Complement Types in Kabardian

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This paper[1] is a preliminary report on our investigation of complementation in Kabardian, in particular, the range of morphological complement types occurring in complement clauses of a number of different groups of matrix predicates (see Noonan 1985). This approach to the investigation of syntax is new to Kabardian grammatical tradition. As a result of this, several new features of non-finite forms have been discovered: for instance, the existence of an impersonal non-finite form and the obligation construction.

The outline of the paper is as follows (1) Preliminaries, (2) Non-finite complementation? (3) Complement types, (4) Division of complement clause types.

1. Preliminaries

Kabardian is a Northwest Caucasian language, most closely related to Cherkess and Adyghe. The number of speakers in the former USSR is 390,800 (JaN 1990). Apart from the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic of the Russian Federation, Kabardian is spoken by large communities in Turkey, Syria and Jordan.

Characteristic features of Kabardian are its ergativity, highly developed polysynthesism of the verb and its absence of finite complement clauses. Below we give a short introduction to some central features of Kabardian grammar.

1.1. The morphological structure of the verb

Kabardian has a highly polysynthetic verb structure, including up to four cross-reference markers, as in (1).

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(1)   f-   a-   χᵒ-   je-   z-   γe-   š-   a-   s'
    DO:2PL- O:3PL- VERS- O:3SG- S:1SG- CAUS- lead- PERF- ASSERT
    'I made him lead you for them'

The orderings of cross-reference prefixes fall into two groups – one for intransitive and one for transitive verbs. In intransitive verbs the subject prefix occupies the initial position, but in transitive verbs the initial position is occupied by the marker of the direct object.

(2) a. Affix order in intranstive verbs
        SUBJECT– Object(s)–Root–Tense/Mood–Assertive

    b. Affix order in transitive verbs
        DIRECT OBJ. – Object(s)–*SUBJECT*–Root–Tense/Mood-Assertive

Apart from cross-reference markers the verb may include markers of reciprocity, potentiality, benefactive and malfactive relations (version), causativity, reflexiveness, local and spatial relations, negation, interrogativity, tense, mood, etc.

1.2. Transitive and intransitive verbs

The difference in alignment of the cross-reference markers is actually the defining feature of the classification into intransitive and transitive verbs. The number of arguments may not be used as a criteria, as one finds, for instance, tri-valent verbs that are classified as intransitive (3).

(3)   sə-   b-   d-   je-   z'-   a-   t
    S:1SG- O:2SG JA O:3SG- wait- PERF- long.ago
    'I together with you waited for him then'

The semantics of a number of verbs in the intransitive group is also deviant from what is typical of intransitive verbs, such as *pɬe-n* 'look', *we-n* 'hit', *jeӡe-n* 'read'.

1.3. Case

Only two cases play a role in the marking of subject and objects: the absolutive and ergative cases. Cases such as the genitive and dative are lacking in the system. The absolutive case marks, as expected, the subject of intransitive verbs and the direct object of transitive verbs. The ergative is the subject case of transtive verbs, but also the marker of indirect objects and objects of intransitive verbs (being cross-referenced within the verb).

Table 1. Case morphemes

Absolutive	-r
Ergative	-m
Instrumental	-č'e
Adverbial	-w/wə

1.4. Basic clause structure

The classification of a verb as transitive or intransitive determines the choice between the ergative and absolutive constructions. The subject of the transitive verb in (4a) is assigned the ergative case, whereas the subject of the intransitive shows up in the absolutive case (4b). As pointed out above, indirect and oblique objects are also assigned the ergative case (4b).

(4) a. ɬ'ə-m   wəne-r   jə-s''-a-s'
        man-ERG house-ABS S:3SG-do-PERF-ASSERT
        'The man built the house.'

    b. ɬ'ə-r   wəne-m   je-pɬ-a-s'
        man-ABS house-ERG O:3SG-look-PERF-ASSERT
        'The man looked at the house.'

The neutral word order is SOV. The orders VSO and SVO do occur but they are stylistically marked. When the subject and object NPs are proper names or other nouns that do not differentiate ergative and absolutive case, the word order is fixed SO in bi-valent verbs – transitive in (5a) and intransitive in (5b). However, when the NPs are case marked, there is greater freedom of ordering.

