

# Reciprocal markers in Adyghe, their relations and interactions

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Adyghe

The Adyghe language is a member of the Abkhaz-Adyghe (West Caucasian) language family – it is included into the Adyghe group of this family with the Cherkess language. There are about 300,000 native speakers of Adyghe, 125,000 of them in Russia. Nearly all of the latter speak Russian. The vast majority of them live in the Adyghe Republic of Russian Federation; there are also Adyghe speakers in other regions of Russia, in Turkey and other countries. In Russia newspapers and books in Adyghe are published.

Besides the literary variant, the language has a number of dialects: Temirgoy, Bzhedugh, Abdzakh, Shapsug, etc. In this paper I will analyze the data of the Abdzakh dialect.

### 1.2. Sources of data

My materials were obtained in the Xakurinoxabl’ village (the Shovgenov district of Adyghe Republic) in the course of the fieldwork expeditions organized by the Russian State University for Humanities (2003-2004). Most of the data were obtained by means of questioning language speakers (about 80 hours of interviews). When possible, the data from the texts written down in the course of the expeditions were also used.

In the transcription the symbol *I* is used for the glottal stop, *y* marks the neutral vowel.

### 1.3. Overview. Means of expressing the reciprocal, comitative, and sociative meanings

This paper is concerned with reciprocal constructions in Adyghe, and also with related comitative, assistive and sociative.

Adyghe has numerous means for expressing reciprocity:

1. Prefixes: (a) the main means are two prefixes, the reflexive-reciprocal prefix *ze-* (with allomorphs *zy-* and *z-*; see 3.1.1.1.2, 3.1.1.2) and reciprocal *zere-* (3.1.1.1.1, 3.1.3.1); (b) a peripheral device is the complex prefix *zeregʷe-* (3.1.1.1.3, 3.1.3.2).

The marker *ze-* (in particular, its allomorph *zy-*) is also the only morphological device of expressing reflexivity. This prefix presumably goes back to the pronoun *zy* ‘one’, which also exists in the present-day language. Typologically, the reciprocal meaning is likely to be a result of reinterpretation of the reflexive marker on verbs whose lexical meaning makes it possible.

2. Reciprocal pronouns used as peripheral means: *zy-m zy-r* ‘each other’, lit. ‘one one’ and (rare) *zy-m adry-r* ‘one another’ (see section 9).
3. A possessive marker on the direct object, in combination with the plural verbal marker *-x*, used as a peripheral device (see 3.1.3.3).

Comitative is coded with the marker *de-/dy-* (see section 4), which can also designate assistive. Sociative is marked with the combinations of prefixes *ze-de-* of the reciprocal and the comitative markers (see section 5.1) and *zere-gʷe-* of the reciprocal and the causative markers (see section 5.2).

All these means are very often co-occurrent with the iterative suffix *-z’y*. This prefix has the intensifying function when used on derivatives with the reciprocal and the reflexive markers, but is glossed as ITER, because its main meaning is iterative.

The first two prefixes, viz. *ze-* and *zere-*, occupy the slot of one of the agreement affixes in the verb form, while other slots are occupied by agreement markers.

The prefix *ze-* is used on subject-oriented “canonical”<sup>i</sup> reciprocals of two-place intransitive bases (cf. (24b)) and subject-oriented “indirect” reciprocals of three-place transitive bases (cf. 31b)), when the verb either remains transitive or intransitive, but does not shift from transitive to intransitive. Occasionally *ze-* is used instead of *zere-* in subject-oriented “canonical” reciprocals of transitive bases (see (15c)), but usually it does not occur in this type of reciprocals. The same marker is used in object-oriented reciprocals of all base verbs (cf. (40b)).

The marker *zere-* is used on “canonical” reciprocals of transitives and has an intransitivizing force (see (12b)). It is never used on “canonical” reciprocals of two-place intransitive verbs or object-oriented reciprocals.

The reciprocal pronouns and the prefix *zere-gʷe-* have not been analyzed in linguistic literature so far, which is possibly due to their rare use in the Adyghe speech.

In Adyghe, there are only simple reciprocal constructions, with both reciprocants expressed by the same syntactic argument. The only verb that forms a discontinuous construction is *ze-on* ‘to fight (with sb)’, which can take the second reciprocal marker to produce a simple reciprocal *zy-ze-on* ‘to fight’. Possibility of the discontinuous construction and compatibility with the second reciprocal marker may be a result of lexicalization of the verb *ze-on*.

Another restriction is that the simple affixes *zere-* and *ze-*, with rather few exceptions, express reciprocity only between arguments of a verb (see (12b) and (24b) respectively). Note that the term «argument», which has several uses in contemporary linguistics, will be understood as *a participant that controls agreement affixes of the verb*, therefore, a morphologically oriented definition is chosen. The affix *zere-gʷe* and the reciprocal pronouns *zym zy-r* and *zym adry-r* can express reciprocity between an argument and an adjunct (see (35b) and (68b) respectively).

## 2. Grammatical notes

### 2.1. Introductory

Adyghe is an ergative language. The subject of a transitive verb is marked with the ergative case, whereas the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive one must be marked with the absolutive.

Adyghe is a polysynthetic language, like other languages of the West-Caucasian group. A great number of grammatical meanings are expressed by bound morphemes within a verb form: valency derivations, temporal, modal and aspectual meanings, subject and object agreement, direction and location.

Nominal morphology is much simpler. Only number, case and possession are expressed in the form of a noun, and all of them must be expressed only once in a noun phrase.

Below expression of the categories relevant for this paper will be sketched.

## 2.2. Nominal categories: case, number, possession

In Adyghe four cases are distinguished: absolutive, oblique, instrumental and the so-called “transformational” or adverbial case (in some works the inventory of cases is broadened), and two numbers – singular and plural. In Table 1 the case and plural suffixes are quoted.

Table 1. Case-number markers

	Singular	Plural
Absolutive	-r	-xe-r
Oblique	-m	-xe-m, -me, -xe-me
Instrumental	-kle, -m-kle	-xe-kle
Adverbial	-ew	-x-ew

As the table shows, singular is  $\emptyset$ -marked and plural is marked with the suffix **-xe**, except in the plural form of the oblique case, where case and number can be expressed cumulatively with the affix **-me**. The instrumental affix **-kle** is used when the instrumental argument is indefinite and **-m-kle** is used when it is definite.

The form with the affix **-m** is traditionally called ergative. However, Adyghe differs from many other ergative languages (cf. Alutor, Avar) in that all indirect objects are also marked with the ergative case. Because of this I will call it ‘oblique’ rather than ‘ergative’ and gloss **-m** as OBL, because this form has a very broad range of uses.

The first and second person pronouns (**se** ‘I’, **o** ‘you (SG)’, **te** ‘we’, **švu** ‘you (PL)’) do not distinguish absolutive and oblique – therefore, in the examples below the case of these pronouns is given in parentheses either as ABS or OBL depending on whether an oblique or an absolutive agreement marker in the verb form agrees with the pronoun.

Possessivity is marked on the name of possessum and expresses person and number of the possessor. The marking of inalienable and alienable possession is different (for details see Gorbunova 2004).

Table 2. Possessive prefixes.

Person/number	Inalienable possession	Alienable possession
1SG	s-, sy-	s-i-
2SG	p-	w-i-
3SG	y-	j-y-
1PL	t-	t-i-

2PL	šbu-	šbu-i-
3PL	a-	j-a-

In the third person metathesis changes sequence of the affixes: the marker of alienable possession *j-* is attached before the possessive affix.

### 2.3. Tense and aspect

Adyghe has a rich system of tense-aspect forms. Tense and aspect meanings tend to be expressed by suffixes.

The most common are the present tense marked with zero affix (*je-beu-Ø* <3SG.IO-kiss-PRES> ‘he/she kisses him/her’), the past tense with the suffix *-gʷ(e)* (*y-upsy-gʷ* <3SG.S-shave-PAST> ‘he shaved him’) and the future tense marked with the suffix *-š’t* (*kʷe-kIo-š’t* <*kʷe-go-FUT*> ‘he will come’), which can also express modal meanings. Adyghe has also pluperfect marked with the double affix of past *-gʷa-gʷe*, and habitual/progressive past formed by means of the affix *-š’ty-gʷe*, which is a combination of the future and the past tense markers (on the meaning of these affixes see [Kumaxov 1971] and [Zekox 2002]).

### 2.4. Verb classes

Adyghe verbs are divided into three classes: transitive, intransitive non-inverse (“common”) and intransitive inverse verbs.

The class of transitive verbs includes lexemes that express a situation with a prototypically agentive subject and a prototypically patientive object (see [Dowty 1991] on prototypes of agent and patient); cf. *kʷuten* ‘to shatter’, *zepyčIyn* ‘to break’, *uč’Iyn* ‘to kill’.

- (1) *se čaške-r s-kʷuta-gʷe.*  
 I(OBL) cup-ABS 1SG.A-shatter-PAST  
 ‘I broke (shattered) a cup.’

Intransitives are divided into non-inverse and inverse verbs. Non-inverse (“common”) verbs (cf. *kIon* ‘to go’) have an absolutive argument which has subject properties, and some of them have also an oblique object.

- (2) *vas’e kʷe-kIua-gʷ.*  
 V.ABS *kʷe-go-PAST*  
 ‘Vasja came.’

Inverse verbs have, as a rule, two arguments – stimulus and experiencer (cf. *zexe-xyn* ‘to hear’):

- (3) *se a-r zexe-se-xy.*  
 I(OBL) (s)he-ABS LOC-1SG.A-hear  
 ‘I hear him.’

These verbs differ from transitives (1) in the way of expressing reciprocal and reflexive meanings (see below) and non-inverse verbs (2) in that subject properties are distributed between both arguments.

### 2.5. Agreement

Adyghe has polypersonal agreement: the absolutive argument and all oblique arguments (including oblique objects introduced by derivations) are cross-referenced in the verb form. All agreement markers are prefixes, except the 3PL marker of the absolutive argument *-x* which is a suffix.

The predicate takes agreement markers of absolutive arguments: the direct object of transitive and the subject of intransitive verbs (the first slot in the verb form) – and with ergative (oblique) arguments: the oblique subject of transitive verbs (the slot preceding the stem) and oblique objects (the slot preceding the marker of valency derivation or if it is absent, before the agentive agreement prefix). Markers of agreement with oblique arguments, which were introduced by derivations, occupy the position immediately before the markers of these derivations. The markers of agreement with absolutive arguments are glossed with “S” (subject), the markers of agreement with the ergative subject with “A” (agent) and those for ergative objects with “IO” (indirect object).

In Table 3 absolutive and oblique markers are listed.

Table 3. Agreement markers

Person and number	Absolutive	Oblique
1 SG	<i>sy-</i>	<i>se-, s-</i>
1 PL	<i>ty-</i>	<i>te-, t-</i>
2 SG	<i>u</i>	<i>o-, p-</i>
2 PL	<i>šbu-</i>	<i>šbo-, šbu-</i>
3 SG	$\emptyset$	<i>y-</i>
3 PL	<i>-x</i>	<i>a-</i>

## 2.6. Locative preverbs

The Adyghe verb may take locative preverbs which express or specify the place of the situation or direction. Besides preverbs specifying the place (e.g. *i/r-* ‘in’), Adyghe has a preverb *š’y-* with a general meaning which does not specify the place but only denotes relevance of the place of the situation. Forms with *š’y-* acquire an obligatory valency for a place name. All locative preverbs make the place name (that of location or direction) an argument of the verb, and thus raise its syntactic status; cf. (4b) with the prefix *d-*:

- (4) a. *klale-m pšbašbe-r je-š’e.*  
 boy-OBL girl-ABS 3SG.A-lead  
 ‘A boy leads a girl.’
- b. *klale-m pšbašbe-r une-m d-je-š’e.*  
 boy-OBL girl-ABS house-OBL LOC-3SG.A-lead  
 ‘A boy leads a girl into the house.’

