-2sERG-see-PRES 3sABS-2sOBL-1sERG-CAUS-see-FUT.I
'I see X' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:88) → 'I will show X to you' (Hewitt 1974)

A small group of verbs exists which are morphologically and syntactically causative, but lack a non-causative counterpart and often do not have an overtly causative meaning:

ɨ́-bɜnɜ Ø-Ø-dɨ-bɨl-q'ɜ́ (TE)
the-grass 3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-swallow-PAST
'he swallowed the grass' (Dumézil and Esenç 1977b:21)

ʁ-ʃɜʃɜ ʁɜ-q'ʁp'ɜ Ø-Ø-dɨ-gʷɨdzɨ-n... (TE)
the-princess[.OBL] 3sPOSS-hand 3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-kiss-CONV
'he, kissing the hand of the princess…' (Dumézil 1965:188)

Such verbs naturally cannot be morphologically causativised, but some of these verbs have causatives that manifest superficially as the result of stress-displacement (§1.6):

ʁ-sɨ-Ø-bɨlɨ́-n (TE)
3sABS-1sERG-CAUS-swallow-PRES
'I swallow it' (Vogt 1963:95)
    vs. Ø-ɨ́-sɨ-Ø-bɨlɨ-n (TE)
        3sABS-3pOBL-1sERG-CAUS-swallow-PRES
    vs. 'I make them swallow it' (Dumézil and Esenç 1977b:21)

The intransitive verb *kʲ'ɨ* 'to be forged' is the only known verb that may undergo both affixal and stress-based causativisation:

ʁ-kʲ'ɨ-n (TE) vs. ʁ-sɨ-Ø-kʲ'ɨ-n (TE)
3sABS-be.forged-PRES 3sABS-1sERG-CAUS-be.forged-PRES
'it is being forged' (Vogt 1963:130) *vs.* 'I am forging it' (Vogt 1963:130)
    vs. ɨ́-wɨkʲ'ɨ-n ɨ́-gʲɜʃʷɜ ɨ́-Ø-sɨ-Ø-kʲ'-q'ɜ (TE)
        the-blacksmith-OBL the-axe 3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-CAUS-be.forged-PAST
    vs. 'I made the blacksmith forge the axe' (Dumézil 1974:20)

For a single verb, *q'ɜ* 'to say (to)', the morphological causative marker often surfaces in forms that are semantically non-causative:

Ø-ė-ni-Ø-q'ɜ-q'ɜ (TE)
3sABS-3pOBL-3sERG-CAUS!-say-PAST
'he said it to them' (Charachidzé and Esenç 1993a:15)

Ø-Ø-di-q'ɜ-n (TE)
3sABS-2pERG-CAUS!-say-PL
'say it!' (Dumézil 1962b:39)

although from examples such as these, it seems that this phenomenon is rather capricious:

ɐʁɜ́-ʤiʤɜʁɜ:gʲi:tʷi-n «*zɜ-ʧɜ́-gʷɜrɜ* *ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ́-n*» (TE)
their-servant-ERG one-horseman-certain 3sABS-PVB-go-PRES
Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-n *nɜ́rt-nɜ* *Ø-ė-n-q'ɜ-q'ɜ*
3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV Nart-OBL.PL 3sABS-3pOBL-3sERG-say-PAST
'their servant said to the Narts, "A horseman is coming"' (Vogt 1963:58)

«*ɐ-ɕʷɜ́-mɜ-ɕɜ* *ɐ-ʤɜ-ʃ-ɜw:t*» (TE)
3sABS-white[.STAT.PRES]-NEG-CONV 3sABS-black-become-FUT.II
Ø-ė-n-q'ɜ-q'ɜ
3sABS-3pOBL-3sERG-say-PAST
'"It will be black and not white," he said to them' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975b:43)

For other morphologically causative verbs and oblique transitives, for which morphological causativisation is not usually possible, a periphrastic means is necessary. This is done by deleting the tense-marking of a verb (whose argument structure otherwise remains intact) and treating it as the direct object of the auxiliary verb *ɐ-ʃi*, a morphologically causative verb whose ergative subject is the agent of causation and whose tense governs the entire clause, and whose preverb *ɐ-* (see §2.6.4.3.3) takes an obligatory third-person possessive prefix:

si-ʤiɬɜ́-n *ji-Ø-nė-w* (TE)
1sPOSS-brother-ERG 3sABS-3sOBL-3pERG-carry
Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ė-n-Ø-ʃ-q'ɜ *txiɬ*
3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-3sERG-CAUS-make-PAST[.NFIN] letter
'the letter which my brother made them take' (Hewitt 1974)

wi-gʲɜ *Ø-z-bʁʲɜ-j-nɐ-kʷ'* *Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ-w-di-ʃ-q'ɜ* (TE)
2sPOSS-self 3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-PVB-3pERG-kill 3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-3sERG-CAUS-do-PAST
'you made them come here to kill you on my account' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955b:449)

ė-w-si-Ø-bjɜ *Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ė-ni-m-di-ʃi-n* (TE)
3sABS-PVB-1sERG-CAUS-see 3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-3sERG-NEG-CAUS-do-PRES
'he does not make me show it to you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:178)

Negation also does not appear in the basic verb in these constructions, but is carried on the auxiliary; by consequence, there is no formal distinction between 'to make X not do Y' and 'to not make X do Y' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:178):

ʁ-ʁʷɜ́-si-Ø-qʼ　　　　　　　　　　Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɛ́-w-m-dɨ-ʃɨ-n　　　　　　　　　(TE)
3sABS-PVB-1sERG-CAUS-be.ashamed 3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-2sERG-NEG-CAUS-do-PRES
'you do not make me ashamed', 'you make me not be ashamed'

(Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:178)

Of course, as an essentially syntactic means of causative formation, the periphrastic causative may be applied also to verbs that are neither morphological causatives nor oblique transitives:

ɛ́-j-s-ʃ　　　　　　　Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɛ́-n-Ø-ʃɨ-n　　　　　　　　　　　(TE)
3sABS-PVB-1sERG-do　3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-3sERG-CAUS-do-PRES
'he makes me do it' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:178)

2.6.10.2. Passive
The NWC languages all lack native passives (Hewitt 2005a:110), but through influence from other languages passive constructions are inveigling themselves into the family; Lomtatidze (1956:208) notes a dynamic passive in Abkhaz that has appeared under Russian influence. Similarly, Ubykh has acquired a (rare) periphrastic passive construction which is calqued directly upon the Turkish passive[59]. It is formed by deleting the ergative argument's agreement-marker from the verb, demoting the ergative subject to a postpositional phrase – the relevant postposition being the suffixed *-dɜkʲʼɜwn(ɨ)*, a calque of the Turkish *tarafından* – and treating the absolutive argument as the subject of the now detransitivised verb:

ʁ-pχʲɜ́ʃʷ　　　　　ʁ-tɨ́t-dɜkʲʼ[ɜ]:ɜwn　　ʁ-ɛ́ɜɛ-ɜw:t　　　　　(TE)
the-woman　　　the-man[.OBL]-by　　3sABS-hit-FUT.II
'the woman will be hit by the man' (Hewitt 1974)

ʁ-pχʲɜ́ʃʷ　　　　　ʁʷɜ　　　wɨ́-dɜkʲʼ[ɜ]:ɜwn　　ʁ-ɛ́ɜɛ-ɜw:t　　　　(TE)
the-woman　　　you(SG)　2sPOSS-by　　　3sABS-hit-FUT.II
'the woman will be hit by you' (Hewitt 1974)

ʁ-pχʲɜ́ʃʷ-ʁʁdɜ-gʲɨ　　zɜ-tɨ́t-dɜkʲʼ[ɜ]:ɜwn　　ʁ-ɛɜɛ-qʼɜ́-n　　　　(TE)
the-woman-all-EMPH　　one-man[.OBL]-by　　3pABS-hit-PAST-PL
'every woman was hit by a man' (Hewitt 1974)

wɜ́bɜ-dɜkʲʼ[ɜ]:ɜwn　　ʁɜ́-psɜ　　　　Ø-Ø-fɜ́-ʁʷ[ɜw]-ʁji-n…　　　(TE)
God[.OBL]-by　　　3sPOSS-soul　　3sABS-PVB-find-ITER-CONV
'she being resurrected [lit. 'her soul being found on it'] by God…' (Hewitt 1974)

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[59] The only known instances of this passive construction are in Hewitt's (1974) field recordings of TE.

ɐ-tít	*ɐʁʷɜ́-dɜkʲ'[ɜ]:ɜwn*	*ɐ-kʷ'-q'ɜ́*	(TE)
the-man	he(EMPH)[.OBL]-by	3sABS-kill-PAST	

'the man was killed by himself' (Hewitt 1974)

Where the causee is promoted out of an embedded clause to subject position, such as in periphrastic causation (§2.6.10.1), it seems that only the embedded verb is detransitivised:

ɐ-tít	*kʷîtɕʷiʃ-dɜkʲ'[ɜ]:ɜwnɨ*	*ɐ-pχʲɜ́fʷ*	*ɐ-ɕɜɕ-ɜw:tí-n*	(TE)
the-man	K.[.OBL]-by	the-woman	3sABS-hit-FUT.II-CONV	

ɐ́-j-n-ʃ-q'ɜ́[60]
3sABS-PVB-3sERG-make-PAST

'the man was made by Kuıçüış to hit the woman' (Hewitt 1974)

2.6.10.3. Ergative verbs

A small class of transitive verbs exists whose agents can be omitted, leaving the absolute object of the original transitive as the subject of a then morphologically intransitive verb:

ɐ-w-ɕχɜrɜbí-n	(TE)	*vs.*	*ɐ-ʁʷíngʲɜ*	*(ɐ-)ɕχɜrɜb-q'ɜ́*	(TE)
3sABS-2sERG-shatter-PRES			the-mirror	3sABS-shatter-PAST	

'you shatter it' (Charachidzé 1991:224) *vs.* 'the mirror shattered' (Charachidzé 1991:224)

ɐ-z-lɜlí-n	(TE)	*vs.*	*si-lɜlí-n*	(TE)
3sABS-1sERG-choke-PRES			1sABS-choke-PRES	

'I choke X' (Vogt 1963:137) *vs.* 'I choke, I suffocate' (Vogt 1963:137)

Some other examples of such agent-deleting verbs include *ʁɜtʃɜdɜ* 'to dry off', *tʃ'itʃ'ɜ* 'to break', *tsɜ* 'to burn', *tsɜχʲ* 'to fry', *tsɜqˤ'* 'to roast', *zʷɜ* 'to boil' and *ʒʷɜ* 'to roast, to bake'.

2.6.11. Emphasis

Morphological emphasis of verbal forms may be achieved in a number of ways that are dependent upon the verb form involved. Protases in either *-dɜ(n)* or *-bɜ* may be emphasised to form concessive clauses by the addition of the emphatic suffix *-gʲɨ* (§2.2.1.6), though in this construction the marker *-dɜ(n)* always takes the form *-dɜ*:

wɨ-psɜ́	*Ø-Ø-bɐʲɜ́-w-dɨ-wɜdijɜ-bɜ-gʲɨ*		*wɜnɜ́*	(TE)
2sPOSS-soul	3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-2sERG-CAUS-be.lost[.PRES]-IRR.PROT-EMPH		that	

ɐ-w-tʷ'ɜ́d[ɜ]-ɜw:tɨ-n	*ɐ-lɜ́jʃʷɜ-mɜ*
3sABS-2sERG-send-FUT.II-CONV	3sABS-moral.code[.STAT.PRES]-NEG

'even if you lose your life for it, it is not right for you to give it away' (Vogt 1963:37)

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[60] However, this was a self-correction by TE after initially using *Ø-ʃ-q'ɜ* (3sABS-make-PAST) here, and so it may be that detransitivisation of the main verb is possible, but not preferred.

tɕʷɜbʒ   *ɛ́-j-s-ʃ-q'ɜ-dɜ-gʲi,*   *ɐgʲɔ́:ʃʷwɜ-n*   (TE)
mistake   3sABS-PVB-1sERG-do-PAST-PROT-EMPH   disgrace-ADV

ɐ-s-χʲɔ́-ɕʷi-m-bjɜ-n
3sABS-1sOBL-BEN-2pERG-NEG-see-PL

'even if I have made a mistake, do not view it as a disgrace for me'

(Charachidzé and Esenç 1991a:21)

ʃi-kʷ'ɜ:ɕɐpχʲɜ   *zɜ:kʲ'ɜ*   *ɐ-ʒ-wɜ-n-wi-bɜ-gʲi*   (AB)
1pPOSS-married.daughter   once   3sABS-1pOBL-PVB-3sERG-bring[.PRES]-IRR.PROT-EMPH

χʲɜ:lɜq'ɜ:q'ɜ   *Ø-lɜ-mi-t*
harm   3sABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]

'even if he brings our married daughter back among us, there is no harm [in it]'

(Dumézil 1957:65)

Negative and interrogative verbs may be emphasised by the addition of a special emphatic suffix *-bʐɜ* immediately after the verb root:

kʷɔ́njɜ-ʁɜ   *ɕʷ-kʲ'ɜ-bʐɔ́-q'ɜ-nɜ-ɕ?*   (TE)
K.-LOC   2pABS-go-EMPH-PAST-PL-INTERR

'have you ever been to Konya?' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐʁʷɜ   *ɐ-kʲ'ɐdɜ-bʐɜ-q'ɜ-mɜ*   (AB)
he(EMPH)   3sABS-move-EMPH-PAST-NEG

'he himself absolutely would not budge' (Dumézil 1957:79)

ɐ-ʁʷɜ-ni-m-di-q'i-bʐɜ-ɕɜ   *Ø-ɐ-fɜ-diʁʲi-nɜ:jt'*   (MK)
3sABS-PVB-3sERG-NEG-CAUS-be.ashamed-EMPH-CONV   3sABS-3pOBL-PVB-fart-IMPF

'he would fart at them without being ashamed at all' (Dumézil 1960a:33)

A different means of emphasis for interrogatives, which has a more pressing or urgent nuance, is provided by replacing either of the neutral interrogative mood suffixes *-ɕ* or *-j* with the marker *-ʃɔj* (§2.6.7.5):

mɐ-s-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɔ́wi-ʃɔj?   (TE)
where-1sABS-go-FUT.I-EMPH.INTERR

'where then will I go?' (Charachidzé 1989a:455)

q'ɜq'i   *Ø-Ø-q'ɐ-ʁ-ʃɔ́j?*   (TE)
sugar   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-EMPH.INTERR

'so does he have any sugar at all?' (Vogt 1963:188)

and an emphatic imperative may be formed by adding the suffix *-mзє*[61] to an imperative verb:

ɐ-zзkʷ'з-nɨ   *ɐ-z-Ø-dɨ-q'ź-mзє*   (TE)
the-straight-ADV   3sABS-1sOBL-2sERG-CAUS-say-EMPH.IMPER
'tell it to me truthfully!' (Dumézil 1960b:434; Vogt 1963:146)

wɨ-ʁʷɛ́-tʷ'ɨ-mзє   (TE)
2sABS-PVB-leave-EMPH.IMPER
'get out!' (Vogt 1963:146)

2.6.12. Affect

Ubykh possesses a morphological marker of commiserative or pitying affect, the affix *-gʷɨʃ(з)* (the final *-з* is dropped when appearing word-finally; see §1.5.3), which may attach to verbs to show the wretched or pitiable status of an action or of any argument in the sentence:

ɐ-ʧ:ɛ́χʲз-ʁз   *si-kʲ'з-gʷɨʃз-n…*   (TE)
the-stable-LOC   1sABS-go-AFF-CONV
'poor me, going to the stable…' (Vogt 1963:57)

χʷˤз-wˤɨqʷˤ'з-n-gʲɨ   *wɨ-ʃ-ɐj-q'з-gʷɨʃ*   (TE)
pig-herder-ADV-EMPH   2sABS-become-ITER-PAST-AFF
'alas, you became a pig herder again' (Dumézil 1959a:33)

ʁź-ɬзq'[з]-зwnɨ   *dз-si-Ø-ʁź-pɬзdз-gʷɨʃз-t'in…*   (TE)
3sPOSS-track-INSTR   SUB-1sABS-3sOBL-PVB-watch-AFF-CONV
'when I had watched the poor fellow's going by means of his trail…' (Vogt 1963:57)

-gʷɨʃ(з) may also be attached to substantives (§2.2.1.8). Other types of affect are shown by non-morphological means, especially through the use of discourse interjections (§2.7.2).

2.6.13. Derived verbs
2.6.13.1. Denominal and deadjectival verbs
Any undeclined substantive (§3.1.1) can be used, unaltered, as the root of a stative verb (§2.6.2) and be conjugated as such:

si-tʷɨ   (TE)
1sABS-father[.STAT.PRES]
'I am a father' (Vogt 1963:33)

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[61] Historically this marker likely derives from the suffixal negation marker *-mз* (§2.6.9) with the binary interrogative suffix *-є* (§2.6.7.5), but it it is not sensible to talk of *-mзє* in modern Ubykh as anything but an imperative marker, as it is used only with tenseless (hence, imperative) verbs.

Ø-zɜ-tɕʷj[ɜ]:ɐkʷ'ɨːʃʷɨ-jt'   (HKo)
3sABS-one-hut-STAT.PAST
'it was a little hut' (Dumézil 1961c:53)

ɐʁɜ-tɕʷɨ́   *Ø-zɜ-wɜ-wːtʷ'-ɜwːt-ɨ*   (TE)
3pPOSS-skin   3pABS-RECIP.OBL-PVB-take.out.DYN-FUT.II-NFIN
ɐ-ʃʷwɨ́-mɜ
3sABS-matter[.STAT.PRES]-NEG
'it is easy to distinguish the colours' (Hewitt 1974)

ʃɨ-tɕʷjɜ   *ɕʷɜɬɨ́*   *ɕʷɨ́-tɕʷjɜ-nɜ-qʲɜ*   *tɕɜ*   *ɐ-tsʼinɨ́*   (TE)
1pPOSS-house   you(PL)   2pPOSS-house-PL-than more   3sABS-damp[.STAT.PRES]
'our house is more damp than yours' (Hewitt 1974)

2.7. Other word-types

2.7.1. Discourse particles

Few dedicated adverbial discourse particles are known in Ubykh, but most notable are the sentence adverbs *dɜqʼɨ́(nɨ)*, *gʲɜ* and *kʲʼɜ*. *dɜqʼɨ́*, optionally with the adverbial-case marker *-n(ɨ)* (§2.2.1.1.2.2), adds a pressing or impatient nature to a question or imperative:

dɜqʼɨ́   *sɜ*   *Ø-w-ʃɨ-nɨ-j?*   (AB)
PART   what   3sABS-2sERG-do-PRES-INTERR
'so what are you doing?' (Dumézil 1959a:48; Vogt 1963:112)

dɜqʼɨ́-nɨ   *sɜ-j-ʃ-ʃ-ɜwɨ-j?*   (İH)
PART-ADV   what-PVB-1pERG-do-FUT.I-INTERR
'so what will we do?' (Dumézil 1957:32; Vogt 1963:112)

ɐ-j-Ø-dɨ-kʲʼɨ́-n   *dɜqʼɨ́*   (TE)
3sABS-PVB-2sERG-CAUS-go-PL   PART
'then make them come!' (Vogt 1963:63)

The particle *gʲɜ*, which may be the same root as the coordinating conjunction *gʲɐ ~ gʲɜ* (§3.3.3.1), serves as an emphasising or intensifying device for indicative and imperative sentences:

ɐ-wɨ-ʃ-qʼ[ɜ]-ɜwːtɨ-n   *gʲɜ*   (TE)
3sABS-2sOBL-1pERG-say-FUT.I-CONV   PART
ɐ-w-tɕʷɨ-ʁʷɜ-ʃɨ-qʼɨ-n-gʲɨːlɜ
3sABS-2sOBL-MAL-PVB-1pERG-be.ashamed-PRES-CONJ
'although we are indeed ashamed to say it to you' (Dumézil 1965:49)

wɨ-kʲ'ɜ-bɜ		*gʲɜ*	*wɨ-kʲ'ɜ́*	(TE)
2sABS-go[.PRES]-IRR.PROT		PART	2sABS-go	

'if you are going, then go!' (Vogt 1963:122)

wɜmɜ́r jɜdɜ́-nɨ	*ɐ-ʦ'ɜ́,*	*gʲɜ*	*ɐ-ʃxɜ:q'ɜ́-mɜ*	(TE)
Ö. much-ADV	3sABS-good[.STAT.PRES]	PART	3sABS-wounded[.STAT.PRES]-NEG	

'Ömer is very well, he has not been wounded at all' (Charachidzé and Esenç 1991a:9)

The particle *kʲ'ɜ* also provides a kind of emphasis, and according to Dumézil and Esenç (1981:22) is a functional equivalent of the Turkish discourse particle **yani**:

kʲ'ɜ	*mɐ-Ø-zɜ-fɐ-pʃɨdɜ́-q'ɜ-nɜ-n*	(TE)
PART	where-3pABS-RECIP.OBL-PVB-be.in.line-PAST-PL-CONV	
Ø-ɐ́-wɜ-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɐj-nɜ-n…		
3pABS-3pOBL-PVB-go-ITER-PL-CONV		

'…and then getting back into, you know, that line where they had been in…'

(Charachidzé and Esenç 1991a:3)

ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-fɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜ:mɨ:t-gʲɨ:lɜ	*kʲ'ɜ*	(TE)
3sABS-PVB-go-POT-PL-FUT.I.NEG-CONJ	PART	
Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ-lɜ-nɜ-bɜ		*ɐ-ʃ-ʨ'ɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜw*
3pABS-3sPOSS-PVB-approach[.PRES]-PL-IRR.PROT		3sABS-1pERG-know-PL-FUT.I

'although they will not be able to come here, well, even if they do arrive, we'll know it'

(Dumézil 1962b:87)

2.7.2. Interjections
Ubykh is quite rich in interjections, possessing a wide range of discourse and onomatopoeic interjections as well as preserving a series of words used solely in calling and driving animals.

2.7.2.1. Discourse interjections
The following unanalysable interjections exist:

ɐ	vocative interjection	*ɐhɜ́*	(of uncertain function)
ɐhɜ́χ	expression of surprise, disappointment or frustration	*ɐj*	vocative interjection
		ɐnɨ́j	used to catch someone's attention
ɐwf	a magical interjection		
ɐχ	(of uncertain function)	*hɜj*	surprise or shock
hɜjhɜj	okay, yes, all right	*hɜjt'*	expression of strong surprise or shock
hɜkʷ'	used when one discovers a fault or problem		
		jɜ	vocative interjection
(jɜ)hɐ́w ~ (jɜ)χɐ́w	no (in response to a yes-no question)	*(jɜ́)mɐʤ(ɜ) ~ (jɜ)mɐ́ʤ(ɜ)*	please, go on, pardon me

jɜ́(n)p'ɐj	expression of sympathy or disappointment	*jɜ́tχɜ*	expression of surprise, resignation or assent
jɜ́wɜj	expression of disappointment or resignation	*lɜ*	yes, good, all right
wɜj	vocative interjection	*tɜw*	expression of scorn

The verb phrases (*ɐ*)*ʃɜw* 'it will become' and *ɐtʂ'ɜgʲiɐi* 'it is very good' are also used as interjections of assent or compliance. In addition, the phrase *wɜbɜ́ lɜdɨʧɜ̃t'* (Mészáros 1934:199; Dumézil 1965:231) (cf. *Wɜ́bɜ* 'God'), which is clearly morphologically complex but has no discernible meaning in the modern language, is used as an expression of surprise.

Though interjections are for the most part extragrammatical, (*jɜ*)*hɐ́w* ~ (*jɜ*)*χɐ́w* may take the postradical negative marker *-mɜ* (§2.6.9) and the realis conditional mood marker *-dɜ(n)* (§2.6.7.4) to form a morphologically complex conjunction *jɜhɐ́wmɜdɜ(n)* 'otherwise; if not' (§3.3.3.2).

2.7.2.1.1. Greetings, salutations and farewells

There are no known native greetings in Ubykh. Those that are known are *sɜlɜm* 'peace' (a transparent borrowing from Arabic *salām*, perhaps via Turkish *selâm*), *fɜsɐ́pʃ* 'hello, good day' (from Adyghe *fesapʃ(əj)* 'id.'), and *wɐ* 'hi, hello' (likely also from Circassian; compare Kabardian *wa* 'hey, I say', used as a form of address). However, several formulae of welcoming exist. To one arriving for the first time:

> *tʂ'ɜ*   *Ø-w-q'ɜ-gʲi*   (TE)
> good   3sABS-2sERG-say-CONV
> 'welcome (sg.)!' (Vogt 1963:104)

> *wɨ-tʂ'ɜ́-jɜ:ʧ'ɜ-χ*   (unkn.)
> 2sPOSS-good-?-OPT
> 'welcome (sg.)!' (Vogt 1963:104)

tʂ'ɜ	*Ø-w-q'ɜ-χ*	(TE)	vs.	*tʂ'ɜ*	*Ø-ɕʷ-q'ɜ-n[ɜ]-ɐχ*	(TE)
good	3sABS-2sERG-say-OPT			good	3sABS-2pERG-say-PL-OPT	
'welcome (sg.)!' (Vogt 1963:104)			*vs.*	'welcome (pl.)!' (Vogt 1963:104)		

and to one who has been to a place before:

tʂ'ɜ	*Ø-w-q'ɜ:ʤ-gʲi*	(HKo)	vs.	*tʂ'ɜ*	*Ø-ɕʷ-q'ɜ:ʤ-nɜ-gʲi*	(HKo)
good	3sABS-2sERG-say.again-CONV			good	3sABS-2pERG-say.again-PL-CONV	
'welcome (sg.)!' (Dumézil 1957:12)			*vs.*	'welcome (pl.)!' (Dumézil 1959b:123)		

To one whose arrival comes as a surprise:

ʦ’ɜ   Ø-w-q’ɜ-j   wɨ-j-ʤɨ-jt’   (TE)
good   3sABS-2sERG-say-CONV   2sABS-PVB-return-MIR
'welcome (sg.)!' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:151)

The known formulae of farewell are: *miʁʲɜmiɕʷ* 'good travels!, bon voyage!' (a deformation of *miʁʲɜ-miɕʷɜ* 'good road, fortunate road'); *χɜjrɜwn* 'goodbye, farewell' (a calque of Adyghe *χejreʧ’e* 'id.' using the Ubykh instrumental postposition -*ɜwn*; ultimately from either Turkish *hayır* 'goodness, good fortune' or directly from Arabic *χajr* 'id.'); and also the following:

ʦ’ɜ́:ʃ-ɜwn   wɨ-lɜ́-gʲɨ:tʷɨ-χ   (TE)
goodness[.OBL]-INSTR   2sABS-PVB-remain(SG)-OPT
vs.   …   ɕʷɨ-lɜ́-gʲɨ:xɜ-n[ɜ]-ɐχ   (TE)
2pABS-PVB-remain(PL)-PL-OPT
'goodbye (sg.)!' *vs.* 'goodbye (pl.)!' (Vogt 1963:104)

2.7.2.2. Onomatopoeic interjections
A great many Ubykh ideophones have been preserved, of which Dumézil and Esenç (1973) constitutes the largest single source. As in many languages, some onomatopoeic forms contain phones not found in the usual phonemic inventory. The following ideophones are a representative but by no means exhaustive sample of the ideophonic inventory of Ubykh:

bɐɐ	bleating of a sheep	*skɐw*	tapping on a glass
fɨrt’fɨrt’	blowing one's nose	*sk’ɨr(ɨr)*	stirring a spoon in a cup
gʷɨrgʷɨrgʷ(ɜ)	running water; thunder; wheels on a road	*tɨk’tɨk’*	chickens pecking up grain
huuj	hoot of an owl	*tχʲiɕʷtχʲiɕʷ*	dragging of one's feet on the ground
k’ɐk’ɐk’	clucking of chickens		
k’ɨk’ɨriko	the crow of a rooster	*t’ɐqʷ’t’ɐqʷ’*	an axe chopping wood
mɐwmɐw	meowing of a cat	*t’q’ɜrt’q’ɜr*	beating eggs; clapping of hands or sticks
mjɐw	meowing of a cat		
pɨrχɨʧɨrχɨ	grunting of pigs	*ɕʷ’ɜtx*	cracking of a whip
q’ɨrgʷɨʧɨrgʷɨ	clattering of chains	*ʦ’iʁʁ*	creaking of a door
qʷɐw	discharging of a firearm	*ʦ’iʒʷʒʷ*	an arrow being fired
qʷiqʷiqʷɜ	collapsing of e.g. a barrel	*ʧɐkʲ*	a single slap
qʷ’ɐx	a door closing	*ʧ’ɐkʲ’ʧ’ɐkʲ’*	clapping of hands
ʁʷɐɐrigʲ	a door clattering open	*vɨr*	breaking glass

The roots of several imitative verbs may also be used as ideophonic interjections: *bɨrbɨr* 'to crackle, to sputter (of a fire)', *q’ɐʁq’ɐʁ* 'to caw (of crows)', and *ʦ’ɨrʦ’ɨr ~ ʧ’ɨrʧ’ɨr* 'to chirp (of birds)' are all found in this function.

