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Volume 2, 1979

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NORTH-HOLLAND PUBLISHING COMPANY – AMSTERDAM

LDS

Lingua Descriptive Studies

ABKHAZ

B. G. Hewitt

University of Cambridge

in collaboration with Z. K. Khiba



NORTH-HOLLAND PUBLISHING COMPANY – AMSTERDAM

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Introduction

According to the last census for which figures are available (1970), there are 79,835 speakers of Abkhaz (excluding speakers of Abaza, of which there are about 25,000 - see below) within the USSR. The vast majority of these live in the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Abkhazian Republic, which lies on the coast of the Black Sea in the north-west of Soviet Georgia, and whose capital is Sukhumi. Although the three official languages of the Republic are Abkhaz, Russian and Georgian, this last is not widely known, but, as many settlements from Sukhumi southwards represent a mixed population of Abkhazians and Mingrelians, the third language of most of those Abkhazians living in this area is Mingrelian. Note that an indeterminate number of both Abkhaz and Abaza speakers live in Turkey and possibly other Near Eastern countries.

Abkhaz is a member of the small and homogeneous North West Caucasian language-family, whose two other members are Circassian (Cherkess) and the almost extinct Ubykh, which, since the Russian subjugation of the North Caucasus in 1864, has been spoken only in Turkey. Abkhaz may be divided into two main dialectal groups: (i) Abaza, which is spoken outside Abkhazia in the Karačay-Cherkessk Autonomous Region and which consists of the two dialects T'ap'anta (phonetically the most complex of all the Abkhaz-Abaza dialects and the basis of the Abaza literary language) and Ašxar; (ii) Abkhaz proper, spoken in Abkhazia and comprising the two dialects of Bzyp, phonetically the more complex and spoken to the north of Sukhumi, and Abžui, which is the basis of the Abkhaz literary language and which forms the immediate object of the present study.

The first alphabet for Abkhaz was established in 1862 by Usar (Lomtadze, 1967:101), but widespread publication of materials in Abkhaz became the norm only in the Soviet period, during which time three main (plus two minor) orthographies have been tried - (a) Latin-based (1928-38), (b) Georgian-based (1938-54) (c) Cyrillic-based (from 1954) (ibid. 102), which latter contains fourteen characters not found in Cyrillic but which is regrettably inconsistent in its marking of glottalisation and aspiration. It is interesting to note that the Abaza orthography, which is also based on Cyrillic, employs only one additional character, which is used exclusively to indicate glottalisation.

In the present work, morpheme-boundaries are most commonly marked by means of a hyphen (-), although the plus-sign (+) is also used where a particularly close bond applies between two morphemes, as in the case of a column II, intra-verbal, pronominal affix which is 'governed' by a following preverb, determiner or relational particle (e.g. (ø-)yə+q'ā-l-c'e-yt' 'She -l- fed him -yə+', which is, etymologically speaking, 'She put it (ø-) into his (-yə+) mouth (+q'ā-)'); the plus-sign is also used to indicate morpheme-boundaries where no morpheme-by-morpheme gloss is given, as in the case of the word for 'train', e.g.

a- d'ā+yba
(article) train

which would be fully segmentable thus:

a- d°ə- yba
(art.) field ship

An equals-sign (=) is employed after the first element of a reduplication (e.g. lassə=lassə 'often'). Square brackets ([]) indicate the restoration of an element that has disappeared as a result of some phonetic process (e.g. y-a-[w-]wə-yt 'It -a- does -[w-] it y-'). Whilst the lexical meaning of verbs consisting of a preverb and root is a function of the separate meanings of each of these elements (although sometimes the individual meanings are no longer transparent), that lexical meaning is usually given in the gloss for the root alone, e.g.

à- q'a- la- ra
(art.) (prev.) happen (masd.)
'to happen'

where -q'a- actually means 'into-existence' (cf. the copular root -q'a- 'to-be') and -la- is the root meaning 'to-enter', cf. à- q'a- c'a- ra

(art.) (prev.) make (masd.)

where -q'a- is the same element as above and -c'a- is the root 'to-put'. For all further information relating to the system of transcription used below see 3.1.ff. Any individual questions (including the whole of section 4) from the Questionnaire (Lingua 42.1.1977), which forms the basis of the Lingua Descriptive Series, that are entirely omitted from the present study were so omitted because of their irrelevance to the language under examination. However, the following sections of that Questionnaire - 1.12 (Topic), 1.13 (Heavy Shift), 1.14 (Other movement processes) and 1.16 (Operational definitions of word-classes) - require further special investigation.

In addition to the many friends and relatives in Abkhazia who helped in the preparation of this volume, I should like to offer my thanks to Prof. W.S. Allen and Dr. F. Nolan, both of Cambridge University, and to Miss S. Aməč'ba of Sukhumi University. Special mention must also be made of Prof. B. Comrie of the University of Southern California, who first proposed that I undertake the preparation of this volume and who made many invaluable criticisms of the first draught; Dr. Norval Smith kindly fulfilled this task for half of Chapter 1 in the absence of Prof. Comrie. But a special vote of thanks is due to my wife, Zaira Khiba, who either provided outright or at least checked all the material contained in this volume; without her generous collaboration in patiently answering the countless questions that have been her daily fare for the last few months this volume would never have appeared. However, responsibility for the interpretation of the materials provided by my wife or culled from any other source rests solely with me.

This work was prepared in its entirety while I was in receipt of the Wardrop Scholarship (which exists to support research in Georgian studies and in fields touching upon Georgia), to the managers of which fund I wish here to express my immense gratitude.

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Abbreviations

absol. = absolutive	stat. = stative
adj. = adjective	V. = verb
adv. = adverb	
Ag. = agent	
Aor. = Aorist	
art. = article	
attr. = attribute	
coll. = collective	
col. = column	
Cond. = Conditional tense	
Condit. = Conditional mood	
cop. = copula	
D.O. = direct object	
dyn. = dynamic	
e.o. = each other	
emph. = emphatic	
excl. = exclusive	
f./fem. = feminine	
fin. = finite	
Fut. = Future	
hum. = human	
ibid. = ibidem	
Imperf. = Imperfect	
incl. = inclusive	
Ind./Indef. = Indefinite	
I.O. = indirect object	
instr. = instrumental	
iter. = iterative	
lit. = literally	
m./masc. = masculine	
masd. = masdar	
neg. = negative	
non-hum. = non-human	
NP = noun-phrase	
Perf. = Perfect	
pers. = person	
pl. = plural	
Plu-perf. = Plu-perfect	
pot. = potential	
pred. = predicative	
Pres. = Present	
prev. = preverb	
progr. = progressive	
prohib. = prohibition	
ps-cl. = pseudo-cleft	
purp. = purposive	
Qu. = question	
recip. = reciprocal	
rel. = relative	
[+rel] = [+relativised copula]	
sg. = singular	
S. = subject	
subj. = subjunctive	
suff. = suffix	

1. Syntax

1.1. General questions

1.1.1. Sentence-types

1.1.1.1. Direct and indirect speech

The preferred method of reporting speech is that of direct quotation. The introductory verb (which will most commonly be a-h°a-rà 'to say') usually follows the words quoted, e.g.

a- d°k'àn (ø-)aa- dē- r- t'- àanja s-gèlo-
the inn it (preverb) they cause open until I stand-up
m + (dyn.)
not
(ø-)yē-h°è-yt'
it he say (finite)

'He said: "I shall not get up until they open the inn."'

We notice that the direct quote is not marked in any special way. However, this is only because no words intervene between the quote and its introductory verb and because this introductory verb contains only one pre-radical element (namely the 3rd. person singular human column III, transitive subject pronominal affix yē- - the expected column I, 3rd. person singular non-human pronominal affix yē-, correlating with the direct object, disappears when immediately preceded by its referent (cf. 2.1.1.1.1 both for this phenomenon and for details concerning the bound pronominal affixes appearing within the verbal complex), which is here the entire direct quote itself). Should the introductory verb also contain a column II, indirect object affix, then the direct quote must be followed by the particle h°a, which is actually an archaic form of the present absolutive of a-h°a-rà 'to say', the more common, present-day form of which would be h°o ← *h°a-wa, which latter form is not found in this particular context (there are no pronominal affixes in these absolutives because absolutives of transitive verbs do not permit the insertion of column III, transitive subject affixes (cf. 2.1.1.3), and the column I affix yē- is absent for the same reasons just advanced to account for its absence in the introductory verb itself). And so, with this indirect object affix, the last three words of the example above would be:

...s-gèlo-m h°a (ø-)r+ à- s-h°e-yt'
it them+to I say (fin.)

'I told them: "I shall not get up..."'

Indeed, if the introductory verb contains any pre-radical affix in addition to the subject-affix, there is a preference for h°a to be used, e.g.

...s-gèlo-m h°a (ø-)sē-m- h°è-yt'
it I not say (fin.)

'I did not say: "I shall not get up..."'

If the pre-radical affix -amxa- (cf. 2.1.3.4.15) appears as the single additional component in the introductory verb, then h°a is obligatory, e.g.

...s-gèlo-m h°a (ø-)s+amxa- h°e-yt'
it I+unwillingly say (fin.)

'I unwillingly said: "I shall not get up..."'

Should the introductory verb precede the direct quote, then h'a is also obligatory, e.g.

way (ø-)yə-h'è-yt' a- š'q'ò'è (ø-)z-y'ò- àanja
that-one it he say (fin.) the book it I write until
s-d'è+l- c'- wa- 'm h'a

I (compound preverb) go-out (dyn.) not

'He said: "I shall not go out until I have written the book(//letter)."'

(N.B. that there is here no column I, direct object affix yə- in the introductory verb, as a sequence of two yə-affixes is not possible, unless the first yə- is the relative affix, rather than the 3rd. person singular non-human or the 3rd. person plural column I affix, or unless an expected sequence of three such affixes is reduced to two - cf. 3.4.3.2).

If the arguments of the introductory verb appear in the sentence as independent nouns/pronouns, they will usually appear, in the order Subject-Indirect Object, between the quote and its following introductory verb - as the quote is now separated from its introductory verb, the use of h'a again becomes obligatory, e.g.

...s-gèlo-m h'a a- xàc'a a- ph'òs yə-l+ è- y- h'e-yt'
the man the woman it her+to he say (fin.)

'The man said to the woman: "I shall not get up..."'

However, these arguments may precede the actual quote, even though the introductory verb remains in its usual position after the quote, e.g.

a-xàc'a a-ph'òs a-d'k'àn (ø-)aa-də-r-t'-àanja s-gèlo-m h'a
(ø-)l+è-y-h'e-yt'

'The man told the woman: "I shall not get up until they open the inn."'

Indirect speech-reporting is also possible in Abkhaz. Formally we may distinguish the following two groups of tenses:-

I	II
Present	Imperfect
Aorist (Simple Past)	Past Indefinite
Future I	Conditional I
Future II	Conditional II
Perfect	Plu-perfect

With the exception of the opposition Aorist : Past Indefinite (which latter is functionally, though not formally, rather anomalous - cf. 2.1.3.5.2), the tenses of column II are the past counterparts of their opposite numbers in column I. All tenses have a finite and a non-finite form (cf. 2.1.3.5.2). The non-finite forms of the tenses of column II differ from those of their column I counterparts by the addition of final -z. As Abkhaz uses these non-finite forms to represent its subordinate clauses, these are the forms that appear when the speaker chooses the indirect mode of speech-reporting. Since the language possesses no independent complementiser, the pre-radical verbal infix -s(ə)- 'how' is used in the sense of English 'that' instead. Let us take the verb à-q'a-c'a-ra 'to do/make' and illustrate the indirect reporting of speech:-

(a) Present

yə-q'a- s-c'ò- yt'
it (prev.) I do (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'I am doing it'

→ yə-šə- q'e- y- c'o (h'a) (ø-)yə-h'è-yt'
it that (prev.) he do it he say (fin.)
(Present, non-finite)

'He said that he was doing it'

We note that, although the person of the subordinate verb conforms to that of the introductory verb, the tense of the non-finite verb is the same as that of the original words used (i.e. Present). Let us call this type of reporting 'semi'-indirect speech. And the optional use of the particle h'a seems at once to underline the 'semi'-indirect, and thus also the 'semi'-direct, nature of the construction involved. However, also possible here is the non-finite form of the Imperfect tense, e.g.

yə-šə-q'e-y-c'o-z (ø-)yə-h'è-yt'

where the subordinate verb fully conforms in respect of both person and tense to these same categories in the introductory verb; this construction is thus fully indirect speech, and we note the interesting fact that the particle h'a seems not now to be possible, my informant being somewhat hesitant about accepting it. The same choice between what we have styled 'semi'-indirect and fully indirect speech is open to us in each of the examples below:-

(b) Aorist

yə-q'a-s-c'è-yt'

'I did it'

→ yə-šə-q'e-y-c'a (h'a) //
(Aorist, non-fin.)

yə-šə-q'e-y-c'a-z
(Past Indef., non-fin.)

(h'a) (ø-)yə-h'è-yt'

'He said that he had done it'

(N.B. that the possible use of h'a with the Past Indefinite no doubt results from the fact that there is virtually never any distinction in meaning between the non-finite forms of the Aorist and Past Indefinite, see again 2.1.3.5.2).

(c) Future I

yə-q'a-s-c'à-p'

'I shall do it then'

→ yə-šə-q'e-y-c'a-ra (h'a) //
(Future I, non-fin.)

yə-šə-q'e-y-c'a-rə-z
(Conditional I, non-fin.)

(ø-)yə-h'è-yt'

'He said that he would do it then'

(d) Future II (for the difference between the two Futures cf. 2.1.3.2.1.4)

yə-q'a-s-c'à-š+t'

'I shall probably do it'

→ yə-ḡə-q'e-y-c'a-ḡa (ḡa) //
 (Fut.II, non-fin.)
 yə-ḡə-q'e-y-c'a-ḡa-z
 (Condit.II, non-fin.)

(ø-)yə-ḡə-è-yt'

'He said that he would probably do it'

(e) Perfect

yə-q'a-s-c'a-x'è-yt'

'I have already done it'

→ yə-ḡə-q'e-y-c'a-x'o-w (ḡa) //
 (Perfect, non-fin.)

yə-ḡə-q'e-y-c'a-x'a-z

(Plu-perf. non-fin.)

(ø-)yə-ḡə-è-yt'

'He said that he had already done it'

Of course, if the original words spoken contain a tense from column II, then, in indirect quotation, the non-finite form of that tense is obligatory, and ḡa is once again optional.

1.1.1.2. How are the different types of interrogative sentence marked?

In Abkhaz there is no special word-order that is characteristic of interrogative sentences. For supra-segmental phenomena, see the relevant sub-sections below.

1.1.1.2.1. Yes-no questions

1.1.1.2.1.1. Neutral

Either -ma or, more rarely, -w is suffixed to the non-finite form of the appropriate tense (cf. 2.1.3.5.2 for the non-finite forms in question). When the suffix is -ma, the verb's stressed syllable is accompanied by a high-falling pitch; when the suffix is -w, in addition to this high-falling pitch, the verb's final syllable (i.e. the syllable containing the suffix -w) is characterised by rising intonation, with the result that, if the verb's final syllable is the stressed syllable, it will be marked by a fall-rising pitch, e.g.

wə- cò- ma // wə-cò-w
 you go (Qu.) (Qu.)
 +(dyn.)

'Are you going?'

cf.

də-y- k'è- s- ma // də-y-k'è-sə-w
 he him (prev.) touch (Qu.) (Qu.)

'Did he touch him?'

There is no form in -w for the Aorist tense; only də-cà-ma (plus the two forms derived from the Past Indefinite tense, namely də-cà-z-ma and də-cà-zə-w) may be used to give the meaning 'Did he go?'. For the Future I tense, the form in -w (i.e. də-ca-rè-w) has the simple temporal meaning 'Will he go?', whilst the form in -ma (də-ca-rè-ma) rather has a deliberative force 'Is he to go?'. In the Perfect tense, apart from the form də-ca-x'ò-w-ma 'Has he already gone?', there is also the form də-ca-x'ò-w (← *də-ca-x'a-w-w). In the Future II tense, forms in -w (e.g. də-cà-ḡo-w) are rare. For the Present tense

of stative verbs (see section 2.1.3.2.ff for the dichotomy between stative and non-stative, or dynamic, verbs), the choice exactly parallels that found in the Perfect of dynamic verbs, namely:

də-q'o-w- ma //
 he be (non-fin.) (Qu.)
 də-q'o-w (← *də-q'a-w- w)
 he be (non-fin.) (Qu.)
 'Is he?'

1.1.1.2.1.2. Leading

1.1.1.2.1.2.1. expecting the answer 'yes'

The element -y is suffixed to the appropriate non-finite form containing the negative affix -m(ə)(-). The intonation is the same fall-rise that is characteristic of neutral questions marked with the suffix -w, e.g.

wə- m- cò- y
 you not go (Qu.)
 (+dyn.)

'You are going, aren't you?'

This final interrogative particle -y may be omitted from the non-finite Present tense and from all the non-finite forms of the second group of tenses (i.e. Imperfect, Past Indefinite, Conditionals I and II, and Plu-perfect); the verb's stressed syllable will, however, still be marked by a fall-rise intonation, e.g.

də-m- cò- (-y)
 he not go (Qu.)
 +(dyn.)

'He is going, isn't he?'

də-m- cò- z (ə-y)
 he not go (non-fin.) (Qu.)
 +(dyn.)

'He was going, wasn't he?'

Note that in the Perfect, the final -w of the non-finite form (e.g. yə-ca-x'ò-w 'he who has already gone') disappears to give such structures as

də-m- ca-x'è- y
 he not go (Perf.) (Qu.)

'He has gone already, hasn't he?'

This time there is no parallelism between the structures of dynamic Perfects and stative Presents as a result of the different placement of the negative element in the latter (cf. 1.4), e.g.

də-q'a-mə- y
 he be not (Qu.)

'He is, isn't he?'

the Past tense of which will be:

də-q'a-m-zə- y // də-q'a-mə- z
 'He was, wasn't he?'

1.1.1.2.1.2.2. expecting the answer 'no'

The verb-forms are basically the same as in the last subsection except that the emphatic post-radical suffix -ja- is inserted into the complex, e.g.

àq°'a- q'a də-m- ca-jè- y (or with the
Sukhumi to he not go (emphatic) (Qu.) reverse word-order)
'Didn't he go to Sukhumi?'

However, in the Perfect and Plu-perfect only the forms containing the post-radical element -cə- appear to be acceptable, e.g.

də-m-ca-jà- cə- y
(emph.) (Perf.) (Qu.)
'Hasn't he already gone?'

də-m-ca-jà-cə-z (ə-y)
(non-fin.) (Qu.)

'Hadh't he already gone?'

It will be clear from the form of the English translation appended to these examples that the formations under review are really nothing more than negative questions. Abkhas has no independent equivalent to real leading questions of the type 'He is not going, is he?' or 'Surely he's not going?'. The formations in -ja- plus -y are dealt with under the present heading because of their structural similarity to leading questions expecting the answer 'yes'.

1.1.1.2.1.3. Alternative

The neutral form in -w (1.1.1.2.1.1) is used first in the positive then immediately in the negative. The stressed syllable of both verbs is characterised by high-falling intonation, e.g.

də-cò- w də-m- cò-w
he go (Qu.) not
(dyn.)
'Is he going or not?'

1.1.1.2.2. Question-word questions

When an NP forms the basis of a question, the relative form of the non-finite verb is used (cf. 1.1.2.3.ff). If the NP is human, the suffix -da is added to the verbal complex after all other post-radical markers except the non-finite marker -z, which is found in the second group of dynamic tenses and in the Past tense of stative verbs. The verb's stressed syllable is characterised by high-falling intonation, e.g.

y- aa- da
who come who?
(relative)

'Who came?'

yə-z- fa- c°a- x'ā- da- z
it who eat too-much (Perf.) who? (non-fin.)
(rel.)

'Who had already eaten too much?'

N.B. that in the Perfect of dynamic verbs and in the Present of stative verbs, -da is added to a base-form lacking the final -w of the actual non-finite forms of these tenses, e.g.

yə-z- fa- x'ā- da
it who eat (Perf.) who?
(rel.)
'Who has already eaten it?'

yə- q'a-da
who be who?
(rel.)

'Who is it?'

Alternatively, one may use the pure relative form of the verb in association with either of the interrogative pronouns d-ārban or də-z+wès+ta(+da) // də-z+wès+da 'who?', where d(ə)- is the column I, 3rd. person singular, human affix. The stressed syllable of these pronouns is characterised by high-falling intonation, e.g.

y- aa- z d- ārbān // də-z+wès+ta (etc..)
who come (non-fin.) he
(rel.)
(or with the reverse order)
'Who came?'

If the person concerned is plural, only the form yə-z+wès+ta(+da) // yə-z+wès+da // yə-z+wès+c°a+da, where yə- is the column I, 3rd. person plural pronominal affix, and +c°a+ is the human pluraliser, is possible, e.g.

y- aa- k°ā- z (ø-) z+wès+c°a+ da (etc..)
who come (pl.) (non-fin.) they (pl.)
(rel.)

or

yə- z+wès+c°a+da (etc..) y-aa-k°ā-z
they

'Who (pl.) came?'

N.B. that d-ārban, or more rarely də-z+wès+ta only, plus the interrogative suffix -w means 'Which one?', especially when one is seeking more detailed information about the identity of someone already referred to. If the noun representing the entity whose identity is in doubt is actually used, it will either stand in the predicative case in -s, in which case the word-order is irrelevant, e.g.

xàc'a-s d-ārbanə-w // də-z+wès+to-w (or with the
man (pred.) reverse order)
'Which man?'

or the noun itself will take the suffix -w and be placed after d-ārban alone, e.g.

d-ārban xàc'o-w
'Which man?'

The plural human form is yə-z+wès+c°o-w 'Which ones?'

If the NP being questioned is non-human, the relative form of the non-finite verb will take one of the suffixes -y // -zə+y // -zə+y, if it belongs to the first group of tenses (i.e. Present, Aorist, Futures I and II, Perfect). The verb's stressed syllable is characterised by high-falling intonation.

In the Perfect, these suffixes are added to a base-form ending in -x'a and not in -x'o-w, as would be the ending of the relative Perfect, e.g.

y- aa- x'ò- w
which come (Perf.) (non-fin.)
(rel.)

'that which has already come'

BUT

y- aa- x'è- y // y-aa-x'á-zə+y // y-aa-x'á-zə+y
which come (Perf.) (Qu.) (Qu.) (Qu.)
(rel.)

'What has already come?'

In the Present of stative verbs, on the other hand, the base-form is usually the same as the pure non-finite relative (i.e. it ends in -w), e.g.

yə- q'o-y (← *yə-q'a-wə-y)
which be what?
(rel.)

or

yə-q'o-[w-]zə+y // yə-q'o-[w-]zə+y
'What is there?'

although the form lacking this final -w is also occasionally heard, being apparently a Bzyp-dialect form, e.g.

yə- q'è-y
which be what?
(rel.)

'What is there?'

Should the tense of the verb be one of the second group, either the element -zə- will be inserted immediately before the non-finite marker -z, e.g.

yə- cò- zə- z
which go what? (non-fin.)
+(dyn.)

'What was going?'

or a structure resembling the simple relative non-finite form is employed; the form in question differs from the non-finite relative in three ways: the stress seems always to fall on the final syllable, although the first syllable also appears to bear a strong secondary stress; high-falling intonation accompanies this stressed syllable; and the vowel of this final syllable is lengthened and pronounced as illustrated below:-

yə- cò- z (pronounced [-'tsò'əz])
which go (non-fin.)
(rel.) +(dyn.)

'What was going?'

yə- b- y'ə- z (pronounced [-'y'ə'əz])
which you write (non-fin.)
(rel.)

'What did you write?'

Alternatively, -zə+y may be added to the appropriate non-finite form (e.g. yə-cò-z-zə+y 'What was going?'. The Past form for stative verbs parallels the choice available for the second group of tenses of dynamic verbs, e.g.

yə- q'á-zə- z // yə-q'á-z (pronounced //
which be what (non-fin.) [-'q'á'az])
(rel.)
yə-q'á-z-zə+y
'What was there?'

Alternatively, one may use the simple relative form of the verb in association with either of the interrogative pronouns y-àrban or yə-z+a+k'ə[+wə]+y 'what?' (where +wə+ is the non-finite marker of this basically stative verb-form - it is not realised phonetically, although its influence is clearly seen in the plural form, presented immediately below, where it causes the -a- of -k'a- to become -o-) or, in the case of the NP concerned being plural, yə-z+a+k'ə[+wə]+y (← *yə-z+a+k'ə[+wə]+y). The stressed syllable of these pronouns is marked by high-falling intonation, e.g.

y- aa- x'ò- w (ø-)àrban //
which come (Perf.) (non-fin.) it what?
(rel.)
(ø-)z+a+k'ə[+wə]+y
it what?

or

y- àrban // yə-z+a+k'ə[+wə]+y y-aa-x'ò-w
it it

'What has already come?'

N.B. that only the form y-àrbanə-w is used in the sense of 'which one?'; for the construction accompanying this interrogative form, see above for examples of d-àrbanə-w.

To produce temporal Wh-questions ('when?'), the element -ba- is added to the relative-subordinating temporal verbal infix -an-, which infix stands immediately after the column I affix of the verbal complex. The verb appears in the non-finite form of the appropriate tense, if the verb is stative or if the dynamic tense concerned is one of the second group of tenses; note that for both of the latter group of tenses the interrogative element -zə- may precede the non-finite marker -z. The verb's stressed syllable is characterised by high-falling intonation, e.g.

y- an+bà- q'o-w
it when? be (non-fin.)
'When is it?'

y-an+bà-q'a-z (more rarely y-an+bà-q'a-zə- z)
(non-fin.) (Qu.) (non-fin.)
'When was it?'

d- an+bà-co- z // d-an+bà-co-zə- z
he when? go (non-fin.) (Qu.) (non-fin.)
+(dyn.)

'When was he going?'

Should the dynamic tense belong to the first group of tenses, the verb-form may be the appropriate non-finite structure (in the case of the Present, Perfect, and possibly in the case of the Aorist and Future I too) or the non-finite form plus the interrogative suffix -y, which we saw above to be characteristic

of Wh-questions formed on non-human NPs (this latter structure being preferred for the Aorist and Future I, and the only admissible form for the Future II). The verb's stressed syllable remains characterised by high-falling intonation, e.g.

Present:

d-an+bà-co(-y)
'When is he going?'

Aorist:

d-an+bà-ca(?) //
d-an+bà-ce-y
'When did he go?'

Future I:

d-an+bà-ca-ra(??) //
d-an+bà-ca-rə-y
'When will he go then?'

Future II:

d-an+bà-ca-ge-y
'When will he probably go?'

Perfect:

d-an+bà-ca-x'o-w //
d-an+bà-ca-x'e-y
'When has he already gone?'

To produce locative Wh-questions ('where//whither?'), the element -ba- is added to the relative locative verbal infix -ax'- (from which -x'- is subsequently lost), which infix also stands immediately after the column I affix of its verbal complex. The verb-form will then exactly parallel the forms described above for the interrogatives formed with -an+ba- 'when?', except that only one choice seems available for the Perfect, namely:

d- a+bà- ca-x'o- w
he where? go (Perf.) (non-fin.)
'Where has he already gone?'

The interrogative intra-verbal affix meaning 'whence?' is -a+ba+nt°-, e.g.

d- a+bà+nt°-aa- we- y
he whence? come (dyn.) (Qu.)
'Whence is he coming?'

To produce Wh-questions of manner ('how?'), the element -ba- is added to the relative verbal infix of manner -g- (the -b- of -ba- being subsequently devoiced to -p-), which infix also stands immediately after the column I affix in the verbal complex. The verb-form exactly parallels the choices set out above for the interrogatives formed with -an+ba- 'when?', except that in the Future I only the form ending with the interrogative particle -y seems feasible, e.g.

də-g+pà-ca-rə y
he how? go (Fut.I) (Qu.)
'How will he go then?'

To produce Wh-questions of reason ('why?'), the verbal infix -z(ə)- is placed immediately after the column I affix of the verbal complex. The post-radical structure of the complex will then be as described earlier for Wh-questions formed on non-human NPs, except that in the Perfect only the variant containing the interrogative particle -y seems possible, e.g.

də-z- ca-x'e- y
he why? go (Perf.) (Qu.)
'Why has he already gone?'

yə-zə- q'a-zə- z // yə-zə- q'a-z //
it why? be (Qu.) (non-fin.) it why? be (non-fin.) //

yə-zə-q'a-z-zə+y
(Qu.)
'Why was it?'

də-z- cà-zə- z // də-z- cà-z //
he why? go (Qu.) (non-fin.) he why? go (non-fin.) //

də-z-cà-z-zə+y
(Qu.)
'Why did he go?'

Questions of the type 'how much//many?' are produced by using s+aq'a//z+aq'a 'how much/many?' in association with an appropriate interrogative verb-form. And high-falling intonation marks the stressed syllable of whichever word follows either of the above interrogatives, e.g.

s+aq'a//z+aq'a h'a (ø-) aa- w- x'è-y
how-many pig(s) it//them (prev.) you buy (Qu.)
'How many pigs did you buy?' (non-human)

s+aq'a//z+aq'a y'ò (ø-) aa- da
how-many man(men) he//then come (Qu.)
'How many men came?' (human)

1.1.1.2.2.1. What elements of the sentence can be questioned?

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. which constituents of the main clause?

Any constituent of the main clause may be questioned by employing the appropriate relativised verb-form in association with the appropriate interrogative particle, e.g. (for a human direct object)

yè- b- dər- wa- da
whom you know (dyn.) who?
(rel.)

'Whom do you know?'

Only questions formed on nouns in the predicative case call for special comment since there is no non-periphrastic way of producing a relative expression on such predicative nouns (see 1.1.2.3.7). The interrogative pronoun yə-z+a+k'è+y 'what?' is placed in the predicative case in -s (i.e. (ø-)z+a+k'è+s), and this is then used in conjunction with the appropriate interrogative verb-form, e.g.

arèy (ø-)z+a+k'è+s də- rə- px'ajò- y
this as-what him they consider what?
(dyn.)

'What do they consider this one as?'

Alternatively, this same interrogative pronoun may be turned into its adverbial form by taking as prefix the appropriate column I pronominal affix (in this case the human affix də-) and by taking as suffix the adverbial formant -nə, e.g.

arèy də- z+a+k'è-nə də-rə-px'ajò-y
him (adv.) (Qu.)

1.1.1.2.2.1.2. which constituents of which types of subordinate clauses?

For the relativisation of elements within subordinate clauses represented by the masdar//infinitive (i.e. nominalisations) or by the various forms of the purposive, see section (1.1.2.3.7); for the terms 'masdar' and 'purposive' see section 2.1.3.5. All elements which may be so relativised may be questioned by coupling the relative form of the verb with the appropriate interrogative pronoun, e.g. (for the direct object of a purpose-clause)

d-àrban//dè-z+wès+ta(etc..) dè- z-bà- r+c //
 who him I see (purp.)
 yè- z-ba-r+c
 whom
 (rel.)

(or other forms of the purposive)

sè-zè+ z cò
 I whom+ for go+(dyn.)
 (rel.) (non-fin.)
 'Whom am I going to see?'

or (for the indirect object of such a clause):-

d-àrban//dè-z+wès+ta(etc..) a- š°q°'è (ø-)lè-
 who the book it to-her
 s-ta- r+c // (ø-)zè- s-ta-r+c (etc..) sè-zè+z-cò
 I give (purp.) it to-whom
 (rel.)

'For the purpose of giving the book to whom am I going?'
 (where the presence of the indirect object affix lè- in the first alternative presupposes that the indirect object concerned is female) or (for the objective genitive of a nominalisation)

d-àrban//dè-z+wès+ta(etc..) z- ba- ra- zè
 who whose see (masd.) for
 s-co (rel.)
 I go+(dyn.)
 (non-fin.)

'Whom am I going to see?' (lit. 'Who is the one for whose seeing I am going?')

If the subordinate clause is represented by one of the purposives, the non-finite form of the introductory verb may appear in its pure form (i.e. without any relative expression -zè+z- 'for whom'), but only if a relative affix appears in the purposive verbal complex, or the relative-interrogative particle -z- 'why' may substitute for the relative complex -zè+z-, e.g.

d-àrban//dè-z+wès+ta (etc..) a-š°q°'è (ø-)zè-
 to-whom
 (rel.)

s-ta-r+c (etc..) // sè-z- cò
 s-co // sè-z- cò
 I go+(dyn.) why go+(dyn.)
 (non-fin.) (rel.) (non-fin.)

or d-àrban//dè-z+wès+ta (etc..) a-š°q°'è (ø-)lè- s-ta-r+c
 to-her

sè-z-cò

'For the purpose of giving the book to whom am I going?'

In place of the interrogative pronouns (being in this case d-àrban//dè-z+wès+ta (etc..)), the appropriate interrogative verbal suffix (being in this case -da) may be used in any of the above three variants for the introductory verbal complex, with s-cò-da being possible only if the subordinate verb contains a relative affix, e.g.

yè- z-ba- r+c (etc..) s-cò da //
 whom I see (purp.) I go who?
 (rel.) +(dyn.)
 sè- zè+ z- cò- da // sè-z- cò- da
 I whom+ for go who? why go who?
 (rel.) +(dyn.) (rel.) +(dyn.)

or

dè- z-bà- r+c (etc..) sè-zè+z-cò-da// sè-z-cò-da
 him I see (purp.)

'For the purpose of seeing whom am I going?'

A further set of examples containing the purposive in -r+t°, in the analytic causative construction employed in the case of di-transitive verbs would be:

sarà a- ph°ès a- š°q°'è (ø-)zè- l- tà- r+t°
 I the woman the book it to-whom she give (purp.)
 (rel.)

(ø-)q'a- s- c'à- da
 it (prev.) I make who?

or

...(ø-)yè- l- ta- r+t° yè- q'a s-c'à- da
 it to-him she give (purp.) whom (prev.) I make who?
 (rel.)

or

d-àrban//dè-z+wès+ta(etc..) yè-zè- l- tà- r+t°
 who it to-whom she give (purp.)
 (rel.)

(ø-)q'a- s-c'à- z
 it (prev.) I make (non-fin.)

or

d-àrban//dè-z+wès+ta(etc..) yè- l- tà- r+t°
 who it to-him she give (purp.)
 yè- q'a- s-c'a- z
 whom (prev.) I make (non-fin.)
 (rel.)

'To whom did I make the woman give the book?'

If the subordinate clause is such that one cannot form a relative clause directly on one of its arguments (e.g. conditional clause, temporal subordinate clause, etc..), then one may only form a question on a constituent of such a clause if that constituent also happens to be a constituent of the main clause, in which case question-formation proceeds as normally vis-à-vis this main verb, the subordinate verbal complex remaining unaffected, e.g.

d-àrban//dè-z+wès+ta(etc..) G°ènda a- š°q°'è (ø-)lè-
 who G. the book it to-her
 y- ta- r yè- wè- p'q'o
 he give if whom you hit
 (rel.) +(dyn.)

or

G°ènda a-š°q°'è (ø-)lè-y-ta-r yè- wè-p'q'o-da
 whom who?
 (rel.)

'If who gives Gunda the book will you hit?'
(lit. 'Whom_i will you hit if he_i gives Gunda the book?')

One may not form a question on any other argument of this subordinate verb (e.g. on the direct object 'If he gives what to Gunda will you hit him?', or on the indirect object 'If he gives the book to whom will you hit him?'), as these other two arguments are not constituents of the main clause.

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. which constituents of noun-phrases?

Any constituent of the NP may be questioned, e.g. (genitive, by which is to be understood the marker of possession that attaches to the possessed noun)

z- la (ø-)wə- bà- da
whose dog it you see who?
(rel.)

or

d-àrban//də-z+wəs+ta(etc.) z-la (ø-)wə-bà
(non-fin. Aor.)

'Whose dog did you see?'

where the relative form of the genitive (cf.1.1.2.3.7) combines with the appropriate interrogative (either pronoun or verbal suffix).

Questioning an adjective to produce a structure like 'What sort of NP?' is achieved as follows: the NP together with either the element -z+eyps+ra (which consists of eyps 'like' plus the abstract marker -ra - àyps+ra ← *a-eyps-ra being the noun 'similarity' - preceded by the relative affix -z-, so that this compound element literally means 'whose similarity') or the element -z+a+k°'ə+t°' (where -z+ is the relative affix that has replaced the column II subject-affix required by the copular root a+k°'ə, and +t°' is related to the verbal root -t°'(ə)- 'to belong to') is made the base of a stative verb which appears in its non-finite guise; the verb's post-radical structure will mirror that used for a Wh-question formed on a non-human NP in the tense concerned: note, however, that the column I subject-affix expected with stative verbs is optional in this complex, e.g.

(yə-) z+eyps+ra-
it what-sort-of
(col.I, 3rd. sg.)
(non-hum.)

š°q°'ə-wə- y (//-w- zə/e+y) //
book (non-fin.) what? (non-fin.) what?

(yə-)z+a+k°'ə+t°'-š°q°'ə-wə-y (//-w-z°/e+y)

y- àa- w- x°a-z
which(rel.) (prev.) you buy (non-fin.)

'What sort of book did you buy? (lit. 'What sort of book is it that...')

(də-) z+eyps+ra-xàc'ā-z
he man (non-fin.)

(col.I, 3rd.sg.)
(hum.)

(//-xàc'a-zə- z // -xàc'a-z-zə+y) //
(Qu.) (non-fin.)

(də-)z+a+k°'ə+t°'-xàc'ā-z (//-xàc'a-zə-z//xàc'a-z-zə+y)
y- aa- z
who(rel.) come (non-fin.)

'What sort of man (was it that) came?'

Questioning the degree to which the quality of an adjective applies to produce an adverbial question of the type 'How Adj is NP?', is achieved thus: the adjective is made the base of a stative verb which appears in its non-finite guise and whose post-radical structure will mirror that used for Wh-questions formed on a non-human NP in the tense concerned; this complex is preceded by the interrogative s+aq'ā//z+aq'ā 'how much?',

e.g. s+aq'ā//z+aq'ā də-q°'əsgə- wə- y(etc..) yə-
how-much he intelligent (non-fin.) what? whom
w- ba- z à- š°k°'ən (rel.)
you see (non-fin.) the child

'How intelligent is the child you saw?' (lit. 'What is the extent to which the child you saw is intelligent?')

An alternative interrogative adverb would be the complex yə+z+aq'a+ra+nè, which consists of the base -aq'a- 'size' plus the abstract form -ra, preceded by the relative affix z-, which three elements mean 'whose extensiveness'. This compound base is then made into an adverb by taking as prefix the column I non-human 3rd. person singular affix yə- and as suffix the adverbial formant -nè.

1.1.1.2.2.1.4. which elements of postpositional phrases?

Postpositions are preceded by the column II pronominal affix which correlates with the NP governed by the postposition. Thus, postpositional phrases are structurally identical to genitive expressions, where the possessive NP is unmarked whilst the following, possessed NP is prefixed with the column II affix correlating with the possessor NP. Relative clauses are formed on genitive-expressions simply by replacing the column II prefix with the relative affix z- and by turning the verb into its non-finite form. And the NP in postpositional phrases is questioned in the same way - the postposition's column II prefix being replaced by z- and the verb being made non-finite - with the additional feature being the presence of the interrogative element (pronoun or verbal particle), e.g.

z- q°'ə-n+t°' à- salam+š°q°'ə (ø-)b- ò-w- da-
whom from the letter it you receive who?
(rel.)

z
(non-fin.)

or

d-àrban//də-z+wəs+ta(etc..) z-q°'ə-n+t°' à-salam+š°q°'ə
(ø-)b-o+w-z

'From whom did you receive the letter?'

A question formed on the genitive of an NP in a postpositional phrase is produced by making the NP as a whole the base of a stative verb; the column II possessive prefix is replaced by the relative affix z- and the stative verb appears in its non-finite form. The interrogative (pronoun or verbal particle) is then added to complete the question, e.g.

d- z+ ašà- da z- q'ə-n+t°' à- salam+š°q°'ə
 he whose+ brother who? whom from the letter
 (rel.)

(ø-)b- o+w- z
 it you receive (non-fin.)

or d-àrban//də-z+wəš+ta(etc..) d-z+ašò-w...

(non-fin.)

'From whose brother did you receive the letter?'

Questioning the extent to which the quality of the adjective in a postpositional phrase obtains proceeds as was explained above in the previous sub-section for adverbial questions of the type 'How Adj is NP?', with two additional features whereby the postposition takes the relative pronominal prefix *z-* and the verb accompanying the postposition is consequently placed in its non-finite form, e.g.

g+aq'à//z+aq'à//yə+z+aq'a+ra+nə də-ħarak'ə-wə-
 how-much he tall (non-fin.)
 y z- àayg°a(ra) də-gèlo- w a- ph°əs
 what? whom near he stand (non-fin.) the woman
 (rel.)

