

THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN ABKHAZ (ABŽUI DIALECT)*

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This article is designed to present an exhaustive treatment of the relative-clause forming strategy of Abkhaz, a North West Caucasian language. After a sketch of the relevant verbal morphology, examples are adduced to discover if this language provides any support for the so-called Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977). As it transpires that there are no restrictions as to which NP may stand as head-noun of a relative clause, Abkhaz provides no immediate support for the Hierarchy. In an attempt to discover what restrictions, if any, manifest themselves in the formation of relative clauses, more complex structures are investigated, where the relative clause contains both a superordinate and dependent verb. It is found that, depending upon the form of the dependent verb, the superordinate verb must also in some cases contain a mark of its own 'relative' status. An explanation is offered as to why a relative affix should appear in the superordinate verb in some circumstances but not in others.

Abkhaz, Circassian and Ubykh form the North West Caucasian language-group. Each language allows only one finite verb to appear in each sentence. In other words, these languages do not possess subordinate clauses, for it is part of the definition of a clause that it should contain a finite verb. Where, in a language of the familiar Indo-European model we should expect an adjectival or adverbial limiting clause, a participial form of the verb will be employed in the languages of the N.W. Caucasus. Before describing the special features of the Abkhaz 'relative participle', it will be necessary to give some idea of the essential characteristics of the Abkhaz verb insofar as they are relevant to the problem in hand.

The first distinction to be made is that between verbs which describe a

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state¹ (stative verbs) and those which do not² (no 1-stative verbs). The indicative paradigm for stative verbs is extremely simple, there being only two tenses – present and past,³ for example:

s-gəlo-up’	‘I am standing’	←*s- gəla -up’
	I (root)	(present tense marker of statives)
s-gəla-n	‘I was standing’	
jə-st ^o ’ -ùp’	‘it belongs to me’	←*jə-s -t ^o ə -up’
	it to-me	(root)
jə-s-t ^o ə-n	‘it belonged to me’	

From these examples it will be clear that the present tense is formed by the addition to the root of the formant *-up’*, whilst the past tense is produced by substituting for this the simple *-n*.

The non-stative paradigm is more complex, there being ten tenses in the indicative (the examples quoted below are from the verb ‘to go’ *acarà* – the first person singular in each case):

Present	s-co ‘i’ t’	←*s-ca-wa-‘i’ t’ ⁴
Aorist	s-ceit’	←*s-ca-it’
Future I	s-ca-p’	
Future II	s-ca-št’	←*s-ca-ša-t’
Perfect	s-ca-x’èit’	←*s-ca-x’a-it’
Imperfect	s-con	←*s-ca-wa-n
Past Indefinite	s-ca-n	
Conditional I	s-ca-rə-n	
Conditional II	s-cà-ša-n	
Pluperfect	s-ca-x’à-n	

These tenses, apart from the Future I, fall into two groups according as they are marked by ‘i’ t’ or *-n*. The function of these last two elements is to make the verb form finite.⁵ This leads us on to the second distinction important for an understanding of the Abkhaz verbal system – that between finite and non-finite verb forms. These non-finite forms are just those participial forms of the verb that appear where English would have an adjectival or adverbial limiting clause. All the tenses listed above have their corresponding non-finite forms. Let us now examine the non-finite

formations of the above tenses; and for the time being we shall be concerned only with the post-radical elements.

Present	s-an-cò ⁶ ← *s-an-ca-wa
Aorist	s-an-cà (-z, which is strictly Past Indefinite)
Future I	s-an-ca-làk' // s-an-ca-rà ⁷ (-rə is a dialectal variant)
Future II	s-an-cà-ša
Perfect	s-an-ca-x'ò-u ← *x'a-u // j-an-cà-c ⁸
Imperfect	s-an-cò-z ← *-ca-wa-z
Past Indefinite	s-an-cà-z
Conditional I	s-an-ca-rə-z
Conditional II	s-an-cà-ša-z
Pluperfect	s-an-ca-x'à-z // s-an-cà-cə-z

By comparing the finite verbs with their non-finite counterparts we can see that, as regards the post-radical element, a certain pattern emerges, which may be formulated roughly as follows: to obtain the non-finite form, remove the finite marker (-'i'l' or -n); add nothing to those tenses from which -'i'l' has been removed, but add -z to those which have lost -n. The two main exceptions are the Future I and the Perfect. In the Future I we have a portmanteau morph in -p'. It marks both futurity and finiteness; but if we take the negative form, we shall have *s-ca-rə-m*, where -rə- is the mark of futurity (-m the negative). Allowing for the change of vowel, we can account for the form *s-an-ca-rà* – that in -lak' remains an anomaly.⁹ In the case of the perfect it is the addition of -u that is to be explained. At this point we should introduce the three non-finite formations of the stative verbs:

Present	s-an-gəlo-u ← * gəla-u
Past	s-an-gəla-z
Perfect (?)	s-an-gəla-c ¹⁰

The Past replaces -n by -z, as happens with non-stative verbs, whilst in the present -up' gives way to -u. This formal parallelism between the Present non-finite of stative verbs and the Perfect non-finite of non-stative verbs suggests that there may exist a semantic parallelism also. When in English we say 'I have read it', we are, in a sense, describing my state as a result of my act of reading; similarly in Abkhaz, that *s-à -px'a-x'ei* 'I-it-read-(perfect)' is not a description of a simple act of reading is shown by the fact that the verb may not be used with a temporal adverb such as *jacə*

‘yesterday’. That the Perfect expresses a present state resulting from a past action is reflected in the morphology of its non-finite formation, which includes the specifically stative formant *-u*.

We may now turn our attention to the pre-radical structure of the Abkhaz verb, and here we shall be particularly concerned with the verb’s polypersonalism. Depending upon the meaning of the verb, the verbal complex may contain personal affixes referring to the subject (S), direct object (D) and indirect object (I).¹¹ In order to give some idea of the patterning of these affixes within the complex, we may quote the table given in Dumézil (1967: 29) – where P stands for preverb and R for root:

“1) Without P: class A (intransitive):		S + R
–	B (intransitive):	S + I + R
–	C (transitive):	D + S + R
–	D (transitive):	D + I + S + R
2) With P:	– E (intransitive):	S + P + R
	– F (intransitive):	S + I + P + R
	– G (transitive):	D + P + S + R
	– H (transitive):	D + I + P + S + R”

These affixes change according to person and, to a certain extent, according as we are dealing with a rational or irrational being – and a subdivision within the rational class is that between male and female.¹² Abkhaz is an ergative language, so that the S of an intransitive verb is represented by the same affix that would represent the same person were it functioning as D of a transitive verb – the relevant affixes are given in column I below. Column II shows the affixes representing the indirect object, and column III those representing the subject of a transitive verb. As Abkhaz has no case-system, the relationships contracted by the personal affixes tell us we are dealing with an ergative language, and, of course, what role a given noun is playing in the sentence.

	I	II	III
1st. person singular	s(ə)	s(ə)	s/z(ə) ¹³
2nd. person singular	male w(ə)	w(ə)	w(ə)
	female b(ə)	b(ə)	b(ə)
3rd. person singular	rational d(ə)	male j(ə)	j(ə)
	irrational j(ə)	female l(ə)	l(ə)
1st. person plural	h(a)	h(a)	(n)a ¹⁴
2nd. person plural	š ^o (ə)	š ^o (ə)	h(a)h/aa ¹³
3rd. person plural	j(ə)	r/d(ə) ¹⁴	š ^o /ž ^o (ə) ¹³
			r/d(ə) ¹⁴

Keenan and Comrie (1977) present the results of their study of the formation of relative clauses in about fifty languages. Their research led them to postulate the existence of an 'Accessibility Hierarchy', according to which the higher in the Hierarchy an NP position occurs, the easier it appears to be for languages to form a relative clause on that NP. The Hierarchy is as follows:

- S(subject)**
D(irect) O(bject)
I(ndirect) O(bject)
OBL(ique)
GEN(itive)
O(bject) (of) COMP(arison)

(a) Subject – intransitive

- 'Merab knows the woman who is a teacher.'**
compare:

- 'The woman is a teacher.'**

(3) a ph^os də -z -šə -z
 (article) woman her who killed (Aorist)
 (Non-finite)
 (Non-stative)

'Here comes the man who killed the woman.'