## 2.7. Meanings of the reflexive marker *ze-*

Adyghe has three means of marking semantic reflexivity. The most productive is the reflexive-reciprocal prefix *ze-*, more peripheral are reflexive pronouns *jezz’* ‘oneself’ and *yšxʁa* ‘oneself’, literally ‘one’s head’.

The reflexive prefix *ze-* can express coreference of any two arguments, i.e. underlying subject and any object, direct or indirect, on condition they denote referents of the same semantic class (usually both human), but not between an argument and an adjunct. This prefix

is controlled by the subject and, therefore, occupies the position of the non-subject agreement marker, which is the absolutive slot of transitive and usually intransitive inverse verbs, and the oblique slot of intransitive non-inversive verbs; as was shown in Testelec (2003). These are in fact non-subject positions. Inverse verbs demonstrate variability of reciprocal forms (see 3.1.1.2.2). The subject of reflexive derivatives almost always has the same case form as the subject of the base verb (cf. (4a, b) with oblique subjects).

Alongside the reflexive proper and reciprocal meanings, the prefix *ze-* has autocausative, anticausative, antipassive and possessive-reflexive uses. Therefore it is a highly polysemous marker demonstrating a widespread type of polysemy of reflexive-reciprocal markers. Henceforth, “reflexive” is used as a cover term for all its usages excepting the reciprocal. and its use in the reflexive meaning (cf. (5b)) is referred to as “reflexive proper”. In all the cases the prefix is glossed according to its meaning.

Reflexive proper:

- (5) a. *s-i-gʷunegʷu-m*                      *a-r*                      *Ø-y-ukIy-gʷ.*  
 1SG-POSS-neighbour-OBL    (s)he-ABS    3SG.S-3SG.A-kill-PAST  
 ‘My neighbour killed him.’
- b. *s-i-gʷunegʷu-m*                      *ze-ukIy-z’y-gʷ.*  
 1SG-POSS-neighbour-OBL    REFL-kill-ITER-PAST  
 ‘My neighbour killed himself.’

Autocausative (the term is from):

- (6) a. *a-š’*                      *a-r*                      *Ø-y-Iety-gʷ.*  
 (s)he-OBL    (s)he-ABS    3SG.S-3SG.A-lift-PAST  
 ‘She lifted it.’
- b. *a-š’*                      *z-i-Iety-gʷ*  
 (s)he-OBL    AUTOCAUS-3SG.A-lift-PAST  
 ‘She rose.’

Reciprocal:

- (7) a. *a-š’*                      *se*                      *sy-zex-je-xy.*  
 (s)he-OBL    I(ABS)    LOC-3SG.A-hear-PL.S  
 ‘I hear him/her.’
- b. *a-xe-m*                      *zy-zex-a-xy-ž’y.*  
 (s)he-PL-OBL    REC-LOC-3PL.A-hear-ITER  
 i. ‘They hear each other’; ii. ‘They hear themselves.’

Antipassive:

- (8) a. *se*                      *šʷxʷangʷupkle-xe-r*                      *zefe-s-šIy-gʷ.*  
 I(OBL)    window-PL-ABS                      LOC-1SG.A-do-PAST  
 ‘I closed the windows.’<sup>ii</sup>
- b. *ze-zefe-se-šIy-ž’y.*  
 APASS-LOC-1SG.A-do-ITER  
 ‘I close (my shop, etc.)’, lit. ‘I close myself.’



The antipassive intransitivizes a transitive verb and changes the oblique marking of the subject of the initial transitive verb into the absolutive:

- (12) a. *se pis'me-r se-txy.*  
 I(OBL) letter-ABS 1SG.A-write  
 'I write a letter.';  
 b. *se se-txe.*  
 I(ABS) 1SG.S-write.APASS  
 'I write.'

Causative, benefactive, malefactive and comitative are valency-increasing markers: they add a new argument to the valency structure of the verb. The causative marker occupies the closest position to the verbal root among all derivational markers, i.e. it occurs immediately before the root.

### 2.9. Compatibility of derivational markers

Most of the derivational markers are compatible with one another. On the other hand, only the causative prefix can be regularly repeated in a verb form, cf. *gʷe-gʷe-klon* <CAUS-CAUS-go> 'to make sb lead sb').

The sequence of the benefactive, malefactive and comitative affixes may vary. However, all of them always precede the causative prefix.

## 3. Morphological (prefixed) reciprocals

### 3.1. Subject-oriented reciprocals (intransitive and, rarely, transitive)

In Adyghe grammar (cf. [Rogava & Kerasheva 1966: 271-272]) two morphological markers of reciprocity – *zere-* and *ze-* are distinguished: *zere-* is claimed to designate reciprocal relations between the subject and direct object referents of the underlying transitive verb, and *ze-* is claimed to be used in all other cases. In fact, the situation is somewhat more complicated.

This section concerns reciprocal constructions with *ze-* and *zere-* marked predicates. They are compared with reflexive proper constructions with the marker *ze-*. “Canonical” reciprocals of transitive verbs can also be formed by means of the complex prefix *zere-gʷe-*, which is analyzed in 3.1.1.1.3.

Below in Tables 4 and 5 the types of reciprocal and reflexive constructions are listed.

Table 4. Types of reciprocal constructions

Type of construction	Reciprocal marker	Case marking of the subject	Slot occupied by the reciprocal marker
“Canonical” of transitive verbs	<i>zere-</i>	ABS	OBL (S)
“Canonical” of transitive verbs	<i>ze-</i>	OBL	ABS (DO)
“Canonical” of intransitive “common” verbs	<i>ze-</i>	ABS	OBL (IO)
“Canonical” of inverse verbs	<i>ze-</i>	ABS	OBL
“Canonical” of inverse verbs	<i>ze-</i>	OBL (less frequently)	ABS
“Indirect” of transitive verbs	<i>ze-</i>	OBL	OBL
Object-oriented	<i>ze-</i>	OBL	OBL

Table 5. Types of reflexive constructions

Type of construction	Case marking of the subject	Reflexive marker	Slot occupied by the reflexive marker
“Canonical” of transitive verbs	oblique	<i>ze-/zy-<sup>iii</sup></i>	absolute (DO)
“Canonical” of intransitive verbs	absolute	<i>ze-/zy-</i>	oblique (IO)
“Canonical” of inverse verbs	absolute (less frequently)	<i>ze-/zy-</i>	oblique
	oblique	<i>ze-/zy-</i>	absolute
“Indirect” of transitive verbs	oblique	<i>ze-/zy-</i>	oblique
Object-oriented	oblique	<i>ze-/zy-</i>	oblique

In the following subsections the constructions from Tables 4 and 5 are analyzed in detail.

### 3.1.1. “Canonical” (intransitive) reciprocals

#### 3.1.1.1. Reciprocals derived from two-place transitive verbs

3.1.1.1.1. *With the prefix zere-*. Reciprocity between the subject and the direct object of a transitive verb is expressed by the prefix *zere-*. Though *zere-* is highly productive and combines with transitive verbs irrespective of their lexical meaning, some transitive verbs may form reciprocals both with *zere-* and *ze-*, the latter occupies the position of the absolute object (patient) agreement marker and thus substitutes for this marker. Cf. (13) and (14):

(13) a. *kIale-m pšbašbe-xe-r j-e-lbegbu-x.* (transitive)  
 boy-OBL girl-ABS 3SG.A-DYN-see-PL.S  
 ‘The boy sees the girl.’

b. *zekIe clyf-xe-r zere-lbegbu-ž’y-x.*  
 all man-PL-ABS REC-see-ITER-PL.S  
 ‘All people see each other (= meet).’

(14) a. *se a-r z-gbeklody-gb.* (transitive)  
 I(OBL) (s)he-ABS 1SG.A-lose-PAST  
 ‘I lost him/her.’

b. *a-xe-r zere-gbeklody-gbe-x.*  
 s(he)-PL-ABS REC-lose-PAST-PL  
 ‘They lost each other.’

Reciprocals of this type can also be formed from the following verbs:

(15) *uklyn* ‘to kill’ → *zere-uklyn* ‘to kill each other, beat each other’  
*gbeš’ynen* ‘to frighten’ → *zere-gbeš’ynen* ‘to frighten each other’  
*uIan* ‘to wound’ → *zere-uIan* ‘to wound each other’  
*šIen* ‘to know’ → *zere-šIen* ‘to know each other’  
*gbešxen* ‘to feed’ → *zere-gbešxen* ‘to feed each other’  
*gbepsklyn* ‘to bath’ → *zere-gbepsklyn* ‘to bath each other’.

However, it will be shown in the next section that these verbs have also another option.

3.1.1.1.2. *Prefix ze- instead of zere-*. As mentioned, *ze-* can be used on some verbs interchangeably with *zere-*. As also mentioned, *zere-* is monosemous and *ze-* may have both a reciprocal and reflexive reading:

- (16) a. *pijy-m klale-r y-ula-gъ.*  
 enemy-OBL boy-ABS 3SG.A-wound-PAST  
 ‘The enemy wounded the boy.’
- b. *pij-xe-r zere-ula-z’y-gъe-x.*  
 enemy-PL-ABS REC-wound-ITER-PAST-PL.S  
 ‘The enemies wounded each other.’
- c. *pij-xe-m z-a-ula-z’y-gъ.*  
 enemy-PL-OBL REC/REFL-3PL.A-wound-ITER-PAST  
 ‘The enemies wounded each other/themselves.’

As we can see, the subject in (16c) is in the oblique and not absolutive form. This feature brings reciprocals in *ze-* together with reflexives proper of transitive verbs.

In this case the reciprocal form coincides with the reflexive one, though the reciprocal reading is not available with a singular subject:

- (17) *se ze-sy-ula-z’y-gъ.*  
 I(OBL) REFL-1SG.A-wound-ITER-PAST  
 ‘I wounded myself.’

Significantly, my sample does not include any verbs which can form a reciprocal with *ze-* only. Therefore, the *ze-* variant seems to be secondary diachronically and synchronically.

It is possible that reciprocal constructions like (16c) are an innovation, and in the previous period only *zere-* could express reciprocity between the subject and the direct object, and then the affix *ze-* was reinterpreted to designate “canonical” reciprocals of transitive bases. It explains why the reciprocal reading of *ze-* forms of transitive verbs is not productive, while the reflexive one is characteristic of these forms.

On the other hand, in some cases a *ze-* variant may differ from the *zere-* variant in meaning. The verb *лъегъун* ‘to see’ which is transitive, unlike many other verbs of perception and emotions (cf. *зехын* ‘to hear’, *š’ygupšyn* ‘to be afraid’), has an odd feature: it forms reciprocals both with *ze-* and *zere-*, with the following difference in meaning:

- (18) *te tegъuase ty-zere-лъегъу-gъ.*  
 we(ABS) yesterday 1PL.S-REC-saw-PAST  
 i. ‘We met yesterday.’ ii. ‘We saw each other.’
- (19) *ğydedem te ze-te-лъегъу-z’y.*  
 now we(OBL) REC-1PL.A-saw-ITER  
 ‘Now we see each other.’, but not ‘Now we have met/are meeting.’

Two variants of the reciprocal form of *лъегъун* ‘to see’ may be a result of the gradual loss of the inverse variant *лъегъон* ‘to be seen, be visible’ which is cited in Rogava & Kerasheva (1966: 99): now most speakers, except the oldest of them, do not use the inverse form *лъегъон*. Perhaps the verb *лъегъун*, which is initially transitive, received the functions of the inverse variant, which is proved by the high frequency of the *zere-* variant formed

according to the “transitive” pattern – this variant has not only the meaning ‘to meet’, but also ‘to see each other’.