'Near how tall a woman is he standing?' (lit. 'How tall is the woman near whom he is standing?')

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. which elements of co-ordinate structures?

Either NP-conjunct may be queried if the interrogative pronoun, itself suffixed with the interrogative element *-w*, takes the place of the questioned NP, e.g.

Adg°ərə-y d- àrbanə-wə- y y- aa- z
 A. & who (Qu.) & who come (non-fin.)
 (rel.)

or d-àrbanə-wə-y Adg°ərə-y y-aa-z
 'Adgur and who came//Who and Adgur came?'

The genitive of a co-ordinated NP may also be questioned in the following straightforward way:

Adg°ərə-y z- le- y (ø-) àa- da
 A. & whose dog & they come who?
 (rel.)

or z-le-y Adg°ərə-y (ø-)àa-da
 'Adgur and whose dog came//Whose dog and Adgur came?'

NPs which are 'or' co-ordinated may be queried in a fashion which may be literally translated as, for example, 'Is it Adgur or who came?', e.g.
 Adg°ər y- à+k°'ə-w (← *y-a+k°'ə-w) ma//
 A. he be (non-fin.) (Qu.)
 ma+m+zà+r+g'ə y- aa- z d-àrban(ə-w)
 who come (non-fin.) who (Qu.)
 (rel.)

(Note that in the first conjunct of such structures the copular root *-a+k°'(ə)-*, and not *-a-*, and the interrogative particle *-w*, and not *-ma*, are obligatory.) The genitive of an NP in 'or' co-ordination may be queried once the NP as a whole has been made the base of a stative verb; question-formation then proceeds as normal, e.g.

Adg°ər ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə yə-z+ là- da y- aa-
 A. or it whose+ dog who? which come
 (rel.) (rel.)

z
 (non-fin.)

'Adgur or whose dog came?'

(N.B. that only the interrogative particle, and not the pronoun, is possible in this construction.)

Questions on the adjective of an NP in co-ordinate structures of any kind seem to be marginal, as illustrated by the following example of 'and' co-ordination:

(??) Adg°ər -y (d-)z+eypg+ra- ph°əs-wə- y
 A. & she what-sort-of woman (non-fin.) what?
 [-y] yə- ca-z
 & who go (non-fin.)
 (rel.)

'Adgur and what sort of woman went?'

Adverbial questions like 'How Adj an NP?' seem to be inadmissible in co-ordinate structure.

1.1.1.2.2.1.6. is it possible to question more than one thing in a sentence?

No.

1.1.1.2.2.2. What happens to the questioned element?

1.1.1.2.2.2.6. pseudo-clefted

Wh-questions formed on NPs are, as we have seen, pseudo-clefted, either explicitly, by which is meant the construction involving the interrogative pronouns *d-àrban* (etc.)//*də-z+wəš+ta* (etc.) 'who(m)?' and *y-àrban//yə-z+a+k°'ə[+wə]+y* 'what?' used in association with a relativised verb, or implicitly, by which is meant the use of a relativised verb incorporating as suffix one of the interrogative particles *-da* 'who(m)?', *-(zə/ə+y)* 'what?'. Note that, when the interrogative pronouns are employed, they occupy no particular position in the sentence (initial, final, preverbal), e.g.

d-àrban yacə y- aa- z
 who yesterday who come (non-fin.)
 (rel.)

or yacə d-àrban y-aa-z

or yacə y-aa-z d-àrban
 'Who came yesterday?'

For questions of time ('when?'), place ('where?'), reason ('why?') and manner ('how?'), the appropriate interrogative particle (*-an+ba-*, *-a+ba-*, *-z-*, *-g+pa-* respectively) is inserted into the appropriate non-finite verbal complex immediately after the complex's column I pronominal affix - for details as to when the verbal complex containing one of these interrogative particles will also incorporate one of the interrogative suffixes normally used for the formation of a Wh-question on a non-human NP, see above (1.1.1.2.2).

1.1.1.2.3. Echo-questions

1.1.1.2.3.1. Yes-no echo-questions

Such echo-questions are formed by attaching either the clitic *ba* or the interrogative suffix *-w* to the NP concerned. When *ba* is used, the NP's stressed syllable is accompanied by high-falling intonation, whereas *-w* requires the same fall-rise as when used in neutral questions (cf. 1.1.1.2.1.1), e.g.

Nèli də- z-bè- yt'
N. her I see (fin.)

Nèli ba? // Nèlyə-w?
ayèy
yes

'I saw Neli. Neli? Yes'

If there is any difference in nuance between these two formations, it is that *ba* implies that the questioner is not sure that he correctly heard what was said, whereas *-w* conveys an element of surprise and that confirmation is being sought that what was said is really true. Should the echo-question consist of anything other than a simple NP, only *ba* may be used, e.g.

sarà a- vok'zàl [a-]ax' s-co- yt'
I the station it to I go (fin.)
+(dyn.)

a-vok'zàl [a-]ax' ba?
ayèy

'I'm going to the station. To the station? Yes'

1.1.1.2.3.2. Question-word echo-questions

The appropriate interrogative pronoun/adverb (cf. 2.1.2.6.2) is used, with its stressed syllable being characterised by rising intonation, e.g.

sarà a-vok'zàl [a-]ax' s-co-yt'

y-abà?

a-vok'zàl [a-]ax'

'I'm going to the station. Where? To the station'

In such a context, the interrogative suffix *-w* is often attached to the pronouns *d-àrban/də-z+wès+ta* (etc.), and the intonation is the same fall-rise that is characteristic of this suffix in neutral questions (cf. 1.1.1.2.1.1), e.g.

Nèli də- z-bè- yt'

N. her I see (fin.)

d-àrbanə-w // də-z+wès+to-w

whom

Nèli

'I saw Neli. Whom? Neli'

1.1.1.2.3.3. Yes-no question echo-questions

The clitic *ba* follows the appropriately altered 'yes-no' question-form, and the intonation on the verb's stressed syllable remains as it was in the original question, e.g.

a-vok'zàl [a-]ax' wə- cò- ma // wə-cò-w?
you go (Qu.)

a-vok'zàl [a-]ax' s-cò-ma ba // s-cò-w ba? - ayèy
I

'Are you going to the station? Am I going to the station? - Yes'

1.1.1.2.3.4. Question-word question echo-questions

The use of *ba* with the appropriately altered repeated question is optional, and the intonation remains the same high-fall that characterises the initial question, e.g.

w- a+bà- co- y
you where go (Qu.)

s-a+bà-co-y (ba)? - a-vok'zàl [a-]ax'
I

'Where are you going? Where am I going? - to the station'

1.1.1.2.3.5. Can all elements of the sentence be subject to echo-questions?

All elements of the main clause may be echo-questioned. The same principles apply to echo-question-formation on constituents of subordinate clauses as were explained above (1.1.1.2.2.1.2) as applying to the questioning of subordinate clause constituents in general.

1.1.1.2.3.6. Can more than one element at a time be subject to echo-questioning?

No.

1.1.1.2.4. Answers

1.1.1.2.4.1. Are answers marked as a distinct speech-act?

No.

1.1.1.2.4.2. Can answers take the form of incomplete sentences? Describe for:

1.1.1.2.4.2.1. yes-no questions

Yes, the appropriate answer (affirmative, negative) suffices.

1.1.1.2.4.2.1.1. Are there words for 'yes', 'no', 'maybe'?

Yes, the affirmative response is *ay(èy)* 'yes', the negative *ma+p'//ma+mò+w* 'no'; 'maybe' is expressed by the Future I form of the verb *a-q'a-la-ra* 'to become, happen', i.e. *yə-q'a-là-p'*.

N.B. that in spoken Abžui the Mingrelian affirmative ko 'yes' is often heard in place of ay(èy).

1.1.1.2.4.2.1.2. If there are, how are they used to reply to negative and other leading questions?

In answer to questions of the type discussed under section 1.1.1.2.1.2.1, the affirmative response implies that the verbal action will be fulfilled, the negative response that it will not, e.g.

wə- m- cò- y? ayèy (= s-co- yt') //
you not go (Qu.) yes I go (fin.)
+(dyn.) +(dyn.)

ma+p'/ma+mò+w (= s-co-m)
no not

'You are going, aren't you? Yes (sc. I'm going) //
No (sc. I'm not)'

The same is true for questions of the type discussed in

1.1.1.2.1.2.2, e.g.

wə- m- ca-jò- y? ayèy (= s-co-yt') //
you not go (emphatic) (Qu.) yes
+(dyn.)

ma+p'/ma+mò+w (= s-co-m)
no

'Aren't you going? Yes (sc. I'm going) //
No (sc. I'm not)'

1.1.1.2.4.2.2. question-word questions

Yes, the appropriate answer to the constituent questioned suffices as an answer, e.g.

w- a+bà- co? a- vok'zàl [a-lax'
you where go the station it to
+(dyn.)

'Where are you going? To the station'

1.1.1.3. How are the different types of imperative sentence marked?

For all questions relating to the imperative, see sections 2.1.3.4.3, 2.1.3.4.15 and 3.3.4.1.

1.1.1.4. Are there other distinct sentence-types in the language?

1.1.1.4.1. Exclamations

All exclamations are characterised by high-falling intonation. The individual formations are as follows: if a noun alone is the object of the exclamation, the definite-generic article a- is removed, and the nominal base is preceded by the compound-element z+a+k°'ə+t°' (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.1.3). This compound-element and nominal base together form the base of a stative verb, the post-radical structure of which will be iden-

tical to that for a Wh-question formed on a non-human NP in the tense concerned (see section 1.1.1.2.2), which in the example below is the Present, with the result that one of the suffixes -y, -ze+y or -zə+y appears. If the noun concerned is non-human, the whole complex takes as prefix the column I, 3rd. person singular, non-human affix yə-; if the noun is human, the prefix is the column I, 3rd. person singular, human affix də-, e.g.

yə-z+a+k°'ə+t°'-š°q°'ə-wə- y
it book (non-fin.) (Qu.)

or yə-z+a+k°'ə+t°'-š°q°'ə-w-z°/e+y
(Qu.)

'What a book (it is)!' (Qu.)
də- z+a+k°'ə+t°'-x°əč'ə-wə-y
(s)he child

or də-z+a+k°'ə+t°'-x°əč'ə-w-z°/e+y
'What a child ((s)he is)!' (Qu.)

An alternative to the component z+a+k°'ə+t°' is z+eyps+ra (cf. 1.1.1.2.2.1.3), e.g.

yə-z+eyps+ra-š°q°'ə-wə-y (etc..)
'What a book (it is)!' (Qu.)

If the focus of the exclamation is an adjective, two constructions are possible, although in both cases the adjective is made the base of a stative verb, which appears in its non-finite form, taking whichever column I pronominal prefix is appropriate to the entity possessing the quality of the adjective in question: (a) the stative verb is preceded by s+aq'ə//z+aq'ə 'how (much)' and, as far as its post-radical structure is concerned, takes the same form as the tense in question would require for a Wh-question formed on a non-human NP, e.g.

s+aq'ə // z+aq'ə də- psjo- w- z°/e+y (etc..)
(s)he beautiful (non-fin.) (Qu.)

'how beautiful (s)he is!'

(b) alternatively, the interrogative form of the adverbial infix of manner, -s+pa-, is inserted into the verbal complex immediately after the column I affix. The verb will appear either in its simple non-finite form, or its post-radical structure will be the same as that appropriate to the tense concerned for a Wh-question formed on a non-human NP, except that the variant showing a lengthened final vowel is not possible (cf. 1.1.1.2.2), e.g.

də-s+pa-psjo-w // də-s+pa-psjo-wə-y (etc..)
(non-fin.) (Qu.)
'How beautiful (s)he is!'

If the focus of the exclamation is an adverb, once again two variants are possible: (a) g+aq'á/z+aq'á will precede the adverb, and the verb's post-radical structure will parallel that required by the tense concerned for a Wh-question formed on a non-human NP, e.g.

g+aq'á/z+aq'á yə+bzəya+nə á- š'a
 well (art.) song
 (ø-)l- h'ò- zə- z //
 it she say (Qu.) (non-fin.)
 †(dyn.) (Imperfect)
 (ø-)l-h'ò-z (= [-'h'wɔ'ɔz]) // (ø-)l-h'ò-z-zə+y
 'How well she was singing!'

(b) alternatively, the infix -g+pa- will stand after the verb's column I affix, and the verb's post-radical structure will be represented either by the simple non-finite ending or by the form appropriate to a Wh-question built on a non-human NP in the tense concerned, with the exception that the variant with lengthened final vowel is not possible (cf. 1.1.1.2.2), e.g.

à-š'a yə+bzəya+nə yə-g+pa-l-h'ò- //
 it (non-fin. Pres.)
 yə-g+pa-l-h'ò-y(etc..) (Qu.)
 'How well she sings!'

If the focus of the exclamation is an NP consisting of noun and attributive adjective, three constructions are possible:

(a) the Adj+N complex combines with either z+a+k'ə+tt'ə or z+eyps+ra to form the base of a stative verb, whose column I affix will correlate with the noun in its base and whose post-radical structure will parallel that found for a Wh-question on a non-human NP in the tense concerned, e.g.

yə-z+a+k'ə+tt'ə- } h'anta- bzəyo-w- z'ə/e+y(etc..) (Qu.)
 yə-z+eyps+ra- } present good (non-fin.) (Qu.)
 yə- sà- b- ta- z
 which to-me you give (non-fin.)

'What a fine present (it is that) you gave me!'

(b) the Adj+N complex forms the base of a stative verb, which is otherwise identical to the verbal structure described immediately above, and the verbal complex is preceded by g+aq'á/z+aq'á 'how (much)', e.g.

g+aq'á/z+aq'á də- x'əč'-bzəyo-w-z'ə/e+y(etc..) (s)he child good

'What a good child ((s)he is)!!'

(c) with the Adj+N complex remaining the base of a stative verb, the infix -g+pa- 'how?' is placed immediately after the column I affix. The verb will either appear in its simple non-finite form, or its post-radical structure will parallel that used for a Wh-question formed on a non-human NP, with the exception that the variant with lengthened final vowel is not possible, e.g.

yə-g+pa-h'anta-bzəyo-w (-z'ə/e+y(etc..))
 it

'What a fine present (it is)!!'

1.1.1.5. Are there any sentence-types used regularly in functions other than their normal ones?

The protasis of a conditional sentence, where the subordinate verb is marked by -za+r 'if' (for the formation of this 'conditional mood', see 2.1.3.4.2), may be used as a neutral question. The verb's stressed syllable is marked by high-falling intonation, whereas the final syllable has rising intonation, e.g.

yə-w- taxə-za+r
 it you want if
 'Do you want it?'
 àq'ə- q'a wə- cò- za+r
 Sukhumi to you go if
 +(dyn.)
 'Are you going to Sukhumi?'
 də-ca-x'á- za+r
 he go (Perf.) if
 'Has he already gone?'

If the conditional mood in -r alone is similarly used with fall-rise intonation, rather than producing a neutral question, the sentence will be interpreted as a mild request, e.g.

àq'ə- q'a wə- cà-r yax'á
 Sukhumi to you go if today
 'You are going to Sukhumi today, aren't you?'

abrəy (ø-)bə- fà- r
 this it you eat if
 'You are going to eat this, aren't you?'

If the context requires it, forms in -za+r may also be interpretable as requests, e.g.

a+k'rə (ø-)wə- h'ò- za+r
 something it you say if
 +(dyn.)

'Are you going to say something?'
 (= 'Say something then!')

The type of leading question described in section 1.1.1.2.1.2.2 may also be used as a means of making a request, e.g.

a+k'ə+g'ə (ø-)wə- m- h'a-jò- y
 anything if you not say (emphatic) (Qu.)
 +dyn.

'Aren't you going to say anything?' (= 'Say something!')

yax'á a+k'r- ah+q'á- š'ə-m- c'a- jo- y
 today anything us+(prev.) you not feed (emphatic) (Qu.)
 +(dyn.)

'Aren't you going to feed us today?'
 (= 'Feed us please!')

1.1.2. Subordination

1.1.2.1. Are there any general markers of subordination?

The general characteristic feature of subordination is the use of non-finite verb-forms (for the specifically Abkhaz

opposition 'finite : non-finite' in verb-forms see 2.1.3.5.2).

1.1.2.2. Noun-clauses

1.1.2.2.1. How are noun-clauses marked in general? What is their sentential position?

Abkhaz has no precise equivalent for such general complementisers as English *that*, Russian *čto*, French *que* etc... Where such a complementiser would be expected, Abkhaz uses either the intra-verbal particle of manner *-s(ə)-* 'how, that' (cf. 1.1.2.4.2.2) or the intra-verbal particle of place *-ax'(ə)-* 'where, that'. These particles are in complementary distribution, but it is not as yet clear what the factors determining the choice between them may be (see Hewitt, In preparation). Each of the above-particles stands immediately after the column I, pronominal affix of its verbal complex and may only be construed with a non-finite verb-form, this subordinate non-finite verb-form being placed before its superordinate clause. As explained above (1.1.1.1), the particle *-s(ə)-* is employed for the representation of indirect speech, and it seems that, as in the case of actual indirect speech, any subject, direct or indirect object noun-clause incorporating this particle may optionally be followed by the particle indicating a direct quote *h'a* 'saying', with the same restriction as that stated in section 1.1.1.1 regarding the use of *h'a* with non-finite forms containing *-s(ə)-*, e.g.

a- čəmaza+y'(ə) də- s- ba- t'ə-w w
the sick-man him that see (gerundive) (non-fin.Pres.)
(h'a) s- x- a- q'ə y- aa- wə- yt'
my head it into it come (dyn.) (fin.)

'It occurs to me that it's necessary to see the sick man' (Subject)

Čerkèssk'-q'a h'a-sə-r- št- wa (h'a)
Č. to us that they send (non-fin.Pres.)

sarə yə-z-dər- we- yt'
I it I know (dyn.) (fin.)

'I know that they'll allow us to go to Čerkessk' (Direct object)

də- sə- r- k'ə- z (h'a) s-à- px'e-yt'
him that they catch (non-fin.) I it read (fin.)

'I read that they caught him' (Indirect object)

(N.B. that, if the noun-clause is not directly dependent on the verb, *h'a* may not be used, e.g.

də-sə-r-k'ə-z a- t'ə s-à-px'e-yt'
its affair(??)

'I read about the fact that they caught him' - which is equivalent to Russian ...o tom, čto...

If the subject noun-clause given above has as its introductory verb *a-g'a-pxa-rà* 'to please', or the direct object noun-clause is introduced by *a-ja-ša-rà* 'to be surprised at', then the subordinate clauses must contain the particle *-ax'(ə)-* in place of *-s(ə)-*; and now the particle *h'a* may not be used, e.g.

arə s-ax'ə-q'o-w (ø-)s+ g'a- pxò- yt'
here I that be (non-fin.Pres.) it my+heart warm (fin.)
+ (dyn.)

'That I am here pleases me'
Čerkèssk'-q'a h- ax'ə-rə- št- wa
Č. to us that they send (non-fin.Pres.)
(ø-)ja- s-šo- yt'
it (prev.) I be-surprised-at+(dyn.) (fin.)

'I am surprised that they'll let us to go Čerkessk'

As regards the tense of the non-finite verb-form, if the introductory verb is Present or Future, then the tense of the subordinate verb will be that which correctly locates in time the subordinate verbal action; if the introductory verb is not Present or Future, then the subordinate verb will either appear in the tense which would have been appropriate at the time that the action of the introductory verb took place, or, if at the time the introductory verbal action was completed the tense of the subordinate clause had belonged to the first group of tenses, then the non-finite form of the corresponding tense from the second group of tenses may be used - in other words, all noun-clauses are treated like indirect statements. Compare the following examples with their equivalent non-past forms given above and with the range of indirect statements presented in 1.1.1.1:-

a-čəmaza+y'(ə) də-s-ba-t'ə-w (h'a) //
də-s-ba-t'ə-z
(non-fin., Past)

s-x-a-q'ə y-aa-yt'
(fin.Aorist)

'It occurred to me that it was necessary to see the sick man'

Čerkèssk'-q'a h'a-sə-rə-št-wa (h'a) //
h'a-sə-rə-št-wa-z
(non-fin., Imperfect)

(ø-)z-dər-wa-n
(fin.Imperf.)

'I knew that they would allow us to go to Čerkessk'
arə s-ax'ə-q'o-w // s-ax'ə-q'a-z
(non-fin.Past)

(ø-)s+g'a-pxò-n
(fin.Imperf.)

'It pleased me that I was here'
Čerkèssk'-q'a h-ax'ə-rə-št-wa(-z)
(non-fin.Imperf.)

(ø-)ja-s-šo-n
(fin.Imperf.)
'I was surprised that they would allow us to go to Čerkessk'

If the introductory verb is a verb of perception (seeing, hearing, knowing, smelling), the (direct object) noun-clause may (less commonly) be expressed by means of one of the 'absolutives' (see 2.1.1.3 and 2.1.3.5.5), with *h'a* being optionally present if the clause is directly dependent on the verb (which it is not in the case of 'smelling', e.g.

à- fat+t° (ø-)q'a- r- c'o- nè (*h°a)
(art.) food it (prev.) they make (absol.)
+ (dyn.)

a- fy°è (ø-)s-k'è- yt'
the smell it I catch (fin.)

'I smelled that they were preparing food'

If the introductory verb is Present or Future, the imperfect absolutive (2.1.3.5.5) may have present, future of imperfect reference, e.g.

də-co- nè (h°a) (ø-)z-dèr- we- yt'
he go (absol.) it I know (dyn.) (fin.)
+ (dyn.)

'I know that he (a) is going, (b) will go, (c) was going';

the regular absolutive (2.1.1.3) will refer to the simple past, e.g.

də-ca-nè (h°a) (ø-)z-dèr-we-yt'

go

'I know that he went';

whilst the plu-perfect absolutive (2.1.3.5.5) refers to a past action already accomplished, e.g.

də-ca-x'a- nè (h°a) (ø-)z-dèr-we-yt'
(Perf.)

'I know that he has already gone'

If the introductory verb is neither Present nor Future, then the imperfect absolutive will have either imperfect or conditional reference, e.g.

də-co-nè (h°a) (ø-)z-dèr-wa-n

(fin.Imperf.)

'I knew that he (a) was going, (b) would go';

whilst the regular and the plu-perfect absolutives become virtually synonymous, e.g.

də-ca-nè // də-ca-x'a-nè (h°a) (ø-)z-dèr-wa-n

'I knew that he had (already) gone'

Should the meaning of the noun-clause be contrary to fact, this may optionally be emphasised by using the suffix -š°a (2.1.5.1.4.4) in association with the appropriate non-finite verb-form, e.g.

Amèrik'a angliz bəzš°à- la yə- m- c°àž°o-
A. English language (instr.) they not speak
(non-fin.) + (dyn.)

š°a // yə-c°àž°o-m h°a // yə-sè- m-c°àž°o h°a
that not that
(untrue) (fin.)

r- g°ə y- àa- na-go- yt'
their heart it (prev.) it bring+ (dyn.) (fin.)

'They think that in America they don't speak English'

Positive (i.e. non-negative) noun-clauses may also be represented by means of the masdar/infinite. Transitive direct objects and intransitive subjects are marked on the masdar by the appropriate column II (possessive) prefix, whilst transitive subjects become governed by the instrumental postposition -la 'by'. Such masdars may have unrestricted temporal reference, e.g.

darà rè- la wac°'è // yax'à // yacè Čerkèssk'-q'a
them them by tomorrow today yesterday Č. to
hà- št- ra (ø-)j'à- s-šo- yt' //
our sending (masd.) it (prev.) I be-surprised-at (fin.)
+ (dyn.)

(ø-)s+ g°a- pxò- yt'
it my+heart warm+ (dyn.) (fin.)

'I am surprised // pleased that they (a) will send us tomorrow, (b) are sending us today, (c) sent us yesterday to Čerkessk'

wac°'è // yax'à // yacè arà sè-q'a-zaa- ra
here my be (suff.) (masd.)

(ø-)r- dèr- we- yt' // (ø-)r+ g°a-pxò-yt'
it they know (dyn.) (fin.) it their

'They know // are pleased that (a) I shall be here tomorrow, (b) I am here today, (c) I was here yesterday'

1.1.2.2.3. How are indirect statements marked?

See section 1.1.1.1.

1.1.2.2.4. How are indirect questions marked?

If it necessarily follows from the structure of the introductory verb that the question took one particular, definite form (e.g. 'He asked me if I was well' necessarily implies the question 'Are you well?', whereas 'He wanted to know if I was well' does not contain any indication of what the actual words used may have been), then by far the most usual way of reporting that question will be for the actual words of the original question to be repeated and to be followed by the particle indicating the reporting of direct speech, i.e. h°a 'saying'; the subordinate clause most naturally precedes its superordinate clause - cf. the following example of a neutral 'yes-no' question:

question: wə- cò- ma // wə-cò-za+r h°a də-s-
you go+ (dyn.) (Qu.) if he me
à+z+c'+aa-yt' (neg. = də-s-m-à+z+c'+aa-yt') //
ask (fin.)
d- à+ z- c'+ aa- yt' (neg. = d-à+zə-m-c'+aa-yt')
he it+about ask+ (suff.) (fin.)
'He asked me // He asked if I was going' (lit. '"Are you going?" he asked (me)')

However, it must be stressed that the above-sentence is not the unambiguous structure one would expect it to be - the wə- of the subordinate verbs may refer either to the speaker (i.e. the -s- of the main verb) or to the addressee of the present sentence, such that the second reading will be 'He asked (me) if you are going'.

A truly indirect representation of the above-example may be achieved in one of three ways: (a) the person of the subordinate verb may be altered to conform to the requirements of the introductory verb, thereby producing the sentence:-

s-cò-ma h°a də-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt' // d-à+z-c'+aa-yt'

'He asked (me) if I was going'

although a second reading is possible according to which the s- of the subordinate verb is co-referential with the dè- of the main verb (i.e. 'He₁ asked if he₁ was going'), in which case

the actual question was s-cò-ma 'Am I going?'; (b) as the introductory verb is past, and, as the direct question contained a tense from the first group of tenses (i.e. the Present), the non-finite form corresponding to the Present in the second group of tenses (i.e. the Imperfect) may be used, and note the use of h^oa, e.g.

s-cò-z-ma h^oa dè-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt' // d-à+z-c'+aa-yt'

'He asked (me) if I was going'

although a second reading is also possible, namely 'He_i asked (me) if he_i had been going', where the actual question asked was s-cò-z-ma? 'Was I going?'; a third reading is 'He asked (me) if I had been going', where the direct question was wè-cò-z-ma? 'Were you going?'; (c) the person of the variant containing the conditional mood in -za+r will be altered from wè- of the direct form to s- in the indirect - there will be no change of tense, as there is no formal opposition between a Present and an Imperfect conditional mood in -za+r (cf. 2.1.3.4.2), e.g.

s-cò-za+r h^oa dè-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt' // d-à+z-c'+aa-yt'

'He asked (me) if I was going'

where the expected second reading will be 'He_i asked (me) if he_i was going'.

The series of alternatives given above shows that the variants for the formation of indirect questions are: (a) repetition of the actual direct question + h^oa, (b) change of the person of the subordinate verb (to conform with the requirements of the introductory verb) + h^oa, (c) if the introductory verb is past, change of both the person and tense of the subordinate verb (to conform with the requirements of the introductory verb) + h^oa (the use of h^oa in this context should be contrasted with its absence in the same context for indirect statements (1.1.1.1) and constructions involving noun-clauses generally (1.1.2.2.1) - each of these three alternatives being ambiguous in the ways outlined above. Such a choice of alternative is available not only for neutral 'yes-no' questions (1.1.1.2.1.1) but also for leading 'yes-no' questions (1.1.1.2.1.2) and for alternative questions (1.1.1.2.1.3). In the case of question-word questions, there are two possibilities in addition to those outlined above - (a) the person is changed to conform to the requirements of the introductory verb and the subordinate verb is put into the appropriate relative form (1.1.2.3.ff) + h^oa, (b) if the introductory verb is past, both the person and tense of the subordinate verb are altered to conform with that introductory verb's requirements, and the subordinate verb is put into the appropriate relative form + h^oa, e.g.

yè- q'a- w- c'o- y (etc..) //
which(rel.) (prev.) you do+(dyn.) (Qu.)
yè-q'a-s-c'o-y (etc..) // yè-q'a-s-c'o-z //
I (non-fin.Imperf.)
yè-q'a-s-c'ò-zè- z // yè-
(Qu.) (non-fin.Imperf.) which(rel.)
q'a-s-c'o // yè-q'a-s-c'o-z //
(non-fin.Pres.) (non-fin.Imperf.)
yè-q'a-s-c'ò-z-zè+y h^oa dè-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt'
'He asked me what I was doing'

wè- z- cò- y (etc..) // sè-z-cò-y (etc..) //
you why go+(dyn.) (Qu.) I
sè-z-cò-z // sè-z-cò-zè-z //
(non-fin.Imperf.)
sè-z-cò-z-zè+y // sè-z- cò //
why (non-fin.Pres.)
sè-z-cò-z h^oa dè-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt'
(non-fin.Imperf.)

'He asked me why I was going'

wè- s+pà-q'o-w // sè-s+pà-q'o-w //
you how? be (non-fin.Pres.) I
sè-s+pà-q'a-z // s-gè- q'o-w //
be (non-fin.Past) how(rel.)
s-gè-q'a-z h^oa dè-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt'

'He asked me how I was'

If the introductory verb does not contain any indication as to the precise form of the corresponding direct question, then the choice of alternatives will most naturally be restricted to the indirect variants, e.g.

s-a+bà- co // s-a+bà-co-z
I where? go(non-fin.Pres.) (non-fin.Imperf.)
h^oa (ø-)ey+lè- y- k'+ aa- r+c (ø-)yè-
it (preverbs) he (root)+(suff.)(purp.) it
taxè-n "learn"
want (fin.)

'He wanted to learn where I was going'

Should the relative form rather than the question form of the subordinate verb (where such a choice is feasible) be chosen in such a context, h^oa will preferably be omitted, with the result that, strictly speaking, we no longer have an example of an indirect question but rather of a headless relative, e.g.

s-ax'- cò (-z)
I where(rel.) go(non-fin.Pres.) (non-fin.Imperf.)
(ø-)ey+lè-y-k'+aa-r+c (ø)-yè-taxè-n

'He wanted to know (sc. the place) where I was going'

If the introductory verb does not imply that any question was asked at all, then, if that introductory verb is positive (i.e. non-negative), h^oa will not be used, e.g.

wèy (ø-)yè-dèr- wè- yt' // (ø-)yè-bò-
that-one it he know (dyn.) (fin.) it he see+(dyn.)
yt' // (ø-)y- aHà- yt' // int'erès-s
(fin.) it he hear (fin.) interest (pred.)
(ø-)yè-mo- w+p' s-ax'- cò (*h^oa)
it he have (stat.) I where(rel.) go+(dyn.)

'He knows // sees // has heard // is interested in where I am going'

but, if that introductory verb is either negated or queried, h^oa becomes optional, e.g.

wèy (ø-)yè+z- dèr-wa-m (etc..) s-ax'-cò (h^oa)
(potential) not
'He doesn't know (etc..) where I'm going'
s-ax'-cò (h^oa) (ø-)yè-bò- ma (etc..) wèy?
it he see+(dyn.) (Qu.)
'Does he see (etc..) where I'm going?'

If this last group of introductory verbs are construed with an indirect neutral 'yes-no' question, in addition to the

regular choice of indirect constructions described at the beginning of this sub-section, if the introductory verb is negated or queried, the subordinate clause may be represented either by the appropriate finite tense + h'a or by the appropriate 'absolute' + h'a, e.g.

də-cò- yt' h'a // də-co-nə (h'a)
 he go+(dyn.) (fin.) (Imperf.absol.)
 (ø-)s+z- dər- wa- m (etc..)
 it I+(pot.) know (dyn.) not
 'I don't know (etc..) whether he's going'
 də-cè-yt' h'a // də-ca-nə (h'a) (ø-)w- ahà-
 (Past absol.) it you hear

ma (etc..)?
 (Qu.)

'Did you hear whether he went?'
 də-ca-x'è- yt' h'a // də-ca-x'a-nə (h'a)
 (Perf.) (Plu-perf.absol.)

int'erès-s yə-sə-ma- ja- m (etc..)
 interest (pred.) it I have (emphatic) not
 'I am not interested in (etc..) whether he has already gone'

Indirect questions may not be represented by means of the masdar/infinite; a structure of the form

wə- ca-rà d- à+ z- c'+ aa- yt'
 your go (masd.) he it+about ask+(suff.) (fin.)

means exactly the same as English 'He asked about your going'.

1.1.2.2.5. How are indirect commands marked?

The most usual way of expressing an indirect command is to repeat the actual words spoken in conjunction with the particle indicating a direct quote, h'a 'saying'. The command may either precede or follow the indirect object of the introductory clause, e.g.

(an lə- phà) yə- s-taxə-w a-
 the-mother her daughter which I want (non-fin.Pres.) the
 c'k'è (ø-)jaxə h'a (an lə-phà) (yə-)lə+ də-l- c'e- yt'
 dress it sew it her+on she place (fin.)

'The mother ordered her daughter to sew the dress she wanted' (lit. '..."Sew the dress I want" saying')
 s- an s-anə- xə+n- h'ə- lak' arà bə- q'a
 my mother I when (preverbs) return (non-fin.) here you be
 -m- z- aa+yt' h'a (ø-)sə+də-l-c'e-yt'
 not (non-fin.) (subjunctive) it me+on

'My mother ordered me not to be here when she came back'

A true indirect command may be formed by placing the imperative (or subjunctive) of direct speech in the purposive in -r+c (see 2.1.3.5), regardless of the tense of the introductory verb. The persons of the purposive (and of any subordinate verbs present) are adapted to fit the requirements of the introductory verb, whilst the tenses (sc. of any subordinate verbs) either remain those of direct speech, or, if the tense concerned belongs to the first group of tenses and the introductory verb is past, the corresponding non-finite form from the second group of tenses may be used, e.g.

s-an yə-l-taxə-w // yə-l-taxə-z
 (non-fin.Pres.) (non-fin.Past)
 a-c'k'è (ø-)z-jaxə-r+c (ø-)sə+də-l-c'e-yt'
 I (purp.)

'My mother ordered me to sew the dress she wanted'

If the imperative of direct speech contained either of the politeness suffixes -y(š), the only way of preserving the nuance of these suffixes when reporting such a direct command is to repeat the actual words + h'a, e.g.

à- h'əzba (ø-)sə- tə- y(š) h'a s-an yə-s+ à- l-
 the knife it to-me give it to+me she
 h'e-yt'
 say (fin.)

'My mother told me kindly to give her the knife'

If the verb of the direct command is the simple imperative (i.e. if it contains neither the negative element nor one of the politeness suffixes -y(š)), then the equivalent indirect command may be expressed by means of the masdar/infinite, e.g.

s-an s- lass- nə // yə-
 me(col.I) quick (adv.) (col.I, 3rd.sg., non-hum.)
 lass-nə // yə-r- lass-nə a- ca-rà
 (cause) (art.) go (masd.)
 (ø-)sə+də-l-c'e-yt'

'My mother ordered me to go quickly'

where we note that an adverb rather than an adjective is the only way of modifying a masdar.

1.1.2.3. Adjective (relative) clauses

1.1.2.3.1. How are adjective clauses marked?

The appropriate non-finite verbal forms (see 2.1.3.5.2) incorporating the appropriate relative affix (see 1.1.2.3.4.2.3) are used.

1.1.2.3.2. Is there a distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses?

No.

1.1.2.3.3. What is the position of the head-noun?

1.1.2.3.3.2. after the relative clause.

1.1.2.3.4. Is the element in the relative clause corresponding to the head-noun

1.1.2.3.4.2.3. replaced by an invariant particle?

The relativised element is deleted from the relative clause and its co-referential pronominal affix inside the verbal complex (cf. 2.1.1.1.1) is replaced (obligatorily) by a corresponding relative affix. There are two such relative affixes - y(ə)- replaces all affixes (irrespective of person and number) of column I, i.e. that series of affixes which correlate with intransitive subjects or (transitive) direct objects; z(ə)- replaces all affixes (irrespective of person and number) of columns II and III, i.e. those series correlating respectively with indirect/oblique objects and transitive subjects. If the

head-noun is plural, the pluraliser -k°a may be placed after the root in the relative verbal complex. Examples:-

Intransitive subject

a- ph°əs rc'ay°ə-s dè- q'o-w+p'
the woman teacher (pred.) she be (stat.)

'The woman is a teacher'

→ Meràb dè- y- dèr- we- yt' rc'ay°ə-s yè-
M. her he know (dyn.) (fin.) teacher (pred.) who
q'o-w a- ph°əs
be (stat.non-fin.) the woman

'Merab knows the woman who is a teacher'

(Transitive) direct object

a- xàc'a a- ph°əs dè- y- bè- yt'
the man the woman her he see (fin.)

'The man saw the woman'

→ Meràb dè-y-dèr-we-yt'a-xàc'a yè- y- ba- (-z)
whom he see (non-fin.)

a-ph°əs

[N.B. that yè-y-ba-z, with final -z, is strictly speaking the non-finite Past Indefinite; whilst the Aorist non-finite form, yè-y-ba, is also possible, the form with -z is judged to be somewhat 'fuller']

'Merab knows the woman whom the man saw'

Transitive subject

a- xàc°a a-ph°əs dè- r- šè- yt'
the men her they kill (fin.)

'The men killed the woman'

→ a-ph°əs dè- z- šè (-z) // dè-zè-š-k°à (-z)
her who kill (non-fin.) (pl.)

a-xàc°a (ø-) aa- wè- yt'
they come (dyn.) (fin.)

'Here come the men who killed the woman'

Indirect object

a-xàc'a a-ph°əs a- š°q°'è (ø-)lè- y- te- yt'
the book it to-her he give (fin.)

'The man gave the book to the woman'

→ a-xàc'a a-š°q°'è (ø-)zè- y- tà (-z) a-ph°əs
it to-whom he give (non-fin.)

dè- z-dèr- we- yt'
her I know (dyn.) (fin.)

'I know the woman to whom the man gave the book'

1.1.2.3.6. Do headless relative clauses occur?

Yes, and they are not marked in any special way, e.g.

yè- b- taxè-z (ø-)z-be- yt'
what you want (non-fin.) it I see (fin.)

'I saw what you wanted'

1.1.2.3.7. What elements can be relativised?

The only restriction on relativisability is that the element to be relativised must have associated with it in its clause a pronominal affix, which, under relativisation, will be replaced by the appropriate relative affix. In effect this results in only one type of NP being excluded from relativisation, and this is an attributive NP (e.g. a fool in 'X considers Y a fool' - cf. 2.1.1). With the exception of genitive-expressions, the

substitution of relative for simple pronominal affix is limited to within the verbal complex. This means that, if a postpositional phrase may stand either outside or within the verbal complex, then only the latter will form the basis for the equivalent relative expression derived from that postpositional NP, e.g.

wèy à- way° h°əzbà-la a- k°'ət'è (ø-)yè-šè- yt'
that (art.) man knife by the chicken it he kill (fin.)

OR wèy à-way° à-h°əzba a-k°'ət'è (ø-)à+ le- y- šè- yt'
it it+with he kill (fin.)

'That man killed the chicken with the knife'

→ ONLY

sarà wèy à-way° a-k°'ət'è (ø-)z+ lè- y- šè (ə-z)
I it which+with he kill (non-fin.)

à-h°əzba (ø-)z-be- yt'
it I see (fin.)

'I saw the knife with which that man killed the chicken'

(Similar examples could be provided for benefactive phrases.)

The column II (possessive) prefix attached to the possessed noun in genitive-expressions simply yields to its relative surrogate z(ə)-, if relativisation is on the 'genitive' NP, e.g.

(yarà) yè- mč (ø-)màč'ə-w+p'
he his strength it small (stat.)

'His strength is small'

→ zè- mč (ø-)màč'ə-w yè- bz
whose strength it small (non-fin.) his language
(ø-)dèw- xo- yt'
it great become (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'The language of him whose strength is small waxes great'

The following example illustrates that the same substitution of relative z(ə)- 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 the relative z(ə)-, e.g.

à- č'k°'ən y- an d- lè+ cè- m- nēq°'e-yt'
the boy his mother he her+with not go (fin.)

'The boy did not go for a walk with his mother'

→ z- an yè- lè+cè-m-nēq°'a(-z) à-č'k°'ən
whose mother who (non-fin.)

yè- c'a+rà d- à- g- xe- yt'
his lesson he it (prev.) reach-late (fin.)