(4) a-xàc'a a-ph^hə̀s d -i -š -it'
her he killed (Aorist)
(Finite)
(Non-stative)

(5) Meràb à -š^oa¹⁵ z -h^oò¹⁶ a-
 Merab article song who says (article);
 (Present)
 (Non-finite)
 (Non-stative)

-ph^oəs d -i -dàr -weit'
woman her he knows (Present)
(Finite)
(Non-stative)

'Merab knows the woman who is singing.'

[illegible]

(c) Direct object

(7) Meràb d -i -dàr -weit' a-
Merab her he knows (Present) (article)
(Finite)
(Non-stative)

-xàc'a j -i -ba -z a -ph'òs
man whom he saw (Aorist) (article) woman
 (Non-finite)
 (Non-stative)

'Merab knows the woman whom the man saw.'

(d) Indirect object¹⁷

- (8) Meràb a -š°q°ə z -i -tə-
 Merab (article) book to-whom he gave
 -z a -ph°əs də -z-dər -weit'
 (Aorist) (article) woman her I know (Present)
 (Non-finite) (Non-stative)
 (Non-stative) (Finite)
 'I know the woman to whom Merab gave the book.'

(e) Oblique (i) Instrumental

- (9) Meràb wi à -way° a -k°ət°ə z -lè -i -šə
 Merab that (article) man (article) chicken which-with he killed
 -z à- -h°əzba jə-bèit'
 (Aorist) (article) knife he saw (Aorist, Non-stative, Finite)
 (Non-finite)
 (Non-stative)
 'Merab saw the knife with which that man killed the chicken.'

compare:

- (10) wi à -way° à -h°əzba a-
 that (article) man (article) knife (article)
 -k°ət°ə à-le -i -š -it'
 chicken it-with he killed (Aorist)
 (Finite)
 (Non-stative)

Notice, however, that there exists another possibility of saying 'that man killed the chicken with the knife', although it is judged to be not quite as good as the formulation just given – it is:

- (11) wi à-way° (a) -h°əzbà-la a-k°ət°ə jə -š -it'
 (article) knife with he killed

This structure, as it stands, cannot form the basis of a relative clause, since the verb lacks any affix referring to 'knife' which may be replaced by one of the two relativising particles, which, according to the rule given above, are essential components of the relative-clause forming strategy. *-la* is the instrumental morph.

(e) (ii) Benefactive

- (12) hārà d -aa-dər -weit' a- -ph°əs a
 we him we know (Present) (article) woman (article)
 (Finite)
 (Non-stative)

z -c -i -dza- -z a -way°ð
 whom-with he stole (Aorist) (article) man
 (Non-finite)
 (Non-stative)

'They saw the man with whom Merab stole the chicken.'

In this case the particle indicating 'with' cannot appear outside the verbal complex, and so there can be only one finite clause which is equivalent to the relative clause above, cf.

(18) Meràb wi à -way° a -k°at'ð
 Merab that (article) man (article) chicken
 jà -c -i -dzeit'
 him-with he stole (Aorist, Finite, Non-stative)
 'Merab stole the chicken with that man.'

(e) (v) Subject-matter

(19) Meràb d -zə -x -c°až°ð -z
 Merab he whom-about was-talking (Imperfect)
 (Non-finite)
 (Non-stative)
 à -way° d -aa -wèit'
 (article) man he comes (Present)
 (Finite)
 (Non-stative)
 'The man about whom Merab was talking is coming.'

cf.

(20) Meràb wi à -way° d -i -x-
 Merab that (article) man he him -about
 -c° až°o -n
 was-talking (Finite, Imperfect, Non-stative)
 'Merab was talking about that man.'

(vi) Attribution

(21) Meràb wəsq'ak' jə- xə j -a -gə -m
 Merab so his haed it it lacks not
 (sc. (Finite)
 brains) (Stative)
 (Present)
 wi a -ph°əs d -şə -lə- -px'adzo èipş
 that (article) woman him how/as she considers (Present) like/as
 (Non-finite)
 (Non-stative)
 'Merab is not {the stupid person that woman considers him to be.
 so stupid as that woman considers him to be.'

-şə- is the relative adverb of manner; its position within the verbal complex is always immediately behind the personal affix of column I – cf. below

for the relative particles of place, time, and reason, which occur in the same position (vis-à-vis the verbal complex) as $-\text{ṣ}(\text{ə})-$. That $-\text{ṣ}(\text{ə})-$ is a relative *adverbial* particle clearly shows that, whilst it is possible to convey naturally in Abkhaz the sense of the English relative whose head-noun is functioning as the attributive oblique case (in the sense of the first English equivalent – ‘... the stupid person that woman considers him to be’), this is only possible by selecting a structure that is formally akin to the second English equivalent (i.e. ‘... so stupid as that woman considers him to be’). This is necessitated by what appears to be the only restriction on the formation of relative structures in Abkhaz, namely that the NP to be relativized must have correlating with it a personal affix within the verbal complex (but cf. immediately below (26) – (31) for three exceptions); that the predicative (attributive) case has no such marker in the verbal complex may be seen from the sentence containing *gadza-s* below. This illustration of the use of $-\text{ṣ}(\text{ə})-$ is included here for the sake of completeness. The Abkhaz for ‘Merab is stupid’ will be:

(22) Meràb jə-xə j-à-g-up’ (Present, Finite, Stative)

And for ‘the woman considers Merab a fool’ we shall have:

(23) a-ph^əs Meràb gadzà-s d- lə -px’adzòit’
 fool (predicative him she considers
 case)

or

(24) a-ph^əs Meràb z -xə j -à -g-
 whose head it to-it is-
 (sc. brains)

-u way^ə -s d-lə-px’adzòit’
 lacking man (Predicative case)

(Present)

(Static)

(Non-finite)

(literally:) ‘The woman considers Merab (as) a man to whose head it (sc. intelligence) is lacking’

This last alternative forms the basis of another way of expressing the sentence given above, the first part of which would read thus:

(25) Meràb wəsq’ək’ z-xə j-à-g-u way^ə-m ...
 man is not (Present,
 Stative,
 Negative,
 Finite)

The remainder of the sentence will be as given above,¹⁹ (cf. 21).

The following three cases (relatives expressing time, sentential location and sentential reason) are included at this point because it is convenient to treat them together with the relative adverb of manner, just examined, since their respective exponents occupy the same place within the verbal complex. Although these elements occur only with non-finite verb forms, they are exceptions to the general rule concerning the use of the replacement, relativizing affixes *j(ə)*-/*z(ə)*-, insofar as these affixes do not occur at all. This is hardly surprising, as the exponents with which we are dealing provide the means of relativising on NI's whose function is not coded within the verbal complex anyway – *-ʃ(ə)*- stands apart in any case, being in correlation with an adverb and not with an NP.

Time

- (26) Meràb à -kalak' anə -n -i -žə-
 Merab (article) town when (preverb) he left
 z a -mʃ xʰəʃa -n
 (Aorist) (article) day Friday was
 (Non-finite) (Past)
 (Non-stative) (Finite)
 (Stative)
 'Friday was the day²⁰ {when
 that} Merab left the town'.

anʰəʃ- is the relative particle of time. 'Merab left the town on Friday' will be:

- (27) Meràb a -xʰəʃa-zə n -i -ž -it'
 (article) on (Preverb) he left (Aorist, Finite, Non-stative)

Sentential Locative

- (28) sarà jə-z-bòit' Meràb d -ax'ə -n-
 I it I see Merab he where (preverb)
 (Present)
 (Finite)
 (Non-stative)
 -xò a -yʰnə// a -kəta
 lives (article) house (article) village
 (Present)
 (Non-finite)
 (Non-stative)
 'I see the {house
 village} where Merab lives'.

ax'ʔ- is the relative particle of place. By adding to this the post-positions meaning 'from' and 'upto', we shall obtain the particles meaning 'whence' and 'whither' respectively, for example:

(29) *sarà jə-z-bòit' Meráb d -ax'ənt^o -aa- -wa a-kàta*
he whence comes (Present)
(Non-finite)
(Non-stative)
'I see the village whence Merab is coming.'