(5) a. Inal Anzor jeh
        Inal Anzor DO:3SG.S:3SG.carry.PRES
        'Inal carries Anzor.'

    b. Inal Anzor   jowe
        Inal Anzor S:3SG.O:3SG.hit.PRES
        'Inal hits Anzor.'

We refer to Kumakhov 1971, *GK* 1957, Kumakhov & Vamling 1992a for some more details on the structure of the simple sentence in Kabardian.

2. Non-finite complementation?

Complement predicates in Kabardian appear in non-finite forms such as participles, gerunds, infinitives, verbal nouns, conditionals (traditional terms in Kabardian grammars) and others. We use the term non-finite here,

but would like to stress that is has a somewhat different meaning from its standard use. Non-finite forms in Kabardian are dependent in the sense that they do not form complete, independent sentences on their own, but always occur in connection with another finite verb form. However, in contrast to general definitions of non-finite forms as lacking tense and subject agreement, Kabardian non-finite forms show subject agreement and some show tense.

A formal distinction between all finite and non-finite forms is the choice of the negation morpheme: finite forms select the suffix -q'əm (6a) and non-finite forms the prefix mə-, as in (6b).

(6) a. Se   abə   sə-s''e-k'ᵒe-r   fe   f-s''e-r-q'əm
         I   it.ERG S:1SG-why-go-ABS   you   S:2SG-know-PRES-NEG
         'You don't know why I go there.'

     b. w-   je-   mə-   pɬ-   a-   we
         S:2SG-   O:3SG-   NEG-   see-   PERF-   GER
         'you not having seen it'

Other morphological differences between finite and non-finite forms exist as well. The category assertive (final suffix -s') occurs only in finite clauses. Some of the non-finite forms distinguish tense, but they differ from the finite forms in that they have a reduced range of temporal categories. Present, Perfect I, Pluperfect I and Future are shared by all, whereas Perfect II, Pluperfect II and Imperfect are lacking in non-finite forms that distinguish tense (participles, gerunds, alternative forms).

Finite and non-finite forms include subject and object markers from the same sets. They also case mark their subjects and objects in the same manner with the ergative and absolutive cases. Note that the subject of the matrix verb and the infinitive in (7a) include two identical subject markers də-. Verbal noun clauses (b) behave differently, marking their subjects with the possessive prefix, as di- in (7b) (Kumakhov & Vamling 1992a:21-23).

(7) a. De   də-χe-t-s'   q'ale-m   də-q'ene-nu
         we   S:1PL-LOC-try-PRES-ASSERT   town-ERG   S:1PL-stay-INF
         'We try to stay in town.'

     b. De   də-wəχ-a-s'   (de) di-χə-nə-r
         we   S:1PL-finish-PAST-ASSERT   we   POSS:1PL-write-VN-ABS
         'We finished writing.'

3. Complement types

In this section we will look at each complement type in some detail and in Section (4) we return to the question of finiteness.

3.1. Participles

One of the major complement types in Kabardian are participles. They occur in complements of a number of matrix predicates – predicates of knowledge (8a), utterance predicates (b), commentative predicates (c), predicates of concealment (d) etc.

(8) a. Ane-m   je-s''ə   jə-q'ᵒe-r   q'ə-zerə-k'ᵒe-žə-r
         mother-ERG   S:3SG-know.PRES   POSS:3SG-son-ABS   here-PART-go-back-ABS
         'Mother knows, that her son returns home.'

     b. S''ale-m   xəbar   s-i-ɣe-s''a-s'   zerə-səmaž-a-r
         boy-ERG   news   IO:1SG-S:3SG-CAUS-know-ASSERT PART-sick-PERF-ABS
         'The boy told me, that he was ill.'

     c. ɣes'eɣᵒen-s'   Bibe   wəne-m   zer-i-mə-s-a-r
         surprising-ASSERT   Biba   home-ERG   PART-S:3SG-NEG-be-PERF-ABS
         'It is surprising that Biba wasn't at home.'

     d. A-bə   jə-bzəs''-a-s'   a-r   zerə-səmež-a-r
         he-ERG   S:3SG-hide-PERF-ASSERT he-ABS   PART-sick-PERF-ABS
         'He hid (the fact that) that he was ill.'