'The boy who did not go for a walk with his (lit. whose) mother was late for his lesson'

This leaves the question of relativisation from inside an already subordinate clause. First let us examine structures where the subordinate clause is itself an argument (subject, direct or indirect object) of its introductory verb. In such cases the introductory verb will contain an affix referring to its subordinate clause. It is suggested in Hewitt (1979a) that, if the sentential boundary between introductory and subordinate

verb has not been erased in the transformational history of the structure, then, under relativisation, that affix in the introductory verb which refers to the subordinate clause must be replaced by its appropriate relative form - in other words, a rule of Relative-raising is hypothesised for the language, e.g.

a- ph^o'ès a- xàc'a dè- l- bà- r+c d- à+ la-
the woman the man him she see (purposive) she it+(prev.)
ge- yt'
begin (fin.)

'The woman began to see the man'

→ a-ph^o'ès dè- l- bà-r+c // yè- l- bà-r+c
him she whom she

dè- z+ la- gá (-z) a-xàc'a
she whom+(prev.) begin (non-fin.)

'the man whom the woman began to see...'

Whilst the introductory verb must show the relative affix, the subordinate verb need not. On the other hand, should the sentence-boundary between these have been erased, the single relative affix on the subordinate verb alone is sufficient to indicate the relative status of subordinate and (its) introductory verbs combined - cf. the alternative for the last example where the subordinate clause is represented by the infinitive/masdar:

a-ph^o'ès a-xàc'a yè- ba- rà d-à+la-ge-yt'
his see (masd.)

→ a-ph^o'ès z- ba-rà d-à+ la-ga(-z) a-xàc'a
whose it

The same situation obtains where the subordinate clause is subject (or direct object) of its introductory verb, e.g.

d- bè- l- ta- r+c (yè-)s-taxè-w+p'
him to-you she give (purp.) it I want (stat.)

'I want her to give him to you'

→ yè- bè-l-ta-r+c yè- s-taxè-w a- way^o'
whom who(m) (non-fin. the man

'the man whom I want her to give to you...'

If, however, the subordinate clause is not an argument of its introductory verb, as, for instance, in a final clause, then, under relativisation, special provision must be made for the insertion of the necessary relative affix into the introductory verb's affixal structure; this is achieved by inserting, by means of Relative-raising, the postpositional phrase 'for which' into the introductory verb's complex, e.g.

a- š^oq^o'è s-à- px'a-r+c s-aa- yt'
the book I it read (purp.) I come (fin.)

'I came to read the book'

→ s-à-px'a-r+c // sè-zè- px'a-r+c sè-z+ z- àa
which I which+for come

(-z) a-š^oq^o'è

(non-fin

'the book I came to read...'

1.1.2.4. Adverb-clauses

1.1.2.4.1. How are adverb-clauses marked in general? What is their position relative to their superordinate clause?

There is no unique, universally applicable feature that is characteristic of adverb-clauses. Such clauses precede their superordinate clause.

1.1.2.4.2. How are the following types of adverb-clause marked?

1.1.2.4.2.1. Time

For the 'postpositional conjunctions' -nac'ə 'while', -aanja 'until', and -yžtey 'since', see sections 2.1.5.1.4.3, 2.1.5.1.4.5, and 2.1.5.1.4.2 respectively.

Temporal adverbial clauses corresponding to English clauses introduced by 'when' are formed as follows: the intra-verbal affix -an(ə)- is inserted, immediately after the column I pronominal affix, into the non-finite verbal complex of the required tense, e.g.

Amra a- š^oq^o'è d- an- à- px'o warà
A. (art.) book she when it read you
(dyn.)
(non-fin. Pres.)

yè- q'a- w- c'o- y
which (prev.) you do what?
(rel.) +(dyn.)

'When Amra is reading, what do you do?'

Amra d- anè- c'o- w sarà a- wès
A. she when sleep (non-fin.stat.Pres.) I (art.) work
(ø-)z-[w-] we- yt'
it I do (dyn.) (fin.)

'When Amra is sleeping, I work'

If the tense of the subordinate verb is simple past, the non-finite Aorist must be used, for, although the non-finite Aorist does not differ in meaning from the non-finite Past Indefinite, -an(ə)- may not be used with the non-finite form of the latter tense, e.g.

d- anè- z-ba (*-z) a- š^oq^o'è
her when I see (non-fin.Aor.) (non-fin.Past Indef.) the book

(ø-)lè- s-te- yt'
it to-her I give (fin.)

'When I saw her, I gave her the book'

If the tense of the subordinate clause is future, the non-finite form must end in -lak' (an(ə)- only combines with the non-finite Future I ending -ra in indirect questions), e.g.

d- an- aa- làk' dè- šè
she when come (non-fin) her kill

'When she comes, kill her!'

Complexes ending in -lak' and incorporating the infix -an(ə)- may be used to signal indefinite (iterative) temporal expressions in past time, e.g.

d- an- aa- làk' à- fa+t° (ø-)lè- s-ta- lo-
(art.) food it to-her I give (iter.)
n // (ø-)lè-s-to- n
(fin.) give (fin.)
+ (dyn.)

'Whenever she came, I used to give her food'

However, more common here would be the complex suffix
-zaa+lak'+g'ə, which is suffixed to the non-finite Present, e.g.

d-an-aa-wà- zaa+lak'+g'ə // d-an-aa-lò- zaa+lak'+g'ə
(dyn.) (iter.)
+ (dyn.)

à-fa+t° (ø-)lè-s-ta-lo-n // (ø-)lè-s-to-n

Such subordinate forms may also be used where the tense is
general (gnomic), e.g.

sarà a+k'r- anè- s-fo (-zaa+lak'+g'ə) wəy
I something when I eat that-one
+ (dyn.)

də-s- pərxà+go- w+p'
he to-me be-hindrance (stat.)

'Whenever I'm eating, he's forever pestering me'

Temporal adverbial clauses with the meaning 'after' are
formed by an association of the appropriate temporal clause
meaning 'when' followed immediately by the postposition à-štax'
'after, behind', e.g.

d- anè- y- ba à- štax' də-cè-yt'
him when he see it after he go (fin.)
(non-fin.)

'After he saw him, he left'

Temporal adverbial clauses with the meaning 'as soon as' are
expressed as follows: the intra-verbal particle of manner
-s(ə)- is inserted, immediately after the complex's column I
pronominal affix, into the non-finite form of the required
tense; the suffix -c°'q''a, which usually means 'indeed,
really', will either be attached as final element to the re-
sulting complex, or it will stand immediately after the verbal
root. If the tense is simple past, either the non-finite Aor-
ist or the non-finite Past Indefinite may be used, e.g.

də- sè-y- ba- (z-) c°'q''a //
him he see (non-fin. Past Indef.)
(non-fin. Aor.)

də-sè-y-ba-c°'q''a(-z) də-cè-yt'
he go (fin.)

'As soon as he saw him, he went'

If the tense required is future, the non-finite ending of the
subordinate verb will be -lak'', e.g.

də-sè-y-ba-lak''-c°'q''a // də-sè-y-ba-c°'q''a-lak''
dè-cò- yt'
go
+ (dyn.)

'As soon as he sees him, he'll go'

Note that this last subordinate verb-form is obligatory if the
tense is indefinite past, e.g.

də-sè-y-ba-lak''(-c°'q''a) // də-sè-y-ba-c°'q''a-lak''
dè-cò- n
go (fin.)
+ (dyn.)

'As soon as ever he saw him, he used to go'

1.1.2.4.2.2. Manner

Adverbial clauses of manner are produced by inserting the
particle -s(ə)-, immediately after the complex's column I pro-
nominal affix, into the non-finite form of the required tense.
If the tense is simple past, only the non-finite Past Indefin-
ite may be used, e.g.

də-sè- z-ba- z dè-q'o-w+p'
him how I see (non-fin. Past Indef.) he be
'He is as I saw him'

If the element -c°'q''a is added for purposes of precision,
it will either be attached to the complex as a whole, or will
stand after the verbal root, and, in the case of the Perfect,
Plu-perfect and Conditionals I and II, it may also split tense-
marker from non-finite ending, e.g.

də- sè- z-ba- x'o- w- c°'q''a //
him how I see (Perf.) (non-fin.) just
də-sè-z-ba-c°'q''a-x'o-w //
də-sè-z-ba-x'a-c°'q''o-w dè-q'o-w+p'
he be (stat.)

'He is just as I have already seen him'

Two formations are possible for indefinite adverbial clauses
of manner: (a) the intra-verbal particle of manner -s(ə)- is
inserted, immediately after the complex's column I pronominal
affix, into the non-finite form of the required tense, to which
is suffixed the clitic -g'ə, which normally means 'and, also,
even', although a more appropriate translation in the present
context would be 'ever', e.g.

də- psja- nè // yə- psja-nè //
she beautiful (adv.) (col. I, non-hum.)
yè-r- psja-nə à- š'a (ø-)sè- l- h'o-
(causative) (art.) song it how she say
+ (dyn.)

g'ə lə- bžè (ø-)s+ g'a- pxò- m
ever her voice it me+(prev.) please not
+ (dyn.)

'However beautifully she sings, I don't like her voice'
cf. the corresponding sentence when the tense is Imperfect:

... (ø-)sè-l-h'o-z- g'ə... (ø-)s+g'a-pxò-mə- z+t'
(non-fin.) not (fin.)
(Imperfect) (Imperfect)

'However beautifully she used to sing, I used not to
like her voice'

If the subordinate tense is simple past, either the non-fin-
ite Aorist of the non-finite Past Indefinite is possible, e.g.

yə-
(col.I, non-hum.) hard (adv.) him how I hit
(non-fin. Aor.)
(z-) g'ə yə- q'e- y- c'a-c
(non-fin. Past Indef.) which (prev.) he do (non-fin.)
(rel.)
(ø-)q'e- y- c'è-yt'
it (prev.) he do (fin.)
'However hard I hit him, he did what he'd been doing
previously'

(b) the adverb eg'à 'however much' is used in association with a verb placed in the conditional mood in -r alone or in -za+r suffixed to either the non-finite Present or the non-finite Aorist; the verbal complex ends with the clitic -g'ə, e.g.

eg'à dəpsja-nə(etc..) à-š'a (ø-)l-h'a-r- g'ə //
however-much if
(ø-)l-h'a- za+r-g'ə // (ø-)l-h'a-
(non-fin. Pres.) if (non-fin. Aor.)
za+r-g'ə lə-bžə (ø-)s+g'a-pxò-m
if

'However beautifully she sings, I don't like her voice'
The same choice of words for the adverbial clause applies regardless of the tense of the main verb - if the main verb is Imperfect, for example, only the final word of the last example will be altered to (ø-)s+g'a-pxò-mə-z+t', thereby giving the meaning 'However beautifully she sang, I used not to like her voice'.

1.1.2.4.2.3. Purpose

Purpose-clauses are expressed in one of three ways: (a) the purposive in -r+c, -ra+zə or -ra+nə (see 2.1.3.5) is used, irrespective of the tense of the introductory verb, e.g.

s- y'əza də- z-bà- r+c // də-z-ba-ra+zə // də-z-ba-ra+nə
my friend him I see
à- kalak' [a-]ax' s-co- yt' // s-ce-yt' (etc..)
(art.) town it to I go (fin.) go
(dyn.)

'I am going // I went (etc..) to town to see my friend'

(b) the purposive in -r+c may be followed by the postposition -zə 'for'; and this postposition will be prefixed with the column II, 3rd. person singular non-human pronominal prefix a- correlating with the entire subordinate expression represented by the purposive, e.g.

s-y'əza də-z-bà-r+c a- zə à-kalak' [a-]ax' s-co-yt' //
it for
s-ce-yt'

'I am going // I went to town to see my friend'

(c) The masdar/infinite plus the postposition -zə 'for' may be used, in which case no column III, transitive subject-affix will be present in the subordinate expression, and the direct object becomes an objective genitive, being represented by the appropriate column II possessive pronominal prefix in the masdar-complex, e.g.

s-y'əza yə- ba- ra- [a-]zə à-kalak' [a-]ax' s-co-yt' //
his see (masd.) it for
s-ce-yt' (etc..)

N.B. that in the event of the introductory verb being one of motion, a fourth alternative exists, and this is to use the masdar/infinite by itself, e.g.

àmta a- ga- ra- [a-]zə (etc..) (*a-ga-rà) a-
time its waste (masd.) it for the
š'oq'ə s-à- px'o- yt'
book I it read (fin.)
(dyn.)

'I am reading the book in order to waste time'

BUT

àmta a-ga-rà // a-ga-ra-[a-]zə (etc..) s- an arà+x'
my mother hither

s- aa- lə- štə- yt'
me (prev.) she send (fin.)

'My mother sent me here in order to waste time'

Where the masdar is thus employed, one may optionally place after it the particle which usually marks the quotation of direct speech (see 1.1.1.1), namely h'a; this would here give àmta a-ga-rà (h'a)... Where the dependent noun of such masdars refers to a non-referentially indefinite entity, not only can the dependent noun stand without its article a- but the possessive prefix referring to that noun may be omitted from the masdar, e.g.

àmta ga-ra (h'a)...

'to waste time'

ph'əs š- ra (h'a)... // a-ph'əs lə- š-rà (h'a)
woman kill (masd.) her

'to kill a woman (sc. any woman at all)'

If, however, the dependent noun refers to one specific, known entity, then neither of these elements may be omitted, e.g.

wəy a- ph'əs lə-š-rà (h'a)
that (art.)

'to kill that woman'

s- ab yə- š-rà (h'a)
my father his

'to kill my father'

But if the dependent noun, even when it is of definite reference, is syntactically construed with the introductory verb of motion rather than with the masdar, the masdar will preferably not contain any possessive prefix referring to that noun, e.g.

š- ra s- ab arà+x' d- aa- z-gè- yt'
kill (masd.) my father higher him (prev.) I bring (fin.)

'I brought my father here to kill (him)'

1.1.2.4.2.4. Cause

Two alternative constructions exist: (a) either of the postpositions -zə 'for' or -g'ə+n+t' 'from', prefixed with the column II, 3rd. person singular non-human pronominal affix a-, which correlates with the entire subordinate expression, may be used in association with the non-finite form of the appropriate tense, which will incorporate the infix -ax'(ə)-. This intra-verbal particle stands immediately after the verbal complex's

column I pronominal affix - the most common use of the particle -ax'(ə)- is in relative sentential-locative expressions, where it means 'where' - e.g.

a- sk'òl a- q'è a- c'a- rà bzèya-nə
(art.) school it at (art.) learn (masd.) good (adv.)

(ø-)ax'è-y- c'o- z a- zè // a- q'è+n+t°',
it he learn (non-fin.) it for it from
(dyn.)

ayhabè+ra=c'a+ra d- aa- nà-x°e-yt'
the-institute him (prev.) it buy

'Because he studied well at school, he was admitted to the institute' (lit. '... the institute bought him')

cf. the same sentence in the present-future tense:

... (ø-)ax'è-c'o a-zè // a-q'è+n+t°'...
(non-fin. Pres.)

d-aa-nà-x°o- yt'
buy
(dyn.)

'Because he studies well at school, he will be admitted to the institute'

(b) alternatively, it is actually possible for the finite form of the appropriate tense to be used in conjunction with either of the postpositions -zè or -q'è+n+t°'. This is clearly a construction that has arisen under foreign influence as the a- prefix of either postposition should correlate with an NP (the affix in question is pronominal), but, with a finite verb-form representing the subordinate expression, there is no NP present to correlate with this pronominal prefix - it is worth emphasising at this point that the postpositions are indeed part of the subordinate expression for the pause in the sentence falls after and not before them, making them part of the tone-group of the subordinate verb, e.g.

a-sk'òl a-q'è a-c'a-rà bzèya-nə (ø-)yè-c'ò- n
learn (fin.)
(dyn.)

a-zè // a-q'è+n+t°', ayhabè+ra=c'a+ra d-aa-nà-x°e-yt'
'Because he studied well at school, he was admitted to the institute'

cf. ... (ø-)yè-c'ò-yt' a-zè // a-q'è+n+t°', ... d-aa-nà-x°o-yt'
'Because he studies well at school, he'll be admitted to the institute'

1.1.2.4.2.5. Condition

For all variants of conditional clauses, see section 2.1.3.4.2.

1.1.2.4.2.6. Result

Irrespective of the tense of the introductory verb, consecutive clauses are expressed by means of the purposive in -r+t°' (cf. 2.1.3.5) in association with the postposition eyps 'like, as', e.g.

a- wèsə+w+ra (ø-)hà- lə- m- sa- r+t°',
(art.) work it for-us (prev.) not be-possible
eyps sòwro-w+p' // sòwra-n
heat (stat.) (stat.)
(Pres.) (Past)

'It is//was (so) hot that we can't//couldn't work'

If the post-radical verbal element marking excess, -c°a-, is used, then the meaning will rather be 'It is too hot for us to work', i.e.

a-wèsə+w+ra (ø-)hà-lə-m-ga-r+t°' eyps sòwra-c°o-w+p'

Another example of a simple consecutive clause would be:

yarà+z+n+a+k' dè-c°a- r+t°' eyps d- aa+psa-nè
suddenly he go-to-sleep he tired (adv.)
dè-q'o-w+p' // dè-q'a-n
he be (stat.) he be (stat.)
(Pres.) (Past)

'He is//was (so) tired that he suddenly falls//fell asleep'

A less acceptable way of expressing consecutive clauses in Abkhaz is to use eyps 'like, as' in conjunction with wəbàs 'in such a way, so' in the main clause, and then simply to state the result by means of the appropriate finite verb, e.g.

wəbàs eyps d-aa+psa-nè dè-q'o-w+p' - yarà+z+n+a+k'
dè-c°o- yt'
fall-asleep (fin.)
(dyn.)

'He is so tired - he suddenly falls asleep'

1.1.2.4.7. Degree

For comparative adverbial clauses of degree, see 1.8.ff. And for equative adverbial clauses of degree, see 1.9.ff.

1.1.2.4.2.8. Concessive

Abkhaz has only the one means of expressing concession, and that is by saying 'even if' - the clitic -g'ə 'even' is suffixed to the appropriate conditional form, e.g.

à- mra (ø-)pxò- za+r-g'ə x'to-w+p'
the sun it shine if cold (stat.)
(dyn.)

'Although (even if) the sun is shining, it's cold'

à-mra (ø-)pxà-r- g'ə x'ta-xò- yt'
if become (fin.)
(dyn.)

'Although (even if) the sun shines, it will become cold'

1.1.2.5. Sequence of tenses

1.1.2.5.1. Is there a sequence of tenses?

No.

1.2. Structural questions

1.2.1. Internal structure of the sentence

1.2.1.1. Copular sentences

cf. 2.1.1.2.3 and 2.1.1.2.9.

1.2.1.1.1. Copular sentences with nominal complement

1.2.1.1.1.1/2. is there an overt 'be'-copula, and how is the predicate marked?

Where the overt copula is à-q'a-zaa-ra (cf. 2.1.1.2.9.1 for its defining functions and 2.1.1.2.9.3 for its role-marking functions), the noun-complement stands in the predicative case in -s, or it may be turned into its adverbial form, e.g.

wəy r+c'a+y°à-s // də-r+c'a+y°-nə
that-one teacher (pred.) he teacher (adv.)
də-q'o-w+p'
he be (stat.)

'He is a teacher'

But where the copular roots -a- (or -a+k°'(ə)-) are used (cf. 2.1.1.2.9.2 for this identity-marking copula, and 2.1.1.2.9.3 for its role-marking functions), the noun-complement is unmarked, e.g.

wəy Zaira l- o- w+p'
Z. she be (stat.)
(col.II)

'That's Zaira'

1.2.1.1.1.3. give the order of the constituents

The word-order is S-Comp-V.

1.2.1.1.2. Copular sentences with adjectival complement

1.2.1.1.2.1. is there an overt 'be'-copula?

No, see 1.2.1.1.4.ff.

1.2.1.1.3. Copular sentences with adverbial complement

1.2.1.1.3.1/2. is there an overt 'be'-copula, and how is the predicate marked?

Where the overt copula is à-q'a-zaa-ra, the adverb-complement may be either

(i) unmarked, e.g.

(sarà) arà sè-q'o-w+p'
I here I be (stat.)
'I am here'

where arà is a non-derived adverb and thus requires no additional marker to indicate its adverbial status.

(yarà) bzəya də-q'o-w+p'
he well(lit. good) he
'He is well'

N.B. that formally bzəya is an adjective, but this sentence cannot nevertheless mean 'He is good', which would be də-bzəyo-w+p' (cf. 1.2.1.1.4.2.1). Such uses of adjective for adverb are rare - in place of bzəya here, but with the same sentential meaning, we could use psja 'beautiful'.

warà wə- q'ə+n+t°' xarà sè-q'o-w+p'
you you from far I
'I am far from you'

or (ii) marked (by having the appropriate column I pronominal affix as prefix, and the adverbial formant -nə as suffix), e.g.

də-bzəya-nə də-q'o-w+p'
he good (adv.) he
'He is well'
sə-w+ c°ə+ xara-nə sè-q'o-w+p'
I you+from+far (adv.) I
'I am far from you'

In the case of the pseudo-cleft construction where the copula will be the root -a- (or -a+k°'(ə)-), both unmarked (non-derived) and marked (derived) adverbs are found, as would be expected, e.g.

a(b)rò-w+p' (←*a(b)ra-a- w+p') s-ax'è- q'o-w
here be (stat.) I where be (non-fin.)
'It is here where I am'
yə-psja- n- ò- w+p' (←*yə-psja-nə-a-w+p')
it beautiful (adv.) be (stat.)
yə-sè- q'a- c'o- w
it how (prev.) make (non-fin. stat.)
'It is beautifully made'

1.2.1.1.3.3. give the order of constituents

The order is S-Comp-V.

1.2.1.1.4. In cases of copular sentences without overt copula

1.2.1.1.4.1. are the normal verbal categories expressed?

Yes.

1.2.1.1.4.2. if so, how is this done?

1.2.1.1.4.2.1. verbal affixes affixed to the complement-element

In the case of copular sentences without an overt 'be'-copula, the normal verbal categories (person, tense) are expressed by attaching as prefix to the complement the appropriate column I pronominal affix and as suffix to the complement the stative verb markers (-w+p' in the Present, -n in the Past) - in other words, the complement becomes the root of a stative verb, e.g.

(a) noun-complement

wəy də-way°ə-w+p'
that-one he man (stat.)
'He is a man'

(b) adjective-complement

(barà) bə- psjò- w+p'
you you beautiful (stat.)
'You are beautiful'

(c) noun+adjective-complement

abrèy d- apsè+wa xàc'o-w+p'
this he Abkhazian man (stat.)
'This is an Abkhazian man'

(d) adverbial-complement

No example, as adverbial complements are always construed with an overt 'be'-copula.

1.2.1.1.6. Are there different types of copula?

Yes.

1.2.1.1.6.1. defining

This will be either (i) complement becomes the root of a stative verb, or (ii) the copula \dot{a} -g'a-zaa-ra 'be, exist' plus complement either in the predicative case in -s or in its adverbial form (see 2.1.1.2.9.1 for examples).

1.2.1.1.6.2. identity

This will be the copula root -a- (or -a+k°'(ə)-) plus an unmarked complement (see 2.1.1.2.9.2).

1.2.1.1.6.3. role

This may be either (i) root -a- (or -a+k°'(ə)-) plus unmarked complement, or (ii) \dot{a} -g'a-zaa-ra plus complement in either the predicative case in -s or its adverbial form (see 2.1.1.2.9.3).

1.2.1.1.6.4. other

For the 'become'-copula see 2.1.1.2.9.4.

1.2.1.2. Verbal sentences

1.2.1.2.1. Are there verbs without subjects, or with dummy-subjects?

An argument was presented by Hewitt (1979b) to the effect that basically transitive verbs containing either the potential verbal infix -z(ə)- (cf. 2.1.3.4.7) or the 'unwillingness' verbal infix -amxā- (cf. 2.1.3.4.15) should be interpreted as subjectless verbs, rather than as detransitivised intransitives, as the conventional interpretation would require. Since such verbs contain no column III, transitive subject-affix, they cannot be transitive verbs. And the argument against regarding the referent of their column I affix as an intransitive subject is that this column I affix may be replaced by the reflexive affix -q(ə)- (preceded by the column II affix correlating with the antecedent), and this reflexive affix only functions as direct object in Abkhaz (with the sole exception of the idiomatic expression for 'to be careful', namely a-g°-q-a+nè-zaa-ra, which literally means 'oneself to be in one's heart' - cf. 1.6.3.2.3). If this argumentation is sound, then all transitive verbs containing either of the infixes illustrated in 2.1.3.4.7/15 will qualify as subjectless verbs.

Weather-expressions for 'raining', 'snowing' and 'hailing' consist of the relevant noun, which fulfils the role of direct object to the verb a-w-rà 'to do, make', the subject of which is the dummy, 3rd. person singular, non-human, column III, transitive subject-affix -a-, e.g.

a- k°à (ø-)a- [w-] wè- yt' (= [æ'k°wæ'weit'])
(art.) rain it it(?) make (dyn.) (fin.)
'It's raining'

(cf. a-sè (ø-)a-[w-]wè-yt' 'It's snowing'; a-k'èrcx (ø-)a-[w-]wè-yt' 'It's hailing'). In the case of the 'wind blowing', superficially we have a similar structure, namely:

a- psà (ø-)à- s- we- yt' (= [æ'pʂæsweit'])
(art.) wind it it(?) strike (dyn.) (fin.)
'The wind is blowing'

However, the verb \dot{a} -s-ra 'to strike' is intransitive (cf. s-yè-sè-yt' 'I s- hit him -yè-'), and so the dummy-affix -a- is the column II, 3rd. person singular, non-human, pronominal affix and is here fulfilling the role of indirect object, whereas a-psà is the verb's subject. Cf. the dummy, indirect object -a- in the 'absolutive' complex:

xar (ø-)à- ma- m- k°'a(-n)
trouble(?) it it(?) have not (neg. absol. suff.)
'enough' (cf. 1.2.4.3.4)

The verb a-w-rà 'to do, make' with the same dummy subject-affix -a- seen above is also used in conjunction with either the conditional mood or the masdar//infinitive in the sense of 'it is possible', e.g.

a- k°à (ø-)a- wè- r (ø-)a- [w-] wè- yt'
the rain it it(?) make if it it(?) make (dyn.) (fin.)
'It is possible that it will rain'

a+k'rè- fa- ra (ø-)a-[w-]wè-yt'
something eat (masd.)
'It is possible to eat'

a- gazèt d- à- px'o- za+r (ø-)a-[w-]wè-yt'
the paper he it read if
(+dyn.)

'It is possible that he is reading the paper'

An alternative verb in each of the above three examples would be:

(ø-) à- l- so- yt'
it (sc. subordin- for-it(?) (prev.) be-possible (fin.)
ate clause) (+dyn.)

where the dummy-affix -a- is present once more, although this time it is again the column II, 3rd. person singular, non-human pronominal affix and is fulfilling the role of indirect object, cf.

a- wèsə+w+ra (ø-)sè- l-so-yt'
(art.) work it for-me(col.II)
'I can work'

Traditionally the verb a-taxè-zaa-ra 'to want' is interpreted as an intransitive verb containing a subject (column I) affix and an indirect object (column II) affix. However, arguments are presented below (1.6.5.73) for interpreting this verb rather as a (syntactically if not morphologically) normal transitive verb with a subject (column III) affix and a direct object (column I) affix. If this view is correct, then another instance of a- appearing as dummy subject-affix will be its use with a-taxè-zaa-ra when this verb is used in association with the masdar to mean 'X is necessary', e.g.

àq'a- q'a a- ca-rà // s- ca-rà (ø-)a-
 Sukhumi to (art.) go (masd.) my
 taxè-w+p'
 (stat.)

'It is necessary to go // that I go to Sukhumi'

Two other expressions of obligation are based on nominal bases meaning 'lot, portion', namely -x°ta // -k°naga. Each of these bases, preceded by the appropriate column II possessive prefix correlating with the person upon whom the obligation falls, is made the base of a stative verb, whose column I subject-affix correlates with the masdar representing the act that is the obligation, e.g.

wəy yə- ba- rà (ø-)sə+k°nagò-w+p' // (ø-)sə+
 that-one his see (masd.) it my+lot (stat.)
 x°tò-w+p'

'I must see him'

Should the person upon whom the obligation rests be left unspecified, the dummy, 3rd. person singular, non-human possessive (i.e. column II) pronominal prefix a- will appear in the verbal complex, e.g.

wəy yə-ba-rà (ø-)a+k°nagò-w+p' // (ø-)a+x°tò-w+p'

'It is necessary to see him'

1.2.1.2.2. Are there verbs without direct objects?

For the formation of an intransitive verb from a transitive by not specifying the direct object, see 2.1.3.1.2.2. For the dummy direct object affix a+k're-, see 2.1.3.8.7.

1.2.1.2.3. Is there a separate category 'indirect object'

(definable other than in semantic terms) which can be present?

The indirect object may be formally defined as the referent of the column II, pronominal affix which may be present in any verbal complex and which is not 'governed' by a preverb, determiner or relational particle (cf. 2.1.1.5 for the terminology), and which is not used in association with the reflexive affix -q(ə)- (cf. 1.6.1.3), e.g.

d- à- px'o- yt'
 he it(col.II) read+(dyn.) (fin.)

'He reads it (indirect object)'

yə-sə- l- te- yt'

it to-me(col.II) she give (fin.)

'She gave it to me (indirect object)'

yə-l- də- r- bè- yt'

it her(col.II) they cause see (fin.)

'They made her (indirect object) see it // They showed it to her'

yə-sə- lə- m- ge- yt'
 it for-me(col.II) (prev.) not (root) (fin.)

" " be possible

'It was not possible for me'

(where it is impossible, synchronically speaking, to assign individual meanings to the verbal root and preverb, such that the column II affix could be regarded as being dependent on the

preverb alone rather than on the 'preverb+root' combination, cp.

a- xah°+c°'ah° à- šaq'a y- a+ k°ə- y- c'è-yt'
 the beam the pillar it it+on(prev.) he put (fin.)

'He put the beam on the pillar'

yə-s- lə- r- q'a- c'e- yt'
 it me(col.II) she cause (prev.) make (fin.)

'She made me (indirect object) do it'

(N.B. that in the present work any intra-verbal column II affix that is followed in the transcription by a hyphen, rather than by a plus-sign, may be interpreted as representing an indirect object.)

1.2.1.2.4. What other kinds of verbal arguments are there?

See the various sub-sections of section 2.1.3.6.1 for the other arguments incorporated in the verbal complex.

1.2.1.2.5. What combinations of subject, direct object, indirect object and other arguments are found?

There are no restrictions on the combinations of the various arguments that a verb may possess.

1.2.1.2.6. Give the order of the constituents for the combination of verb, subject, and direct object etc...

The most frequent word-order (cf. 2.1.1.1.5) is S-IO-DO-V, although any order is theoretically possible. The referent of any other intra-verbal affix will most naturally stand between IO and DO, e.g.

a- xac'a a- ph°əs l- y°əza a- š°q°'ə(ø-)lə+ z- lə-
 the man the woman her friend the book it her+for to-her
 y- te- yt'
 he give (fin.)

'The man gave the book to the woman for her friend'

1.2.1.3. Adverbials

1.2.1.3.1. Do the following types of adverbial occur?

1.2.1.3.1.1. adverbs

Abkhaz has both derived and non-derived adverbs. For derived adverbs see 2.2.4.1.ff. Non-derived adverbs are of the type - dāara 'very'; temporal adverbs (e.g. c'əpx 'last year'), and locative adverbs (e.g. a(b)rà 'here').

1.2.1.3.1.2. postpositional phrases

Yes, see the various sub-sections of section 2.1.1.5.

1.2.1.3.1.3. cases of NPs

Abkhaz's single case, the predicative (cf. 2.1.1), falls into this category.

1.2.1.3.1.4. adverbial clauses

For the various adverbial clauses see 1.1.2.4.ff.

1.2.1.3.2. For each describe the positional possibilities within the sentence.

Non-derived adverbs of time, and postpositional phrases generally, may stand either at the beginning of the sentence or before the direct object, e.g.

yacà a- xac'a a- ph'òs a- š'òq'ò'è (ø-)lè- y-
yesterday the man the woman the book it to-her he
te- yt'
give (fin.)

or a-xac'a a-ph'òs yacà a-š'òq'ò'è (ø-)lè-y-te-yt'
'The man yesterday gave the book to the woman'
abrày a- tèt a- q'è a-xac'a a-ph'òs a-š'òq'ò'è
this (art.) place it at
(ø-)lè-y-te-yt'

or a-xac'a a-ph'òs abrày a-tèt a-q'è a-š'òq'ò'è (ø-)lè-y-te-yt'
'The man gave the woman the book at this spot'
Postpositional phrases may also split direct object from verb,
e.g.

a-xac'a a-ph'òs a-š'òq'ò'è abrày a-tèt a-q'è yè-lè-y-te-yt'
Non-derived adverbs of manner (e.g. abàs 'thus') and of
place (e.g. a(b)rà 'here') preferably appear before the direct
object, e.g.

a-xac'a a-ph'òs abàs // a(b)rà a-š'òq'ò'è (ø-)lè-y-te-yt'
'The man gave the book to the woman thus // here'

The predicative case of the NP usually stands immediately
before the verb, e.g.

a-xac'a a-ph'òs gajà-s //
fool (pred.)

gaja-nè dè- y- px'ajè-yt'
(pred.) her he regard (fin.)

'The man considered the woman a fool'

Adverbial clauses usually split direct object from main verb,

e.g. a-xac'a a-ph'òs l- an l- ba- rà (etc..) dè- y-
her mother her see (masd.) her he
štà- yt'
send (fin.)

'The man sent the woman to see her mother'

Derived adverbs may stand either before the direct object or
between direct object and verb, e.g.

a-xac'a (yè+r+lass+nè) a-š'òq'ò'è (yè+r+lass+nè) d- à-
quickly he it
px'o- yt'
read+(dyn.) (fin.)

'The man reads the book quickly'

If more than one postpositional phrase occurs in the same
sentence, no special ordering is necessary. If a derived ad-
verb and either a non-derived adverb or postpositional phrase
of time both occur before the direct object, the derived ad-
verb will stand first, e.g.

a-xac'a a-ph'òs yè+r+lass+nè yacà // a- sàat x'ò+ba
yesterday the hour 5

rè- zè // a(b)rà a-š'òq'ò'è (ø-)lè-y-te-yt'
them for here

'The man quickly gave the book to the woman yesterday //
at 5 o'clock // here'

otherwise the postpositional phrase (of place or manner) will
stand first, e.g.

a-xac'a a-ph'òs bzəya+ba+rà-[à-]lla // abrày a-tèt a-q'è
love it by

yè+r+lass+nè a-š'òq'ò'è (ø-)lè-y-te-yt'

'The man quickly gave the woman the book with affection
// at this spot'

If an adverbial clause and a derived adverb occur together,
the adverbial clause will stand first, e.g.

a-xac'a a-ph'òs l-an l-ba-rà (etc..) yè+r+lass+nè
dè-y-štà-yt'

'The man quickly sent the woman to see her mother'

1.2.1.3.3. Are adverbials obligatory in any construction?

For the use of the predicative case as complement-marker see
2.1.1.2.9-11.

For the obligatory transformation of an adjective into an
adverb if placed before its noun, see 2.1.4.3.1.1.

1.2.2. Adjective phrases

1.2.2.2. Are there adjectives that take arguments?

See section 2.1.1.2.12.

1.2.2.3. Which types of adverbials can modify adjectives?

Before any adjective is modified, it must be made the base
of a stative verb which is then relativised and placed before
its head-noun, being itself preceded by its modifier, e.g.

1.2.2.3.1. adverbs

dàara yè- psjo- w à- jɣab
very who beautiful (non-fin.) the//a girl
'the//a very beautiful girl' (lit. 'girl who is...')

1.2.2.3.2. postpositional phrases

d- an- yè- z [a-leyps yè-psjo-w à-jɣab
she when be-born (non-fin.) it like
'the//a girl who is (as) beautiful as the day she was
born'
[y-]ley+lè- w- k'+aa- r+t' (a-leyps yè-
it (preverbs) you understand (purposive) it like which
maryo-w a- h'òw
easy (non-fin.) the//a sentence
'the//a sentence (which is) easy for one to understand'

1.2.2.3.3. cases of NP (i.e. predicative case)

p'olìt'ik'a+t' wəs+zə+w+y'ə-s yə- q'ò'əgə-
political activist (pred.) who intelligent
w a- y'əza dè- sè-mo- w+p'
(non-fin.) (art.) friend him I have (stat.)
'I have a friend who is intelligent for a politician'

1.2.2.3.4. adverbial clauses

Not possible.

1.2.2.4. What is the order of the constituents if adjective, indirect object and adverb are all present?

The adverb may either precede or follow the indirect object; both of the above precede the verbalised adjective, which in turn precedes the head-noun, e.g.

(dàara) z- ab (dàara) y- [y+] èypsə-w
very whose father who him+like (non-fin.)
à- ǵ'k'o'en
(art.) boy

'a boy (who is) very like his father'

1.2.3. Adverbial phrase

1.2.3.2. Which types of adverbials can modify adverbials?

1.2.3.2.1. adverbs

Yes, with modifier preceding modified, e.g.

dàara yè+r+lass+nə
'very quickly'

1.2.3.2.2. postpositional phrases

Yes, with modifier preceding modified, e.g.

yə-ǵ-	bè- l-	ǵo	//	yə-z+	la-bè-l-ǵo	[a-]eyps
it	how	you	(prev.)	be-able	which+by	it like
				(non-fin.)		
b-	lass-	nə		bə-	cà	
you(col.I)	quick	(adv.)		you	go	
'Go (as) quickly as you are able!'						

1.2.3.2.3. cases of NPs (i.e. predicative case)

Yes, with modifier preceding modified, e.g.

p'olìt'ik'a+t'o' wəs+zə+w+y'oə-s də-q'o'ǵ- nə a-
he intelligent (adv.) (art.)
wəs (ǵ-)yə-[w-]wè- yt'
job it he do (dyn.) (fin.)
'He works intelligently for a politician'

1.2.3.2.4. adverbial clauses

Not possible.

1.2.4. Postpositional phrases

1.2.4.2. Postpositional phrases and their arguments

1.2.4.2.1. Can postpositions occur without arguments (i.e. as adverbs)?

The following postpositions may be used adverbially: àayg'a 'near', a-y'nə+c'q'a 'inside', àpx'a 'in front (of)', à-ǵtax 'behind', xəx' 'upstairs, above, on top', c'a+q'à 'downstairs, below', aa+rc' 'on this side', nə+rc' 'on that side'.

1.2.4.2.2. Can postpositions occur with more than one argument?

No.

1.2.4.2.3. Can postpositions occur with arguments other than NPs?

No - for the 'postpositional conjunctions', which are suffixed direct to non-finite verbal forms, see 2.1.5.1.4.

1.2.4.2.4. Can postpositions be stranded if their NP is moved?

No.

1.2.3.4.3. What elements can modify postpositions?

1.2.3.4.3.1. adverbs

The adverbial suffix -c'o'q'a 'right, fully' may be attached to any appropriate postposition, e.g.

a- y'n- k'a rə- bžà+ra c'o'q'a
the house (pl.) them between
'right between the houses'

An alternative to this suffix is the adverb zənjà((s)k') 'completely', which may also be used in conjunction with the suffix -c'o'q'a, with the adverb preceding the postposition's argument, e.g.

(zənjà((s)k')) a-y'n à- ǵtax'(-c'o'q'a)
'right behind the house'

Any of the variants for the postposition meaning 'near' may take the adverbial suffix -ja 'very', e.g.

à- c'la a- zàayg'a(+ra)-ja // [a-]àayg'a(+ra)-ja
the tree it near it near
'very near the tree'

However, if the adverb dàara 'very' is used in place of the suffix -ja, only the base -zàayg'a(+ra) may be used, and it must also be turned into an adverb by taking as prefix the appropriate column I pronominal affix and as suffix the adverbial formant -nə. The adverb dàara may stand either before or after the (adverbialised) postposition's argument, e.g.

(dàara) a-y'nə (dàara) d -a+ zàayg'a(+ra)-nə də-ǵəlo-
he it he stand

w+p'

(stat.)

'He is standing very close to the house'

1.2.4.3.2. postpositional phrases

The phrase yə-ǵ+aa+na+ga+ra eyps 'quite' (for the analysis of yə-ǵ+aa+na+ga+ra see 2.1.4.5.4) may be used as a postpositional modifier. In association with the postposition 'near', the same restriction applies to the postposition as described in the last section for its use with dàara, and the modifying phrase may stand either before or after the (adverbialised) postposition's argument. However, if this phrase is used in conjunction with other postpositions, it must precede the argument, e.g.

yə-ǵ+aa+na+ga+ra eyps a-y'nə a- xəx' də-xà- le-
it above he (prev.) go-up

yt'

(fin.)