(30) *sarà jə-z-bòit' Meráb d -ax'əndza-co a-kàta*
he whither goes
(Present)
(Non-finite)
(Non-stative)
'I see the village whither Merab is going.'

Sentential Reason

(31) *wi zà -q'a -s-c'o à- -mzəz wə -dər -weit'*
it why (preverb) I do (article) reason you know (Present)
(Present) (Finite)
(Non-finite) (Non-stative)
(Non-stative)
'You know the reason why I am doing it'.²¹

zʔ- is the relative particle of reason.

(f) Genitive

If we compare the possessive affixes that appear on nouns with the verbal personal affixes of columns II and III we shall see that they are identical, cf.:

Possessive Prefixes

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st. person	<i>s(ə)-</i>	<i>h(ə)-</i>
2nd. person	male <i>w(ə)-</i>	<i>š^o(ə)-</i>
	female <i>b(ə)-</i>	
3rd. person	male rat. <i>j(ə)-</i>	<i>r(ə)-</i>
	female rat. <i>l(ə)-</i>	
	irrational <i>a-</i>	

Just as the verbal personal affixes of columns II and III are replaced by *z(ə)* should their referent be the head-noun of the clause in which the verb appears, so the possessive affixes are likewise replaced by *z(ə)* under the same circumstances, for example:

- (32) *sarà də -z-dər -weit zə -k'ət'ə*
 I her I know (Present) whose chicken
 (Finite)
 (Non-stative)

Merəb jə-dzà -z a -ph'əs
 Merab he stole (Aorist) (article) woman
 (Non-finite)
 (Non-stative)

'I know the woman whose chicken Merab stole.'
 cf. *lə-k'ət'ə* 'her chicken'

- (33) *zə -mč məč' -u jə -bz*
 whose strength small is his language
 (Present)
 (Non-finite)
 (Stative)

dù -xoit'

great becomes (Present, Finite, Non-stative)

'The language of him whose strength is small waxes great.' cf. *jə-mč* 'his strength'

The following example illustrates that the same substitution of relative *z-* for the possessive prefix occurs even when the relative clause is formed on the subordinate verb's subject – in other words, no matter what the role of the head-noun within the subordinate clause, if that head-noun incidentally enters into a possessive relationship within the subordinate clause, its possessive prefix will be replaced by *z-*.

- (34) *z -an jə -lə -cə -m -nəq'a-z*
 whose mother who her-with not went (Aorist)
 (Non-finite)
 (Non-stative)
- à -č'k'ən jə -c'arà d -à -g- -xeit'*
 article boy his lesson he it (preverb) reached late
 (Aorist)
 (Finite)
 (Non-stative)

'The boy who (*jə-*) did not go with his (*z-*) mother was late for his lesson.'

cf.

- (35) *à -č'k'ən j -an d -lə -cə -m -nəq'e-it'*
 the boy his mother he her with not went
 'The boy did not go with his mother.'

(g) Object of comparison

For the sentence 'The woman is taller than the man' Abkhaz presents us with a choice of four possibilities, namely:

- (36a) a -ph^əs a-xàc'a d -i -eiḥà -up'
the-woman the-man she him big(ger) is (Present, Finite, Stative)
- (36b) a -ph^əs a-xàc'a j -àc'k''əs d-
the-woman the-man him more (than) she
-ḥarak'-ùp'
tall is (Present, Finite, Stative)
- (36c) a -ph^əs a-xàc'a j -àc'k''əs d -eiḥà-up'
the-woman the-man him more (than) she big is
- (36d) a -ph^əs a-xàc'a j -èiḥa d -ḥarak'-ùp
the-woman the-man him more (than) she tall is

Thus we expect, and find, four possibilities for the sentence 'I saw the woman who is taller than the man' (where the head-noun is subject of the subordinate clause) namely:

- (37a) sarà də -z-bèit' a -xàc'a j -i -eiḥà-
I her I saw the-man who him big(ger)
-u a -ph^əs
is (Present, Stative, Non-finite) the-woman
- (37b) sarà də -z-bèit' a -xàc'a j -àc'k''əs jə
I her I saw the-man him more (than) who
-ḥarak'-ù a -ph^əs
tall is (Present, Stative, Non-finite) the-woman
- (37c) sarà də -z-bèit' a -xàc'a j -àc'k''əs j- eiḥà-u a -ph^əs
I her I saw the-man him more (than) who big is the-woman
- (37d) sarà də -z-bèit' a -xàc'a j -èiḥa jə -ḥarak'-ù
I her I saw the-man him more (than) who tall is

and finally, where the head-noun is object of comparison, for 'I saw the man whom the woman is taller than' we have:

- (38a) sarà də -z-bèit' a -ph^əs d -z -eiḥà -u a- xàc'a
I him I saw the-woman she whom big(ger) is the the-man
- (38b) sarà də -z-bèit' a -ph^əs z -àc'k''əs
I him I saw the-woman whom more(than)
d -ḥarak'-ù a- xàc'a
she tall is the-man
- (38c) sarà də -z-bèit' a -ph^əs z -àc'k''əs
I him I saw the-woman whom more(than)
d -eiḥà-u a- xàc'a
she big is the-man

- (38d) sarà də -z-bèit' a -ph^əəs z -èiħa
 I him I saw the-woman whom more (than)
 d -ħarak'-ù a -xàc'a
 she tall is the-man

Where the two persons being compared are of equal dimensions, three choices are open to us, only one of which leads to difficulties. 'The man is as big as the woman' may appear as any of the following:

- (39a) a -xàc'a a -ph^əəs d -l -àq'aro -up'
 the-man the-woman he her as-big-as is (Present, Finite, Stative)
 (39b) a -xàc'a a -ph^əəs l -àq'ara d -ħarak'-ùp'
 the-man the-woman her as-big-as he tall is
 (39c) a -xàc'a a -ph^əəs l -eipş d -ħarak'-ùp'
 the-man the-woman her like/as he tall is

With the above as our base we can produce three entirely regular alternatives for the sentence 'I saw the man who is as big as the woman', with the relative formed on the subject:

- (40a) sarà də -z-bèit' a -ph^əəs jə -l -àq'aro-
 I him I saw the-woman who her as-big-as
 -ù a -xàc'a
 is (Present, Stative, Non-finite)the-man
 (40b) sarà də -z-bèit' a ph^əəs l -àq'ara jə -ħarak'-ù a -xàc'a
 I him I saw the-woman her as-big-as who tall is the-man
 (40c) sarà də -z-bèit' a -ph^əəs l -eipş jə -ħarak'-ù a -xàc'a
 I him I saw the-woman her like/as who tall is the-man

Whilst the final group of sentences, with the relative formed on the object of comparison, are as ugly as the English original (and, thus, tend to be avoided), only the second of the three was judged to be 'probably unacceptable'. 'I saw the man whom the woman is as big as' will be:

- (41a) sarà də -z-bèit' aph^əəs d -z aq'arò- -u a -xàc'a
 I him I saw the-woman she whom as-big-as is the-man
 (41b) sarà də -z-bèit' aph^əəs (*?) z -àq'ara d -ħarak'-ù a -xàc'a
 I him I saw the-woman whom as-big-as she tall is the-man
 (41c) sarà də -z-bèit' aph^əəs z -eipş d -ħarak'-ù a -xàc'a
 I him I saw the-woman whom like/as she tall is the-man

The material presented above demonstrates that Abkhaz has the facility of forming, in a completely straightforward and regular manner, relative clauses (or perhaps we should rather say 'phrases', given the absence of a

finite verb) for all the NP positions included within the Keenan-Comrie Accessibility Hierarchy, with the exception of the Attributive sub-heading of Oblique. Abkhaz, therefore, provides evidence neither in support of, nor against, the Hierarchy.