This opposition has a close counterpart in Russian: the base verb *videt* ‘to see’ does not form a morphological reciprocal with the meaning of perception ‘to see each other’, but the form *videt’-sja* does exist and means ‘to meet.’

Another verb which combines with both reciprocal prefixes is *gʷe-styn* ‘to burn (with fire; vt)’, the morphological causative of *styn* ‘to burn (vi)/to burn (about fire; vt).’ The *zere*-variant expresses reciprocity and *ze*-variant both reciprocity and reflexivity:

- (20) a. *te pʰɔy-r te-gʷesty.*  
 we(OBL) firewood-ABS 1PL.A-burn  
 ‘We burn firewood.’
- b. *ze-d-gʷesty.*  
 REC/REFL-1PL.A-burn  
 i. ‘We burn each other.’ ii. ‘We burn ourselves’.
- c. *te-zere-gʷesty.*  
 1PL.S-REC-burn  
 ‘We burn each other.’

This variation is probably determined by the fact that the causer and the causee in Adyghe do not tend generally to be bound by morphological reciprocals.

This, non-productive way of forming “canonical” reciprocals from transitive verbs by means of the prefix *ze-* has been noted only for the three verbs examined above: *gʷe-styn* ‘to burn’, *lʷegʷun* ‘to see’ and *ulan* ‘to wound’.

3.1.1.1.3. *Prefix zere-gʷe instead of zere-*. The complex marker *zere-gʷe* has two meanings which cannot be analyzed as the sum of causative and reciprocal meanings: the “canonical” reciprocal and “possessive” (the latter is examined in 3.1.3.2).

The combination *zere-gʷe-* can mark a “canonical” reciprocal of a transitive verb (21b) and in this case it is synonymous with the *zere*-form (21c):

- (21) a. *se a-r sy-ula-gʷ*  
 I(OBL) s(he) 1SG.A-wound-PAST  
 ‘I wounded him.’
- b. *te ty-zere-ula-ž’y-gʷ.*  
 we(ABS) 1SG-REC-wound-ITER-PAST  
 ‘We wounded each other.’
- c. *te ty-zeregʷe-ula-ž’y-gʷ.*  
 we(ABS) 1SG-REC-wound-ITER-PAST  
 ‘We wounded each other.’

*zere-gʷe-* is apparently a less productive marker of “canonical” reciprocals than *zere-*. It marks “canonical” reciprocals derived from the following verbs of my sample:

- (22) *upsyn* ‘to shave’ → *zeregʷe-upsyn* ‘to shave each other’  
*ulan* ‘to wound’ → *zeregʷe-ulan* ‘to wound each other’  
*lʷegʷun* ‘to see’ → *zeregʷe-lʷegʷun* ‘to see each other’.

In all of these cases the *zeregъe*-forms can be changed to forms with *zere-*.

The valency structure of derived verbs apparently does not result from consecutive causativization and reciprocalization of the base verb: the verb form in (21b) has only one argument. Consecutive causativization and reciprocalization, independently of the order of derivations, would result in a final two-place derivative, as in (23):

- (23) a. ‘to shave sb’ (vt) → ‘to cause sb to shave sb’ (three-place vt) → ‘to cause sb to shave each other’ (vt)  
 b. ‘to shave sb’ → ‘to shave each other’ (vi) → ‘to cause sb to shave each other’ (vt).

Therefore, we regard *zeregъe-* as a single complex prefix, because its meaning cannot be regarded as a sum of the meaning of two derivative prefixes (compare the sociative use of *zeregъe-* in which it **can** be regarded as two distinct prefixes).

Explanation of the role of the causative marker *gъe-* in cases like (21b) requires historical data about semantic changes in the meaning of such derivatives. It is worth noting, however, that *zeregъe-* most often attaches to verbs which can take the name of a body part in the object position (cf. (21b)), which makes this construction similar to a “possessive” one – therefore, “canonical” and “possessive” uses of *zeregъe-* historically are not independent from each other.

### 3.1.1.2. Reciprocals derived from two-place intransitive verbs (prefix *ze-*)

3.1.1.2.1. *From non-inverse (common) intransitives.* These underlying verbs combine exclusively with the marker *ze-* which occupies the position of oblique agreement markers. In **1** I will consider non-spatial intransitives and in **2** spatial intransitives.

**1.** Reciprocals of non-spatial intransitives. The following lexemes form reciprocals with *ze-*:

- |                                  |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| (24) <i>beun</i> ‘to kiss sb’    | → | <i>ze-beun</i> ‘to kiss each other’         |
| <i>ujeplesklun</i> ‘to pinch sb’ | → | <i>u-z-jeplesklun</i> ‘to pinch each other’ |
| <i>on</i> ‘to hit sb’            | → | <i>ze-on</i> ‘to hit each other’            |
| <i>plъyn</i> ‘to look at sb’     | → | <i>ze-plъyn</i> ‘to look at each other’     |
| <i>plestxъyn</i> ‘to scratch sb’ | → | <i>ze-plestxъyn</i> ‘to scratch each other’ |
| <i>delepylen</i> ‘to help sb’    | → | <i>ze-delepylen</i> ‘to help each other’    |
| <i>š’egugъun</i> ‘to rely on sb’ | → | <i>ze-š’egugъun</i> ‘to rely on each other’ |
| <i>jetlyrgun</i> ‘to push sb’    | → | <i>ze-tlyrgun</i> ‘to push each other’.     |

Cf. the following example:

- (25) a. *se*            *a-š’*            *sy-š’e-gugъu-ž’y.*  
 I(ABS) (s)he-OBL 1SG.S-LOC-rely-ITER  
 ‘I rely on him/her.’  
 b. *te*            *ty-ze-š’e-gugъu-ž’y-x.*  
 we(ABS) 1PL-REC/REFL-LOC-rely-ITER-PL  
 i. ‘We rely on each other.’ ii. ‘We rely on ourselves’.

**2.** Reciprocals of spatial intransitives. The following lexemes form reciprocals with *ze-* (locative prefixes are separated from stems):

- (26) *xe-xʙan* ‘to join to sb’ → *ze-xe-xʙan* ‘to join to each other’  
*go-klyn* ‘to go aside from sb’ → *ze-go-klyn* ‘to go aside from each other’  
*go-fen* ‘to drop near sb’ → *ze-go-fen* ‘to drop near each other’  
*go-tyn* ‘to stay near sb’ → *ze-go-tyn* ‘to stay close’  
*tje-lʙyn* ‘to lie on sb’ → *ze-tje-lʙyn* ‘to lie on each other’.

- (27) a. *a-r*            *a-šʹ*            *go-kly.*  
(s)he-ABS (s)he-OBL LOC-go  
‘(S)he goes aside from him/her’;  
b. *axe-r*            *ze-go-kly-x.*  
they-ABS REC-LOC-go-PL  
‘They go aside from each other’.

3.1.1.2.2 *From intransitive inverse verbs.* Adyghe inverse verbs usually express perception, emotions and possession. It is a class of verbs which includes a big group of benefactive and malefactive derivatives and several other verbs. They form reciprocals by means of the affix *zy-*.

- (28) a. *šIošlyn* ‘to seem X (e.g. stupid) to sb’ → *ze-šIošlyn* ‘to seem X to each other’  
*felʙygyʙun* ‘to be able to love’ → *ze-felʙygyʙun* ‘to can love each other’  
b. *ilyn* ‘to have sth’ (lit. ‘to be by sb’) → *z-ilyn* ‘to have each other’  
*šʹygyʙšyn* ‘to forget sth’ → *zy-šʹygyʙšyn* ‘to forget each other’  
*zexexyn* ‘to hear sth’ → *zy-zexexyn* ‘to hear each other’.

As mentioned, reciprocalization of inverse verbs distinguishes them from transitive and non-inverse intransitive verbs. Many of their derivatives are ambiguous between the reflexive and the reciprocal meaning; cf.:

- (29) a. *a-r*            *a-šʹ*            *zex-je-xy.*                            (= (7))  
(s)he-ABS (s)he-OBL LOC-3SG.A-hear-PL.S  
‘(S)he hears him/her.’  
b. *a-xe-m*            *zy-zex-a-xy-žʹy.*  
(s)he-PL-OBL REC/REFL-LOC-3PL.A-hear-ITER  
i. ‘They hear each other’; ii. ‘They hear themselves.’

Polyfunctionality of the reflexive/reciprocal affix obviously unites inverse verbs with non-inverse “simple” intransitives. At the same time, we must note variation of the reciprocal constructions with inverse verbs: cf. (30b) with an absolutive subject, where the reciprocal marker occupies the oblique agreement slot, and (30c), where the subject is in the oblique case, correspondingly, *ze-* occupies the absolutive agreement slot:

- (30) a. *se*            *a-r*            *s-šʹe-gyʙšy-žʹy-gʙ.*  
I(OBL) (s)he-ABS 1SG.IO-LOC-forget-ITER-PAST  
‘I forgot about him.’  
b. *a-xe-r*            *ze-šʹe-gyʙšy-žʹy-gʙe-x.*  
(s)he-PL-ABS REC-LOC-forget-ITER-PAST-PL  
‘They forget about each other.’

- c. *a-xe-m*                    *z-a-š'y-gupše-ž'y-gb.*  
 (s)he-PL-OBL    REC-3PL.A-LOC-forget-ITER-PAST  
 'They forget about each other.'

Unlike transitives, inverse verbs never take the reciprocal marker *zere-*. As we have seen, the marker *zere-* is used only when the base verb is transitive and the reciprocal derivative is intransitive.

The reflexive marker in the reflexive proper meaning in Adyghe is always co-referential with the subject of the sentence: the oblique argument of inverse verbs has more semantic properties of a prototypical subject than the absolutive one (e.g., it is animate). On the other hand, the reciprocal markers are more often co-referential with the absolutive argument, irrespectively of its status, and occupy the non-absolutive slot, be it the subject position, as with *zere-* on transitive verbs, or object position, as with *ze-* on intransitive verbs. Thus, it is not surprising that if there exist two forms of a particular inverse verb with a different order of affixes, forms with *ze-* in the oblique position get the reciprocal interpretation:

- (31) a. *a-xe-r*                    *ze-š'e-gupšy-z'y-gbe-x.*  
 (s)he-PL-ABS    REC-LOC-forget-ITER-PAST-PL  
 'They forgot about each other.'
- b. *a-xe-m*                    *z-a-š'y-gupše-z'y-gb.*  
 (s)he-PL-OBL    REFL-3PL.A-LOC-forget-ITER-PAST  
 'They forgot about themselves.'

(Compare, though, (29b), where both readings are available).

I think that we must consider constructions of type (31a) "prototypically reciprocal" (they are built according to the reciprocal type, with *ze-* in the oblique slot, but later on get the reflexive reading). Constructions of type (31b) can be called "prototypically reflexive", because they are built according to the reflexive type.

Thus, as we see, Adyghe displays three types of morphological marking in constructions which can express the reciprocal meaning:

- (1) *zere-*forms with an absolutive subject, the reciprocal marker in the oblique position and the absolutive marking of the subject, as in (11);
- (2) *ze-*forms with an absolutive subject, the reciprocal marker in the oblique position, and the absolutive marking of the subject as in (30b);
- (3) *ze-*forms with an oblique subject and the reciprocal marker in the absolutive position, as in (30c) (presumably a result of reinterpretation of reflexive forms).

### 3.1.2. "Indirect" (transitive) reciprocals (prefix *ze-*)

"Indirect" reciprocals are derived from three-place transitive verbs by means of the prefix *ze-*, which designate coreferentiality between the subject and the indirect object:

- (32) *gbeľbegun* 'to show sth to sb'    > *ze-gbeľbegun* 'to show sth to each other'  
*jetyn* 'to give sth to sb'            > *z-jetyn* 'to give sth to each other'  
*gbešxyn* 'to feed sb with sth'      > *ze-gbešxyn* 'to feed each other with sth'  
*gbešlen* 'to teach sb sth'          > *ze-gbešlen* 'to teach each other sth'  
*fešlyn* 'to build, make sth for sb' > *ze-fešlyn* 'to build make sth for each other'.