    Ideophonic interjections are usually construed as the direct object of a -*gʲɨ*-converb (§3.3.1.1) of the verb *q’ɜ* 'to say':

«ƭʹɐkʲ'ƭʹɐkʲ'»   Ø-ɐ-q'ɜ-gʲɨ   q'ɜbˤɜgʲɨ-n Ø-Ø-j[ɜ]-ė-n   (TE)

(sound of clapping)   3sABS-3pERG-say-CONV palm-OBL 3pABS-3sOBL-hit-PL-PRES

'they clap their hands' [lit. 'they hit palm[s], saying «ƭʹɐkʲ'ƭʹɐkʲ'»']

<div align="right">(Dumézil and Esenç 1973:34)</div>

2.7.2.3. Calls

Several surviving calls for animals are attested, and as with the onomatopoeic interjections (§2.7.2.2), they contain phones not found in the general Ubykh lexicon:

Horses: *gɨj, ƭxɜw* (to urge on), *gʲɜhgʲɜh* (to call to oneself)

Cattle: *woh(ɜ) ~ woχɜ* (to bring to a stop), *dijj* (to cause to advance or move forward)

Dogs: *mɜ́hmɜh, pírʃɜpírʃɜ* (to call towards oneself), *wɜ́ʃt* (to send away from oneself)

Cats: *minomino, pisipisi* (to call towards oneself)

Goats: *kʲɜʦkʲɜʦ* (to cause to advance or turn around)

People: *wɐwɨj, wɨj(wɨjw)* (to call to in the distance)

3. SYNTAX

3.1. Noun phrase structure

The most basic form of noun-phrase is a complex of root morphemes that may comprise one or more nominals and one or more adjectives, one of which may be a quantifier (§2.4.1). This morpheme complex is treated grammatically as a single contiguous unit, with nominal prefixing and suffixing elements being affixed to the complex as a whole rather than to individual parts of it. The common orders of elements within the noun phrase are the following, with the head of the phrase marked in **bold**:

(a). **Noun**-Adjective1[-Adjective2…], where the final adjective may be a quantifier: *bˤɜqˤ'ɨ-pɫɨ́* 'red hat; fez' (TE) (Vogt 1963:97), *ɐ-q'ɐɫɜ́-bɐdɜ* 'all of the fortress' (TE) (Dumézil and Namitok 1955b:441; Vogt 1963:217), *zɜ-pχʲɜʃʷ-tɕ'ɐp'qʲ'[ɜ]-ɐnɨɕʷɜ* 'a young beautiful woman' (TE) (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:351), *zɜ-ʂɜwdɜ-mɜʧ'-gʷɜrɜ* (HKo) 'a certain little [bit of] cloud' (Dumézil 1961c:48).

(b). Attributive noun-**Noun**, in either a genitive or appositional relationship (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1; §2.2.3.2.2.1.2.3): *ɐdɨɣɜ-bˤɜqˤ'ɨ* 'Circassia[n] hat' (TE) (Dumézil 1962b:48), *bˤibˤ-rɜkʷ'ɜ́* 'pumpkin stem' (TE) (Vogt 1963:97; Dumézil 1965:221), *zɜ-ʁʷindʷɨ-gʲidʑɜ-bˤʁˤɜ́dʑɜ-gʷɜrɜ* 'a certain great bird, the eagle' (HKo) (Dumézil 1957:5), *w(ɨ)tɕʷ'ɜ́-kʷ* 'iron wagon → automobile, lorry, bus' (TE) (Hewitt 1974).

(c). **Noun-noun** in a coordinative rather than attributive relationship (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.2): *tʷɨːʃ-dʑɨɫɜːʃ-mɜdʑɐlɜ* 'except for fatherhood [and] brotherhood' (TE) (Dumézil 1962b:88), *nɜ́-tʷ(ɨ)* 'father and mother' (AH) (Dumézil 1957:55; Vogt 1963:151).

(d). Relative clause-**Noun**, which may be a special case of appositional noun-noun compounding (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.3): *wɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ-ʂɜ́-dɨ́-q'ɐ-ʁ-bˤʁˤɜ́dʑɜ* 'that two-headed eagle' (TE) (Dumézil and Esenç 1975b:43), *zɜ-qʷˤ'ɨ-dɨ-ʂɜ-mɨ-ɬ-titi-n* 'a man (relat.) with no hair on his head' (AH) (Dumézil 1959a:41). Also included in this type of phrase are

the pseudo-adjectival relative forms derived from nominals by means of the cliticised verb -χ (sg.) ~ -(w)χ^wɜ (pl.) 'to belong to' (§3.3.2.9.3); nonetheless, relative clauses and constructions using clitic -χ (sg.) ~ -(w)χ^wɜ (pl.) more usually constitute separate morphological and phonological words.

Rare variations from these orders are found; adjectives almost always follow their head noun, but the following example from the speech of İb demonstrates the order adjective-noun, which may be an emphatic or contrastive device in this instance:

ʁɜ-lɐkʲ'   ʁɜ-zɜdʒɜ   ɐ-płi-bˤɜfim,   ɐjdɜ   ʁɜ-zɜdʒɜ-gʲɨ   (İb)
3sPOSS-hair[.OBL]   3sPOSS-half   the-red-silk   other   3sPOSS-half-EMPH
ɐ-ʁ^wɜ:q'ɜ-bˤɜfim   ɐ-lɜ-t^w-q'ɜ
the-yellow-silk   3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PAST
'half of her hair was [like] red silk, [and] the other half yellow silk' (Dumézil 1931:155)

Also, a very few examples exist in which the order of a tatpurusha noun compound is not head-final, e.g. d^wi:qɐmiłɜ 'reed field, field of reeds' (TE), from d^wi 'field' + qɐmiłɜ ~ qɐmiłɜ́ 'reed' (Dumézil 1962b:47).

3.2. Verb phrase structure
3.2.1. Simple sentences
The most basic word-order in the simple sentence is S[ubject]-V[erb] in intransitive sentences and A[gent]-O[bject]-V in transitives. The next most common word-order is O-A-V, which is comparatively rare, and appears to provide a certain degree of emphasis to the fronted absolutive object:

ɛ́-z^wɨmts'ɜ   ɛ́-ndʁɜ-n   Ø-Ø-dɨ-q-q'ɜ   (TE)
the-mud   the-sun-ERG   3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-be.hardened-PAST
'the sun caused the mud to harden' (Dumézil 1975:144)

sɨ-tʃɨ   zɜ-w:tɕːɐkʲ'ɜ-g^wɜrɜ-n   ji-Ø-q^w'ɜ-n   (HKo)
1sPOSS-horse   one-thief-certain-ERG   3sABS-3sERG-seize-PRES
'a thief is taking my horse' (Dumézil 1961c:48)

zɜ-wˤɜndʐɜ:ʃ^w   ɐ-tɕ'iɕi-nɜ   ɐ-ʂɜ-lɜ-nɐ-Ø-tɕ^wɜ-gʲɨ…   (HKu)
one-puppy:DIM   the-children-ERG.PL   3sABS-head-PVB-3pERG-CAUS-strike-CONV
'the children beating a little puppy…' (Dumézil 1961b:286)

Despite the presence of overt case-marking, which in principle allows considerable word-order freedom, in practice only A-O-V and O-A-V are commonly attested in declarative transitive sentences. Indeed, any word-order in which the finite verb is not sentence-final is extremely unusual, although in these examples the indirect object appears after the verb:

ʁʷз	wɨ-psɜ́	Ø-ɛ́-s-tʷ-з:mɨ:t	wзɬɜ́-nз	(TE)

you   2sPOSS-soul   3sABS-3pOBL-1sERG-give-FUT.I.NEG   those-OBL.PL

'I will not give to them your life' (Vogt 1963:37)

sɨʁʷɜ́	sɨ́-qʷз	ɐ-kʲ'з-q'ɜ́:jt'	ɐ-zɜ́:jз-ʁз	(TE)

I   1sPOSS-son   3sABS-go-PLUP   the-war-LOC

'to the war my son had gone' (Charachidzé and Esenç 1991a:9)

V-S is theoretically possible, but so rare that only a couple of examples are known:

mɐkʲ'[з]-зwn	Ø-kʲ'з-q'ɜ́-j	wзnɜ́?	(TE)

where-INSTR   3sABS-go-PAST-INTERR   that

'he went where?' (Charachidzé and Esenç 1991a:9)

The following example appears at first to be an instance of V-S, but an examination of the original audio recording reveals a significant pause between the verb and the subsequent pronouns, indicating that the latter are merely expletive and hence syntactically independent:

ɐ-nkʲз-nɨ́	ʃɨ-zз-χʲз-ʃɨ-n[з]-зw,	ʁʷ[з]-ɛ́lз	sʁʷ[з]-ɛ́lз (TE)

the-friend-ADV   1pABS-RECIP.OBL-BEN-become-PL-FUT.I   you(SG)-COM   I-COM

'we shall become friends for one another, you and I' (Vogt 1963:49)

Other word-orders do not generally surface except under other influence, as with the following example of A-V-O, which is an Ubykh translation by TE of a written Turkish version of William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (Act I, Scene 1, line 104):

ʃɨ-n	ɐ-tɕ'з-Ø-dɨ-ʃ-ɛ́jɨ-q'з-j	jɨ-zɜ́:jз-ӡʷ?	(TE)

who-ERG   3sABS-new-3sERG-CAUS-become-ITER-PAST-INTERR   this-fight-old

'who set this ancient quarrel new abroach?' (Hewitt 1974)

Compare the Turkish version given to TE by Hewitt, which was also A-V-O:

kim	yeni:le-di	bu	eski	kavga-yı?

who   make.new-PAST[.3sNOMINATIVE]   this   old   quarrel-ACCUSATIVE.DEFINITE

'id.' (Hewitt 1974)

The oblique object ordinarily appears after the ergative argument and before the absolutive argument in both transitive and intransitive sentences:

zз-ɬзmsɜ́-gʷзrз-n	ɐ-bˤɜ́:ӡʷ	ʁз-ş́ɜ	Ø-Ø-lз-kʲ'з-q'ɜ́	(HKo)

one-root-certain-OBL   the-old.man[.OBL]   3sPOSS-head   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-go-PAST

'the old man's head struck a certain root' (Dumézil 1957:43; Vogt 1963:136)

ɐ-ʃindʒɜ:ʃʷɜ-n   ɐ-tʷɜtʷɐwɨ   ʁɜ-fɜtɕ'ɜ:pʃɐtχʷɨ-n   ʁɜ-q'ɜntɕʷɜ   (TE)
the-Abdzakh-ERG   the-gun[.OBL]   3sPOSS-nostril-OBL   3sPOSS-finger
Ø-Ø-ʨ'ɜ-n-qʷ'ɜ-n…
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3sERG-hold-CONV
'the Abdzakh holding his finger in front of the barrel of the gun…' (Dumézil 1962b:66)

though it is not at all uncommon to see inversion of the oblique and absolutive constituents, which does not appear to have any emphatic or other effect:

ɐ-kʲ'ɜrɐχʷɜ   ʁɜ-kʲ'inkʲ'ɨri-n   Ø-Ø-bɜtɕ'ɜ-n-qʷ'ɜ-q'ɜ   (TE)
the-pistol   3sPOSS-throat-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3sERG-hold-PAST
'he held the pistol to his throat' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:352)

3.2.2. Questions

Questions are formed morphologically by the addition of one of the interrogative mood-affixes (§2.6.7.5), and are usually construed in the same word-order as declarative sentences:

ɐ́-miʃʷɜ-n   tsɜ́:di:ʃʷdɜ́:ɬɜ   Ø-Ø-tɕ'[ɜ]-ɜwɨ́-ɕ?   (TE)
the-bear-ERG   way.of.boiling.soup   3sABS-3sERG-know-FUT.I-INTERR
'will the bear know how to cook soup?' (Dumézil 1967:167)

jinɜ́   ʃɨ-n   jɨ-Ø-ɕʷ-tʷ-q'ɜ́-nɜ-j?   (TE)
this   who-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-2pERG-give(SG)-PAST-PL-INTERR
'to whom did you (pl.) give this?' (Hewitt 1974)

though a type of clefted construction is common in question-formation (§3.4.1.2.2).

3.2.3. Copular sentences

Three morphosyntactically distinct types of copular sentence are found in Ubykh; copular constructions of identification, classification or role, and existence are distinguished. In addition, the intransitive verb ʃɨ 'to be' or 'to become' may act as a generic copula in an circumstances and takes an adverbial-case complement when acting in that function (§2.2.1.1.2.2):

Kʲɜrim   tɨ́t-ɐgʷɨ:ʃʷɨ-n   Ø-ʃ-q'ɜ   (TE)
K.   man-dwarf-ADV   3sABS-be-PAST
'Kerim was a dwarfed man' (Dumézil and Esenç 1981:21)

3.2.3.1. Copula of identification

The copula of identification is a clitic element -ʥ(ɜ), which is affixed to the end of the relevant substantive and is reduced to -ʥ when word-final. The substantive-clitic complex is treated as a single morphological unit behaving as a stative verb, and takes the stative tense-

markers (§2.6.5.3), though when the clitic's governing argument is an overt noun phrase the appearance of an overt absolutive pronominal agreement-prefix does not seem to be possible:

ʁз-p'ʦ'ɨ́   Hikméti-ʣ   (TE)
3sPOSS-name   H.-COP[.STAT.PRES]
'his name is Hikmet' (Hewitt 1974)

jɨ́-bzɨ   ʁз-dʒз:ʁʷɨ́:ʃʷз   mɐ́kʲ'з-ʣз-j?   (TE)
this-water[.OBL] 3sPOSS-ford   where-COP[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
'where is the ford of this river?' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955a:10)

It is reasonably common to use a relativised verb (§3.3.2.6) as the host of the clitic:

зз-ʂз:qз   зз-ɬɐʧз   зз-ʃзʨ'з:bzɨ:kʷ'зkʷ'з-nз   (TE)
one-scaly.headed one-lame   one-with.a.runny.nose-ERG.PL
ɐ-j-nɐ-ʃ-q'з-ʣ
3sABS-PVB-3pERG-do-PAST[.NFIN]-COP[.STAT.PRES]
'it is what someone with dandruff, someone lame, and someone with a runny nose did'

(Dumézil 1965:156)

or as its complement, in a pseudoclefted construction (§3.4.1.2.1):

ɐ-ɬɐ-Ø-dɨ-ʁз-q'з   wзnз-ʣз-jt'   (TE)
3sABS-PVB-3sERG-CAUS-be.on-PAST[.NFIN]   that-COP-STAT.PAST
'that was what he wore on his legs' (Dumézil 1965:50)

siʁʷɨ́   si-dɨ́-ɬзq'з-ʤ   ʁʷз   wɨ-gʲétɕ'   (TE)
I   1sABS-REL-PVB-be.with[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   you(SG)   2sPOSS-like
зз-tɨ́ti-ʣ
one-man-COP[.STAT.PRES]
'a man like you is what I am looking for' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:117)

This copular form is also occasionally used to specify an object's spatial location:

ɐ-qˤɐɕ   lзʁз-ʣ   (TE)
the-village   there-COP[.STAT.PRES]
'the village is over there' (Dumézil 1962b:166)

When its governing argument is a personal pronoun, however, the copular clitic does take the appropriate absolutive pronominal prefix (§2.2.1.5), and this complex acts as a true stative verb in its own right, taking stative tense-marking and being capable of being subordinated with the complementising prefix d(ʁ)з- (§3.3.2):

ɐʁɜ-ʤɨɬɜ-t'ɜ́ʃʷ   *siʁʷɜ́*   *si-ʤɜ́-jt'*   (HKo)

3pPOSS-brother-younger   I   1sABS-COP-STAT.PAST

'the youngest of the brothers was me' (Dumézil 1957:20; Vogt 1963:231)

ɐj   *si-tʷ,*   *ɐ-pʕχʕ[ɜ]:ɐkʲ'ɜ-gʲɨ*   *ɐ-kʷ':ɐkʲ'ɜ-gʲɨ*   (TE)

hey   1sPOSS-father   the-kidnapper-CONJ   the-killer-CONJ

ʁʷɜ   *wɨ-ʤ*

you(SG)   2sABS-COP[.STAT.PRES]

'hey, father, you are the kidnapper and the killer' (Dumézil 1962b:81)

ɐ-dɨ́-ɬɜq'ɜ-ʤ   *pχʲɜ́dɨkʷ'*   (TE)

3sABS-REL-PVB-be.with[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   young.woman

dɜ́-Ø-ʤɜ   *Ø-Ø-tɕ'ɜ-q'ɜ́*

SUB-3sABS-COP.NFIN[.STAT.PRES]   3sABS-3sERG-know-PAST

'he knew that the young woman he was looking for was she' (Dumézil 1967:112)

though other means of subordination of the copula exist (§3.3.1.3). As with content-questions (§3.2.2), occasionally one finds inversions and inverted cleft structures in which the copular complex is brought to the front of the sentence in order to provide emphasis:

siʁʷɜ́   *si-ʤ*   *ɐ-dɨ:zʷ[ɜ]:ɐ́kʲ'ɜ*   *ʁɜ-qʷɜ́*   (İH)

I   1sABS-COP[.STAT.PRES]   the-labourer[.OBL]   3sPOSS-son

'I am [the one] who is the son of the farmhand' (Dumézil 1957:31; Vogt 1963:231)

wɜnɜ-ʤ   *gʷɐq'ɜ-ʃʷwɜ-n*   *dɨ:bɜ*   (HKo)

that-COP[.STAT.PRES]   distress-matter-OBL   why

Ø-Ø-wɜ-ɬɜ-nɜ

3pABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.lying(PL)[.STAT.PRES]-PL.NFIN

'that is why they are in trouble' (Dumézil 1960a:22)

ʁʷɜ   *wɨ-ʤɜ-ɕ*   *jɨ-dɨ-q'ɜ-q'ɜ?*   (MK)

you(SG)   2sABS-COP[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR   3sABS-REL-say-PAST[.NFIN]

'is it you that said it?' (Dumézil 1957:48)

3.2.3.2. Copula of classification

Classificatory copular meanings, by contrast, do not exhibit an overt marker, but are ordinarily expressed by using the classifying nominal as the root of a stative verb (§2.6.13.1):

ɐ-ʒʷɜnkʲ'ɨ́   *Ø-kʷɜbʒɜ́*   (TE)

the-flea   3sABS-man[.STAT.PRES]

'the flea is a male' (Dumézil 1967:92)

ɐ-bˤӡ:ӡʷ	jӡdӡ-nɨ	ɐ-gʲɨgʲӡ:pʃӡ-jt'	(TE)
the-old.man	much-ADV	3sABS-coward-STAT.PAST

'the old man was a great coward' (Dumézil 1967:187)

ɐ-gʷɨbʁɕ́n   (unkn.)
3sABS-shame[.STAT.PRES]
'it is a shame' (Mészáros 1934:368)

3.2.3.3. Copulas of existence

Ubykh possesses not one copula of existence (as does Abkhaz), but four, which describe an object's location and also its attitude in that location (Table 10). Moreover, these four verbs are suppletive, with root-alternation agreeing with the number of the absolutive argument (§2.6.8.1). Most also exhibit stative-dynamic suppletion.

Singular (stat. ~ dyn.)	Plural (stat. ~ dyn.)	Meaning
sɨ ~ w(ɨ):s	ӡʷӡ ~ kʲӡ:ӡʷӡ	to be in a sitting position; to be (of smaller objects)
tʷɨ ~ w(ɨ):tʷ	xӡ ~ wɨ:xӡ **or** kʲӡ:xӡ	to be in a standing position; to be (of larger objects)
ʁɨ ~ w:ʁ(ʷ)ӡ	ʁʲӡ	to be suspended, to be hanging
ɬɨ ~ wɨ:ɬ	ɬӡ ~ kʲӡ:ɬӡ	to be lying

Table 10. The copulas of existence.

The root *tʷɨ* is suppletive not only for number and stativity, but also for tense, taking the form *tɨ* in the stative present tense and in converbs:

ɕ́-tɕʷjӡ-n	sɨ-Ø-ɕɕ́-t	(TE)

the-house-OBL 1sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'I am in the house' (Vogt 1963:177)

jɨ-bzɨ-mwӡ	jɨ-tχʷӡ-gʲɨʤӡ-n	Ø-Ø-fӡ-t-gʲɨ...	(TE)
this-water-mill	this-field-large-OBL	3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.standing(SG)-CONV

'this water mill standing on this large field…' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:362)

The stative *vs.* dynamic contrast is illustrated by the following examples:

sɨ-Ø-bʁʲɕ́-s	(unkn.)	vs.	sɨ-Ø-bʁʲɕ́-wɨ:sɨ-n	(TE)
1sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.sitting(SG)[.STAT.PRES]			1sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.sitting.DYN(SG)-PRES

'I am on top of it' (Mészáros 1934:235) *vs.*   'I get on top of it' (Vogt 1963:94)

sɨ-jtɕʷ'ɕ́-t	(unkn.)	vs.	sɨ-jtɕʷ'ɐ-wɨ:tʷɨ-n	(TE)
1sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]			1sABS-PVB-be.standing.DYN(SG)-PRES

'I am on the floor' (Mészáros 1934:171)   *vs.* 'I lie down on the floor' (Vogt 1963:214)

These verb roots cannot be used alone, but must be accompanied by a local or directional preverb (§2.6.4.3.1), a relational preverb (§2.6.4.1), or a prefixed interrogative pronoun (§2.3.5.1):

ɐ́-mʤɜ-n   sɨ́   Ø-Ø-fɐ-ɬ   (unkn.)
the-fire-OBL   timber   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.lying(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'there is wood on the fire' (Mészáros 1934:252)

tɨmɜqɐn   mɐ-Ø-t-ɨ   (TE)
T.   where-3sABS-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-NFIN
ɐ-ɕʷ-ʨ'[ɜ]-ɐ-ni-ɕ?
3sABS-2pERG-know-PL-PRES-INTERR
'do you know where Tımeqan is?' (Dumézil 1959a:32)

ɐ-s-q'ɜjɨ́-s   (TE)
3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.sitting(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'it is in my hand' (Vogt 1963:167)

ʃɨ-t   Ø-ɐ-ʨ'ɜ-q'ɜ-mɜ   (HÇ)
who-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   3sABS-3sERG-know-PAST-NEG
'he did not know who it was' (Dumézil 1931:127)

wɜ-ʑʷɜpχʲinɜ-gʲiʤɜ-n   ɐ-fʷɜdɜ-gʲɨ   (TE)
that-cauldron-big-OBL   3sABS-boil-CONV
Ø-Ø-ʂɐ-ʁ-q'ɜ:jt'ɨ-n
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)-PLUP[.NFIN]-OBL
'that big cauldron (obl.) which had been hung up boiling…' (Dumézil 1962b:50)

wɜnɜ   ʁ[ɜ]-ɜw-qˤɐpˤ'i-nɜ   si-ʂɜ-gʲɐχʷɜ   (TE)
that[.OBL]   3sPOSS-PL-branch-OBL.PL   1sPOSS-head[.OBL]-as.much.as
lɜqʲ'ɜ-gʲiʤɜ   Ø-Ø-fɜ-wi:ɬ-nɜ:jt'
walnut-big   3sABS-3pOBL-PVB-be.lying.DYN-IMPF
'a big walnut the size of my head was growing from its branches'
(Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:362)

However, all of the 'stative' roots are morphologically stative only in the present tense, taking dynamic tense-marking in all other tenses, and unlike ordinary stative verbs they also exhibit prefixal negation in the present (§2.6.9):

fɐχʲɜ   ʑɜ-dʷi:ʑʷ[ɜ]:ɐkʲ'ɜ   ʁɜ-qʷɜ   ɐ-lɜ-tʷ-q'ɜ   (İH)
long.ago   one-labourer[.OBL]   3sPOSS-son   3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PAST
'long ago, there was a labourer's son' (Dumézil 1957:29)

ʥɜːmɜ ʁ[ɜ]-ɐtɕʷɨ-n   *ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ*   (TE)

other   3sPOSS-ill-ADV   3sABS-PVB-go-PAST[.NFIN]

Ø-lɜ-mɨ-t

3sABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]

'there is no other damage that came from it' (Dumézil 1962b:66)

These copulas of existence, in combination with various local preverbs, supply a great many idiomatic extended and more abstract meanings. The following are just a few examples:

ɐ-zɜ-fɜ-xɜ-q'ɜ-n   (TE)

3pABS-RECIP.OBL-PVB-be.standing(PL)-PAST-PL

'they wrestled each other' (Dumézil 1959b:112)

ɐ-j-wɨ-dɨ-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɜwːtɨ-n   *ɐ-s-q'ɜʂɜ-ʁ*   (İH)

3sABS-PVB-2sERG-CAUS-go-FUT.II-CONV   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]

'I want you to bring him here' (Dumézil 1957:30)

miʃʷɨ-ʦ'inɜ   *ɐ-w-q'ɜʂɜ-wːʁɜ-q'ɜ*   (HKo)

grape-damp   3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-be.hanging.DYN-PAST

'you expressed your desire for a fresh grape' (Dumézil 1961c:51)

ɐ-s-q'ɜjɜ-ɬɜ-n   (TE)

3pABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.lying(PL)[.STAT.PRES]-PL

'I have them at my disposal' (Vogt 1963:167)

3.3. Complex sentences

Ubykh, like the other NWC languages, generally only permits a single finite verb in a sentence. As such, the functions served in other languages by subordinate and dependent clauses are, in the main, dealt with in Ubykh by means of a large array of non-finite verb forms that behave as adverbial phrases; these include various types of converbs as well as non-finite subordinate phrases and nominalisations, although there are a few means available to permit more than one finite verb in a single sentence. These dependent forms serve as the bases for a wide range of other syntactic constructions.

Similarly to simple sentences, the vast majority of complex sentences place the finite verb, and therefore the main clause, in sentence-final position. However, there is a larger degree of freedom in the positioning of dependent clauses than for core arguments within the clause:

bli-zʷɜpsíːʥ   *ʂɜní*   *Ø-ɐ-w-gʲɜ́-nɜːjɬ*   *«dijɜ-ʂɜní»*   (TE)

seven-evening   table   3sABS-3pERG-bring(SG)-HAB-IMPF.PL!   corpse-table

Ø-ɐ-q'ɜ́-ɕ[ɜ]-ɐlɜ

3sABS-3pERG-say-CONV-COM

'[for] seven evenings they would bring out a table called a corpse table' (Vogt 1963:54)

ʃɜɫʒ́   *psɜ*   *Ø-ʃ-ɫ*[ʒ]-*ʒ:mɪ́:t*   *t'ɐ́kʷi-n*   *ʃ-kʲ'ɜ́-nɜ-ʃɐχʲɜ*   (TE)
we   spirit   3sABS-1pERG-drag-FUT.I.NEG   little-ADV   1pABS-go-PL[.NFIN]-until
'we shall not say a word until we have gone a little [way]' (Vogt 1963:55)

mɐ-χɜ-kʲ'ɜ-nɪ-j,   *sɪwrɜ́t, ɐ̇-msɜ*   *Ø-χɜ-pʃɜ-pχʲɜ-gʲɪ?*[62]   (TE)
where-2sABS(JOC)-go-PRES-INTERR S.   the-smell   3sABS-2sOBL(JOC)-PVB-emit-CONV
'where are you going, Suret, with the smell on your bum?' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:78)

ʁʷɜ   *wɪ-ʥɜ-ɕ*   *ji-dɪ-q'ɜ-q'ɜ?*   (MK)
you(SG)   2sABS-COP[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR   3sABS-REL-say-PAST[.NFIN]
'is it you that said it?' (Dumézil 1957:48)

3.3.1. Converbs

Converbs are a series of adverbial-like non-finite verbs that have some properties of clauses, but like the other dependent verb types, may not act as the main verb in a sentence. Converbs may take substantive arguments and the full array of verbal prefixal agreement, and they also agree with their absolutive object for number (invariably with the suffixal plural marker *-nɜ*), but are restricted either partially or completely in the range of tenses accessible to them.

3.3.1.1. The converb-markers -gʲɨ ~ -j(ɨ), -ɕɜ, -msɜ, -gʲɨmsɜ ~ -j(ɨ)msɜ

The four major converb affixes marking concomitant action with a finite indicative verb in the main clause are *-gʲɨ*, *-ɕɜ*, *-msɜ* and *-gʲɨmsɜ*; *-gʲɨ* and *-gʲɨmsɜ* have the variants *-j(ɨ)* and *-j(ɨ)msɜ*. Of these four main converb formants, only *-ɕɜ* can usually appear along with tense-marking.

The suffix *-gʲ(ɨ) ~ -j(ɨ)* marks a momentary action that accompanies the action of the finite verb. In TE's speech, *-gʲɨ* is the most common form, but *-j(ɨ)* is a very frequent variant especially after a preceding *-ɜ*, whereas the form *-j(ɨ)* is the only morph found in the speech of OG (Dumézil 1965:269), and İH only used the full form *-jɨ* (Dumézil 1960a:48):

ɐ-zɜ-χʲɜ́-ʤ-nɜ-gʲɨ   *Ø-lɜ́-xɜ-q'ɜ-n*   (TE)
3pABS-RECIP.OBL-BEN-accompany-PL-CONV   3pABS-PVB-be.standing(PL)-PAST-PL
'they lived [being] with each other' (Vogt 1963:52)

«*sɪʁʷɜ   sɪ-dwɜ-q'ɜ*»   *Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-jɨ*   *mɐ-Ø-tʷ'ɜ:s-q'ɜ-ʁɜ*   (İH)
I   1sABS-die-PAST   3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV   where-3sABS-sit(SG)-PAST[.NFIN]-LOC
ɐ-jtɕʷ'ɐ-w:tʷ-q'ɜ
3sABS-PVB-be.standing.DYN.SG-PAST
'saying "I have died," he lay down where he sat' (Dumézil 1960a:43, 48)

ʃɨ-lɜ-ʒʷɜ́-nɜ-j   *ʃɨ-gʷɨʧɐq'*[ɜ]-*ɐ-nɜ:jɫ*   (TE)
1pABS-PVB-be.sitting(PL)-PL-CONV   1pABS-speak-PL-IMPF.PL
'we were sitting and talking' (Hewitt 1974)

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[62] An example of the very rare jocular pronominal prefix *χɜ-* (see §2.2.1.3; §2.3.1; §2.6.1.1.1).