'He went up quite (sc. high) above the house'

1.2.4.3.4. adverbial clause

Since the postposition eyps 'like' may be omitted from the modifying phrase described immediately above, the remaining element, yə+ṣ+āa+na+ga+ra, qualifies as an adverb-clausal modifier, e.g.

(yə+ṣ+āa+na+ga+ra) a-y°nə (yə+ṣ+āa+na+ga+ra) d-a+zāayg°a-nə
də-gəlo-w+p'

'He is standing quite close to the house'

If the 'absolute' complex

xar (ø-)-ā- ma- m- k°'a(+n)

trouble(?) it it(?) have not (neg. absol. suff.)

which means 'enough' is to be interpreted as an adverbial clause, it too may modify postpositions and will precede their arguments, e.g.

xar (ø-)-ā+ma+m+k°'a(+n) a-y°n [a-]āayg°a(+ra) (etc..)

'near enough to the house'

Should the postposition 'near' appear in its adverbialised form, the modifier may stand after the argument, e.g.

a-y°nə xar (ø-)-ā+ma+m+k°'a(+n) d-a+zāayg°a-nə də-gəlo-w+p'

'He's standing close enough to the house'

1.2.5. Noun phrase (nominal constituent)

1.2.5.2. Which of the following types of modifier occur?

1.2.5.2.1. adjective

Adjectives, apart from ordinals and those expressing nationality (see below 1.2.5.2.6 for quantifiers), follow their head-nouns, e.g.

à- jʏab hàrak'

the girl tall

'the tall girl'

à- kərt+wa jʏab

the Georgian girl

'the Georgian girl'

1.2.5.2.2. relative clauses

Relative expressions precede their head-nouns, e.g.

yacə y- aa- z à- jʏab

yesterday who come (non-fin.) the girl

'the girl who came yesterday'

1.2.5.2.3. possessive 'adjective'

Non-emphatic possession is expressed by a set of pronominal prefixes (see the column II affixes set out in section

2.1.1.1.1), which occupy the same position in the NP as the definite-generic article a-, and not by possessive adjectives, e.g.

sə-jʏab

my girl

'my girl'

Emphatic possession is expressed by means of the adjective -xa+t°'(ə) preceded by the appropriate column II possessive prefix, e.g.

s- xa+t°'ə jʏab

my own girl

'my own girl'

The morpheme-division of -xa+t°'(ə) is not clear. As represented in the present work, there is a suffix +t°'(ə), which is the root 'to belong, be possessed of', attached to the noun -xə 'head//self', which appears with its original final vowel -a (cf. Abaza ga 'head'). Alternatively, there could be a sequence of three morphemes, namely -x(a)+a+t°'(ə), where the +a will be the 3rd. person singular, non-human, column II possessive prefix correlating with the nominal element -x(a) 'head' (i.e. the complex will literally mean 'head//self+its+possession').

1.2.5.2.4. article

The indefinite article is identical with the numeral 'one', -k', which is suffixed to its noun, e.g.

jʏab-k'

girl one//a

'a//one girl'

The definite-generic article is the prefix a-, which must always accompany nominal bases in their citation-forms, and which is attached to preposed adjectives of nationality (see above 1.2.5.2.1), e.g.

à-jʏab

'(the) girl'

1.2.5.2.5. demonstrative 'adjective'

Demonstrative adjectives (which may also function as demonstrative pronouns) must precede their head-nouns, which latter must be prefixed with the definite-generic article, e.g.

wəy à- jʏab

that-one (art.) girl

'that girl'

1.2.5.2.6. quantifiers

If the head-noun is human, the quantifiers may either precede or follow it, e.g.

mač'-y°ə- k' à- jʏab-c°a (or reversed)

few (hum.) one//a (art.) girl (pl.)

'few girls'

pət- y°ə- k' à-jʏab-c°a (or reversed)

several (hum.) one//a

'several girls'

In the case of the quantifier 'many', if postposed, one form it may take is rac°a, and the head-noun will appear in the singular, e.g.

à- jʏab rac°a

(art.) girl many

'many girls'

if preposed, it will take the form of an adverb and will preferably incorporate the human-marker -y°- if its head-noun is human; the head-noun will be plural, e.g.

yə+rac°a+(y°+)-nə à-jʏab-c°a

'many girls'

The above adverbial form may also follow its head-noun (i.e. à-jʏab-c°a (yə)rac°a-(y°-)-nə).

Should the head-noun be non-human, the quantifiers preferably follow their head-nouns, e.g.

à- š°q°'-k°à mač°-k'
 (art.) book (pl.) few one//a
 'few books'
 a-š°q°'-k°à pət- k'
 several one//a
 'several books'

In the case of the quantifier 'many', either the simple form rac°a will follow its head-noun, which will again appear in the singular (e.g. a-š°q°'è rac°a 'many books'), or the adverbialised form will either precede or follow its head-noun, which will be plural (e.g. yə-rac°a-nè a-š°q°'-k°à or a-š°q°'-k°à (yə-)rac°a-nè 'many books').

The negative 'not many' is expressed by the one form yə-rac°à-(y°è)m-k°'a+n, where -k°'a+n is the suffix that replaces -nè when the absolutive verb-form (cf. 2.1.1.3) is negated (e.g. yə-rac°à(y°è)m-k°'a+n à-jyab-c°a 'not many girls').

N.B. that, with all the quantifiers, the definite-generic article is necessary on the head-noun.

1.2.5.2.7. adverbials

NPs may incorporate certain postpositional phrases (see the various sub-sections of 2.1.1.4 and 2.1.1.5), such as the following 'ablative' postpositional expression, where the word-order is free:

Očamčëra-n+t° à- jyab (or reversed)
 O. from the girl
 'the girl from Očamčëra'

1.2.5.2.8. emphatic words

Emphatics follow their head-nouns, e.g.

à-jyab-g°è
 'the girl also//even the girl'
 à-jyab l- xatà
 her self
 'the girl herself'

1.2.5.2.9. comparative/superlative/equative structures

Such modifiers must be expressed verbally - the relevant adjective is made the base of a stative verb, which is then relativised, so that such expressions are not formally distinguished from the relative constructions discussed in 1.2.5.2.2,

e.g. Àdg°er y- àc°k°'es//y- àasta//y- èyha yə-
 A. him than him than him than who
 harak°è-w à-jyab
 tall (non-fin.)
 'the girl (who is) taller than Adgur'
 zeg° r- àc°k°'es (etc..) yə-harak°è-w à-jyab
 all them than
 'the tallest girl'
 Àdg°er y- eyps yə-harak°è-w à-jyab
 him like
 'the girl (who is) as tall as Adgur'

For the morphology of comparatives etc... see section 2.1.4.4. ff.

1.2.5.3. Is it possible to have more than one of each type of modifier?

1.2.5.3.1. adjectives

The order for postposed adjectives is: colour-quality-size,

e.g. à- mp°el q°apš pšja dëw
 the ball red beautiful big
 'the beautiful big red ball'

For preposed adjectives the order is: ordinal-(definite-generic article)+nationality Adj, e.g.

r+apx°a+t°'e+y à- kært+wa jyab
 first (art.) Georgian girl
 'The first Georgian girl'

1.2.5.3.2. relative clauses

It is possible to have more than one relative construction modifying a single head-noun, but such complex sequences would most naturally be avoided. If we take as an example the three-clause structure 'the girl who came yesterday, whom you know, and who sewed the coat', all three relatives may precede the head, or two may precede and one follow, or one may precede and two follow - the word nàs-g°è, which literally means 'then-and', may precede the final relative, e.g.

yacè y- aa- z, warà yə- w- dër- wa
 yesterday who come (non-fin.) you whom you know (non-fin.)
 (nàs-g°è) a- p°alt'a (ø-)z- jaxè-z à-jyab
 the coat it who sew (non-fin.)

or yacè y-aa-z, warà yə-w-dër-wa à-jyab (nàs-g°è) a-p°alt'a
 (ø-)z-jaxè-z

or yacè y-aa-z à-jyab warà yə-w-dër-wa, (nàs-g°è) a-p°alt'a
 (ø-)z-jaxè-z

1.2.5.3.3. emphatics

In the case of the two emphatics -xata 'self' and -g°è 'also, even', the clitic -g°è is suffixed to -xata (e.g. à-jyab l-xata-g°è 'even the girl herself').

1.2.5.4. Are there combinations of various of the above-types of modifier which are not admitted?

The possessive prefixes may not be used in conjunction with the definite-generic or indefinite articles, unless the latter suffix -k° is being used as the numeral 'one'. The indefinite article does not occur with quantifiers. In combination with demonstratives and emphatic words, -k° will function as the numeral 'one' rather than as the indefinite article.

1.2.5.5. Describe the order of the head and the various modifiers to cover all the possibilities.

The order of head and modifier for each individual modifier has been presented above. We shall, therefore, now concentrate on combinations of different modifiers.

The combination of postposed adjective and relative construction presents no problems, as the relative precedes the

head (e.g. yacè y-aaz à-jyab hàrak 'the tall girl who came yesterday'). In the case of preposed adjectives plus relatives, the relative will precede adjectives of nationality, but will follow ordinals (e.g. yacè y-aaz à-kért+wa jyab 'the Georgian girl who came yesterday', but r+àpx'a+t°'e+y yacè y-aaz à-jyab 'the first girl who came yesterday').

The column II possessive prefixes occupy the same position in the NP as the definite-generic article - i.e. they are prefixed to the noun if the adjective is postposed or if the preposed adjective is an ordinal, and they are prefixed to the adjective if it is indicative of nationality (e.g. sè-jyab hàrak 'my tall girl'; sè-kért+wa y°èza 'my Georgian friend'; r+àpx'a+t°'e+y s-y°èza 'my first friend'). The same position is occupied by the emphatic possessive adjectives (e.g. s-xa+t°'è jyab hàrak 'my own tall girl'; s-xa+t°'è kért+wa y°èza 'my own Georgian friend'; r+àpx'a+t°'e+y s-xa+t°'è y°èza 'my own first friend').

The indefinite article attaches to the noun if the adjective is preposed, otherwise it is suffixed to the adjective (e.g. kért+wa y°èza-k 'a Georgian friend'; jyab hàrak'e-k 'a tall girl').

The combination of postposed adjectives and demonstratives poses no problems, as the latter are preposed. In the case of preposed adjectives, the demonstrative will precede the adjective (e.g. wèy à-kért+wa jyab 'that Georgian girl'; wèy r+àpx'a+t°'e+y à-jyab 'that first girl').

Quantifiers either precede all adjectives or follow all adjectives (e.g. pèt-y°è-k // yè-rac'a-y°-nè à-jyab-c'a hàrak'-k'a // hàrak'-c'a, where the quantifiers may also occupy final position, 'several/many tall girls'; pèt-y°è-k // yè-rac'a-y°-nè à-kért+wa jyab-c'a, where the quantifiers may also occupy final position, 'several/many Georgian girls'). If à-rac'a is used for 'many', it may only be associated with an adjective which is normally postposed but which in this particular context must appear in its (preposed) relativised stative form (e.g. yè-hàrak'è-w à-jyab rac'a 'many tall girls').

For postposed as well as preposed adjectives, adverbials (postpositional phrases) may either precede or follow the N-Adj//Adj-N complex (e.g. à-jyab hàrak Očamčëra-n+t° // Očamčëra-n+t° à-jyab hàrak 'the tall girl from Očamčëra'; Očamčëra-n+t° à-kért+wa jyab // à-kért+wa jyab Očamčëra-n+t° 'the Georgian girl from Očamčëra').

Emphatics follow the N-Adj//Adj-N complex (e.g. à-jyab hàrak l-xatà // hàrak'-g'e 'the tall girl herself' // even the tall girl'; à-kért+wa jyab l-xatà // jyab-g'e 'the Georgian girl herself' // even the Georgian girl').

The ordering of the suffixal indefinite article and a preposed relative expression clearly presents no problems.

As both the possessive prefixes and the definite-generic article are prefixed to the noun, they naturally follow relative constructions (e.g. yacè y-aaz sè-jyab // à-jyab 'my // the girl who came yesterday'). The same applies to the emphatic possessive adjective (e.g. yacè y-aaz s-xa+t°'è y°èza 'my own friend who came yesterday').

Demonstratives may precede relatives if there is no possibility of the demonstrative being interpreted as a constituent

of the relativised clause (e.g. wèy yacè y-aaz à-jyab 'that girl who came yesterday', but:

a- xàc'a dè- z- bà- z wèy à-jyab
the man him who see (non-fin.)
'that girl who saw the man'

for with the order wèy a-xàc'a dè-z-bà-z à-jyab, the meaning would be 'the girl who saw that man').

In the case of postposed quantifiers, there is no problem about the order of relative, head and quantifier. If the quantifier is preposed, it will normally follow the relative (e.g. yacè y-aaz pèt-y°è-k à-jyab-c'a 'several girls who came yesterday'). But if the preposed quantifier is yè-rac'a-(y°-)-nè 'many', it must stand within the relative construction (e.g. yacè yè-rac'a-y°-nè y-aaz à-jyab-c'a 'many girls who came yesterday').

Relatives precede any preposed adverbials (e.g. yacè y-aaz Očamčëra-n+t° à-jyab 'the girl from Očamčëra who came yesterday').

The ordering of preposed relatives, head and postposed emphatics clearly presents no difficulty.

Possessives (prefix or emphatic adjective) always occupy the same position vis-à-vis their head-nouns as the definite-generic article (e.g. wèy sè-jyab 'that girl of mine'; wèy s-xa+t°'è y°èza 'that very own friend of mine'; pèt-y°è-k sè-jyab-c'a 'several of my girls'; s-xa+t°'è jyab rac'a 'many of my own girls'; yè-rac'a-y°-nè s-xa+t°'è jyab-c'a 'many of my own girls'; Očamčëra-n+t° s-y°èza 'my friend from Očamčëra'; Očamčëra-n+t° s-xa+t°'è y°èza 'my own friend from Očamčëra'; sè-jyab l-xatà 'my girl herself'; s-xa+t°'è jyab l-xatà 'my own girl herself').

The indefinite article -k' will be attached to the noun, regardless of whether an adverbial is preposed or postposed (e.g. Očamčëra-n+t° jyab-k, or with the reverse order, 'a girl from Očamčëra').

In association with quantifiers, demonstratives will immediately precede their head-noun, regardless of whether the quantifier is preposed or postposed (e.g. yè-rac'a-y°-nè wèrt à-jyab-c'a or wèrt à-jyab rac'a 'those many girls').

The same is true when demonstratives are construed with either adverbials or emphatic words (e.g. Očamčëra-n+t° wèy à-jyab 'that girl from Očamčëra'; wèy à-jyab l-xatà 'that girl herself'; wèy à-jyab-g'e 'even that girl').

The respective ordering of quantifiers and adverbials is generally quite free (e.g. pèt-y°è-k Očamčëra-n+t° à-jyab-c'a or Očamčëra-n+t° pèt-y°è-k à-jyab-c'a or à-jyab-c'a Očamčëra-n+t° pèt-y°è-k or à-jyab-c'a pèt-y°è-k Očamčëra-n+t° 'several girls from Očamčëra'). However, if the postposed à-rac'a is used for 'many', there is no possibility of the adverbial separating this quantifier from its noun, although the adverbial may open or close the NP as a whole.

As long as the emphatic -xatà '-self' follows its head-noun, the position in the NP of the quantifier is irrelevant, except that for à-rac'a 'many' only the one ordering is feasible (namely: à-jyab rac'a r-xatà-k'a 'many girls themselves', where the emphatic takes the plural-marker). The emphatic clitic -g'e 'even, also' may be suffixed either to the noun or to the

quantifier, if this latter is postposed (e.g. à-jyab-c°a-g'è pèt-y°è-k' or à-jyab-c°a pèt-y°è-k'-g'è 'even several girls'). But if à-rac°a 'many' is used, -g'è must be suffixed to the quantifier (e.g. à-jyab rac°a-g'è 'even many girls').

As long as the emphatic -xata '-self' follows its head-noun plus adverbial, the adverbial itself may stand either before or after the head-noun (e.g. Očamčëra-n+t°' à-jyab l-xatà or à-jyab Očamčëra-n+t°' l-xatà 'the girl from Očamčëra herself'). The emphatic -g'è 'even, also' may be attached either to the noun or to the postposed adverbial (e.g. à-jyab-g'è Očamčëra-n+t°' or à-jyab Očamčëra-n+t°'-g'è 'even the girl from Očamčëra').

1.3. Co-ordination

1.3.1.1. What means are used for co-ordinating sentences?

1.3.1.1.1. 'and' co-ordination

Where one would expect a co-ordinating conjunction for the co-ordination of sentences, Abkhaz most naturally employs either the past absolutive (cf. 2.1.1.3), which is equivalent to the English perfect participle, or, if the tense is past (and especially if it is Aorist), the Past Indefinite tense, whose meaning incorporates the notion 'and' (i.e. 'X did Y and ...'), e.g.

yə- nap'ə (ø-)j°j°a-nə a+k'rè- fa- ra
his hand it wash (past absol.) something eat (masd.)
d- à+ la- ge- yt'
he it+(prev.) begin (fin.)

or yə-nap'ə (ø-)yə-j°j°à-n a+k'rè-fa-ra
it he wash (fin.Past Indef.)
d-à+la-ge-yt'

'He washed his hands and began to eat'

If more than two sentences are being conjoined, the clitic -g'è 'and, also' may appear in either the penultimate or final conjunct, e.g.

a- wəsə+w+ra-n+t°' d- aa- n //
(art.) work from he come (fin.Past Indef.)
d-aa-nə, a- š°q°'ə-g'è d- à- px'a-n //
(past absol.) the book & he it read (fin.Past Indef.)
d-a-px'a-nə a+k'rè- fa- ra d- à+ la-
(past absol.) something eat (masd.) he it+(prev.)
ge- yt'
begin (fin.)

or ...a-š°q°'ə d-à-px'a-n(è) a+k'rè-fa-ra-g'è d-à+la-ge-yt'

'He came from work, read the book and began to eat'

This clitic attaches either to the first constituent of the conjunct concerned or to the verb-form (i.e. to the last element) of any nominalised subordinate expression present at the beginning of the conjunct, e.g.

...a- gazèt q'èc-g'è à- px'a-ra d-à+la-ge-yt'
the paper new & its read (masd.)

or ...a-gazèt q'èc à-px'a-ra-g'è d-à+la-ge-yt'

'... and began to read the new paper'

...yə- bzəya-nə- g'è à- x°mar-ra
(col.I, non-hum.) good (adv.) & (art.) play (masd.)
d-à+la-ge-yt'

or ...yə-bzəya-nə à-x°mar-ra-g'è d-à+la-ge-yt'

'... and began to play well'

...a-gazèt-g'è d-à-px'a-r+c d- aa- yt'
& (purposive) he come (fin.)

or ...a-gazèt d-à-px'a-r+c-g'è d-aa-yt'

'... and came in order to read the paper'

An alternative to using the clitic -g'è is to use the intra-verbal particle -eg'(ə)-, which stands after the column I pronominal prefix within the verbal complex, e.g.

a-wəsə+w+ra-n+t°' d-aa-n(è) a-š°q°'ə d-eg'-à-px'a-n(è)
&

a+k'rè-fa-ra d-à+la-ge-yt'

or a-wəsə+w+ra-n+t°' d-aa-n(è) a-š°q°'ə d-à-px'a-n(è)
a+k'rè-fa-ra d-eg'-à+la-ge-yt'

'He came from work, read the book and began to eat'

Should two sentences only be conjoined, one may indicate the virtual simultaneity of the actions concerned either by attaching the clitic -g'è to the first constituent of each conjunct or by inserting the intra-verbal particle -eg'(ə)- into both verbal complexes, e.g.

yə- nap'-g'è (ø-)yə-j°j°è-yt' a+k'rè- fa- ra- g'è
his hand & it he wash (fin.) something eat (masd.) &
d- à+ la- ge- yt'
he it+(prev.) begin (fin.)

or yə-nap'ə (ø-)eg'è-y- j°j°è-yt' a+k'rè-fa-ra
& he (fin.)
d-eg'-à+la-ge-yt'

'He washed his hands and began to eat (almost simultaneously)'

1.3.1.1.2. 'but' co-ordination

The conjunction is axà, which stands at the beginning of the second sentence, e.g.

à- mra (ø-)pxo yt' axà à- x'ta è- q'o-w+p'
the sun it shine (fin.) but (art.) cold it be (stat.)
+(dyn.)

'The sun is shining, but it is cold'

1.3.1.1.3. 'or' co-ordination

The conjunction is either ma or ma+m+zà+r+g'è, and it stands at the beginning of its sentence. As a preface to the first alternative, ma alone may optionally be used, e.g.

(ma) sarà àq'°a- q'a s-co yt' ma //
 either I Sukhumi to I go (fin.) or
 +(dyn.)

ma+m+zà+r+g'è warà wè- cà
 you you go

'(Either) I'll go to Sukhumi or you go'

1.3.1.1.4. other types

Negative 'or' co-ordination (i.e. 'neither ... nor') is achieved by means of the association of the 'and' co-ordinating clitic -g'è with a negated verb, e.g.

sar-g'è àq'°a- q'a s-co m war-g'è wè- m-
 I & Sukhumi to I go not you & you not
 +(dyn.)

cà-n

go (prohibitive)

'Neither shall I go to Sukhumi nor are you to go'

1.3.1.2. Give full details of the following possibilities:-

1.3.1.2.1. one co-ordinator for each element that is co-ordinated

In the case of 'and' co-ordination, whilst it is theoretically possible to use the intra-verbal particle -eg'(è)- with each conjunct, the resulting structure is unnatural Abkhaz (see above 1.3.1.1.1 for this particle or the clitic -g'è appearing in both clauses when two (and only two) actions are being described as virtually simultaneous); as noted above, (1.3.1.1.1), if they are used at all, either -eg'(è)- or -g'è most naturally accompanies either the penultimate or final sentence of a series of conjuncts.

In the case of 'or' co-ordination, ma or ma+m+zà+r+g'è will accompany each sentence offered as an alternative except for the first alternative, where the use of ma alone is optional, e.g.

(ma) à- š°a (ø-)yè-ñ°ò- yt' ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'è
 either (art.) song it he say (fin.) or
 +(dyn.)

a- p'ianino d- à- s- we- yt' ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'è
 the piano he it strike (dyn.) (fin.) or
 àž°eynraala d- à- px'o yt' ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'è zənjà
 poem he it read (fin.) or at-all
 +(dyn.)

d- aa- jò- m
 he come (emphatic) not
 +(dyn.)

'(Either) he will sing, or play the piano, or read a poem, or not come at all'

In the case of negated 'or' co-ordination, the clitic -g'è in association with a negated verb is essential in each conjunct, e.g.

war-g'è wè- cò- m Kàrt- q'a, sar-g'è s-co-
 you & you go not Tbilisi to I & I go
 +(dyn.) +(dyn.)

m àq'°a- q'a, har-g'è h- co- m Mosk'vè-q'a
 not Sukhumi to we & we go not Moscow to
 +(dyn.)

'Neither will you go to Tbilisi, nor shall I go to Sukhumi, nor shall we go to Moscow'

1.3.1.2.3. one co-ordinator, irrespective of the number of such elements

As mentioned above (1.3.1.1.1), if used at all, either the clitic -g'è or the intra-verbal particle -eg'(è)- will appear either with the penultimate or final sentence co-ordinated - and the better of these alternatives is for either of these elements to appear only in the final sentence, e.g.

a- wèsə +w+ra-n+t° d- aa- n yè- p'alt'a
 (art.) work from he come (fin.) his coat
 (ø-)yè+ š°è-y- xè- n yè- q'è+ yè- nap'è
 it him+off he take (fin.) his face his hand
 (ø-)j°j°a-nè àyš°a d- na+xa- t°'à-n
 it wash (past absol.) the-table he (preverbs) sit (fin.)
 a+k'rè- fa- ra- g'è d- à+ la- ge- yt' //
 something eat (masd.) & he it+(prev.) begin (fin.)
 a+k'rè-fa-ra d-eg'-à+la-ge-yt'

&
 'He came from work, took off his coat, washed his face and hands, sat down at the table and began to eat'

1.3.1.3. What means are used for co-ordinating the major categories of the sentence?

For 'and' co-ordination, either the clitic -y or the clitic -g'è 'and' is attached to each NP being conjoined, e.g.

barè-y sarè-y
 you & I &

or
 sar-g'è bar-g'è
 I & you &
 'you and I'

s- ànè- y s- àbè- y
 my mother & my father &

or
 s-àn-g'è s-àb-g'è
 'my mother and my father'

(of which alternatives the first, with the clitic -y, is in each case the more common).

Adjectives may not be conjoined unless they are first made the base of a stative verb, whose relative non-finite form (see 1.1.2.3.ff) may then be 'and' co-ordinated by means of either the clitic -y or, more infrequently, the clitic -g'è, e.g. (for the clitic -y)

yè- dèw-zè- y yè- q'apšè-zè- y
 which big (non-fin.Past) & which red (non-fin.Past) &
 la- k' (ø-)z-be- yt'
 dog a it I see (fin.)

'I saw a big and red dog' (lit. '... dog which was big and which was red')

This same notion is more usually expressed either by the equivalent of 'I saw a big, red dog', e.g.

là q'apš dəw-k' (ø-)z-be-yt'
dog red big a
or by making the first adjective into an adverb and by putting
the second into its relativised stative form, e.g.

yə- dəw-nə yə- q'apšə-z
(col.I, non-human) big (adv.) which red (non-fin.)
la- k'
dog a

which literally means 'a bigly red dog'.

For 'and' co-ordinated adjectives functioning as predicate,
each conjunct is made the base of a stative verb, and each of
these stative verbal complexes will incorporate the particle
-eg'(ə)-, e.g.

yə- sə-mo- w a mašina (ø-)eg'-q'əcə-w+p'
which I have (non-fin.) the car it & new (stat.)
(ø-)eg'ə-pəjo- w+p'
it & beautiful (stat.)

'The car I have is new and beautiful'

For 'but' co-ordination, NPs are conjoined just like sen-
tences, by means of axà, e.g.

x-yə- k' a- xàc'a axà pš-yə- k' à- h'sa
3 (human) 1 (art.) men but 4 (hum.) 1 (art.) women
(ø-) z-be- yt'
them I see (fin.)

'I saw three men but four women'

Adjectives can only be 'but' co-ordinated if they are first
made the base of a stative verb which is then relativised, e.g.

yə- q'əšə-w axà yə- ččar+x'ə-w a-
who wise (non-fin.) but who funny (non-fin.) (art.)
way'ə
man

'a wise but funny man'

cf. a-way' q'əš
'a wise man'

and a-way'ə ččar+x'
'a funny man'

In the case of 'or' co-ordination, NPs cannot be co-ordin-
ated unless each element is 3rd. person - the only way of say-
ing 'He will give the book to either me or you' is to say
'Either he will give the book to me or he will give it to you',
e.g.

ma sarà yə-sə- y- to- yt' a- š'q'ə
either me it to-me he give (fin.) the book
(dyn.)

ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə yə-wə- y- to-yt'
or it to-you he

If each element is 3rd. person, then 'or' co-ordination takes
the same form as for 'or' co-ordination of sentences with per-
haps a greater preference for the use of ma with the first
component, e.g.

(ma) s- an ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə s- y'əz- c'a (ø-)
either my mother or my friend (pl.) they
aa- wə- yt'
come (dyn.) (fin.)

'Either my mother or my friends will come'

For negated 'or' co-ordination, the verb must be repeated
for each conjunct irrespective of the person of the co-ordin-
ated elements, e.g.

s- àn- g'ə d- aa- wà- m s- y'əz- c'a- g'ə
my mother & she come (dyn.) not my friend (pl.) &
(ø-) aa- wà- m
they come (dyn.) not

'Neither will my mother come nor will my friends come'

Adjectives can be 'or' conjoined only if they are first made
the base of stative verbs and subsequently relativised, e.g.

(ma) yə- q'apšə-w ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə yə-
either which red (non-fin.) or which
šk'ak'o-w à- mp'əl (ø-)sə- t
(non-fin.) (art.) ball it to-me give

'Give me either a red or a white ball' (lit. '... ball
which is red or which is white')

For negated 'or' co-ordination, each adjective must be made
the base of a stative verb, which is then relativised, negated
and possessed of the intra-verbal clitic -eg'(ə)- 'and', e.g.

y- eg'ə-q'apšə-m y- eg'ə-šk'ak'o'a-m à-
which & red not which & white not (art.)
mp'əl (ø-)sə- t
ball it to-me give

'Give me neither a red nor a white ball' (lit. '... ball
which is not red and which is not white')

1.3.1.4. Are the means used for expressing co-ordination and accompaniment the same?

No, accompaniment is expressed by means of the intra-verbal
particle -c(ə)- 'with', e.g.

də- sə+ c- q'o-w+p'
he me+ with be (stat.)
(col.I) (col.II)
'He is with me'

1.3.1.5. Is there a degree of structural parallelism required between elements of the same category before they can be co-ordinated?

No, e.g.

sarə-y a- h'aa- nerc'a- n+t' waž' aayg'à y- aa-
I & the border other-side-of from now near who come
"recently"

z à- sasə- y (or with the
(non-fin.) the guest & reverse word-order)
'I and the guest recently arrived from abroad'

1.3.1.5.1. Can adjectives and participial constructions be co-ordinated?

Adjectives and participial constructions cannot be directly
co-ordinated. The adjective must first be made the base of a
stative verb. In the role of predicate, we shall then have an
example of sentential co-ordination, e.g. (for 'and' co-ordina-
tion only, 'but' and 'or' co-ordination being straightforwardly
produced according to this same model)

də-psjò- w+p' a- h°aa- nerc°e- n+t°'-g'ə
 he beautiful (stat.) the border other-side-of from &
 waž° aayg°à d- aa- nè dè-q'o-w+p'
 now near he come (past absol.) he be (stat.)

or a-h°aa-nerc°e-n+t°' waž° aayg°à d-aa-nè dè-q'o-w+p'
 d-eg'è-psjo-w+p'

&
 'He is handsome and recently arrived from abroad'

In the case of negated 'or' co-ordination of stativised adjective and stativised participial expression, regardless of the ordering of the constituents, the participial expression contains the clitic -g'ə 'and', whilst the stativised verb-form of the adjective incorporates the particle -eg' (ə)-, e.g.

d- eg'è-psja- m a-h°aa-nerc°e-n+t°'-g'ə waž°
 he & beautiful not &
 aayg°à d-aa-nè // a-h°aa-nerc°e-n+t°' waž° aayg°à
 d-aa-n-g'è dè-q'a-m (or with the reverse
 & he be not order of constituents)

'He is neither handsome nor recently arrived from abroad'

In attributive position, the verbalised adjective will itself become a (relativised) participle, e.g. (for 'and' co-ordination only)

a-h°aa-nerc°e-n+t°' waž° aayg°à y- àa- zè- y yè-
 who come (non-fin.) & who
 psjo- wè- y a- xàc'a dè- z-bè- yt'
 beautiful (non-fin.Present) & (art.) man him I see (fin.)
 'I saw the handsome and recently arrived from abroad
 man' (lit. '... man who recently arrived from abroad
 and who is handsome')

(N.B. that the reverse order of relative expression is here less acceptable than the order as given above.)

One may, of course, say the literal equivalent of 'I saw the handsome man who recently arrived from abroad', but this clearly does not incorporate any co-ordinate structure at all.

1.3.1.5.2. Can nouns and nominalised constructions be co-ordinated?

Yes, for 'and', 'but' and 'or' co-ordination, e.g. (for 'and' co-ordination)

a- š°q°'-k°è- y a- š°q°'-k°à rè- px'a-re-
 (art.) book (pl.) & (art.) (pl.) their read (masd.)
 y bzəya (ø-) yə-bò- yt'
 & well them he see (fin.)
 + (dyn.)

or a-š°q°'-k°à rè-px'a-re-y (darà) a-š°q°'-k°à r- xata-k°è-
 them they self (pl.)

y bzəya (ø-) yə-bò-yt
 'He loves books and reading books // reading books and books themselves'

The negated 'or' co-ordination of nouns and nominalised constructions is not possible, a negated verb being essential with both conjuncts, e.g.

a- š°q°'-k°a- g'è bzəya (ø-) yə-bò- m a-
 (art.) book (pl.) & well them he see not (art.)
 + (dyn.)

k'onfèt-k°a rè- fa- ra- g'è bzəya (ø-) yə-bò-m
 sweet (pl.) their eat (masd.) &
 'Neither does he like books nor does he like eating sweets'

1.3.1.5.3. Can the various different types of adverbial be co-ordinated?

Different types of adverbial may be co-ordinated, as the following examples show:-

Àmra Omàr yə- rə+y°y°a-nè- y
 A. O. (col.I, non-hum.) strong (adv.) &
 bzəya+ba+rà-le-y d- lə- g°əjè-yt'
 love by & him she kiss (fin.)
 'Amra kissed Omar forcefully and with love'
 Àmra Omàr yə-rə+y°y°a-nè axà bzəya+ba+rà-da
 but without

d-lə-g°əjè-yt'
 'Amra kissed Omar forcefully but without love'
 yanàg' dè-nèq°'o- yt' à- my°a yàga+m à- la
 always he go (fin.) the road wrong it by

+ (dyn.)
 ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə d- a+g+xa-nè
 or he late (adv.)

'He always goes the wrong way or late'

Negative 'or' co-ordination, however, is not possible; the relevant adverbs are simply placed side by side, e.g.

Àmra Omàr yə-m- rə+y°y°à-k°'a(-n)
 not (negative absol.)
 bzəya+ba+rà-da d-lə-g°əjè-yt'
 without

'Amra kissed Omar neither forcefully nor with love'
 (lit. '... not forcefully without love')

Two nouns in the predicative (i.e. adverbial) case in -s may be 'and' co-ordinated in the normal way, e.g.

r+c'a+y°è-sè- y eyhabè- sè- y dè-q'o-w+p'
 teacher (pred.) & director (pred.) & he be (stat.)

or r+c'a+y°è-s-g'ə eyhabè-s-g'ə dè-q'o-w+p'
 & &

'He is both teacher and director'

(the less frequent predicative case-form ending in -nè is judged 'improbable' in this configuration.) But if the alternative adverbial form (i.e. with column I pronominal prefix and -nè suffix) is used, only the intra-verbal particle -eg' (ə)- may be used for 'and' co-ordination, e.g.

d- eg'è-r+c'a+y°nè d- eg'-eyhab-nè dè-q'o-w+p'
 he & (adv.) he & (adv.)

Where English displays 'and' co-ordination in an expression like 'He is here, there and everywhere', Abkhaz requires the sentential contrast of the form 'Now he is here, now he is there', e.g.

z+nè arà dè-q'o-w+p', z+nè anà dè-q'o-w+p'
 now here he be (stat.) there

1.3.2.1. What elements in the sentence can be omitted under identity in co-ordination?

Because all of the verb's arguments are obligatorily marked within the verbal complex, the question of omission does not really arise. However, in a case such as:-

a- xàc'a a- ph'əs də- y- bà- n //
the man the woman her he see (fin.Past Indef.)
də- ba- nə də-d'ə+l- c'ə-yt'
her see (past absol.) ? (preverbs) go (fin.)

where the pronominal affix də- of the final verb may, when this finite intransitive verb is used in isolation, refer to either a male or female subject, it is of interest to note that the syntagm requires that the referent of this affix be the subject (i.e. a-xàc'a) of the first conjunct, such that the sentence means 'The man saw the woman and (he) went out'; it cannot mean *'The man saw the woman and she went out'.

1.4. Negation

1.4.1. How is sentence-negation expressed?

Negation is expressed by means of the verbal particle -m(-). This negative particle will stand immediately before the verbal root (or before the causative morph -r-, if this latter is present), except in the following cases:-

Finite Present (dynamic/stative):

s-co-m (← *s-ca-wa- m) 'I am not going'
I go (dyn.) not
də-q'a-m 'He is not'
he be not

Non-finite Present (stative):

yə- q'a-m 'who/which is not...'
who/which be not

Finite Future I:

s-ca-rə- m 'I don't think I'll go'
(Fut.I)

Finite Future II:

s-cà-ḡa- m 'I'll probably not go'
(Fut.II)

Derived non-finite Future of stative verbs:

yə- q'a-m-zaa-wa//yə-q'a-m-zaa-ra//yə-q'a-m-zaa-ḡa
who/which be 'who/which will not be...'

Finite Imperfect:

s-cò-mə-z+t' (← *s-ca-wa- mə-z+ t')
(dyn.) (non-fin.)+(fin.)
'I was not going'

Simple Past (finite) of stative verbs:

də-q'a-mə-z+t' 'He was not'
he

Non-finite Past of stative verbs:

yə- q'a-mə-z 'who/which was not...'
who/which

Finite Conditional I:

s-ca-rə-mə-z+t' 'I would then not (have) go(ne)'

Finite Conditional II:

s-ca-ḡa-mə-z+t' 'I would probably not (have) go(ne)'

N.B. the strange coupling in four of the last five forms of the non-finite -z and finite -t' exponents to produce an overall finite form. The same collocation is also found in the finite Past Indefinite (sə-m-cà-z+t' 'I did not go and...') and the finite Plu-perfect (sə-m-cà-cə-z+t' 'I had not already gone'). In the Perfect, only the form sə-m-cà-c-t' 'I have not already gone' is possible - cf. the positive form in -x'a-(s-ca-x'è-yt' 'I have already gone'). The element -c- as the Perfect-exponent is also found in non-finite forms to indicate an action that has been in progress for some time or has occurred several times already, e.g.

a- sà (ø-)ḡ- a- wə- c y- a- [w]- wə- yt'
the snow it how it make (Perf.) it it make (dyn.) (fin.)
'The snow is falling as it has been (for some while)'
cf. a-sə c'əpx yə-ḡ-a-wə-c y-a-[w]-wə-yt'
last-year it
'The snow is falling as it (already) did last year'
Should the Perfect be required in its non-finite, negative form, then, once again, only the form in -c- is possible:-
yə- m- cà-c
who/which not go (Perf.)
'who/which has not already gone...'
(cf. 2.1.3.5.2 for further references to this element -c-.)

1.4.2. How is constituent-negation expressed?

Constituent-negation must also be expressed verbally (i.e. with the aid of negated stative verbs). Compare the following pair of sentences:-

à- jḡab-pḡja də- z-bè- yt'
(art.) girl beautiful her I see (fin.)
'I saw a beautiful girl'
yè- pḡja- m jḡab-k' də-z-bè-yt'
who beautiful not girl a
(non-fin.stat.)
'I saw an unattractive girl'

Sentences containing a contrast such as 'I saw not two but three' have three variants:-

(i) where the contrast is pointed by mo+w (cf. ma+mò+w 'no'), plus an optional axà 'but', e.g.

y'ə+bà mo+w (axà) x+pa-g'ə (ø-) z-be- yt'
2 no but 3 even them I see (fin.)

(ii) in place of the first two words above, we may have the negative of the copular root -a+k'ə (ə)- with either a singular pronominal affix, as in

y'ə+bà (à+)k'ə-ə-m (← *a- a+k'ə-ə-m)
it be not
(col.II)

(iii) or, when y'ə+bà is regarded as syntactically plural, with a plural pronominal affix, as in

y'ə+bà r- à+k'ə-ə-m
they (col.II)

1.4.3. Is it possible to have more than one negation-element in a sentence?

The negation-element is a verbal infix//suffix, and each verb-form (finite or non-finite) may contain only one such element. But this element is obligatory in the verbal complex when any of the negative quantifiers or quantifier-compounds (2.1.6.6.f) are used, e.g.

a+k'+g'ə // a+k'ə-m-za+r-a+k'(-g'ə) (ø-)sə-m- bè- yt'
nothing it I not see (fin.)

'I saw nothing'

a+j'ə+g'ə // a+j'ə-m-za+r-a+k'(-g'ə) də- sə-m- bè- yt'
no-one him I not see (fin.)

'I saw no-one'

jar-g'ə // jarə-m-za+r-jar(-g'ə) s-co- m
nowhere I go+(dyn.) not

'I am not going anywhere'

Note that either of the words normally meaning 'never' may have the meaning 'ever' if construed with a non-negative but interrogative verb-form, e.g.

a-xaan(g'ə) // y-an-à+k'ə'-z-aa-lak' //(-lak'-g'ə)

ever

yə-w- ba- x'ò- w
it you see (Perf.) (Qu.)

'Have you ever seen it?'

1.4.4. In co-ordinated structures, are the negation-elements optionally or obligatorily attracted to the co-ordinator position, combining with the co-ordinator?

