Complement Types in Kabardian

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This paper 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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1The paper is a shortened version of the presentation ‘Verb classes and complement types in Kabardian’, that was given at the Group meeting on Subordination and Complementation at the Eurotyp plenary conference in San Sebastian, September 1992. This study of complementation in Kabardian has been made possible thanks to support from the Swedish Institute.
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.

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.

The semantics of a number of verbs in the intransitive group is also deviant from what is typical of intransitive verbs, such as pie-n ‘look’, we-n ‘hit’, je$e-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 absolute case marks, as expected, the subject of intransitive verbs and the direct object of transitive verbs. The ergative is the subject case of transitive verbs, but also the marker of indirect objects and objects of intransitive verbs (being cross-referenced within the verb).

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.

Table 1. Case morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-c'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>-w/wa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

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.

We refer to Kumakhov 1971, GK 1957, Kumakhov & Vamling 1992a for some more details on the structure of the simple sentence in Kabardian.
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'am (6a) and non-finite forms the prefix ma-, as in (6b).

(6) a. Se abo sa-s"e-k'°e-r fe f-s"e-r-q'am
*I don't know why I go there.'

b. w- je- ma- pl- a- we
'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 da-.

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 da-ye-t-s' q'ale-m da-q'ene-nu
We try to stay in town.'

b. De da-way-a-s' (de) di-ya-na-r
'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°o ja-q'°e-r q'°e-zera-k'°e-zo-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 xabar s-i-ye-s"a-s' zera-samaS-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. yes'eYe°en-s' Bibe wane-m zer-i-ma-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-bo ja-bzas"a-s' a-r zera-samej-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 (za-) or adverbial is marked by different prefixes. Participles in complement positions take the prefix zero-. 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'hec'e 'for' governing the ergative/oblique case -m of the participle.

(9) Se se-san-a-s' s'i-ade-r
'I was scared that my father came here.'
Gerunds are basically adverbial forms, characterized by the same ending as adverbs, the adverbial case -wl-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’c-e-d-3-s’ d-je-3e-w
we LOC-S:1PL-begin-PERF-ASSERT S:1PL-LOC-O:3SG-read-GER
‘We began to read.’

b. A-bo 2-i-7-3-s’ fe fa-k’o-e-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-y-a-s’ we we-laz’e-w
I REFL-LOC-S:lSG-hear-PERF-ASSERT S:2SG-work-GER
‘I heard that you work.’

d. A-bo fe-q’abol-t a-r k’o-e-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-yez-a-s’
*do-3eg0-a-we / do-3eg0-a-we
we 1O: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.

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’o-e-wa / *k’o-e-wa
I S:lSG-DYN-know-PRES he-ABS leave-PERF-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. Wa p’-s’-e-re a-r k’o-a-wa?
you S:2SG-know-PRES-Q he-ABS leave-PERF-GER
‘Do you know, has he left?’

b. Wa p’-s’-a-q’om a-r k’o-a-wa
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) j’o-tx’a-w ‘he writing it’, in contrast to the intransitive above in (13) k’o-e-wa ‘he leaving’, the gerund distinguishes tense.

(15) Se s-o-s’e a-ba j’o-tx’al j’o-tx’a-w
I S:1SG-DYN-know-PRES he-ERG book S:3SG-write-GER
(j’o-tx’a-w)
(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-ba je-zez'e-n murad iqe-s'
    he-ERG S:3SG-leave-INF intention S:3SG.have-ASSERT
    ‘He intends to leave.’

    b. Sabij-m xejej'-s'
    child-ERG wanted-PRES-ASSERT play-PRES
    ‘The child wants to play.’

    c. De je-d-yez'e-nu-s'
    we Q:S:3SG/S:1PL-begin-PERF-ASSERT house S:1PL-build-INF
    ‘We will start to build a house.’

    d. Se s-lec'-a-s'
    I S:1SG-can-PERF-ASSERT that house-ABS S:1SG-make-INF
    ‘I could build that house.’

    e. Se a-ba z-je-s,-a-s'
    a room-ERG
    he-ERG LOC:S:1SG-say-PERF-ASSERT he-ABS room-ERG
    ‘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-3-a-s'
     da-v-de-lez'e-n
     we LOC:S:1PL-begin-PERF-ASSERT S:1PL-JA-work-INF
     ‘We began to work.’

    b. (Se) sa-ways'-a-s'
     fa-s-tya-n
     I S:1SG-finish-PERF-ASSERT DO:2PL-S:1SG-write-INF
     ‘I finished recording you.’