The question naturally arises as to what, if any, are the restrictions in Abkhaz regarding its capacity for forming its relative phrases. Something of the polypersonal nature of the verbal complex (together with the incorporation within that complex of postpositional elements) has already been seen; it may thus be surmised that the more preradical elements appearing within the verbal complex, the more difficult may become the formation of relative phrases. Let us examine some more complex verbal forms than those yet encountered with a view to discovering the existing limitations.

Certain preradical elements require the presence of a possessive prefix – such, for example, are the reflexive $-ç(ə)-$ and the so-called ‘determiner’ (Dumézil 1967: 21) $-š^o(ə)-$, used for putting on or taking off clothes. The former will always, and the latter occasionally, appear where its own possessive prefix is co-referential with that of the verb’s subject (or indirect object, if the verb happens to contain the causative morph $-r-$).²² In such cases, when a relative is formed on the subject, the corresponding possessive prefix will show the expected change, for example:

- (42) $jə \text{ } -xàrp \text{ } jə \text{ } -š^o \text{ } -i \text{ } -c'èit'$
 his shirt his person (') he put on
 ‘He put on his shirt.’
- ⇒ (43) $z \text{ } -xàrp \text{ } z \text{ } -š^cə \text{ } -z \text{ } -c'o- \text{ } z$
 whose shirt whose person who put on (Imperfect)
 (Non-finite)
- $a \text{ } -xàc'a \text{ } də \text{ } -z-bèit'$
 the man him I saw
 ‘I saw the man who was putting on his shirt.’

A tripersonal intransitive verb presents no problems with regard to the construction under examination, for example:

- (44) $d \text{ } -wə \text{ } -z \text{ } -i \text{ } -k^o-zc^o'oit'$
 he you-for him-onspits
 ‘He spits on him for you.’

From this we shall obtain the following:

- (45) $jə \text{ } -wə \text{ } -z \text{ } -i \text{ } -k^o-zc^o'o \text{ } a \text{ } -way^oə$
 who you-for him-onspits the-man
 ‘the man who spits on him for you’

- (46) dā-zə -z -i -k°-zc°o a -way°ə
 he whom-for him-onspits the-man
 'the man for whom he spits on him'
 (47) dā-w'ə¹-zə -z -k°-zc°o a -way°ə
 he you -for whom-onspits the-man
 'the man on whom he spits for you'

With the preradical element of accompaniment the first opportunity of reducing the personal affixes is seized, as shown in the fourth sentence below:

- (48) d -sə -c -i -zə -pşup'
 he me-with him-for waits (Stative)
 'He waits with me for him'
 => (49) jā -sə -c -i -zə -pş -u à -č'k°'ən
 who me-with him-for waits (Stative) the-boy
 (Non-finite)
 ='the boy who waits with me for him'
 (50) sə-z -c -i -zə -pş -u à -č'k°'ən
 I whom-with him-for waits the-boy
 'the boy with whom I wait for him'
 (51) jarè-i sarè-i ha-z -zə -pş -ù à -č'k°'ən
 he and I -and we whom-for wait the boy
 'the boy for whom he *and* I are waiting'

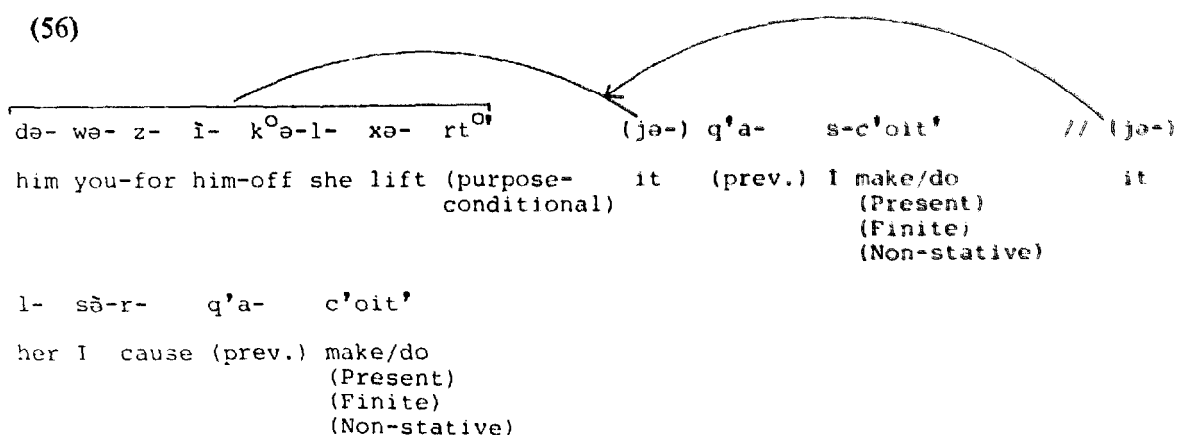
Verbs containing four personal affixes are not common in Abkhaz, but they apparently form their anticipated relatives regularly and with ease; witness the case of the following transitive verb:

- (52) d -wə -z -i -k°(ə)-s-x -weit'
 him you-for him-off I raise
 'I raise him off him for you'
 => (53) jā -wə -z -i -k°ə-s-x -wa a -xàc'a
 whom you-for him off I raise the-man
 'the man whom I raise off him for you'
 (54) d(ə)-zə -z -i -k°ə-s-x -wa a -xàc'a
 him whom-for him-off I raise the-man
 'the man for whom I lift him off him'
 (55) d -wə -z -zə -k°ə-s-x -wa a -xàc'a
 him you-for whom-off I raise the-man
 'the man off whom I raise him for you'

Something interesting does, however, occur when we form the causative of this four-person verb. From the remark made above about the avoidance in Abkhaz of even four-person verbs we would expect, and find, that the usual morphological causative, produced by infixing *-r-* before the root (see Gecadze and Nedjalkov 1969), gives way to an analytic construction

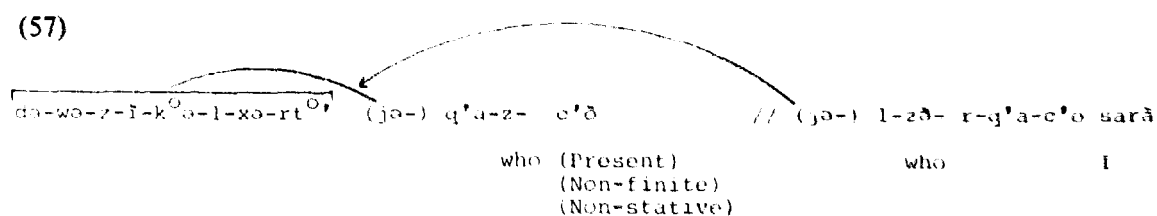
involving a finite form of the verb 'to do/make' plus the so-called 'purpose-conditional' non-finite form of the verb whose causative we wish to produce. 'I make her lift him off him for you' will be:

(56)



We see from the above that a choice is open to us regarding the form of the main verb – we may use either the simple verb 'I do it' or the causative form 'I cause (her) to do it', in which case the subject of the subordinate verb is repeated in the main verb. In both cases the initial *jə-* refers to the main verb's direct object, that is, the preceding, non-finite subordinate verb, and, in accordance with the principle expressed in note 16, it may disappear (hence its enclosure in brackets). We now have five persons involved in the complex. Given the artificial nature of our original four-person verb, it is perhaps not surprising that a request for the full complement of relatives on the resulting causative caused my informant considerable discomfort! In only one case was there a clear, unwavering judgement, and this was where the relative is formed on the subject/agent of the main verb, producing the following two alternatives:

(57)



'I who make her raise him off him for you'

In an attempt, therefore, to discover whether the possibility does exist of forming a relative on an NP within the subordinate expression, recourse was had to the more natural, three-person verb *àtara* 'to give'. Even here judgements were not elicited with the ease expected, the clearest results

being obtained where the main verb is 'to want'. With this as the introductory verb, the subordinate verb, while still appearing in the so-called 'purpose-conditional', no longer displays the form shown above but ends in *-rc*. The paradigm is given below:-

(58a)

d- bǎ- l- ta- rc (jǎ-) s-tax- ǎp'
 him to-you she give (purpose-conditional) it I want (Present, Stative, Finite)
 'I want her to give him to you'

(58b)

d-bǎ-l-ta-rc (jǎ-) z- tax-ǎ sarǎ
 who (Present) I
 (Non-finite)
 (Stative)
 'I who want her to give him to you ...'