- (33) a. *se*                    *klale-m*    *fatagrafiya-xe-r*    *je-z-gbeľbegu-gb.*

I(OBL) boy-OBL photo-PL-ABS 3SG.IO-1SG.A-show-PAST  
 ‘I show the boy the photos.’

- b. *te fatagrafiya-xe-r ze-te-gbelʔegʔu-žʔy-x.*  
 we(OBL) photo-PL-ABS REC-1PL-show-ITER-PL  
 ‘We show photos to each other.’

Reciprocals formed from benefactive and malefactive transitive verbs are also formally of this type:

- (34) a. *se (a-šʔ) une-r fe-s-šly-gʔ.*  
 I(OBL) (s)he-OBL house-ABS BEN-1SG.A-make-PAST  
 ‘I built a house for him.’  
 b. *te une-xe-r ze-fe-t-šly-gʔ.*  
 we(OBL) house-PL-ABS REC-BEN-1PL.A-make-PAST  
 ‘We built houses for each other.’

### 3.1.3. “Possessive” (transitive) reciprocals

“Possessive” reciprocity, i.e. a reciprocal relation between an argument of the predicate and expression of the possessor on another argument differs from other types of reciprocals in that Adyghe shows variability of ways of expressing this meaning, none of which is productive. This seems to result from semantic features of this type of reciprocal meaning.

There exist the following means of expressing “possessive” reciprocity:

1. The affix *zere-* (see 3.1.2.1).
2. Combination of reciprocal and causative prefixes *zere-gʔe-* (3.1.3.2)
3. The plural possessive affix + plural form of the verb (3.1.3.3).

All these devices are not in complementary distribution: for example, the verb *ulan* ‘to wound’ admits all three variants of “possessive” reciprocal constructions.

3.1.3.1. *With the prefix zere-*. Some native speakers allow transitive “possessive” use of *zere-* forms, cf.:

- (35) a. *se y-Ia s-fyze-gʔ.*  
 I(OBL) 3SG-hand 1SG.A-shake-PAST  
 ‘I shook his hand.’  
 b. *te t-Ie-xe-r zere-t-fyze-gʔ.*  
 we(OBL) 1PL-hand-PL-ABS REC-1PL.A-shake  
 ‘We shook each other’s hands.’

This use of *zere-* forms differs from the most productive “canonical” use in which the verb becomes syntactically monovalent. In examples like (35b) *zere-* introduces a new slot in the verb form for indirect object/causee, occupied by the oblique agreement prefix (cf. *t-* in (35b)). The “possessive” *zere-* derivatives are syntactically two-place.

In fact, constructions like (35b) are rather close to prototypical reciprocal constructions derived from transitive verbs like ‘We wounded each other.’

3.1.3.2. *With the prefix zeregʔe-*. The affix *zeregʔe-* can mark not only “canonical” but also “possessive” reciprocals:

- (36) a. *klale-m pšbašbe-m y-Ia y-ula-gb.*  
 boy-OBL girl-OBL SG.POSS-hand 3SG.A-wound-PAST  
 ‘The boy wounded girl’s hand’,  
 the possessor is an attribute of *yIa* ‘her hand’).
- b. *te t-Ie-xe-r te-zeregbe-ula-gbe-x.*  
 we(OBL) 1PL.POSS-hand-PL-ABS 1PL.IO-REC-hold-PAST-PL  
 ‘The boys held each other by the hands.’

Examples like (36b) are an exception in the sense that the reciprocal prefix binds an argument and an adjunct (a possessor) of the base verb (the term *adjunct* is used here for a participant which is not cross-referenced by agreement markers on the verb), whereas usually Adyghe reciprocals tend to bind only arguments. Verbs like ‘to wound’ and ‘to hold’ are essentially two-place. Besides animate objects, they can take a direct object denoting a body part, in which case this object occurs with a POSS marker, like in (36a). In (36a) the possessor *pšbašbe* is apparently not an argument of the verb, because it does not control any agreement marker on the verb. In (36b) the verb with a DO denoting a body part the possessor becomes an indirect object, controls the indirect object prefix *te-* and this makes a possessive reciprocal possible.

The complex affix *zere-gbe-* in this use can also combine with intransitive verbs:

- (37) a. *se a-š’ y-ne sy-kle-plba-gb.*  
 I(OBL) (s)he-OBL 3SG.POSS-eye 1SG.S-LOC-look-PAST  
 ‘I look in his eyes.’
- b. *te y-ne<sup>iv</sup> ty-kle-zeregbe-plba-gb.*  
 we(OBL) 3SG.POSS-eye 1PL.S-LOC-REC-look-PAST  
 ‘We looked in each other’s eyes.’

In these examples the complex prefix *zeregbe-* either cannot be replaced with simple prefixes *zere-* and *ze-* or such substitution makes the examples marginal.

We regard the prefix *zeregbe-* in its “possessive” use as a single complex affix, as in the “canonical” use.

3.1.3.3. *With possessive plural prefixes on nominals.* In some cases a plural possessive affix *t(y)-* (1PL), *žbu-* (2PL) and *(j)a-* (3PL) may acquire a reciprocal reading, which happens when the predicate is also plural and describes a situation in which the patient is possessum of the agent (cf. (38b) and (39)). If the meaning of the verb or the context blocks the usual possessive interpretation ‘The enemies wounded their hands’, the reading is reciprocal, as in (38b):

- (38) a. *a-š’ klale-m y-Ia y-ula-gb.*  
 (s)he-OBL boy-OBL 3SG-hand 3SG.A-wound-PAST  
 ‘He wounded the boy’s hand.’
- b. *ze-pij-xe-m a-Ia-xe-r a-ula-ž’y-gbe-x.*  
 REC-enemy-PL-OBL 3PL-hand-PL-ABS 3PL.A-wound -ITER-PAST-PL  
 ‘The enemies wounded each other’s hands’ (“possessive” reciprocal)

If the meaning or the context does not block the usual possessive interpretation, examples are ambiguous between the reciprocal and the usual possessive interpretation, as in (38):

- (39) *zekle gьunegьu-me ja-Iaxьyl-xe-r šlu a-lьegьu-x.*  
 all neighbour-OBL.PL 3PL-relative-PL-ABS good 3PL.A-see-PL  
 ‘All neighbours love their/each other’s relatives.’

See section 7 below about the prefix *ze-* on relative nouns like *pij* ‘enemy’ and the like. In (39) we can see a phenomenon analogous to reflexive-reciprocal polysemy, which is analyzed below (cf. (38b), (39) vs. ‘They wounded themselves/each other’).

### 3.2. Object-oriented reciprocals (transitive; prefix *ze-*)

Object-oriented reciprocal constructions are formed from transitive three-place verbs with a direct and an indirect objects and designate reciprocal relations between these two objects. They are marked only with the reciprocal prefix *ze-*, with the exception of the derivative of the verb *gьelьegьun* ‘to show’ see example (49b). Object-oriented reciprocals can be divided into two types: spatial, which will be analyzed in 3.2.1, and non-spatial, analyzed in 3.2.2.

#### 3.2.1. Spatial reciprocals

Spatial object-oriented reciprocal constructions are derived from verbs with locative prefixes expressing localization and direction. These locative prefixes add to the valency structure an indirect object denoting the reference point. Like other arguments, these indirect objects can enter into reciprocal relations with direct objects denoting referents of the same semantic class. The main meanings of derived spatial reciprocals are joining of the referents to each other and separating them from each other. Spatial reciprocals are very productive in Adyghe, they are often used in speech and many of them are lexicalized.

3.2.1.1. *Reciprocals of joining.* Verbs like *tjegьepklen* ‘to glue sth to sth’ denote joining of one referent to another. Their reciprocal derivatives denote joining of the referents together, i.e. to each other:

- (40) a. *tje-gьe-pklen*  
 LOC-CAUS-glugue  
 ‘to paste X to Y’  
 b. *txylьypIe-xe-r ze-tje-gьe-pklen*  
 paper-PL-ABS REC-LOC-CAUS-glugue  
 ‘to paste pieces of paper together.’

Such derivatives are also formed from the following verbs:

- (41) *py-den* ‘to sew X to Y’  
*py-gьepklen* ‘to paste X to Y’  
*py-gьeucou* ‘to hook X to Y’  
*py-šIen* ‘to tie X to Y’  
*xe-gьexьan* ‘to join X to Y’  
*xe-Iulьen* ‘to chain X to Y’  
*tje-plьhan* ‘to lay X on Y’.

In some cases such reciprocals do not have a plural argument, which is obligatory for all other types of reciprocals: in (42b) the argument is not plural because the object is composed of parts that are joined together:

- (42) a. *tje-gʷe-pkIen*  
 LOC-CAUS-give  
 ‘to paste X to Y’
- b. *pis'me-r zy-tje-gʷe-pkIen*  
 letter-ABS REC-LOC-CAUS-paste  
 ‘To glue the letter up.’ (‘to paste one of its part to the other’)

3.2.1.2. *Reciprocals of separating.* Verbs of separating like *pikIykIyn* ‘to break X from Y’ form reciprocals that have the meaning of separating the objects from one another.

- (43) a. (*a-š'*) *kʷutame-r cʷygy-m je-p-i-kIykIy-gʷ.*  
 [(s)he-OBL] branch-ABS tree-OBL 3SG.OBL-LOC-3SG.A-break-PAST  
 ‘(S)he broke a branch from the tree.’
- b. (*a-š'*) *kʷutame-r ze-p-i-kIykIy-gʷ.*  
 [(s)he-OBL] branch-ABS REC-LOC-3SG.A-break-PAST  
 ‘(S)he broke the branch (into parts).’

Such derivatives are also formed from the following verbs:

- (44) *go-xyn* ‘to separate X from Y’  
*kʷ-itxʷyn* ‘to tear X from Y’  
*kʷy-gokIyn* ‘to break X from Y’  
*kʷy-pytIetykIyn* ‘to untie X from Y’  
*kʷy-tjegʷetIepIykIyn* ‘to unpick seams’  
*py-xyn* ‘to separate X from Y’

3.2.1.3. *Spatial reciprocals without non-reciprocal correlates.* The dictionaries of Adyghe show that some spatial reciprocal verbs with symmetric objects (therefore, their meaning is like that of derived object-oriented reciprocals) do not have corresponding non-reciprocal verbs and thus they are *reciproca tantum*. Cf.:

- (45) *zeIešʷen* ‘to mix sth (together)’ ← \**Iešʷen* ‘to mix X with Y’  
*zeIetxʷyn* ‘to tear sth (into parts)’ ← \**Ietxʷyn* ‘to tear X from Y’.

The dictionary (Txarkaxo 1991) does not cite the base forms for these reciprocal verbs and the informants reject them.

Similar **reciproca tantum** are also registered in Kabardian, a close relative of Adyghe (see Kazenin, Ch. 17; this volume).

### 3.2.2. *Non-spatial object-oriented reciprocals*

Non-spatial object-oriented reciprocals are peripheral in Adyghe. The only non-derived three-place verb in Adyghe is *tyn* ‘to give X to Y’. The reciprocal derivative *zetyn* ‘to give X and Y to each other’ is semantically peculiar: we can hardly imagine a situation when the subject gives two animate objects to each other, though it is grammatically possible. Non-spatial object-oriented reciprocals can be derived from causative, benefactive and malefactive derivatives, and also from verbs with locative prefixes if they are used in non-locative meanings:

- (46) *gʷe-lʷegʷyn* ‘to show X to Y’ > *ze-gʷe-lʷegʷyn* ‘to show X and Y to each other’

*fe-gʷakIo* ‘to lead X for Y’ > *ze-ti-dzyn* ‘to lead X and Y for each other’;

The reciprocal marker occupies the indirect object slot:

- (47) a. *se četyu-r xʷa-m je-z-gʷe-lʷegʷu-gʷ.*  
 I(OBL) cat-ABS dog-OBL 3SG.IO-1SG.A-CAUS-see-PAST  
 ‘I showed the cat to the dog.’
- b. (*se*) (*šʷo*) *šʷo-ze-z-gʷe-lʷegʷu-gʷ.*  
 (I(OBL)) (you(ABS)) 2PL.S-REC-1SG.A-CAUS-see-PAST  
 ‘I showed you to each other.’