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-3-a-s'
    da-v-de-lez'e-n
    we LOC:S:1PL-begin-PERF-ASSERT S:1PL-JA-work-INF
    ‘We began to work together with you.’

    b. Se s-ways'-a-s'
    fa-s-tya-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-3-a-s'
    sa-k'oe-n / k'oe
    I LOC:S:1SG-begin-PERF-ASSERT S:1SG-go-INF / go-INF
    ‘I intended to leave.’

    b. Se si-gaay-a-s'
    sa-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:S:1SG-intention-ASSERT
    ‘I intend to leave.’

    b. De da-yek'-t's'
    q'ale-m da-q'ene-nu/(-n)
    we S:1PL-LOC:TRY-PRES-ASSERT TOWN-ERG S:1PL-TRY-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 POSS:1SG-intention-ASSERT
'I intend to leave (My intention is to leave).'

b. Se s-jez-e-n / *-nu murad si-je-s'
I S:1SG-leave 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. ?o ex°as%°e-t t%3fe-p-fya-n-C'e
important-MP book-ABS IP-write-WF-INSTR
'it was important to write the book.'

b. Helemet-s' a-ba w-e-pf°a-n-C'e
interesting-ASSERT he-ERG IP-0:3SG-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 -c'e in most instances, but also the absolutive -r or the adverbial -w cases.

(23) Dey°e-s' nobe za-b-ye°ps'e-a-n (-ø, -r, -c'e, -u)
nice-ASSERT today REPL-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 za-pa-d-yew-a-s'
we REFLEX-LOC:S:1PL-stop-PERF-ASSERT POSS:S:1PL-writing-ABS
'We stopped writing.'

b. A-ba c°oh je-s' ja-tye-na-r
he-ERG long S:3SG-do-PRES POSS:S: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 ja-fe-f-s' se sa-q'a-k'°e-m
guest-ERG S:3SG-VERS-wishes-ASSERT I S:1SG-DIR-go-COND
'I want you 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'ag°arøen 'understand', Pe'jan 'inform', q'es'e'en 'remember', jewap's'øn '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 mo-.

(26) Fe de fa-q'a-de-wap's'-a-s'
da-tye-n-re
dø-teacher-n-re
you us S:2PL-DIR-O:1PL-ask-PERF-ASSERT S:1PL-write-FUT1-COORD
'da-tye-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-bo s-o-pl a-r k’o-e-mi
    1 he-ERG S:1SG-DYN-observe.PRES he-ABS go-COND.COORD
    ma-k’o-e-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’eloš a-r k’o-e-re heme ma-k’o-e-re?
    observe.IMP! he-ABS go.PRES-COORD or NEG-go.PRES-COORD
    'Look closely if he goes or not.'

b. Č’eloš a-r *k’o-a-re *(k’o-n-re, k’o-nu-re)
    observe.IMP! he-ABS go-PERF-COORD (go-FUT1-COORD, go-FUT2-COORD)
    heme *ma-k’o-a-re *(k’o-n-re, k’o-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’eloš a-r k’o-a heme ma-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’eloš a-r k’o-a (k’o-nu) heme-re ma-k’o-a
    observe.IMP! he-ABS go-PERF (go-FUT2) or-COORD NEG-go.PERF
    (ma-k’o-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) χ’ej-r ‘have to’ is preceded by an infinitival form, including the prefix zero-

(31) Fe f-s’aye-a ps’-a’ s-a-zero-lez’e-n χ’ej-r
    you S:2PL-forget-PERF-ASSERT S:2PL-PART-work-INF have.to-ABS
    'You forgot, that you had to work.'

The prefix zero- 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-g° q’e-c’aza-nu-s’ s-t%a-n zera-y°ej-r
    I POSS:lSG-heart DIR-hold-FUT-ASSERT l:SG-write-INF PART-have.to-ABS
    'I remembered that I had to write (something).'</n
The two constructions imply no difference in meaning. As shown by (33) the two forms are interchangeable.

(33) a. Se ,s-s’aY°aps'-a-q’am fe fa-zera-s-laya-n %°ej-r
    you S:1SG-forget-PERF-NEG you S:2PL-PART-S:1SG-see-INF have.to-ABS
    'I have not forgotten that I have to see you.'

b. (=fa-s-laY°a-s’ s-t%a-n zera-y_°ej-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 fa-. The verb zero-χ’ej-r thus does not include cross-reference affixes, but marks tense as -a ‘PERF’ in (34)

(34) A-bo f e-?°e%°35x°e-t de da-zer-i-yebleye-n
    he-ERG VERS-important-IMP we 0:lPL-PART-S:3SG-invite-INF
    χ’ej-a-r
    have.to-PERF-ABS
    'It was important to him, that he had to invite us.'