A -*gʲɨ*-converb may serve as complement of the verb *mʁʲɐ-w* (sg.) ~ *mʁʲɐ-kʲɜ* (pl.) 'to begin':

ɐ-ʧɨgʲɨbli-lɐq   ɐ-qˤɜ-gʲɨ   ɐ-mʁʲɐ-w-q'ɜ   (TE)
the-dragon-towards   3sABS-run-CONV   3sABS-PVB-enter(SG)-PAST
'he began to run towards the dragon' (Dumézil 1962a:96)

ɐ-wɜχ-jɨ   Ø-mʁʲɐ-w-q'ɜ   (İH)
3sABS-yell-CONV   3sABS-PVB-enter(SG)-PAST
'he began to yell' (Dumézil 1960a:43, 48)

and sometimes it may have a more adverbial-like function:

ɐ-mɐʁʲɜ́-mɐʁʲɜ-gʲɨ   ɐ-kʲ'ɜ́-n   (TE)
3sABS-tilt-REDUPL-CONV   3sABS-go-PRES
'it goes wobbling from side to side' (Dumézil 1974:22)

χɜsɜnɨ-ʒʷ Ø-Ø-nɐ-q'ɜ-gʲɨ   ɐ-pɨrɐmsɜ-n   zɜ-kʷɜbʒɜ-gʷɜrɜ   (HKo)
X.-old   3sABS-3sOBL-3pERG-say-CONV 3sABS-shabby-ADV one-man-certain
'a certain shabby man they call Old Hasan' (Dumézil 1959b:117)

The suffix -*ɕɜ*, by contrast with -*gʲɨ* ~ -*j(ɨ)*, rather marks an ongoing or continuing action concomitant with the action of the primary verb:

ɐ-kʲ'ɜ-ɕ[ɜ]-ɐlɜ   sɜ-lɜ-tɨ-j   sɜ-Ø-bjɜ-q'ɜ-j   (HKo)
3sABS-go-CONV-COM what-PVB-be.standing(SG)-INTERR what-3sERG-see-PAST-INTERR
jɨ-Ø-n-q'ɜ-gʲɜ-nɜ:jt'
3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-say-HAB-IMPF
'he would always go and tell him what was happening and what he had seen'
(Dumézil 1957:12)

wɜnɜ́-n   bɐqɨsmɜ́ Ø-Ø-mɨ-dɮʷɜ-ɕɜ   tχɐlɜ́   zɜ-ʨʷ'ɜ́ntɜ   (TE)
that-ERG wine   3sABS-3sERG-NEG-drink-CONV yesterday one-bottle[.OBL]
ʁɜ́-zɜ   Ø-Ø-dɮʷɜ-q'ɜ́
3sPOSS-fill   3sABS-3sERG-drink-PAST
'while he never drinks wine, yesterday he drank a bottleful' (Hewitt 1974)

and unlike -*gʲɨ*-converbs, -*ɕɜ*-converbs may occasionally take tense-marking (though as the above examples show, there remains no overt tense-marking in the present):

ʁɜ-pχʲɜʃʷ   ɐ-mɨ-dwɜ-q'ɜ-ɕɜ   ɐbˤʁˤɜ:ɕʷɨnkʲ'ɨ-n ɐ-ʃ-q'ɜ-nɨ...   (HKo)
3sPOSS-woman 3sABS-NEG-die-PAST-CONV skinny-ADV   3sABS-become-PAST-CONV
'his wife having become so skinny as to be nearly dead [lit. 'without having died']…'
(Dumézil 1962b:121)

Ø-ɐ-mí-bj[ʒ]-ʒw:t-ɕʒ *zɜ́-q'[ʒ]-ɐlʒ* *ɐ-Ø-di-qɜ́rdʒ* (TE)
3sABS-3pERG-NEG-see-FUT.II-CONV one-place-COM 3sABS-2sERG-CAUS-be.hidden
'hide it in a place such that they won't see it' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:192)

The comitative-instrumental marker *-ɐlʒ* (§2.2.1.1.2.3) may appear after this converb-formant, though it seems not to differ from the basic form in sense:

zʒ-diwʂʒ:q'ʒ-gʷʒrʒ-n *ʁʒ-ʂʒ* *Ø-Ø-q'ɐ-mi-ʁ-ɐj-fʒ-ɕ[ʒ]-ɐlʒ...* (AH)
one-poor-certain-OBL 3sPOSS-head 3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-NEG-have-ITER-POT-CONV-COM
'a poor [man], no longer being able to look after himself…' (Dumézil 1957:70)

The marker *-msʒ* has a similar meaning to *-ɕʒ*, but places a particular emphasis on the continuing or prolonged nature of the action:

wɨdɨ:ʃ *ɐ-j-n-ʃɨ-msʒ* *Ø-Ø-bʁʲʒ-kʲ'ʒ-fʒ-q'ʒ* (TE)
witchcraft 3sABS-PVB-3sERG-do-CONV 3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-go-POT-PAST
'he was able to defeat him by continually performing witchcraft' (Dumézil 1959a:65)

Ø-ɐqʷʒ-ʃɨ-msʒ *ɐ-ɕʷɨpɨ-zʒwȥɨ-gʲɨ* *Ø-ɐ-q'ʒjʒ-q'ʒ* (TE)
3sABS-firm-become-CONV the-flour-all-EMPH 3sABS-3pERG-knead-PAST
'they kneaded all the dough [lit. 'flour'] while it was becoming firm'

(Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:361)

The suffix *-msʒ* may also combine with the marker *-gʲɨ ~ -j* to give a compound converb-formant *-gʲɨmsʒ ~ -j(ɨ)msʒ* having an instrumental-like nuance of 'by means of' or 'by dint of':

ɐ-tɕʷ'ʒ-gʲɨ:msʒ *Ø-Ø-dí-brɐz[ʒ]-ɐj-q'ʒ* (TE)
3sABS-cry-CONV 3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-turn-ITER-PAST
'he came back in tears' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:195)

ɐ-gʷʒgʷʒ-gʲɨ:msʒ *ɐ-kʲ'ɜ́-n* (TE)
3sABS-shuffle-CONV 3sABS-go-PRES
'he goes shuffling like an old man' (Vogt 1963:128)

ʁʒ-nʒχʷtʒ *Ø-Ø-jʒ:ʁʷʒ-j:misʒ* *ʁʒ-tʃ'ʒ-tʷɨq* *Ø-fʒ-n-tɕʷʒ-q'ʒ* (İb)
its-bridle 3sABS-3sOBL-pull-CONV its-mouth-neck 3sABS-PVB-3sERG-break-PAST
'he injured [lit. 'broke'] its mouth and neck by pulling on its bridle' (Dumézil 1931:168)

although this nuance may occasionally be carried by *-msʒ* alone:

ɐ-wˤʒ-gʲɨ *ɐ-ʤʒɕʒ-msʒ* *ɐ-tʷʒχʷʒ-n* *ɐ-Ø-ʤʒ-ʁʷʒ-nʒ-n* (HKu)
the-dog-EMPH 3sABS-swim-CONV the-river-OBL 3pABS-3sOBL-PVB-cross-PL-CONV
'they crossing the river by means of the dog's swimming' (Dumézil 1961b:289)

The marker *-msʒ* may also be followed by the comitative-instrumental suffix without apparent semantic change:

ʁ-kʲ'ɜ́-ms[ʒ]-ʁlɜ   zɜ-dʷɨ-ʁniɛʷʒ:ʃʷɨ-n   Ø-ʁ[ʒ]-ɛ́-lɜ-q'ɜ   (TE)
3sABS-go-CONV-COM   one-prairie-pretty-OBL   3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-arrive-PAST
'having left, he arrived at a pretty little prairie' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955a:31)

and it also appears suffixed to a few nominals, where it serves as a kind of adverb-formant with continuative sense (§2.5.1).

3.3.1.2. The converb-marker -ʃʒ
The converb-forming suffix *-ʃʒ* when it appears alone exclusively marks the complement of the verb *ʁʷʒ* 'to want':

ʁ-z-bɨjɜ́-ʃʒ   Ø-z-ʁʷɜ́-n   (unkn.)
3sABS-1sERG-see-CONV   3sABS-1sERG-want-PRES
'I want to see him' (Mészáros 1934:328; Vogt 1963:188)

ʃʷʒndʷɜ́-ʁʲʒ   ɛ́-w-dʒ-ʃɨ-f-ʃʒ   Ø-ʒ-ʁʷɜ́-n   (TE)
wild.animals-meat   3sABS-2sOBL-COM-1pERG-eat-CONV   3sABS-1pERG-want-PRES
'we want to eat game meat with you' (Vogt 1963:59)

though in composition with the emphatic suffix *-gʲɨ* (§2.2.1.6), it may also appear in indefinite relative clauses formed from morphologically interrogative verb phrases (§3.3.2.9.1).

3.3.1.3. The converb-marker -n(ɨ) ~ -n(ʒʁʷʒdʒ(n))
The converb-marker *-n(ɨ)*, which Ubykh shares with Abkhaz, is formally identical to the adverbial case suffix *-n(ɨ)* (§2.2.1.1.2.2) and is one of the most common converb-formants. Referred to by Hewitt (2005:128) as the 'absolute', this converb is the usual means of clause-chaining (§3.3.4), and a sequence of a *-nɨ*-converb followed by a finite verb has the meaning of 'X, and then Y':

wʒnɜ́-n   Ø-Ø-χʲɜ-gʲɨbʒɨ-n   Ø-ʁ-pχʲɜ́dɨkʷ'ɨ-jt'   (TE)
that-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-BEN-be.angry-CONV 3sABS-the-young.woman-STAT.PAST[.NFIN]
ɨ-Ø-kʷ'-q'ɜ́
3sABS-3sERG-kill-PAST
'he got angry about that and he killed the aforementioned young woman' (Hewitt 1974)

ɛʷɨ-dɜ́:xʒ-nʒ-n   ɛʷɨ-qʷmɛ́lʒ-n   (TE)
2pABS-stand.up(PL)-PL-CONV   2pABS-dance-PL
'stand up and dance!' (Dumézil 1967:54)

ʃiʁʷɜɫɜ-gʲi   ɕiɕi-ni   ʃi-gʲi-tʷ'-ɐj-nɜ-n   *ɐmmɜn-ʁɜ*   (HU)
us-EMPH   night-ADV   1pABS-PVB-leave-ITER-PL-CONV   A.-LOC
ʃi-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ-n
1pABS-PVB-go-PAST-PL
'as for us, we left during the night and came to Amman' (Dumézil 1959a:37)

though like the *-gʲi ~ -j* converb (§3.3.1.1), a converb in *-n(i)* may also serve as the complement of the verb *b(i)jɜ* 'to see':

ʁɜ́-dɜʃʷɜni-qˤ'ɜ̨ṣ̌ɜ́s   *ɐ-pχʲɜ́dikʷ'*   *ʁɜ-q'ɐ́p'ɜ-n*   (TE)
3sPOSS-silver-ring   the-young.woman[.OBL]   3sPOSS-hand-OBL
Ø-Ø-fɜ́-ɫi-n   *Ø-Ø-bjɜ-q'ɜ́*
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.lying(SG)-CONV   3sABS-3sERG-see-PAST
'he saw his silver ring lying on the young woman's hand' (Hewitt 1974)

A clitic conjunction *-ɜʁʷɜdɜ́(n)*, glossed by Charachidzé and Esenç (1991a:5) as "après (que)" ("after"), may sometimes appear as an extension of *-n(i)*-converbs, but the distinction between the *-n(i)*-form and the extended form *-n-ɜʁʷɜdɜ(n)* is not at all well understood:

ʁɜ́-vˤɜ   *Ø-Ø-fɜ́-n-q'i-n-ɜʁʷɜdɜ*   *i-Ø-n-tʷ-q'ɜ*   (TE)
3sPOSS-moustache 3sABS-PVB-cut-3sERG-CONV-CONJ 3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-give(SG)-PAST
'he cut off his moustache and then gave it to her' (Hewitt 1974)

-n(i) may appear on a verb in the past tense, where it takes on a perfective meaning:

sɜwsiriqʷɜ   *ʁɜ-tɕʷɜ*   *djɜ:tɕʷɜ-n-gʲɐtɕ'*   *Ø-ʃ-q'ɜ-ni*   (TE)
S.[.OBL]   3sPOSS-skin   corpse.skin-OBL-like   3sABS-become-PAST-CONV
ʁɜ-tɕʷjɜ-ʁɜ   *ɐ-j-dʒ-q'ɜ*
3sPOSS-house-LOC   3sABS-PVB-return-PAST
'Sewsırıque, his skin having become like a corpse's, returned to his house'
                                                                (Dumézil 1960b:437)

and the *-n(i)*-marking may also appear on a verb in either the Future I or Future II tense to provide a converb that has purposive meaning, though the distinction of intent that normally separates the Future I and II tenses is not always clear in these forms:

jinɜ́   *Ø-Ø-q'[ɜ]-ɜw:ti-ní*   *ɐgʲɜ́:ʃ*   *ɐ-j-n-ʃ-q'ɜ-ɕ?*   (TE)
this   3sABS-3sERG-say-FUT.II-CONV   ill   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-do-PAST-INTERR
'did he do wrong in saying this?' (Hewitt 1974)

ji-Ø-s-q'[ɜ]-ɜw-ni   *ɐ-s-kʷɜ-fɜ-q'ɜ́-mɜ*   (unkn.)
3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-say-FUT.I-CONV   3sABS-1sERG-dare-POT-PAST-NEG
'I could not dare to say it to him' (Mészáros 1934:192; Vogt 1963:133)

siʁʷз ɐ-si-ɕʷi-Ø-q'з-n[з]-зw:ti-n   *ɕʷi-d-ɐ-gʲɐʁз-q'з:jɫз*   (HKo)
I   3sABS-1sOBL-2pERG-CAUS-say-PL-FUT.II-CONV 2pABS-REL-PVB-hope-PLUP.PL.NFIN
Ø-sɐkʲi-jt'i-j?
3sABS-what-STAT.PAST-INTERR
'what was it that you had hoped to make me say?' (Dumézil 1962b:15)

These -[future]-*n(i)* forms, especially the form using the Future II tense, are perhaps the most versatile type of converb in Ubykh, functionally equivalent to the English "to"-infinitive clause and appearing as a complement in just as wide a variety of usages, even serving as the subordinate clause in one type of indirect quotation (§3.3.6.2):

ʁʷз   si-w-ʧʲɐgʲi-tʷ-зw:ti-n   *si-j-kʲ'з-q'з*   (HKo)
you(SG)   1sABS-2sOBL-PVB-be.standing(SG)-FUT.II-CONV   1sABS-PVB-go-PAST
'I came here to be near you' (Dumézil 1959b:108)

si-ʥзɕ[з]-ɕw:ti-n   *ɐ-z-gʲi:ʂ[з]:ɛ́fз-ʃi-n*   (TE)
1sABS-swim-FUT.II-CONV   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-become-PRES
'I like to swim' (Hewitt 1974)

wзnɕ́-q'[з]-ɐlз   *si-j-kʲ'[з]-зw:ti-nɨ́*   *ɐ-s-ʂɕ́-fʷзdз-q'з*   (TE)
that-place-COM   1sABS-PVB-go-FUT.II-CONV   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-boil-PAST
'I forgot to call there' (Hewitt 1974)

ʁз-pχʲɕ́   *Ø-Ø-n-tʷ-зw:ti-n*   (TE)
3sPOSS-daughter   3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-give(SG)-FUT.II-CONV
Ø-ɛ́-nɨ-Ø-q'з-q'з[63]
3sABS-3pOBL-3sERG-CAUS-say-PAST
'he said to them that he would give him his daughter' (Charachidzé and Esenç 1993a:11)

Finally, -*n(i)* may form a complement from a noun marked with the copular clitic -*ʥз* (§3.2.3):

wзnз   *sɨ́-tʷ(i)-ʥз-n*   *ɐ-si-m-tɕ'з-nз:jt'*   (TE)
that   1sPOSS-father-COP[.STAT.PRES]-CONV   3sABS-1sERG-NEG-know-IMPF
'I was not aware he was my father' (Vogt 1963:231; Dumézil 1965:257)

3.3.1.4. The converb-marker -*mз*
The converb-marking suffix -*mз* forms converbs that have a conditional or imperative force, and -*mз*-converbs in this function usually accompany a finite verb in either the Future I or Future II tense:

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[63] See §2.6.10.1.

wɨ-j-kʲ'ɜ́-mɜ   *ɐ-wɨ-s-q'[ɜ]-ɜw*   (TE)
2sABS-PVB-go-CONV 3sABS-2sOBL-1sERG-say-FUT.I
'come here and I'll tell you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:166)

ʁʷɜ   *sɜ-w-q'ɜ́şɜ-ʁɨ-ʃɜ-gʲɨ*   *ɐ-z-Ø-di-q'ɜ́-mɜ*   (TE)
you(SG) what-2sOBL-PVB-want-CONV-EMPH 3sABS-1sOBL-2sERG-CAUS-say-CONV
ɐ-w-χʲɜ́-s-ʃ-ɜw:t
3sABS-2sOBL-BEN-1sERG-do-FUT.II
'tell me whatever [it is] you want and I will do it for you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:166)

Like the converb-markers *-ɕɜ* and *-msɜ*, the suffix may be accompanied by the comitative-instrumental suffix *-ɐlɜ* without apparent semantic change:

zɜ-ɕʷɨbˤɜ-t'ɜkʷi-n *Ø-Ø-ʁɜts'ɜ-Ø-di-s-m[ɜ]-ɐlɜ*   (AH)
one-bread-bit-ADV 3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-2sERG-CAUS-be.sitting(SG)-CONV-COM
si-şɜ   *Ø-ʧ'ɜ-si-w:tʷ'-ɐj-ɜw:t*
1sPOSS-head 3sABS-PVB-1sERG-take.out-ITER-FUT.II
'put a little bread in it, and I will [go to] seek adventure' (Dumézil 1957:55)

The suffix *-mɜ* may itself be accompanied by the Future I tense marker:

ɐ-zɜ-wɜ-w-q'ɨ:tʷ-ɜw-mɜ   *ɐ-Ø-di-ʧidɜ* (TE)
3sABS-RECIP.OBL-PVB-2sERG-cut.into.slices(SG)-FUT.I-CONV 3sABS-2sERG-CAUS-cool
'slice it up and let it cool' (Dumézil 1959a:65)

zɜ-fi:ʃʷɜ-ʁɜ   *ʃɨ-Ø-ɕɜ-kʲɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜw-mɜ*   (TE)
one-eating.place-LOC 1pABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(PL)-PL-FUT.I-CONV
jɜ-ʃ-f-ɜw
NULL.ABS-1pERG-eat-FUT.I
'let's [lit. 'we will'] go into a restaurant and eat' (Dumézil 1965:157)

However, the nuance of the form in *-ɜw-mɜ* is often less strongly imperative, and may also exhibit simple future force, without any trace of imperativity:

ʁɜ-lɐq *s-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɜw-mɜ* *si-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ-χʷ[ɜ]-ɜw*   (İH)
3sPOSS-near 1sABS-go-FUT.I-CONV 1sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-ask-FUT.I
'I will go to him and ask him' (Dumézil 1957:58)

si-ʁɜ́-ʁʷ[ɜ]-ɜw-mɜ   *ɐ́-zʷɜʤ* *Ø-bʁʲɜ́-si-pχ[ɜ]-ɜwɨ:jt'* (TE)
1sABS-PVB-climb-FUT.I-CONV the-snow 3sABS-PVB-1sERG-scatter-COND.I
'I would climb up and clean the snow off it' (Dumézil 1967:92, 94)

bˤɜqˤɜ   Ø-*gʲi-n-ɕʷ-ɜw-mɜ*   *ʁ[ɜ]-ébʁʲɜ-n*   (TE)
enemy   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-drive-FUT.I-CONV   3sPOSS-nest-OBL

Ø-Ø-*ʁɜts'ɜ-n-tɕʷ[ɜ]-ɜw:t*
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3sERG-beat-FUT.II

'he will drive [his] enemy out and into his lair' (Vogt 1963:66)

The combination *-ɜw-mɜ* may also appear with the comitative-instrumental suffix *-ɐlɜ* without semantic change:

ji-wtɕʷ'ɜ   *zɜ-jɜ:dʑ[ɜ]-ɜwni*   *ɐ-p/ɐ-ɕʷ-tχʷi-n[ɜ]-ɜw-m[ɜ]-ɐlɜ…*   (TE)
this-iron   one-strike[.OBL]-INSTR   3sABS-PVB-2pERG-tear-PL-FUT.I-CONV-COM

'you (pl.) piercing this iron with one blow…' (Dumézil 1957:30)

3.3.1.5. The converb-formant -*tɐlɜ*

The extremely rare converb-formant *-tɐlɜ* accompanies the Future I tense. Due to its rarity, its precise nuance of meaning is not clear:

dʁɜ-jɜ-s-f-ɜw-tɐlɜ   *ɐ-si-ni-Ø-tɕ'ɜ-q'ɜ*   (HKo)
how-NULL.ABS-1sERG-eat-FUT.I-CONV   3sABS-1sOBL-3sERG-CAUS-know-PAST

   vs.   *ɐ-s-f-ɜw-tɐlɜ*   …   (TE)
        3sABS-1sERG-eat-FUT.I-CONV

'he taught me how to eat' (Dumézil 1960a:24)

ɐʁɜ-dwɜ:ɬɜ   *ts'ɜ-n*   Ø-*ʃ-ɜw-tɐlɜ*   *ɐgʲɜ-n*   (TE)
3pPOSS-way.of.dying   good-ADV   3sABS-become-FUT.I-CONV   bad-ADV

Ø-*ʃ-ɜw-tɐlɜ*   *ɐ-z-Ø-di-tɕ'ɜ*
3sABS-become-FUT.I-CONV   3sABS-1sOBL-2sERG-CAUS-know

'let me know if their way of dying will be good or bad' (Dumézil and Esenç 1978:85)

Like the converb-formant *-msɜ*, *-tɐlɜ* also finds usage as an adverbial-forming nominal suffix in the following example:

si-miʑi:ʃ-ɜwn-tɐlɜ   *si-tʃɜ:bʁʲɜ-wi:s-gʲi*   (HKo)
1sPOSS-childhood[.OBL]-INSTR-CONV   1sABS-PVB-be.sitting.DYN(SG)-CONV

ji-gʷibʁɜ-n   *dʁɜ-si-Ø-gʲi-wi-ɕ[ɜ]-ɐlɜ…*
this-plain-OBL   SUB-1sABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(SG)-CONV-COM

'during my childhood, when I would go to that plain on horseback…' (Dumézil 1960a:20)

3.3.1.6. The converb-marker -*ɐdʷɜn*

The marker *-ɐdʷɜn* forms converbs that have a sense of goal, and has similar semantics to the dependent nominalisation marked with *-ɐkʲ'ɜ* (§2.2.3.2.3.2.1), but carries an additional

connotation that the verb it marks is a necessary or required but previously unfulfilled task that one has completed:

é-miẓ   ɐ-jtɕʷ'ɐ-s-wɨ:s-ɐ:dʷɜ:n   si-j-dʒ-q'ɜ   (TE)
the-child   3sABS-PVB-1sERG-be.sitting.DYN(SG)-CONV   1sABS-PVB-return-PAST
'I put the child [that I needed to put to bed] to bed and I came back' (Dumézil 1965:226)

wɜnɜ   ɐ-zɜndʒɜ-n   Ø-lɜ-gʲɨ:tʷ-q'ɜ:jt'-ɐχ   ɐ-z-dʷ-ɐ:dʷɜ:n   (TE)
that   the-half-ADV   3sABS-PVB-remain-PLUP-RES   3sABS-1sERG-sew-CONV
si-j-dʒ-q'ɜ
1sABS-PVB-return-PAST
'half of it was left, so I sewed it and came back' (Dumézil 1965:227)

3.3.2. Subordination and complement-clauses

The NWC languages do not have subordinate clauses in the sense that they are found in western European languages, and Ubykh, like the other NWC languages, does not have a free complementiser; however, the interrogative/relative prefix *d(ʁ)ɜ-* 'how' (§2.3.5.1) serves as a complementising prefix that forms many types of subordinate phrases and complements from verb forms. The forms *dɜ-* and *dʁɜ-* are in more or less free variation, though *dʁɜ-* is the variant that seems to be more commonly found.

The Ubykh complementiser may be added to a verb in any tense to form a non-finite phrase that stands as a free complement. In addition, the prefix in composition with a verb stripped of tense-marking forms the basis for several other types of subordinate constructions, all of which are also non-finite. The following are some examples of fully conjugated *d(ʁ)ɜ-* complements:

dʁɜ́-s-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ   ɐ-ʈʂ'ɜ-ʃ-q'ɜ́-mɜ   (unkn.)
SUB-1sABS-go-PAST[.NFIN]   3sABS-good-become-PAST-NEG
'it was not good that I went' (Mészáros 1934:279; Vogt 1963:113)

ɐ-pɜdʒɨ-n   dʁɜ-Ø-ʃ-q'ɜ   si-tʷ:gʲidzɜ-n   (TE)
the-truth-ADV   SUB-3sABS-become-PAST[.NFIN]   1sPOSS-grandfather-ERG
Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-gʲɨ   ɐ-s-ɐ-qʷ'-ɐj-q'ɜ
3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV   3sABS-1sPOSS-PVB-be.heard-ITER-PAST
'I heard my grandfather say that it was the truth' (Dumézil 1965:60)

dʁɜ-Ø-tɜ   ʁɜ-kʷɜbʒɜ-n   (HKo)
SUB-3sABS-pregnant[.STAT.PRES.NFIN] 3sPOSS-husband-ERG
ji-Ø-mi-tɕ'ɜ-ɕɜ…
3sABS-3sERG-NEG-know-CONV
'without her husband knowing that she was pregnant…' (Dumézil 1959b:100)

ʁʁʷɀ́-n   dʁɀ́-Ø-ʁɀ-qʷɀ   ji-Ø-tɕ'ɀ-q'ɀ́   (AH)
he(EMPH)-ERG   SUB-3sABS-3sPOSS-son[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   3sABS-3sERG-know-PAST
'he knew that it was his own son' (Dumézil 1959a:39; Vogt 1963:113)

The following example from TE demonstrates an unusual copying of the subject of the embedded verb into the direct-object position of the main verb:

dʁɀ́-ʃi-pχʲɀ́dɨkʷ'-nɀ   ji-nɀ́jnʃʷ-ɕʷɀ-n   (TE)
SUB-1pABS-young.woman[.STAT.PRES]-PL.NFIN   this-young.man-white-ERG
ʃi-Ø-tɕ'ɀ-q'ɀ́-n
1pABS-3sERG-know-PAST-PL
'this White Youth knew [lit. 'knew us'] that we were young women'
                                                         (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:205)

3.3.2.1. Subordination of copular sentences
The copular clitic -ʥ(ɀ) (§3.2.3) may host the complementising prefix d(ʁ)ɀ- (though the copular clitic may also be subordinated through the use of the converb-marker -n(ɨ); see §3.3.1.3). As the complex is non-finite, the clitic appears in its full -ɀ-final form:

ʁ-dɨ́-ɬɀq'ɀ-ʤ   pχʲɀ́dɨkʷ'   (TE)
3sABS-REL-PVB-be.with[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   young.woman
dɀ́-Ø-ʥɀ   Ø-Ø-tɕ'ɀ-q'ɀ́
SUB-3sABS-COP.NFIN[.STAT.PRES]   3sABS-3sERG-know-PAST
'he knew that the young woman he was looking for was she' (Dumézil 1967:112)

ʁʷɀ   dʁɀ-wi-ʥɀ   Ø-s-tɕ'ɀ-q'ɀ:jt'   (AB)
you(SG)   SUB-2sABS-COP.NFIN[.STAT.PRES]   3sABS-1sERG-know-PLUP
'I had known that it is you' (Dumézil 1960b:452)

3.3.2.2. Temporal subordination
3.3.2.2.1. When and after…
The complementiser prefix forms the base for three distinct 'when'-constructions. Addition of the suffix -ɀwnɀ to a tenseless subordinated verb gives a type of 'when'-construction that has pluperfect reference (Hewitt 2005a:132):

ʁ-ʤʁʁɀ-n   dʁɀ-Ø-ʁ[ɀ]-ʁ-nɨ-Ø-l[ɀ]-ɀwnɀ   (HKo)
the-slope-OBL   SUB-3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-3sERG-CAUS-approach-CONV
Ø-Ø-jɀ-mɨ-ʁʷ[ɀ]-ʁj-fɀ-ɕɀ   Ø-ʃ-q'ɀ
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-NEG-pull-ITER-POT-CONV   3sABS-become-PAST
'when she had brought it to the hill, it happened that she was unable to pull it any further'
                                                         (Dumézil 1962b:143)

dʁɜ-j[ɜ]-ɐ-ʃi-l[ɜ]-ɜwnɜ… (HKo)
SUB-NULL.ABS-3pERG-eat-EXH-CONV
'when they had all finished eating…' (Dumézil 1959b:108)

Suffixation of *-t'in*, by contrast, gives a form which rather has non-durative past reference (Hewitt 2005a:132):