Reciprocals of these three-place transitive verbs are often ambiguous between object-oriented readings relating direct and indirect objects, and subject-oriented reciprocals which relate the subject and the indirect object. This polysemy cannot be resolved by the position of the affixes: in both cases the reciprocal affix occupies the ergative slot of the indirect object, as in (48):

- (48) a. *se a-š’ s-i-šʷuz je-z-gʷelʷegʷu-gʷ.*  
 I(OBL) (s)he-OBL 1SG-POSS-wife 3SG.IO-1SG-show-PAST  
 ‘I showed him my wife.’
- b. *clɛf-xe-m ja-šʷuz-xe-r zy-r-a-gʷe-lʷegʷu-ž’y.*  
 person-PL-OBL 3PL-wife-PL-ABS REC-3PL.IO-3PL.A-show-ITER  
 ‘People show their wives to each other’
- i. ‘Each person shows his wife to other people.’ (“indirect” reciprocal)  
 ii. ‘Each person shows his wife to the wives of other people.’ (object-oriented reciprocal).

However, semantic restrictions on the arguments of reciprocal verbs often help to distinguish two meanings: participants of the reciprocal relation (a) must be plural and (b) in most cases are animate. But even in this case some examples, like (48b), are ambiguous between two readings.

The causative derived from the transitive verb *gʷe-lʷegʷu* ‘to show’ differs from other transitive verbs in that it can combine either with *zere-* or with *ze-*:

- (49) a. *se četyu-r xʷa-m je-z-gʷe-lʷegʷu-gʷ.*  
 I(OBL) cat-ABS dog-OBL 3SG.IO-1SG.A-CAUS-see-PAST  
 ‘I show the cat to the dog.’
- b. *se četyu-m-re xʷa-m-re zere-z-gʷe-lʷegʷu-gʷe-x.*  
 I(OBL) cat-OBL-and dog-OBL-and REC-1SG-CAUS-see-PAST-PL.S  
 ‘I show the cat and the dog to each other.’
- c. *se šʷo šʷo-ze-z-gʷe-lʷegʷu-gʷ.*  
 I(OBL) you.PL.ABS 2PL.S-REC-1SG.A-CAUS-see-PAST  
 ‘I show you to each other.’

Variation of reciprocal forms of *gʷelʷegʷun* ‘to show’ may be presumably explained by the different order of reciprocalization and causativization, the following variants being possible:

1. ‘A sees B’ > ‘A and B see each other’ > ‘X makes A and B see each other’ (‘A show A and B to each other’, causative).

2. ‘A sees B’ > ‘X shows A to B’ > ‘X shows A and B to each other’ (object-oriented reciprocal).

In the first case the subject and the direct object of the underlying verb are reciprocalized, therefore the marker *zere-* must be chosen. The second variant requires the prefix *ze-*, because reciprocalization applies after causativization and binds the indirect object (causee) and the direct object.

### 3.2.3. Meanings of combinations of the prefix *ze-* with locative markers

The marker *ze-* forms complex affixes with the locative prefixes *py-* ‘at the end of X’ and *i-* ‘in X’ added as a single unit; they may acquire idiomatic meanings, of which the translative and reciprocal are of special interest.

In these combinations *ze-* seems to lose its reciprocal meaning and to designate only a special type of spatial characteristics of the situation.

3.2.3.1. *Translative meaning (motion across an object)*. The complex prefix *zepy-* has the translative meaning ‘through, across X’. When used on its own, the prefix *py-* marks location at the end of the object (Rogava & Kerasheva 1966: 276), cf. *py-lʔyn* ‘to hang on X’, lit. ‘to lie at X’s end.’

- (50) a. *a-šʹ*            *a-r*            *a-šʹ*            *r-i-fy-gʔ*.  
           (s)he-OBL (s)he-ABS (s)he-OBL LOC-3SG.A-lead-PAST  
           ‘(S)he drove her/him out away from it.’
- b. *a-šʹ*            *čemy-r*        *psy-m*        *zepy-r-i-fy-gʔ*.  
           (s)he-OBL cow-ABS river-OBL REC.LOC-LOC-3SG.A-lead-PAST  
           ‘(S)he drove the cow across the river.’

This type of meaning occurs only when *zepy-* is used on verbs with the locative prefix *r-i-* ‘from’.

3.2.3.2. *Reciprocal meaning (motion in different/opposite directions)*. In combination with the locative prefix *r-i-* ‘in’ the reciprocal prefix *ze-* can acquire the meaning ‘in different directions.’, though I have only the following example borrowed from Rogava & Kerasheva (1966: 276) for this meaning:

- (51) a. *a-šʹ*            *a-r*            *je-šʹe*.  
           (s)he-OBL (s)he-ABS 3SG.A-lead  
           ‘(S)he leads him/her.’
- b. *a-šʹ*            *ku-kle*        *xʔylʔa-be*    *ze-Ø-r-i-šʹa-gʔ*.  
           (s)he-OBL cart-INS load-many REC-3SG.IO-LOC-3SG.A-lead-PAST  
           ‘(S)he transported many loads by cart (in different directions).’

## 4. Comitatives (rarely assistives) with the prefix *de-*

The comitative is marked with the prefix *de-/dy-*. It precedes the agreement marker of the agent and the inherent indirect object marker. It adds an indirect object to the syntactic

structure, as *rame-m* in (52c); this object may be covert if it is a pronoun, as in (52b), in which case it is marked on the predicate with the indirect object agreement marker.

Comitatives, like reciprocals, can be subject-oriented or object-oriented. In subject-oriented comitatives, a secondary agent (object) is added, while in object-oriented constructions a secondary patient (object) is introduced. The subject-oriented (52b) and object-oriented (52c) comitative forms are identical:

- (52) a. *se o kartine kby-o-s-ty-gb.*  
 I(OBL) you(OBL) picture(ABS) *kby-2SG.IO-1SG.S-give-PAST*  
 ‘I gave you a picture.’
- b. *se o kartine-r kby-R-de-o-s-ty-gb.*  
 I(OBL) you(OBL) picture-ABS *kby-3SG.IO-COM-2SG.IO-1SG.A-give-PAST*  
 ‘I and he gave you a picture’ (subject-oriented)
- c. *se o kartine rame-m kby-R-de-o-s-ty-gb.*  
 I(OBL) you(OBL) picture frame-OBL *kby-3SG.IOCOM-2SG.IO-1SG.A-give-PAST*  
 ‘I gave you a picture with the frame’ (object-oriented).

The prefix *de-* may also have an assistive meaning, and constructions with *de-* forms may have both readings:

- (53) a. *klale-m use zy-ri-gba-sle.*  
 boy-OBL poem.ABS REFL-3SG.A-CAUS-know  
 ‘The child learns a poem’ (lit. ‘makes himself know a poem’).
- b. *j-ane klale-m use dy-zy-ri-gba-sle.*  
 3SG.POSS-mother boy-OBL poem.ABS COM-REFL-3SG.A-CAUS-know  
 i. ‘The mother helps the child to learn the poem.’ (assistive)  
 ii. ‘The mother learns the poem with her child.’ (comitative)

Comitative derivatives with the comitative meaning can be formed from all semantic classes of verbs. The sole restriction on the assistive meaning is that it is not available for derivatives from verbs which denote situations with non-volitional subjects like ‘to drop’.

The assistive reading is especially clear in the imperative:

- (54) *a-de-sly ba šbo une*  
 3PL.IO-COM-do let you(OBL) house  
 i. ‘Help them to build the house!’ (assistive)  
 ii. ‘Build the house with them!’ (comitative)

## 5. Sociatives

As mentioned in 1.3, the sociative meaning is marked with the combinations of prefixes *ze-de-* and *zere-gve*. They are considered separately below, because the first prefix is more productive and the second is characteristic for a particular semantic groups.

### 5.1. With the reciprocal prefix *ze-* on comitative verbs with the prefix *de-*

The most common way of marking the sociative meaning is the reciprocal prefix *ze-* on derived comitative verbs with the prefix *de-* (cf. (55ab)); for simplicity, it may be convenient

to regard the combination *ze-de-* as a complex sociative prefix; henceforth it is glossed as SOC. Note that the rec. prefix *ze-* never marks the sociative meaning on verbs without *de-*.

- (55) a. *se o čemy-r o-de-sy-ukly-gъ*  
 I(OBL) you(OBL) cow-ABS 2SG.IO-COM-1PL.A-kill-PAST  
 ‘I killed the cow with you.’ (comitative)
- b. *te čemy-r zede-ty-ukly-gъ*  
 we(OBL) cow-ABS SOC-1PL.A-kill-PAST  
 ‘We killed the cow together.’ (sociative)

The reciprocal prefix *ze-* changes the degree of salience of the two participants: both of them become equally salient. The prefix changes a discontinuous comitative construction into a simple sociative.

Sociative in *ze-de-*, as in (56c), seem to be more acceptable than comitative in *de-*, as in (56b), if the subject is non-agentive, especially inanimate, as in (56):

- (56) a. *ručka-r xy-gъe.*  
 pen-ABS drop-PAST  
 ‘The pen dropped.’
- b. <sup>?</sup>*ručka-m karandašy-r je-gъus-ew de-fexy-gъ.*  
 pen-OBL pencil-ABS DYN-together-CONV COM-drop-PAST  
 ‘The pen dropped together with the pencil.’
- c. *ručka-m-re karandašy-m-re zede-xy-gъe-x.*  
 pen-OBL-and pencil-OBL-and SOC-drop-PAST-PL  
 ‘The pen and the pencil dropped together.’

## 5.2. With the reciprocal prefix *zere-* on causative verbs with the prefix *gъe-*

The reciprocal prefix *zere-* used on derived causatives with the prefix *gъe-* can also express sociativity. As a rule, it has this meaning with emotional verbs. The combination of the prefixes loses its causative meaning and get the sociative meaning (experiencing an emotional state together), not the meaning of reciprocal causative situation. As a rule, the combination *zere-gъe-* has this meaning with emotional causative verbs, denoted from intransitive emotional verbs:

- (57) *gъe-š'ten* ‘to frighten’ > *zeregъe-š'ten* ‘to fear together’  
*gъe-š'ynen* ‘to frighten’ > *zeregъe-š'ynen* ‘to fear together’  
*gъe-gubž'yn* ‘to make angry’ > *zeregъe-gubž'yn* ‘to be angry together’  
*gъe-gušlon* ‘to make glad’ > *zeregъe-gušlon* ‘to be glad together’  
*gъe-gumeklyn* ‘to worry’ > *zeregъe-gumeklyn* ‘to worry together’.

For convenience, this combination of prefixes is spelt as one and glossed SOC, by analogy with the glossing of the combination *ze-de-* in 5.1.

In (58b) the reciprocal verb expresses sociativity (‘to fear together’), not reciprocity. Perhaps the word *zeka* ‘all’ also contributes to this interpretation. Note that its translation alone explicates the sociative meaning in English:

- (58) a. *klale-m jy-gъunegъu-r y-gъe-š'ta-gъ.*  
 boy-OBL 3SG.POSS-neighbour-ABS 3SG.A-CAUS-fear-PAST

‘The boy frightened his neighbour.’