(58c)

jǎ- bǎ-l-ta-rc jǎ- s-tax-u a- way^{oǎ}
 whom whom the
 'the man whom I want her to give to you ...'

(58d)

d-zǎ- l-tǎ-rc jǎ- s-tax-u barǎ
 to-whom whom
 'you to whom I want her to give him ...'

(58e)

d-bǎ-z- ta-rc jǎ- s-tax-u larǎ
 who whom she
 'she whom I want to give him to you ...'

These last three sentences present a rather interesting phenomenon – the personal affix standing within the non-finite verbal complex and correlating with the NP relativized manifests the expected change to *jǎ-* or *-z-*, depending on the syntactic role played by their referents within the clause, but the main verb no longer contains an optionally deletable third person

singular, irrational personal affix correlating with the preceding subordinate clause. The first element of the main verb may not now be omitted, for such an omission results in ungrammaticality, and ungrammaticality is the result because this *jə-* has become the relative particle which substitutes for a person affix of column I, and its function here is to refer to the head-noun of the relative clause, be the role of that head-noun in its own clause subject, direct object or indirect object. Thus we see that a relative may not be formed on an NP from within a subordinate clause, unless we first contrive to introduce into the affixal complement of the main verb a marker of the NP in question. This process of raising imposes a restriction on exactly how much of the material from the subordinate clause may appear within the verbal complex of the main clause. Only the N or NP immediately involved in the process of relativization will be affected; no postpositional element indicating the function of this NP within the subordinate clause may take part in the raising to produce anything like the English 'He *to whom* I require that the girl send the photos'. This restriction exists because the NP thus raised may only function as the subject or direct object of the main verb (see notes 23 and 24), insofar as it replaces the 3rd person singular, irrational affix, which refers to the subordinate clause as a whole. This restriction becomes clearer if we use as an example one of the troublesome structures earlier rejected in favour of something less complex – cf.:

- (59)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|------|-----------|----|------|----------------|----|--------------------|
| də-wə-z-zə- | k ^o ə-l-xə-rt ^o , | jə- | q'a-s-c'ə | // | jə- | l-sə-r-q'a-c'o | a- | way ^o ə |
| whom | | whom | | | whom | | | the man |
| 'the man off whom I make her lift him for you ...' | | | | | | | | |

We do not find within the main verb the sequence *-zə-k^oə-* repeated. Comparing the end products (i.e. sentences 58iii-v) with the starting-point (i.e. sentence 58i), we must assume that at some stage in the derivation the main verb will have substituted for the 3rd person singular, irrational affix, correlating with the preceding subordinate clause, that affix of column I appropriate to the NP which will eventually be relativized.²³ The question now to be asked is whether this stage is actually attested as a surface structure within Abkhaz. The answer is 'yes, in part, but even then only rarely'. The sentences expected are set out below together with the judgments about them:

(60)

(?) d-bā-l-ta-rc də s-tax-up' (rare)
 him him
 'I want her to give hi. to you'

(61)

*d-bā- l-ta-rc bə s-tax-ūp' (impossible)
 to-you you
 'I want her to give him to you'

(62)

(?) a- ʃʷqʷt (jə-) bā-l- ta-rc də s-tax-ūp' (very, very rare)
 the book it she her
 'I want her to give you the book'

The same pattern emerges as that shown above when we try to form the causative of the verb 'to give'. I quote only one of the sentences, since it presents a possibility we do not find when the introductory verb is 'to want'. I refer to the case where the introductory verb is itself given its morphological causative form, for now the subject of the subordinate verb appears duplicated as the indirect object of this main verb.²⁴ When the relative is formed on the subject of the subordinate verb, we obtain:

(63)

d- bā- z- ta- rtʷ jə- q'a- s-c'ō // (jə-)z- sā-r- q'a-
 him to-you who give (purpose- whom (prev.) I make it whom I cause (prev.)
 conditional)
 c'o larā
 make her

'she whom I get to give him to you ...'

It will be seen that, where the main verb already contains an affix referring to the NP on which the relative is formed,²⁵ this is replaced by the appropriate relative particle leaving the 3rd person singular, irrational affix to function normally as the indicator of the entire subordinate clause.

However, the more one looks into relativization in sentences incorporating such a subordinate verb, the more the regularity of the patterns suggested above seems to become disturbed. For instance, if the subordinate verb is the 'purpose-conditional', its affixal complement may remain unaltered, as long as the introductory verb contains a relative affix to link the whole subordinate expression to the head-noun. This alternative may be illustrated by comparing the following four sentences with example (63) and with examples (58iii) – (58v):

- (64) d -bà -l -ta -rc jà -s-tax- -u a -way²⁶
 him to-you she give who'm¹ I want (Non-finite) the man
 'the man whom I want her to give to you ...'
- (65) d-bà-l-ta-rc jà-s-tax-u barà
 you
 'you to whom I want her to give him ...'
- (66) d-bà-l-ta-rc jà-s-tax-u larà²⁶
 she
 'she whom I want to give him to you ...'
- (67) d-bà-l-ta-rt⁰ jà -q'a -s-c'ò larà
 whom (preverb) I make (Non-finite) she
 'she whom I get to give him to you ...'

The 'purpose-conditional' is not the only form taken by the verb in such a subordinate role; the dependents of *à-la-ga-ra* 'to begin' also appear in the infinitive and the non-finite form of the present tense. The introductory verb itself differs from the two we have seen so far in that, whilst for *a-taxè-zaa-ra* 'to want' the affix correlating with the subordinate verb is subject of the introductory verb, and whilst in the case of the analytic causative this affix is direct object of the introductory verb, *à-la-ga-ra* is intransitive and thus takes an indirect object-affix to refer to its dependent verb,²⁷ for example:

- (68) a -ph²⁸às a -ca-rà // dā -cò
 the woman to-go (infinitive) she go (Non-finite)
 // d -cà-rc d -à -la-ge -it'
 she go (purp. -condit.) she it 'move into' (Finite)
 = 'begin'
 'The woman began to go'

Before proceeding to examine the range of relative expressions for the verb *à-la-ga-ra*, it should be mentioned that in each case a preference was shown for the infinitive as exponent of the dependent verb; the variants incorporating the 'purpose-conditional' and the non-finite present were

judged to be less common and more difficult to produce. Let us begin, then, with the relative of the sentence above, i.e. 'the woman who began to go ...'

- (69) a-ca-rà // jə -cò // jə-cà-rc } j -à -la -ga -z a- ph^əs
 to-go who go(ing) də-cà-rc } who it having-begun the woman

As anticipated, all the occurrences of *də-* give way to the appropriate relative affix *jə-* (with *də-* retained as an alternative in the 'purpose-conditional'). As the infinitive contains no affix, no change takes place within it. The non-finite present with *də-* retained (*də-cò*) was judged unnatural.