The subordinate predicate of relative and adverbial clauses also appear as participles. The status of the participle as relative (zə-) or adverbial is marked by different prefixes. Participles in complement positions take the prefix zerə-. This prefix also occurs in adverbial clauses, where it has instrumental meaning.

The complement of a number of emotive predicates takes (some obligatorily, some as one of several alternatives) the form of a PP with the postposition s'heč'e 'for' governing the ergative/oblique case -m of the participle.

(9)   Se   se-šən-a-s'   si-ade-r
         I   S:1SG-frighten-PERF-ASSERT   POSS:1SG-father-ABS

         q'ə-zerə-k'ᵒ-a-m   s'heč'e
         here-PART-go-PERF-ERG   for
         'I was scared that my father came here.'

3.2. Gerund

Gerunds are basically adverbial forms, characterized by the same ending as adverbs, the adverbial case *-w/-we* . Gerunds show up in complements of a number of matrix predicates: phasal predicates (10a), utterance predicates (b), immediate perception predicates (c) and others.

(10) a. De   s'e-d-ʒ-a-s'   d-je-ʒe-w
        we   LOC-S:1PL-begin-PERF-ASSERT   S:1PL-O:3SG-read-GER
        'We began to read.'

    b. A-bə   ž-i-ʔ-a-s'   fe   fə-k'ᵒe-w
        he-ERG LOC-S:3SG-say-PERF-ASSERT   you S:2PL-go.PRES-GER
        'He said that you are leaving.

    c. Se   ze-xe-s-χ-a-s'   we we-laz'e-w
        I   REFL-LOC-S:1SG-hear-PERF-ASSERT   you S:2SG-work-GER
        'I heard that you work.'

    d. A-bə   f'e-q'abəl-t   a-r   k'ᵒe-we
        he-ERG VERS-right-IMP   he-ABS go-GER
        'To him (it seemed) right to go.'

Gerunds as complement predicates differ from gerunds in adverbial use with respect to temporal categories. In the adverbial use they distinguish the same tenses as participles do (Present, Perfect I, Pluperfect I, and Future) but as complement predicates they may or may not differentiate tense, depending on various factors. The factors appear to be quite complex, and has to be subject to further investigation. We will therefore only look at some examples here.

Formally, gerunds that are neutral with respect to tense look like gerunds in the present tense; i.e. they lack any marking. In the example below, the gerund appears in a complement of a phasal predicate. In such positions the gerund never shows tense.

(11)   De je-d-ɣež-a-s'   *də-ʒegᵒ-a-we / də-ʒegᵒ-we
        we IO:3SG-S:1PL-begin-PERF-ASSERT   S:1PL-play-PERF-GER / S:1PL-play-GER
        'We began to play.'

In an utterance predicate complement the situation is different. Here, the gerund has the whole range of temporal categories.

(12) a. A-bə   ž-je-ʔe   (ž-i-ʔ-a-s',
        he-ERG LOC-S:3SG-say.PRES   (LOC-S:3SG-say-PRET-ASSERT

        ž-i-ʔe-nu-s',   ž-i-ʔe-ɣa-s')
        LOC-S:3SG-say-FUT2-ASSERT   LOC-S:3SG-say-PLUP2-ASSERT)

        fe   fə-k'ᵒe-w   (fə-k'ᵒ-a-we,   fə-k'ᵒe-nu,
        you S:2PL-go.PRES-GER (S:2PL-go-PERF-GER S:2PL-go-FUT

        fə-k'ᵒe-ɣa-we)
        S:2PL-go-PLUP2-GER)
        'He says (said, will say, said) that you are leaving (have left, will leave, left).'

Negation and interrogativity are also factors that influence the tense of the gerund. For instance, the assertive indicative form of the matrix verb *s"en* 'know' selects only the present form of the gerund (13). The perfect or the future of the gerund are not possible in this position.

(13)   Se   s-o-s"e   a-r   k'ᵒe-wə / *k'ᵒ-a-wə
        I   S:1SG-DYN-know.PRES   he-ABS leave-GER / *leave-PERF-GER
        'I know that he left.'