χ’ejon ‘have to’ requires its complement to appear as an infinitive. Again, only the infinitive bears the cross-reference markers, whereas χ’ejon ‘have to’ is marked for tense and assertiveness.

(35) a. Se wa wa-s-tay°a-n χ’ej-s’
    I you 0:2SG-S:1SG-see-INF have.to-ASSERT
    'I have to see you.'
The ordering between the infinitive and the participle is strict: the infinitive always precedes χεje '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 'girl-ABS/ERG'.

\[(36)\] a. Ps'as'e-r q'azem k'oe-n χεje-s'  
girl-ABS village-ERG go-INF have.to-PERF-ASSERT  
'The girl had to go to the village.'

b. Q'azem k'oe-n χεje-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 ja-ta-n χεje-s'  
girl-ERG letter S:3SG-write-INF have.to-PART-ASSERT  
'The girl had to write a letter.'

d. Pismo ja-ta-n χεje-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, χεje 'want' does allow variation of case marking in the sentence. The matrix predicate χεje 'want' assigns the absolutive case to its subject, whereas the complement predicate ja-ta-n 'write' assigns the ergative. As seen from (37), both cases are acceptable.

\[(37)\] a. ps'as'e-m(-r) pismo ja-ta-n χεje-s'  
girl-ERG(-ABS) letter S:3SG-write-INF want-PART-ASSERT  
'The girl wanted to write a letter.'

b. Pismo ja-ta-n χεje-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 χεje takes no subject marker. However, as a desiderative predicate χεje it does, wo 'you' is marked as the subject of wo-zero-χεje-r 'want' as well as wo-k'oe-n 'go'.

\[(38)\] a. A-bo je-laqo wo wa-k'oe-n zero-chεje-r  
he-ERG S:3SG-se.e PRES you S:2SG-go-INF PART-have.to-ABS  
'He sees that you have to leave.'

b. A-bo je-laqo wo wa-k'oe-n wo-zero-chεje-r  
he-ERG S:3SG-se.e 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Division of complement clause types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. [+TENSE, +AGR] a. Participles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Alternative (whether/if-form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Gerunds in some positions (cf. (12-15))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. [-TENSE, +AGR] a. Infinitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Gerunds in some positions (cf. (11))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Conditionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Verbal nouns (masdar) (cf. below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. [+TENSE, -AGR] Impersonal non-finite forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. [-TENSE, -AGR] Verbal nouns (masdar) (cf. below)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

References


Transcription

\[
\begin{align*}
\bar{u} & \ [\bar{u}] \\
p & [p] \\
\bar{m} & [\bar{m}] \\
v & [\bar{v}] \\
\phi & [\phi] \\
\phi' & [\phi'] \\
y & [\bar{w}] \\
\mu & [\bar{m}] \\
\bar{d} & [\bar{d}] \\
t & [t] \\
\bar{t} & [\bar{t}] \\
\bar{w} & [\bar{w}] \\
z & [z] \\
\bar{c} & [\bar{c}] \\
\bar{s} & [\bar{s}] \\
\bar{j} & [\bar{j}] \\
\bar{r} & [\bar{r}] \\
\bar{y} & [\bar{y}] \\
\bar{h} & [\bar{h}] \\
\bar{q} & [\bar{q}] \\
\bar{q} & [\bar{q}] \\
\bar{q} & [\bar{q}] \\
\bar{q} & [\bar{q}] \\
\bar{l} & [\bar{l}] \\
\bar{l} & [\bar{l}] 
\end{align*}
\]

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complement Types in Kabardian</th>
<th>Kabardian Complement Types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vowels: (a [\bar{a}])</td>
<td>(\bar{m} [\bar{a}]) (between consonants)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\bar{a} [\bar{a}])</td>
<td>(\bar{a} [\bar{a}])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\bar{o} [\bar{o}])</td>
<td>(\bar{o} [\bar{o}])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\bar{e} [\bar{e}])</td>
<td>(\bar{e} [\bar{e}])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\bar{i} [\bar{i}])</td>
<td>(\bar{i} [\bar{i}])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\bar{y} [\bar{y}])</td>
<td>(\bar{y} [\bar{y}])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2Table based on Kumakhov 1981:121.