- b. *cIyf-xe-r*                      *zekIe zeregъe-š'ta-gъe-x.*  
person-PL-ABS      all      SOC-fear-PAST-PL.S  
‘All people were frightened.’

In examples like (57)-(58) the derivational chain is ‘to fear’ > ‘to cause to fear’ > ‘to be frightened together (of all)’. However, sometimes native speakers understand forms like (58b) compositionally (in the meaning ‘people frightened each other’, as a reciprocal of the causative verb: the derivational chain is ‘to fear’ > ‘to cause to fear’ (CAUS) > ‘to cause each other to fear’ (REC-CAUS).

## 6. The iterative suffix -ž’y (often co-occurrent with reciprocal prefixes)

Most of reciprocal forms, both morphological and pronominal, may optionally contain the iterative suffix -ž’y, and often do.

- (59) a. *a-r*                      *a-š' deIepyle.*  
(s)he-ABS      (s)he-OBL help  
‘He helps him.’
- b. *a-xe-r*                      *ze-deIepyle-ž'y-x.*  
(s)he-PL-ABS      REC-help-ITER-PL  
‘They help each other.’
- c. *a-xe-r*                      *ze-deIepyle-x.*  
(s)he-PL-ABS      REC-help-PL  
‘They help each other.’

The difference in meaning between (59b) and (59c) is not clear.

The iterative meaning is apparently close to reciprocity, because reciprocity presupposes multiple actions of several participants.

The non-reciprocal form with the iterative suffix *ъегъu-ž'y* of the verb *ъегъun* ‘to see’ means ‘to see again’, cf. also:

- (60) *quten* ‘to break’ – *qutež'yn* ‘to break again’  
*zeIytxъyn* ‘to tear’ – *zeIytxъyž'yn* ‘to tear again’

The suffix *ž'y* may also express the meaning of reverse direction:

- (61) *bybyn* ‘to fly’ – *bybyž'yn* ‘to fly back’  
*kIon* ‘to go’ – *kIož'yn* ‘to go back’.

## 7. The prefix *ze-* with relative nouns

In Adyghe, the use of the prefix *ze-* is not restricted to verbs: it can also combine with relational nouns which usually take an attribute, expressed by an oblique case and denoting the ‘possessor’ the second participant of the reciprocal relation. (see (61a)) - they are often kinship terms like *šy* ‘brother’, *šyрxъu* ‘sister’, *Iaxъyl* ‘relative’, and also reciprocal nouns like *gъunegъu* ‘neighbour’, *nebъegъ* ‘friend’, *neIose* ‘acquaintance’, *cIylegъu* ‘person from the same village’, *IofšIegъu* ‘colleague’ *gъegъogъu* ‘enemy’, *pij* ‘enemy’: These nouns are in fact lexical reciprocals, therefore when used in the singular they take an attribute expressed by an

OBL possessive noun phrase and denoting the second participant of the reciprocal relation. When used with the reciprocal prefix they naturally occur in the plural.

- (62) a. *se si-pij*  
 I(OBL) 1SG-enemy  
 ‘my enemy’  
 b. *ze-pij-xe-r*  
 REC-enemy-PL-ABS  
 ‘enemies’

The reciprocal prefix *ze-* in (62b) denotes reciprocity of the relation ‘to be enemies’: (61b) literally means ‘enemies of each other’. Therefore, *ze-* is not here a marker of plurality proper.

Distinction of nouns and verbs is generally problematic in Adyghe, therefore, compatibility with the reciprocal prefix is rather natural for nouns. However, in contrast to verbal reciprocals, marking of nominal reciprocals with the prefix is not obligatory: as my field data show, sometimes the plural form of a relational name (*pij-xe-r* ‘enemies’) is sufficient.

## 8. Prefixes *ze-* and *zere-* on participles in relative constructions

Alongside with valency derivations, the markers *ze-* and *zere-* are used in non-finite forms (participles). In this paper this use will not be analyzed in detail. All the data in this section are borrowed from [Rogava & Kerasheva 1966].

In non-finite forms, the markers *ze-* and *zere-* do not express any type of reciprocity: they are used as markers of relativization denoting co-reference between the arguments and adjuncts of the main and the embedded clauses, which is rather close to reflexive uses.

The affix *ze-* is used on participles referring to oblique arguments of the base verb, from which it is derived: in (63a) the participle refers to the absolutive argument (subject) of the base intransitive verb ‘to go’, in (63b) it refers to the absolutive argument (direct object, patient) of the base transitive verb ‘to throw’, therefore, in (63a) and (63b) the affix *ze-* cannot be used. But in (64a) the participle refers to the oblique argument (subject, agent) of the base transitive verb – therefore, the affix *ze-* must be used. The prefix *ze-* is also used in the participles, referring to the time, the reason and the place of the situation. The affix *zere-* marks only participles of mode (see 64e). In (64a)-(64e) the reciprocal affixes are obligatory: therefore, participles with the same meanings cannot be built without these affixes.

- (63) a. *кѵе-кIua-гѵе-р*  
*кѵе-go-PAST-ABS*  
 ‘The one who came.’  
 b. *y-dze-гѵе-р*  
 3SG.A-throw-PAST-ABS  
 ‘What was thrown by him/her’, but  
 (64) a. *ze-dze-гѵе-р*  
 REFL-throw-PAST-ABS  
 ‘The one who threw it’  
 b. *z-i-dze-гѵе-р*  
 REFL-3SG.A-throw-PAST-ABS  
 ‘the throwing **time**’ (‘the time, when (s)he threw it’) (temporal participle)  
 c. *ze-kIe-kIua-гѵе-р*

REFL-LOC-go-PAST-ABS

‘the going **reason**’ (‘the reason, why (s)he went’) (causal participle)

d. *ze-š'-i-dzy-re-r*

REFL-LOC-3SG.A-throw-PART-ABS

‘the throwing place’ (‘the **place** where s(he) threw it’) (locative/directive participle).

The marker *zere-* marks only participles of mode; cf.:

e. *zere-klua-gʷe-r*

REC-go-PAST-PART

‘the throwing mode’ (‘the **mode** how he went’).

Other non-finite forms do not employ the markers *ze-* and *zere-*.

## 9. Pronominal reciprocals with the pronouns *zym zyr* ‘each other’ and *zym adryr* ‘one another’

As mentioned in section 1, there are two reciprocal pronouns in Adyghe: the more productive one is *zy-m zy-r* ‘one another’, ‘each other’, lit. ‘one-OBL one-ABS’, and *zym adryr* ‘one another’ which is used more rarely (the component *zyr/zym* always precedes the component *adryr/adrym*). Only the first pronoun will be discussed, because the second is not productive, and the material at my disposal is insufficient.

### 9.1. Degree of the independence of the components and grammaticalization of the pronoun *zym zyr*

The pronoun *zym zyr* can be added both to reciprocal (65) and non-reciprocal (66) verbs; these two variants are possible both with transitive and intransitive verbs. I do not have any examples of object-oriented reciprocals marked by the prefix *ze-* and the pronoun *zym zyr* simultaneously. Constructions like (66) without a morphological reciprocal marker show that the pronoun, if it is not a grammaticalized marker, may, at least, be a sole marker of reciprocity.

As a rule, in “canonical” reciprocals of transitive verbs the variant *zym zyr* is used and in reciprocals of two-place intransitive verbs the reverse order *zyr zym* with the first absolutive and the second oblique component is preferred. Therefore, case marking of the first component repeats the case of the subject of the initial verb (cf. (65) derived from a transitive base verb *lʷegun* ‘to see’ – the base verb has the oblique subject, though the derived reciprocal verb in (66) has the absolutive one. The case of the first oblique component – *zym* – repeats the case of the subject of the base verb. In (66), derived from an intransitive base verb with absolutive subject, the first absolutive component *zyr* also repeats the case of the subject of the base verb:

With a transitive base verb:

- (65) *te zy-m zy-r ty-zere-lʷegʷu-z'y.*  
we(ABS) one-OBL one-ABS 1PL.S-REC-see-ITER  
‘We see each other.’

With a two-place intransitive base verb:

- (66) *a-xe-r zy-r zy-m gu-re-Io-z'y-x.*  
 (s)he-PL-ABS one-ABS one-OBL heart-3SG.IO-be-ITER-PL.S  
 ‘They trust each other.’

The reciprocal pronoun is also used to denote reciprocity between the oblique subject and oblique indirect object of three-place transitives like *tyn* ‘to give sth to sb’. In this case instead of the expected variant *zym* (OBL) *zym* (OBL) reflecting the case marking of the arguments native speakers usually choose the variant *zym* (OBL) *zyr* (ABS):

- (67) a. *se o šuxьaftyn-xe-r o-se-ty-ž'y-x.*  
 I(OBL) you(OBL) gift-PL-ABS 2SG.IO-1SG.A-give-ITER-PL  
 ‘I give gifts to you’  
 b. *te zym zy-r šuxьaftyn-xe-r je-te-ty-ž'y.*  
 we(OBL) one-OBL one-ABS gift-PL-ABS 3SG.IO-1PL.A-give-ITER  
 ‘We give gifts to each other.’

Therefore the case form *zym zyr* is in a certain sense grammaticalized – it is a default variant and can be used with all verb classes.

Reciprocal pronouns can occur in all types of reciprocal constructions: “canonical” from transitive and intransitive verbs, “indirect” from three-place transitive verbs and “possessive”.

The predicate with or without a reciprocal affix of a construction with a reciprocal pronoun may contain a different number of agreement markers, because the pronoun may control one agreement slot (in which case this slot is filled with the 3SG marker, as in (67c)), or two agreement slots, as in (69b), where the oblique component *zym* controls the oblique prefix *y-* and the absolutive component *zyr* is cross-referenced by the absolutive zero prefix , or it may control no slot at all (65). The second and the third variants are the most productive. We can see which variant of agreement is chosen in a particular construction by the agreement markers: if the pronoun controls a slot, it is filled by a third person singular agreement marker; otherwise, it can be filled by a reciprocal prefix *zere-* or *ze-* or by a plural agreement affix.

Therefore, the pronoun is in the intermediate stage of grammaticalization. Since in one of the productive variants each of the components of the pronoun controls two slots (69b) and is thus to a certain degree autonomous, this seems to show that the pronoun is not yet a simple but is a complex marker consisting of two components. Variants like (65), where the pronoun does not control any agreement slot, show that the pronoun can be not an argument noun phrase, but a grammatical marker, which only expresses reciprocity, but does not control agreement markers. As mentioned, variants of verb forms in which the pronoun controls only one slot also occur.

The pronoun *zym zyr* admits insertion of a possessive noun phrase between the first and the second complement. When a noun phrase intervenes between two components, the type of agreement changes. When the pronoun is not discontinuous, it behaves like one unit and controls only the indirect object agreement oblique slot as in (68b). Insertion of the possessee makes the variant *kIepʎagʙ* in (68c) preferable for informants. In (68c) the pronoun is discontinuous and controls both agreement slots (both the subject absolutive and the oblique indirect object slots are occupied by zero prefixes, because they are controlled by the third person singular noun phrases *zym* and *zyr*, which are cross-referenced by zero prefixes of the subject and the indirect object of the preverb *kIe-*.

- (68) a. *te*            *šbo*            *šbu-ne*            *ty-Ø-kIe-plʔa-gʔ.*  
 we(ABS) you(PL.OBL) 2PL.POSS-eye 1PL.S-3SG.IO-LOC-look-PAST  
 ‘We looked into your eyes.’
- b. *te*            *zy-m*            *zy-r*            *y-ne*            *ty-Ø-kIe-plʔa-gʔ.*  
 we(ABS) one-OBL one-ABS 3SG.POSS-eye 1PL.S-3SG.IO-LOC-look-PAST  
 ‘We looked in each other’s eyes.’ (“canonical” reciprocal of two-place vi).

the third person singular possessive marker *y-* in the word *y-ne* agrees with the reciprocal pronoun *zym zyr*.