ɐʁɜ-mɜɕɜ *dʁɜ-Ø-blɐ-mi-tʷ'-t'in* *ɐ-zɐqˤɜ-ni* (AB)
3pPOSS-word SUB-3sABS-PVB-NEG-leave-CONV the-alone-ADV
ɐ-lɜ-s-ɐj-ɜwi:jt'i-ɕ?
3sABS-PVB-be.sitting(SG)-ITER-COND.I-INTERR
'when word of them did not arrive, would she have remained alone?' (Dumézil 1962b:150)

dʁɜ-Ø-zɜ-wɜ-ni-Ø-kʲ'ɜ-t'in *zɜ-ʤɜmʁʲɐʧ'ɜ-pqɨ* (AB)
SUB-3sABS-RECIP.OBL-PVB-3sERG-CAUS-go-CONV one-scapula-bone
Ø-Ø-wɜ-ni-w:tʷ'-q'ɜ
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3sERG-take.out-PAST
'when he stirred in amongst it, he pulled a scapula out of it' (Dumézil 1959a:44)

In combination with the converb-marker *-ɕɜ*, the construction rather has future reference:

si-tɜ *dɜ-Ø-ʃi-ɕɜ* *wʁʷɜ* (TE)
1sABS-pregnant[.STAT.PRES.NFIN] SUB-3sABS-become-CONV you(SG)
w-ɐ-kʷ'-ɜw:t
2sABS-3pERG-kill-FUT.II
'when I become pregnant, they will kill you' (Dumézil 1965:60)

jinɜ *dʁɜ-Ø-w-lɜkʷ'ɜ-ɕɜ* *sɜ-w-q'ɜʂɜ-ʁi-ʃɜ-gʲɨ* (HKu)
this SUB-3sABS-2sERG-lick-CONV what-2sOBL-PVB-want-CONV-EMPH
ɐ-ʃ-ɜw:t
3sABS-become-FUT.II
'when you lick this, whatever you want will happen' (Dumézil 1961b:288)

A subordinated verb marked with tense or with the suffix *-t'in* may take the suffixed postposition *-gʲɐtɕ'* 'as, like', optionally with the oblique-case suffix (see §2.2.1.5):

si-nɜ-n *dɜ-si-Ø-di-ʁˤ-q'ɜ-n-gʲɐtɕ'i-n* (AH)
1sPOSS-mother-ERG SUB-1sABS-3sERG-CAUS-be.born-PAST[.NFIN]-OBL-like-ADV
si-t'ɜʧ'ɜ:q'ɜ-ʃ-ɜw:t
1sABS-naked-become-FUT.II
'I will become as naked as [when] my mother gave birth to me' (Dumézil 1957:71)

dʁɜ-Ø-lɜ́-xɜ-q'ɜ-nɜ-n-gʲɐtɕ' (TE)
SUB-3pABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PAST-PL-OBL-like
'just as they were' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:206)

and this type of construction may carry an extended figurative sense of 'as soon as':

dɜ:ʧʼɜ́lɜ   *dɜ-Ø-s-q'ɜ-q'ɜ́-n-gʲɐtɕ'*   «*bˤɜgʲɜtʼɨ́*»   (TE)
just.now   SUB-3sABS-1sERG-say-PAST[.NFIN]-OBL-like   wildcat
Ø-ɐ-q'ɜ-gʲɨ́   *Ø-mʁʲɐ-kʲɜ-q'ɜ́-n*
3sABS-3pERG-say-CONV   3sABS-PVB-enter(PL)-PAST-PL
'they started chanting "Wildcat" just now, as soon as I did'

(Charachidzé and Esenç 1991a:3)

ɐ-mɜ́ɕɜ   *dɜ-Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ́-qʷ'-t'in-gʲɐtɕ'*   *ɐ-miʁʲɜ́-n*   (TE)
the-word   SUB-3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-be.heard-CONV-like   the-road-OBL
Ø-Ø-gʲɨ-w-q'ɜ́
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(SG)-PAST
'just as he heard the news, he set out' (Hewitt 1974)

The 'when'-subordinate constructions *d(ʁ)ɜ-…-t'in* and *d(ʁ)ɜ-…-ɕɜ* (§2.6.11.2) may be reinforced or supported by adding the postposition *-łɜq'ɐlɜ* (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:206) or *-łɜq'ɜʁɜ*:

dʁɜ-Ø-zɜ́-jɜ-nɜ-t'in-łɜq'[ɜ]:ɐlɜ… (TE)
SUB-3sABS-RECIP.OBL-hit-PL-CONV-after
'after they fought each other…' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:206)

ɕʷɨʁʷɜłɜ   *ɕʷɨ-ʂɜ-nɜ-n*   *jinɜ-n-gʲɐtɕ'*   *zɜ-gʷɜrɜ*   (TE)
you(PL)   2pPOSS-head-PL-OBL   this-OBL-like   one-certain
dʁɜ-Ø-Ø-kʲ'ɜ:ł'ɜ-ɕɜ-łɜq'[ɜ]:ɐlɜ…
SUB-3sABS-3sOBL-approach-CONV-after
'after something like this comes upon you all…' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:352)

d[ɜ]-ɐ-ɕʷ-t'in-łɜq'ɜ-ʁɜ… (TE)
SUB-3sABS-dawn-CONV-footprint-LOC
'after day broke…' (Dumézil 1959a:27)

3.3.2.2.2. Until…

The relevant affix for expression of 'until'-subordination is the postposition *-ʃɐχʲɜ* (§2.2.1.5), optionally along with the adverbial case-suffix *-n(ɨ)*, added to a fully conjugated verb without tense-marking:

zɜ-ʃʷɜ   *t'qʷ'ɜ-ʃʷɜ*   *ɕi-ʃʷɜ*   *Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ-lɜ-ʃɐχʲɜ*   (HKo)
one-year   two-year   three-year   3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-arrive[.NFIN]-until
ɐ-zɜ:jɜ-ʁɜ   *Ø-blɐ-tʷ-gʲɜ-nɜ:jt'*
the-war-LOC   3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-HAB-IMPF
'for one, two, three years, he was continually at the war' (Dumézil 1957:12)

ɛ́-ʑʷɜ   *Ø-zɜ-wɜ-ni-w:tʷ'-ɛ́j-ʃɐχʲɜ*   *ɛ́-mʁʲɜ-n*   (TE)
the-sky   3sABS-REFL-PVB-3sERG-take.out-ITER[.NFIN]-until   the-road-OBL
ʃi-kʲ'ɜ́-n[ɜ]-ɜ:mi:t
1pABS-go-PL-FUT.I.NEG
'we will not go until the sky clears up' (Hewitt 1974)

ɕʷipi-n-gʲɐtɕ'   *ɐ-ʃi-ʃɐχʲɜ-n*   *ɐ-w-ɕɜɕ-i*   (Íb)
flour-OBL-like   3sABS-become[.NFIN]-until-ADV   3sABS-2sERG-hit-IMPER
'mash it until it becomes like flour' (Dumézil 1959a:65)

3.3.2.2.3. Since or for the time that…

The postposition *-dɜqʷ'ɜ* 'since; for all (the time) of' (§2.2.1.5) may be added to a verb without tense-marking to signify 'since (the time that)' or 'for all the time that':

si-j-kʲ'ɜ́-dɜqʷ'ɜ…   (TE)
1sABS-PVB-go[.NFIN]-since
'since I came…' (Charachidzé 1989a:448)

siʁʷɜ́   *si-wɨdi-ʃɨ-dɜqʷ'ɜ*   *dímɐtɕ'i*   *ts'ipχɜ́-tʃ'ɜ:wtʷ':ɛ́w-ɜwn*   (TE)
I   1sABS-devil-become[.NFIN]-since   egg   lock-opener[.OBL]-INSTR
dɜ-Ø-Ø-ʒʷ[ɜ]-ɜ́w:t   *Ø-si-m-tɕ'ɜ-nɜ́:jt'*
SUB-3sABS-3sERG-roast-FUT.II[.NFIN]   3sABS-1sERG-NEG-know-IMPF
'in all the time I have been a devil, I did not know that one cooked egg[s] with a key'
                                                                      (Vogt 1963:50)

3.3.2.2.4. Every time that…

The quantifier *-ʂɜʂin* 'each, every' (§2.4.1), optionally in composition with the emphatic clitic *-gʲɨ* (§2.2.1.6), may be added to a verb without tense-marking to express the meaning 'every time that' or 'whenever':

ɐ-tɕʷ'ɜ-ʂɜʂín   *ʁ[ɜ]-ɜw-blɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜwn*   *ɐ-ʑʷɜ́-pχɜdɜ-n*   (TE)
3sABS-cry[.NFIN]-every   3sPOSS-PL-eye-OBL.PL-INSTR   3sABS-PVB-fall-PRES[.NFIN]
lɜqʲɜ-łɜq'ɜ́-n-gʲɐtɕ'   *ɐ-ʃi-n*
stone-precious-OBL-like   3sABS-become-PRES
'whenever she cries, her tears are like precious stones' (Hewitt 1974)

Ø-Ø-q'ʒꞩʒ-ʁɨ-ꞩʒꞩin		*ʁ-diʁʲɨ-n*	(MK)
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]-every		3sABS-fart-PRES	

'he farts whenever he wants' (Dumézil 1960a:33)

ʁ-ʃʷʒ-qʒfʒ-ʁʒ	*ʁ-lʒ-χʷʒ-ꞩʒꞩin-gʲɨ…*	(HKo)
the-sea-edge-LOC	3sABS-PVB-pass[.NFIN]-every-EMPH	

'every single time he passed near the water's edge…' (Dumézil 1957:6)

3.3.2.2.5. Before…

The nominal *ʁntɕʷ'(ɨ)* '(area) before' in the adverbial case is used as a possessive postposition (§2.2.1.5), accompanying a negative *-ɕʒ*-converb (§3.3.1.1), as the usual means of expressing an event that precedes another (Charachidzé 1989a:449):

si-m-kʲ'ʒ́-ɕʒ	*ʁ[ʒ]-ɛ́ntɕʷ'i-n…*	(TE)
1sABS-NEG-go-CONV	3sPOSS-before-ADV	

'before I went…' (Charachidzé 1989a:449)

3.3.2.2.6. While…

There are two common means of expressing concurrency of two events. A tenseless but otherwise unmodified verb may appear as the absolutive subject of a subordinated form of the verb *ʃɨ* 'to be, to become':

ʃɨ-j-kʲ'ʒ-nʒ	*dʒ́-Ø-ʃ-t'in…*	(TE)
1pABS-PVB-go-PL.NFIN	SUB-3sABS-become-CONV	

'while we were coming…' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:151)

Alternatively, the primary verb of the 'while'-clause may be a *-n(ɨ)*-converb of the copula of existence *fʁ-s* (sg.) ~ *fʁ-ʒʷʒ* (pl.) 'to be on, to be at', governing either a *-gʲɨ-* or *-n(ɨ)-* converb (§3.3.1.1; §3.3.1.3):

jʒ-Ø-kʲ'ʒtʷ'ɨ-n	*Ø-Ø-fʁ-si-n*	*ʁʒ-ɬʁp'ʒ* (İH)
NULL.ABS-3sERG-walk.around-CONV	3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.sitting(SG)-CONV	3sPOSS-foot
Ø-ɬʒjʒ-ntɕʷʒ-n	*zʒ-qʒ-ʒʷ-ʁʒts'ʒ-n*	*Ø-Ø-ʁʒts'ʒ-tʃʒ:w-q'ʒ*
3sABS-PVB-leap-CONV	one-grave-old-inside-OBL	3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-fall(SG)-PAST

'while he was walking around, his foot slipped and he fell into an old grave'

(Dumézil 1960a:46)

ʁ-qˤʁɕi-nʒ	*ʁ-tʷʒtʷʒ*	*Ø-zʒ-nʁ-pˤχˤʒ-n*	(TE)
the-village-ERG.PL	the-gold	3sABS-RECIP.OBL-3pERG-take.by.force-CONV	
Ø-Ø-fʁ-si-n…			
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.sitting(SG)-CONV			

'while the villagers were fighting over the gold…' (Dumézil 1959a:60)

or the converb of *fɐ-s* (sg.) ~ *fɐ-ʒʷʒ* (pl.) may rather govern a verb without tense-marking:

ɐ-z-bʑʒ Ø-Ø-fɐ-sɨ-n «ʃɨ (MK)
3sABS-1sERG-tie[.NFIN] 3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.sitting(SG)-CONV who
ɐ-s-ɛ́-gʷʧɐq'ʒ-q'ʒ-j?» jɨ-Ø-q'ʒ-q'ʒ
3sABS-1sPOSS-PVB-talk-PAST-INTERR 3sABS-3sERG-say-PAST
'while I was bandaging it, he said "Who spoke to me?"' (Dumézil and Namitok 1954:186)

3.3.2.3. Causal subordination

In TE's speech, causal meanings were given by the postposition -*ʁɐfʒ* 'because (of)', optionally with the adverbial case-suffix -*n(ɨ)*, added to a subordinated verb in the appropriate tense:

bʒʒ-mɛʷʒ-n dʒ-Ø-lʒ-tʷ-q'ʒ:jt'-ʁ[ʒ]:ɐfʒ zʷʒpsi:ʤ (TE)
winter-day-ADV SUB-3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PLUP[.NFIN]-because nightfall
ɐ-j-ʤ-q'ʒ-mʒ
3sABS-PVB-return-PAST-NEG
'because it had been a wintry day, he did not return at nightfall' (Dumézil 1959a:27)

ɐ-zʒkʷ'ɨ́-n dʒ-Ø-s-q'ʒ-q'ɨ́-ʁ[ʒ]:ɐfʒ ɐ-gʲɨbʒ-q'ʒ (TE)
the-straight-ADV SUB-3sABS-1sERG-say-PAST[.NFIN]-because 3sABS-get.angry-PAST
'he got angry because I told the truth' (Hewitt 1974)

ɐʁʒ-fʒʃɨ-n dʁʒ-ʃɨ-ʁ[ʒ]-ɐ-m-tsʒ-q'ʒ-nʒ-ʁ[ʒ]:ɐfʒ-n… (TE)
3pPOSS-food-OBL SUB-1pABS-3sPOSS-PVB-NEG-be.used.to-PAST-PL.NFIN-because-ADV
'because we were not accustomed to their food…' (Dumézil and Namitok 1955b:442)

HKo usually added the instrumental postposition -*ʒwn(ɨ)* 'by means of' to the end of the complex as well:

ɐ-gʷɐʁʒ-n dʁʒ-Ø-Ø-gʲɨ-w-q'ʒ-ʁ[ʒ]:ɐf[ʒ]-ʒwn… (HKo)
the-paddock-OBL SUB-3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(SG)-PAST[.NFIN]-because-INSTR
'because he had gone straight into the paddock…' (Dumézil 1959b:108)

ɐdɨɣʒ-lʒjfʷʒ dʁʒ-Ø-j-n-ʃ-ʒw:t-ʁɐf[ʒ]-ʒwn ɐ-nʒjfʷ (HKo)
Circassian-custom SUB-3sABS-PVB-3sERG-do-FUT.II[.NFIN]-because-INSTR the-young.man
ɐ-dʒ:tʷɨ-n ɐ-qˤ[ʒ]-ʒw:tɨ-n ɐ-mʁʲɐ-wi-q'ʒ
3sABS-get.up(SG)-CONV 3sABS-run-FUT.II-CONV 3sABS-PVB-enter(SG)-PAST
'he got up and began to run because he was fulfilling Circassian custom'

(Dumézil 1959b:115)

and in the following example from HKo's speech, the postposition -ʒwnɨ appears alone, not accompanied by -ʁɐfʒ:

ɐʁʷʒɬʒ-nʒ   ɐʁʒ-bzʒ   dʒ-Ø-Ø-tɕ'ʒ-q'[ʒ]-ʒwnɨ   (HKo)
they(EMPH.PL)-OBL.PL 3pPOSS-language SUB-3sABS-3sERG-know-PAST[.NFIN]-INSTR
ɐ-nʒjnʃʷɨ-n-gʲɨ   Ø-Ø-dɨ-χʒχʒ-q'ʒ
the-young.man-ERG-EMPH   3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-amaze-PAST
'the young man amazed it, because he knew their own language' (Dumézil 1965:96)

3.3.2.4. Equative subordination
The postpositions -gʲɐχʷ(ʒ) and -gʲɐfɨ ~ -jfɨ, optionally in combination with the instrumental postposition -ʒwn(ɨ), may be added to a tenseless complementised verb in the relational case to give the meaning 'as much as':

ɛ́-jʒnɨʐ-nʒ   dʁ[ʒ]-Ø-ɐ-q'ʒ́ɕʒ-fʒ-n-gʲɐχʷʒ   lʒq'ʒ-gʲɨʥʒ́ (TE)
the-giant-ERG.PL   SUB-3sABS-3pERG-lift-POT[.NFIN]-OBL-as.much.as   stone-large
zʒ-dʷʒ   ɛ́-j-nɐ-ʁʒ-kʲʒ-nʒ-n…
one-each   3pABS-PVB-3pERG-CAUS.PL-bring-PL-CONV
'the giants each bringing a boulder as large as they could lift…'

                                                    (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:206)

dʁʒ-Ø-w-bzʒ-lʒ-n-gʲɐχʷ[ʒ]-ʒwn   Ø-qʕ[ʒ]-ɐkʲ'ʒ-msʒ… (HKo)
SUB-3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-be.able[.NFIN]-OBL-as.much.as-INSTR   3sABS-run-NOM-CONV
'he running as fast as you are able to…' (Dumézil 1959b:109)

3.3.2.5. Subordination of manner
A subordinated verb, either marked with tense or with the suffix -t'ɨn, may take the postposition -gʲɐtɕ' 'as, like' (along with the relational-case suffix required by this postposition, see §2.2.1.5) to express manner:

si-nʒ-n   dʒ-si-Ø-dɨ-ʁʕ-q'ʒ-n-gʲɐtɕ'ɨ-n   (AH)
1sPOSS-mother-ERG   SUB-1sABS-3sERG-CAUS-be.born-PAST[.NFIN]-OBL-like-ADV
si-t'ʒtʃ'ʒːq'ʒ-ʃ-ʒwːt
1sABS-naked-become-FUT.II
'I will become as naked as [when] my mother gave birth to me' (Dumézil 1957:71)

ʁʒ́-ʥɨɬʒ-ʁʒːʒʷɨ-n   dʁʒ́-Ø-j-n-ʃ-q'ʒːjt'ɨ-n-gʲɐtɕ'(ɨ-n)   (TE)
3sPOSS-brother-elder-ERG   SUB-3sABS-PVB-3sERG-do-PLUP[.NFIN]-OBL-like(-ADV)
ʁ[ʒ]-ʒ́w-kʲ'ʒːʁʲʒ-nʒ   Ø-ɛ́-n-q'ʒ-q'ʒ
3sPOSS-PL-companion(PL)-OBL.PL   3sABS-3pOBL-3sERG-say-PAST
'he said it to his companions as his older brother had done' (Charachidzé 1989a:447)

dʁɜ-Ø-lɜ́-xɜ-q'ɜ-nɜ-n-gʲɐtɕ'   (TE)
SUB-3pABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PAST-PL-OBL-like
'just as they were' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:206)

3.3.2.6. Conditional and concessive subordination
Conditional subordination is achieved by the use of the two conditional mood-markers (§2.6.7.4), and concessives are formed by adding the emphatic clitic *-gʲi* to a protasis in either of these conditional moods.

3.3.2.7. Subordination of result
Resultative clauses are marked with a coordinative element *-ɐχ*, which is suffixed to a finite verb (§3.3.3.3).

3.3.2.8. Purposive subordination
The usual means of expressing purposive subordination is through the use of a *-n(i)*-converb in the Future II or, more rarely, the Future I tense (§3.3.1.3):

ʁɜ-nkʲɜ   *Ø-Ø-bj[ɜ]-ɜw:ti-n*   *ɐ-mʁʲɜ-n*   (TE)
3sPOSS-friend   3sABS-3sERG-see-FUT.II-CONV   the-road-OBL
Ø-Ø-gʲi-w-q'ɜ
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(SG)-PAST
'he travelled to see his friend' (Dumézil 1962b:158)

The complex may optionally be expanded with the postposition *-ʁɐfɜ* 'because (of)', though there seems to be no great difference in meaning:

siʁʷɜ́   *ji-zɜ-q'[ɜ]-ɐlɜ́*   *ɐbzɜxɨ*   *Ø-s-tɕ'[ɜ]-ɜw:ti-n-ʁ[ɜ]:ɐfɜ*   (TE)
I   this-one-place-COM   Abdzakh   3sABS-1sERG-know-FUT.II-CONV-because
si-j-kʲɜ-q'ɜ́
1sABS-PVB-go-PAST
'I came here in order to learn Abdzakh' (Hewitt 1974)

According to Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:197), an equivalent alternative means of expressing purpose with a few verbs of motion is to use a simple nominalised verb stem as the second noun of a tatpurusha compound (§2.2.3.2.2.1.2.1), which stands alone as an adverbial:

ɕɜ́sɜ-q'ɜ̦ɜ́:w:ʁɜ   *s-kʲɜ-n*   (TE)
bride-expressing.a.desire   1sABS-go-PRES
vs.   [*ɕɜ́sɜ*]   *Ø-s-q'ɜ̦ɜ-w:ʁ[ɜ]-ɜw:ti-n*   [*s-kʲɜ-n*]   (TE)
      bride   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.hanging.DYN-FUT.II-CONV   1sABS-go-PRES
'I am going in order to propose marriage' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:197)

ɕʷíbˤɜ-lɜ:w:tʷ’:ɨ   *wi-s-qʷ’ɜdɜ́-n*   (TE)
bread-taking   2sABS-1sERG-send-PRES
vs.   [*ɕʷíbˤɜ*]   *Ø-lɜ́-si-w:tʷ’-ɜw:tɨ-n*   [*wi-s-qʷ’ɜdɜ́-n*]   (TE)
        bread   3sABS-PVB-1sERG-take(DYN)-FUT.II-CONV   2sABS-1sERG-send-PRES
   'I am sending you to take bread' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:197)

Yet another way of expressing purpose is by means of the deverbal nominalising suffix -*ɐkʲ’ɜ*,
which forms adverbial nominals of goal (§2.2.3.2.3.2.1).

3.3.2.9. Relative subordination
Relative clauses are extremely widely used in Ubykh, and are formed through a combination
of morphological and syntactic process. Two types of relative subordination exist, depending
upon whether or not the head of the relative clause is the absolute argument of its verb
phrase. The head of the relative construction usually appears clause-finally, and as the relative
clause has referential force, the definite article does not usually appear on the head noun
(§2.2.1.2).

   When the head of the relative clause is the absolute argument, the verb becomes non-
finite (§2.6.3), but otherwise takes no special marking:

ɐ-gʷɨʧɐq’ɜ-n   *tɨt*   *ɐ-qʷ’ɨz-ɜ́w:t*   (TE)
3sABS-talk-PRES[.NFIN]   man   3sABS-be.silent-FUT.II
   'the man who is speaking will be silent' (Hewitt 1974)

However, when the head of the relative clause is either the ergative or one of the oblique
arguments of the verb, not only does the verb become overtly non-finite, but a special
pronominal index *d(ɨ)-* (*t-* before a non-ejective voiceless consonant) appears in the prefixal
complex, replacing the agreement-affix that cross-references the head noun:

ʁʷɜ   *wɨ-di-jɜ-f*[*ɜ*]-*ɜw:t*   *tɨti-nɜ*   (HKo)
you(SG)   2sABS-REL-hit-POT-FUT.II[.NFIN]   man-OBL.PL
Ø-ɐ-nkʲɜ-mɜ
3sABS-3pOBL-be.of[.STAT.PRES]-NEG
   'he is not one of the men who you will be able to hit' (Dumézil 1959b:119)

ɐ-dí-ni-m-di-bjɜ-q’ɜ   *q’ɐzɜ́*   (TE)
3sABS-REL-3sERG-NEG-CAUS-see-PAST[.NFIN]   doctor
   'the doctor to whom she had not shown him' (Dumézil 1967:167)

«*lɜkʷ’ɐ́ɕʷɜ*»   *Ø-t-χʲɜ́-nɐ-q’ɜ-n*   *zɜ́-q’*[*ɜ*]-*ɐlɜ*   (TE)
L.   3sABS-REL-BEN-3pERG-say-PRES[.NFIN]   one-place-COM
   '(to) a place which they call Lek’uaşüe' (Vogt 1963:64)

ɐ-miz	*ɐ-lɜ-di-t'q'ɜʧ'ɜ-q'ɜ*	*pχʲɜdikʷ'*	(HKo)
the-child	3sABS-PVB-REL-seize-PAST[.NFIN]	young.woman	

'the young woman who seized the child' (Dumézil 1962b:28)

Rarely, the entire relative phrase is treated as a single morphological unit, taking nominal prefixes and suffixes as though it were a unitary substantive root (§2.2.3.2.3.2). Though the head usually appears clause-finally in relative clauses, there is a quite common usage whereby the head is not shifted to the clause-final position, but instead remains *in situ* and takes adverbial-case marking (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:190)[64]:

ɐ-ɕɜsɜ-n	*ɐ-χʲiʃɜ-n*	*Ø-t-χʲɜ-n-q'ɜ-q'ɜ:jt'-i*	(AH)
the-bride-ERG	the-tunic-ADV	3sABS-REL-BEN-3sERG-say-PLUP-NFIN	

ɐ-blɐ-ʁɜ-ni-w:tʷ'i-n…
3sABS-PVB-PVB-3sERG-remove-CONV

'the bride, taking out the tunic about which she had spoken…' (Dumézil 1957:71)

ɕ-biji-n	*Ø-lɜ-ʒʷɜ-q'ɜ:jɬɜ*	(TE)
the-sheep-ADV	3pABS-PVB-be.sitting(PL)-PLUP.NFIN	

ɐ-lɕ-mi-x[ɜ]-ɐji-n
3pABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(PL)-ITER-PL

'the sheep which had been sitting there are not there any more'

(Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:190)

Relative clauses may appear without an implicit head, in which case the non-finite verb itself is treated as the morphological head and can take appropriate nominal morphological markers:

zɜ-miz-ɐgʲɜ-n	*ɐ-χʷɜdʐɜ-n*	*ɐ-j-n-ʃi-n*	(İH)
one-child-bad-ERG	the-hoca-ERG	3sABS-PVB-3sERG-do-PRES[.NFIN]	

Ø-Ø-bjɜ-nɜ:jt'
3sABS-3sERG-see-IMPF

'a bad child was watching what the hoca was doing' (Dumézil 1960a:45)

dzɜ:mɜ	*ʁ[ɜ]-ɐtɕʷi-n*	*ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ*	(TE)
other	3sPOSS-detriment-ADV	3sABS-PVB-go-PAST[.NFIN]	

Ø-lɜ-mi-t
3sABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]

'there was nothing else that did it damage' (Dumézil 1962b:66)

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[64] Dumézil and Esenç note that the construction is also found in the other NWC languages, being reasonably frequent in Circassian, though less so in Abkhaz.

wзnз-ʣ   *si-di-lз-wiɕз-n-i*   (MK)
that-COP[.STAT.PRES]   1sABS-REL-PVB-think-PRES-NFIN

'that is what I am thinking about' (Dumézil 1957:48)

Two other types of relative subordination are found in which the target of relativisation is not a core argument of the verb. The possessor in a possessive construction (§2.2.1.3) may be made the head of a relative possessive by adding the prefix *d(i)*- to a possessed substantive bearing the third-person singular possessive prefix *ʁз*-:

d-ʁз-bзtɕ'з   *ɐ-wi-m-bijз-n*   *bzi-n*   (AB)
REL-3sPOSS-underneath   3sABS-2sERG-NEG-see-PRES[.NFIN]   water-OBL
wi-Ø-wз-mi-w-i
2sABS-3sOBL-PVB-NEG-enter(SG)-IMPER

'do not go into water whose bottom you cannot see' (Dumézil 1957:64)

d-ʁз-tʷ   *Ø-dwз-q'з*   *mizi*   (TE)
REL-3sPOSS-father   3sABS-die-PAST[.NFIN]   child

'the child whose father has died' (Hewitt 1974)

d-ʁз́-lɐkʲ'i   *ɐ-wз́*   *ʁ[з]-ɐqil*   (unkn.)
REL-3sPOSS-hair   3sABS-long[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   3sPOSS-intelligence
Ø-ɐgʷi
3sABS-short[.STAT.PRES]

'[he] whose hair is long, his thoughts are short' (Mészáros 1934:154)

The relativised substantive may itself form the base of a stative verb, which may or may not have an explicit head:

«*ɐ-zʷзʣi*   *Ø-ʣi-n*»   *Ø-di-ʁз-p'ʦ'з*   *ʧi-n*   (İb)
the-snow   3sABS-snow-PRES   3sABS-REL-3sPOSS-name[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   horse-OBL
si-Ø-bʁʲз-wi:s-q'з
1sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.sitting.DYN.SG-PAST

'I got on the horse whose name was "The Snow Is Falling"' (Dumézil 1931:158)

ji-pχʲзdikʷ'i   *ɐ-d-ʁз-pχʲз*   (HKo)
this-young.woman   3sABS-REL-3sPOSS-daughter[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]
ɐ-si-m-tɕ'з-n
3sABS-1sERG-NEG-know-PRES

'I do not know whose daughter this young woman is' (Dumézil 1959b:103)

Another type of relativised substantive is formed simply by adding the relativising prefix to a substantive acting adverbially, in which case the substantive remains *in situ*:

dɨ-ʃʷɜ	*χʲɨ-n*	*Ø-ʃ-q'ɜ*	(unkn.)
REL-year	prince-ADV	3sABS-become-PAST[.NFIN]	

'(in) the year he became sultan' (Dumézil 1959a:23)

dɨ-mɛʷɜ	*ʁ-j-kʲ'ɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜw:tʷ:q'ɜ*	(AH)
REL-day	3pABS-PVB-go-PL-COND.II[.NFIN]	