If the matrix verb *s"en* 'know' is enriched by the interrogative (14a) or the negating (b) suffixes, not only the present but also other forms are possible.

(14) a. Wə p'-s"e-re   a-r   k'ᵒ-a-wə?
        you S:2SG-know.PRES-Q he-ABS leave-PERF-GER
        'Do you know, has he left?

    b. Wə p'-s"-a-q'əm   a-r   k'ᵒ-a-wə
        you S:2SG-know-PERF-NEG he-ABS leave-PERF-GER
        'You didn't know that he left.'

A further factor that has to be taken into account is the transitivity of the complement predicate. As illustrated by the following example, if the complement predicate is transitive, as in (15) *jə-tχə-w* 'he writing it', in contrast to the intransitive above in (13) *k'ᵒe-wə* 'he leaving', the gerund distinguishes tense.

(15)   Se s-o-s"e   a-bə tχəł   jə-tχə-w
        I   S:1SG-DYN-know.PRES he-ERG book S:3SG-write-GER

        (jə-tχ-a-wə)
        (S:3SG-write-PERF-GER)
        'I know, that he writes (wrote) a book.'

We will not go into this matter in any detail, but the examples above show that several factors are interacting in determining the appearance of tense on gerunds, although the main factor seems to be the determined/non-determined time reference of the complement predicate in relation to that of the matrix.

3.3. Infinitive

The infinitive does not distinguish tense. The infinitive markers are the suffixes -n and -nu, that etymologically may be recognized as the two markers of future tense (Kumakhov 1989:277).

Infinitives are found in complements of predicates of intention (16a), desiderative predicates (b), phasal predicates (c), modal predicates (d), manipulative predicates (e) etc.

(16) a. A-bə   je-z'ežə-n   murad   iʔe-s'
         he-ERG S:3SG-leave-INF intention   S:3SG.have-ASSERT
         'He intends to leave.'

     b. Sabij-m   χºej-s'   ʒegºə-n
         child-ERG want.PRES-ASSERT   play-INF
         'The child wants to play.'

     c. De je-d-ɣez'e-nu-s'   wəne   t'-s''ə-n
         we   O:3SG-S:1PL-begin-FUT2-ASSERT house S:1PL-build-INF
         'We will start to build a house.'

     d. Se s-łeč'-a-s'   a   wəne-r   s-s''ə-n
         I   S:1SG-can-PERF-ASSERT that house-ABS   S:1SG-make-INF
         'I could build that house.'

     e. Se a-bə   ž-je-s-ʔ-a-s'   a-r   wəne-m
         I   he-ERG LOC-S:1SG-say-PERF-ASSERT   he-ABS   room-ERG

         s''e-mə-č'ə-nu
         LOC-NEG-leave-INF
         'I told him not to leave the room.'

The infinitive usually includes cross-reference markers, as any other non-finite form. However, especially in complements of phasal verbs, the marker may be optional, as shown by the examples below. Note that the subject pronoun is also optional, whereas only the subject marker of the finite verb is obligatory.

(17) a. (De)   s''e-d-ʒ-a-s'   (də)-lez'e-n
         (we)   LOC-S:1PL-begin-PERF-ASSERT (S:1PL)-work-INF
         'We began to work.'

     b. (Se)   sə-wəχ-a-s'   (sə)-tχe-n
         (I)   S:1SG-finish-PERF-ASSERT   (S:1SG)-write-INF
         'I finished writing.'

If the valency of the infinitives above increases, the subject marker is no longer optional. In (18a-b), where object markers are included, the subject markers are required to be present as well.

(18) a. De s''e-d-ʒ-a-s'   də-v-de-lez'e-n
         we   LOC-S:1PL-begin-PERF-ASSERT   S:1PL-O:2PL-JA-work-INF
         'We began to work together with you.'

     b. Se sə-wəχ-a-s'   fə-s-tχə-n
         I   S:1SG-finish-PERF-ASSERT   DO:2PL-S:1SG-write-INF
         'I finished recording you.'

The examples (19a-b) show that there is a contrast in this respect between complements of phasal predicates and other types of matrix predicates.