- c. *te*            *zy-m*            *y-ne*            *zy-r*            *[-kIe-plʔa-gʔ.*  
 we(ABS) one-OBL 3SG.POSS-eye one-ABS 3SG.S-3SG.IO-LOC-look-PAST  
 ‘We looked in each other’s eyes.’
- d. *te*            *zy-m*            *zy-r*            *y-ne*            *??Ø-Ø-kIe-plʔa-gʔ.*  
 we(ABS) one-OBL one-ABS 3SG.POSS-eye 3SG.S-3SG.IO-LOC-look-PAST  
 ‘We looked in each other’s eyes.’

It is necessary to see that insertion of a word between two complements of *zym zyr* is infrequent, which shows that *zym zyr* is conceived as one syntactic unit rather than as two independent units.

## 9.2. Subject-oriented reciprocals

In subject-oriented reciprocal constructions with the reciprocal pronoun *zym zyr* both non-reciprocal (9.2.1) and reciprocal (9.2.2) verb forms can be used.

### 9.2.1. Constructions with reciprocal pronouns only

Constructions, where reciprocity is marked with the pronouns only, can be of all diathesis types of subject-oriented reciprocals, which can also be designated by *ze-*, *zere-* and *zere-gʔe-* (see 3.1).

#### 9.2.1.1. “Canonical” reciprocal constructions

9.2.1.1.1. *Derived from two-place transitives.* In (69b), the 3SG marker *y-* in the oblique subject slot is controlled by the third person singular noun phrase *zym*. In (69c), on the other hand, the 1PL prefix *te-* is controlled by the oblique subject noun phrase *te*. The absolutive slot is in both cases controlled by the absolutive object component of the reciprocal pronoun *zyr*. In (69b) the pronoun is less grammaticalized than in (69c) and behaves like two lexical units.

- (69) a. *se*            *a-r*            *Ø-sy-ula-gʔ.*  
 I(OBL) (s)he-ABS 3SG.S-1SG.A-wound -PAST  
 ‘I wounded him/her.’
- b. *te*            *zy-m*            *zy-r*            *Ø-y-ula-ž’y-gʔe-(x).*  
 we(OBL) one-OBL one-ABS 3SG.S-3SG.A-wound-ITER-PAST-(PL.S)  
 ‘We wounded each other.’
- c. *te*            *zy-m*            *zy-r*            *Ø-te-ula-ž’y-x.*

we(OBL) one-OBL one-ABS 3SG.S-1PL.A-wound-ITER-PL  
 ‘We wounded each other.’

9.2.1.1.2 *Derived from two-place intransitives.* In (68b) the oblique indirect object slot is occupied by a zero prefix and controlled by the oblique component of the pronoun;. The reciprocal pronoun is highly grammaticalized and controls only one agreement slot.

9.2.1.1.3. *Reciprocals of one-place verbs.* In this section reciprocals of monovalent verbs, which cannot form morphological reciprocals, will be analyzed.

For example, the verb *kIon* ‘to go’ has only one argument, which is coded in the verb form – the subject. The endpoint of the motion is often expressed syntactically but is not an argument in the sense that it is not coded in the verb form.

Reciprocity between the sole argument of the verb *kIon* and an adjunct (if both of them are of the same human semantic class) can be expressed by means of the pronoun *zyr zym*:

- (70) a. *se a-š’ ydi sy-kIo.*  
 I(ABS) (s)he-OBL to 1SG.S-go  
 ‘I go to him.’
- b. *cIyf-xe-r zy-r zy-m ydi ma-kIo-x.*  
 person-PL-ABS one-ABS one-OBL to DYN-go-PL  
 ‘People go to one another.’ (‘visit one another’).

In some cases with verbs like *kIon* ‘to go’ there is an alternative variant: the initial verb increases its valency by taking the benefactive affix *fa-fe-* and thus becomes two-place intransitive. The benefactive derivative (70c) acquires the ability to take on the prefix *ze-* and form a morphological reciprocal, as in (70d), though a pronominal reciprocal, as in (70e), is also possible:

- c. *se a-š’ sy-Ø-fa-kIo.*  
 I(ABS) (s)he-OBL 1SG.S-3SG.IO-BEN-go  
 ‘I go to him/her (visit him/her).’
- d. *zεkle cIyf-xe-r xεakle ze-fe-kIo-x.*  
 all person-PL-ABS guest REC-BEN-go-PL  
 ‘All people visit each other’.
- e. *a-xe-r zy-r zy-m Ø-Ø-fe-kIo-ž’y-x.*  
 (s)he-PL-ABS one-ABS one-OBL 3SG.S-3SG.IO-BEN-go-ITER-PL  
 ‘They go to each other.’

9.2.1.2. *“Indirect” reciprocal constructions.* “Indirect” reciprocals derive from three-place transitive verbs. In (71b) both oblique agreement slots are occupied by 3SG prefixes, each controlled by a component of the pronoun *zym zyr*. Therefore, each component of the pronoun behaves as a noun phrase and the pronoun is not grammaticalized.

- (71) a. *se o kεebar-kle-xe-r Ø-kεy-p-fe-se-Iote.*  
 I(OBL) you(OBL) news-new-PL-ABS 3SG.S-kεy-2SG.IO-BEN-1SG.A-tell  
 ‘I tell you the news.’
- b. *te kεebar-kle-xe-r zy-m zy-r*  
 we(OBL) news-new-PL-ABS one-OBL one-ABS  
 ř-kεy-ř-f-je-Iote-ž’y.

3SG.S-*kby*-3SG.IO-BEN-3SG.A-tell-ITER

‘We tell the news to each other.’

9.2.1.3. “Possessive” reciprocal constructions. The reciprocal pronoun *zym zyr* can be used to mark “possessive” reciprocity. As mentioned in 3.1.3, this type of reciprocal can also be marked by the affixes *zere-* and *zeregbe-*. Morphological and pronominal devices cannot be used in the same clause.

- (72) a. *a-š’ klale-m y-Ia Ø-y-ula-gb.*  
 he-OBL boy-OBL 3SG.POSS-hand 3SG.S-3SG.A-wound-PAST  
 ‘He wounded the boy’s hand.’
- b. *te zy-m zy-r y-Ia Ø-y-ula-gb.*  
 we(OBL) one-OBL one-ABS 3SG.POSS-hand 3SG.S-3SG.A-wound-PAST  
 ‘We wounded each other’s hands’.
- c. *\*te zy-m zy-r y-Ia ty-zere(gbe)-ula-gb.*  
 we(OBL) one-OBL one-ABS 3SG.POSS-hand 3SG.S-REC-wound-PAST  
 ‘We wounded each other’s hands’.

In (72b) the components of the reciprocal pronoun control the oblique and the absolutive slots. Therefore, the pronoun here is not highly grammaticalized and occurs as a combination of two items.

9.2.1.4. Third person: pronominal reciprocals with non-reciprocal verbs. If reciprocal relations hold between two third person participants, native speakers usually use either only the reciprocal prefix *ze-* or *zere-* (see (5b)) or only the reciprocal pronoun (see (73b) and (74b)) within the limits of what is allowed for a particular type of predicates, but not both a prefix and the pronoun *zym zyr*:

- (73) a. *se o u-s-š’egupša-gb.*  
 I(OBL) you(ABS) 2SG.S-1SG.A-forget-PAST  
 ‘I forgot you.’
- b. *a-xe-r zy-r zy-m Ø-Ø-š’e-gupšy-ž’y-gb.*  
 (s)he-PL-ABS one-ABS one-OBL 3SG.S-3SG.IO-LOC-forget-ITER-PAST  
 ‘They forgot each other.’ (“canonical” reciprocal of an inverse vi)
- (74) a. *se a-š’ sy-Ø-delepyle.*  
 I(ABS) (s)he-OBL 1SG.S-3SG.IO-help  
 ‘I help him/her.’
- b. *a-xe-m/a-xe-r zy-r zy-m Ø-Ø-delepyle-x.*  
 (s)he-PL-OBL/(s)he-PL-ABS one-ABS one-OBL 3SG.S-3SG.IO-help-PL.S  
 ‘They help each other.’ (“canonical” reciprocal of a non-inverse vi)

See also (15b), with a transitive verb.

If the participants are in the 1st or 2nd person the prefix *ze-* and the pronoun *zym zyr* can be used simultaneously (75b, 76b):

- (75) a. *se o u-s-š’e-gupša-gb. (= (71a))*  
 I(OBL) you(ABS) 2SG.S-1SG.A-LOC-forget-PAST  
 ‘I forgot you.’

- b. *te zy-r zy-m ty-ze-š'e-gupšy-ž'y-gъ.*  
 we(ABS) one-ABS one-OBL 1PL.S-REC-LOC-forget -ITER-PAST  
 'We forgot each other' ('canonical' reciprocal of an inverse vi)

(76) a. *se o sy-b-delepyIe.*  
 I(ABS) you-OBL 1SG.S-2SG.IO-help  
 'I help you.'

- b. *te zy-r zy-m ty-ze-delepyIe.*  
 we(ABS) one-ABS one-OBL 1PL.S-REC-help  
 'We help each other' ('canonical' reciprocal of a non-inverse vi).

In the underlying construction in (75a) the subject *se* is in the oblique case, because it is a subject of an **inverse** verb and is coded by an oblique marker *s-* of the verb, which follows after the absolutive marker *u-*. In (76a) *se* is in the absolutive case: it is cross-referenced by the absolutive marker *sy-* in the first slot of the verb form.

The 1PL marker in (74b) and (76b) *ty-* occupies the absolutive slot, whereas the oblique slot is occupied by the reciprocal prefix.

Perhaps the reason for the difference determined by the person of the participants is that semantically, the first and second persons are higher in the animacy hierarchy than the third person. If the subject is in the first or second person, it overranks the reciprocal pronoun (which is formally of the third person) and controls agreement, which is not the case when the subject is the third person<sup>v</sup>.

### 9.2.2. Constructions with the reciprocal pronoun and reciprocal verbs

Constructions where the pronoun *zym zyr* and reciprocal verbs with the prefixes *ze-* and *zere-* occur simultaneously can be of all types, except "possessive" constructions.

#### 9.2.2.1. "Canonical" reciprocal constructions

9.2.2.1.1. *Derived from two-place transitives.* Here is an example:

- (77) a. *se a-r Ø-sy-ula-gъ.*  
 I(OBL) (s)he-ABS 3SG.S-1SG.A-wound-PAST  
 'I wounded him.'
- b. *te zy-m zy-r z-i-ula-ž'y-gъ.*  
 we(ABS) one-OBL one-ABS REC-3SG.A-wound-ITER-PAST  
 'We wounded each other.' (canonical reciprocal of a transitive verb).

Oblique agreement in (77b) is controlled by the component *zym* of the reciprocal pronoun (the prefix *i-* is a variant of *y-*). The absolutive slot in (77b) is occupied by the reciprocal prefix *z(e)-*. We regard cases like (77b) where only one slot is controlled by the pronoun as a proof of grammaticalization of the pronoun, when it functions as a single unit.

9.2.2.1.2. *Derived from two-place intransitives.* An example:

- (78) a. *se a-š' sy-Ø-š'e-gugъu.*  
 I(ABS) (s)he-OBL 1SG.S-3SG.IO-LOC-hope  
 'I rely on him.'
- b. *a-xe-r zy-m zy-r ze-š'e-gugъu-x.*

(s)he-PL-ABS one-OBL one-ABS REC-LOC-hope-PL  
 ‘They rely on each other’.