Where the dependent verb is transitive and the head-noun of the relative is that verb's subject, we would expect to see the dependent verb's subject-affix replaced by *z(ə)-*, with *d-* of the introductory verb again disappearing in favour of *j-*. This expectation is fulfilled in the sentence 'the woman who began to drink the wine ...':

- (70) a -y^əə à -ž^ə -ra // z -ž^ə-
 the wine its drink(ing) who drink
 -wa // zə-ž^ə-rc } j -à -la -ga -z a -ph^əs
 (Non-finite) lə-ž^ə-rc } who it having-begun the woman
 she

In Abkhaz the infinitive and verbal noun (masdar) are one and the same. Here *à-ž^ə-ra* begins not with the articular *a-* but with the third person singular irrational possessive affix, correlating with *a-y^əə*; the phrase is to be literally translated as 'the wine its drinking' (= 'the drinking of the wine'). The above series of relatives may be compared with the following, which means 'the woman began to drink the wine':

- (71) a-ph^əs a-y^əə à-ž^ə-ra // lə -ž^ə-rc // l-ž^ə-wa -à-la-ge-it'.
 she she

To illustrate the relativization on a direct object we have chosen the sentence 'the woman began to see the man', for example:

- (72) a-ph^əs a -xac'a jə -ba -rà // də -l -bò // də
 the man his see(ing) him she see him
 -l -bà -rc d -à -la-ge-it'
 she see she it began

- (76) a-ph^əs a -xàc'a jə -s -ra // d -i
 the man { (to) him hit she him
 { his
 -sà -rc // d -i -s -wa d -à-la-ge-it'
 hit she him hit she
 (Non-finite)
 'The woman began to hit the man'

'The man whom the woman began to hit ...' will be:

- (77a) a-ph^əs zə-s-ra d-à-la-ga-z a-xàc'a
 { to-whom
 { whose
 (77b) a-ph^əs d-zə-sà-rc } də-z-la-gà-z a-xàc'a
 { d-i-sà-rc }
 (77c) a-ph^əs d-zə-s-wa də-z-la-gà-z } a-xàc'a
 { (?)d-à-la-ga-z }

The same set of possibilities manifests itself for the indirect object of the verb *à-ta-ra* 'to give'. 'The woman began to give the book to the man' reads as follows:

- (78) a-ph^əs a-xàc'a a-š^əq^əə jə -ta- -ra // jə
 to-him give to-him
 -l -ta-rc // jə -l- -to d-à-la-ge-it'
 she to-him she

From this we derive 'the man to whom the woman began to give the book ...' as follows:

- (79a) a-ph^əs a-š^əq^əə zə -ta-ra d-à-la-ga-z a-xàc'a
 to-whom
 (79b) a-ph^əs a-š^əq^əə zə-l-tà-rc } də-z-la-gà-z a-xàc'a
 { jə-l-tà-rc }
 (79c) a-ph^əs a-š^əq^əə zə-l-tò . də-z-la-gà-z } a-xàc'a
 { d-à-la-ga-z }

What loose patterning has emerged thus far becomes even looser when we add to the dependent verb a postpositional element (e.g. *-z-* 'for', and *-c^ə-* 'from', *-a-* 'by', *-c-* 'with'), which itself governs an affix of column II. Our first example with an intransitive subordinate verb is 'the woman began to sneak away from me':

- (80) a-ph^əs sə-c^ə -ca-rà // d -sə-c^ə-cà-rc //
 me-from go she
 də -sə-c^ə-cò d -à-la-ge-it'
 she she

present. For both types of dependent verb the introductory verb takes the relative affix. In the case of the indirect object of the verbs *à-px'a-ra* and *à-s-ra*, whilst the introductory verb must contain the relative affix, the dependent verb cannot. In addition, the masdar is possible for *à-px'a-ra* but not for *à-s-ra*. The sentences illustrated mean: 'the book which the woman began to read for me ...' and 'the man whom the woman began to hit for me ...':

(85a) a-ph^əs də -sə-z -à -px'a-rc də -z- -la-gà -z a-š^əq^əə
she me-for (to) it read she which having begun

(85b) a-ph^əs də-sə-z-à-px'o də-z-la-gà-z a-š^əq^əə

(85c) a-ph^əs sə-z-à-px'a-ra də-z-la-gà-z a-š^əq^əə

(86a) a-ph^əs də -sə-z -i -sə-rc də -z- -la-gà-z a-xàc'a
she me-for (to) him hit she whom

(86b) a-ph^əs d-sə-z-i-s-wa də -z -la-gà-z a-xàc'a

(86c) (*a-ph^əs sə-z-i-s-ra də-z-la-gà-z a-xàc'a)

Finally in this section dealing with the replacement of an affix in the introductory verb by a relative affix endowed with a completely different function from that of the affix replaced let us glance at some examples incorporating the verb *à-dzb-ra* 'to decide'. As may be seen below, this verb governs not only the masdar and the non-finite present but also a further two variants of the 'purpose conditional', which are quite plainly formed from the non-finite future I plus, in the first case, the particle *-nə*, which, amongst other functions (see Lomtadze 1948:4), marks the 'absolutive' form of the verb (this being equivalent in sense to the English perfect participle), and, in the second case, the post-positional element *-zə* 'for'. 'The woman decided to see the man' has four equivalents in Abkhaz, for example:

(87) a-ph^əs a-xàc'a jə- ba -rà // də -l-
his see(ing) (masdar) him she
-bà-rc // də-l-ba-ra-nə // də-l-ba-ra zə lə- -dzb -it'
she decide (finite)

The main verb above contains only a column III subject-affix, *lə-*, the column I direct object-affix, *jə-*, having disappeared because its referent immediately precedes the main verb. In the following examples we shall be interested in the appearance or otherwise of the corresponding (and homonymous) relative affix, *jə-*. Because the sentences with the masdar and non-finite present do not deviate from the patterns already observed

above, we shall quote only the possibilities for the two new manifestations of the 'purpose-conditional' – in fact, only in the case of the third sentence is the form in *-zə* to be seen. Firstly, 'the woman who decided to see the man ...':

- (88) *a-xàc'a də -z -ba -ra-nə // də -l- -ba -ra-nə zə -dzbə -z a-ph°əs*
 him who see him she see who

As expected, the introductory verb contains only the one relative affix, which replaces the column III subject-affix, *lə-*. The above sentence allows us only one other possibility for a relative clause, and that is 'the man whom the woman decided to see ...':

- (89) *a-ph°əs də -l- -ba -ra-nə // jə -l- -ba*
 him she see whom she see
 -ra-nə jə -lə -dzba -z a-xàc'a
 whom she having-decided

The introductory verb must of necessity contain the relative affix, *jə-*, correlating with the head-noun *a-xàc'a*. In order to examine the possibilities when the head-noun is indirect object of the dependent verb we have selected the sentence 'the book which the woman decided to read ...':

- (90) *a-ph°əs d -zə -px'a-ra-nə // d- -a*
 she (to) which read she (to) it
 -px'a-ra-nə // d-a-px'a-ra-zə jə -lə- -dzbə -z a-š°q°ə
 read which she having-decided

Here again the relative *jə-* is essential in the introductory verb.

We are now in a position to try and evaluate the evidence amassed so far. The most straightforward case is that where the dependent verb goes into the infinitive-masdar, which is, as we noted above, the most popular mode of expression where it exists as one of the possible choices. Where the masdar contains an affix correlating with the head-noun, this affix will always be replaced by the appropriate form of the relative affix, and this will always be *z(ə)-*; the introductory verb will show a relative affix only if it contains an affix which, in its own right, exclusively refers to the head-noun. This is what one would expect, given that an expression consisting of introductory verb plus dependent verbal noun does not require an analysis which would assign to it an internal sentence-boundary

over which relative-raising would apply. Not surprisingly nothing exceptional occurs in the case of a relative being formed on a purpose-clause which itself is expressed by means of the infinitive (simple or plus the postpositional suffix *-zə* 'for'); the main verb will, of course, contain no affix referring to the purpose-clause itself, for example:

- (91) a *-ph^əə̀s lə -š -rà (-zə) s-aà -it'*
 the woman her killing (infinitive) (for) I come (finite)
 'I came to kill the woman.'

The relative we are interested in examining is 'the woman whom I came to kill':

- (92) *zə -š -rà (-zə) s-aa -z a- ph^əə̀s*
 whose killing (for) I having-come the woman

Similarly, compare the indirect object in the following pair of sentences:

- (93) a *-š^əq^əə̀ à -px'a-ra (-zə) s-aà -it'*
 the book (to) it reading (for) I come (Finite)
 'I came to read the book.'
- (94) *zə -px'a -rà (-zə) s-aa -z a-š^əq^əə̀*
 (to) which reading (for) I having-come
 'the book I came to read ...'

The same is true of the direct object in the following:

- (95) *z -ba -rà (-zə) s-aa -z a -y^ənə*
 of-which seeing (for) I having-come the house
 'the house I came to see ...'