(19) a. Se s''e-z-ʒ-a-s'   sə-k'ºe-n / k'ºe-n
         I   LOC-S:1SG-begin-PERF-ASSERT   S:1SG-go-INF / go-INF
         'I began to walk.'

     b. Se si-gºəɣ-a-s'   sə-k'ºe-n / *k'ºe-n
         I   S:1SG-think-PERF-ASSERT   S:1SG-go-INF / go-INF
         'I intended to leave.'

In a number of cases the two forms -n/-nu are interchangeable (20a), but some matrix predicates allow only the one (20b) or the other form. The choice between -n/-nu is related to other factors as well (see below 21a-c).

(20) a. Se s-jez'e-n/(-nu)   si-murad-s'
         I   S:1SG-leave-INF   POSS:1SG-intention-ASSERT
         'I intend to leave.'

     b. De də-χe-t-s'   q'ale-m   də-q'ene-nu/*(-n)
         we   S:1PL-LOC-try-PRES-ASSERT   town-ERG S:1PL-stay-INF
         'We try to stay in the town.'

In this connection, we may note that the choice between the infinitive marker -n/-nu is sensitive to the deletion of the subject marker. If there is no subject agreement between the matrix verb and the infinitive (21b), only the infinitive marker -n is possible.

(21) a. Se   s-jez'e-n (-nu)   si-murad-s'
         I   S:1SG-leave-INF-*n*/(INF-*nu*) POSS:1SG-intention-ASSERT
         'I intend to leave (My intention is to leave).'

    b.   Se   šχe-n / *-nu   murad   si-ʔe-s'
         I   eat-INF   intention POSS:1SG-have-ASSERT
         'I intend to eat.'

3.4. Impersonal non-finite forms

In contrast to the deleted subject markers above, where the reference of the complement subject is still determined by control relations, impersonal non-finite forms are characterized by arbitrary reference. This is a form of high frequency in the language but it has not been noted in Kabardian grammars. Here, the second person singular prefix *w-* (*p-*) serves the function of marking arbitrary reference of the subject. This prefix is obligatorily present in such forms. Note that object markers in the third person may be present, keeping their usual functions.

(22) a. ʔ°eχ°əšχ°e-t   tχələ-r   p-tχə-n-č'e
         important-IMP   book-ABS   IP-write-INF-INSTR
         'It was important to write the book.'

    b.   Helemet-s'   a-bə   w-e-pł'ə-n-č'e
         interesting-ASSERT he/it-ERG IP-O:3SG-look.at-INF-INSTR
         'It is interesting to look at him (at it)'

In this form the suffix *-n* occurs, as in infinitives. However, a marked difference from infinitives is that this form usually takes a frozen case suffix – the instrumental *-č'e* in most instances, but also the absolutive *-r* or the adverbial *-w* cases.

(23)   Deγ°e-s'   nobe   zə-b-γepsč'ə-n (-ø, -r, -č'e, -u)
         nice-ASSERT   today   REFL-IP-bathe-INF (-ø, -ABS, -INSTR, -ADV)
         'It's nice to take a swim today.'

The impersonal non-finite form is found in complements of commentative predicates, as above.

3.5. Verbal noun (masdar)

Verbal nouns have a limited distribution as a complement type, occurring only in complements of phasal predicates:

(24) a. De   zə-pə-d-γew-a-s'   di-šχenə-r
         we   REFL-LOC-S:1PL-stop-PERF-ASSERT POSS:1PL-writing-ABS
         'We stopped writing.'

    b.   A-bə   č'əh   je-s''   jə-tχe-nə-r
         he-ERG long   S:3SG-do.PRES POSS:3SG-writing-ABS
         'He prolongs (makes last longer) his writing.'

The verbal noun is assigned case by the matrix predicate. The morphological potential of the verbal noun is poorer than that of other non-finite forms. Only the subject may be marked. In contrast to other non-finite forms, the subject is marked by the possessive prefix, as illustrated above. No object slots are available in the verbal nouns. As phasal predicates take other complement types apart from the verbal noun, an infinitive (cf. 18b) or gerund may be used if the complement clause includes an object.

3.6. Conditional

The conditional (marker *-m*) is another complement type of limited distribution. As seen below, it is found in complements of desiderative verbs.