No; for the Abkhaz equivalent to English 'nor' see 1.3.1.1.4 above. Otherwise, contrastive sentences, which in English contain the sequence 'and not', are treated as explained in 1.4.2 above, e.g.

y'ə-š'ə-q'ə-k' r- à+k'ə-m (axà)

2 book a they (col.II) be not but

a+k'[a-l]à+k'ə-m yà- s-taxə-z

one it be (Past) which I want (non-fin.)

'I wanted one and not two books (lit. 'What I wanted was one not two books')

N.B. that mo+w is unacceptable here as, when numerals are involved, mo+w apparently presupposes that the correct numeral will be larger than the corrected (as in 1.4.2.i above).

1.4.5. Can the negation of a verb in a subordinate clause be expressed by the negation of a verb in a higher clause?

In expressions such as 'to think that...', as in English, the negative particle may stand either in the main or the subordinate verb, e.g.

a- xàc'a d- aa- wè- yt' h'a s- g'ə
the man he come (dyn.) (fin.) saying my heart

y- àa- na-go- m
it (prev.) it bring not
(sc. direct object) +(dyn.)

'I don't think the man will come'

or a-xàc'a d-aa-wà- m h'a s-g'ə y-àa-na-go-yt'
(dyn.) not (fin.)
'I think the man won't come'

1.5. Anaphora

1.5.1. By which of the following means is anaphora expressed?

1.5.1.2. deletion if the element concerned is marked on the verb

Compare the following examples:-

Àxra də- w- bò- w? ma+mò+w, axà a- h'àmta

A. him you see (Qu.) no but (art.) present

(ø-)yə+ zə- q'a- s-c'e- yt'

it him+for (prev.) I make (fin.)

and Àxra də-w-bò-w? ma+mò+w, axà a-h'àmta (ø-)q'a-s-c'è-yt'
yarà//wəy yə- zə
him that-one him for

'Did you see Axra? No, but I made a present for him'

where the second variant, in which there is no intra-verbal marker for Axra (in contrast to yə+ in the first variant), must contain either the personal pronoun (yarà) or the demonstrative pronoun (wəy), which is frequently used as an alternative for the true personal pronoun.

1.5.1.3. ordinary personal pronoun

In such examples as the second of those given in the previous sub-section (i.e. where the element concerned is dependent on a postposition), the personal pronoun (or the demonstrative pronouns wəy 'that one', wərt 'those') is essential.

If the element concerned stands in a question, the use of the pronoun seems, if not obligatory in all circumstances, at least preferable, cf. the following:-

yacə Àxra d- aa- yt' - də- w- dər- wo- w
yesterday A. he come (fin.) him you know (dyn.) (Qu.)
wəy // yarà? ay, də- z-dər- we- yt'. yacə
that-one him yes him I know (dyn.) (fin.) yesterday
də- z-bè- yt'. a- h'àmta- g'ə (ø-)sə- y- te-
him I see (fin.) (art.) present and it to-me he give
yt'. yə-w- bà- ma (wəy) // yarà?
(fin.) it you see (Qu.) that-one it

'Yesterday Axra came - do you know him? Yes, I know him. I saw him yesterday. And he gave me a present - did you see it?'

The column II pronominal possessive prefixes (cf. 2.1.1.1.1) are obligatory if the element concerned enters into a genitival relationship (see below, 1.5.2.1., for examples).

1.5.2. In which of the following situations is anaphora expressed by means of the various above-mentioned types possible, and in which direction?

1.5.2.1. within the clause

If the noun, prefixed with the appropriate column II possessive affix, follows the antecedent, the column II prefix obligatorily refers to that antecedent, e.g.

Zaira l- mac°az (ø-)lè- t
 Z. her ring it to-her give
 'Give Zaira_i her_i ring!'

cf. Zaira wəy l-mac°az (ø-)lè-t
 that-one
 'Give Zaira_i her_i ring!'

If the word-order is reversed, then, whilst the ring may belong to Zaira, the most natural interpretation would be to assume that reference is being made to someone else's ring - indeed, with this word-order, the demonstrative wəy would most naturally be used to make it quite explicit that the reference is not to any of the clause's following nouns, e.g.

(wəy) l-mac°az Zaira yə-lè-t
 that-one it
 'Give Zaira_i her_i ring!'

1.5.2.2. between co-ordinate structures

The same is true for such structures as has just been described for anaphora within the clause, e.g.

Zaire-y lè- jəbə-y (ø-) z-be- yt'
 & her girl & them I see (fin.)
 'I saw Zaira_i and her_i little girl'

BUT
 (wəy) lè-jəbə-y Zaire-y (ø-)z-be-yt'
 that-one
 'I saw her_i little girl and Zaira_j'

Zaira də- z-bà- n lè- mac°az (ø-)lè- s-te- yt'
 her I see (fin.) her ring it to-her I give (fin.)
 'I saw Zaira_i and gave her_i her_i ring'

BUT
 (wəy) lè-mac°az (ø-)q'a- s-c'ā- n
 that-one it (prev.) I make (fin.)

Zaira yə-lè- s-te-yt'
 it to-her
 'I made her_i ring and gave it to Zaira_j'

1.5.2.3. between superordinate and subordinate clauses

1.5.2.3.1. in the order superordinate clause-subordinate clause

With the antecedent standing in the superordinate clause, the reference of the appropriate element within the subordinate clause is unmistakable in being co-referential with the antecedent, e.g.

Zaira s-lè- h°e- yt' lè- mat°a (ø-) l-
 Z. I her request (fin.) her clothes them she
 j°j°a-r+c
 wash (purp.)
 'I asked Zaira_i to wash her_i clothes'

Note, however, that the best word-order here is:

Zaira lè-mat°a (ø-)l-j°j°a-r+c s-lè-h°e-yt'

a- xac'a arà d- aa- z-gè- yt' də- s-šè- r+c
 the man here him hither I bring (fin.) him I kill (purp.)
 'I brought the man_i here to kill him_i'

Once again, however, the best word-order is:

a-xac'a də-s-šè-r+c arà d-aa-z-gè-yt'

With the antecedent standing in the subordinate clause, the reference of an appropriate element within the superordinate clause may or may not be to this 'antecedent', e.g.

də- s-šè- wè- yt', Axra wac°ə d- aa- r
 him I kill (dyn.) (fin.) A. tomorrow he come if

'I'll kill him_i // j, if Axra_i comes tomorrow'
 where the best word-order is, however, for the subordinate clause to precede the superordinate, e.g.

Axra wac°ə d-aa-r, də-s-šè-wè-yt'

1.5.2.3.2. in the order subordinate clause-superordinate clause

With the antecedent standing in the subordinate clause, the reference of the appropriate element within the superordinate clause is unmistakable in being co-referential with the antecedent, e.g.

Zaira d- aa- r, a- mac°az (ø-)lè- t
 Z. she come if the ring it to-her give
 'If Zaira_i comes, give her_i the ring!'

a- xac'a d- an- àa, də- z-bè- yt'
 the man he when come him I see (fin.)
 'When the man_i came, I saw him_i'
 Axra də- z-dèr- wa- za+r+g'ə// də- s- z-dèr-
 A. him I know (dyn.) although//even-if him how I know
 wa- g'ə, a- hāmta (ø-)yè- s-to- m
 (dyn.) even (art.) present it to-him I give not
 +(dyn.)

'Although I know Axra_i // However well I know Axra_i,
 I shan't give him_i a present'

If the 'antecedent' stands in the superordinate clause, the reference of an appropriate element within the subordinate clause will normally be assumed not to be this 'antecedent', e.g.

(wəy) lè- mat°a (ø-) l- j°j°a-r+c Zaira s-lè-
 that-one her clothes them she wash (purp.) Z. I her
 h°e- yt'
 request (fin.)

'I requested Zaira_i to wash her_j clothes'

(wəy) d- aa- r, Zaira a- mac°az (ø-)lè- t
 that-one she come if Z. the ring it to-her give
 'If she_i comes, give Zaira_j the ring!'

(wəy) d- an- àa, a- xàc'a də- z-bè yt'
that-one he when come the man him I see (fin.)

'When he_i came, I saw the man_j'

(wəy) də- z-dər- wa- za+r+g'ə // də- sə- z-dər-
that-one him I know (dyn.) although him how I know
wa- g'ə, Axra a- hāmta (ø-)yè- s-to- m
(dyn.) even A. (art.) present it to-him I give not
+(dyn.)

'Although I know him_i//j, I shan't give Axra_i a present'

where, in the last example, we notice that, even with wəy present in the subordinate clause, the reference of this demonstrative pronoun (together with that of its co-referential pronominal prefix within the verbal complex, də-) may be to the 'antecedent', Axra, in the superordinate clause. Confirmation that, with the antecedent standing in the superordinate clause, the reference of the appropriate element within the subordinate clause need not be to some entity other than the antecedent is shown by the following two examples:-

1- x'əč'ə a+k'rə- 1+ q'à- 1- c'a- r+c Zaira
her child something her+(prev.) she feed (purp.) Z.
s-lə- h'e- yt'
I her request (fin.)

'I asked Zaira_i to feed her_i child'

də- s-šə- r+c a- xàc'a arà d- aa- z-gè- yt'
him I kill (purp.) the man here him hither I bring (fin.)
'I brought the man_i here to kill him_i'

where one would expect there to be at least a measure of doubt as to the reference of the anaphoric element within the purposive expression.

1.5.2.4. between different subordinate clauses

If the second subordinate clause consists of a purposive expression, then it seems to be irrelevant whether the antecedent stands in this or the first subordinate clause - in either case there is no doubt as to the co-referentiality of the anaphoric element with this antecedent, e.g.

Axra d- an- aa- làk'', də- y- šə- r+c
A. he when come (indefinite temporal) him he kill (purp.)
wə- y'əza wə- yè- h'a
your friend you him request

and

d-an-aa-làk'', Axra də-y-šə-r+c wə-y'əza wə-yè-h'a
'When Axra_i comes, ask your friend to kill him_i // When
he_i comes, ask your friend to kill Axra_i'

Otherwise, the reference of the anaphoric element will be incontrovertibly the same as the antecedent only if this antecedent stands in the first subordinate clause, e.g.

Axra d- an- aa- làk'', də- w- bà- r,
A. he when come (indefinite temporal) him you see if

a- hāmta (ø-)yə- t
the present it to-him give
'When Axra_i comes, if you see him_i, give him_i the
present'

BUT

(wəy) d- an-aa-làk'', Axra də-w-bà-r, a-hāmta (ø-)yə-t
that-one
'When he_i comes, if you see Axra_j, give him_j the
present'

1.5.2.5. between different sentences

The antecedent will appear first. For examples of such anaphora see 1.5.1.3.

1.5.3. Are elements located next to complementisers (subordinating conjunctions) subject to the above anaphoric processes?

As subordinating conjunctions do not exist as such (verbal particles perform the role usually fulfilled by independent complementisers), the question does not arise.

1.6. Reflexives

1.6.1. By which of the following means is reflexivity expressed?

1.6.1.3. verbal affix

The reflexive verbal affix is -q(ə)-. This occupies the slot normally taken within the verbal complex by the column I pronominal affix (see 2.1.1.1.1) and must be preceded by that column II possessive prefix (see 2.1.1.1.1) which correlates with the antecedent, e.g.

sarà s+ qə- s-š- we- yt'
I my+ self I kill (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.II)

'I kill myself'

larà l+ qə- l- š-we-yt'
she her+ self she
(col.II)

'She kills herself'

1.6.1.4. other means

The noun a-xè 'head', preceded by the appropriate column II possessive prefix, is also used as a reflexive pronoun, e.g.

wə- xè (ø-)wə- bè- yt'
your head/self it you see (fin.)
'You saw yourself'

šə- xə // šə- x- k'ə (ø-)
your(pl.) head/self your(pl.) head(pl.) it//them
žə- be- yt'
you(pl.) see (fin.)

'You saw yourselves'

(N.B. that, if the antecedent is plural, a-xè may optionally take the plural-marker -k'a.)

1.6.2. Is the scope of reflexivity restricted to the clause?

Yes, e.g.

s- xə a- hāmta (ø-)à- s- te- yt'
my head/self (art.) present it to-it I give (fin.)
'I gave myself a present'

BUT sə-yə- h°e- yt' a-hāmta (ø-)sə- y- ta- r+c //
I him request (fin.) it to-me he give (purp.)
(ø-)sə-y-ta-ra+zə
(purposive)
'I asked him to give me a present'

1.6.3. For intra-clause reflexivity where the reflexive element is a verbal affix describe:

1.6.3.1. the possible syntactic functions of the antecedent

1.6.3.1.1. subject only

The antecedent may only function as (transitive) subject,
e.g. l+ qə- l- k°abe-yt'
her+herself she wash (fin.)
(col.III)
'She washed/bathed'

1.6.3.2. the possible syntactic functions of the reflexive marker

1.6.3.2.1. direct object

The verbal affix -q(ə)- may only function as direct object (cf. the last example in section 1.6.3.1.1).

1.6.3.2.3. other possibilities

The one known exception to the rule that -q(ə)- must function only as direct object is its role as subject (without antecedent) in the idiom a-g°-q-a+nə-zaa-ra 'to be careful', e.g.

wə- g°ə wə+ q- a+ nə-z
your heart your+self it+in (imperative)
'Be careful!' (lit. 'Let yourself be in your heart!')

1.6.5. If the reflexive element is not a verbal affix, can the following relations between antecedent and reflexive exist?

1.6.5.1. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = direct object

The noun a-xə 'head' is indeed found as the reflexive component in this configuration, e.g.

a- sark' 'a-q'ə s- xə (ø-)z-be- yt'
the mirror in my head/self it I see (fin.)
'I saw myself in the mirror'

Those verbs incorporating the affix -q(ə)- as the reflexive marker in direct object position may not have this affix replaced by a-xə, and those verbs which are used in association with a-xə as direct object reflexive marker may not incorporate the affix -q(ə)- in place of a-xə. There appears to be no clear principle determining which verbs are to be construed with -q(ə)- and which with a-xə.

1.6.5.2. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of direct object

The reflexive possessive adjective -xa+t°' may be used but is not obligatory, e.g.

yə- sàx'a // yə- xa+t°' sàx'a (ø-)yə-bè- yt'
his face his own face it he see (fin.)
'He_i saw his_i // his own face'

1.6.5.3. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = indirect object

The reflexive a-xə is obligatory, e.g.

s- xə a- hāmta (ø-)à- s-te yt'
my head/self (art.) present it to-it I give (fin.)
'I gave myself a present'

1.6.5.4. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of indirect object

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, e.g.

s- la // s- xa+t°' là à- fa+t°' (ø-)à- s-te
my dog my own dog (art.) food it to-it I give
yt'
(fin.)
'I gave my // my own dog some food'

1.6.5.5. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = copular complement

The reflexive is not possible in this configuration, e.g.

sarà sara s-ò- w+p'
I I I be (stative)
'I am myself'

1.6.5.8. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of copular complement

Either the reflexive pronoun or the reflexive possessive adjective is possible in this configuration, e.g.

sara s-ò- w+p' s- xə a- r+c'a+y°ə // s- xa+t°'
I I be (stat.) my head/self its teacher my own
r+c'a+y°ə
teacher
'I am my own teacher'

(N.B. the following example shows that the possibility of using the actual reflexive pronoun here has nothing to do with the fact that the copular complement in the last example is a de-verbal noun:-

sara s-ò-w+p' s-xə a- y°əza // s-xa+t°' y°əza
its friend friend
'I am my own friend')

Note that an alternative way of saying 'I am my own teacher' is to use the expression which is literally translatable as 'I am the one who is possessed of myself as a teacher', namely

sara s-ò-w+p' s-xə r+c'a+y°ə-s y- à- mo-
w (predicative) who it have
(non-fin.)

In this configuration only the pronoun is possible since it forms one of the arguments of the verb.

1.6.5.9. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = subject-complement

The adverbial form of the expression
 s- xə (ø-)s-t'ə-w+p'
 my head/self it I own (stat.)
 'I am in full possession of my wits' (lit. 'I own myself')
 is used to produce the sentence
 s-xə (ø-)s-t'ə-nə s-q'a- lè- yt'
 (adverb) I (prev.) become (fin.)
 'I became myself'

1.6.5.10. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of subject-complement

The reflexive is obligatory, e.g.

1- xə d- [a+] abek'un-nə də- q'a-
 her head/self she its master (adv.) she (prev.)
 (col.I)
 lè- yt'
 become (fin.)
 'She became her own master'

If the ordinary predicative case in -s is used to represent the subject-complement, either the reflexive pronoun or the reflexive possessive adjective may modify it (whereas this latter is impossible if the complement is expressed by the adverbial form that appears in the last example), e.g.

1-xə [a+] abek'un-s // 1a-xa+t'ə abek'un-s
 its (pred.) (pred.)
 də-q'a-lè-yt'

1.6.5.12. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of object-complement

The reflexive is obligatory, e.g.

r- xə s- [a+] abek'un-nə s- q'a- r-
 their head/self me its master (adv.) me (prev.) they
 (col.I)
 c'è- yt' // rə- x- k'ə s-r+ abek'un-nə
 make (fin.) their head/self(pl.) their
 s-q'a-r-c'è-yt'
 'They made me their own master'

1.6.5.13. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = object of adjective

The reflexive is obligatory, e.g.

à- jɣab 1- xə d- [a+]èypgə-w+p'
 the girl her head/self she it+like (stat.)
 'The girl is like herself'

1.6.5.14. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of such object

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, e.g.

à- jɣab 1- aħ'ə də- 1+ èypgə-w+p'
 the girl her sister she her like (stat.)

or à-jɣab 1ə-xa+t'ə'ə yah'ə də-1+èypgə-w+p'
 own sister

'The girl_i is like her_i // her own sister'

1.6.5.17. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = element in other ad-positional phrase

The reflexive pronoun is obligatory, as in the following benefactive expression:-

yə- x- a- zə a- hāmta (ø-)āa- y- x'e-
 his head/self it for (art.) present it (prev. he buy
 yt'
 (fin.)

'He bought a present for himself'

1.6.5.18. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of such element

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, e.g.

yə- y'əza yə- zə // yə- xa+t'ə' y'əza yə- zə a-hāmta
 his friend him for his own friend him for
 (ø-)āa-y-x'e-yt'

'He_i bought a present for his_i // his own friend'

1.6.5.19. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = direct object

The reflexive is not possible, e.g.

arəy a- xàc'a y- aħ'ə yarà də- 1- bə- yt'
 this (art.) man his sister him she see (fin.)
 'This man's_i sister saw him_i'

1.6.5.20. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of direct object

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, though preferably avoided, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-aħ'ə yə- sàx'a // yə- xa+t'ə' sàx'a
 his face his own face
 a- sark'a-q'ə yə- 1- bə- yt'
 the mirror in it she see (fin.)
 'The man's_i sister saw his_i face in the mirror'

1.6.5.21. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = indirect object

The reflexive is not possible, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-aħ'ə (yarà) a- hāmta (ø-)yè- 1-
 him (art.) present it to-him she

te- yt'
give (fin.)

'This man's_i sister gave him_i a present'

1.6.5.22. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of indirect object

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, though preferably avoided, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-ah°šà wəy yə- là // yə- xa+t°' là
that-one his dog his own dog
à- fa+t°' (ø-)à- l- te- yt'
(art.) food it to-it she give (fin.)

'This man's_i sister gave his_i dog some food'

1.6.5.26. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of copular complement

The reflexive is not possible, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-ah°šà yarà də- yə+ r+c'a+y°ə-w+p'
he she his+teacher (stat.)

'This man's_i sister is his_i teacher

1.6.5.28. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of subject-complement

The reflexive is not possible, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-ah°šà yarà də- y+ abek'ùn-nə də-
he she his+master (adv.) she
q'a- lè- yt'
(prev.) become (fin.)

'This man's_i sister became his_i master'

1.6.5.30. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of object-complement

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-ah°šà yarà y- abek'ùn-s // yə-
he his master (pred.) his
xà+t°' abek'ùn-s s- q'a- l- c'è- yt'
own me (prev.) she make (fin.)

'This man's_i sister made me his_i master'

1.6.5.31. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = object of adjective

The reflexive is not possible, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-ah°šà yarà də- y+ èypgə-w+p'
him she him+like (stat.)

'This man's_i sister is like him_i'

1.6.5.32. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of such object

The reflexive possessive adjective is possible but superfluous, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-ah°šà yarà yə- phà // yə- xa+t°'
he his daughter his own
phà də- l+ èypgə-w+p'
daughter she her+like (stat.)

'This man's_i sister is like his_i daughter'

1.6.5.73. Antecedent = indirect object : Reflexive = subject

Abkhaz has a class of verbs which are called 'inverted'. These are all stative verbs, and stative verbs are intransitive and, therefore, do not accommodate column III transitive subject-affixes (cf. 2.1.1.1.1). Inverted verbs, having two arguments, are thus traditionally described as possessing a column I subject-affix (i.e. logical direct object) and a column II indirect object affix (i.e. logical subject), e.g.

yə- sà- mo- w+p'
it I have (stat.)
(col.I) (col.II)

'I have it (lit. 'It is possessed to me')

Accordingly it would appear that in a configuration such as

l- xə (ø)- l- taxə-w+p'
her head/self it she want
(col.I) (col.II)

'She wants herself'

we have an example of an indirect object antecedent governing a subject reflexive. However, there are grounds for arguing that, despite its formal stativity, a-taxə-zaa-ra 'to want' has been re-interpreted as a normal transitive verb, which consequently contains a column I and a column III (not a column II) affix - this suggestion was put forward by Hewitt (1979b) on the grounds that the reciprocal marker for this verb is -ayba- and not -ay-, the former being described as characteristic for transitive reciprocal relationships, the latter for intransitive reciprocal relationships. In this regard it is of interest to note that in the case of another inverted verb à-ma-zaa-ra 'to have', it is the column I affix which controls the introduction of the reflexive element, e.g.

sara s-də w+p' s- xə zak°'àn-s y- à-
I I be (stat.) my head/self law (pred.) who it
(col.II)

mo- w
have (non-fin.)

'I am a law unto myself' (lit. 'I am the one who is possessed to myself as a law')

and this is just what one would expect from a normal intransitive verb possessing an indirect object (cf. à-s-ra 'to hit'). e.g.

s- xə s- à- s- we- yt'
my head/self I it hit (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.I) (col.II)

'I hit myself'

and the reciprocal affix for à-ma-zaa-ra is the typically intransitive -ay-, e.g.

h- ay- mò- w+p'
we each-other have (stat.)

'We have each other'

cf. h- ay- s- wè- yt'
we e.o. hit (dyn.) (fin.)
'We hit each other'

The inverted verb built on the root -t°'(ə)- 'to belong to/possess' make take either -ayba- or -ay- as its reciprocal affix, e.g.

h-ayba-t°'è-w+p' / h-ay-t°'è-w+p'
'We belong to each other'

It may thus be expected that either of the verb's pronominal affixes may act as control for the introduction of the reflexive. This expectation is confirmed by the following examples:-

s- xə s-a- t°'è-w+p'
my head/self I it
'I belong to myself'

(where the verb is being treated as a simple intransitive and corresponds to h-ay-t°'è-w+p')

BUT
s-xə(ø-)s-t°'è-w+p'
it

where the present author would argue that the verb is being treated as a (syntactically if not morphologically) normal transitive verb (corresponding to h-ayba-t°'è-w+p'), such that it is still the actual subject-affix that is controlling the reflexivisation here (as in the case of a-taxè-zaa-ra 'to want' above). Note that this last example has the specialised meaning 'I am in control of my wits'.

(N.B. that all the examples illustrated in section 1.6.5 are quite natural in Abkhaz)

1.6.6. Can reflexive relations exist within nominalised clauses?

Reflexive relations can exist within nominalised clauses (i.e. where the verb-form is the masdar/infinite), e.g.

a- q- š- rà (ø-)yə-taxè-w+p'
(art.) self kill (masd.) it he want (stat.)
'He wants to kill himself'
yə- xə a- ba- rà (ø-)yə-taxè-w+p'
his head/self its see (masd.) it
'He wants to see himself'

s- xə a- hāmta [a-] à- ta- ra
my head/self (art.) present its to-it give (masd.)
(ø-)s-taxè-w+p'
it I

'I want to give myself a present'
wə- xə // wə- xa+t°' xə zak°'àn-s
your head/self your own head/self law (pred.)
à- ma- zaa- ra (ø-)bzèyo-w+p'
its have (suffix) (masd.) it good (stat.)
'It is good to be a law unto oneself' (lit. 'it is good to have yourself as a law')

where the masdar has been used in such examples as these last four, one may also employ the purposive in -r+c (cf. 2.1.3.5). In the following case only the purposive in -r+c is permissible:-

r- xə s-[a+]abek'ùn-xa- r+c // rə-
their head/self I its+master become (purp.) their
x- k°à s-r+ abek'ùn-xa-r+c (ø-)rə-
head/self (pl.) I their it they
taxè-n
want (stat. Past)
'They wanted me to become their master'

1.6.7. Can reflexive relations exist within ordinary noun-phrases?

For reflexive structures within NPs without overt antecedents, see the following sub-section.

1.6.8. Do reflexive structures occur without overt antecedents?

The reflexive possessive adjective or, in conjunction with postpositions, the reflexive a-xə may be freely used in ordinary NPs when there is no overt antecedent, e.g.

wə- xa+t°' y°nə zeg'è yə- r+ èyy'ə- w
your own house all which them+ better(than) (non-fin.)
n+xà+rto-w+p'
dwelling (stat.)

'One's own house is the best place to live'

wə- x- a- zè a- y°nə
your head/self it for (art.) house
'one's own house'

(for the use of the 2nd. person masculine singular pronoun as the non-specific indefinite pronoun, see 2.1.2.1.13.1).

The same applies to nominalisations and non-finite clauses, where the verbal affix -q(ə)- will naturally be used with those verbs that normally accommodate it. e.g.

a- q- š- rà (ø-)q'a- la- jò- m
(art.) self kill (masd.) it (prev.) happen (emphatic) not
+(dyn.)

'Suicide is forbidden' (lit. 'Killing oneself is forbidden')

wə+ qə- w+ zè- m- šə- r+t°' eyys wəbas
your+self you+(potential) not kill (purp.) like so
sowro-w+p'
hot (stat.)

'It's too hot to kill oneself//for killing oneself'

1.6.9. Do the reflexive forms have any other uses?

1.6.9.1. e.g. reflexive pronoun as emphatic pronoun?

For the emphatic pronouns, which appear to be derived from the reflexives based on a-xə, see 2.1.2.1.15.

1.6.9.3. others?

The reflexive verbal affix -q(ə)- combines with the reciprocal affix -ay- to produce what amounts to a compound preverb -ay+qə- in the verb seen in the following example:-

a- ph°èzba d- l- èy+qə-r- bo- yt'
 the girl he her (causative) see (fin.)
 (col.I) (col.II) +(dyn.)

'He flirts with the girl' (Džanašia, 1954.352)

(N.B. that, despite the presence of the causative, the verb is intransitive)

Without the indirect object, the reciprocal affix disappears leaving -qə- functioning as a virtual preverb in what is also an intransitive verb despite once again the obvious causative structure, e.g.

də-qə-r-bo-yt'

'He is flirting' (ibid.)

1.7. Reciprocals

1.7.1. By which of the following means is reciprocity expressed?

1.7.1.3. verbal affix

Abkhaz has two reciprocal verbal affixes - ay- and ayba-.

1.7.3. For intra-clause reciprocity where the reciprocal element is a verbal affix, describe

1.7.3.1. the possible syntactic functions of the antecedent

(a) intransitive subject, e.g.

š°- ey- sè- yt
 you(pl.) e(ach) o(ther) hit (fin.)
 (col.I)

'You hit e.o.'

(b) transitive subject, where the reciprocal relation is with the indirect object, e.g.

a- y°ə (ø-)eybà- h- te- yt'
 the wine it to-e.o. we(col.III) give (fin.)

'We gave the wine to e.o.'

(but cf. example (di) below).

(c) direct object, e.g.

(ci) š°- eyba-bè- yt'
 you(pl.) e.o. see (fin.)
 (col.I)

'You saw e.o.'

(cii) š°- ey(ba)-sə- r- sè- yt'
 you(pl.) e.o. I cause hit (fin.)
 (col.I) (col.III)

'I made you hit e.o.'

(d) indirect object, e.g.

(di) a- y°ə (ø-)h- àyba-te- yt'
 the wine it to-us e.o. give (fin.)
 (col.II)

'We gave the wine to e.o.'

(dii) yə- r- èyba-lə- r- te- yt'
 it to-them e.o. she cause give (fin.)
 (col.I) (col.II) (col.III)

'She made them give it to e.o.'

N.B. that this last example presupposes the order of affixes seen in (di); if we try to form a causative based on the

alternative affixal ordering manifested in (b) above, we shall find that the result is judged to be probably unacceptable, e.g.

(diii) *(ø-)èyba- d- lə- r- te- yt'
 it to-e.o. them (col.II) she cause give (fin.)
 'She made them give it to e.o.'

Similarly

(div) yə- š°- èyba-r- q'a- c'o- yt'
 it you(pl.) e.o. cause (prev.) do (fin.)
 (col.I) (col.II) +(dyn.)

'You get e.o. to make it'

but not

* (ø-)eyba-š°ə-r-q'a-c'o-yt'

1.7.3.2. the possible syntactic functions of the reciprocal marker

(a) transitive subject - this is obligatory where the reciprocal relation holds between subject and direct object; for examples cf. above (ci) and (di).

(b) indirect object - for examples see above (a) and (b) of 1.7.3.1. Indirect objects are marked in the verbal complex by the column II series of pronominal affixes. These column II affixes are frequently used in close association with preverbs (and determiners) within the verbal complex - in such cases, one may regard the preverb (or determiner) as 'governing' the column II affix. The reciprocal ay- is also found in front of such exponents, e.g.

(bi) (ø-) ey+ k°- àh- x- we- yt'
 them e.o.+from-on we(col.III) lift (dyn.) (fin.)
 'We lift them_i off e.o._i'

Column II affixes are also associated with relational particles -z(ə)- 'for', -c°(ə)- 'away from', -c(ə)- 'with' etc.. In association with -c(ə)-, the reciprocal ay- has come to be used in the general sense of 'together', and the resulting compound appears even where the literal meaning of 'with e.o.' is hardly applicable, e.g.

(bii) d- ey+c- r+ eyhà- w+p'
 (s)he together them+ more-than (stat.)
 (col.I) (col.II)
 '(S)He is taller than them (both) together'

(biii) yə-r+ z- ey+cə- y- r- gəle- yt'
 it them+for together he(col.III) cause stand (fin.)
 'He built it for them both (together)'

If the verb is intransitive, ay- may also stand with either of the other relational particles mentioned above, e.g.

(biv) (y-) ey+ c°ə- bna- lo- yt'
 they e.o.+ from (prev.) steal-away (fin.)
 +(dyn.)

'They steal away from e.o.'

(bv) (y-) ey+ zə- x°mar-we- yt'
 they e.o.+for play (dyn.) (fin.)
 'They are playing for e.o.'

1.7.3.3. restrictions on any combinations of 1.7.3.1. and 1.7.3.2.

As is clear from 1.7.3.2.(a) above, no reciprocal affix may function as direct object.

1.7.3.3.1. What determines the choice of the use of ay- and ayba-?

Only ayba- may appear where the reciprocal replaces a transitive subject, column III affix; only ay- appears in place of the column II affix representing the indirect object in intransitive verbs. But one cannot conclude that ay- exclusively substitutes for column II affixes, for, as we have already seen (cf. example (b) of 1.7.3.1 above), ayba- is also attested in place of affixes of column II.

Elsewhere (Hewitt, 1979b) we have suggested that originally ayba- was used if, at any stage in the derivation, a transitive subject was involved in the reciprocal relation, as in such causatives as:

- (i) h- ayba-p- š°ə- r- q'ò- yt'
us e.o. (prev.) you(pl.) cause cut (fin.)
(col.I) (col.III) +(dyn.)
'You make us cut e.o.' (← 'We cut e.o.')

ay- would then have been used where no transitive subject was concerned in the reciprocal relation. Where the reciprocal relation obtains between surface subject and indirect object in transitive structures, ayba- may (generally) replace either the column III subject-affix or the column II indirect object affix.

However, there are problems. The example given above under 1.7.3.2.(bi) may also mean 'We_i lift it/them off e.o._i'. But if we note that this latter reading is more properly expressed by the following structure:

- (ii) yə- h̄a+ k°ə- yba- x- we- yt'
it/them us+ from-on e.o. lift (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.II)

we may tentatively suggest that originally only this latter form, where the indirect object controls the introduction of the reciprocal, could have had the meaning 'We_i lift it/them off e.o._i', and, conversely, that the structure presented in 1.7.3.2.(bi) could only have meant 'We lift them_i off e.o._i'. Subsequently, by analogy with those verbal complexes where the reciprocal (ayba-) stands in place of the indirect object affix for a reciprocal relation contracted between transitive subject and indirect object, the structure in 1.7.3.2.(bi), with ay- standing in place of just such a column II affix, assumed as its secondary reading that sense where the reciprocal relationship is between this indirect object and subject, rather than between indirect object and direct object, which latter relationship rather characterises the structure's primary reading.

One is forced to assume some similar process of analogy to account for the possible use of ayba-, alongside the anticipated ay-, in causatives produced from intransitive verbs, where the relevant relationship is between subject and indirect object (cf. the example under 1.7.3.1.(cii)). One may also note in this regard the non-causative structure

- (iii) h- aybè-r- to- yt'
us(col.I) e.o. they(col.III) give+(dyn.) (fin.)
which means both 'They_i give us to e.o._i' AND 'They give us_i to e.o._i'; as ay- alone is not admitted here, it certainly seems that the language prefers to avoid altogether uninterrupted sequences of 'col.I affix + ay + col.III affix'.

1.7.4. If the reciprocal element is not a verbal affix, describe its positional possibilities within the clause.

The intra-verbal affixes ay-/ayba- may be reinforced by means of one of two extra-verbal, reduplicated elements - (a) the reduplicated numeral '1' (human or non-human, as the case may be), i.e. à+j°ə-y=à+j°ə-y (human) or à+k°ə-y=à+k°ə-y (non-human), where the repeated -y is the co-ordinating clitic; (b) the reduplicated personal pronoun, i.e. h̄arà=h̄arà 'we...e.o.', š°arà=š°arà 'you...e.o.', darà=darà 'they...e.o.'. These exponents are no more restricted to any particular place within the clause than would be full NPs fulfilling the same syntactic role. Note that these exponents cannot be used unless either ay- or ayba- appears within the verbal complex (but cf. 1.7.6), e.g.

- à+j°ə-y=à+j°ə-y // darà=darà (ø)eybè- r- h̄°e-yt'
e.o. it to-e.o. they say (fin.)
'They said it to each other'
à+k°ə-y=à+k°ə-y // darà=darà (ø) ey+ dè- š°- h̄°al
e.o. them e.o.+ (prev.) you bind
'Bind them to each other'

1.7.6. Can reciprocal relations exist within nominalised clauses?

Reciprocal relations may exist within nominalised clauses, the transitive direct object or intransitive subject naturally being represented by a column II (possessive) affix, e.g.

- rə- bzəy-eyba- ba- ra
their good mutual see (masd.)
'their love for e.o.' (cf. a-bzəya-ba-ra 'love')

- wert r- èy- s- ra s-à+ k°- š°e-yt'
those their e.o. hit (masd.) I it+(prev.) meet (fin.)
'I was in time to catch their hitting e.o.'

- wert r- èyba-k'- ra (ø-)lāk°- xe- yt'
those their e.o. seize (masd.) it legend become (fin.)
'Their bad treatment of e.o. became a talking-point'
a- xàc'a yè- la a- x°əč'-k°à r- èy+ k°-
the man him by the child (pl.) their e.o.+from-on
x- ra
lift (masd.)

'the man's lifting the children off e.o.'

N.B. that in this last example no reciprocal affix need appear in the masdar if we employ the extra-verbal expression for 'off each other' (which, of course, may also be inserted into the phrase as written above), e.g.

- ...à+j°ə-y=à+j°ə-y // darà=darà rə- q'è+n+t° rə- k°-x-ra
e.o. them from their

It should be stressed that under no circumstances can the reciprocal affixes be omitted from the non-masdar forms given earlier under 1.7.3.2.(bi) and 1.7.3.3.1.(ii).

1.8. Comparison

1.8.1. By which of the following means is comparison expressed?

1.8.1.2. comparative element associated with the parameter of comparison, and a postposition associated with the noun forming the standard of comparison

The comparative element *yahà* (ʔy'eyhà) 'more' in association with the parameter of comparison, plus one of the three comparative postpositions (àc'k'ʔes, àasta, èyha) 'than' in association with the comparative clause or standard of comparison are used, as illustrated immediately below.

1.8.1.3. a comparative particle associated with the comparative clause or standard of comparison only

If the standard of comparison immediately precedes the parameter of comparison, the element associated with this parameter may be omitted, e.g.

a- xàc'a a- ph'òs l- àc'k'ʔes//l-àasta//l-èyha (yahà//
the man the woman her than more
'y'eyhà) lassè=lassè dè- z-bò- yt'
often him I see+(dyn.) (fin.)
'I see the man more often than the woman'
cf. a-xàc'a yahà//ʔy'eyhà lassè=lassè dè-z-bò-yt' a-ph'òs
l-àc'k'ʔes (etc...)

(In all subsequent examples only the postposition *àasta* will be given). This 'phrasal' comparative is just as ambiguous as its English counterpart. The ambiguity may be resolved by using the appropriate 'clausal' comparative given below - N.B. that a clausal comparative cannot be extraposed to stand within the introductory clause, as is preferably done for such phrasal remainders as in the first example above:

(a) a-xàc'a yahà lassè=lassè dè-z-bò-yt' a-ph'òs g+aq'à
how-much
(lassè=lassè) dè- z-bò [a]-làasta
her I see (non-fin.) it than
'I see the man more often than I see the woman'
(b) a-xàc'a yahà lassè=lassè dè-z-bò-yt' a-ph'òs wèy
that-one
g+aq'à (lassè=lassè) dè- l- bò [a]-làasta
how-much him she see(non-fin.)
'I see the man more often than the woman sees him'

1.8.2. What elements in the sentence can be omitted under identity between the comparative clause and the clause to which it is subordinate?

If the main and comparative clauses share a verb, this may be omitted from the comparative clause, e.g.

sarà a- š°q'°-k°à yahà à- h°sa- rac°ayə-
I (art.) book (pl.) more (art.) woman many them
(books)

r+ c°è- z-je- yt' a- x'čà g+aq'a+ y°è
them+ from I steal (fin.) the guard how-many+(hum.)
(women)

(à- h°sa) yə- r+ c°è- y- ja- z r-
(art.) women them them+from he steal (non-fin. them
(women)

àasta// [a-] àasta
than it than
(comparative clause)

'I stole books from more women than the guard stole books from'

→ sarà a-x'čà y- àasta a-š°q'°k°à yahà à-h°sa-rac°a
him
yə-r+c°è-z-je-yt'

'I stole books from more women than the guard'

N.B. that an alternative for the last three words of the clausal variant above would be the following, where we have a relative clause (cf. 1.1.2.3.4.2.3):

...a-x'čà yə- z+ c°è- y-ja-z r- àasta
them whom+from them than
(books)

'I stole books from more women than those from whom the guard stole them' (N.B. that [a]-àasta is not, of course, possible here)

Such alternatives are not presented below, as we judge them to be not the strict Abkhaz equivalent of the construction under review.

As already indicated by the use of brackets above, the element which is obligatorily deleted in the formation of English comparatives (i.e. the 'target' of comparative deletion) may actually be retained (and is preferably so retained) in Abkhaz clausal comparatives. There are no known restrictions on which element may form the target for the formation of a comparative expression in Abkhaz as the selection of examples below clearly demonstrates:

(a) adverbs
arèy a- d°è+yba kàrt- q'a yahà mač' lassè=lassè
this (art.) train Tbilisi to more little often
yè-cò- yt' eg'èrt r- àasta // g+aq'à
it go+(dyn.) (fin.) others them than how-much

(lassè=lassè) yə- cò [a]-làasta
often they go(non-fin. it than
'This train goes to Tbilisi less often than the others (go)'

(b) NPs, without restriction on their function in the sentence -
(bi) Subject

yahà yə+rac°a+y°+nè à- h°sa a- c°'à (-k°à) (ø-)
more many(hum.) (art.) women (art.) apple (pl.) them
r- fe- yt' a- laha-k°à r- àasta
they eat (fin.) (art.) fig (pl.) them than
'More women ate apples than figs'

or yaḥà yə+rac°a+y°+nè à-ḥ°sa a-c°'à(-k°à) (ø-)r-fe-yt'
 a-laḥà(-k°à) ḡ+aq°a+y°è (à-ḥ°sa) yə- r- fà-
 how-many(hum.) them (figs) they eat
 z r- àasta // [a-]àasta
 (non-fin.) them than it than
 'More women ate apples than ate figs' (N.B. that a preference was expressed here for the clausal over the phrasal structure)

(bii) Comitative

a- xàc'a yaḥà yə+rac°a+y°+nè a- x°èč'-k°à
 the man more many(hum.) (art.) child (pl.)
 d- rē+ c- ce-yt' à- jḡab ḡ+aq°a+y°è
 he them+with go (fin.) the girl how-many(hum.)
 (a-x°èč'-k°à) d- rē+ c- ca-z r- àasta //
 she them+with go (non-fin.) them than
 [a-]àasta
 it than
 'The man went with more children than the girl went with'
 or a-xàc'a à-jḡab l- àasta yaḥà yə+rac°a+y°+nè a-x°èč'-k°à
 her than
 d-rē+c-ce-yt'
 'The man went with more children than the girl'

Deletion of NP sub-constituents (i.e. of elements from subject- and object-subordinate clauses) is also possible without restriction, e.g.