'(on) the day when they would have come' (Dumézil 1957:70)

or the substantive may be shifted to clause-final position without additional marking, a usage functionally equivalent to an *in situ* adverbial substantive with the relative prefix *dɨ-*:

jɨ-p'ʧ'ɜ́-tɛʷjɜ	*ɛ́-j-nʁ-ʃ*	*Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɛ́-s-Ø-ʃ-q'ɜ*	(HKo)
this-guest-house	3sABS-PVB-3pERG-do	3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-1sERG-CAUS-do-PAST[.NFIN]	
mɨɛʷɜ́-dɜqʷ'ɜ	*ʧ'ɜ́χʷɜ-χ*	*mɨɛʷɜ́-ʃʁχʲɜ*	
day-since	today-belonging.to(SG)	day-until	

'from the day when I had them build this guest house until today'

(Dumézil 1959b:127; Vogt 1963:112)

A final type of relativised substantive is formed by preposing to the substantive a clause whose main verb is marked with the complementiser *d[ʁ]ɜ-* (§3.3.2):

dʁɜ-sɨ-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ́	*mɨʤɜ́:ʁbɜ*	(TE)
SUB-1sABS-PVB-go-PAST[.NFIN]	train	

'the train [on] which I came' (Hewitt 1974)

ʁ-ɕɜ́sɜ-lʁq	*dʁɜ́-Ø-ɕɜ-w-ʁj-ɜw:t*	*ʃʷwɜ*	(TE)
the-bride-to	SUB-3sABS-PVB-enter(SG)-ITER-FUT.II[.NFIN]	night	

'the night [when] he went in to the bride' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:206)

3.3.2.9.1. Indefinite relativisation

Indefinite relativisation is most commonly achieved by adding the nominal emphatic suffix *-gʲɨ* (§2.2.1.6) to a *-ʃɜ*-converb that has as one of its arguments an interrogative pronoun, which serves as the head of the indefinite relative clause:

sʁkʲɜ	*Ø-Ø-ɬɜʃɜ-nʁ-bjɜ-ʃɜ-gʲɨ*	(HKo)
what	3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3pERG-see-CONV-EMPH	

'whatever they see around her' (Dumézil 1959b:113)

mʁ-ʣɜ-ʃɜ-gʲɨ	(TE)
where-COP-CONV-EMPH	

'everywhere' (Vogt 1963:147)

mɐkʲ'[ʒ]-*ʒwn*   Ø-*kʲ'ʒ-nʒ-ʃʒ-gʲɨ*   *fɨ-sʒχʒt-ʒwn*   *sɨ*   (MK)
where[.OBL]-INSTR   3pABS-go-PL-CONV-EMPH   six-hour-INSTR   timber

ɐ-j-nɐ-w-ʒw:t
3sABS-PVB-3pERG-bring(SG)-FUT.II

'wherever they go, they will [only] bring timber in six hours' (Dumézil 1957:48)

ʁʷʒ   *sʒ-w-q'ʒs̩ʒ-ʁɨ-ʃʒ-gʲɨ*   *ɐ-z-Ø-dɨ-q'ɜ́-mʒ*   (TE)
you(SG)   what-2sOBL-PVB-want-CONV-EMPH   3sABS-1sOBL-2sERG-CAUS-say-CONV

ɐ-w-χʲɜ́-s-ʃ-ʒw:t
3sABS-2sOBL-BEN-1sERG-do-FUT.II

'tell me whatever [it is] you want and I will do it for you' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:166)

In the following example of a relativised nominal constituent, the instrumental postposition *-ʒwn(ɨ)* appears as part of the complex (§2.2.1.5):

ɬʒpɛ   *ɐ-dɨ:kʲɜ́-ʃʷwʒ-ʃ*[ʒ]-*ʒwn-gʲɨ*   *ɐ-q'ɐzʒ-nɨ́*   (TE)
Lh.   the-what-matter-CONV-INSTR-EMPH   the-artisan-ADV

Ø-lɜ́-tʷ-q'ʒ
3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PAST

'Lhepşi was skilled in every kind of work' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:196)

However, instead of containing a converb in *-ʃʒ*, the verb in the subordinated phrase may be a non-finite verb in the appropriate tense, again with an interrogative pronoun as its head:

sʒ-j-s-ʃ-q'ʒ-gʲɨ   *ʁ*[ʒ]-*ɐfɜ́*   *Ø-j-kʲ'ʒ-q'ɜ́-mʒ*   (TE)
what-PVB-1sERG-do-PAST[.NFIN]-EMPH   3sPOSS-benefit   3sABS-PVB-go-PAST-NEG

'whatever I did achieved nothing' (Hewitt 1974)

3.3.2.9.2. Relative-raising

Relative-raising is a phenomenon whereby a noun phrase that is a constituent of both an embedded verb and its matrix verb is relativised. The phenomenon has been documented in at least Abkhaz (Hewitt 1979a:37-38) and Adyghe (Hewitt 1979b); in both languages, when a constituent of an embedded verbal clause is relativised, then all verbs carrying agreement for that constituent are also morphologically relativised. Hewitt (2005:126) offers the following Abkhaz example, which demonstrates the working of relative-raising in that language (note, however, that relative-marking is obligatory only on the topmost verb in Abkhaz):

a-χátsa   *də-z-bá-r:ts*   *Ø-zə-dzbɜ́-Ø:z*   *a-pħʷɜ́s*
the-man   him(ABS)-REL-see-PURPOSIVE   it(ABS)-REL-decide-AOR.NFIN   the-woman

=   …   *də-l-bá-r:ts* …
             him(ABS)-she(ERG)-see-PURPOSIVE

'the woman who decided to see the man' (Hewitt 2005a:126)

Hardly any examples of this are known from the Ubykh corpus, but the following example from HKo, in which a relativised constituent of the embedded clause conditions overt relative-marking also in the superordinate verb, demonstrates clear relative-raising in Ubykh:

siʁʷɜ   ɐ-si-ɕʷi-Ø-qʼɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜw:ti-n   (HKo)
I   3sABS-1sOBL-2pERG-CAUS-say-PL-FUT.II-CONV

ɕʷi-d-ɐ-gʲɐʁɜ-qʼɜ:jłɜ   Ø-sɐkʲi-jtʼi-j?
2pABS-REL-PVB-hope-PLUP.PL.NFIN   3sABS-what-STAT.PAST-INTERR

'what was it that you had hoped to make me say?' (Dumézil 1962b:15)

3.3.2.9.3. The clitic verb -χ(i) ~ -(w)χʷɜ 'belonging to'
The verb χi (sg.) ~ (w)χʷɜ (pl.) 'to belong to' usually behaves as an ordinary stative oblique intransitive verb (§2.6.1.1.2.2). However, when the absolutive argument it governs is relativised, it may cliticise with its preceding oblique object (which usually loses its relational-case marking) and form a single phonological word functioning in most respects as an adjective, though like ordinary relative clauses (§3.3.2.9) such forms precede their heads:

mɜtɕʷ'i-χ   psɜp'qʲ'ɜ-n[65] wi-gʲi   Ø-Ø-di-qʼɜqʼ-ɜw:t   (HÇ)
morning-belonging.to(SG) dew-ERG   2sPOSS-heart 3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-sweet-FUT.II

'morning dew will please you' (Dumézil 1931:138; Dumézil 1959a:56)

dɜ-χʷɜ   te'iɕi   (TE)
now-belonging.to(PL)   small

'the children of today' (Vogt 1963:112)

fɛ́χʲɜ-χ   si-mizí:ʃ   ɐ-z-gʲi-ʁɜ-lɜ-tʷ'ɜ-q'ɜ:jt'   (AB)
long.ago-belonging.to(SG) 1sPOSS-childhood 3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-PVB-PVB-leave-PLUP

'I had remembered my distant childhood' (Dumézil 1957:79; Vogt 1963:120)

Like adjectives and relative clauses, such forms may stand alone and serve as nominals:

ʁɜ-łiqʷ'sɜ:ʃi-χ   ɐ-ʃ-ɜw:t   (HKo)
3sPOSS-heroism-belonging.to(SG)   3sABS-become-FUT.II

'his heroic nature will appear' (Dumézil 1957:21; Dumézil 1962b:186)

Uncommonly, the relational-case marking of the indirect object, and corresponding prefixal agreement on the cliticised verb (§2.6.1.1), is preserved:

ɐjdɜ-ní-Ø-Ø-χ   (TE)
other-OBL-3sABS-3sOBL-belonging.to(SG)

'belonging to another one' (Dumézil 1965:218)

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[65] The original has **säркä-n** (*sɜpqɜ-n*) here, which I have changed following Dumézil (1959a:56).

ɐjɬɜ-n[ɜ]-Ø-ɐ́-χ (TE)
other(PL)-OBL.PL-3sABS-3pOBL-belonging.to(SG)
'belonging to others' (Dumézil 1965:218)

This construction forms the basis for ordinal numerals (§2.4.2.2). Such cliticised forms occasionally combine with the following head noun to form a compound (§2.2.3.2.2.1):

j-ɐʁɜ-t'qʷ'ɜ́-χi-mɕʷɜ (TE)
this-3pPOSS-two-belonging.to(SG)-day
'this second day' (Dumézil 1974:28)

ɐ-lɜʁɜ́-χ-tɕʷij3-ʁɜ́ (AB)
the-over.there-belonging.to(SG)-house-LOC
'in the house over there' (Dumézil 1957:91; Vogt 1963:140)

w[ɜ]-ɐjdɜ-χ-titi-n-gʲi (unkn.)
that-other-belonging.to(SG)-man-ERG-EMPH
'as for that other man (erg.)' (Dumézil 1965:69)

but more often, they form separate morphological and phonological words:

ɐntɕʷ'i-χ   *wi-kʷɜbʒɜ-n* (TE)
before-belonging.to(SG)   2sPOSS-husband-OBL
Ø-Ø-gʲɐtɕ'i-ɕ?
3sABS-3sOBL-be.like[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
'is he like your first husband?' (Dumézil 1959a:28)

3.3.2.10. Correlative subordination
Constructions that seem to be equivalent to correlative subordination in Ubykh grammar (the equivalent of the English 'so… that…' construction) are difficult to analyse properly, being known only from a few poorly-understood instances. However, they seem to be expressed by forming a *-n(i)*-converb of the qualifying verb (the portion of the construction given in English by 'so'), and suffixing to it, in order, the marker of the object of comparison *-qʲɜ* (§2.2.1.4.1), the suffixal negative marker *-mɜ* (§2.6.9), and the converb-marker *-ɕɜ* (§3.3.1.1), the 'that'-portion of the construction being expressed by an unmodified finite verb:

si-gʲi   *Ø-pɨ́-n-qʲɜ-mɜ-ɕɜ*   *zɐwiɬɜ́-mtɕ'ɜ*   *ɐ́-ntʷɜ*   (MK)
1sPOSS-heart   3sABS-be.sad-CONV?-than-NEG-CONV   several-times   the-door[.OBL]
ʁɜ-t̠ʂ'ɜf[ɜ]-ɜ́wni   *si-lɜ-χʷɜ́-q'ɜ*
3sPOSS-front[.OBL]-INSTR   1sABS-PVB-pass-PAST
'I was so sad that I passed several times in front of the door'

(Dumézil and Namitok 1954:177; Dumézil 1960a:69)

si-gʲibʒ-tɕʷɜ-n-qʲɜ-mɜ-ɕɜ   *si-Ø-jɜ-n*   (TE)
1sABS-be.angry-EXC-CONV?-than-NEG-CONV   1sABS-3sOBL-hit-CONV
ɐ-si-Ø-χʲɜ-q'ɜ
3sABS-1sERG-CAUS-collapse-PAST
'I was so very angry that I hit him and made him collapse' (Dumézil 1960a:69)

3.3.3. Coordination of verbal clauses
3.3.3.1. Conjunction

Connective conjunction of finite clauses may be achieved by use of the adverb *gʲɐ ~ gʲɜ* (which may be the same morpheme as the emphatic particle *gʲɜ*; see §2.7.1). The most usual construction places it before each finite clause:

gʲɐ   *ɐ-ʒʷɜ-q'ɜ́*   *gʲɐ*   *ɐ-pir-ɐ́j-q'ɜ*   (TE)
CONJ   3sABS-roast-PAST   CONJ   3sABS-fly-ITER-PAST
'it roasted and it flew [away] again' (Charachidzé 1989a:432)

gʲɜ   *ɐ-s-ɐ́-qʷ'-q'ɜ-mɜ*   *gʲɜ*   *ɐ-z-bijɜ-q'ɜ́-mɜ*   (unkn.)
CONJ   3sABS-1sPOSS-PVB-be.heard-PAST-NEG   CONJ   3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST-NEG
'I neither heard nor saw him' (Mészáros 1934:360; Vogt 1963:122)

though it may appear within a lone clause, in which case the sense of the adverb is nearer to 'also, as well':

[*ɐ-*]*ɐ́diɣɜ*   *gʲɜ*   *Ø-gʲiχʲɜ-q'ɜ́*   (TE)
the-Circassian   CONJ   3sABS-be.hungry-PAST
'the Circassian was hungry as well' (Vogt 1963:49)

More than two clauses may be so conjoined:

hɐw,   *gʲɜ*   *jɜ-s-nɐ-Ø-f-nɜ:jt'*   *gʲɜ*   (HKo)
no   CONJ   NULL.ABS-1sOBL-3pERG-CAUS-eat-IMPF   CONJ
s-ɐ-di-tχʒʒ-nɜ:jt'   *gʲɜ*   *s-ɐbˤɜ-mɜ*
1sABS-3pERG-CAUS-be.glad-IMPF   CONJ   1sABS-sick[.STAT.PRES]-NEG
'no, they have fed me and made me glad, and I am not ill' (Dumézil 1962b:28)

It is less common, but also possible, for *gʲɐ ~ gʲɜ* to appear only before the second finite clause:

ɐ-lɜ́jʃʷɜ-mɜ   *gʲɜ*   *ɐ-z-bijɜ-q'ɜ́-mɜ*   (HKo)
3sABS-moral.code[.STAT.PRES]-NEG   CONJ   3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST-NEG
'it is not the custom and I have not seen it' (Dumézil 1959b:106; Vogt 1963:122)

The emphatic clitic -*gʲɨ* ~ -*j* (§2.2.1.6) may be used as a conjunctive element:

si-tʷ-gʲɨ   *ɐ-gʷɐqʼɜ-tɕʷɜ-qʼɜ-gʲɨ*   *siʁʷɜ-gʲɨ*   (AB)
1sPOSS-father-EMPH   3sABS-be.distressed-EXC-PAST-CONJ   I-EMPH
si-qʼɜfɐ-t̪sɜ-n   *ɐ-bzɨ-n*   *si-Ø-wɜ-t͡fɜ:w-qʼɜ*
1sABS-PVB-fall-CONV   the-water-OBL   1sABS-3sOBL-PVB-fall(SG)-PAST
'my father was very distressed, and I fell over and dropped into the water'

(Dumézil 1957:82)

However, it is also possible to use simple juxtaposition of full sentences to imply connective coordination:

…jɜ-w-f-qʼɜ́,   *jɜ-w-d̪ʑʷɜ-qʼɜ́,*   *wɨ-tʷʼɜ́:s-ɐj-qʼɜ*   (TE)
NULL.ABS-2sERG-eat-PAST   NULL.ABS-2sERG-drink-PAST 2sABS-sit(SG)-ITER-PAST
'…you have eaten [and] drunk [and] you have sat down' (Charachidzé 1989a:432)

ɐ-χʲi-n   *ɐ-j-n-wɨ-qʼɜ:jtʼ-ɨ*   *pχʲɜdikʷʼɨ:fʷ*   (HKo)
the-prince-ERG   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-bring(SG)-PLUP-NFIN   little.girl
ɐ-gʲɨd̪ʑɜ-ʃ-qʼɜ   [*ɐ-*]*ɐniɕʷɜ-ʃ-qʼɜ*
3sABS-large-become-PAST   3sABS-beautiful-become-PAST
'the little girl the prince had brought became tall [and] beautiful' (Dumézil 1959b:101)

3.3.3.2. Disjunction

The conjunction pair *jɜ… jɜ*, a borrowing from the Turkish *ya… ya* construction, is the only known overt alternative coordinating device for substantives and verbal clauses (see also §2.2.1.7.2):

kʷʼɜnɨ   *jɜ*   *Ø-kʷ-ɜw:t*   *jɜ*   *ɐ-zʷɜ*   *Ø-t̪sʼɜ-ʃ-ɜw:t*   (TE)
tomorrow   CONJ   3sABS-rain-FUT.II   CONJ   the-sky   3sABS-good-become-FUT.II
'tomorrow, it will either rain or it will become fine' (Dumézil 1962b:165)

The verbal phrases *wɜnɜd̪ʑɜmɜdɜ(n(ɨ))* ('if it is not that') and *wɜnɜ́d̪ʑɜmɜɕɜ* ('it not being that') and, for HKo and AB, *jɜhɐwmɜdɜ(n(ɨ))* ('if it is not no' (see §2.7.1) which, according to Dumézil (1965:108), was rejected by TE), also act as disjunctive coordinators, meaning 'if not, otherwise':

wɜnɜ-d̪ʑɜ-mɜ-dɜn   *ɕʷɜɫɜ*   *ɕʷɨ-ʂɜ-nɜ-n*   *jinɜ-n-gʲɐtɕʼ* (TE)
that-COP[.STAT.PRES]-NEG-PROT   you(PL)   2pPOSS-head-PL-OBL   this-OBL-like
zɜ-gʷɜrɜ   *dʁɜ-Ø-Ø-kʲʼɜ:ɫʼɜ-ɕɜ-ɫɜqʼ*[*ɜ*]*-ɐlɜ…*
one-certain   SUB-3sABS-3sOBL-approach-CONV-trail-COM
'otherwise, after things like this happen to you [lit. 'your heads']…'

(Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:352)

jɜhɐw-mɜ-dɜn   *wɨ-ʒʷɨ-χ-ɐlɜ*   (AB)
no-NEG-PROT   2sPOSS-old-belong.to(SG)-COM

ɐ-w-q'ɜʂɜ-ʁɨ-ɕ?
3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR

'if not, do you want what belongs to your old age?' (Dumézil 1957:79)

ɐ́-ndʁɜ-ʣɜ-ɕ   *ʨɜ́-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐfɜ*   *ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-n-ɨ́,*   (TE)
the-sun-COP[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR   more-3sPOSS-benefit   3sABS-PVB-go-PRES-NFIN

wɜnɜ́-ʣɜ-mɜ-ɕɜ   *ɐ́-mʣɜ:qʷɜ-ʣɜ-ɕ?*
that-COP[.STAT.PRES]-NEG-CONV   the-moonlight-COP[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR

'is it the sun that is more useful [lit. 'more (of) its benefit comes'], or is it the full moon?'

(Dumézil and Esenç 1987:4)

ɐ-ɬɜxɜ-ʁɜ   *ɐ-w-wɨ-n*   *ɐ-w-di-ʧɜ:wɨ-n*   (HKo)
the-mountain-LOC   3sABS-2sERG-carry(SG)-CONV   3sABS-2sERG-CAUS-fall-CONV

wɨ-j-ʤ-q'ɜ-ɕ?   *jɜhɐw-mɜ-dɜ*   *ɐ-w-kʷ'-q'ɜ-ɕ?*
2sABS-PVB-return-PAST-INTERR   no-NEG-PROT   3sABS-2sERG-kill-PAST-INTERR

'Did you take it to the mountain, leave it there and return? Or did you kill it?'

(Dumézil 1965:108, 118)

3.3.3.3. Contrast

There are several means of expressing contrast in Ubykh. The first is the verbal suffix *-gʲɨlɜ*, which usually appears on the first finite clause of a pair (though Vogt (1963:125) notes that rarely it may be found on the second clause of a pair):

ɐ́-vˤɜ   *ɨ-Ø-n-tʷ-ɐ́j-q'ɜ-gʲɨ:lɜ́*   *ɐ-q'ɜʃʷɜ́q'ɜ-ʁɜ́* (TE)
the-moustache   3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-give(SG)-ITER-PAST-CONJ   the-place-LOC

Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ́-p'ʧ'-ɐji-q'ɜ-mɜ
3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-glue-ITER-PAST-NEG

'although he gave her the moustache, she did not glue it back into place' (Hewitt 1974)

and it may also appear on converbs:

ɐ-nɜjnʃʷ   *ʁɜ-gʲɨ*   *Ø-ʨʷ'ɜʨʷ'ɨ-n-gʲɨlɜ*   *ɐ-χʲɨ-n*   (İH)
the-young.man[.OBL]   3sPOSS-heart   3sABS-ache-CONV-CONJ the-prince-OBL

jɨ-Ø-q'ɜ-q'ɜ:jt'-ɨ-n   *Ø-Ø-gʲɨ-ʁɜ-lɜ-tʷ'ɜ-n...*
3sABS-3sERG-say-PLUP-NFIN-ADV   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-PVB-PVB-leave-CONV

'the young man feeling pity, but remembering what he had said to the prince...'

(Dumézil 1957:59)

It may be accompanied by a suffix *-n(ɨ)*, perhaps the converb-forming suffix *-n(ɨ)* (§3.3.1.3):

ʁɜ-nɜ	Ø-Ø-ʂiqʷ'ɐ-w-nɜːjt'-gʲiːlɜ-n	ɐʁʷɜ	(HU)

3sPOSS-mother 3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(SG)-IMPF-CONJ-CONV? he(EMPH)

Ø-Ø-ʂiqʷ'ɐ-w-ɜːmɨːt

3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(SG)-FUT.I.NEG

'although his mother was climbing up it, he himself will not' (Dumézil 1959c:165)

«ɐ-ʦ'ɜ-gʲiʁɨ»	Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-q'ɜ-gʲilɜ-nɨ	ɐ-ʃʷwɜ	(AB)

3sABS-good[.STAT.PRES]-INTENS 3sABS-3sERG-say-PAST-CONJ-CONV? the-night

ɐ-tɕʷ[ɜ]-ɐj-fɜ-q'ɜ-mɜ

3sABS-sleep-ITER-POT-PAST-NEG

'though he said "Very good," he was unable to fall back asleep' (Dumézil 1959c:153)

Alternatively, a contrastive conjunction exists, *ɐʁʷɜ́* 'but', which may conjoin two finite clauses:

p'ʧ'[ɜ]-ɜwnɨ	*ɐ-jɜdɜ-n,*	*l[ɜ]-ɜwn-gʲɨ*	(TE)

guest[.OBL]-INSTR 3pABS-many[.STAT.PRES]-PL army[.OBL]-INSTR-EMPH

ɐ-mɜʧ'ɨ-n,	*ɐʁʷɜ*	*ʃɨ-dɜkʲ'ɜ*	*ɐ-j-kʲ'[ɜ]-ɐ-n*

3pABS-few[.STAT.PRES]-PL CONJ 1pPOSS-side 3pABS-PVB-go-PL-PRES

'they are [too] many for guest[s], [too] few for an army, but they are coming towards us'

(Dumézil 1979:16)

The complex phrase *wɜnɜʣɜgʲilɜ* ('although it is that') also appears in the function of a contrastive conjunction, with the meaning 'however, but':

wɜnɜ-ʣɜ-gʲilɜ	*ji-ʧɨ*	*ʁɜ-nɜ*	*ɐ-ʁʷini-n*	(HU)

that-COP[.STAT.PRES]-CONJ this-horse[.OBL] 3sPOSS-mother the-tree-OBL

Ø-Ø-ʂiqʷ'ɐ-wɨ-gʲɜ-nɜːjt'

3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-enter(SG)-HAB-IMPF

'but the mother of this horse also used to climb up the tree' (Dumézil 1959c:165)

3.3.3.4. Consequence

The resultative suffix *-ɐχ*, optionally combined with the converb-formant *-n* (§3.3.1.3), is added to the end of a finite verb to show that the following finite verbal clause is a consequence or result of the first:

wɜnɜ	*ɐ-zɜndʒɜ-n*	*Ø-lɜ-gʲiːtʷ-q'ɜːjt'-ɐχ*	(TE)

that the-half-ADV 3sABS-PVB-remain-PLUP-RES

ɐ-z-dʷ-ɐːdʷɜ-n	*si-j-ʤ-q'ɜ*

3sABS-1sERG-sew-CONV-ADV 1sABS-PVB-return-PAST

'half of it was left, so I came back and sewed it' (Dumézil 1965:227)

ɐ-mʁéʨɜ-ʥɜ   ɐ-ʃ-q'ɜ́:jt'-ɐχ   ɐ-s-ʃ[ɜ]-éj-q'ɜ   (TE)
the-bean-black   3sABS-become-PLUP-RES   3sABS-1sERG-pick-ITER-PAST
'the broad bean[s] had ripened, and so I harvested them' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:62)

ɐ-gʲiχʲɜ-q'ɜ́:jt'-ɐχi-n   ɐ-biʤ-nɜ   Ø-ɐ-ʧʷɐgʲi-wi-n   (AB)
3sABS-be.hungry-PLUP-RES-CONV   the-breast-OBL.PL   3sABS-3pOBL-PVB-enter-CONV
ji-Ø-ʣʷɜ-q'ɜ-n
3sABS-3sERG-drink-PAST-PL
'he had been hungry, so he went to the breasts and he drank [from] them'
                                                                    (Dumézil 1962b:149)

Alternatively, the complex phrase wɜnɜʣɜdɜ(n(i)) 'if it is that' may be used as a conjunction of consequence, and this phrase carries the meaning of 'so, thus, therefore, in that case':

wɜnɜ-ʣɜ-dɜn   ji-ʧiː:ʃʷ-bʁʲɜːpɫ[ɜ]:ɐgʲɜ-qʷ'ɜ   (HKo)
that-COP[.STAT.PRES]-PROT   this-foal-poor.looking-ATTEN
ɐ-wɜ-si-w:tʷ'i-n
3sABS-PVB-1sERG-take.out.DYN-PRES
'in that case, I choose this rather poorly-looking foal' (Dumézil 1962b:121)

wɜnɜ-ʣɜ-dɜ   fɜʧ'i-zɐwilɜ   ɐ-s-χʲɜ-j-Ø-ʃ   (TE)
that-COP[.STAT.PRES]-PROT   cheese-several   3sABS-1sOBL-BEN-PVB-2sERG-make
'then make me a few cheeses' (Dumézil 1957:50)

3.3.4. Clause-chaining

Clause-chaining is achieved by the use of converbs marked with -n(i) (§3.3.1.3):

ɐ-bɐqsmɜ   ɐ-qɐmlɜ-ʦ'ɐʁɜ-n   ʁɜ-zɜ-n   ɐ-j-Ø-ʃ-nɜ-n   (TE)
the-brandy   the-reed-plate-OBL   its-fill-ADV   3sABS-PVB-2pERG-do-PL-CONV
bɜrdɜnɜqʷɜ-n   ji-Ø-tʷi-n
B.   3sABS-2pERG-give-PL
'fill the reed[-patterned] cup with the brandy [and] give it to Berdeneque'
                                                                    (Dumézil 1960b:435)

 [ɐ-]ɐzʁɜ-ʃʷɜblɜ-n   Ø-Ø-gʲi-tʷ'-ɐj-nɜ-n   (HKo)
the-Abkhaz-country-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-leave-ITER-PL-CONV
ɐ-tʷɜχi-ʃʷɜblɜ-ʁɜ   ɐ-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ-n
the-Ubykh-country-LOC   3sABS-go-PAST-PL
'they left Abkhazia [and] they came to Ubykhia' (Dumézil 1965:39)

ɐ-miʃʷɜ-n   ji-Ø-qʷ'ɜ-n   ji-Ø-di-dwɜ-q'ɜ   (ŞG)
the-bear-ERG   3sABS-3sERG-seize-CONV   3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-die-PAST
'the bear caught him [and] killed him' (Dumézil 1965:154)

3.3.5. Syntactic modality

In addition to the morphologically marked moods (§2.6.7), a wide array of modal meanings are formed through syntactic means. *Obligation* is expressed by the use of a purposive converb (i.e. a *-n(ɨ)*-converb formed on a verb in the Future I or Future II tense; see §3.3.2.6) governed by a third-person form of the verb *q'ʒʂʒ-ʁ* 'to want':

ʁʒ-mʁʲʒːwɨːfɨ   ɐntɕʷ'-q'[ʒ]-ɐlʒ   ɐ-blɐ-ʁʒ-w-tʷ'-ʒwɨ-n   (HKo)
3sPOSS-travel.provisions   before-place-COM   3sABS-PVB-PVB-2sERG-take.out-FUT.I-CONV
Ø-Ø-q'ʒʂʒ-ʁ
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'you must firstly take his provisions out' (Dumézil 1960a:21)

sɨ-kʲ'[ʒ]-ɕwːtɨ-n   Ø-Ø-q'ʒʂɕ-ʁ   (TE)
1sABS-go-FUT.II-CONV   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[STAT.PRES]
'I must go' (Hewitt 1974)

or sometimes by a *-n(ɨ)* converb in the Future I or Future II tense, serving as complement to a third-person form of the verb *fɨ* 'to be, to become':

ɐ-zʒːjʒ-ʁʒ   ɐ-kʲ'[ʒ]-ʒwːtɨ-n   Ø-ʃ-q'ʒ   (HKo)
the-war-LOC   3sABS-go-FUT.II-CONV   3sABS-become-PAST
'he had to go to the war' (Dumézil 1959b:100)

sɨ-kʲ'[ʒ]-ʒw-n   Ø-fɨ-n   (HKo)
1sABS-go-FUT.I-CONV   3sABS-become-PRES
'I have to go' (Dumézil 1965:97)

Strong or unavoidable obligation is expressed by a negative irrealis protasis (§2.6.7.4) accompanying a negative Future II form of *fɨ* 'to be, to become' (Charachidzé 1989a:403):