(25)   Hes''e-m jə-f'e-f'-s'   se   sə-q'a-k'°e-m
         guest-ERG S:3SG-VERS-wishes-ASSERT I   S:1SG-DIR-go-COND
         'The guest wants me to come.'

When the conditional is used in complement clauses, it occurs in a reduced form with no tense.

3.7. Alternative

Complements of indeterminate character (the *whether to-*, *if*-type) are found with matrix predicates such as *q'es''en* 'find out, get to know', *q'əg°ərəʔen* 'understand', *ʔeχ°ən* 'inform', *q'es''ezən* 'remember', *jewəp's''ən* 'ask'.

The two complement predicates are marked by the coordinative suffix *re*, preceded by tense. The second complement predicate is negated, and as in other non-finite forms, negation is marked by the prefix *mə-*.

(26)   Fe   de   fə-q'ə-de-wəp's''-a-s'   də-tχe-n-re
         you   us   S:2PL-DIR-O:1PL-ask-PERF-ASSERT S:1PL-write-FUT1-COORD

         də-mə-tχe-n-re
         S:1PL-NEG-write-FUT1-COORD
         'You ask us whether we will write or not.'

In complements of observation predicates ('observe, examine closely, watch'), several types of alternative non-finite constructions are found. In (27) the suffixes *-mi... -mi* are repeated with each complement predicate. Etymologically the *-m* is the conditional marker and *-i* a coordinative marker.

(27)   Se a-bə   s-o-pɬ   a-r   k'ᵒe-mi
        I he-ERG   S:1SG-DYN-observe.PRES   he-ABS go-COND.COORD

        mə-k'ᵒe-mi
        NEG-go-COND.COORD
        'I observe (look closely) whether he is going or not.'

The choice between the various constructions is primarily related to the tense of the complement predicates. From a semantic point of view, the constructions do not convey any difference in meaning. In the present tense, the conjunction *heme* 'or' may be used in combination with the coordinative suffixes. As shown in (28b), the perfect and future tenses are not allowed in the presence of *heme* 'or'.

(28) a.   Č'eɫəpɬ   a-r   k'ᵒe-re   heme mə-k'ᵒe-re?
          observe.IMP! he-ABS go.PRES-COORD or   NEG-go.PRES-COORD
          'Look closely if he goes or not.'

     b.   Č'eɫəpɬ   a-r   *k'ᵒ-a-re   *(k'ᵒe-n-re,   k'ᵒe-nu-re)
          observe.IMP! he-ABS go-PERF-COORD (go-FUT1-COORD,   go-FUT2-COORD)

          heme   *mə-k'ᵒ-a-re   *(k'ᵒe-n-re,   k'ᵒe-nu-re)?
          or   NEG-go-PERF-COORD go-FUT1-COORD,   go-FUT2-COORD
          'Look closely if he went (will go) or not.'

If the perfect is selected, the first coordinative suffix has to be dropped:

(29)   Č'eɫəpɬ   a-r   k'ᵒ-a   heme mə-k'ᵒ-a-re
        observe.IMP! he-ABS go.PERF or   NEG-go-PERF-COORD
        'Look closely if he went or not.'

Finally, in a construction that is allowed in the future tenses as well as in the perfect, the coordinative suffix is not repeated but only added to the conjunction *heme-re*.

(30)   Č'eɫəpɬ   a-r   k'ᵒ-a   (k'ᵒe-nu)   heme-re   mə-k'ᵒ-a
        observe-IMP! he-ABS go-PERF (go-FUT2)   or-COORD   NEG-go.PERF

        (mə-k'ᵒe-nu)
        (NEG-go-FUT2)
        'Look closely if he went (will go) or not.'

3.8. The obligation construction

Finally, we turn to the obligation construction, that has not been noted before in Kabardian grammars. It is formed in two ways, as illustrated by (31-32). In (31) *χᵒej-r* 'have to' is preceded by an infinitival form, including the prefix *zerə-*.

(31)   Fe   f-s'əɣᵒ ə ps'-a-s'   fə-zerə-lez'e-n   χᵒej-r
        you   S:2PL-forget-PERF-ASSERT S:2PL-PART-work-INF   have.to-ABS
        'You forgot, that you had to work.'