(biii) Indirect object from subject-clause

a- xàc'a yaḥà yə+rac°a+y°+nè a- x°èč'-k°à (ø-)
 the man more many(hum.) (art.) child (pl.) them
 yə-dèr- we- yt' Zaira ḡ+aq°a+y°è (a-x°èč'-k°à)
 he know (dyn.) (fin.) Z. how-many(hum.)
 a- pàra (ø-)rè- l- ta- r+c (ø-)a+x°tò-
 (art.) money it to-them she give (purp.) it ?+portion
 w [a-]àasta
 (non-fin.) it than
 'The man knows more children than it is necessary Zaira give money to' (for the dummy-affix a+ see 1.2.1.2.1)
 (biv) Subject from an object-subordinate clause
 yaḥà yə+rac°a+y°+nè à- ḥ°sa sarà s-r+ à-
 more many(hum.) (art.) women I I them+to
 c°až°e-yt' à- x°èlpaz a- q'è abers+q°a+y°è+k' (à-ḥ°sa)
 talk (fin.) the party it to so-many(hum.)
 (ø-) aa- yt' ḥ°a Zaira l- g°è y- àa- na-ga-
 they come (fin.) saying Z. her heart it (prev.) it bring
 z [a-]àasta
 (non-fin.) it than
 'I spoke to more women than Zaira thought came to the party'

('to think' is idiomatically expressed as 'X's heart brings it (sc. the object-subordinate clause)'). The object-subordinate clause is put into direct speech and is, thus, followed by the particle indicating direct speech - ḥ°a. Note that, since the object-clause is not subordinate from the point of view of Abkhaz syntax, we have the typically main-clause correlative quantifier abers+q°a+y°è+k' 'so many (hum.)' and not the subordinate relative quantifier ḡ+aq°a+y°è. Nevertheless, it is

possible for this latter subordinate correlative quantifier to be used in a variant of (biv), which looks suspiciously like a contamination of the regular construction manifested by (biv) and the usual formulation for a clausal comparative, e.g.

(bv) yaḥà yə+rac°a+y°+nè à-ḥ°sa sarà s-r+à-c°až°e-yt'
 à-x°èlpaz a-q'è ḡ+aq°a+y°è (à-ḥ°sa) (ø-) aa-
 how-many(hum.) they come
 z ḥ°a Zaira l-g°è y-àa-na-ga-z [a-]àasta
 (non-fin.)

Here, the particle of direct speech, ḥ°a, is retained because of the construction required by the following idiomatic expression for 'to think', although this particle no longer follows the original words thought - the original thought is just the finite expression contained in (biv) above, i.e. (y-)aa-yt' not (y-)aa-z.

1.8.3. What elements cannot be omitted under these conditions?

As we have seen, the quantifier ḡ+aq°a(+y°è) may not be omitted from a clausal comparative.

There is a restriction on the form that a phrasal remainder may take - namely, it must contain exactly one NP, with the result that no deletion of the subordinate verb is possible in the next example:

a- xàc'a yə- phà sent°'à yaḥà lassè=lassè dè- y-
 the man his daughter this-year more often her he
 bò- n c'èpx yə- pà ḡ+aq°a (lassè=lassè)
 see (fin.) last-year his son how much often
 +(dyn.)
 dè- y- bò- z [a-]àasta
 him he see (non-fin.) it than
 +(dyn.)

'The man saw his daughter more often this year than he saw his son last year'

Similarly, the subordinate verb cannot be deleted if this would leave either an adverb or adjective dependent upon the comparative postposition, e.g.

a- xàc'a yaḥà yè+r+ccak'+nè dè-c°àž°o- yt' ḡ+aq°a
 the man more quickly he speak (fin.) how-much
 +(dyn.)
 dè-q°'èḡ- nè dè-c°àž°o [a-]àasta
 he intelligent (adv.) he speak(non-fin. it than
 'The man speaks more quickly than he speaks
 intelligently'
 a-xàc'a yaḥà dè-q°'èḡ- w+p' ḡ+aq°a dè-psjò-
 he intelligent (stat.) how-much he handsome
 w [a-]àasta
 (non-fin.)

'The man is more intelligent than he is handsome'

If the comparative is formed on an NP functioning as the object of comparison, no element is deletable from the structure, e.g.

wəy a- xàc'a warà d- w+ eyḥà- w+p' sarà
 that (art.) man you he you+taller(than) (stat.) me
 ḡ+aq°a dè-s+ eyḥà- w [a-]àasta
 how-much he me+taller(than) (non-fin.)
 'That man is more taller than you than he is than me'

Finally, we may note that cases of sub-deletion contain no deletable element in any case, e.g.

- (i) sub-deletion of direct object
 qaənə harà yahà yə+rac°a+y°+nə a- xàc°a (ø-)
 next-year we (art.) men them
 aa-bò- yt' š°arà s+aq'a+y°ə à- h°sa
 we see+(dyn.) (fin.) you how-many(hum.) (art.) women
 (ø-) ž°- bo r- àasta // [a-]àasta
 them you see(non-fin.) them than it than
 'We will see more men next year than you will see women'
- (ii) sub-deletion on adjective-complement
 àyš°a yahà y- awè- w+p' a- š° s+aq'a
 the-table more it long (stat.) the door how-much
 yə-tbàa-w [a-]àasta
 it wide (non-fin.) it than
 'The table is longer than the door is wide'

1.8.4. What elements must be omitted under these conditions?

Adjective-targets (together with associated quantifier and copula) must be deleted, e.g.

- a- c°'à a- hà [a-]àasta (ø-)èyy'ə- w+p'
 the apple the pear it than it better (stat.)
 'The apple is better than the pear'
 The equivalent full clausal structure (i.e. with non-deleted adjective) is apparently syntactically as well-formed as the English 'The apple is better than the pear is good' but just as unlikely to be heard, e.g.

?a-c°'à (ø-)èyy'ə-w+p' a-hà s+aq'a yə-bzèyo-w
 it good (non-fin.)

[a-]àasta

Similarly, one would not hear the equivalent of the English 'The apple is better than the pear is', where the adjective-complement but not the copula has been deleted, e.g.

?a-c°'à (ø-)èyy'ə-w+p' a-hà s+aq'a yè-q'o-w
 it be (non-fin.)

[a-]àasta

1.8.5. Is there a clear difference between the two types of comparative structure?

1.8.5.1. comparative particle plus reduced comparative clause

1.8.5.2. postposition plus standard of comparison

No, for the comparative clause (reduced and unreduced) and the standard of comparison are both followed by one and the same set of postpositions. And in both cases this postposition is preceded by an NP, since the verb of the comparative clause (unless deleted) must stand in the appropriate non-finite (i.e. nominalised) form.

1.8.6. How is correlative comparison expressed?

This is expressed by means of 's+aq'a + a comparative' in the subordinate (non-finite) clause, correlating with 'wəbə(r)s+q'ə+(y°ə+)+k' + a comparative' in the main clause - N.B. wəbə's 'thus', -q'a - < àq'a+ra 'size, quantity', -y°ə- 'human'-marker, -k' 'I', e.g.

s+aq'a yahà (ø-)yə-fò wəbə(r)s+q'ə+k' yahà //
 how-much more it he eat so-much more
 (non-fin.)

y'eyha+nə (ø-)yə+ c- lo- yt'
 it him+with go+(dyn.) (fin.)
 'The more he eats, the fatter he becomes'

s+aq'a y'eyha+y°+nə à- h°sa (ø-) y°nà-lo
 how-much more(hum.) (art.) women they into enter(non-
 wəbə(r)s+q'ə+k' y'eyha+y°+nə//wəbə(r)s+q'a+y°ə+k' fin.)
 so-many more(hum.) so-many(hum.)

y'eyha+nə à- h°sa (ø-) wə- dər- p'
 more (art.) women them you know (Fut.I)
 'The more women come in, the more women you'll then get to know'

N.B. the necessity of having a verb in both clauses of these correlative comparisons, thereby making the exact equivalent of such English expressions as 'the hotter, the better' impossible in Abkhaz.

1.9. Equatives

1.9.1. Equatives are expressed by means of

1.9.1.2. equative element associated with the parameter of equation and a postposition associated with the noun forming the standard of equation

The equative element is wəbə(r)s+q'ə+(y°ə+)+k', and either of the postpositions àq'a+ra or eyps are used in association with the standard of equation. If this standard of equation contains a non-finite verb, we shall normally have the quantifier s+aq'a 'how-much' standing as an independent word within the clause; if the target of the equative structure is an adjective or adverb, then an alternative construction is possible - the adverbial particle of manner -s(ə)- appears within the verbal complex (this particle being, of course, the first element of s+aq'a).

Replacing wəbə(r)s+q'ə+(y°ə+)+k' for yahà (yə+rac°a+(y°)+nə) and eyps//àq'a+ra for àasta//àc'k' 'es//eyha, we can say that the same structures are attested for equatives as we described in the previous section (1.8.ff) on comparatives. Only one sentence requires comment by virtue of its slight divergence from its corresponding comparative structure, and we propose to deal with this after presenting one example, with all its alternatives, to prove how closely parallel are Abkhaz equative and comparative structures. With the first set of alternatives given above under 1.8.2 compare the following:

sarà a- š°q°-k°à wəbə(r)s+q'a+y°ə+k' à- h°sa
 I (art.) book (pl.) so-many(hum.) (art.) women
 yə- r+ c°ə- z-je- yt' a- x'čà
 them them+ from I steal (fin.) the guard
 (books) (women)

g+aq'a+y^oə (à-ħ^osa) yə- r+ c^oə- y- ja- z
 how-many(hum.) them them+from he steal (non-fin.)
 r- àq'a+ra//r-eyps//[a-]àq'a+ra//[a-]eyps
 them as as it as as

'I stole books from as many women as the guard stole them from'

⇒ sarà a-x'čà y- àq'a+ra//y- eyps a-š^oq^o'-k^oà
 him as him as

wəbə(r)s+q'a+y^oə+k' à-ħ^osa yə-r+c^oə-z-je-yt'

'I stole books from as many women as the guard'

As observed earlier in the case of the corresponding clausal comparative structure, so the above-clausal equative may be alternatively expressed by means of a relative participle (cf. 1.1.2.3.4.2.3), e.g.

sarà a-š^oq^o'-k^oà wəbə(r)s+q'a+y^oə+k' à-ħ^osa
 yə-r+c^oə-z-je-yt' a-x'čà yə- z+ c^oə- y- ja- z
 them whom+from he steal (non-fin.)

r- àq'a+ra//r-eyps
 them as

'I stole books from as many people as those from whom the guard stole them'

Example 1.8.2.(bi) above shows that, although preference is given to the clausal comparative, nevertheless a phrasal comparative is possible where the target is an NP subject. It seems that only the corresponding clausal equative is feasible, which means that, despite the identity of the two verbs, no deletion may occur, e.g.

wəbə(r)s+q'a+y^oə+k' (OR wəbə(r)s+q'ā+k' yə+rac^oa+y^o+nə)
 so-many(hum.) so-many many(hum.)
 à- ħ^osa a- c^oà (-k^oà) (ø-) r- fe- yt'
 (art.) women (art.) apple (pl.) them they eat (fin.)
 a- laħà(-k^oà) g+aq'a+y^oə (à-ħ^osa) yə- r- fà-
 (art.) fig (pl.) how-many(hum.) them they eat
 z r- àq'a+ra//r- eyps//[a-]àq'a+ra//[a-]eyps
 (non-fin.) them as them it as it as
 'As many women ate apples as ate figs'

1.10. Possession

1.10.1. How are sentences expressing possession constructed?

All types of possession are expressed by means of the stative verb à-ma-za(a)-ra 'to have'. This verb is 'inverted', which is to say that the possessor-noun correlates with a column II affix within the verbal complex, whilst the possessed noun correlates with a column I affix, e.g.

y^o-nap'ə-k' // xarp(ə)-k' // cǝ^oə-k' (ø-)sə-mo- w+p'
 2 hand 1 shirt 1 cat 1 it I have (stat.)

'I have 2 hands/one shirt/one cat'

'To belong' is also a stative verb in Abkhaz, a-t^o'ə-zaa-ra (N.B. a-t^o'ə 'slave, possession'). This too is inverted, e.g.

arəy a- y^onə //a- xarp // a- cǝ^oə sarà
 this (art.) house (art.) shirt (art.) cat to-me
 yə-s- t^o'ə- w+p'
 it to-me belong (stat.)

'This house//shirt//cat belongs to me' (lit. '... is my possession')

1.10.2. Is there any difference between the expression of alienable and inalienable possession?

No.

1.10.3. Is there any difference between the expression of temporary and permanent possession?

No.

1.10.4. Is there any difference in the expression of possession relative to persons, animals, and things?

No.

1.10.5. Is there any difference in the expression of present and past possession?

This distinction is quite straightforwardly indicated by the use of either the Present or the Past tense of the stative verb concerned.

1.11. Emphasis

1.11.1. How is sentence-emphasis expressed?

Non-contradictory sentence-emphasis is expressed by means of strong stress on the verb's main-stressed syllable.

Contradictory sentential emphasis is achieved in the same way as contrastive constituent-emphasis - the negative of the copular root a+k^o'(ə)- 'be' is used in association with the 'but' co-ordinator axà; the copula is accompanied by high-falling intonation, e.g.

a- sàb+ga kàrt- q'a s-co- yt' (ø-)wə-
 (art.) Saturday Tbilisi to I go+(dyn.) (fin.) it you
 ħ^oà-ma? a-sàb+ga kàrt-q'a s-co-yt' [a-]à+k^o'ə-m axà
 say (Qu.) it be not but
 a- y^oà+ga Mosk'vā-n+t^o' s-aa- wè- yt'
 (art.) Tuesday Moscow from I come (dyn.) (fin.)

'Did you say, "I'm going to Tbilisi on Saturday"?

"I am going to Tbilisi on Saturday" is not (sc. what I said) but "I'm coming from Moscow on Tuesday".

(The extent to which sentential word-order is determined by the requirements of non-contrastive constituent-emphasis must remain a subject for future research.)

1.11.2.2. What elements can be emphasised in this way?

1.11.2.2.1.1. NP

NPs may be emphasised without restriction, be they constituents of main or subordinate clauses, e.g.

Zōya a- š^oq^o'ə (ø-)lə- t. Zōya l- à+k^o'ə-m axà
 Z. the book it to-her give she
 Zamira

'Give the book to Zoya. Not to Zoya but to Zamira'
 s- y^oəza d- aa- r, də- s-š- wè- yt'. w-
 my friend he come if him I kill (dyn.) (fin.) your
 y^oəza y- à+k^o'ə-m axà w- ayà
 friend he your enemy

'If my friend comes, I'll kill him. Not your friend but your enemy'

An additional nuance may be introduced into the contrast by using in place of $\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$ $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ simply the negated absolutive of this same copular root which will incorporate the suffix $-x\bar{e}-$, which usually means 'again' (2.1.3.8.5) but which here lends the note of irony that the NP concerned could possibly be supposed to have been involved in the action, e.g.

Mürman a- mš° (ø-)yē-šē- yt'. Mürman y- $\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-x\bar{e}-$
M. the bear it he kill (fin.) M. (suff.)
m- k°'a(+n) — Temər (ø-) yē-šē-yt'
not (neg.absol.suff.)

'Murman killed the bear. Murman! Ridiculous - Temir killed it'

N.B. that the copular root (together with any pronominal prefix) may be omitted, leaving merely the contrastive element $x\bar{e}-m-k^{\circ}\bar{e}a(+n)$.

1.11.2.2.1.2. adjective

The contrast may possibly be made on a predicative adjective (which will, of course, be a stative verb) by repeating the entire verb before the words $[a-]\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$ $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ and then by stating the correct stative verb in its full form, e.g.

(?) $\bar{a}-$ mp'el (ø-)yē-žē- w+p'. yē-yē-žē-w+p' $[a-]\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$
the ball it yellow (stat.) it it
 $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ yē-q'apšē-w+p'
it red (stat.)

'The ball is yellow. (It is) not yellow but (it is) red'

but the preferred treatment is to avoid the sequence of stativised adjective plus copular root by dispensing with this latter and negating the stativised adjective to give:

...yē-yē-žē-m $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ yē-q'apšē-w+p'
it not it

Pointing the contrast on an attributive adjective is achieved straightforwardly, but the adjectives must be endowed with the definite-generic article, e.g.

$\bar{a}-$ mp'el yē-žē (ø-)yē- t. a- yē-žē $[a-]\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$
the ball yellow it to-him give (art.)
 $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ $\bar{a}-$ q'apš
(art.) red

'Give him the yellow ball. Not (the) yellow (one) but (the) red (one)'

1.11.2.2.1.3. verb

e.g.

Amra Omər dē- l+ g°a- pxō- yt'.
A. O. he her+(prev.) please+(dyn.) (fin.)
dē-l+g°a-pxō-yt' $[a-]\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$ $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ bzēya dē- l- bō-
yt' it well him she see+(dyn.)
(fin.)

'Amra likes Omar. Not 'likes' but 'loves'.'

1.11.2.2.1.4. adverb

Simple adverbs may be construed with $\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$ $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ as in:

s- y°ēza yacē d- aa- yt'. yac(ē) $[a-]\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$ $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$
my friend yesterday he come (fin.)
ž°acē

day-before-yesterday

'My friend came yesterday. Not yesterday but the day before yesterday'

As regards a postpositional phrase, the whole phrase will be repeated, e.g.

Zōya l- q'ē āamta (ø-)s+ xē- z-ga- r+c s-aa-
Z. her with time it me+(prev.) I spend (purp.) I come
yt'. Zōya l-q'ē $[a-]\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$ $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ Zāmira l-q'ē
(fin.)

'I came to spend time at Zoya's. Not at Zoya's but at Zamira's'

1.11.2.2.2.1. constituents of main clause

Without restriction.

1.11.2.2.2.2. constituents of subordinate clause

Without restriction. Note that in the case of a (genitive) dependent of a masdar/infinite, one may either choose to omit the masdar, e.g.

Omər yē- š- rā (ø-)s-taxē-w+p'. Omər y- $\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$
O. his kill (masd.) it I want (stat.) he
 $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ G°ēnda
G.

'I want to kill Omar. Not Omar but Gunda'
or, preferably, the masdar will be repeated too, e.g.

... Omər yē-š-rā $[a-]\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$ $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ G°ēnda lē- š-rā
it her

1.11.2.2.2.3. constituents of NP

In the case of a possessor, either the possessor-possessed complex will be repeated in its entirety, e.g.

h- la $\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-r-$ at q'a- c'ā. h-la $[a-]\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$ $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$
our dog something its+(prev.) put
ant r- t°'ē
those their possession

'Feed our dog. Not our dog but theirs'

or the appropriate possessive pronoun (based on $-t^{\circ}\bar{e}$) may be used in both elements, e.g.

...harā h- t°'ē $[a-]\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$ $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ ant r-t°'ē
us our possession

'... Not ours but theirs'

In the case of a contrast on an adverbial modifier of an NP, the whole NP will preferably be repeated, e.g.

Očamčēra-n+t°'ē ā- j̄yab yē+bzēya+nē dē- y- dār- we-
O. from the girl well her he know (dyn.)
yt'. Očamčēra-n+t°'ē ā-j̄yab l- $\bar{a}+k^{\circ}\bar{e}-m$ $\bar{a}x\bar{a}$ kārte- n+t°'
(fin.) she Tbilisi from
'He knows the girl from Očamčira well. Not (the girl) from Očamčira but (the girl) from Tbilisi'

1.11.2.2.2.4. constituents of a co-ordinate construction

Both elements of the co-ordination must be repeated, e.g.

Dawèrə-y Omàrə-y yacè y- aa- yt'. Dawèrə-y
 D. & O. & yesterday they come (fin.)
 Omàrə-y r- à+k'ə-m axà G'ènde-y Omàrə-y
 they G. & O. &
 'Daur and Omar came yesterday. Not Daur and Omar but
 Gunda and Omar'

1.11.2.2.2.5. more than one constituent simultaneously

This too is possible - cf. with the example given in 1.11.1
 the following:

a-sàb+ga kàrt-q'a də-cò-yt'. a-sàb+ga kàrt-q'a
 [a-]à+k'ə-m axà a-y'ə+ga àq'ə-a-q'a
 'He is going to Tbilisi on Saturday. Not to Tbilisi
 on Saturday but to Sukhumi on Tuesday'

1.11.3. How is the focus of a yes-no-question indicated?

See 1.1.1.2.1.3.

1.12. Topic

Abkhaz is not one of the so-called 'topic-prominent' languages and, according to my informant, has no obvious way of indicating topicality.

1.13. Heavy Shift

No examples have been found.

1.14. Other movement-processes

No data.

1.15. Minor sentence-types

The one discovered instance of a (productive) minor sentence-type is found most commonly in curses. The verb-form is the relativised (and thus non-finite) Future II, e.g.

bar-g'ə sar-g'ə (y-) eyba-m- bà- ga
 you & I & whom e.o. not see (Fut.II)

'You and I who shall not see each other!'

which is said when one is exasperated with someone's (e.g. a baby's) behaviour. Clearly it is impossible to give these idioms a translation that is both literal and meaningful. Such expressions are perhaps most nearly equivalent to wishes, e.g.

yə-zə- m- fà- ga
 it who not eat (Fut.II)

said of someone who will not eat what is placed in front of him - perhaps 'Well, may he (?) never eat (it)!'.
 yə- q'a- m- là- ga
 who (prev.) not happen (Fut.II)

(?) 'May he cease to exist!'

These expressions are, however, not exclusively restricted to curses, for in reply to the greeting

mə bzəya
 day good 'Good day!' one will say:
 bzəya-la y- àa-ba- ga
 good (instr.) who we see (Fut.II)
 'whom we shall see well'

2. MORPHOLOGY

2.1. Inflection

2.1.1. Noun-inflection

Noun-inflection is almost non-existent, there being only the one adverbial/predicative case in -s.

sarà a- ph'əs gajā-s d- sə-px'ajò-yt'
 I the woman fool (pred.) her I regard (fin.)

'I regard the woman as a fool' +(dyn.)

cf. a-gajā 'fool'

A less common (and less acceptable) variant for -s is -nə, which latter happens also to be the suffix used for the formation of adverbs and for the formation of past absolutive verbal forms (cf. 2.1.1.3), e.g.

a- y'ə m'ə-nə // m'ə-s s- xə y- a- sà-r-
 the plank wood my head it it I cause
 (sc. 'head')

x'o- yt'
 help (fin.)

+(dyn.)

'I use the plank for fire-wood'

(N.B. that gajā-nə is, of course, feasible in the first example above, though gajā-s is to be preferred.)

2.1.1.1. The syntactic and semantic functions of noun-phrases are expressed by

2.1.1.1.1. bound affixes

In the absence of case-marking, the syntactic functions of the nouns in a sentence are marked by sets of bound affixes appearing within the verbal complex, as prefixes on postpositions and as possessive prefixes on other nouns (i.e. in the case of a possessive relationship).

The first set (or column) of these pronominal affixes, which always occupy the first slot in the pre-radical structure of the verbal complex, correlates with subjects of intransitive verbs or direct objects of transitive verbs. These affixes are:

		Singular	Plural
1st. person		s(ə)	h(a)
2nd. person	male	w(ə)	š'ə(ə)
	female	b(ə)	
3rd. person	human	d(ə)	y(ə)
	non-human	y(ə)	

(N.B. that if the referent of the affix y(ə)- immediately precedes the verb, then this affix y(ə)- disappears (cf. 3.4.4.1)). In the 1st. person plural a appears where ə is used in the other persons, since ə is not possible after h.

The second set of affixes correlates with indirect objects. In the absence of other pre-radical constituents in the verbal complex, with which we are not at the moment concerned, these column II affixes follow immediately those of column I. This second set is:

		Singular	Plural
1st. person		s(ə)	h(a)/ah
2nd. person	{ male	w(ə)	
	{ female	b(ə)	š°(ə)
	{ male	y(ə)	
3rd. person	{ human	l(ə)	r//d(ə)
	{ non-human	a	

In the 1st. pers. pl. the principles according to which ha or ah is chosen are not clear. Dumézil (1967.18) suggests that ha is the form used when stress falls on this syllable. Whilst it is true that no example of a stressed column II ah seems admissible, there are cases of unstressed ha, e.g.

a- p'at'rèt (ø-)ha+ z- tè- š°- x
(art. picture it us+ for from-in you(pl.) take

'Take our photo!' (col.II)

It is convenient to note also at this point that, regarding the same alternation for the 1st. pers. pl. among the column III affixes, below, both stressed ah and unstressed ha are attested e.g.

yə-š°ə+z- ah- c'o- yt'
it you+for we break (fin.)
(col.III) +(dyn.)

'We'll break it off for you'

yə-š°- ha- r- c'ò- yt'
it you we cause learn (fin.)
(col.III) +(dyn.)

'We shall teach you'

In the 3rd. pers. pl. d(ə) results from the dissimilation of r(ə) if the causative morph r appears within the verbal complex (cf. 3.4.1.2).

These column II affixes are also used in association with various particles within the verbal complex, such as preverbs, determiners (i.e. nominal elements employed with preverbal functions) and relational particles (cf. Dumézil, 1967.21-22 for this terminology) to indicate various oblique nominal functions (e.g. accompaniment, relationships of advantage and disadvantage, location etc...). (For preverbs and determiners see the various sub-sections of section 2.1.1.5, and for relational particles see 2.1.1.2.5, 2.1.1.4.1, 2.1.1.4.3-4, and 2.1.3.6.1.4-7).

Outside the verbal complex these column II affixes are also found in association with postpositions, to which they are attached as prefixes (cf. 2.1.1.1.4), and they are also prefixed to the possessed noun in a possessive construction (cf. 2.1.1.4.7).

The third and final set of pronominal affixes correlates with subjects of transitive verbs. Column III affixes follow those of column II and, if the verb happens to contain a preverb (many verbal roots obligatorily require the presence of a particular preverb), they these column III affixes will stand between preverb and root, and the preverb will follow any column II affix that may be present. The affixes are:

		Singular	Plural
1st. person		s//z(ə)	h(a)/ah/aa
2nd. person	{ male	w(ə)	
	{ female	b(ə)	š°//ž°(ə)
3rd. person	{ human	y(ə)	
	{ non-human	l(ə)	r//d(ə)
		(n)a	

In the 3rd. pers. pl. d(ə) occurs under the same conditions as described above for this marker in the column II series. For the 3rd. pers. sg. non-human, na is used if the verb is tri-personal or contains a preverb (or determiner or relational particle), otherwise a appears. If the root begins with a voiced consonant, then the voiced alternatives given above are used; aa in the 1st. pers. pl. is the reflex of the non-existent voiced counterparts of ha/ah (*ja/aj).

2.1.1.1.4. postpositions

Only postpositions exist. They are used to indicate location (cf. 2.1.1.5) and oblique functions of the noun (cf. 2.1.1.4.1-5.(a)). The appropriate column II affix is attached as prefix, e.g.

(sarà) s- q'ə+n+t°
I/me me from
'from me'

In the case of the prefix being a- (3rd. pers. sg. non-human), if the noun ends in a consonant, no change occurs, e.g.

a- jəyas a- q'+nə
the river it at
'at the river'

But if the noun ends in -a, one of the contiguous a's is lost (cf. 3.4.3.3), and N + Postposition form a compound, e.g.

à- bna- q'+nə (≡ *a-bna a-q'+nə)
the wood in
'in the wood'

If the noun ends in -ə, this is lost, and again a compound is produced, e.g.

a- y°n- a- q'+nə (≡ *a-y°nə a-q'+nə)
the house it in
'at home'

2.1.1.1.5. word-order

Word-order is, in principle, free (see the statistical analysis for the various combinations of subject, direct object, indirect object and verb occurring in a total of 1,271 pages of text made up of three separate works - one by P'ap'askər, one a collection of folk-tales, the other by Gulia - in Cik'olia, 1973.311-321). However, the basic, unmarked order is S-IO-DO-V.

2.1.1.1.8. combinations of the above

Some postpositions may stand either outside or within the verbal complex. Compare the following two pairs of sentences, where the preferred version is for the postpositional expression to appear within the verbal complex leaving the associated noun occupying the indirect object position:

- (a) wəy à- way° (a-)h°əzbà-la a- k°'ət'ə (ø-)yə-šə-
that (art.) man the knife with the chicken it he kill
yt'
(fin.)

or

- (b) wəy à-way° à-h°əzba a-k°'ət'ə (ø-)à+ le- y- šə- yt'
it it+with he kill (fin.)
'That man killed the chicken with the knife'

- (c) a- ph°əs wəy a- way°ə yə- zə a- xàrp (ø-) lə-
the woman that (art.) man him for the shirt it she
j°j°è-yt
wash (fin.)

or

- (d) a-ph°əs wəy à-way° a-xàrp (ø-)yə+ zə- lə- j°j°e-yt'
it him+for she wash (fin.)
'The woman washed the shirt for the man'

2.1.1.2. How are the following syntactic functions expressed?

2.1.1.2.1. subject of intransitive verb

Regardless of whether the intransitive subject is agent or not, it is marked simply by means of the appropriate column I pronominal affix within the verbal complex, e.g.

- (sarà) s-ce-yt'
I I go (fin.)
'I go'
(yarà//larà barà) d- bə- sə- yt'
he she you(f.) he//she you (f.sg.) hit (fin.)
'He//She hit you'
(hàrà) ha-jax-wè- yt'
we we sew (dyn.) (fin.)
'We are sewing'
à- jəb-c°a (ø-) jso- yt'
the girl (pl.) they swim+(dyn.) (fin.)
'The girls are swimming'

2.1.1.2.2. subject of transitive verb

Regardless of whether the transitive subject is agent or not, it is marked simply by means of the appropriate column III pronominal affix within the verbal complex, e.g.

- (sarà) a- xàrp (ø-) z-jax-wè- yt'
I the shirt it I sew (dyn.) (fin.)
'I am sewing the shirt'
(hàrà š°arà) š°- aa-bò- yt'
we you(pl.) you(pl.) we see+(dyn.) (fin.)
'We see you'
(darà warà) wə- pə- r- q'o- yt'
they you(m.sg.) you(m.sg.) (prev.) they cut (fin.)
'They cut you'

2.1.1.2.3. subject of copula-construction

If the complement of the copula (cf. 2.1.1.2.9) is expressed as the root of a stative verb, where the stative-marker (Present -w+p', Past -n) functions as the copula (cf. 2.1.1.2.9.1 for such 'defining' copula-functions), then the subject will be expressed like any normal intransitive subject, i.e. by means of

the appropriate column I pronominal affix, e.g.

- wəy (sarà) d- s+ y°èzo- w+p'
that 1st.pers.sg. (s)he my+friend (stat.)
'That is my friend'
cf. a-y°èza 'friend'
(barà) bə- pəjò- w+p'
you(f.sg.) you(f.sg.) beautiful (stat.)
'You are beautiful'

The copula à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be, exist' also requires a column I subject-affix, e.g.

- arà sè-q'o-w+p' // dè- q'o-w+p'
here I be (stat.) (s)he
'I am here // He/She is here'

However, there are two copula-roots, -a+k°'(ə)- and -a- 'to be', which also combine with the stative-markers but which require their subject-affixes to come from column II (cf. Dumézil's discussion for a possible explanation - 1967.25-26). These roots are associated with the pseudo-cleft construction and also function as the identity- and role-copulas (cf. 2.1.1.2.9.2-3). My own informant uses the latter root only in affirmative expressions, the former only in negative expressions, e.g.

- larà l- à+k°'ə-m // l- o- w+p' yə-z-
she she be not she be (stat.) it who
(col.II) (col.II)
jaxə-z
sew (non-fin.)
'She is not the one // is the one who sewed it'

2.1.1.2.4. direct object

The direct object is always marked by the appropriate column I pronominal affix within the verbal complex, e.g.

- (sarà barà) bzəya bə- z-bò- yt'
I you(f.sg.) well you(f.sg.) I see+(dyn.) (fin.)
'I love you'

2.1.1.2.5. indirect object

The indirect object is shown by the appropriate column II affix within the verbal complex, e.g.

- (sarà) a- x°əč'-k°à a- š°q°'-k°à (ø-) rè-
I the child (pl.) the book (pl.) them to-them
s-to- yt'
I give (fin.)
'I give the books to the children'
(hàrà) a- š°q°'-k°à h- rè- px'o- yt'
we the book (pl.) we them read (fin.)
'We read the books'

Notice that in the verb 'to tell' the column II indirect object affix is followed by the relational particle -a- 'addressing oneself to', e.g.

- s- àš- c°a àž°abž (ø-)s+ à- r- h°e- yt'
my brother(pl.) the-news it me+to they tell (fin.)
'My brothers told me the news'

The benefactive relational particle -z(ə)- has already been examined together with the instrumental particle -la- (2.1.1.1.8). The comitative particle -c(ə) will be found under 2.1.1.4.4. One must also mention here the particles -c°(ə)- 'to the detriment of' and -x'- 'upto', e.g.

(sarà) a- x°əč'ə a- š°q°ə (ø-)yə+c°ə- z-ge- yt'
I the child the book it it+from I take (fin.)

'I took the book away from the child'
(sarà warà) s-wə+ x'- jò- yt'
I you(m.sg.) I you+upto reach+(dyn.) (fin.)
'I reach you' (from Dumèzil, 1967.23)

2.1.1.2.6. object of comparison

This is expressed by means of -eyha 'than' prefixed with the column II affix appropriate to the noun representing the standard of comparison, which noun, if expressed, will precede the comparative postposition, e.g.

abrèy a- ph°əs barà b- èyha dè- pgjò-
this (art.) woman you(f.sg.) you than she beautiful
w+p'
(stat.)

'This woman is more beautiful than you'

2.1.1.2.7. object of equation

This is expressed by means of -eyps 'like, as' prefixed with the column II affix appropriate to the noun representing the standard of equation, which noun, if expressed, will precede the equative postposition, e.g.

abrèy a-ph°əs barà b-eyps dè-pgjò-w+p'
like/as

'This woman is as beautiful as you'

2.1.1.2.9. complement of copular construction

As already stated in passing (2.1.1.2.3), the complement may become the root of a stative verb, where the stative markers (Present -w+p', Past -n) virtually function as the copula. This is true of nouns (cf. 2.1.1.2.9.1-3), adjectives (cf. 2.1.1.2.6-7), or sequences of the two, e.g.

abrèy dè- ph°əs apšə-w+p'
this she woman red (stat.)
'This is a red woman'
abrèy d- apsə+wa xàc'o-w+p'
this he Abkhazian man (stat.)
'This is an Abkhazian man'

N.B. that the sequence of N + Adj or Adj + N may be viewed as the verbal root because the column I, subject-affix precedes the first element of the phrase, although at the same time it is peculiar for even a compound-root to be split into separate words as Abkhaz orthography here demands.

Adverbs will generally only be construed with the copula in a variety of the pseudo-cleft construction, and, as mentioned above (2.1.1.2.3), the root -a- (or -a+k°'(ə)-) is then used for the copula, e.g.

yə- pgja- n- ò- w+p' (≡ *yə-pgja-nə-a-w+p')
it beautiful (adverb) be (stat.)
(col.I)

yə- gə- q'a- c'o- w
it how (prev.) make (stat.non-fin.)
(col.I)

'It is beautifully made' (lit. = 'It is beautifully how it is made')

However, an expression such as 'He is well' will show the adverb (or simple adjective) construed with -q'a-zaa-ra, e.g.

də-bzəya-nə // bzəya dè-q'o-w+p'
he good (adv.) good he be (stat.)

N.B. that this last sentence, in either form, may also mean 'He lives well // has a good life'.

2.1.1.2.9.1. defining (sc. copular complement)

It should be clear from what has already been said that the defining copula is formed by making the complement into the root of a stative verb, e.g.

wəy dè-way°ə-w+p'
that-one he man (stat.)
'He is a man'

An alternative is to use the verb -q'a-zaa-ra 'to be, exist', in which case the complement will stand apart from the verb and be placed in the predicative case in -s, e.g.

wəy way°ə-s dè-q'o-w+p'
that-one man (pred.) he be (stat.)
'He is a man'

The alternative form of the predicative case (in final -nə) is not possible here. However, one may express the noun-complement as an adverb by suffixing to the noun -nə and prefixing the appropriate column I affix to give də-way°-nə.

2.1.1.2.9.2. identity (sc. copular complement)

Conversely, the identity-copula is clearly the root -a- (or -a+k°'(ə)-), e.g.

wəy Axra y- o- w+p'
that-one A. he be (stat.)
(col.II)

'He is Axra'

2.1.1.2.9.3. role (sc. copular complement)

No distinction need be made between the identity-copula and the role-copula, e.g.

wəy a- r+ way°ə y- o- w+p'
that-one (art.) army+man he be (stat.)
(col.II)

'He is a soldier'

However, an alternative is to use the copula -q'a-zaa-ra as in (2.1.1.2.9.1), in which case the complement will naturally stand in the predicative case in -s, e.g.

wəy r+c'a+y°ə-s dè-q'o-w+p'
that-one teacher (pred.) he be (stat.)
'He is a teacher'

Note in this last example the absence of the article a- in comparison with the first alternative presented immediately above. As with the second example in 2.1.1.2.9.1, the noun-

complement may be turned into its adverbial form -
də-r+c'a+y°-nə.

2.1.1.2.9.4. other copular verbs

'To become' may be expressed in two ways:

(i) the verbal complement appears to form a complex root with the actual verbal root -xa- 'to become'; in fact, as the negative particle in the Aorist stands before -xa-, we must regard the complement as virtually a complex preverb (cf. 1.4.1 for the placement of the negative particle), e.g.

way də- r+c'a+y°- xè- yt'
that-one he teacher become (fin.)
(complex (root)
prev.)

'He became a teacher'

(ii) The alternative is to take the root of the verb á-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be, exist' and use it as a preverb to the root -la-, which means 'to move into' (cf. 2.1.1.5), so that the resulting verb á-q'a-la-ra quite naturally means 'to move into existence // become'. The complement of the verb is turned into an adverb - i.e. a noun will have prefixed to it the appropriate column I affix and the adverbial -nə will be attached as suffix, e.g.

way də- r+c'a+y°-nə d- q'a+lè- yt'
that-one he teacher (adv.) he become (fin.)
(prev.+root)

'He became a teacher'

(The predicative case in -s//nə may also be used -r+c'a+y°è-s//r+c'a+y°-nə)

2.1.1.2.10. subject-complement

As Abkhaz has no passive voice, 'I was made king' (and similar expressions) may only be translated either as 'I became king'

sarà s-ah- xè- yt'
I I king become (fin.)
sarà s-ah- nè // ahè- s // ah- nè
I I king (adv.) king (pred.) king (pred.)
s-q'a+lè- yt'
I become (fin.)
(prev.+root)

or as an object-complement 'They made me king', for which see immediately below.

2.1.1.2.11. object-complement

For the sentence 'They made me king' we again have two choices:

(i) as main verb we may use á-q'a-c'a-ra 'to make', putting the complement into the predicative case (in -s or -nə) or by turning it into an adverb, e.g.

sarà ahè- s // ah-nè // s-ah- nè s-q'a-
me king (pred.) (pred.) I king (adv.) me(prev.)
r- c'è- yt'
they make (fin.)

(ii) alternatively, the complement stands within the verbal complex as a preverb, and the verbal root will be -t'°(ə)-,

which basically signifies 'to belong', but which must here be translated as 'to turn into', e.g.

sarà s- ahè- r- t'°è- yt'
me me king they turn-into (fin.)
(col.I) (prev.)

N.B. that the former expression is preferred for 'We made him king', as the latter choice would give the cacophonous sequence -ah-ah-, e.g.

(?*) way d- ah- ah-t'°è- yt'
that-one him king we turn-into (fin.)