ɐ-wɨqʷˤ'ʒ   ʁʒ-tɕʷjʒ-ʁʒ   ɐ-ɕʷɨ-m-dɨ-kʲ'ʒ-nʒ-bʒ   (TE)
the-shepherd[.OBL]   3sPOSS-house-LOC 3sABS-2pERG-NEG-CAUS-go[.PRES]-PL-IRR.PROT
Ø-ʃ-ʒwːmɨːt
3sABS-become-FUT.II.NEG
'you must send it to the shepherd's house' (Dumézil 1962b:158)

jɨ-tɨ́t   ɐ-fɨ-m-kʷ'ɨ-bʒ   ɐ-ʃ-ɕwːmɨːt   (TE)
this-man   3sABS-1pERG-NEG-kill[.PRES]-IRR.PROT   3sABS-become-FUT.II.NEG
'we must kill this man' (Charachidzé 1989a:403)

Intention may be expressed merely by use of the Future I tense (§2.6.5.1), but more broadly may be expressed by a *-n(ɨ)*-converb (§3.3.1.3), formed on a verb in the Future I tense, as

complement of the phrase [possessive prefix]-*gʲɨ wɜ-ɬ* 'to be in [one's] heart' in the appropriate tense:

s-kʲ'[ɜ]-śwɨ-n   *si-gʲɨ-n*   *Ø-Ø-wɜ-ɬ*   (TE)
1sABS-go-FUT.I-CONV 1sPOSS-heart-OBL 3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.lying(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'I intend to go' [lit. 'it is in my heart to go'] (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:197)

Another means of expressing intention is to use a *-n(ɨ)*-converb formed on a verb in the Future II tense as a complement of the copula of existence *gʲɨʧ'ɐ-ʁ* (sg.) 'to be the intention of' (Charachidzé 1989a:403):

s(ɨ)-kʲ'[ɜ]-św:tɨ-n   *Ø-z-gʲɨ:ʧ'ɐ́-ʁ*   (TE)
1sABS-go-FUT.II-CONV   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'I intend to go' (Charachidzé 1989a:403)

Potentiality may also be expressed morphologically (§2.6.6), but two lexical verbs of potentiality exist, *wɜ-χʷɜ* 'to be in one's ability' (literally 'to pass within') and *ɬɜkʲ'* 'to be capable of', both of which govern a *-n(ɨ)*-converb in the Future I tense:

jɜ-s-f-św-nɨ   *ɐ-z-wɜ-χʷś-n*   (TE)
NULL.ABS-1sERG-eat-FUT.I-CONV   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-pass-PRES
'I am able to eat' [lit. 'it passes within me to eat'] (Dumézil and Esenç 1987:3)

ɐ-wɨ́-si-m-q'[ɜ]-ɜwɨ-n   *Ø-s-ɬɜkʲ'-ɜw:mɨ́:t*   (TE)
3sABS-2sOBL-1sERG-NEG-say-FUT.I-CONV   3sABS-1sERG-be.able-FUT.II
'I cannot do other than say it to you' (Vogt 1963:40)

Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ́-l[ɜ]-ɜw-n   *Ø-ɐ-mɨ-ɬɜ́kʲ'ɨ-nɜ:jt'*   (TE)
3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-arrive-FUT.I-CONV   3sABS-3pERG-NEG-be.able-IMPF
'they were not able to catch up to X' (Vogt 1963:141; Dumézil 1965:232)

Also, a *-n(ɨ)* converb in the Future I or II tense as a complement to the verb *ʃɨ* 'to be, to become', a construction which ordinarily marks obligation (see above), can sometimes rather signify a sense of potentiality:

zɜ-gʷɜr[ɜ]-ɜwnɨ   *Ø-Ø-ʁɜ-l[ɜ]-ɜw-nɨ*   *ɐ-ʃ-q'ɜ-mɜ*   (HKo)
one-certain-INSTR   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-reach-FUT.I-CONV   3sABS-become-PAST-NEG
'he was not able to reach him by any way' (Dumézil 1965:95)

Probability or *likelihood* is expressed by the particle *ʧ̣ʂimɜ* (no doubt originally derived from the privative marker *-ʧ̣ʂɨ* (§2.2.1.4.3) in composition with the suffixal negative marker *-mɜ* (§2.6.9)), governing a *-n(ɨ)*-converb in any appropriate tense:

zɜ-gʷɜrɜ́   *Ø-Ø-q'ɜ́ʂɜ-ʁi-n*   *t̮ʂí:mɜ*   (TE)
one-certain   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-CONV   probable
'it's likely that she wants something' (Dumézil 1967:155)

wɨ-d͡ʒibɜ́-n   *wɨ-Ø-ʁɜts'ɜ́-pɬɜ́,*   *zɜ-gʷɜrɜ́*   (TE)
2sPOSS-pocket-OBL   2sABS-3sOBL-PVB-look   one-certain
Ø-Ø-ʁɜts'ɜ́-nɨ-Ø-s-q'ɜ-n   *t̮ʂi:mɜ́*
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3sERG-CAUS-be.sitting(SG)-PAST-CONV   probable
'look in your pocket; she probably put something in there' (Dumézil 1967:111)

ʁ-ʃ-ʁj-ɜw-n-gʲɨ   *t̮ʂí:mɜ*   (TE)
3sABS-become-ITER-FUT.I-CONV-EMPH   probable
'she will probably get better' (Dumézil 1965:190)

Likelihood or probability may also be shown by the use of the verb-phrase (*ʁ)ʃɜ́w*, literally 'it will become', following a finite clause (Vogt 1963:43):

jinɜ́-n   *zɜ-t̮ʂ'ɜ́:ʃ-gʷɜrɜ*   *Ø-Ø-wɜ́-ɬ*   (TE)
this-OBL   one-goodness-certain   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.lying(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
Ø-ʃ-ɜ́w
3sABS-become-FUT.I
'it's likely there is a goodness in it' (Vogt 1963:42)

Impossibility or *interdiction* may be expressed with a *-n(ɨ)*-converb with Future II tense and potential aspect marking, serving as the complement to the verb phrase (*ʁ)lɜmit* 'there is not' (Charachidzé 1989a:403):

ʁ-w-bjɜ-ʃ[ɜ]-ɜw:tɨ-n   *Ø-lɜ-mɨ́-t*   (TE)
3sABS-2sERG-see-POT-FUT.II-CONV   3sABS-PVB-NEG-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'it is absolutely impossible for you to see him' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:151)

Alternately, interdiction can also be expressed by means of a *-gʲɨ*-converb serving as the complement to the verb phrase (*ʁ)ʃɜwmɨ́t* 'it will not become':

t̮ʃ'ɜ́χʷɜ-ɬɜq'[ɜ]:ʁlɜ   *ʁgʲɜri-t͡ɕʷ[ɜ]-ɜ́wnɨ*   *ɕʷ-ʁ-pɬ[ɜ]-ɜ́j-nɜ-gʲɨ*   (TE)
today-after   slave-skin[.OBL]-INSTR   2pABS-3pOBL-look-ITER-PL-CONV
Ø-ʃ-ɜw:mɨ́:t
3sABS-become-FUT.II.NEG
'after today you must not consider them as slaves' (Dumézil and Esenç 1978:93)

Unreality seems to be expressed by means of a *-n(ɨ)*-converb in the appropriate tense serving as a complement to a finite verb:

ɐ-w-ɐ-mi-qʷ'-q'з-n(i)   *wɨ-ʃɨ*   (unkn.)

3sABS-2sPOSS-PVB-NEG-be.heard-PAST-CONV   2sABS-become

'behave as though you didn't hear it' (Dumézil 1959a:4)

Apparency is expressed by either a *-n(ɨ)*-converb in the appropriate tense or a *-ɕз*-converb optionally marked for tense, serving as complement to the verb *blɛ́-tʷ'* or *blɐ-ʁз-tʷ'* 'to appear (from within)':

jɨ-nз́jnʃʷɨ-n   *si-pχɨ́ɟdɨkʷ'*   *Ø-Ø-ʁʷзw-q'з-n*   (TE)

this-young.man-ERG   1sPOSS-young.woman   3sABS-3sERG-find-PAST-CONV

Ø-blɛ́-tʷ'-зw

3sABS-PVB-leave-FUT.I

'it seems that this young man has found my girl' (Charachidzé 1989a:409)

ɛ́-zз-nkʲз   *ɐ-zɨ́-n*   *Ø-Ø-wɨ́-mi-ɬ-ɕз*

the-one[.OBL]-from.among   the-one-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-NEG-be.lying(SG)-CONV

Ø-blɐ-ʁз-tʷ'-q'ɨ́

3sABS-PVB-PVB-leave-PAST

'it seemed there was not [any] of the one within the other' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:107)

Preference is expressed by two morphologically finite clauses, to the first of which is added the clitic *qʲз* that marks the object of comparison (§2.2.1.4.1):

jinɨ́:dɐʁʷз   *si-lз-tʷ-ɨ́w-qʲз-gʲɨ*   *si-dwɨ́-bз*   (TE)

like.this   1sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)-FUT.I-than-EMPH   1sABS-die[.PRES]-IRR.PROT

Ø-tɕɨ́:l

3sABS-better[.STAT.PRES]

'it is better if I die than for me to remain like this' (Dumézil 1959a:32)

«*ʐɐkʲ'зʁʷз-n*[66]   *pзʤ*   *Ø-Ø-q'з-n*»   *Ø-ɐ-q'з-nз:jt'-qʲз*   (HKo)

Jr.-ERG   truth   3sABS-3sERG-say-PRES   3sABS-3pERG-say-IMPF-than

«*ʐɐkʲ'зʁʷз-n*   *ɐgʲз*   *Ø-Ø-q'з-n*»   *Ø-ɐ-q'з-gʲɨ*…

Jr.-ERG   bad   3sABS-3sERG-say-PRES   3sABS-3pERG-say-CONV

'they saying "Jrak'ieğue speaks ill" rather than "Jrak'ieğue speaks the truth"…'

(Dumézil 1962b:15)

Indifference is expressed by juxtaposition of verb phrases of opposing polarity either in the optative (§2.6.7.3), the imperative or hortative (§2.6.7.2), or the irrealis conditional mood combined with the emphatic suffix *-gʲɨ* (§2.2.1.6; §2.6.7.4):

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[66] A personal name meaning 'Yellowbeard' (cf. *ʐɐkʲ'ɨ́* 'beard', *ʁʷз* 'yellow').

ɜ́-j-dʒ-n[ʒ]-*ɐχ*	*ɐ-j-mí-dʒ-n*[ʒ]-*ɐχ*…	(TE)
3pABS-PVB-return-PL-OPT	3pABS-PVB-NEG-return-PL-OPT	

'whether or not they return…' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:156)

si-w-kʷ'-bɜ-gʲɨ	*si-w-m-kʷ'-bɜ-gʲɨ*	(HU)
1sABS-2sERG-kill[.PRES]-IRR.PROT-EMPH	1sABS-2sERG-NEG-kill[.PRES]-IRR.PROT-EMPH	

ɐ-z-dɮʷ[ʒ]-*ɜw:t*
3sABS-1sERG-drink-FUT.II
'whether or not you kill me, I will drink it' (Dumézil 1959c:168)

wɜnɜ́-n	Ø-Ø-*q'ɜ-gʲɜ́qʷ'*	Ø-Ø-*mí-q'ɜ-gʲɐqʷ'*…	(TE)
that-ERG	3sABS-3sERG-say-HORT	3sABS-3sERG-NEG-say-HORT	

'whether he says it or not…' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:156)

Volition is expressed by the use of a converb in -*ʃɜ* (§3.3.1.2) as the complement of *ʁʷɜ* 'to want':

ɐ-pɜdtʃɜhi-n	*ɐ-ɕʷ-q'ɜfɜ-gʷɜ-nɜ-ʃɜ*	Ø-Ø-*ʁʷɜ-n-gʲɨ:lɜ*…	(İb)
the-sultan-ERG	3sABS-2pOBL-PVB-help-PL-CONV	3sABS-3sERG-want-PRES-CONJ	

'although the sultan wants to help you…' (Dumézil 1931:171)

ʃʷɜndʷɜ́-ʁʲɜ	*ɜ́-w-dʒ-ʃɨ-f-ʃɜ*	Ø-ʒ-*ʁʷɜ́-n*	(TE)
wild.animals-meat	3sABS-2sOBL-COM-1pERG-eat-CONV	3sABS-1pERG-want-PRES	

'we want to eat game meat with you' (Vogt 1963:59)

3.3.6. Quoted speech
3.3.6.1. Direct quotation
Direct quotation in Ubykh is ordinarily expressed by treating the quoted sentence as the absolutive object of the verb *q'ɜ* 'to say':

ɐjdɜ-n-gʲɨ	«*ʁʷɜ*	*ɐ-mʁʲɐ-Ø-dɨ-w-ɐj*»	(TE)
other-ERG-EMPH	you(SG)	3sABS-PVB-2sERG-CAUS-enter(SG)-ITER	

dɜ-Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-t'in…
SUB-3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV
'when the other one said, "Begin it again!"…' (Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:363)

«*ɐ-s-q'ɐ-mi-ʁ-gʲɨ:lɜ*	*ɕʷɜ:ɕɜ*	(TE)
3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-NEG-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-CONJ	security	

Ø-*wɨ-s-tʷ-ɜw:t*»	Ø-Ø-*q'ɜ-q'ɜ*
3sABS-2sOBL-1sERG-give(SG)-FUT.II	3sABS-3sERG-say-PAST

'he said, "although I don't have it, I will give you security [for it]"' (Dumézil 1960a:36)

«ʃɨ	ɐ-s-ɐ́-gʷʧɐq'ʒ-q'ʒ-j?»		jɨ́-Ø-q'ʒ-q'ʒ	(MK)
who	3sABS-1sPOSS-PVB-talk-PAST-INTERR		3sABS-3sERG-say-PAST	

'"Who spoke to me?", he said' (Dumézil and Namitok 1954:186)

Where the verb of speech is a verb other than *q'ʒ*, the quoted speech appears as the direct object of a *-n(ɨ)*-converb of *q'ʒ* (§3.3.1.3), which then serves as complement of the main verb:

«ʁʷʒ	wɨ-qʲʒ	tɕʒ-łiqʷ'sʒ	ɐ-lʒ-tɨ-ɕ?»	(HKo)
you(SG)	2sPOSS-than	more-heroic	3sABS-PVB-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR	

Ø-Ø-q'ʒ-n	Ø-ʁ[ʒ]-ɐ-ʤʁʒ-q'ʒ
3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV	3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-ask-PAST

'"Is there [one] who is more heroic than you?" he asked him' (Dumézil 1957:21)

«s-ʒw-ʤʒpχʲʒ-ʁɕ́:ʒʷ	ɐ-w-kʷ'-q'ɕ́»	Ø-Ø-q'ʒ-n	(TE)
1sPOSS-PL-sister-elder	3sABS!-2sERG-kill-PAST[.SG!]	3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV	

ɐ-pχʲɕ́dɨkʷ'	ɐ-tɕʷ'ʒ-q'ɕ́
the-young.woman	3sABS-cry-PAST

'"You have killed my older sisters," she wept' (Hewitt 1974)

and by analogy, often this construction is reapplied to the verb *q'ʒ* itself:

«dʁʒ-Ø-w-ʁʷʒw-ɕʒ	ɐ-j-Ø-w-ɨ»		(AB)
SUB-3sABS-2sERG-find-CONV	3sABS-PVB-2sERG-bring(SG)-IMPER		

Ø-Ø-q'ʒ-n	ʁʒ-nʒ-n	Ø-Ø-[n-]q'ʒ-q'ʒ[67]
3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV	3sPOSS-mother-OBL	3sABS-3sOBL-[3sERG-]say-PAST

'he said to his mother, "When you find her, bring her here"' (Dumézil 1957:65)

«zʒ-ʧɕ́-gʷʒrʒ	ɐ-j-kʲ'ɕ́-n»	Ø-Ø-q'ʒ-n	nɕ́rt-nʒ	(TE)
one-horseman-certain	3sABS-PVB-go-PRES	3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV	Nart-OBL.PL	

Ø-ɐ́-n-q'ʒ-q'ʒ
3sABS-3pOBL-3sERG-say-PAST

'he said to the Narts, "A horseman is coming"' (Vogt 1963:58)

For many speakers, this usage is quite common, and sometimes converbs of *q'ʒ* are even found immediately before finite instances of *q'ʒ*, where the repetition is strictly redundant[68]:

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[67] The text is missing the expected third-person ergative agreement-marker *n-*, which may simply not have been heard by Dumézil due to the preceding *-n* in *ʁʒ-nʒ-n* 'his mother'.

[68] This usage of superfluous *q'ʒ*-converbs is reminiscent of the Abkhaz quotative particle *ħʷa* (from *a-ħʷa-rá* 'to say'), which may also appear directly before a finite form of *a-ħʷa-rá*:

«jará	makʲ'ána	də-m-a:-ʤá-ʦ(:t')»	(ħʷa)	Ø-l-ħʷá-Ø:jt'
this	so.far	he(ABS)-NEG-come-EMPH-PERF	(QUOT)	it(ABS)-she(ERG)-say-AOR.DYN.FIN

'"He hasn't come yet," she said' (Chirikba 2003:63)

«ɐ-ɕʷɨ-s-q'ɜ-fɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜw:mɨ:t,   Ø-sɨ-nɐsip»   (İH)
3sABS-2pOBL-1sERG-say-POT-PL-FUT.II.NEG   3sABS-1sPOSS-fate[.STAT.PRES]
Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-n   ɐ-q'ɜ-q'ɜ
3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV   3sABS-say-PAST
'"I cannot tell it to you, it is my fortune," he said' (Dumézil 1957:29)

«ɐ-w-ʤɜ-ʁɜ   ɐ-ʤɐ-Ø-w:tʷ'»   (AH)
3sABS-2sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]   3sABS-PVB-2sERG-remove(DYN)
Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-n   ji-Ø-n-q'ɜ-q'ɜ
3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV   3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-say-PAST
'"Take off what you are wearing," he said to him' (Dumézil 1957:71)

HU has also used direct quotation to represent gestural communication, the (implied) direct quote being treated as the absolutive object of a causative form of the verb *b(ɨ)jɜ* 'to see':

«wɨ-ʂɜnʤɜ   ɐ-lɜ-Ø-dɨ-ʁɜ»   q'ɜntɕʷ[ɜ]-ɜwnɨ   (HU)
2sPOSS-back   3sABS-PVB-2sERG-CAUS-turn   finger[.OBL]-INSTR
ji-Ø-sɨ-Ø-bɨjɜ-q'ɜ
3sABS-3sOBL-1sERG-CAUS-see-PAST
'"Turn your back," I signalled to her with a finger' (Dumézil 1959a:37)

3.3.6.2. Indirect quotation

Indirect quotation is usually expressed by adding the complementiser *d(ʁ)ɜ-* to the main verb of the quoted sentence:

ɐ-pɜʤɨ-n   dʁɜ-Ø-ʃ-q'ɜ   sɨ-tʷ:gʲɨʥɜ-n   (TE)
the-truth-ADV   SUB-3sABS-become-PAST[.NFIN]   1sPOSS-grandfather-ERG
Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-gʲɨ   ɐ-s-ɐ-qʷ'-ɐj-q'ɜ
3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV   3sABS-1sPOSS-PVB-be.heard-ITER-PAST
'I heard my grandfather saying that it was true' (Dumézil 1965:60)

However, an instance of indirect quotation is found in the speech of TE in which the main verb of the quoted sentence is a *-n(ɨ)*-converb in the Future II tense:

ʁɜ-pχʲɮ́   Ø-Ø-n-tʷ-ɜw:tɨ-n   (TE)
3sPOSS-daughter   3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-give(SG)-FUT.II-CONV
Ø-ɐ́-nɨ-Ø-q'ɜ-q'ɜ[69]
3sABS-3pOBL-3sERG-CAUS-say-PAST
'he said to them that he would give him his daughter' (Charachidzé and Esenç 1993a:11)

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though the Abkhaz particle has become fully grammaticalised and is no longer truly verbal in any sense, whereas a variety of converb forms (Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-n, Ø-ɐ-q'ɜ-n, ji-Ø-q'ɜ-n) were still used in Ubykh, and so at the time of Ubykh's extinction a grammaticalised quotative particle did not yet exist.
[69] See §2.6.10.1.

3.4. Discourse phenomena

3.4.1. Focus

3.4.1.1. Morphological focus-marking

The emphatic/coordinative suffix -*gʲɨ* ~ -*j* (§2.2.1.6) may be used as an emphasising focus marker on any appropriate nominal constituent:

sɨʁʷɜ-gʲí	*sɨ-Ø-lɜ-q'ɜ́*	(TE)
I-EMPH	1sABS-3sERG-deceive-PAST	
'he deceived even me' (Hewitt 1974)		

lélɜ-gʲɨ	*t'qʷ'[ɜ]-ébˤɜ*	*Ø-s-q'ɐ-ʁ*	(MK)
here-EMPH	two-sick	3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]
'here I have two sick [people]' (Dumézil and Namitok 1954:188)		

ʃɨʁʷɜłɜ-gʲɨ	*ɕɨɕɨ-nɨ*	*ʃɨ-gʲɨ-tʷ'-ɐj-nɜ-n*	*ɐmmɜn-ʁɜ*	(HU)
us-EMPH	night-ADV	1pABS-PVB-leave-ITER-PL-CONV	A.-LOC
ʃɨ-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ-n			
1pABS-PVB-go-PAST-PL			
'as for us, we left during the night and came to Amman' (Dumézil 1959a:37)			

ɐ-ʃɨndʒɜ-n-gʲɨ	*ɕʷibˤɜ*	*Ø-Ø-ʁɜtʃ'ɜ-gʲɨ:ł-ɐj-q'ɜ:jt'-mɜ*	(İH)
the-bin-OBL-EMPH	bread	3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-remain-ITER-PLUP-NEG
'even in the [bread] bin there had no longer been any bread' (Dumézil 1960a:47)		

3.4.1.2. Clefting

3.4.1.2.1. Pseudoclefting

Pseudoclefting is a common means of bringing a constituent into focus. Pseudocleft constructions are formed by adding the copular clitic -*dz(ɜ)* (§3.2.3.1) to the head of a relative clause (§3.3.2.9):

ɐbˤɐˤɜ-nɨ	*sɨ-dɨ-bʁʲɜ-ʃ-q'ɜ*	*wɜ-pχʲɜdɨkʷ'ɨ-n*	(HKo)
skinny-ADV	1sABS-REL-PVB-become-PAST[.NFIN]	that-young.woman-ADV
ɐ-z-bjɜ-q'ɜ-dz			
3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST[.NFIN]-COP[.STAT.PRES]			
'it is that young woman that I saw who was the reason why I became skinny'			
			(Dumézil 1962b:28)

ʃɨ-pχʲɜ́	*jinɜ́-n*	*Ø-Ø-ʂɜ-[dɨ-]dɨ́-dz[ɜ]-ɐj-q'ɜ*	(TE)
1pPOSS-daughter	this-OBL	3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-[REL-]CAUS-fall-ITER-PAST[.NFIN]
ʁʷɜ	*wɨ-dz*		
you(SG)	2sABS-COP[.STAT.PRES]		
'you are the one who saved our daughter from it' (Dumézil 1967:145)		

or occasionally to other types of dependent clause, as in the following example:

siʁʷɜ́   ji-zɜ-q'[ɜ]-ɐlɜ́   si-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ́   ɐbχɐz   (TE)
I   this-one-place-COM   1sABS-PVB-go-PAST[.NFIN]   Abkhaz
Ø-s-ʨ'ɜ-n-ɜw:t-ʁ[ɜ]:ɐfɜ́-ʣ[70]
3sABS-1sERG-know-CONV!-FUT.II-because-COP[.STAT.PRES]
'my coming here was in order to learn Abkhaz' (Hewitt 1974)

The clefted element is commonly fronted for additional emphasis, and this is frequently found in pseudoclefted interrogative forms (§3.2.2):

ʁʷɜ   wɨ-ʣɜ-ɕ   ji-dɨ-q'ɜ-q'ɜ?   (MK)
you(SG)   2sABS-COP[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR   3sABS-REL-say-PAST[.NFIN]
'are you the one that said it?' (Dumézil 1957:48)

3.4.1.2.2. Interrogative clefting
It is reasonably common to form content-questions by construing the interrogative pronoun as the head of a relative clause (§3.3.2.8), and converting it into a stative verb that acts as the finite nucleus of the sentence (§2.6.13.1):

wɨ-di-łɜq'ɜ-ʥ   Ø-sɐkʲɨ-j?   (HKo)
2sABS-REL-PVB-be.with[.NFIN]   3sABS-what[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
'what is it you're looking for?' (Dumézil 1959b:105; Dumézil 1965:233)

wɨ-d-ɛ́-gʲɐʁɜ-n   Ø-sɐkʲɜ́-j?   (TE)
2sABS-REL-PVB-hope-PRES[.NFIN]   3sABS-what[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR
'what is it you are hoping for?' (Dumézil 1957:50; Vogt 1963:123)

siʁʷɜ ɐ-si-ɕʷi-Ø-q'ɜ-n[ɜ]-ɜw:ti-n   ɕʷi-d-ɐ-gʲɐʁɜ-q'ɜ:jłɜ   (HKo)
I   3sABS-1sOBL-2pERG-CAUS-say-PL-FUT.II-CONV 2pABS-REL-PVB-hope-PLUP.PL.NFIN
Ø-sɐkʲɨ-jt'ɨ-j?
3sABS-what-STAT.PAST-INTERR
'what was it that you had hoped to make me say?' (Dumézil 1962b:15)

and as with pseudoclefting (§3.4.1.2.1), often the clefted element is shifted to the front of the clause to provide additional emphasis:

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[70] Note the exceptional and likely erroneous placement of the converb suffix in this example. Compare the following parallel sentence from the same portion of Hewitt's (1974) recording:

siʁʷɜ́   ji-zɜ-q'[ɜ]-ɐlɜ́   ɐbzɜxɨ́   Ø-s-ʨ'[ɜ]-ɜw:ti-<u>n</u>-ʁ[ɜ]:ɐfɜ   (TE)
I   this-one-place-COM   Abdzakh   3sABS-1sERG-know-FUT.II-<u>CONV</u>-because.of
si-j-kʲ'ɜ-q'ɜ́
1sABS-PVB-go-PAST
'I came here in order to learn Abdzakh' (Hewitt 1974)

Ø-sɐkʲɜ-j   *ɕʷɨ-t-χʲɜ-tɕʷ'[ɜ]-ɐ-n-ɨ?*   (TE)
3sABS-what[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR   2pABS-REL-BEN-cry-PL-PRES-NFIN
'what is it that you're crying about?' (Dumézil 1960a:35)

gʷɨtʃ'éjɜ-n   *Ø-sékʲɜ-j*   *ɐ-ɕʷ-q'é-ʁɨ-nɜ?*   (MK)
worry-ADV   3sABS-what[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR   3sABS-2pOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)-PL.NFIN
'what is it that you are worrying about?' (Dumézil 1962b:105; Vogt 1963:129)

3.4.2. Topic

One quite common means of marking a substantive constituent as a previously-mentioned topic within a narrative is to treat it as a stative verb (§2.6.13.1) and derive a non-finite past tense form from it:

wɜnɜ́-n   *Ø-Ø-χʲɜ-gʲɨbʒi-n*   *Ø-ɐ-pχʲʒdɨkʷ'ɨ-jt'*   (TE)
that-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-BEN-be.angry-CONV 3sABS-the-young.woman-STAT.PAST[.NFIN]
ɨ-Ø-kʷ'-q'ɜ́
3sABS-3sERG-kill-PAST
'he got angry about that and he killed the young woman [that I mentioned]' (Hewitt 1974)

Ø-wɜ-lɜqʲ'ɜ-jt'   *wɜ-gʷmɜ-ts'ɐqʷˤ'ɨ-n*   (TE)
3sABS-that-walnut-STAT.PAST[.NFIN]   that-cow-dung-OBL
Ø-Ø-wɜ-tɨ-n   *ɐ-dʒɐtɕ'ɨ-n…*
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.standing(SG)-CONV   3sABS-sprout-CONV
'that walnut [I'm talking about], sitting in that cow pat and sprouting…'

(Alparslan and Dumézil 1964:362)

According to Dumézil and Esenç (1975a:152), an alternative means of marking a constituent as a narrative topic is to treat it as the head of the relative verb phrase *ɐ-w-bjɜ-n-ɨ* '(that) which you see', and the two methods may be combined, in which case the topicalised past-tense constituent is expressed in the adverbial case (see §3.3.2.9):

Ø-ɐ-tɕʷɜ-jt'ɨ-n   *ɐ-w-bjɜ-n-ɨ*   (TE)
3sABS-the-skin-STAT.PAST[.NFIN]-ADV   3sABS-2sERG-see-PRES-NFIN
ɐ-p'ts'ɜ:t'q'ɜ:q'ɜ-nɨ   *Ø-é-bz-q'ɜ*
the-very.thin-ADV   3sABS-3pERG-slice-PAST
'they cut the skin [that I mentioned] into very thin strips' (Dumézil and Esenç 1975a:152)

3.4.3. Coreference

Coreference in Ubykh is overwhelmingly anaphoric; cataphora is used, but very rarely.