The prefix *zerə-* is otherwise found only in participles, but a specific feature of this construction is that occurs in an infinitive. In (32) the prefix is included in the participle:

(32)   Se si-gᵒ   q'e-č'əžə-nu-s'   s-tχə-n   zerə-χᵒej-r
        I   POSS:1SG-heart DIR-hold-FUT-ASSERT 1:SG-write-INF   PART-have.to-ABS
        'I remembered that I had to write (something).'

The two constructions imply no difference in meaning. As shown by (33) the two forms are interchangeable.

(33) a.   Se s-s'əɣᵒəps'-a-q'əm fe   fə-zerə-s-ɬaɣᵒə-n   χᵒej-r
          I   S:1SG-forget-PERF-NEG you O:2PL-PART-S:1SG-see-INF have.to-ABS
          'I have not forgotten that I have to see you.'

     b.   (=fə-s-ɬaɣᵒə-n zerə-χᵒej-r)

In both constructions, only the infinitive includes cross-reference markers; markers of subject and object. In (33), the subject is marked by the prefix *s-* and the object by the prefix *fə-*. The verb *zerə-χᵒej-r* thus does not include cross-reference affixes, but marks tense as *-a* 'PERF' in (34)

(34)   A-bə   f'e-ʔᵒeχᵒəšχᵒe-t   de   də-zer-i-ɣebleɣe-n
        he-ERG VERS-important-IMP   we   O:1PL-PART-S:3SG-invite-INF

        χᵒej-a-r
        have.to-PERF-ABS
        'It was important to him, that he had to invite us.'

χᵒejən 'have to' requires its complement to appear as an infinitive. Again, only the infinitive bears the cross-reference markers, whereas *χᵒejən* 'have to' is marked for tense and assertiveness.

(35) a.   Se wə   wə-s-ɬaɣᵒə-n   χᵒej-s'
          I   you   O:2SG-S:1SG-see-INF   have.to-ASSERT
          'I have to see you.'

b. De də-k'ºe-n   χºej-a-s'
   we S:1PL-leave-INF have.to-PERF-ASSERT
   'We had to leave.'

The ordering between the infinitive and the participle is strict: the infinitive always precedes χºejən 'have to'. The subject of the infinitive may be moved to sentence final position, but allows no change of case marking. As shown below, the case of the subject is absolutive when the infinitive is intransitive (36a-b) and ergative when it is transitive (36c-d). It is thus only the infinitive that assigns case to ps'as'e-r/m 'girl-ABS/ERG'.

(36) a. Ps'as'e-r q'ºaže-m   k'ºe-n   χºej-a-s'
        girl-ABS   village-ERG go-INF   have.to-PERF-ASSERT
        'The girl had to go to the village.'

     b. Q'ºaže-m   k'ºe-n   χºej-a-s'   ps'as'e-r
        village-ERG go-INF   have.to-PERF-ASSERT   girl-ABS
        'The girl had to go to the village.'

     c. Ps'as'e-m pismo   jə-tχə-n   χºej-a-s'
        girl-ERG   letter S:3SG-write-INF have.to-PART-ASSERT
        'The girl had to write a letter.'

     d. Pismo   jə-tχə-n   χºej-a-s'   ps'as'e-m
        letter S:3SG-write-INF have.to-PART-ASSERT   girl-ERG
        'The girl had to write a letter.'

For comparison, the desiderative predicate, χºejən 'want' does allow variation of case marking in the sentence. The matrix predicate χºejən 'want' assigns the absolutive case to its subject, whereas the complement predicate jə-tχə-n 'write' assigns the ergative. As seen from (37), both cases are acceptable.

(37) a. ps'as'e-m(/-r) pismo   jə-tχə-n   χºej-a-s'
        girl-ERG(/-ABS) letter S:3SG-write-INF want-PART-ASSERT
        'The girl wanted to write a letter.'

     b. Pismo   jə-tχə-n   χºej-a-s'   ps'as'e-m (/-r)
        letter S:3SG-write-INF want-PART-ASSERT   girl-ERG(/-ABS)
        'The girl wanted to write a letter.'