The situation is quite different when the 'purpose-conditional' is used to represent the dependent verb. The general pattern here is for a choice to exist as to whether the relevant affix within the dependent verb is replaced by its relative counterpart or not. However, if the head-noun has its own affix within the introductory verb, this naturally disappears in favour of its relative counterpart. Otherwise the affix which properly refers to the subordinate expression as a whole, yields to the appropriate relative form, which entails a functional shift in that this relative affix now refers exclusively to the head-noun, even though the head-noun has no role to play within the immediate syntactic range of the introductory verb which would justify its inclusion in the affixal inventory of this verb. We propose

to account for this by assuming that, where the 'purpose-conditional' occurs, the sentential status of the clause it conveys has not been removed in the transformational history of the sentence as a whole. In the formation of a relative the introductory verb occurs in its participial guise and is dependent itself upon the head-noun, but unless it contains an affix in agreement with that head-noun, there is nothing to justify its dependence upon that head-noun. In other words, the matrix sentence, represented by the introductory or superordinate verb, must itself contain some index of its own dependent status. The fact that some sort of relative-raising occurs is, then, not surprising; without it, we may suppose that the Abkhaz would sound something like the following English monstrosity: '*The woman I asked John to kill whom/her is sitting at the table'. The majority of the sort of matrix verbs we have been discussing have a vacant affixal slot for a column I affix because of the rule stated in note 16; it is, thus, not surprising that the raised relative should occupy precisely that slot. There does, however, exist a somewhat more pronounced oddness in the replacement of the indirect object-affix *-a-* of the verb *d-à-la-ge-it* 'he/she began it', even though from a functional point of view this affix correlates with the dependent expression just as does the column I affix of verbs like: *jə-lə-dzəb-it* 'she decided it', *j-a-kə-l-k'-it* 'she intended it', *jə-q'a-l-c'è-it* 'she did it', etc. As regards the dependent verb, one seems to have the option of relativizing on the relevant affix or not. This is, however, not the case when the relative is formed on the postpositional object, where retention of the non-relative affix in the embedded verb was judged unacceptable. It is interesting that in this same case there is apparently no need to have a relative affix in the introductory verb. This defies the hypothesis just advanced. The explanation for this inconsistency may in part lie in the fact that, as already remarked upon, the 'purpose-conditional' is in any event less frequent than the structurally simpler construction using the infinitive. And all the greater will be the infrequency of a relative being formed on the post-positional object of such an expression. The language is being strained to the limits in such sentences, and some inconsistency is perhaps to be expected.

Given, then, that, where the 'purpose-conditional' fulfils the role of the dependent sentence, the introductory verb is usually endowed with a relative affix, we may wonder what will happen where the 'purpose-conditional' is employed in the role of a purpose-clause. The following sentences should be compared with those offered above where the infinitive is seen to be so functioning:

- (96) a -š°q°ə s-à -px'a-rc // s-à-px'a-ra-zə s-aà -it'
 the book I (to) it read for I come (finite)
 = 'I came to read the book.'

The relative 'the book I came to read ...' will be:

- (97) s-à-px'a-rc // sə-zə-px'ə-rc // s-à-px'a-ra-zə // sə-zə-px'a-ra-zə
 sə-z- z- aà- z a-š°q°ə
 I which-for having-come

We note here the very interesting phenomenon that the matrix verb has had introduced into it a relative phrase meaning 'for which (sc. book)', which apparently underlines our tenet that the matrix verb must itself be linked to the head-noun to which it is being subordinated,²⁹ with the result that the sentence means in literal translation: '*The book for which I having-come *that* I read which/it'. The same choice is also found when we relativize on the direct object of a purpose-clause, as in:

- (98) də- s-šə- rc // jə- s-šə-rc // də-s-š-ra-zə //
 her I kill whom
 jə-s-š-ra-zə sə-z- z- aà-z a-ph°əs
 I whom-for having-come the-woman
 'the woman I came to kill ...'

compare also 'the v nan whom I sent the boy to see ...'

- (99) ə- ɛ'k°ən d- i- bà-rc // j- i- bà-rc // d- i-
 the boy her he see whom he her he
 ba- ra-zə // j- i- ba-ra-zə də- z- zə- sə-štə-z a- ph°əs
 see whom he him whom-for I having-sent the woman

Should the embedded sentence be expressed by the non-finite present, then here too the majority of the examples would suggest that the analysis hypothesized for the parallel construction with the 'purpose-conditional' should also be hypothesized in this instance, given the apparent preference for having a relative marker in the introductory verb. However, it must be recognized that there seems to be a slightly greater freedom in not introducing a relative affix into the matrix-verb than is the case with the 'purpose-conditional', which perhaps indicates that the internal sentence-boundary is not always preserved in the transformational history

- In the finite verbal complexes of Abkhaz confusion between singular and plural is only possible when the personal affix of column I is *j-*, since this may refer either to a 3rd person singular irrational object or to a 3rd person plural group of either irrational or rational beings. Notwithstanding this, *-k^oa* may be added even to a finite verb to emphasize the plurality of any affix associated with that verb – in other words, we could not insert *-k^oa* into the finite equivalent of (106) = *a-xàc^oa r-la s-š-weit* ‘I kill the men’s dog (*r-* = their)’ – as may be seen below:

- (100a) à-č'k° ən-č°a à-nɪp'əl à-s-ra ja -ca-k°òit' // ja -còit'
 they they
 'The boys go to play ball'.
 (101a) a-xàc°a wi də -r -š-k°èit' // də -r -š-'.
 him they him they
 'The men killed him.'

⁴ -*wa-* is found in the present and imperfect tenses of non-stative verbs, cf. the element -*o-* in the present tense of non-stative verbs in Q'abardian/E. Circassian, e.g. *s-o-k'o* 'I am going' (Šagirov 1967: 174).

⁵ The Past Indefinite is functionally not a finite form in that it may not alone form a sentence; it requires another past tense verb to follow it, such that its meaning is akin to 'I went and ...'.

⁶ This word means 'when I go'; *s-* is the mark of the first person singular, -*an-* the adverbial infix meaning 'when'.

⁷ The two forms of the non-finite Future I are not in free variation, cf. (for indirect questions) *s-an-ca-rà sà-z-dër-wa-m* 'I don't know when I'll go' and (for subordinate temporal clauses) *s-an-ca-lük" jà-q'a-s-e'òit* 'when I go, I'll do it'.

⁸ The form in -*e* is used of a series of separate actions realized and repeated in the past (Grammatika Abxazskogo Jazyka: 109), e.g. *h-an-cà-c ha-cà-p* 'Let us go at the time we usually used to go'. It is the form in -*e* which is the basis of the finite negative formation in the perfect (and pluperfect), cf. *eg'-sà-m-fà-c-t* 'I (*sà*) have not (*m*) yet eaten (*fa*) anything (*eg'*)'.

⁹ For a derivation see Lomtadze (1944: 151/2).

¹⁰ N.B. that this form has no finite counterpart.

¹¹ Abkhaz, like Ubykh, avoids forms which would involve the incorporation of a fourth personal affix (as, for example, in the causative form of a tripersonal verb), preferring to use a periphrastic expression. This avoidance of four-person verbs is not so typical of Circassian (Dumézil 1975: 178).

¹² The sister-languages, Ubykh and Circassian, know only the personal conjugation.

¹³ Voicing of the personal affix by retrogressive assimilation occurs only with transitive verbs, cf.: *s-dzax-wèit* 'I sew', and *jà-z-dzax-wèit* 'I saw it (*jà-*)'. In 1st. plural *ai/ha* becomes *aa*, generally speaking.

¹⁴ *n-* appears where the verb is tripersonal or contains a preverb. *r* becomes *d* when the verbal complex contains the causative marker *r*, e.g. (Lomtadze 1945):

jà-d -dà -r -bòit
it them they make see
'they show it to them'

**jà-r-rà-r-boit* 'is impossible, as is **jà-r-dà-r-boit*', according to my informant. Cf.

jà-rà -r -toit
it them they give
'they give it to them'

which last example shews that the dissimilation is not phonetically determined.