In the base construction (78a) the subject absolutive slot in the predicate is controlled by the absolutive subject phrase *se* ‘I’ and the oblique one is controlled by the oblique noun phrase *aš* ‘(s)he’. In the reciprocal construction (78b), the absolutive slot is also controlled by the subject *axer* ‘they’ (if it would be controlled by the pronoun *zym zyr*, which is a third person singular noun phrase, the plural marker *-x* would not occur) and the oblique one is occupied by the reciprocal prefix. The pronoun *zym zyr* does not control any slot (in (78b) no slot is filled by the third person singular agreement marker), see about this variant of construction, as in (65) in 9.1.

9.2.2.2. “Indirect” reciprocal constructions. Compare:

- (79) a. *se o k̆ebar-k̆le-xe-r Ø-k̆y-p-fe-se-lote.*  
 I(OBL) you(OBL) news-new-PL-ABS 3SG.S-k̆y-2SG.IO-BEN-1SG.A-tell  
 ‘I tell you news.’
- b. *te k̆ebar-k̆le-xe-r zy-m zy-r*  
 we(OBL) news-new-PL-ABS one-OBL one-ABS  
 Ø-k̆y-ze-fe-te-lote-ž’y.  
 3SG.S-k̆y-REC-BEN-1PL.A-tell-ITER  
 ‘We tell news to each other.’

In (79a) the subject oblique slot is controlled by the subject *se* and the indirect object oblique slot is controlled by the indirect object *o*. In (79b) the subject oblique slot is also controlled by the oblique subject *te* and the oblique slot is occupied by the reciprocal prefix.

### 9.3. Object-oriented reciprocals

As I have mentioned above, in my data there are object-oriented reciprocals with the pronoun *zym zyr* only but not with both the pronoun and the reciprocal prefix:

- (80) a. *se klale-m txyľ-yr Ø-je-z-ğel̆eğu-ğ.*  
 I(OBL) boy-OBL book-ABS 3SG.S-3SG.IO-1SG.A-show-PAST  
 ‘I showed the book to the boy.’
- b. *se ti-ğuneğu-xe-m zy-m zy-r*  
 I(OBL) 1PL-neighbour-PL-OBL one-OBL one-ABS  
 Ø-je-z-ğe-l̆eğu-ğe-x.  
 3S-3SG.IO-1SG.A-show-PAST-PL.S  
 ‘I showed our neighbours to each other’.

In (80b) the pronoun occurs as one grammaticalized unit and controls only one slot – the IO slot. The absolutive slot is **not** controlled by the oblique noun phrase *tiğuneğuxem*.

### 9.4. Differences between constructions with the reciprocal pronoun only and constructions with reciprocal prefixed predicates and the pronoun

From what was said above we can see that constructions where the reciprocal pronoun and the morphological marker *ze-* or *zere-* co-occur differ from those with the pronoun. First, constructions with “double marking” of reciprocity tend to bind a core participant (the subject or the direct object) with a participant of lower syntactic status (the indirect object or an

adjunct): they are more frequently “canonical” reciprocal constructions derived from two-place intransitive verbs (78b) and in “indirect” reciprocal constructions (79b) than in “canonical” reciprocal constructions from transitive verbs (see (12b) and (69b)). Second, constructions with double marking tend to designate reciprocity between the second or first person participants (cf. (75b)).

#### 9.5. Expression of the subject or the object in constructions with reciprocal pronouns

In Adyghe, contrary to constructions with a reciprocal pronoun of the type *They hate each other* where the pronoun *they* denoting the participants which is the antecedent of the reciprocal pronoun is unambiguously the subject and the reciprocal pronoun is usually regarded as an object, the situation is more complicated: the antecedent of the reciprocal pronoun may be either the absolutive subject or an oblique object, cf. (72b) where either the subject (*axer* ‘they’) or the object (*axem* ‘them’) can be expressed. Defining the syntactic role of the pronoun itself is problematic, for example, because in different constructions it can be regarded as one noun phrase or as two noun phrases – in this case each of them has its own syntactic role.

The choice of the subject or the object to be expressed is regulated by the following factors:

- absolutive orientation of reciprocals: Adyghe reciprocals of all types generally tend to have an absolutive antecedent of the reciprocal pronoun. Constructions like the variant of (74b) with *axer* better agree with this tendency. Reciprocal constructions more frequently contain an absolutive noun phrase than an oblique one in all the types of reciprocal construction, whatever the syntactic role of the absolutive noun phrase in the sentence.
- Subject orientation of reciprocals; this factor contradicts the first one, because transitive verbs in Adyghe have an absolutive argument which is not the subject; therefore, either the oblique **subject** or the **absolutive** direct object must be expressed. We can see that reciprocal constructions with the pronoun *zym zyr* are subject-oriented, because the subject participant noun phrase is expressed more frequently than the object one.

The second factor is stronger than the first one: in reciprocal constructions from verbs which have oblique subjects in the base structure (i.e. inverse and especially transitive verbs) the oblique component of the reciprocal pronoun (*zym*) is usually controlled by the oblique subject noun phrase; cf. a “canonical” reciprocal of a two-place inverse intransitive verb:

- (81) a. *se a-r Ø-zexe-se-xy.*  
 I(OBL) (s)he-ABS 3SG.S-LOC-3SG.A-take  
 ‘I hear him.’
- b. *a-xe-m/ a-xe-r zy-r zy-m zex-je-xy.*  
 (s)he-PL-OBL / (s)he-PL-ABS one-ABS one-OBL LOC-3SG.A-take  
 ‘They hear each other.’

In reciprocal constructions derived from some intransitive verbs, especially comitative verbs like the one in (74a), the participant expression may be either the subject or an object (see (74b)). Generally, the choice of the subject case form *axer* or the object case form *axem* does not influence the choice of the variant *zyr zym* or *zym zyr* of the reciprocal pronoun: the variant of the pronoun is chosen according to transitivity of the base verb.

## 9.6. Difference between *zym zyr* and *zym adryr*

The pronouns *zym zyr* and *zym adryr* are very similar semantically. However, their syntactic properties are not absolutely identical. *zym zyr* is more productive than *zym adryr*. The latter seems to behave as two separate noun phrases. This causes two differences between *zym zyr* and *zym adryr*.

1) Though both pronouns may combine with several agreement variants of the predicate, the use of the plural suffix in constructions with *zym zyr* and *zym adryr* tends to differ: it is usually, though optionally, present in constructions with *zym zyr* but not with *zym adryr*. This suffix in (82) is not controlled by the reciprocal pronoun:

(82) *a-xe-m*            *zy-m*            *zy-r*            *y-ule-ž'y-gbe-(x)*.  
 (s)he-PL-OBL    one-OBL    one-ABS    3SG.A-wound-ITER-PAST-(PL)  
 'They wounded each other' ("canonical" reciprocal of a two-place vt)

(83) *a-xe-m*            *zy-m*            *adry-r*            *y-ule-ž'y-gbe-(<sup>2</sup>x)*.  
 (s)he-PL-OBL    one-OBL    other-ABS    3SG.A-wound-ITER-PAST-(<sup>\*</sup>PL)  
 'They wounded each other.'

The absolutive component of *zym adryr* more readily controls 3SG absolutive agreement than the absolutive component of *zym zyr*, which shows that the components of the former are more independent than of the latter.

2) The pronoun *zym adryr*, in contrast to *zym zyr*, has the third morphological variant *zym adrym* with two oblique components, though it is peripheral in comparison with other variants. This variant is possible only when the reciprocal relations connect two arguments which were oblique in the underlying structure:

(84) a. *se*            *a-š'*            *y-Ia*            *Ø-fe-sy-ula-gb.*  
 I(OBL) (s)he-OBL    3SG-hand    3SG.IO-BEN-1SG.A-wound-PAST  
 'I wounded his/her hand.'

b. *te*            *zy-m*            *adry-m/*            *\*zy-m*            *zy-m*            *y-Ia-xe-r*  
 we(OBL)    one-OBL    other-OBL    one-OBL    one-OBL    3SG-hand-PL-ABS  
*ze-fe-ty-ule-ž'y-gbe-x*.  
 REC-BEN-1PL.A-wound-ITER-PAST-PL  
 'We wounded each other's hands.' ("possessive"/"indirect" reciprocal of vt).

If in (84) *zym zyr* was used, it would have the form *zym zyr* because this pronoun does not have a variant with two components in the oblique form.

## 10. Conclusions

Reciprocity in Adyghe can be expressed by four devices (see 1.3):

- Reciprocal/reflexive prefix *ze-* (see 2.8, 3.1.1.1.2, 3.1.1.2, and 3.1.2, 3.2).
- Reciprocal prefix *zere-* (see 2.8, 3.1.1.1.1, and 3.1.3.1).
- Reciprocal/sociative prefix *zere-gbe* (see 3.1.1.1.3 and 3.1.3.2.). In our work we consider *zeregbe-* in the reciprocal use as a single prefix and in the sociative use as two distinct prefixes.
- Reciprocal pronouns (*zym zyr*, *zym adryr*, see 9).

Comitative can be expressed by the prefix *de-* only. Sociative is marked with the combination *ze-de-* and, interestingly enough, with the combination *zere-gbe*, which does not have a corresponding comitative means.

The reciprocal prefix *ze-* demonstrates the widespread reflexive-reciprocal polysemy. The complex prefix *zere-gbe* has even more developed polysemy: it can designate sociativity, “canonical” and “possessive” reciprocity.

The Adyghe language is important from the point of view of reciprocals, because its verb form shows agreement with all arguments of the verb – therefore, we can see in the verb form many features of the derived reciprocal verb – its transitivity and number of arguments – and what – the argument noun phrase or the reciprocal pronoun are coded – controls agreement. Therefore, we can see the interaction between syntactic and morphological processes (number of syntactic arguments) and morphology (case-marking of noun phrases, agreement markers).

The most complex syntactic structures occur in the case of *zeregbe*-reciprocals and pronominal reciprocal constructions. In the first case the valency of the derived reciprocal verb (its ability to be a “canonical” or a “possessive” reciprocal) cannot be explained by the composition of the reciprocal and the causative derivations. In the second case the pronoun is in the intermediate stage of grammaticalization and can have different syntactic properties (particularly in the case of control of the verbal agreement markers).

The Adyghe situation with the reciprocal pronouns is complicated, on the one hand, because pronouns compete with noun phrase, and on the other hand, because pronouns can be more or less grammaticalized. Adyghe situation is of a special interest, because the verb agrees both with the subject and objects, therefore, we have a rare possibility to analyze the degree of grammaticalization of the pronoun and its relations with noun phrases. Here, we have not a binary feature, but a scale of grammaticalization, which can be built according to which variant of agreement (with the pronoun in both slots, in one slot or with the noun phrase in both slots) is chosen.

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#### Abbreviations

- 1 - 1st person
- 2 - 2nd person
- 3 - 3rd person
- A - marker of agreement with the agent (oblique subject)
- ABS - absolutive
- AUTOCAUS - autocausative
- BEN - benefactive
- CAUS - causative
- COM - comitative
- DYN - marker of dynamic verb
- FUT - future
- INS - instrumental
- IO - marker of agreement with the indirect object
- ITER - iterative
- кѣ/кѣу - preverb кѣ-/кѣу-
- LOC - locative prefix
- OBL - oblique
- PAST - past
- PL - plural

POSS - possessive  
REC - reciprocal  
REFL - reflexive  
S - absolutive agreement marker  
SOC - sociative

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<sup>i</sup> All terms are given according to [Nedjalkov in press].

<sup>ii</sup> *ze-* in (8a) denotes an object-oriented reciprocal: see 3.2 about this type of reciprocals.

<sup>iii</sup> The distribution between *ze-* and *zy-* will not be discussed in present paper.

<sup>iv</sup> The third person singular possessive affix shows agreement with the noun phrase *zym* (see 9 below).

<sup>v</sup> The difference between persons is illustrated by examples of “canonical” reciprocals, because other types of reciprocals show the same distinction less apparently.