As a modal predicate χºejən takes no subject marker. However, as a desiderative predicate χºejən it does. wə 'you' is marked as the subject of wə-zerə-χºej-r 'want' as well as wə-k'ºe-n 'go'.

(38) a. A-bə je-łaɣº   wə   wə-k'ºe-n   zerə-χºej-r
        he-ERG S:3SG-see.PRES you S:2SG-go-INF PART-have.to-ABS
        'He sees that you have to leave.'

     b. A-bə je-łaɣº   wə   wə-k'ºe-n   wə-zerə-χºej-r
        he-ERG S:3SG-see.PRES you S:2SG-go-INF S:2SG-PART-want-ABS
        'He sees that you want to leave.'

4. Division of complement clause types

As shown above, if the notions finite/non-finite are determined as 'finite forms: showing tense and agreement' and 'non-finite forms: not showing tense and agreement', the terms are not sufficient in order to characterize the range of verbal forms in Kabardian as these definitions only make a two-way partition. The notions finite/non-finite, defined in terms of the features [TENSE] and [AGR] (=subject agreement), give the following division into the four types of clauses:

Table 2. Division of complement clause types

1	[+TENSE, +AGR]	a.	Participles
		b.	Alternative (*whether/if*-form)
		c.	Gerunds in some positions (cf. (12-15))
2	[-TENSE, +AGR]	a.	Infinitives
		b.	Gerunds in some positions (cf. (11))
		c.	Conditionals
		d.	Verbal nouns (masdar) (cf. below)
3.	[+TENSE, -AGR]		Impersonal non-finite forms
4.	[-TENSE, -AGR]		Verbal nouns (masdar) (cf. below)

The non-finite category [-TENSE, -AGR] may be completely lacking in the language, depending on how one analyzes masdar phrases. In the case that the possessive marking of the subject is treated as agreement on the level of agreement in other categories, the masdars would get the specification [-TENSE, +AGR] similarly to the infinitive. That would mean that Kabardian has only finite clauses, contrary to what was stated in Section (2) above.

Even if complementation in Kabardian by this definition were be exclusively finite, it still does not show any s-like complement types (Noonan 1985:49). None of the forms above may be used as main clause verbs. The complement predicates are reduced (having fewer or no

temporal categories), take case marking and other categories that a main clause verb does not.

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Transcription[2]

б	[b]	п	[p]	пI	[p']	в	[v]	ф	[f]	фI	[f']	у [w]	м [m]
д	[d]	т	[t]	тI	[t']							н [n]	р [r]
дз	[ʒ]	ц	[c]	цI	[c']	з	[z]	с	[s]				
дж	[ǯ]	ч	[č]	кI	[č']	ж	[ž]	ш	[š]				
						жь	[z']	щ	[s']	щI	[s'']		
						г	[ǧ]	х	[χ]			й [j]	
								ху	[χº]				
						гъ	[ɣ]	хъ	[x]				
гу	[gº]	ку	[kº]	кIу	[k'º]	гъу	[ɣº]	хъу	[xº]				
		кхъ	[q]	къ	[q']								
		кхъу	[qº]	къу	[q'º]								
		I	[ʔ]					хь	[h]				
		Iу	[ʔº]										
						л	[l]	лъ	[ɬ]	лI	[ɬ']		

Vowels: a [a]   и [i] (between consonants)
         э [e]   o [o]
         ы [ə]

         e [je]
         и [jə]
         y [wə]

Abbreviations

ABS	Absolutive
ASSERT	Assertive
COND	Conditional
COORD	Coordinating suffix
DIR	Directional verbal prefix
DYN	Dynamic
ERG	Ergative
GER	Gerund
IMP	Imperfect
IMP!	Imperative
INSTR	Instrumental
IP	Impersonal
JA	Joint action (=together with)
LOC	Locational verbal prefix
NEG	Negating affix
PART	Participle
PERF	Perfect
PLUP	Pluperfect
POSS	Possessive
POT	Potentialis affix
Q	Interrogative
REFL	Reflexive
S	Subject marker
VERS	Version prefix (i.e. benefactive relation)

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[2]Table based on Kumakhov 1981:121.