In the case of an adjectival object-complement the causative affix -r- may be used, with the adjective being then turned into the verbal root, e.g. (after Lomtadidze, 1956.198)

art à- ž°lar rè- bla-k°a (ø-) dè- r- laš°-
these (art.) people their eye (pl.) them they cause blind
t', rè- g°è- g'è (ø-) xah°è-r- t'°è- yt'
(fin.) their heart also it stone they turn-into (fin.)

'This people's eyes they blinded (made blind) and their heart(s) they turned to stone'

2.1.1.2.12. objects governed by adjectives

The adjectival component will form the root of a stative verb; a selection of examples follows:

way y- ab də-y- èypsə-w+p'
that-one his father he him like (stat.)
(col.II)

'He is like his father'

à- c°ca jè- la yə-t°è- w+p'
the glass water with it full (stat.)
'The glass is full of water'

a- xac'a a- š°q°-k°à d- rə+ z- q'+ ləmha-w+p'
the man (art.) book (pl.) he them+for mouth+ear (stat.)

'That man is interested in books'

a- ph°əs wərt d- rə+ q°- gò- w+p'
the woman those she them+from carried (stat.)

'The woman is separate (carried apart) from them'

à- jʏab bzəya+ba+rà- la d- ey+la- gò- w+p'
the girl love by she (prev.) (root) (stat.)
(= well-seeing) 'crazed'

'The girl is mad with (crazed by) love'

arey a- mq'è y- à+ l- xè- w+p'
this (art.) wood it it+from-within come (stat.)
'This is made of (derived from) wood'

or

mq'è-la // a- mq'- a- q'è+n+t°
wood with (art.) wood it from
yè-q'a- c'ò- w+p' (col.II)
it (prev.) made (stat.)

As regards the word-order of adjective (stative verb) and its complement, the order Complement-Adjective is obligatory unless the complement is a postpositional phrase, in which case the complement may follow the adjective, e.g.

à-c°'ca (ø-)t°ə-w+p' jè-la
'The glass is full of water'

2.1.1.3. Apply the questions of 2.1.1.2 to all types of nominalised or non-finite verb

As regards the non-finite verb-forms, we may begin by observing that no transitive subject- (i.e. column III) marker appears in either the present or past 'absolutives', e.g.

a-	kalpàd	(ø-)	po	(\Leftarrow *pa-	wa)	a-
the	sock	it	(pres.absol.)	knit	(dyn.)	the
ǵ°q°'à	d-	à-	px'o-	n		
book	she	it	read	(fin.)		
		(col.II)	+(dyn.)			

'(While) knitting the sock she was reading the book'

cf. yə-l- pò- yt'
it she knit (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'She knits it'

a-kalpàd	(ø-)	pa-	nə	də-	cə-yt'
it	knit	(past absol.)	she	go	(fin.)

'Having knitted the sock she went'

It should be noted that, in the first of these two examples, the form (ø-)l-po (i.e. with the column III affix) is, in fact, possible. This has led some commentators to conclude that the transitive subject-affix is sometimes found with the present absolute (Arstaa et al., 1966.201). But note that (ø-)l-po (\Leftarrow *(yə-)l-pa-wa) is now identical to the non-finite form of the Present tense; might it not, therefore, be the case that, because of the identity of endings (viz. -o \Leftarrow *-a-wa), the simple non-finite Present is being employed instead of the true present absolute? Apparent justification for establishing such a non-finite Present, independent of the present absolute, comes from the fact that in constructions like 'to begin to X', only the non-finite Present (i.e. the form with the transitive subject-affix) is possible as a means of representing the object of the verb 'to begin', e.g.

a-	kalpàd	(ø-)l-	po	d-	à+	la+ge-	yt'
the	sock	it	she	knit	she	it	begin
		(Pres.non-fin.)				(prev.+root)	(fin.)

'She began to knit the sock'

If the present absolute is negated, then there seems to be a preference for the transitive subject-affix to be employed, viz. (yə-)lə-m-pò, which is once again interpretable as the (negative) non-finite Present, this latter having ousted the true negative absolute, (yə-)m-pò.

The positive of the past absolute never contains a column III affix, but such an affix is possible, although its absence is preferred, in the corresponding negative form, e.g.

(a) without = (yə-) m- pà- k°'a(-n)
(col.I) not knit (neg.absolutive suffix)

'without having knitted'

(b) with = (yə-) lə- m-pà-k°'a(-n)
(col.III)

'without having knitted'

In an attempt to account for the possibility of the appearance here of the column III affix, one may note that the negative non-finite Past will be (yə-)lə-m-pà. Now, if the element -k°'a(-n) is being re-interpreted as an independent exponent, which, in association with the negative of the simple Past, gives the meaning 'without having X-ed', and is thus beginning to lose its force as the negative equivalent of the positive past absolute formant -nə, which negative absolute properly prohibits the introduction of a column III affix, then we shall have an explanation for why the insertion of a transitive subject-affix is at least possible in such forms.

The suffix -k°'a(-n) is also found in the negative of the Plu-perfect absolute, for the positive form of which see section 2.1.3.5.5. In neither the positive nor the negative form is there any change in the verbal complex's affixal structure. An example follows of the negative plu-perfect absolute, which is seen to be built either on the form ending in -x'a-c or on that ending in -cə-z (cf. 2.1.3.5.2):

wərt	a-	kəta+ra[-a- a]x'	yə-	m-	ca-x'à-	c-
those	the	country	it	towards	they	not
k°'a(-n)	//	yə-m-cə-cə-z-			k°'a(-n)	
		(non-fin.Plu-perf.)			(absol.)	

s-rə+ x'- jè- yt'
I them+upto catch (fin.)

'I caught up with them before they had already left for the country' (lit. 'without them having already left...')

The Abkhaz absolutes are roughly equivalent to English participles, with the present absolute conveying simultaneity, the past anteriority. There exists a general rule according to which the subject of the absolute must correlate with the subject of the following main verb, which helps to explain why the transitive subject-affix is properly omitted from the complex of present and past absolutes - the identity of this subject is recoverable from the affixal structure in the complex of the following main verb. Note, however, that this restriction on the identity of subjects may be relaxed for negated absolutes, although this seems possible only when the absolute is an intransitive verb, in which case a subject-affix (column I) will be present anyway, as in the last example or in the following more common instance of a simple past absolute (from Arstaa et al., 1966.193):

sarà	sə-q'a-m-	k°'a,	Rasàc	abrà	d-	àa+y-	x'o-
I	I	be	not	(absol.)	R.	here	she
w-		ma					(Perf.)
		(non-fin.)					(Qu.)

'During my absence (me not being here), has Rasac come?'

2.1.1.3.1. 'absolute' construction

Although nothing happens to alter the representation of the verbal arguments in the affixal structure of the verb in the 'absolute' construction (assuming that the absolute construction is being represented by the verb-form known as the Past Indefinite and not by a negated absolute as in the last example of the previous section), there appears to be a rule according to which, if any argument is common to both Past Indefinite and main verb, and thus not independently expressed

in the main clause as a result of conjunction-reduction, this must be the subject of both verbs, e.g.

à- jʏab dē- psə-n zeg'ə (ø-) d'ə+l-
the girl she die (fin.Past Ind.) all they out
c'ə-yt' (compound
go (fin.) prev.)

'The girl having died, everyone went out'

BUT a- xac'a a- ph'əs dē- y- bà- n
the man the woman her he see (Past Ind.)
dē-d'ə+l-c'ə-yt'
he

'The man saw the woman and (*she) went out'

where, in the absence of a-ph'əs being repeated in the main clause, dē- must be taken as referring to the subject of the first verb (i.e. a-xac'a), although, when used by itself, dē-d'ə+l-c'ə-yt' may, of course, mean 'She went out'.

2.1.1.3.2. infinitive

Abkhaz makes no distinction between infinitive, gerund and nominalisations, all these being represented by the one form - the infinitive (or 'masdar'), which is produced in its simple (citation) form by suffixing the abstract-noun formant -ra to the verbal root and attaching as prefix the article a-. No column I affix may appear in the masdar; it is replaced by the corresponding column II (possessive) marker, as in this intransitive verb:

larà l- ca-rà
she her go (masdar)
'her going'

The same is true of a column I affix representing a transitive direct object. At the same time we must note that column III affixes are also excluded from the masdar; these are substituted by an extra-verbal instrumental expression, e.g.

sarà sè-la bē- ba- rà
I me by your (col.II) see (masd.)

'my seeing you' (lit. 'your seeing by me')

As regards the indirect object, it seems that this may be retained in the masdar, producing thereby a sequence of two column II affixes, although the resulting expression is not natural Abkhaz, e.g.

(?) darà rē- la s- wē- ta- ra
they them by my to-you give (masd.)
(col.II.DO) (col.II.IO)

'their giving me to you' (lit. 'my giving to you by them')

Note, however, that the indirect object of the verb 'to say', a-h'a-rà, may not remain within the masdar (this, no doubt, being a consequence of the fact that, in the finite forms, the indirect object is expressed by an association of the relevant column II affix and the relational particle -a- 'to'), although the resulting periphrasis is equally unnatural Abkhaz, e.g.

(?) darà rē- la a- dēr- ra- k'a sarà sē-zē
they them by the know (masd.) (pl.) I me for

rē- h'a-rà
their (sc. news) say (masd.)

'their telling me the news'

cf. yə-s+ à- r- h'o- yt'
it me+to they say+(dyn.) (fin.)
'They tell it to me'

2.1.1.3.5. imperative

No singular subject-affix is present in the imperative of transitive verbs, even though such affixes are required in the corresponding prohibitions, e.g.

dē- (ø-) šə
him/her you (sg.) kill
'Kill him/her' (i.e. 'you sg.')

BUT dē- š'o- šə
him/her you (pl.) kill
'Kill him/her' (i.e. 'you pl.')

AND dē- bē- m- šə- n
him/her you (f.sg.) not kill (neg. suffix)
'Don't kill him/her' (i.e. 'you f.sg.')

AND w- a+ k'o- c'
you (m.sg.) it+from-on get-down
'Get down from it' (i.e. 'you m.sg.')

2.1.1.4. How are the following non-local semantic functions expressed?

2.1.1.4.1. benefactive

1a. sentential adverbial

The postposition is -zə 'for', or one of its variants (i.e. -zə+n// -zə+h'a(+n)), e.g.

Àxra yē- zə(+n) // yə- zə+h'a(+n) yə-q'a-
A. him for him for it (prev.)
(col.II)
s-c'è-yt'
I do (fin.)

'I did it for Axra'

OR, with the intra-verbal relational particle -zə- replacing the postposition:

Àxra (ø-) yə+ zə- q'a- s-c'e-yt'
it him+for (prev.) I do (fin.)

1b. copular complement

As copular complement the benefactive postposition(s) will be used in association with the copular root -a- 'to be', e.g.

arəy Àxra yē- zə(+n) // yə-zə+h'a(+n) [a-]a- w+p'
this for him it be (stat.)

'This is for Axra'

Henceforth, if the phrase in question may be used as a copular complement, this fact will be symbolised as [+cop].

1c. NP-attribute

This is quite straightforward and will be
Àxra yē- zə(+n) // yə-zə+h'a(+n) a- hāmta
him for the present

'the present for Axra'

Henceforth, if the phrase in question may be used as NP-attribute, this fact will be symbolised as [+attr.]. Note that in all such expressions the postpositional phrase preferably, though not obligatorily, precedes the noun.

2.1.1.4.2. source

The postposition is -q'ə+n+t° 'from', as in

Åxra yə- q'ə+n+t° yə-s-ahā- yt'
him from it I hear (fin.)

'I heard it from Åxra'

Although this phrase is to be characterised as both [+cop] and [+attr.], it should be noted that the preferable copular construction is for the postposition together with its prefix to become the root of a stative verb, as in

sarā Åxra yə- q'ə+n+t° ə-w+p'
I him from (stat.)

'I am from Åxra'

Why there should be this discrepancy between benefactive and ablative copular complements is not clear.

2.1.1.4.3. instrumental

The relevant postposition is -la, e.g.

a- žah°à à- la // žah°à-la sə-yə- sə- yt'
(art.) hammer it with I him hit (fin.)
(col.II)

'I hit him with the/a hammer'

Alternatively, the instrumental relational particle -la- together with its associated column II affix may be incorporated within the verbal complex, in which case there will be no postposition accompanying the relevant noun, e.g.

a- žah°à s-a+ la- yə- sə- yt'
(art.) hammer I it+with him hit (fin.)

'I hit him with the/a hammer'

As copular complement the instrumental phrase is possible only in the pseudo-cleft construction (e.g. 'It was with the hammer that I hit him'). This restriction applies to many of the following phrases; henceforth, it will be symbolised as [+ps-cl].

The most natural way of conveying an instrumental phrase as NP-attribute is to avoid the attributive construction by paraphrasing as follows:

à- č'k°'ən a- žah°à (ø-)yè- ma- nə // (ø-)k'-
the boy it he have (absol.) it hold
nə
(absol.)
(col.II)

'the boy having // holding the hammer'

And so, we must qualify the instrumental phrase as [-attr.].

2.1.1.4.3a. negative instrumental

The postposition is -da, as in

žah°à- da sə-yə- sə- yt'
hammer without I him hit (fin.)

'I hit him without the/a hammer'

The phrase is further characterisable as [+ps-cl], and, at least when construed with the verbal noun (masdar) (for which see 2.1.1.3.2), as [+attr.].

2.1.1.4.4. comitative

It is necessary to use the intraverbal relational particle -c- in association with a column II affix, e.g.

à- č'k°'ən sə-yə+ c- ce-yt'

the boy I him+with go (fin.)

'I went with the boy'

The phrase is [+cop]; the particle -c- is used with the copular root -q'a- 'to be', e.g.

à-č'k°'ən də-yə+ c- q'o-w+p'
he him+with be (stat.)

'He is with the boy'

Expressions such as 'the boy with the girl' must be conveyed by means of a relativised stative verb (e.g. 'the boy who is/being with the girl'), as in

à- jɣab yə lə+ cə- w à- č'k°'ən
the girl he-who her+with (non-fin.stative) the boy
'the boy who is with the girl'

Below, wherever such a relativised turn of phrase is necessary as a support for the NP in question, we shall write [+rel].

2.1.1.4.4a. negative comitative

The postposition is -da, as in

à- č'k°'ən yə- da s-ce-yt'
the boy him without I go (fin.)

'I went without the boy'

The phrase is both [+cop], e.g.

à-č'k°'ən yə-da də-q'o-w+p'
he be (stat.)

'He is without the boy'

and [+attr.].

2.1.1.4.5. circumstance

The postposition is again -la (cf. 3 above), e.g.

a- nap'ə q''aš-k°à rə- la ak'rə- y- fè- yt'
(art.) hand dirty (pl.) them with something he eat (fin.)

'He ate with dirty hands'

or, as in the case of the instrumental above, the relational particle -la- may be incorporated within the verb thereby replacing the postposition, e.g.

a-nap'ə q''aš-k°à ak'rə-rə+ le- y- fe-yt'
them+with he

Such phrases are to be characterised as [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

2.1.1.4.5a. negative circumstance

The postposition is -da, as in 4a above, e.g.

nasəp- da də-n- xò- yt'
fortune without he (prev.) live+(dyn.) (fin.)

'He lives without fortune'

The phrase is [+cop], in which case the entire phrase becomes the root of a stative verb, as in

way à- way° də-nasəp+ do- w+p'
that (art.) man he fortune+without (stat.)

'He is without fortune'

It is also [+rel].

2.1.1.4.6. possessive

Be they noun or pronoun, possessives carry no special marker; cf. 2.1.1.4.7.

2.1.1.4.6.3. present_vs_past_possession

This can only be expressed by employing a verbally based periphrasis 'NP which belongs//belonged to X' (cf. 2.1.2.4.11).

2.1.1.4.7. possessed

In a possessive relationship only the possessed noun is marked by having prefixed to it the appropriate column II pronominal affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1); the possessed noun stands after the possessor, e.g.

sarà sè-y^onè
I my house

'my house'

à- č'k^o'en yè- y^onè
the boy his house

'his house'

à- č'k^o'en-c^oa rə- y^on- k^oà
the boy (pl.) their house (pl.)
'the boys' houses'

2.1.1.4.8. quality

The association of the quality-expression (noun plus instrumental suffix -la) with its head-noun is only possible through the mediation of a relativised copula, e.g.

g^oà- k'- a- la yè- q'^o-w a- way^oè
heart one it with he-who be (non-fin.(art.) man
(col.II) stat.)

'the/a man (who is) of/with honour'

The expression is characterisable as [+cop].

2.1.1.4.8a. negative quality

This differs from the last example quoted simply by inserting the negative particle into the relativised copula, e.g.

g^oà-k'-a-la yè-q'a-m a-way^oè
not

'a man without honour'

This phrase too is naturally [+cop].

2.1.1.4.8b. reference quality

The masdar of the copular root -q'a- is prefixed with the appropriate possessive affix and is preceded not only by the possessor-noun but also by the relevant quality-expression (noun plus instrumental suffix), e.g.

a- way^oè g^oà- k'- a- la yè- q'a-zaa- ra
the man heart one it with his be (suffix) (masd.)
(col.II)

'the honour of the man' (lit. 'the man's being with honour')

2.1.1.4.9. quantity

Two constructions are possible: the first involves a relativised form of the verb à-ma-zaa-ra 'to have', so that one is literally saying, for example, 'a ship having 1,000 tons', e.g.

zək' t'òna à- k'ap'an (ø-)z- mo- w à- yba
1000 ton the weight it which have (non-fin. the boat
stat.)

'the/a boat of 1,000 tons'

The second alternative is to use a similarly relativised form of the verb a-k'ap'an-ra 'to weigh', so that the equivalent of this in English would be 'a boat weighing 1,000 tons', e.g.

zək' t'òna (ø-)z- k'ap'an-wa à-yba
it which weigh (non-fin.dyn.)

(No such second alternatives exist in the case of the other dimensions, but cf. section 2.1.1.4.23.)

It will be clear from the above that, where English would have a copular construction ('The boat is of 1,000 tons'), Abkhaz will rather say either 'The boat weighs...' or 'The boat has...'.

2.1.1.4.9a. reference quantity

Abkhaz does not employ the possessive construction; rather it has recourse to an appositional expression whereby the quantitative noun precedes that representing the material quantified. This latter noun includes the definite-generic article a-, e.g.

k'illa-k' a- šakàr
kilo one (art.) sugar

'a kilo of sugar'

Such phrases are [+cop].

2.1.1.4.10. material

The head-noun is placed second and does not take the article; the material-noun stands first and does take the article. It may also be suffixed with the element -t^o'(ə), which, as a verbal root, signifies 'belonging', e.g.

a- k'ermèt'(-t^o'ə) y^onè
(art.) brick belonging house

'a house of brick // brick-house'

As copular complement the suffix -t^o'(ə) is mandatory, e.g.

a- y^onè (ø-)k'ermèt'+t^o'ə-w+p'
the house it of-brick (stat.)

'The house is of brick'

We should, however, note two near synonyms: the first is based on a stative form of the verb à-l-x-ra 'to lead out of // derive', where -l- is a preverb meaning 'from in' and -x- the root 'to take (out)'. The material-noun correlates with a column II affix 'governed' by the verbal preverb, e.g.

arèy a- y^onè a- k'ermèt' y- à- l- xè- w+p'
this (art.) house (art.) brick it it+from derive (stat.)

'This house is built of (derived from) brick'

The alternative is to produce a similar stative form of the verb à-q'a-c'a-ra 'to make'; in this case the material-noun takes the instrumental suffix -la, e.g.

arèy a-y^onè k'ermèt'-la yè-q'a- c'ò- w+p'
with it (prev.) make (stat.)

'This house is made of brick'

Note in passing that the postposition is here attached directly to a consonant-final noun (as is -da in the example presented in 5a above); in other words, it is not prefixed with a column II affix correlating with the noun governed by the postposition -a-k'ermèt' à-la is possible here, though it is not as good as the form quoted. Such direct attachment of the postposition to its noun means that the postposition is virtually functioning

as a case-suffix.

2.1.1.4.10a. negative material

The choice of expressions is: use the postposition -da, once again attached directly to the noun, as in,

k'ərmət'-da y'ənə // a- y'ənə
brick without house (art.)

'the/a house without brick'

However, the preferred alternative is to make the material-noun plus the suffix -t'ə (ə) the basis of a stative verb and to use this in its negative relative form, e.g.

yə- k'ərmət'+t'ə-m a- y'ənə
which of-brick not (art.) house

'the/a house (which is) not of brick'

This latter construction, being itself based on a copular verb-form, gives the straightforward copular sentence

arəy a- y'ənə (ø-)k'ərmət'+t'ə-m
this (art.) house it of-brick not

'This house is not of brick'

The former construction incorporating the postposition -da may be construed with the copular root -a- 'to be'. One should also mention the negative stative form based on the verb à-l-x-ra 'to derive', e.g.

arəy a-y'ənə a- k'ərmət' y- à+ l- xə- m
(art.) brick it it+from derive not

'This house is not of (derived from) brick'

2.1.1.4.11. manner

For such expressions Abkhaz prefers to use a verbal construction incorporating the absolutive (either present or past), e.g.

yə- mč zeg'ə (ø-)à- ta- nè //
his strength all it to-it give (past absol.)
(ø-)à-to d- yə-g'əjè-yt'
(pres.absol.) her he kiss (fin.)

'He kissed her with verve'

də-š'a- nè // də-š'ò d-yə-g'əjè-yt'
he fear (past absol.) fear
(pres.absol.)

'He kissed her with fear (fearingly)'

Such expressions are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.11a. negative manner

The absolutive described immediately above is simply negated, although there is a preference for the negated past absolutive over that of the present, e.g.

yə-mč zeg'ə (ø-)à-m- ta- (ja-) k'o'a(-n) //
not (intensive) (past absol.neg.)
(?) (ø-)à-m-to d-yə-g'əjè-yt'
give
(pres.absol.)

'He kissed her without verve' (lit. 'not giving it all his strength')

These expressions too are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.12. cause

The postposition -la 'with, by means of' is used, e.g.

à- x'ra- k'a rə- la y- àapso- w
(art.) wound (pl.) them by he-who exhausted (non-fin.stat.)
(a- way'ə)
(art.) man

'(the/a man) exhausted by his wounds'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.13. purpose

The same postposition -zə is used as for benefactive phrases, e.g.

wəy s- wəs a- zə s- xə y- a- sə-r- x'e- yt'
that my work it for my head it it I cause help (fin.)
(col.II)

'I used that for my work'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.4.14. function

The predicative case in -s or -nə is used, e.g.

a- labə k'at'-s // k'at'-nə s- xə
the stick club (pred.) (pred.) my head
y- a- sə-r- x'e- yt'
it it I cause help (fin.)

'I used the stick as a club'

The phrase is [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.15. reference

Four choices are available: in the first instance we may use the determiner (cf. 2.1.1.5) -x- preceded by the appropriate column II affix, as in

àž'abž h- a+ x- c'əž'e-yt'
the-news we it+ about talk (fin.)
(col.II)

'We talked about the news'

Secondly, the determiner -x- 'about' may be replaced by the instrumental relational particle -la-, e.g.

àž'abž h-a+la-c'əž'e-yt'

The third alternative is as follows:

àž'abž y- a+ z- k'- nè ha-c'əž'e-yt'
it it+for hold (past absol.) we talk (fin.)

The second word in the preceding sentence is the past absolutive of a-k'-rà 'to hold, seize' containing the benefactive relational particle -zə-. This form is a semi-fossilised postposition meaning 'about' - 'semi-'fossilised because the column II affix preceding the relational particle changes according to the noun with which it correlates. The form's initial column I affix y- is a dummy-marker found generally in adverb-formations (cf. 2.1.7.1.1).

The fourth alternative is the use of the simple (benefactive) postposition -zə 'for', e.g.

sarà sə-zə yə- c'əž'e-yt'

me me for they talk

'They talked about me' (or 'They talked for me// instead of me')

The difference between the last three alternatives and the first is that the first (with the preverb -x-) implies an extremely detailed and complete discussion (such as one would have at a seminar or public meeting devoted to a specific topic), whilst the last three alternatives lack any such nuance.

Reference-phrases are [+ps-cl]. As NP-attribute only the absolutive of a-k'-rà is possible, e.g.

a- dər- ra- k'a avària y-a+z-k'-nè
(art.) know (abstract) (pl.) the-accident about
'news about the accident'

2.1.1.4.16. essive

The predicative case is used, e.g.

a- r+ way'è-s // à-r+way'-nə Berlin
(art.) army+man (pred.) (pred.) B.
sè-q'a-n
I be (past stat.)

'I was in Berlin as a soldier'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [-attr].

2.1.1.4.17. translative

Once again the predicative case fulfils this role, e.g.

way eyhabè-s // eyhab-nè d- à+ l-
that-one leader (pred.) (pred.) him it+from
ah-xə- yt'
we draw (fin.)

'We chose him as leader'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl]

2.1.1.4.18. part-whole

This is conveyed by a simple genitive (possessive) construction, e.g.

a- là a- xè // a-la-xè
the dog its head
'the head of the dog'
à- c'la à- k'c'a
the tree its top
'the top of the tree'

Such phrases are naturally [+cop].

2.1.1.4.19. partitive

2.1.1.4.19.1. partitive numeral

Either of the postpositions -q'ə+n+t' or -ax'+t' may be used, e.g.

à- č'k'ən-c'a r- q'ə+n+t' // r- ax'+t'
the boy (pl.) them from them from
y'è-ja
2 (human)

'two of the boys'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.19.2. non-partitive numeral

If the quantified noun is human, it will take the nominal plural-marker and may either precede or follow the numeral, which will have the appropriate human-marker (cf. 2.1.6.3),

e.g. y'è-ja à- č'k'ən-c'a (or with the order
2 (hum.) (art.) boy (pl.) reversed)
'two boys'

If the quantified noun is non-human, two alternatives are possible: the noun, endowed with both the article a- and the plural-marker, will be followed by the numeral, which will show the appropriate non-human form (i.e. if between 2 and 10 inclusive, it will end in -ba; if over 10, it will have no special suffix - cf. 2.1.6.3), e.g.

a- c'a- k'à y'è-bà
(art.) apple (pl.) 2 (non-hum.)
'two apples'

The alternative is as follows: the noun is used without article or plural-suffix. If the numeral is between 2 and 10 inclusive, the bare stem of the numeral (i.e. devoid of any suffix) will precede the noun, which will have as suffix the numeral -k' 'one'. If the numeral is over 10, the noun will not take the suffix -k', e.g.

y'è-c'a- k'
2 apple 1
'two apples'
ž'è+y+za c'a
11 apple
'eleven apples'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.19.3. partitive quantifier

The word for 'some' pət+k' (non-human), pət+y'è+k' (human) is used in association with either of the postpositions -q'ə+n+t' or -ax'+t' 'from', e.g.

à- č'k'ən-c'a r- q'ə+n+t' // r- ax'+t'
the boy (pl.) them from them from
pət+y'è+k'
some(+hum.)

'some of the boys'

a- c'a- k'à r-q'ə+n+t' // r-ax'+t' pət+k'
the apple (pl.) some (non-hum.)

'some of the apples'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.19.4. non-partitive quantifier

If the noun is human, it will take both the article a- and the plural-marker and will either be preceded or followed by the word pət+y'è+k' 'some', e.g.

pət+y'è+k' a- č'k'ən-c'a (or with reverse
some(+hum.) (art.) boy (pl.) word-order)
'some boys'

If the noun is non-human, the best rendering is for pət+k' to follow the nominal stem (i.e. devoid of both the article a- and any plural-suffix), e.g.

c°'a pət+k'
apple some(non-hum.)
'some apples'

This latter is also the expression employed for non-countable nouns, e.g.

š° pət+k'
cheese some(non-hum.)
'some cheese'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.19.5. partitive negative quantifier

Where English uses the negative pronoun 'none', Abkhaz says 'even one' followed by a negative verb; and so, the expressions below require the presence of such a negated verb if they are to convey the sense of 'none' in English. The Abkhaz for 'even one' will be a+j°-g'ə, if the associated noun is human, a+k'ə-g'ə, if non-human. These words may be optionally compounded as second element with the expression for 'if not one'. Whether compounded or not, these words will follow either of the postpositions -ax'+t° or -q'ə+n+t° 'from', e.g.

à- č'k°'ən-c°a r- ax'+t° // r- q'ə+n+t°
the boy (pl.) them from them from

(a+j°- m- za+r-)a+j°- g'ə
one(hum.) not if one(hum.) even
'none of the boys'

a- c°'a- k°à r-ax'+t° // r-q'ə+n+t°
the apple (pl.)

(a+k'ə- m- za+r-)a+k'ə- g'ə
one(non-hum.) not if one(non-hum.) even
'none of the apples'

Such phrases are [-cop].

2.1.1.4.19.6. non-partitive negative quantifier

A choice of constructions is available: the appropriate form for 'even one' (see immediately above) may follow the plural of the noun concerned, e.g.

à- č'k°'ən-c°a (a+j°-m-za+r-)a+j°-g'ə
(art.) boy (pl.) even-one
'no boys'

a- c°'a- k°à (a+k'ə-m-za+r-)a+k'ə-g'ə
(art.) apple (pl.) even-one
'no apples'

An alternative idiom associates the appropriate form for 'even one' with either the simple nominal stem or this stem plus the predicative case in -s together with the root of the verb 'to say' -h°a-, e.g.

č'k°'ən(-s) h°a (a+j°-m-za+r-)a+j°-g'ə
boy (pred.) even-one
'no boys'

c°'a (-s) h°a (a+k'ə-m-za+r-)a+k'ə-g'ə
apple (pred.) even-one
'no apples'

This latter expression is also used for non-countable nouns, e.g.

š° (-s) h°a (a+k'ə-m-za+r-)a+k'ə-g'ə
cheese (pred.) even-one
'no cheese'

However, in the case of non-countable nouns, one may attach the numeral -k', 'one' together with the suffix -g'ə 'even' directly to the simple nominal base, e.g.

š°-k'-g'ə
'no cheese'

Such phrases are [-cop].

2.1.1.4.20. price

This is expressed simply by placing the root of the verb 'to say' -h°a- after the quantified noun representing the price concerned, e.g.

y°-funt -k' h°a y- aa- s-x°-yt'
2 pound 1 it (prev.) I buy (fin.)

'I bought it for two pounds'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.21. value

The noun a-psà 'price' is made the base of a stative verb. This is then relativised. The verbal base is preceded by a column II affix in agreement with the noun that represents the value in question; this column II 3rd. pers. affix may be either singular or plural, e.g.

x°-funt- k' y- a+ psò- w //
5 pound 1 that-which its+price (stat.non-fin.)
(sc. table)

y- r+ psò- w àyš°a
that-which their+price (stat.non-fin.) table
'a table worth five pounds' (lit. 'a table which is five pounds' price')

The sentence 'It is worth £5' will simply include the finite form of the stative verb-form seen in the last example, e.g.

x°-funt-k' y-a+psò-w+p' // y- r+psò-w+p'
(stat.fin.)

2.1.1.4.22. distance

No special indicator is needed, e.g.

w- s-ya+ šta- n k'ilomèt'ra-k'
that-one I his+track (stat.past) kilometer 1
'I followed him (lit. 'was on his -y- track -šta-')
for a kilometer'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.23. extent

A relative expression involving either the verb à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be' or à-na-ja-ra 'to extend' is used with no additional marker on the extent-noun, e.g.

pš-mèt'ra-k' y- q'o-w // y- na-
4 meter one which be (non-fin.) which (prev.)

jò a- mašina
extend+(dyn.) (art.) car
'the/a car 4 meters long'

or, with the noun specifying the exact dimension concerned,
z- òwra pš-mèt'ra-k' y- q'o-w // y- na-jò a-mašina
whose length it it
'the/a car whose length is//extends 4 meters'

The sentence 'The car is 4 meters long' will simply be expressed by the finite form of the above-relatives, e.g.

a-mašina ([a-làwra) pš-mèt'ra-k' à-q'o-w+p' //
 its length it (stat.)
 yə-na-jò-yt'
 it (fin.)

2.1.1.4.24. concessive

Abkhaz here employs an idiom which may be translated into English as 'not having made X a pain' = 'despite X'. In other words, the predicative case in -s of a-x'aa 'pain' is used in conjunction with the negative of the past absolute of à-q'a-c'a-ra 'to make', e.g.

a- k'ā x'aa-s yə-q'a- m- c'à- k'o'a(-n)
 the rain pain (pred.) it (prev.) not make (absol.neg.)
 d- aa- yt'
 he come (fin.)

'He came despite the rain'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.25. inclusion

As a direct equivalent to the English 'including' Abkhaz uses the past absolute of the verb a-k'-rà 'to hold' incorporating also two preverbs - the orientational preverb -na-, which, in conjunction with the second preverb -la- 'among, in', seems to provide an exact equivalent for English 'therein',

e.g. Àxra-g'ə d- na- rə+ la-k'- nə zeg'ə
 A. too him(prev.) them+in hold (absol.) all
 'everyone including Axra'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.27. addition

The relational particle of accompaniment -c- 'with', together with its associated column II affix, is made the base of a stative verb 'to be with'. This is then used in its absolutive form, and stative verbs, unlike dynamics, have only the one absolutive in -nə, e.g.

Àxra x-y'ə- k' a- xàc'a (ø-) yə+ c- nə
 A. 3 (hum.) 1 (art.) men they him+with (absol.)
 'three men in addition to Axra' (lit. 'three men being with Axra')

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.28. vocative

The vocative particle is o and is not obligatory. The particle precedes its noun as in the example: o Àmra 'O Amra!'.
 2.1.1.4.29. citation-form

The citation-form of all nouns (including masdars) and adjectives requires the presence of the definite-generic article a-. If the root itself begins with the vowel a (such as an 'mother', ab 'father'), then there can be no overt indication of the presence of the article.

2.1.1.4.30. label-form

No special indicator is employed.

2.1.1.5. How are the following local semantic functions expressed?

By way of a preliminary remark we should note that, in addition to a large number of postpositions, Abkhaz also has at its disposal for the representation of locative expressions a wide variety of directional preverbs, which latter are a characteristic feature of all N.W. Caucasian languages. An admirably detailed study of Abkhaz preverbs was published in 1952 by Ketevan Lomtadidze. Dumézil (1967.21) makes a useful distinction between preverbs proper - these being affixes which are only used within the verbal complex, often but not always with locative functions - and 'determiners', which are nouns (sometimes adjectives) employed as preverbs; all such denominative preverbs will be noted below. The slot for preverbs within the verbal complex is between the pronominal affixes of columns II and III. Preverbs are usually used without need of any extra-verbal support from the postpositions and sometimes 'govern' an indirect object-, column II, affix, sometimes not. A number of preverbs manifest two forms - one ending in -a, the other in zero or schwa; the a-grade is employed in either an essive or allative (illative) sense, whilst the reduced//zero-grade is exclusively endowed with ablative (relative) functions. As a general rule, all preverbs in their essive role may appear as the root of a stative verb (i.e. as the complement of the copula). There are four verbal roots which must be used in company with a preverb, and which provide the means of expressing the following four notions, which are frequently associated with locative expressions:

- (i) -la- = 'motion into'
- (ii) -c'a- = 'convey into'
- (iii) -c'(ə)- = 'motion from // out of'
- (iv) -x(ə)- = 'convey out of // from'

It will be obvious from what was said above that the first two of these roots require the a-grade in their preverbs, whilst the last two roots demand the reduced//zero-grade (for details see Lomtadidze, 1952). As we shall see, some preverbs are of extremely limited occurrence.

2.1.1.5.1. general

- (a) essive 'at'

The postpositions are a-q'ə, which as a noun means 'mouth', a-q'ə+n // a-q'+nə. These may be used with the copula, e.g.

a- vok'zāl a- q'ə(etc.) dè-q'o-w+p'
 the station it at he be (stat.)
 'He is at the station'

N.B. that, if a-q'ə is made the root of a stative verb, the meaning is drastically altered to give 'He is engaged on building the station' -

a-vok'zāl d- a+ q'ə-w+p'
 he it+in (stat.)

Such phrases cannot stand directly as NP-attributes, requiring the mediation of a relativised copula. We shall continue to signal this fact by writing [+rel].

Note that with some nouns (such as a-d'ə 'field', a-k'əta 'village', a-c'əx'a 'end') the adverbial suffix -n(ə) is used

alone in the general sense of 'at', e.g.

a- kəta- n
the village in
'in the village'

However, a-d°-nə has the restricted meaning of 'outside', although it is also used to mean 'in the field'.

(b) allative 'to'

The postpositions are:

-q'a 'towards' (for 'house', towns, countries, villages)

ax' 'towards' (for other nouns)

-nja//a-q'ə+nja 'upto'

(à-s+q'a is a Bzyp form, equivalent to ax')

Examples for these postpositions are:

a- y°nə- q'a // àq°a- q'a s-co- yt'
(art.) house to Sukhumi to I go (fin.)

'I am going home//to Sukhumi + (dyn.)

à- bna- [a-a]x' š°- aa+ là
the wood it to you come+(suff.)

'Come on to the wood!'

ha- y°nə- nja // a- mşən a- q'ə+nja š°-aa+là
our house upto the sea it upto

'Come upto our house//upto the sea!'

Phrases incorporating these postpositions are both [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

(c) ablative 'from'

The choice of postpositions is

-n+t°'(-əy), a-q'ə+n+t°'(-əy), à-x'ə+n+t°'(-əy),
a-q'ə+n+t°'(-əy)

Examples for these postpositions are:

a- y°nə- n+t°'(-əy)//a- c'a+ra- q'ə+n+t°'(-əy)//
(art.) house from (art.) learning from

a-q'ə+k°'aba+ra-x'ə+n+t°'(-əy)//à+za+ra-q'ə+n+t°'(-əy) d-
bathing from meeting from he

aa- yt'
come (fin.)

'He came from home//from his lessons//from bathing//
from the meeting'

Phrases incorporating them are [+ps-cl] and [+attr].

As for preverbs, we may note -m- in the verb à-m-x-ra 'to take away from'. There is also the preverb -c'- 'from under' used in conjunction with the determiner -mp'ə- (cognate with a-nap'ə 'hand') in a-mp'ə+c'-š°a-ra 'to fall from the hand'. Mention should also be made of the relational particle -c°(ə)- 'to the detriment of', which in some instances means little more than 'from', as in a-c°-ca-rà 'to escape/sneak away from'.

(d) motion past 'past'

This is only possible if one of the preverbs -v- or -ay°- (where -v- is the zero-grade of the preverb -va- 'by the side of'; see 2.1.1.5.11 below) is used in association with the root -s-, e.g.

a- vok'zàl d- à+ v//[a]y°-s- we- yt'
the station he it (prev.) pass (dyn.) (fin.)

'He passes/goes by the station'

If we desire simply to say 'He passed by' (i.e. without referring to the object passed), instead of the preverbs given in

the last example we shall have either the preverb -ya- or the determiner -my°a- (≡ à-my°a 'road'), e.g.

də-ya-sə-yt'// də-my°a-sə-yt'

2.1.1.5.2. proximate

(a) essive 'near (to)'

The postposition is (a-z)àayg°a(ra); the analysis of the form without the fossilised, relative affix of column II (-z-) seems to be:

*a- aa- ay- g°a- ra
(art.) (preverb) (reciprocal (?)) heart (abstract)

An example of this postposition is:

ha- y°nə (a-z)àayg°a(ra) dē-n- xò- yt'
our house near he (prev.) live (fin.)
'He lives near our house' + (dyn.)

Note the verb a-zàayg°a-xa-ra 'to approach', where -zàayg°a- acts as the verbal preverb, e.g.

d- a+ zàayg°a-xe- yt'
he it+ near become (fin.)
(col.II)

'He approached it'

The postposition is both [+cop] and [+rel].

(b) allative 'near'

The choice of postpositions is:

àayg°a-nja, a-zàayg°ara-nja, a-zaayg°ara-q'ə+nja,
a-zaayg°ara-q'ə+nja

An example for these postpositions is:

à- bna (a-z)àayg°a(ra)-nja (etc.) yə- nè+y-t'
the wood to-near they go (fin.)

'They went to near the wood'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

(c) ablative 'from near'

The choice of postpositions is:

àayg°an+t°'(-əy), a-zàayg°ara-n+t°'(-əy),
a-zàayg°ara-q'ə+n+t°'(-əy), a-zàayg°ara-q'ə+n+t°'(-əy)

An example for these postpositions is:

a- bāhča (a-z)àayg°ara-q'ə+n+t°'(-əy) (etc.)
the garden from-near

h- d°ə+k°- le-yt'

we (compound prev.) go (fin.)