¹⁵ An alternative expression for 'singing' exists in Abkhaz whereby the noun for 'song' *às^oa* amalgamates with the verb to form an intransitive compound. This will give the following non-finite and finite forms: *Meràb jà-š^oa-h^oò aphàs didërweit* and *aph^oàs d-š^oah^oòit* 'the woman is singing'.

¹⁶ The verb possesses no personal affix (*jà-*) correlating with *às^oa* since we have a rule which states that where the referent of the personal affix *j(ə)-* of column I immediately precedes the verb, the affix *j(ə)-* either disappears or becomes schwa, cf. *a-çà è-q'o-up* < **jà-q'o-up* 'The horse is'.

¹⁷ The verb 'to hit' is intransitive, as may be seen from this example:

Meràb d -i -bèit a -xàc'a d -zà -sà- z a -ph^oàs
Merab her he saw the man he whom hit (Non-finite) the woman
'Merab saw the woman whom the man hit.'

cf.

a -xàc'a a -ph^oàs d -là -s-it'
the-man the-woman he her hit
'The man hit the woman'.

¹⁸ Neither of these main verbs contains any personal affix referring to *diš^oa*, which would then subsequently be replaced by the relative particle *-z-*. The question of the appearance of the indirect object affix in the role, as it were, of object to the preverb is a complex one and requires separate treatment. The form expected here, namely *j-ā-k^o-i-c'eit'*, is not used in this context, but cf. the following sentences:

a- xāh^o ā- šaq'a jā-k^o-i- c'eit'
 the stone the pillar it on he put
 'He put the stone on the pillar'

but

a- xah^o-c^o'āh^o ā šaq'a j- ā- k^o-i- c'eit'
 the beam the it it-on he
 'He put the beam on the pillar'

¹⁹ No matter what the form of the first part of the sentence, we have the option of replacing the *d-* of the relative non-finite verb by *jā-*, which then refers not to Merab but to *jā-/z-xā* = 'his/whose head'. In either case we are faced with the problem of deciding exactly what is the subject of the main verb – or, in other words, given that the verb 'to lack' is 'inverted' with the impersonal 'it' functioning as its subject, what is the role being played here by 'Merab'? If it is dependent on *jā-xā* in the meaning 'Merab's head', how can *wasq'āk'* be placed where we find it? Indeed, the sequence *wi + eipš* may be inserted between 'Merab' and *wasq'āk'*! Such a separation of possessor from its head-noun is unusual, and yet, unless we interpret 'Merab' as possessor to *jā-xā*, the sentence is syntactically quite unanalysable – at the same time, however, the presence of *d-šā-lā-px'adzo* suggests otherwise; logically, *jā-šā-lā-px'adzo* is to be expected. With the variant containing the sequence *z-xā j-ā-g-u way^oā-m*, it is clear that, syntactically, 'Merab' is subject. And so, logically, we expect only *d-šā-lā-px'adzo*; that here too the variant *jā-šā-lā-px'adzo* is possible (be the sequence *wi + eipš* placed after *way^oā-m* or before *wāsq'āk'*) shews that this sentence illustrates a clear confusion between syntax and semantics, no matter which expression is employed in the meaning 'he is stupid'.

²⁰ As in English, so in Abkhaz we can omit the word for 'the day'. This entails no alteration to the remainder of the Abkhaz sentence, whereas the omission of these words in English necessitates the substitution of 'when' for 'that'.

²¹ Also possible here is *z-zā-q'a-s-c'o*, where *z-* = 'which' and *-zā-* = 'for' – cf. above for *-zā-* used in a benefactive sense. In fact, the word *ā-mzāz* is very rare in Abkhaz, and the sentence is more natural if it is omitted altogether, whether we have *zā-q'a-s-c'o* or *z-zā-q'a-s-c'o*. In the following sentence *ā-mzāz* may not appear:

wā	-taa	-c ^o ā	wā	-bā	-r		-c	a
your	parent	(plural)	you	see	(purpose-conditional)	it	+	
-up'	a	-y ^o nā-	q'a	wā	-z	-cō		
is	(article)	house	to	you	why	go		
(Present)				(Present)				
(Stative)				(Non-finite)				
(Finite)				(Non-stative)				

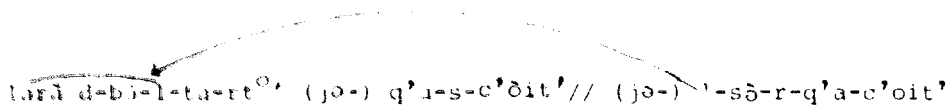
(literally) 'In order to see your parents is why you are going home'.

²² Abaza here diverges from the western Abkhaz dialects by dispensing altogether with this possessive prefix; see Lomtadze (1944: 132–133), ‘I kill myself’ in Abkhaz is *s-çə-s-š-weit*, but *çə-s-š-it* in Abaza, though Lomtadze does note *r-çə-šə-r-cʰaxl* ‘they (r-) hid themselves (r-çə-)’. Similarly, ‘he took off his cloak’ will be *jə-wəp’a jə-šʰ-i-x-it* in Abkhaz, but *jə-wəp’a šʰ-i-x-it* in Abaza.

²³ The main verb in question here *a-taxə-zaa-ra* ‘to want’ is a stative verb and therefore intransitive. The affix of column I represents the verb’s SUBJECT = the object wanted, whilst the person desiring is the verb’s INDIRECT OBJECT and is represented by the appropriate affix of column II. The English equivalent given beneath this affix appears in the accusative since that is the appropriate case for the general English translation = ‘I want X’, rather than the more literal ‘X is an object of desire to me’.

²⁴ Since the main verb is now transitive, its affix of column I now correlates with the direct object.

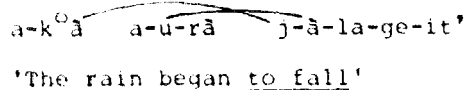
²⁵ The finite sentence acting as source for this relative is:



larā d-bi-l-ta-rtʰ (jə-) qʰi-s-cʰitʰ // (jə-) -sə-r-qʰa-cʰoitʰ

²⁶ Despite the identity of the first two elements in these sentences there is no ambiguity in the sentences taken as wholes. However, by altering the affixal complement of the subordinate verb to give: *d-i-i-ta-re jə-s-tax-u a-wayə* we produce a sentence that is three ways ambiguous, since the head-noun may correlate with the subject-, direct object-, or indirect object-affix of the subordinate verb.

²⁷ Even where there is no overt indirect object expressed, the indirect object affix is always present, e.g.: *a-kʰə ā-la-ge-it* ‘The rain began.’ However, in such cases the infinitive has simply been deleted, and it is always possible to re-introduce it; here it will be *a-u-rā*, e.g.:



a-kʰə ā-u-rā jə-ā-la-ge-it

 ‘The rain began to fall’

²⁸ The infinitive may be used only if the phrase ‘for me’ is expressed independently of the verb, e.g.: *sarə sə-zə lə-ga-ra d-ā-la-ge-it*. The direct object must be associated with the infinitive by means of the appropriate possessive prefix, which must stand at the *beginning* of the word in which it appears. Now, the possessive prefixes are identical to the affixes of column II, but such affixes *follow* post-positional phrases within the verbal complex, e.g. ‘She gives it to him for me’:

jə- sə-z -i -l -to -itʰ.
 it me-for to-him she give

These conflicting requirements in the order of affixes result in the infinitive being excluded here.

²⁹ It must also be mentioned that in place of *sə-z-z-āə-z* with its specially inserted relative phrase, the simple past participle also seems possible (i.e. *s-aa-z*), although this was judged not quite as good.

³⁰ Abkhaz generally allows both *-cʰa* and *-kʰa* for the plural of nations: *-kʰa* is not possible for ‘the Abkhazians’ – this will be either *əpswaa* for the Abkhaz nation or *əpsacʰa* for an assemblage of individual Abkhazians, cf. *awəblaa-kʰa* ‘the Ubykhs’.

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