3.4.3.1. By endophora

Personal (§2.3.1) or demonstrative (§2.3.2) pronouns may frequently stand as anaphora:

ʃiʁ^wɜ   *ʃ-ɜw-k^wɜbʒɜ-g^jɨ*   *ji-mʁ^j[ɜ]-ɜwn*   *Ø-k^j'ɜ-q'ɜ-n,*   (İH)
us(GEN)   1pPOSS-PL-man-EMPH   this-road[.OBL]-INSTR   3pABS-go-PAST-PL
wɜɫɜ-g^jɨ   *ʁ-j-ʤ-q'ɜ-nɜ-mɜ*
those-EMPH   3pABS-PVB-return-PAST-PL-NEG
'our husbands$_i$ have also gone on this road, [and] they$_i$ too have not returned'

<div align="right">(Dumézil 1957:59)</div>

ʁ^wɜ   *ʤigérɜ*   *ʁ-w-ʣ^w[ɜ]-ɜw:ti-nɨ*   *ʁ-fɜ́-s-q'i-n*   (TE)
you(SG)   cigarette   3sABS-2sERG-drink-FUT.II-CONV   3sABS-PVB-1sERG-cut-PRES
'I stop you smoking' (Hewitt 1974)

siʁ^wɜ   *ʁ-s-fɜ-w-ɜw:t-i-n*   *nɜ-t^wɨ*   (AH)
me   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-enter(SG)-FUT.II-NFIN-OBL   mother-father
Ø-Ø-q'ʁ-mɨ-ʁi-ɕ?   *jinɜ*
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-NEG-be.hanging(SG)[.STAT.PRES]-INTERR   this
dʁɜ-Ø-s-q^w'ɜ-ɕ[ɜ]-ʁlɜ…
SUB-3sABS-1sERG-get-CONV-COM
'does the one$_i$ who will wrestle me have parents? When I catch him$_i$…' (Dumézil 1957:55)

Cardinal numerals (§2.4.2.1) also find anaphoric use:

ʁ-t'q^w'ɜ́   *Ø-Ø-di-qɜ́rdɜ-n*   *ɕ́-ɕɜ-g^jɨ*   *Ø-Ø-f-q'ɜ́:jt'*   (TE)
the-two   3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-hide-CONV the-three-EMPH   3sABS-3sERG-eat-PLUP.SG
'hiding the two [of them], he ate the [other] three' (Dumézil and Esenç 1978:85)

wɜnɜ-n-g^jʁtɕ'   *zɜ*   *ʁɜ-pχ^jɜ*   *dʁɜ-Ø-w-ʁ^wɜw-ɕɜ*   (AB)
that-OBL-like   one[.OBL]   3sPOSS-daughter   SUB-3sABS-2sERG-find-CONV
ʁ-j-Ø-w-ɨ
3sABS-PVB-2sERG-bring(SG)-IMPER
'when you find the daughter of [some]one like that, bring her here' (Dumézil 1957:65)

3.4.3.2. By omission

The extensive polypersonal agreement of Ubykh verbs allows for anaphoric omission of ergative, oblique or absolutive constituents indiscriminately in a wide range of contexts, and as a result explicit pronouns are very commonly not used in coreferential constructions:

jɨ́-nʁtif   *Ø-jinɜ́-nk^jɜ-mɜ,*   *Ø-g^jɜ�me̯ɜ́*   (TE)
this-maize   3sABS-this-from.among[.STAT.PRES]-NEG   3sABS-separate[.STAT.PRES]
'this maize$_i$ is not of this [type], it$_i$ is different' (Dumézil and Esenç 1973:20)

ji-nɜ́jnʃ^w   *ɕ^wɨ-Ø-ʁɜ-lɜ́-nɜ-n*   *Ø-Ø-dɨ́-brʁzɜ-n*   (unkn.)
this-young.man   2pABS-3sOBL-PVB-catch.up-PL-CONV   3sABS-2pERG-CAUS-turn-PL
'catch up to this young man$_i$ and make him$_i$ turn back!' (Vogt 1963:135)

jinз-n	*ɐ-j-n-ʃ-q'з*		*ʁʷз*	(AB)

this-ERG   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-do-PAST[.NFIN]   you(SG)

ɐ-w-tɕ'з-bз   *ɐ-w-kʷ'ɨ-l[з]-зw*

3sABS-2sERG-know[.PRES]-IRR.PROT   3sABS-2sERG-kill-EXH-FUT.I

'if you find out what this one*i* did, you will make sure to kill him*i*' (Dumézil 1959a:46)

ɐ-mɨʑi-n	*si-ʁ[з]-ɐ-gʲipɕi-msз*		*ɐ-si-Ø-gʷiʧɐq'з-q'з*	(TE)

the-child-OBL   1sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-persuade-CONV   3sABS-1sERG-CAUS-talk-PAST

'by persuading the child*i*, I made him*i* talk' (Dumézil 1965:223)

and, rarely, such omission may be cataphoric:

[ɐ-]édiɣз-ʃʷзblз-n	*Ø-Ø-gʲɨ-tʷ'ɨ-n*	(TE)

the-Circassian-country-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-leave-CONV

зз-nзjnʃʷ-z[з]:ɐ:q'зtɕз:q'з   *é-jзrmзl-ʃʷзblз-ʁз*   *ɐ-kʲ'з-q'з́*

one-young.man-handsome   the-Armenian-country-LOC   3sABS-go-PAST

'he*i* leaving Circassia, a handsome young man*i* went to Armenia' (Charachidzé 1989b:33)

3.5. Fillers

As the vast majority of published information consists of written (and therefore heavily edited and redacted) text, data is naturally very deficient on speech performance in Ubykh, and so virtually nothing is known of fillers. The indefinite pronoun *m(ɨ)ʃdз́* 'thing, something' (§2.3.6) may be used as a cadigan or placefiller noun (Charachidzé and Esenç 1991a:20):

зз-miʃdз	*Ø-(Ø-)bʁʲз-nɐ-ʧ'з:tʷ-q'з*	(HÇ)

one-something   3sABS-(3sOBL-)PVB-3pERG-drop(SG)-PAST

'they put something or other on top (of it)' (Dumézil 1931:128)

Few hesitation forms are known, and those found in Hewitt's (1974) recordings are mostly unremarkable centralised vowel utterances which are not worthy of any special comment, as similar forms are found in a great variety of other languages (cp. English 'uh', 'er', French 'euh', German 'äh', etc.). However, the deictic *ɐnз́-n* 'there(abouts) (relat.)' (§2.5) finds use as a filler in one of Hewitt's (1974) recordings, notably in the following exchange:

Hewitt: Was I busy? *Meşgul muydum?* [a prompt to TE to translate the Turkish phrase]

TE: *ɐnз́-n…   sʁʷз   ʃʷwз   Ø-s-q'é-ʁ-q'з-ɕ?*

         there-OBL   I   matter   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)-PAST-INTERR

         'Um… Was I busy?'

Hewitt: Tekrar lütfen: *Meşgul muydum?* [requesting that TE repeat his translation]

TE: *sʁʷз   ʃʷwз   Ø-s-q'é-ʁ-q'з-ɕ?*

         I   matter   3sABS-1sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)-PAST-INTERR

         'Was I busy?'

4. SAMPLE TEXTS

Two sample texts are presented here. Each is given in four forms: Ubykh in phonemic IPA transcription, with morphemic boundaries marked; interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses into English; Ubykh in the proposed roman orthography of Appendix 4, with primary stress shown; and a free translation into English. The second text, 'The Arab and the Three Daughters', is also accompanied by a paraphrased Turkish version.

4.1. 'The Goat and the Sheep' (Dumézil 1968a)

This text was recited by Tevfik Esenç in 1968, and recorded by Georges Dumézil. The text is publicly available as both audio recording and digital facsimile of Dumézil's original manuscript (Dumézil 1968a). However, I have transcribed the text directly from the audio recording rather than from Dumézil's manuscript, and so the version that appears here diverges from Dumézil's transcription at a few key points. This is a humorous and ribald short tale of a type that is quite common in the Ubykh literature.

féχʲɜ   *zɜ-bɨj-ɐlɜ́*   *zɜ-wɜq'-ɐlɜ́*   *ɐ-zɜ-dʑɨ́-nɜ-n*
long.ago   one-sheep-COM   one-goat-COM   3pABS-RECIP.OBL-accompany-PL-CONV

j[ɜ]-ɐ-χˤ-ɜw:tɨ-nɨ́   *ɐ-dʷiːgʲi-kʲɜ-q'ɜ́-n.*
NULL.ABS-3pERG-graze-FUT.II-CONV   3pABS-PVB-enter(PL)-PAST-PL

j[ɜ]-ɐ-χˤ-gʲɨ́   *mɐ-[ɐ-]kʲ'[ɜ]-ɐ-n-ɨ-n*   *zɜ-qérʁʷɜ-gʷɜrɜ[-n]*[71]
NULL.ABS-3pERG-graze-CONV   where-3pABS-go-PL-PRES-NFIN-OBL one-gully-certain[-OBL]

d[ɜ]-ɐ-Ø-χʲɜ-bzɨ́-nɜ-t'in   *é-bɨj*   *ɐ-ʦ'ɜfɜ́-n*
SUB-3pABS-3sOBL-BEN-meet-IMPF-NFIN   the-sheep   the-front-OBL

Ø-Ø-gʲi-ti-nɨ́   *ɐ-qérʁʷɜ[-n]*   *Ø-Ø-ʂɜːʁɜ-ʨ'ɜdɜ-q'ɜ́.*
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.standing(SG)-CONV   the-gully[-OBL]   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-jump-PAST

dɜ-Ø-Ø-ʂɜːʁɜ-ʨ'ɜdɜ-t'in   *ʁɜ-kʷ'ɜʧɜ́*   *Ø-q'ɜ́ɕɜɜ-q'ɜ.*   *ʁɜ́-ɬɜq'ɜ-n*
SUB-3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-jump-CONV 3sPOSS-tail   3sABS-raise-PAST   3sPOSS-footprint-OBL

Ø-Ø-gʲɨ-tʷ-q'ɜːjt'   *wɜq'ɨ́*   *ɐ-ʃʷɜʧɜ-gʲɨ́*
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.standing(SG)-PLUP[.NFIN]   goat   3sABS-laugh-CONV

Ø-mʁʲɐ-w-q'ɜ́.   *«wɨ-t-χʲɜ́-ʃʷɜʧɜ-n*
3sABS-PVB-enter(SG)-PAST   2sABS-REL-BEN-laugh-PRES

Ø-sékʲi-j?»   *Ø-q'ɜ-n*   *ɐ-wɜq'ɨ́-n*
3sABS-what[.STAT.PRES.NFIN]-INTERR   3sABS-say-CONV   the-goat-OBL

dɜ́-Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ-ʣʁɜ-t'in   *«wɨ-pʃɜ*   *Ø-z-bjɜ-q'ɜ́,*
SUB-3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-ask-CONV   2sPOSS-bottom   3sABS-1sERG-see-PAST

Ø-wɜnɜ́-ʣ   *si-t-χʲɜ-ʂɜ-ʃʷɜʧɜ́-n»*   *Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-q'ɜ́.*
3sABS-that-COP[.STAT.PRES]   1sABS-REL-PVB-laugh-PRES[.NFIN]   3sABS-3sERG-say-PAST

Ø-é-bɨji-jt'i-n-gʲɨ   *Ø-Ø-dɨ́-brɐzɜ-n*   *«ʁʷɜ*
3sABS-the-sheep-STAT.PAST[.NFIN]-ERG-EMPH   3sABS-3sERG-CAUS-turn-CONV   you(SG)

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[71] Here and on the word *ɐ-qérʁʷɜ* two lines below this, the oblique-case marker *-n* (§2.2.1.1.1.1) is expected but is not audible on the recording.

miɛʷɜ-ʂɜʂiní *wɨ-pʃɜ* *ʁ-dʷɨ-n* *Ø-Ø-gʲɨ-t,*
day-every 2sPOSS-bottom the-field-OBL 3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.standing(SG)[.STAT.PRES]

wɨ-gʲɜ́ *Ø-w-m-tɕ'[ɜ]-éjɨ-n,* *ʁʷɜ* *zɜ:kʲ'ɜ́*
2sPOSS-self 3sABS-2sERG-NEG-know-ITER-CONV you(SG) once

sɨ-pʃɜ *dɜ́-Ø-w-bjɜ-q'ɜ-ʁ[ɜ]:ʋfɜ́* *wɨ-ʃʷɜʧɜ́-n»*
1sPOSS-bottom SUB-3sABS-2sERG-see-PAST[.NFIN]-because 2sABS-laugh-PRES

ɨ-Ø-n-q'ɜ-q'ɜ́.
3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-say-PAST

Fáxie zebɪyalé zeweq'alé azecínen yaxhewtɪní aduɡɪɪkieq'én. Yaxhgiɪ mak'ianín zeqárğuegueren daxiebzínet'ɪn ábɪy aç'refén giɪtɪní aqárğuen ʂreğeç'iedeq'é. Deʂreğeç'iedet'ín ğek'ueçé q'éʂieq'e. Ğélheq'en giítuq'eyt' weq'í aʂueçegií mğiawq'é.

«Wɪtxiéʂueçen sákɪɪy?» q'en aweq'ín déğadzğet'ɪn «Wípʂe zbyeq'é, wenéci sɪtxieʂueçén,» q'eq'é. Ábɪyɪyt'ɪngɪɪ díbrazen «Ğue mɪʂüeʂreʂrɪní wípʂe aduín giɪt, wɪgié wmç'iáyɪn, ğue zek'ié sípʂe déwbyeq'eğafé wɪʂueçén,» ɪnq'eq'é.

4.1.1. Free English translation

'Once, a sheep and a goat went into the field to go grazing. Where they went to graze, they came upon a gully, and the sheep, who was in front, jumped over it. When the sheep jumped, its tail flew up. The goat, who had been following behind it, began to laugh.

'"What are you laughing for?" the sheep asked the goat. "I saw your arse, that's what I'm laughing about," said the goat. The sheep turned to the goat and said, "*Your* arse is out in the open every day without you knowing it. And you laugh because you saw mine once."'

4.2. Excerpt from 'The Arab and the Three Daughters' (Hewitt 1974)

This is an excerpt from a text recited in Ubykh, then retold in Turkish, by Tevfik Esenç in 1974 and recorded on audiotape by George Hewitt. Both have been transcribed here, for the first time, with Prof. Hewitt's kind permission; the transcription of the Turkish version was done by Refik Kanjhan, and the Ubykh transcription and its translation by me. This story's origin is unclear, but several of the themes within it indicate that it is likely to be of Middle Eastern origin; the full text contains an eclectic mixture of themes, but this excerpt bears particular parallels with the first portion of the Palestinian story 'Zerendac' (Hanauer 2007:191-195), and the corresponding portion of that story has also been reproduced here.

féχʲɜ *zɜ-pχʲɜ́ʃʷ-jɜbˁɜ-n* *ɕɜ-pχʲɜ́dɨkʷ'* *Ø-Ø-q'ʋ-ʁ-q'ɜ́.*
long.ago one-woman-widow-OBL three-girl 3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging(SG)-PAST

wɜ́-pχʲɜ-nɜ[72] *ʋʁɜ-zɜ́* *zɜ-tít-ʤɜ-gʷɜrɜ-n*
that!-daughter-OBL.PL 3pPOSS-one one-man-black-certain-OBL

ɨ-Ø-n-tʷ-q'ɜ. *ʋ-tít-ʤɜ-n*
3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-give(SG)-PAST the-man-black-ERG

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[72] *wɜɬɜ́-pχʲɜ-nɜ*, with the plural demonstrative determiner *wɜɬɜ-* instead of the singular form *wɜ-* (§2.3.2), would be expected here.

Ø-Ø-wɨ-n   ɐ́-ʃʷwɜ   ɐ́-lɜʁʷínɜ-ʁɜ
3sABS-3sERG-carry(SG)-CONV   the-night   the-wedding.pavilion-LOC

dɹ́-Ø-ɕɜ-w-ɐji-t'in   ɐ-tít-dʒɜ   ʁˤɹ́-vˤɜ⁷³
SUB-3sABS-PVB-enter(SG)-ITER-CONV   the-man-black[.OBL]   3sPOSS-moustache

Ø-fɹ́-n-q'ɨ-n   «jɨnɹ́   Ø-Ø-dɨ-qɹ́rdʒ»   Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-n
3sABS-PVB-3sERG-cut-CONV this   3sABS-2sERG-CAUS-hide   3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV

ɐ-pχʲɹ́dɨkʷ'ɨ-n   ɐ́-j-nɨ-w-q'ɜ-n
the-young.woman-ADV   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-bring(SG)-PAST[.NFIN]-OBL

ɨ́-Ø-n-tʷ-q'ɜ.   ɐlχɐ́kʲ'ɜ-χɨ   ʃʷɨwɹ́   ɐ-títi-dʒɜ
3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-give(SG)-PAST afterwards-belonging.to(SG)   night   the-man-black

ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ-n   «sɨ-vˤɹ́   Ø-s-Ø-tʷ-ɐ́j»
3sABS-PVB-go-CONV 1sPOSS-moustache   3sABS-1sOBL-2sERG-give-ITER

dʒ-Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-t'ín   ɐ́-vˤɜ   i-Ø-n-tʷ-ɐ́j-q'ɜ-gʲɨlɹ́
SUB-3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV   the-moustache   3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-give-ITER-PAST-CONJ

ɐ-q'ɜʃʷɹ́q'ɜ-ʁɹ́   Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ́-p'ʧ'-ɐji-q'ɜ-mɜ.   wɜnɹ́-n
the-place-LOC   3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-glue-ITER-PAST-NEG   that-OBL

Ø-Ø-χʲɜ-gʲɨbʒi-n   Ø-ɐ-pχʲɹ́dɨkʷ'ɨ-jt'
3sABS-3sOBL-BEN-get.angry-CONV   3sABS-the-young.woman-STAT.PAST[.NFIN]

ɨ́-Ø-kʷ'-q'ɹ́.   wɜnɹ́-łɜq'ɜ-ʁɜ   dʒ-gʲɨ́   ɐ-j-kʲ'ɹ́-n
3sABS-3sERG-kill-PAST   that-trail-LOC   now-EMPH   3sABS-PVB-go-CONV

wɹ́nɜ   ʁɜ-dʒɜpχʲɹ-t'ɹ́ʃʷ   Ø-Ø-q'ɜşɹ́-w:ʁɜ-n
that[.OBL]   3sPOSS-sister-younger   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging.DYN-CONV

wɜnɜ-gʲɨ́   Ø-Ø-nɐ́-tʷ-q'ɜ.   wɜnɹ́-n-gʲɨ́
that-EMPH   3sABS-3sOBL-3pERG-give(SG)-PAST   that-OBL-EMPH

ɐntɕʷ'ɨ-χɨ-n-gʲɐtɕ'-gʲɨʁɨ́-n   ʁˤɹ́-vˤɜ
before-belonging.to(SG)-OBL-like-INTENS-ADV   3sPOSS-moustache

Ø-Ø-fɹ́-n-q'ɨ-n-ɜʁʷɜdʒ   ɨ́-Ø-n-tʷ-q'ɜ.   «jɨnɜ
3sABS-PVB-cut-3sERG-CONV-CONJ   3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-give(SG)-PAST   this

Ø-Ø-dɨ-qɹ́rdʒ»   Ø-Ø-q'ɜ-n   wɜnɹ́-n-gʲɨ́
3sABS-2sERG-CAUS-hide   3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV   that-ERG-EMPH

ɐ́-wşɐkʷɜ-bɜtɕ'ɜ-ʁɜ   Ø-(Ø-)bɜtɕ'ɹ́-nɨ-Ø-ł-q'ɜ.
the-bed-under-LOC   3sABS-(3sOBL-)PVB-3sERG-CAUS-be.lying(SG)-PAST

łɜʁɹ́-χ⁷⁴   z ʷɜpsí:dʒ   dʒ-Ø-Ø-q'ɜşɹ́-w:ʁ[ɜ]-ɐj-t'in
trail-belonging.to(SG)   night   SUB-3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging.DYN-ITER-CONV

dʒ-gʲɨ́   ɨ́-Ø-n-tʷ-q'ɜ-gʲɨlɹ́   ʁˤɹ́-vˤɜ
now-EMPH   3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-give-PAST-CONJ   3sPOSS-moustache

mɐ-Ø-fɹ́-n-q'-q'ɜ-n   Ø-ʁ[ɜ]-ɐ́-p'ʧ'-ɐji-q'ɜ-mɜ.
where-3sABS-PVB-3sERG-cut-PAST[.NFIN]-CONV 3sABS-3sPOSS-PVB-glue-ITER-PAST

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⁷³ Note the spreading of pharyngealisation in this form (see §1.2.1.2.4), which also occurs elsewhere in the text. The underlying form is ʁɹ́-vˤɜ.

⁷⁴ Pronounced with a clear voiced fricative (§1.2.1.2.1), but this must be a deformation of łɜq'ɹ́-χ.

wзnɜ́-n-gʲiʁɨ   *ji-Ø-χʲɜ́-bзi-n*   *wзnɜ́-gʲɨ*   *Ø-Ø-kʷ'-q'ɜ́.*
that-OBL-INTENS   3sABS-3sOBL-BEN-get.angry-CONV   that-EMPH   3sABS-3sERG-kill-PAST

ɛ́-ɬзq'[з]-ɐlз   *ɐʁɜ́-ɕɜ-χ*   *Ø-Ø-q'зʂɜ́-w:ʁз-n*
the-trail-COM   3pPOSS-three-belonging.to(SG)   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-be.hanging.DYN-CONV

wзnз-gʲɨ   *Ø-Ø-nɛ́-tʷ-q'з.*   *ɛ́-j-n-wɨ-n*
that-EMPH   3sABS-3sOBL-3pERG-give(SG)-PAST   3sABS-PVB-3sERG-bring(SG)-CONV

ɛ́-tɕʷjз-ʁз   *ɛ́-зʷзpsi:dʒ*   *dз-Ø-(Ø-)ɕз-w-ɐj-t'ín*
the-house-LOC   the-evening   SUB-3sABS-(3sOBL-)PVB-enter(SG)-ITER-CONV

*«s-зw-dʒзpχʲз-ʁɜ́:ʒ*ʷ   *ɐ-w-kʷ'-q'ɜ́»*   *Ø-Ø-q'з-n*
1sPOSS-PL-sister-elder   3sABS-2sERG-kill-PAST   3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV

ɐ-pχʲɜ́dikʷ'   *ɐ-tɕʷ'з-q'ɜ́.*   *dз-gʲɨ*   *ʁɜ́-fзtɕ'з*
the-young.woman   3sABS-cry-PAST   now-EMPH   3sPOSS-nose

Ø-fɜ́-n-q'i-n   *ɐ-pχʲɜ́dikʷ'i-n*   *í-Ø-n-tʷ-q'з.*
3sABS-PVB-3sERG-cut-CONV   the-young.woman-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-3sERG-give(SG)-PAST

«jínз   *Ø-Ø-di-qɜ́rdз»*   *Ø-Ø-q'з-n*   *ɐ-pχʲɜ́dikʷ'i-n-gʲɨ*
this   3sABS-2sERG-CAUS-hide   3sABS-3sERG-say-CONV   the-young.woman-ERG-EMPH

ɛ́-mdʒз-n   *Ø-Ø-fɛ́-ni-Ø-si-n*   *ɛ́-ʒʷз-gʲɨ*
the-fire-OBL   3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3sERG-CAUS-be.sitting(SG)-CONV   3sABS-roast-CONV

зз-gʲзt'ɨ-gʷзrз   *ɐ-j-kʲ'ɜ́-n*   *Ø-ɐ-fзtɕ'ɜ́-jt'*
one-cat-certain   3sABS-PVB-go-CONV   3sgABS-the-nose-STAT.PAST[.NFIN]

Ø-Ø-fɛ́-ni-w:tʷ'i-n   *Ø-ʧ'з-tʷ'-ɛ́j-q'з.*
3sABS-3sOBL-PVB-3sERG-take.out.DYN-CONV   3sABS-PVB-leave-ITER-PAST

Fáxie zepxiéşuyebhen şiepxiédık'u q'ağq'é. Wépxiene ağezé zetítcegueren íntuq'e. Atítcen wın áşuwe áleğuıneğe déşiewayt'ın, atítce ğévhe fénq'ın «Yıné dıqérde,» q'en apxiédık'uın áynıwq'en íntuq'e. Alhxák'iexı şuıwé atítıce ayk'ién «Sıvhé stuáy» deq'et'ín, ávhe ıntuáyq'egıile aq'eşuéq'eğe ğáp'ç'ayıq'eme. Wenén xiegıíbjın apxiédık'uıyt' ık'uq'é.

Wenélheq'eğe degıí ayk'ién wéne ğecepxiet'éşu q'eşréwğen wenegıí nátuq'e. Wenéngıı anç'üíxıngıaç'igıığín ğévhe fénq'ıneğuede íntuq'e. «Yıne dıqérde,» q'en wenéngıı áwşrakuebeç'ieğe beç'iénılhq'e. Lheğéx jüepsíc deq'eşréwğayt'ın, degıí íntuq'egıile ğévhe mafénq'q'en ğáp'ç'ayıq'eme. Wenéngıığı yıxiébjın wenégıı k'uq'é.

Álheq'ale ağéşiex q'eşréwğen wenegıí nátuq'e. Áynwın áçüyeğe ájüepsic deşiewayt'ín, «Sewcepxieğéju awk'uq'é,» q'en apxiédık'u aç'üeq'é. Degıí ğéfeç'ie fénq'ın apxiédık'uın íntuq'e. «Yıné dıqérde,» q'en apxiédık'uıngıı ámcen fánısın ájuegıı zegiet'íguere ayk'ién afeç'iéyt' fánıwt'uın ç'et'uáyq'e.

4.2.1. Turkish version

'Eskiden bir kadının üç tane kızı varmış. Bu kızların birisini bir Arap istemiş. Araba vermiş. Arap evine götürüp, götürdükten sonra akşamüstü kadınla birleşmeye gelmiş, ve kadına bıyığını kesip bıyığının bir tarafını kesip vermiş. "Bunu sakla," diye, tabii ertesi akşam gelince bıyığını istemiş. "Bıyığımı yerine yapıştır," diye, tabii kesilen bıyık yapışır mı? Yapışmamış. Bu sefer kızı, kızarak kadını öldürmüş.

'İkinci sefer onun ikinci kardeşi olan kızı istemeye gitmiş. Onu almış, onu getirmiş. Onu da evvelki gibi yine bıyığını keserek ona veriyor. "Bunu sakla," diye o da oturduğu minderin altına koyuyor. Ertesi akşam gelince bıyığını istiyor, fakat bıyık yerine yapışmıyor. "Sen de benim kadınım olamazsın," diyerek onu da öldürüyor.

'Aradan bir müddet geçtikten sonra üçüncü kızı istiyor, tabii üçüncü kızı alıyor ve onu getiriyor, fakat üçüncü kız ablalarını büyük kardeşlerini öldürdüklerini bildiği için ağlıyor. Arap da geliyor, ona da diyor ki burnunu keserek, "Bu burnu sakla," diyor. Kadın da alınca onu ateş varmış, ateşin üstüne koyuyor pişirmek için. Bu sefer kedi gelip burnu alıp kaçıyor.'

4.2.2. Free English translation of the Ubykh version

'Long ago, there was a woman who had three daughters. She gave one of those daughters to a certain Arab. The Arab married her, and when he carried her into the wedding pavilion at night, he cut off [half of] his moustache, and gave it to the young woman he had married, saying, "Hide this." The following night, the Arab came back and said, "Give me back my moustache." And though he had given it to her, she could not stick it back into its place. The Arab became angry because of that, and killed the young woman.

'He came back after that and asked for her younger sister, and they gave her to him. To that one, just as he had previously, he cut off [the other half of] his moustache and gave it to her, saying, "Hide this," and she hid it under the bedclothes. The next evening, when he wanted it back, though he had given it to her she could not stick his moustache back onto where he had cut it off. He became angry because of that, and killed that one too.

'Last of all he asked for the third [daughter], and they gave her to him. He married her and when he brought her in in the evening, she wept, saying "You have killed my older sisters!" Upon that, he cut off his nose and gave it to the young woman. "Hide this," he said; the young woman put it in the fire, and a certain cat came in as it was roasting, took the nose out of the fire, and left.'

4.2.3. Excerpt from the Palestinian story 'Zerendac'
(from Hanauer 2007:191-195)

'There was once a poor woodcutter, who had a wife and three daughters dependent on him. One day, while he was working in the forest, a stranger passed that way and stopped to talk with him. Hearing he had three daughters the stranger persuaded him, for a large sum of money, which he paid on the spot, to let him have the eldest girl in marriage. When the woodcutter went home at dusk, he boasted of the bargain to his wife, and next morning, took the girl to a certain cave and there gave her over to the stranger, who said that his name was Abu Freywar. As soon as the woodman was gone, Abu Freywar said to her, "You must be hungry, eat these." So saying, he took a knife and cut off both his ears, which he gave to her together with a nasty-looking loaf of black bread. The girl refusing such food, he hung her up by the hair from the ceiling of a chamber in the cave, which had meanwhile become a magnificent palace.

'Next day, Abu Freywar went again to the forest and found the woodcutter. "I want your second daughter for my brother," he said. "Here is the money. Bring her to the cave tomorrow." The woodcutter, delighted at his great good fortune, brought his second daughter to Abu Freywar, and directly he had gone, Abu Freywar gave the girl his ears, which had grown afresh, to eat. She said she was not hungry just then, but would keep them to eat by-and-by. When he went out of the room, she tried to deceive him by hiding his ears under a carpet on the floor. When he returned and asked if she had eaten them, she said "Yes." But he called out, "Ears of mine, are you hot or cold?" and they answered promptly, "Cold as ice, and lying under the carpet." Whereupon Abu Freywar, in a rage hung her up beside her sister.

'He then went and asked for the youngest daughter, whose name was Zerendac, saying that he wanted her for another brother. But the girl, a spoilt child, refused to go unless she might take with her a pet kitten and a box in which she kept her treasures. Hugging those, she went with Abu Freywar to the cave. She proved wiser than her sisters. When her husband's back was turned, she gave his ears to the cat which devoured them eagerly, while she ate some food which she had brought from home.'
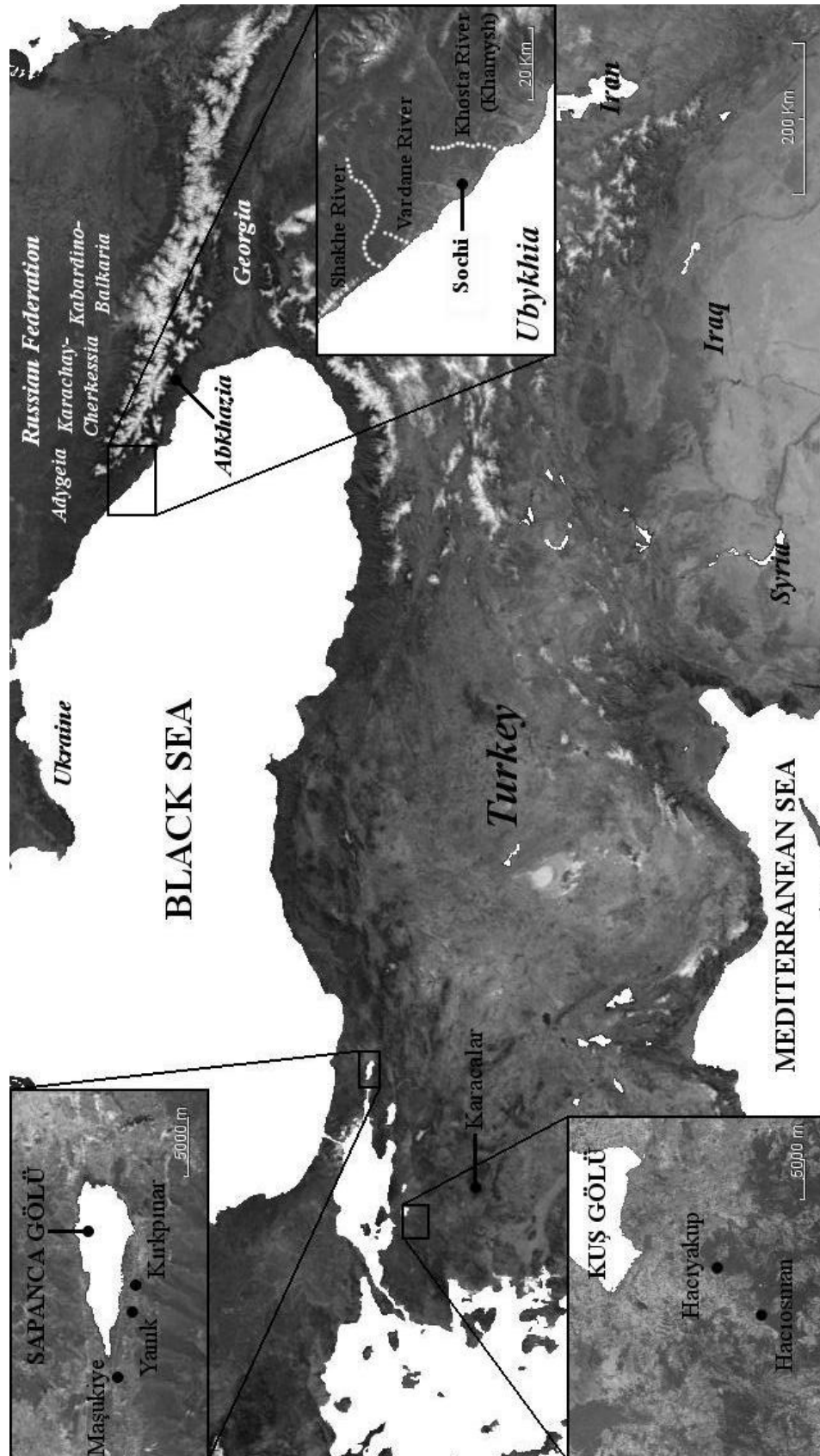
Appendix 2: List of speakers in the grammar
Information on these speakers has been variously taken from Dumézil and Namitok (1954:173); Dumézil (1961b:296, 1965:15-36); Vogt (1963:257-258); and Dumézil and Esenç (1973:33).

Tevfik Esenç (TE), Hacıosman (1904 – 1992). TE, twice *muhtar* (mayor) of Hacıosman, was the main informant for Vogt's 1963 dictionary, for Georges Dumézil from 1955 until Dumézil's death in 1986, and for Georges Charachidzé thereafter until TE's death in 1992. From the Ubykh clan *zɜ́jɛʷ3* through his father's side, TE was raised by his grandparents, who knew little Turkish, and spoke only Ubykh until the age of 8.

Ali Bilaş (AB), Hacıosman (1894 – 1971). The son of Hila or Hijta Râşid, one of Mészáros's (1934) informants, AB was said by Dumézil (1957:x) to have a rich vocabulary in Ubykh, though according to Dumézil (1965:205) he had a tendency to rapid and poor articulation.

Musa Kâzim Özdemir (MK), Hacıosman (1886 – ?). Though born in Hacıyakup, when Dumézil worked with him MK lived in Hacıosman. He was of the *ʧʼiw* clan, and was respectfully called 'Doctor', being a folk doctor of the Caucasian tradition.

Halil Ural (HU), Hacıosman (1894 – 1959). According to Vogt (1963:257), HU was the son of Mehmed bey, one of Mészáros's (1934) informants; Vogt also reported that TE stated HU arrived in Hacıosman at the age of 14 and only at that stage learned Ubykh, though he knew the language well in his later years.

Alemkeri Hunç (AH), Hacıosman (1876 – ?). Dumézil (1957:x) noted only that AH knew Ubykh well, but had lost most of his teeth by the time he worked with him.

Hidayet Kumaç (HKu), Hacıosman (*c*. 1900 – 1961). Hidayet Kumaç offered only one text in the Ubykh corpus, found in Dumézil (1961b).

Hüseyin Kozan (HKo), Hacıyakup (*c*. 1887 – ?). HKo was of Abkhaz family, the son of an Abkhazian named Ishak K'vadzba; however, HKo was himself born in Hacıyakup and spoke no Abkhaz (Dumézil 1965:39). He was very highly respected by Dumézil for his rich knowledge of Caucasian traditions and stories.

İliyas Hoskan (İH), Hacıyakup (1871 – 1961). According to Dumézil (1957:x), İH had a very rich vocabulary, but little else of his life is known.

Kâmil Sarı (KS), Kırkpınar (1870 – ?). KS was one of the primary informants for Dumézil (1931), and was half-Ubykh on his father's side, his mother being of Abdzakh origin.

Hikmet Çisemuha (HÇ), Kırkpınar (*c*. 1870 – 1961). One of Dumézil's (1931) primary informants, HÇ was of the *ʧʼidzɜmiʁʷ3* clan through his father's side, and was quadrilingual, speaking Ubykh, Circassian, Abaza and Turkish.

Şevket Gülkan (ŞG), Maşukiye (? – ?). Dumézil (1965:153) notes only that ŞG was a grocer and spice dealer from Maşukiye, and that he remembered only a few traditional stories.

İliyas bey (İb), Yanık (1874 – 1955). İb was one of the primary informants for Dumézil (1931), and had Ubykh parents; he spoke Ubykh, Circassian and Turkish.

Osman Güngör (OG), Karacalar (*c*. 1895 – ?). OG was of the Ubykh clan *ɛχɜpłi*, and spoke a divergent dialect of Ubykh, but Dumézil (1965:266-269) mentions little else about him.

Appendix 3: *A historical overview of Ubykh transcription*

The inherent problems of transcribing a language with upwards of eighty consonants have plagued researchers since the very first. As a result, orthographies used for writing the language in published texts have varied, sometimes wildly, and only gained some measure of stability by about 1965, though changes took place even after this. For the reader's interest, my IPA transcription is given here alongside the orthographic equivalents used in eight major Ubykh works from between 1928 and 1989: Dirr (1928) (D), Dumézil (1931) (LO), Mészáros (1934) (M), Dumézil (1957) (CL), Vogt (1963) (V), Dumézil (1967) (DA), Dumézil and Esenç (1975a) (VO) and Charachidzé (1989a) (Ch). The loan phonemes *g k k' v* and the extinct phoneme *xʷ* are shaded in grey; boxes shaded in black mark phonemes not attested in the given orthography.

Vowels

IPA	D	LO	M	CL	V	DA	VO	Ch
ɐ	a, ə	a, ə, i	a, ȧ	a, e	a, a:	ạ	ạ	ạ
ɜ	a, ä, o, e, ə	a, ä, e, o, ə	e, ė, ɛ, o, a, ȧ	a, e, o	a, a:, o:	a	a	a
ɨ	i, u, ü, e, ə	ə, e, i, u, ü, a	i, i̧, u, ı	ə, i, u, ü, e	ə	ə	ə	ə

Consonants

IPA	D	LO	M	CL	V	DA	VO	Ch
b	b	b	b, ḅ	b	b	b	b	b
bˤ	b	b, β	b, ḅ	b̲	b̲	b̲	b̲	b̲
ɕ	š, ś	š, σ	ṣ	ṡ	ṡ	ṡ	ṡ	ṡ
ɕʷ	š	s°	φ, s̲	ṡ°	s°	s°	ṡ°	ṡ°
d	d	d, d′	d	d	d	d	d	d
dʷ	b, β	β	b̲	d°	d°	d°	d°	d°
ʣ	ʒ	ζ	ʒ	ζ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ
ʥ	ǰ, d′	j	ʒ́	j	ʒ̇	ʒ̇	ʒ̇	ʒ̇
ʥʷ	ç	ζ°	ʒ́	j°	ʒ̇°	ʒ̇°	ʒ̇°	ʒ̇°
ʤ	ǰ	j	ž′	ǰ′	ž′	ž′	ž′	ž
ʣ̢	⬛	⬛	ž	ǰ	ž	ž	ž	ʒ̢
f	f, φ	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
gʲ	g (+i, i̧, e, ä, a)	g, g′ (+e, i, ä)	g	g′	g′	g′	g′	g′
gʷ	g (+o, u, u̧, ü)	gw	g	g°	g°	g°	g°	g°
ɣ	j	γ	χ	ğ	ğ	ğ	ğ	ĝ
h	⬛	h	⬛	h	h	h	h	h
j	i̯	y	i̯	y	y	y	y	y
k	k	k	k, kʻ	k	k	k	k	k
k'	k'	k, k'	k	k'	k'	k'	k'	k'
kʲ	k (+i, i̧, e, ä, a)	k, k′, k′ʻ (+e, i, ä)	k̲ʻ	k′	k′	k′	k′	k′
kʲ'	k' (+i, i̧, e, ä, a)	k', k''	k̲	k''	k''	k''	k''	k''
kʷ	k, kʻ (+o, u, u̧, ü)	kw	k (+u̧, o̧, u, o)	k°	k°	k°	k°	k°

IPA	D	LO	M	CL	V	DA	VO	Ch
kʷ'	k, k', q (+o, u, u̯, ü)	kw, kʻw	ḳ (+u̯, o̦, u, o)	k°'	k°'	k°'	k°'	k°'
l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
ł	l⁰	λ, λₒ, t	l̲	λ	λ	λ	λ	ł
ł'	t⁰	λₒ	l̲	ᵗλ'	λ'	λ'	λ'	ł'
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
mˤ	m	m	m̲	m̲	m̄	m̄	m̄	m̲
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
p	pʻ	p, pʻ	p, p̣	p	p	p	p	p
p'	p, p'	p, p'	p, p̣	p'	p'	p'	p'	p'
pˤ	p, pʻ	p, pʻ	p, p̣	■	p̄	p̄	p̄	p̲
pˤ'	p'	p, p'	p, p̣	p̲'	p̄'	p̄'	p̄'	p̲'
q	ḳ, q	q, κ	ḳ, ḳʻ, ḳ̣	q	q	q	q	q
q'	q	q, κ, γ, qw	ḳ, ḳ̣, γ̣	q'	q'	q'	q'	q'
qʲ	q, ḳ (+i, i̯, e, ä, a)	q (+e, i, ä)	ḳ, ḳʻ	q′	q′	q′	q′	q′
qʲ'	q	q (+e, i, ä)	ḳ	q″	q″	q″	q″	q″
qʷ	q (+o, u, u̯, ü)	κw	ḳ (+u̯, o̦, u, o)	q°	q°	q°	q°	q°
qʷ'	q (+o, u, u̯, ü)	kw, qw, γw	ḳ, ḳ (+u̯, o̦, u, o)	q°'	q°'	q°'	q°'	q°'
qˤ	ḳ, q	κ	ḳ̣ʻ	q̲	q̄	q̄	q̄	q̲
qˤ'	q	q	ḳ, ḳʻ, ḳ̣	q̲'	q̄'	q̄'	q̄'	q̲'
qʷˤ	ḳ, q (+o, u, u̯, ü)	qw	ḳ, ḳ̣, γ̣	q̲°	q̄°	q̄°	q̄°	q̲°
qʷˤ'	q (+o, u, u̯, ü)	qw	ḳ (+u̯, o̦, u, o)	q̲°'	q̄°'	q̄°'	q̄°'	q̲°'
r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
ʁ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	ğ
ʁʲ	γ (+i, i̯, e, ä, a)	γ (+e, i, ä)	γ̟	γ′	γ′	γ′	γ′	ğ′
ʁʷ	γ (+o, u, u̯, ü)	γw	γu̯	γ°	γ°	γ°	γ°	ğ°
ʁˤ	γ	γ	γ	γ̲	γ̄	γ̄	γ̄	ğ̲
ʁʷˤ	γ (+o, u, u̯, ü)	γw	γu̯	γ̲°	γ̄°	γ̄°	γ̄°	ğ°
s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
ʃ	š, č	š	š′	š′	š′	š′	š′	š
ʃʷ	š, ž	s°	φ̲	ṣ°	š°	ś°	ś°	ś°
ʂ	š	š, σ	š	š	š	š	š	ṣ
t	t, tʻ, t'	t, tʻ	t	t	t	t	t	t
t'	t'	t	t̲	t'	t'	t'	t'	t'
tʷ	π	π	p̲	t°	t°	t°	t°	t°
tʷ'	π'	π'	p̲	t°'	t°'	t°'	t°'	t°'
tɕ	c, t′, ċ	č, ç′	ć	ċ	ċ	ċ	ċ	ċ
tɕ'	c', t″	č', c°'	ć̲	ċ'	ċ'	ċ'	ċ'	ċ'
tɕʷ	ζ	c°	č̲′	ċ°	c°	c°	ċ°	ċ°
tɕʷ'	ζ'	c°'	č̲′	ċ°'	c°'	c°'	ċ°'	ċ°'
ts	c, c'	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
ts'	c'	c'	c̲	c'	c'	c'	c'	c'
tʃ	č	č, ç	č′	č′	č′	č′	č′	č
tʃ'	č'	č'	č′	č″	č″	č″	č″	č'

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IPA	D	LO	M	CL	V	DA	VO	Ch
t͡ʂ	ċ	ç	č	č	č	č	č	ç
t͡ʂ'	ċ'	ç'	č̱	č'	č'	č'	č'	ç'
v		v	v	v	v	v	v	v
vˤ	ƀ	v	v	ɣ	v̄	v̄	v̄	v̱
w	v, w, u̱	w	u̱, u, o̱	w	w	w	w	w
wˤ	w	ʋ	F̰	w̱	w̄	w̄	w̄	w̱
x	ḫ, h'	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	χ	x̂
xʷ	ḫw	χw						
χ	ḫ, x	x	χ	x	x	x	x	x̌
χʲ	x (+i, i̱, e, ä, a)	x	χ	x′	x′	x′	x′	x̌′
χʷ	x (+o, u, u̱, ü)	xw	χ (+u̱, o̱, u, o)	x°	x°	x°	x°	x̌°
χˤ	x	x	χ	x̱	x̄	x̄	x̄	x̱
χʷˤ	x (+o, u, u̱, ü)	xw	χ (+u̱, o̱, u, o)	x̱°	x̄°	x̄°	x̄°	x̱̌°
z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z
ʑ	ź	ҫ	z̧	ż	ż	ż	ż	ż
zʷ	ž	z°	ẕ	ż°	z°	z°	ż°	ż°
ʒ	ž	ž	ž′	ž′	ž′	ž′	ž′	ž
ʒʷ	ž	z°	w̱	ẕ°	ž°	ź°	ź°	ź°
ʐ	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	z̧

Appendix 4: A proposal for an Ubykh practical orthography

One of the reasons why so little attempt has been made at learning and teaching Ubykh may have been the lack of a stable and practical writing system for the language, as can be seen in Appendix 3. Hewitt's (1995) romanisation proposal for Abkhaz is difficult to adapt simply to Ubykh, which makes several phonemic distinctions that Abkhaz does not, and Hewitt's (1999) proposal for a pan-North Caucasian romanisation, while perfectly usable for Ubykh, begins to encroach on the problem of readability and practicality. Hence, I tentatively propose the following practical orthography, which I have used to transcribe Ubykh names throughout this book; two connected texts in this orthography are also given in this grammar (§4).

I have used as my starting point Hewitt's (1995) principle that no character or diacritic should be used that cannot be found on a Turkish typewriter; however, I have extended this one step further, to use no character or diacritic that cannot be found on the standard Turkish computer keyboard layout. The rapidly growing availability of access to the Internet offers an excellent opportunity for developing the language as a literary or written form, which, given the fragmentation and spread of the Ubykh nation across Turkey and elsewhere, is very likely to be the necessary first step in any serious attempt at revival. This orthography depends rather heavily upon digraphs, but it is my personal belief that such a system is less potentially confusing, and much less prone to typesetting error (a problem that has proven to be substantial with the diacritic-based orthographies of Dumézil, Vogt and Mészáros), than a system based more heavily on diacritics. In addition, I have used as a basis the only extant – to my knowledge – published example of Ubykh natively transcribed with the Turkish alphabet.

1. The vowels /æ ɜ ɨ/ are written as **a e ı**, following the specimen of Osman Güngör's Ubykh transcribed by Tahsin Gögen (see Dumézil 1965:266-267) using the Turkish alphabet:

   vı̱niyet a̱ğurde̱vût = *wɨ-nijɜt*   *ɐ-ʁʷird*[*ɜ*]-*ɜwɨ:t*   (OG)
   2sPOSS-intention   3sABS-be.ruined-FUT.II
   'your intention will be foiled' (Dumézil 1965:267)

2. The letters **b p f m d t z s n l q** all represent their IPA values, as does **w**, retained despite the specimen above, as [v] is not an allophone of Ubykh /w/. **r** and **h** also represent their IPA values, although they are also used as diacritic letters (see 8(d), 8(e)).

3. Following OG's example, the letter **y** represents its Turkish equivalent /j/.

4. Also following OG's example, the letter **ğ** represents the uvular fricative /ʁ/. The letter **x** represents the voiceless counterpart /χ/, and **ĝ x̂** the velar fricatives /ɣ x/.

5. The apostrophe (**'**) marks ejective consonants (e.g.: **p' t' k' q'** /p' t' k' q'/).

6. The alveolar affricates /dz ts ts'/ are written as **dz ts ts'**.

7. The letters **c ç ç' j ş** represent non-alveolar sibilant consonants; when they appear without diacritic letters, **c ç j ş** represent their Turkish values (i.e. /dʒ tʃ ʒ ʃ/), and **ç'** represents /tʃ'/, the ejective equivalent of **ç**.

8. There are six diacritic letters: **u i ü r h ö**.

   a. **u** marks labialised consonants (e.g.: **tu şu qu** /tʷ ʃʷ qʷ/).

   b. **i** marks palatalised consonants (e.g.: **gi qi** /gʲ qʲ/). The combinations **ci çi ç'i ji şi** represent the non-labialised alveolopalatal consonants /dʑ tɕ tɕ' ʑ ɕ/.

   c. **ü** combines the functions of **u** and **i**, and hence marks the labialised alveolopalatal consonants (**cü çü ç'ü jü şü** /dʑʷ tɕʷ tɕʷ' ʑʷ ɕʷ/).

   d. Modelled after usage in Vietnamese and some Athabaskan languages such as Gwich'in (Leer 1996), **r** marks retroflex consonants (**cr çr ç'r jr şr** /dʐ tʂ tʂ' ʐ ʂ/).

   e. **h** marks pharyngealised consonants (e.g.: **bh vh q'h** /bˤ vˤ qˤ'/), and also the voiceless and ejective lateral fricatives (**lh l'h** /ɬ ɬ'/).

   f. Following Vogt's (1963:19) observation that /ɨ/ takes on an 'ö'-like timbre after a pharyngealised consonant, **ö** combines the functions of **u** and **h**, marking consonants which are both labialised and pharyngealised (**qö q'ö ğö xö** /qʷˤ qʷˤ' ʁʷˤ χʷˤ/).

This orthography has been designed to conform as closely as possible to the following principles: (a) to limit characters to those on the Turkish computer keyboard, and to follow phonetic principles of Turkish orthography; (b) to reduce as much as possible the use of trigraphs, tessaragraphs and diacritics; (c) to make orthographic representation as unambiguous as possible; (d) to enable a full range of capitalisation and punctuation; and (e) to use features of Ubykh phonology as criteria in choosing diacritic letters. Though the letters **h** and **r** are forced into dual service, serving as both consonants and diacritics (**h** having the additional burden of having two, albeit non-overlapping, diacritic functions), this concern is ameliorated by the fact that **h** and **r** are rare consonants in Ubykh: **h** is restricted to loans and interjections, and **r** is found only in a limited range of words, and never after **c ç ç' j ş**.

This list, drawn from Fenwick (in preparation), shows noun (*n.*), verb (*v.t.* = transitive, *v.i.* = intransitive, *v.e.* = ergative (see §2.6.10.3)), adjective (*adj.*), adverb (*adv.*), number (*num.*), adposition (*ppn.*) and interjective or onomatopoeic (*int.*) lexemes illustrating the attested Ubykh syllable-initial clusters (§1.4.1).

bzɨ	water *n.*; to cut, to slice *v.t.*	*tχʷɜ*	field; ashes *n.*
bɾɛ́zɜ	to turn around *v.t.*	*t'q'ɜrt'q'ɜr*	sound of beating eggs *int.*
blɜ	eye *n.*	*t'qʷ'ɐtɕ*	fork *n.*
bʑɜ	language *n.*; to tie *v.t.*	*znɜ*	to denounce *v.t.*
bʒɜ	winter *n.*	*zlɕq'ɜ*	interval, gap, area between *n.*
bʁɜlíbɜ	breast meat of chicken *n.*	*ɐzʁɕ́*	Abkhaz, Abaza *n.*
bʁʲɨ	nine *num.*	*stɜw*	minute *n.*
psɜ	fish; soul *n.*	*st'ɜ*	kid goat *n.*
pstɜ	to swell up *v.i.*	*skɐw*	sound of tapping a glass *int.*
pɾɛmíʃ	grape syrup *n.*	*sk'ir(ir)*	sound of a stirring spoon *int.*
pɬɜqʷ'ɜ	number *n.*; to count *v.t.*	*nɜsχʷɨ*	mother-in-law *n.*
pɕɜ	straw *n.*; to swell up *v.i.*	*(n)dɜq'ɕ́*	tool, utensil *n.*
ptʃɜ	to cut down, hew down *v.t.*	*ndʁɜ*	sun *n.*
pʃɜɕɨ	askew, upside down *adj.*	*ntɜ*	row of labourers *n.*
pṣɛ́χʷɜ	sand; beach *n.*	*tsɛ́ntχɜ*	glue *n.*
pqɨ	large plum; bone *n.*	*ɐnt'ɕ́*	snake *n.*
pqʲitʃʲípqʲitʃini	into little pieces *adv.*	*gʲɨ(n)t'qʷ'ɜ*	heavy *adj.*
pqʷɜrɕ́ɬf	grandchild *n.*	*ndʷɨq'ɜ*	garden, orchard *n.*
pχɕ́χʷɜ	rasp, file *n.*	*ntʷɜ*	door *n.*; sterile, barren *adj.*
pχʲɜ	daughter *n.*	*-ɜwndɨɜ*	until, as far as *ppn.*
pχʷɨzɨ́	widow *n.*	*ʑirɛ́ntsɜ*	wasp *n.*
p'ɬ'ɨ	four *num.*	*(n)ts'ɛ́ʁɜ*	plate, bowl, cup *n.*
p'ts'ɜ	name *n.*; thin, skinny *adj.*	*bɜndɨ́*	fly (insect) *n.*
p'tɕ'ɜbˤɕ́	dream *n.*	*ʃintɕɜ*	manger, trough *n.*
p'tʃ'ɜ	guest; value, worth *n.*	*ɬɜ(n)tɕʷɕ́*	toe *n.*
p'q'ɕ́ɬɜ	fixed period of time *n.*	*(n)tɕʷ'ɕʒʷɜ*	fruit *n.*
p'qʲ'ɜ	sheath, case, cover *n.*	*zɜ(n)dʑɕ́*	one half *n.*
ɐmp'ɕ́	lead (metal) *n.*	*(n)tʃɜ*	to end, come to an end *v.i.*
pʃɜmp'ˤ'ɜwnɨ	(sitting down) heavily *adv.*	*ɐndʑɕ́*	frog *n.*
bˤʁˤɕ́dʒɜ	eagle *n.*	*ngʲɐqˤ'ɨ*	wall *n.*
qʷˤɜpˤˤɕ́χˤɨ	foster-child, milk sibling *n.*	*nkʲɜ*	friend *n.*
dʁɜzɨ́	ice *n.*	*tɕʷ'ɜ(n)kʲ'ɨ*	star *n.*
txɨ	back, spine *n.*; to write *v.t.*	*ʑingʷɕ́*	ant *n.*
tχɨ	to be nauseous, feel sick *v.i.*	*(n)kʷ'ɜ*	household, home *n.*
tχrɜ	to break, to fracture *v.e.*	*wɜ(n)q'ɨ*	nanny goat *n.*
tχʲɨ	to cause to split apart *v.t.*	*dɨʁɜ*	to ask *v.i.*

tɕxɨ	faeces, dung *n.*	*ɕʷkʷinɜ́*	tap, faucet *n.*
tɕʷkʷɜ	bunch, tuft *n.*	*ʃkʲ'ɨ*	flint; fire-lighting stone *n.*
zʁirɨ́w	bell *n.*	*ʃxɨ*	five *num.*; chestnut *n.*
ɕ́ɕkʲ'ɨ	seed, stone of a fruit *n.*	*ʐʁʷɜ*	to grasp, to clench *v.t.*
ɕχɜrɜb	to shatter, to break *v.e.*	*ʂχɜ*	men *n.*
ɕʷtir	to lash out with the foot *v.i.*	*ʂχʷɜ*	grass; powder *n.*; strong *adj.*

Appendix 6: ɐ-initial native roots

This is a list of all known native Ubykh synchronically monomorphemic lexical roots beginning with *ɐ-* in Fenwick (in preparation). Obvious Turkish and Circassian borrowings have been ignored, as have free pronouns and bound affixes. The large proportion of *ɐ*-initial adjectives in Ubykh may be the result of reanalysis of old consonant-initial adjectives in composition with the definite article: in Hewitt's (1974) and Catford's (1986) recordings of elicitations from TE, citation-forms of Turkish adjectives invariably yielded Ubykh adjectives in composition with the definite article; for instance, Turkish **uzun** 'long', **sıcak** 'hot' and **kalın** 'thick, stout' elicited *ɐ-wɜ́*, *ɐ-pɕɨ́* and *ɕ́-q*, respectively.

Adjectival roots (14):

    ɕ́bzɜ 'female', *ɐbˤɜ́* 'ill, sick', *ɐbˤɨ* 'fat, thick', *ɐbˤʁˤɜ́* 'thin, bony', *ɐdʑɜ́* 'upright, standing', *ɐgʲɜ́* 'bad, lacking, evil', *ɐgʷɨ* 'short, small, finely built', *ɐkʷ'ɨ* 'short in height', *ɐnɕʷɜ* 'beautiful', *ɐqʷɜ* 'thickening, drying out', *ɐt'ɨ* 'soft', *ɐtʷɜ́* 'piebald, varicoloured', *ɕ́tʃ'ɜ ~ ɐtʃ'ɜ́* 'flat', *ɐvˤɜ́* 'thick, coarse'.

Non-adjectival roots (21):

    ɕ́bʁʲɜ 'nest', *ɕ́ɕkʲ'ɨ* 'seed(s)', *ɕ́fɜ ~ ɐfɜ́* 'good, benefit', *ɐgʲɜrɨ* 'slave', *ɐmp'ɜ́* 'lead (metal)', *ɐndʑɜ́* 'frog', *ɐnt'ɜ́* 'snake', *ɐntɕʷ'* 'period or area before', *ɕ́rmɜ* 'left-hand side', *ɐʁʷɜ́* 'however' (conjunction), 'hole, burrow', *ɐʃɜ́* 'tunic, shirt', *ɕ́ʃxɜ* 'Friday', *ɐʃʷɜ́* 'sickle', *ɐt'ɨmˤɜ* 'peach', *ɐt'qʷ'ɜ́mɕʷɜ* 'Tuesday', *ɐtɕ'ɨkʲ'* 'seed, fruit stone', *ɐtɕʷ* 'damage, evil', *ɐχʲɜ́* 'stable, animal shelter', *ɐzmitɕ'ɜ́* 'a type of fantastic supernatural being', *ɐzʁɜ́* 'Abkhaz, Abaza', *ɕ́zq'ɜ ~ ɐzq'ɜ́ ~ ɐzʁɜ́* 'right-hand side'.

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