'We set off from near the garden'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

(d) motion past 'near'

This is expressed by using one of the essive postpositions in conjunction with the verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra 'to pass', e.g.

a- vok'zàl [a-]àayg°a d- à+ v//[a]y°-sə- yt'
the station it near he it+(prev.) pass (fin.)

'He passed (near) the station'

2.1.1.5.3. interior

(a) essive 'in(side)'

The postposition is a-y°nə+c'q'a (cf. a-y°nə 'house'), for which an example would be

a- x^oəč'-k^oà (a- y^onə) a- y^onə+c'q'a yə- x^omàr-we-
the child (pl.) the house it inside they play (dyn.)
yt'
(fin.)

'The children are playing inside (the house)'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

A variety of preverbs are used with the meaning 'in':

(i) -la- (for any 'mass'), e.g.

a- lac'à (ø-)sə+lo-w+p'
the needle it me+in (stat.)

'I've had the injection' (lit. 'The needle is in me')

(ii) -ta- (for any enclosed or delimited area), e.g.

à- sta s-to-w+p'
the yard I in (stat.)

'I'm in the yard'

(iii) -q'ə//a- (determiner from a-q'ə 'mouth')

The reduced grade is used as the root of a stative verb in association with masdars to indicate progressive aspect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.5), e.g.

à- px'a-ra d- a+ q'ə-w+p'
(art.) read (masd.) he it+in (stat.)

'He is reading' (lit. 'He is in reading')

The a-grade of this determiner seems rather to mean 'on' (cf. 2.1.1.5.8a), although one may mention at least one idiom where the meaning is 'in', e.g.

až'a h'ə à- m- ba- t' (ø-)l+ q'o-
word saying (art.)not see (gerundive) it her mouth-in
w+p'
(stat.)

'She is a fine/eloquent speaker'

(iv) -yra- (determiner from a-yrà 'stomach')

This is used for reference to the body (particularly in the area of the stomach), e.g.

eylâgežwa (ø-) yə+ yrà- n Temər a- ša-
mixed-up it him+inside (stat.past) T. (art.) blood
w- rà
make (masd.)

'Temər had churned up within him (feelings of) revenge'
(after Lomtadidze, 1952.86)

a- x^oəč'ə d- lə+ yrò- w+p'
he/she her+ inside (stat.)

'The foetus is in her'

(v) -k'/g- (+ q'a-) (for corners), e.g.

a- k^o'ak' də-k' //g+q'a-t^o'ò-w+p'
the corner he in sit (stat.)

'He is sitting in the corner'

(vi) -g^oə+la- (≡ a-g^oə 'heart' + preverb -la- 'in'), e.g.

a- bambà a- a'gbàn y- a+ g^oə+lo-w+p'
the cotton-wool the mattress it it+in (stat.)
'The cotton-wool is inside the mattress'

cf. -g^oə+d-, where -d- is explained under 11a below, as in the verb a-g^oə+d-k'ə-la-ra 'to embrace, kiss'.

(vii) -x^o+la- (≡ à-x^oda 'neck' + preverb -la- 'in'), e.g.

yə- nac^oà (ø-)yə+ x^o+lo-w+p'
his finger it him+in (stat.)

'He's got his finger in his mouth'

(viii) -y^ona- (determiner from a-y^onə 'house') (used of houses),

e.g. r- an a- y^onə də- y^onə- n
their mother the house she house (stat.past)
(= in)

'Their mother was in the house' (from Lomtadidze, 1952.86)

(ix) -k'ə+la- (used for narrow openings), e.g.

a- h^oənap a- k'əlhara yə-k'ə+lo-w+p'
the mouse its hole it in (stat.)

'The mouse is in its hole'

(b) allative 'into'

The postposition remains a-y^onə+c'q'a, for which an example would be

a- vok'zàl a- y^onə+c'q'a də-y^onə- le-yt'
the station it to-inside he (prev.) go (fin.)
(= in)

'He went inside the station'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

All the preverbs presented above are used with allative functions in association with appropriate verbal roots.

(c) relative 'out of'

The postpositions are:
-n+t^o'(-əy), a-y^onə+c'q'a-n+t^o'(-əy)

An example for these postpositions is:

a- k^o'alàpə-n+t^o'(-əy) (etc.) yə-tə- z-ge- yt'
the box from-inside it (prev.) I take (fin.)
(= from-in)

'I took it out of the box'

Phrases incorporating the first alternative, -n+t^o'(-əy), are [+cop] and [+attr], whereas those incorporating the latter are [+ps-cl] and [+attr].

The most common way of expressing the idea 'out of' is to use the zero-grade of one of the preverbs set out above. For the notion 'out (of doors)' note the association -d^oə+l- (≡ a-d^oə 'field' + zero-grade of -la- 'in'), e.g.

a- y^onə də-d^oə+l-c'ə- yt'
the house he out go/come (fin.)

'He went/came out of the house'

Compare with this the following pair of sentences:

a- y^onə à- sta- x' də-d^oə+l-c'ə-yt'
the house the yard into

'He went/came out of the house into the yard'

a- y^onə- n+t^o'(-əy) à- sta də-tà- l- t'
the house out-of the yard he into go/come out (fin.)

'He went/came out of the house into the yard'

(d) motion past 'through'

If the object passed through is a house, we shall have the preverb -y^onə- associated with the verbal root -s-, e.g.

a- y^onə də-y^onə- sə- yt'
the house he (prev.) pass (fin.)
'He passed through the house'

Otherwise the preverb used will be -l-, zero-grade of -la-,

e.g. a- bnà // à- bna- g'òta d- à+ l- sè- yt'
the wood the wood centre he it+(prev.) pass (fin.)
'He passed through the wood // centre of the wood'

2.1.1.5.4. exterior

(a) essive 'outside'

The postposition is à-ntèc', for which an example would be
a- x'èčè-k'òà à- gta à- ntèc' yè- x'màr-we- yt'
the child (pl.) the yard it outside they play (dyn.)(fin.)
'The children are playing outside the yard'

Phrases built on it are [+cop] and [+rel].

(b) allative 'up to'

The postposition is à-ntèc'è-nja, for which an example would be
à- gta à- ntèc'è-nja b- ne+y
the yard it upto(-outside) you go

'Go upto(-outside) the yard!'

Phrases built on it are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

(c) ablative 'away from'

The postposition is à-ntèc'è-n+t'ò'(-èy), for which an example would be

à- gta à- ntèc'è-n+t'ò'(-èy) yè- bžè (ø-)aa- y-
the yard it from(-outside) his voice it (prev.) he
r- gè- yt'
cause hear (fin.)

'He shouted from outside the yard'

Phrases incorporating it are [+cop] and [+attr].

(d) motion past 'past'

The only possible means of saying this is to use the verb
à-v//[a]y°-s-ra 'to pass'.

2.1.1.5.5. anterior

(a) essive 'in front of'

The choice of postpositions is:

àpx'a (as a noun this means 'front'), a-q'+àpx'a, (rare are
a-p+nè and a-q+p+nè)

Examples of these postpositions are:

a- y°n- a- q'+àpx'a // a-y°n-[a-]àpx'a dè-
the house it in-front-of it in-front-of he
t'ò'-w+p'
sit (stat.)

'He is sitting in front of the house'

Aaljga a- p+nè // a- q+p+nè dè-n- xò- yt'
A. it in-front-of it he (prev.) live (fin.)
(dyn.)

'He lives in front of (i.e. on the bank of) the river
Aaljga'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

The relevant preverbs are: -pè(+ra)- and -pè+n-, e.g.

dè-s+ pè+ra- gèlo- w+p' // dè-s+pè+n- gèlo-w+p'
he me+in-front stand (stat.) in-front

'He's standing in front of me'

A special determiner is used for being close in front of an
old-fashioned open fireplace, namely -qh'a (≡ a-qh'a 'front of
the fireplace'), as in a-qh'à-la-ra 'to approach the fireplace'.

(b) allative 'in front of'

The choice of postpositions is:

àpx'a, àpx'a-nja, a-q'+àpx'a-nja, àpx'a-q'a, àpx'a-q'è-nja,
a-q'+àpx'a-q'a, a-q'+àpx'a-q'è-nja

An example for these postpositions would be:

a- y°n- [a-]àpx'a (etc.) š°- ne+y
the house it in-front-of you go
'Go (upto) in front of the house!'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

An example of the preverb -pè- would be (Dumézil, 1975.113):

sè-w+ pè- lo- yt'
I you+before go (fin.)
(dyn.)

'I'm going to meet you'

(c) ablative 'from in front of'

The choice of postpositions is:

àpx'a-n+t'ò'(-èy), a-q'+àpx'a-n+t'ò'(-èy),
àpx'a-q'è+n+t'ò'(-èy), a-q'è+n+t'ò'(-èy)

An example for these postpositions would be:

à- gta [a-]àpx'a-n+t'ò'(-èy) (etc.) š°- aa+y
the yard it from-in-front-of you come
'Come away from in front of the yard!'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

An example of the zero-grade of the preverb -pè+ra- would be:

a- š°q'ò'è sarà yè-s+ pè+r- ga
the book me it me+from-before take

'Take the book away from in front of me!'

Note the zero-grade of the determiner in a-qh'è-c'-ra 'to go
away from the fireplace'.

(d) motion past 'in front of'

This is only possible by using one of the essive postposi-
tions in conjunction with one of the verbs à-v//[a]y°-s-ra or
à-ya-s-ra; for passing a fireplace we shall have a-qh'è-s-ra.
(Before we pass on to the next section we may perhaps pause to
mention the preverb -px'a-, which bears an obvious formal res-
emblance to the postposition àpx'a, which has just been exam-
ined. The preverb in question is found with the root -k'- 'to
hold' to produce a verb meaning 'to hide', e.g.

à- x°aax°et-c°a à- mat°a (ø-) px'à- r- k'è- yt'
the merchant (pl.) the goods them (prev.) they hold (fin.)
'The merchants hid the goods'

2.1.1.5.6. posterior

(a) essive 'behind'

The postposition is à-šta+x' (cf. à-šta 'track, footprint'),

e.g. a- y°n- à- šta+x' dè-q'ò-w+p'
the house it behind he be (stat.)
'He is behind the house'

Phrases incorporating it are [+cop] and [+rel].

The corresponding determiner is -šta-, e.g.

dè-sè+što- w+p'
he my+track (stat.)

'He's looking for me // following me // on my track'

(b) allative 'behind'

The two postpositions are:

à-šta+x' and à-šta+x'è-nja

An example for these two postpositions would be:

a-y°n-à-šta+x' (ə-nja) bə- cà

you go

'Go to//upto behind the house!'

Phrases incorporating them are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

Note the preverb -x'a- in such verbs as a-x'à-ps-ra 'to look back/behind', and a-x'à-h°-ra 'to turn round/back'.

(c) ablative 'from behind'

The two postpositions are:

à-šta+x'ə-n+t°' (-əy) and à-šta+x'q'a-n+t°' (-əy)

An example for these postpositions would be:

a-y°n-à-šta+x'ə-n+t°' (-əy) (etc.) d- aa- c°èr-
he (prev.) (prev.)

c°è- yt'

move-out (fin.)

'He suddenly appeared from behind the house'

Phrases built on them are [+cop] and [+attr].

The determiner is, as expected, the zero-grade of the essive-allative -šta-, e.g.

yə-sè+št- ga
it me+from-behind take

'Take it away from behind me!'

A few verbs have the preverb -x' (ə)-, but, if this is the zero-grade of -x'a- given above, all trace of its primary sense of 'from behind' has become lost, e.g.

à- x°era a- iòd (ø-)a+ x'ə- y- šə- yt'
the wound (art.) iodine it it+over he smear (fin.)

'He smeared iodine over his wound'

(d) motion past 'behind'

This is signalled by associating either à-šta+x' or à-šta+x' à-la with the verb à-v//[aly°-s-ra 'to pass', e.g.

yə- šta+x' (à-la) də-yə+ v- sə- yt' // də-y+ ày°-
him behind he him+by pass (fin.) he him+by
sə- yt'
pass (fin.)

'He passed by behind him'

2.1.1.5.7. superior

(a) essive 'above/over'

The postposition is a-xè+x' (cf. a-xè 'head'), for which an example would be:

a- y°nè a- xè+x' à- ž°y°an è- q'o-w+p'
the house it above the sky it be (stat.)

'The sky is above the house'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

There is also the determiner -xa- (← a-xè ← *a-xa 'head'), as the next example shows:

sarà a- harg' (ø-)s+ xa- gèlo- w+p'
me the umbrella it me+above stand (stat.)

'The umbrella stands above me'

(b) allative 'above'

The postposition is a-xè+x' (ə-nja), e.g.

a-y°nè a- xè+x' (ə-nja) yə-prè-yt'
it above upto it fly (fin.)

'It flew to//upto above the house'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

The determiner -xa- is also used with appropriate verbal roots.

(c) ablative 'from above'

The postposition is a-xè+x'ə-n+t°' (-əy), e.g.

a-y°n-a- xè+x'ə-n+t°' (-əy) yə-prè-yt'
it from-above

'It flew from above the house'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

An example of the zero-grade of the determiner is:

a- harg' (ø-)sə+x- gà
the umbrella it me+from-above take

'Take the umbrella away from above me!'

(d) motion past 'over'

This is expressed by the zero-grade of the determiner -xa- plus the appropriate verbal root, e.g.

a- c'è+s (ø-)s+ xè- pr+ àa- yt'
the bird it me+over fly+(suffix) (fin.)

'The bird flies over me'

a- š°q°è a- q°ard° y- at+ x- sè-r- š°tè- yt'
the book the chair it it+over I cause (root) (fin.)

'I threw the book over the chair' = (throw)

2.1.1.5.8. superior-contact

(a) essive 'on'

The postposition is à-k°+c°a, e.g.

à- c'la à- k°+c°a dè-q'o-w+p'
the tree it on he be (stat.)

'He is on top of the tree'

Phrases incorporating it are [+cop] and [+rel].

However, the most usual way of expressing this local relation is to employ a preverb:

(i) -k°(ə)- as in

àyš°a yè-k°ə-w+p'
the-table it on (stat.)

'It is on the table'

(ii) -n- (of flat, horizontal surfaces) as in

a- saan y- at+ nè-w+p'
the plate it it+on (stat.)

'It is on the plate'

(iii) -xa- (for the head) as in

a- xèlpa (ø-)s+ xo-w+p'
the hat it me+on (stat.)

'I'm wearing my hat'

(iv) -qè+ž°- (for horses - cf. a-qè 'horse') as in

a- qè dè-qè+ž°ə- w+p'
the horse he (horse)on (stat.)

'He's on the horse'

(v) -d°+k°- (lit. = 'field-on'). The original sense has been lost as is clear from:

wès- da= h°ès-da dè-d°è+ k°ə-w+p'
business without (adapted he field+on (stat.)
reduplication)

'He aimlessly fritters away his time'

Two further idioms in which this compound preverb occurs are: firstly, if a mother notices that her child has evidently been going around for some while without its shoes (regardless of

whether the child is out of doors or not), she may say
 èymaa-da də- d°ə+k°ə-w+p'
 shoe without (s)he (stat.)

'He/She doesn't have his/her shoes on!'

Secondly, if a mother, for instance, wants one of her children to go and do something for her but the child shows no inclination to break off what he is already doing, then a mother may say by way of an exasperated reproach

nas š°ə-d°ə+k°ə-z

then you (imperative)

'O.K. - don't trouble yourself!'

(b) allative 'on(to)'

The postposition is à-k°+c°a-nja, e.g.

à-c'la à-k°+c°a-nja d- ne-y-t'

he go (fin.)

'He went upto the top of the tree'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

Once again, this notion would most conveniently be expressed by one of the above-preverbs, of which we give here just a single example:

a- qə də-qə+ ž°- lo- yt'
 the horse he (horse)onto go (fin.)

+(dyn.)

'He is mounting the horse'

(Note again the loss of the original meaning of the compound-preverb in the verb:

də-d°ə+k°ə-r- c'ə- yt'
 him(prev.) they send (fin.)

'They sent him')

(c) ablative 'off'

The postposition is à-k°+c°a-n+t'(-əy), e.g.

à-c'la à-k°+c°a-n+t'(-əy) də-lb+ àa- yt'
 he come-down+(suff.) (fin.)

'He came down from on top of the tree'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

As expected, the preverbs are most commonly used here, although -xa- is the only one that has the a-grade : reduced // zero-grade opposition, e.g.

a- xəlpə (ø-)yə+ xə- x
 the hat it him+from-on take

'Take the hat off his head!'

(d) motion past 'over'

If the postposition à-k°+c°a is used, then it must be accompanied by a preverb in the verbal complex, e.g.

a- y°n- à- k°+c°a dè-k°-sə- yt'
 the house it on-top-of he on pass (fin.)

'He went (climbed) over the house'

cf. a- y°n- a- xəb dè-k°-sə-yt'
 the house its roof

'He went over the roof of the house' (i.e. where there is no postposition present)

Other examples would be:

a- mc' a- sàan y- a+ nə- nəq°'a-lo- yt'
 the fly the plate it it+over walk (suffix) (fin.)

+(dyn.)

'The fly is walking over the plate'

BUT a- mc' a- qə à- bəya yə-k°-nəq°'o-yt'
 the fly the horse its back it on walk (fin.)
 +(dyn.)

'The fly is walking over the horse's back'

and a- c'la wə- xə yə-k°-nəq°'o- yt'
 the louse your head it on walk (fin.)
 +(dyn.)

'The louse is walking over your head'

where we see that -k°- is used instead of qə+ž°- and -x- respectively in the last two examples.

2.1.1.5.8a. surface

(a) essive 'on'

Note the four preverbs:

(i) -ša- (for the feet), e.g.

àymaa (ø-) sə+šo-w+p'

shoe(s) them me+on (stat.)

'I'm wearing shoes'

(ii) -š°(ə)- (for clothes on the body), e.g.

yə-s+ š°ə-w+p'

it me+on (stat.)

'I am wearing it'

(iii) -c'a- (cf. 2.1.1.5.3iii) (for objects on the face, this being a determiner from a-q'ə 'mouth', and for fruit on the tree), e.g.

a- pac'a (ø-)yə+ c'a- w+p'

(art.) moustache it his+face-on (stat.)

'He has a moustache'

(iv) -cra- (of fire), e.g.

a- y°nə a- mc (ø-)a+ crò-w+p'

the house the fire it it+on

'The house is on fire' (lit. 'The fire is on the house')

(b) allative 'on(to)'

The same four preverbs as above are used with appropriate roots.

(c) ablative 'off'

The same preverbs, all in their reduced//zero-grade, are used with appropriate verbal roots, e.g.

àymaa (ø-)wə+ š- x

shoe(s) it you+from-on take

'Take off your shoes!'

(d) motion past 'over, across'

Either the familiar verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra or two additional preverbs may be used:

(i) -r- (used for crossing water or bridges), e.g.

a- x°əž'ə a- jə // à- ča dè- rə- z-ge- yt'
 the child the water the bridge him over I carry (fin.)

'I carried the child over//across the water//bridge'

(ii) -ya- (used for flat objects), e.g.

à- my°a dè-ya- sə- yt'

the road he (prev.) cross (fin.)

'He crossed the road'

2.1.1.5.9. inferior

(a) essive 'below, under'

The postposition is à-c'a+q'a, e.g.

-- w- èymaa-k'a a- k'arwàt à- c'a+q'a yè- q'o-w+p'
your shoe (pl.) the bed it under they be (stat.)
'Your shoes are under the bed'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

The relevant preverb is -c'a-, e.g.

a- š'oq'è a- st'òl yè-c'o- w+p'
the book the table it under (stat.)

'The book is under the table'

N.B. that, if the object is tall (such as a tree or house) so that one may be under and alongside it simultaneously, the preverb will be -mc'a-, e.g.

à- c'la d- à+ mc'a- t'o-o-w+p'
the tree he it+under sit (stat.)

'He is sitting under the tree'

(b) allative 'below, under'

The postposition is à-c'a+q'a-nja, e.g.

a- x'əč'è a- k'arwàt à- c'a+q'a-nja dè-ħ'azè-yt'
the child the bed it to-under he crawl (fin.)

'The child crawled under the bed'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

The sole preverb is again -c'a-.

(c) ablative 'from under'

The postposition is à-c'a+q'a-n+t'o'(-əy), e.g.

a- x'əč'è a- k'arwàt à- c'a+q'a-n+t'o'(-əy) dè-c'ə-
the child the bed it from-under he (prev.)

c'ə- yt'
come-out (fin.)

'The child suddenly appeared from under the bed'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

The expected preverb is -c'(ə)-.

(d) motion past 'under'

This is expressed by the preverb -c'- plus the root -s-, e.g.

a- x'əč'è àyš'a dè-c'- sè- yt'
the baby the-table he under pass (fin.)

'The baby passed under the table'

2.1.1.5.10. inferior-contact

As 2.1.1.5.9 above.

2.1.1.5.11. lateral

(a) essive 'beside'

The two postpositions are à-vara (as a noun = 'side, flank') and à-vara-q'ə, e.g.

sè-vara(-q'ə) dè-t'o'ò-w+p'
me beside he sit (stat.)

'He is sitting beside me'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

There are two preverbs: -va- and -d-, which latter is also used for objects immediately in front of one such that they are actually in contact with one (cf. below under (12)), e.g.

dè-sè+va- t'o'o-w+p' // dè-sè+d- t'o'ā-lo-
he me+beside sit (stat.) beside (suffix)

w+p'
(stat.)

'He is sitting beside me'

(b) allative 'beside'

The choice of postpositions is:

à-vara-x' à-vara-nja, à-vara-q'ə-nja, à-vara-q'ə-nja,
à-vara-x'ə-nja

An example for these postpositions would be:

sè-vara-x' (etc.) d- aa+sk'è-yt'
me to-beside he move (fin.)

'He moved toward (beside) me'

Phrases incorporating them are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

The preverbs are again -va- and -d-.

(c) ablative 'from beside'

The choice of postpositions is:

à-vara-n+t'o'(-əy), à-vara-x'-t'o, à-vara-x'ə-n+t'o'(-əy)

An example for these postpositions would be:

a- y'nè à- vara-n+t'o'(-əy) (etc.) yè-z-bè- yt'
the house it from-beside it I see (fin.)

'I saw it from beside the house'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

Of the above-preverbs -va- naturally shows its zero-grade,

e.g. yè-sè+v-

x
it me+from-beside take

'Take it from my side!'

(yè-sè+d-x also has this meaning, but it also means 'Take it (sc. anything that is touching me) away from me!').

(d) motion past 'past'

The postposition à-vara is used in conjunction with the verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra.

2.1.1.5.12. lateral-contact

(a) essive 'on (side of)'

(i) -d(ə)- is used for objects leaning against a vertical plane, e.g.

s- nap'è a- tjàmc y- a+ dè- w+p'
my hand the wall it it+on (stat.)

'My hand/arm is (resting) on/against the wall'

(ii) -k'ə+d(ə)- combines the previous preverb -d(ə)- and the element -k'ə-; it is used for objects hanging on a wall when the hook or string by which they are suspended is hidden from view. Use of the postpositions a-q'è//a-q'+nè is optional, e.g.

a- sàrk'a a- tjàmc (a- q'è//a- q'+nè) yè-k'ə+dè-w+p'
the mirror the wall it at it at it on (stat.)

'The mirror is on the wall'

Note that with this preverb the mirror need not in fact be hanging on the wall at all, it could be glued there. Contrast this and the following preverb.

(iii) -k'+na- is used for suspending objects in general. When the object is suspended against a vertical plane, this preverb will generally be used if the means by which the object is suspended are not hidden. The vertical plane on which the object is suspended is shown by one of the postpositions a-q'è//a-q'+nè, e.g.

a- c'o'x'a a- tjàmc a- q'è//a- q'+nè yè-k'+nà-ħa- w+p'
the horn the wall it at it at it on hang (stat.)

'The (drinking-)horn is hanging on the wall'

(iv) $-(k'ə+)d-k'+na(-ha+la-)$; such a compounding of preverbs may be used (together with the root + suffix $-ha+la-$) for any object that is suspended against a vertical plane, regardless of whether or not the means of suspension are apparent. The postpositions $a-q'ə//a-q'nə$ are optional if the element $-k'ə-$ appears, but if this element is absent, then these postpositions will not be used, e.g.

à- k''anja a- tjàmc (a- q'ə//a- q'+nə) yə-k'ə+d-k'+nà-
the doll the wall it at it at it on
ha+lo- w+p'
hang+(suff.) (stat.)

or à-k''anja a-tjàmc y- à+ d-k'+na-ha+lo-w+p'
it it+on

'The doll is hanging on the wall'

(v) $-q''n(a)-$ is used for objects clinging to a vertical plane (such as vines climbing on a tree), and for anything vertically suspended from a person's belt, e.g.

a- jax'ə à- c'la y- a+ q''nə- w+p'
the vine the tree it it+on/round (stat.)

'The vine is on/round the tree'

àh'a (ø-)yə+ q''nə-w+p'
the-sword it him+on (stat.)

'He is wearing his sword'

(b) allative 'on(to)'

The above-preverbs are used with appropriate verbal roots, e.g.

a- sàrk''a a- tjàmc (a- q'ə /a- q'+nə) yə-k'ə+d-k'+nà-
the mirror the wall it at it at it onto
s-ha+ lo- yt'
I hang (suffix) (fin.)
+(dyn.)

or a-sàrk''a a-tjàmc y-a+ d- k'+nà-s-ha+lo-yt'
it+onto

'I hang the mirror on the wall'

However, if the verbal root is $-c'a-$, then the preverb $-k'ə+də-$ reappears, e.g.

a-sàrk''a a-tjàmc yə-k'ə+də-s-c'o- yt'
it onto I put (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'I place the mirror on the wall' (sc. other than by hanging it there)

N.B. the following example:

a- mašina (ø-)sə+jə+va- sə- yt'
the car it me+(compound prev.) hit (fin.)

'The car hit me lightly (on the side)', where the element preceding $-va-$ may be related to $a-jàra$ 'waist'.

(c) ablative 'off'

The above-preverbs are used with appropriate roots; the zero-grade of $-k'+na-$ will, of course, appear here, e.g.

à- c'x'a a- tjàmc (a- q'ə-n+t' (-əy) //
the horn the wall it from-on
a- q'ə-n+t' (-əy) yə-k'+nə- s-x- we- yt'
it from-on it from-on I take (dyn.) (fin.)

'I take the horn off the wall'

(N.B. that the (ablative forms of the) postpositions are not essential here as were the non-ablative, essive forms in the corresponding essive structures given above).

(d) motion past 'over, along'

This will be expressed by the preverb $-d-$ plus a suitable root of motion, e.g.

a- mc' a- tjàmc y- a+ də- nèq'o'a+lo- yt'
the fly the wall it it+over walk+ (suff.) (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'The fly is walking over/along the wall'

2.1.1.5.13. citerior

(a) essive 'on this side of'

The postposition is $aa+rc^o$, e.g.

a- my'a-dəw [a-]àa+rc^o yə- n- xò- yt'
the road big it on-this-side-of they (prev.) live (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'They live on this side of the main road'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

(b) allative 'to this side of'

The two postpositions are $aa+rc^o-q'a$ and $aa+rc^o-nja$, e.g.

a- my'a-dəw [a-]àa+rc^o-q'a n- xa- rà
the road big it to-this-side-of (prev.) live (masd.)
dè-ya- sə- yt'
he (prev.) cross (fin.)

'He crossed to this side of the main road to live'

a-my'a-dəw [a-]àa+rc^o-nja š- aa+sk''à
you move

'Move upto this side of the main road!'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

(c) ablative 'from this side of'

The sole postposition is $aa+rc^o-n+t' (-əy)$, e.g.

a- jəyas [a-]àa+rc^o-n+t' (-əy) nè+rc^o-q'a də-jšè-
the river it from-this-side-of to-that-side he swim
yt'
(fin.)

'He swam from this side of the river to that side'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

(d) motion past 'on this side of'

This is expressed by a combination of the postposition $aa+rc^o$ and the verb $a-v//[a]y^o-s-ra$.

2.1.1.5.14. citerior-contact

(a) essive 'on this side of'

This is expressed by means of the literal equivalent of the English phrase 'on this side of' plus a verb containing the appropriate preverb according to the criteria given above under (12) for lateral-contact, e.g.

a- tjàmc abrà-x'+t'əy a- gàn a- q'ə/a- q'+nə/ax' /
the wall this(adj.) (art.) side it on it on it-on
à- la yə-k'ə+də-w+p'/yə-k'+nə-ha- w+p' (etc...)
it on it on it on hang (stat.)

'It is (hanging) on this side of the wall'

(b) allative 'to this side of'

Exactly the same extra-verbal phrases as given above under 'essive' are used together with the appropriate verb selected

from those set out under (12b) above.

(c) ablative 'from this side of'

This is expressed by abrà-x't°'ey a-gàn a-q'è-n+t°'(-ey)/a-q'è-n+t°'(-ey)/ax'è-n+t°'(-ey) 'from this side', plus the appropriate verb from those presented under (12c) above.

(d) motion past 'on this side'

This is achieved by a combination of the phrase abrà-x't°'ey a-gàn (a-q'è etc...) 'on this side' plus the verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra.

2.1.1.5.15. ulterior

(a) essive 'beyond'

The postposition is nè+rc°, e.g.

a- jèyas nè+rc° yè- n- xò- yt'
the river on-that-side-of they (prev.) live (fin.)
(+dyn.)

'They live on that side of/beyond the river'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

(b) allative 'beyond'

The two postpositions are nè+rc°-q'a and nè+rc°-nja, e.g.

a-jèyas nè+rc°-q'a n- xa- rà dè-ya-
to-that-side-of (prev.) live (masd.) he (prev.)
sè- yt'
cross (fin.)

'He crossed to that side of the river to live'

a-jèyas nè+rc°-nja yè- na+sk'è-yt'
upto-that-side-of they move (fin.)

'They moved off upto that side of the river'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

(c) ablative 'from beyond'

The postposition is nè+rc°-n+t°'(-ey), ([+cop] and [+attr.])

e.g. a- my°a-dèw nè+rc°-n+t°'(-ey) y- aa- yt'
the road big from-that-side-of they come (fin.)

'They came from the other side of//beyond the main road'

(d) motion past 'beyond'

This is expressed by a combination of the postposition nè+rc° plus the verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra.

2.1.1.5.16. ulterior-contact

The same situation applies as we described above under (14), with the difference that in place of abrà-x't°'ey 'this(adj.)' we shall here have either wèbrà-x't°'ey or nàq'-t°'ey 'that (adj.)'.

2.1.1.5.17. medial

(a) essive 'between (2)'

The postposition is a-bžà+ra, e.g.

y°è-c'là-k' rè- bžà+ra yè-zè- w+p'
2 tree I them between it bury (stat.)

'It is buried between the two trees'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

The sole preverb is -bžà-, e.g.

a- š°q°'è a- tjàmce-y a- divànè-y yè-rè+ bžà- ha-
the book the wall & the divan & it them+between fall
yt'
(fin.) 'The book fell between the wall and the divan'

N.B. that the compound preverb -v+c'a-, although meaning 'behind', implies 'in a narrow space between two objects', e.g.
a-š°q°'è a-divàn y- à+ v+c'a- ha- yt'
it it+behind fall (fin.)
(& between something)

'The book fell behind the divan (sc. between divan and wall)'

(b) allative 'between (2)'

The two postpositions are a-bžà+ra-x' and a-bžà+ra-nja, e.g.
y°è-c'là-k' rè-bžà+ra-x' (etc.) š°- na+sk'è-
2 tree I them you move

'Move to between the two trees'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

The preverbs are the same as under the heading 'essive'.

(c) ablative 'from between (2)'

The choice of postpositions is:

a-bžà+ra-x't°', a-bžà+ra-n+t°'(-ey),
a-bžà+ra-q'è-n+t°'(-ey), a-bžà+ra-q'è-n+t°'(-ey)

An example for these postpositions would be:

y°è-c'là-k' rè-bžà+ra-x'-t°' (etc.) y- aa- c°èr-
they (prev.) (prev.)
c'è- yt'
come-out (fin.)

'They suddenly appeared from between the two trees'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

Both preverbs appear in their zero-grades, -bžè- and -v+c'è-.

(d) motion past 'between (2)'

This will be expressed by combining the preverb -bžè- with the root -s-, e.g.

d- rè+ bžè- s- we- yt'
he them+between pass (dyn.) (fin.)

'He's walking/passing between them'

of, if the situation is as outlined above, we may have the

preverb -v+c'a-, e.g.

y- a+ v+c'a- nèq°'o- yt'
it it+behind walk (fin.)
(& between something) (+dyn.)

'He walks behind it (sc. & between this and something else)'

2.1.1.5.18. medial

(a) essive 'among (3+)'

The postposition is a-y°nè+c'q'a (cf. 2.1.1.5.3 for all relevant information about this postposition), e.g.

à- č'k°'en à- c'la-k°a rè- y°nè+c'q'a dè-q'a-za+r
the child the tree (pl.) them among he be if
(ø-)q'a+là- p'
it happen (Fut.I)
(prev. + root)

'The child may be among the trees'

However, in the following expression a-bžà+ra (cf. 2.1.1.5.17) is also admissible

arèy àž°abž harà hà-pš-y°è- k' ha-y°nè+c'q'a //
this news us 4 (human) I us among
ha-bžà+ra yè-n- xà- r- o- w+p'
us among it (prev.) remain if be (stat.)

'Let this news remain amongst//between the four of us!'

The preverb is -la- (once again, cf. 2.1.1.5.3 for all relevant information about this preverb), e.g.

à- k' 'anfa q' 'ec eg' 'ert à- k' 'anfa-k' 'a yə-rə+ lo-
the doll new other (art.) toy (pl.) it them+among
w+p'

(stat.)

'The new doll is amongst the other toys'

2.1.1.5.19. circumferential

(a) essive 'round'

The postposition is à-k' ' +sa, e.g.

a- x' 'əč' -k' 'à a- y' 'n- à- k' ' +sa yə- x' 'màr-we- yt'
the child (pl.) the house it around they play (dyn.) (fin.)

'The children are playing around the house'

Phrases incorporating it are [+cop] and [+rel]. One may compare the verbs à-k' ' -sa-ra 'to go round' and à-k' ' -ə-r-sa-ra 'to place round', where the element -k' '(ə)- is clearly a preverb,

e.g. a- mjerxà a- g' 'àra (ø-)à+ k' 'ə- y- r- se- yt'
the yard (art.) fence it it+round he cause go(?) (fin.)

'He placed a fence round the yard'

For an object encircling the human waist there is a special preverb -mya-, e.g.

a- maq' 'à (ø-)sə+myo- w+p'
(art.) belt it me+round (stat.)

'I am wearing my belt'

(b) allative 'round'

The choice of postpositions is:

à-k' ' +sa-q' 'a, à-k' ' +sa-x' ', à-k' ' +sa-nja

Examples for these postpositions would be:

a- x' 'əč' -k' 'à a- y' 'n- à- k' ' +sa-x' ' //a-y' 'n-à-k' ' +sa-
the child (pl.) the house it to-around

q' 'a x' 'màr-ra yə- cè-yt'

play (masd.) they go (fin.)

'The children went to play around the house'

a-x' 'əč' -k' 'à à- gta à- k' ' +sa-nja y- aa- yt'
the yard it upto-around they come (fin.)

'The children came upto around the yard'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

The preverb -mya- is naturally used in appropriate contexts,

e.g. a-maq' 'à (ø-)sə+mya- s-c' 'o- yt'
it me+round I put (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'I'm putting my belt on'

(c) ablative 'from round'

The choice of postpositions is:

à-k' ' +sa-n+t' ' (-əy), à-k' ' +sa-q' 'ə-n+t' ' (-əy),

à-k' ' +sa-x' ' -t' ' , à-k' ' +sa-x' 'ə-n+t' ' (-əy),

à-k' ' +sa-q' 'ə-n+t' ' (-əy)

An example for these postpositions would be:

a- x' 'əč' -k' 'à a- y' 'n- à- k' ' +sa-x' ' -t' ' (etc.) eybà-
the child (pl.) the house it from-around each-other

r- y' 'ə-yt'

cause run (fin.)

'The children ran off from around the house'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

The preverb, in appropriate contexts, is -myə-, e.g.

a-maq' 'à (ø-)sə+myə- s-x- we- yt'
it me+from-round I take (dyn.) (fin.)

'I'm removing my belt'

(d) motion past 'round'

This is expressed by a combination of the postposition à-k' ' +sa and the verb à-v//[a]y' ' -s-ra. But note that, if one were ever called upon to mention a flea, for example, crawling round someone's waist, the verb used would be a-k' ' -nəq' ' -a-ra 'to walk on', where the preverb is -k' ' - not -mya-.

2.1.1.5.20. cterior-anterior

(a) essive 'opposite'

The two possible postpositions are a-q' ' +əpx' 'a and əpx' 'a (cf. above under (5) for the relevant information allative, ablative and motion-past forms).

The preverb is -q' 'a- (for which cf. also 2.1.1.5.3iii, and 2.1.1.5.8aiii), as in a-q' 'a-t' 'a-rà 'to sit opposite'. This form may also serve in allative expressions, whilst the ablative form will be -q' 'ə-, as in a-q' 'ə-c' ' -ra, where the meaning is, however, rather 'in front of', e.g.

a- wažàq' w- a+ q' 'ə- c'
the fireplace you it+from-in-front-of go
'Move away from in front of the fireplace'

2.1.1.5.21. interior (long object)

(d) motion past 'through, along'

The form of the expression depends on the object one is passing through or along, e.g.

yə- y' 'nə- s- we- yt'
they house-through pass (dyn.) (fin.)

'They are passing through/along the house'

a- t' 'unəl yə- c' 'ə- sə- yt'
the tunnel they under pass (fin.)

'They passed along/through (lit. under) the tunnel'

à- gta yə- tē-sə- yt'

the yard they in pass (fin.)

'They passed along/through the (long) yard'

2.1.1.5.22. exterior (long object)

(d) motion past 'past, along'

The verb à-v//[a]y' ' -s-ra alone is used.

2.1.1.5.23. superior (long object)

(d) motion past 'along, above'

The preverb -x- will be used, as in

y- a+ x- pr+ aa- wə- yt'
it it+above fly+(suffix) (dyn.) (fin.)

'It is flying along/above it'

2.1.1.5.24. superior-contact (long object)

(d) motion past 'along (top of)'

The preverb will be -k' ' -, as in

hà-k' ' -s- we- yt'
we on pass (dyn.) (fin.)

'We are passing along on top of it'

2.1.1.5.24a. surface (long object)

(d) motion past 'along'

The preverb is -d-, as in

y- a+ d- nēq°'a-lo- yt'
it it+on walk (suffix) (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'It is walking along it'

2.1.1.5.25. inferior (long object)

(d) motion past 'along, under'

The preverb is -c'ə- plus the root -s-, e.g.

hà-c'ə- s- we- yt'
we under pass (dyn.) (fin.)

'We are passing (along) under it'

An alternative would be:

hà-tə-s-we-yt'
in

'We are passing along in it (e.g. tunnel)'

2.1.1.5.26. inferior-contact (long object)

(d) motion past 'along, under'

Once again the verb is à-c'ə-s-ra.

(As examples 21-26 indicate, Abkhaz has no special forms for designating motion past specifically long objects.)

2.1.1.5.27/28/29. interior/superior/superior-contact respectively for long objects at right-angles to their length

(d) motion past 'through(across)/over/over' respectively

In all cases the verb used is ày-y°ə-c°'a-ra, where ày- is the reciprocal affix, -y°ə- the determiner from the numeral 'two', -c°'a- the root 'to cut' and -ra the masdar-formant,

e.g. (ø-)ey- y°ə-s-c°'o- yt'
it (recip.) 2 I cut (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'I cut through/across/over it'

2.1.1.5.29a. surface (long object and at right-angles to length)

(d) motion past 'across'

The preverb -x- combines with the root -s-, e.g.

à- my'a d- a+ xə- sə- yt'
the road he it+across pass (fin.)

'He crossed the road'

2.1.1.6. Temporal expressions

2.1.1.6.1. general

2.1.1.6.1.1. time of day

The word for 'hour' is optional; if present, it will precede the numeral, which itself precedes the postposition -zə, the col.II affix of which will be 3rd. pers. sg. a- for '1 o'clock' and 3rd. pers. pl. rə- otherwise, e.g.

(a- sàat) bəž+bà rə- zə
(art.) hour 7 (non-hum.) them for
'at 7 o'clock'

(a-sàat) a+k'ə a- zə // (a-sàat) a+k'-a-zə

1 it for

'at 1 o'clock'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.2. period of day

The noun concerned may be used alone or in conjunction with the postposition -zə, e.g.

a- šəbžəštax' (a- zə)

(art.) afternoon it for

'in the afternoon'

à-šəž(əmtan) (a-zə)

'in the morning'

šəbžən (a-zə)

'at noon' (Note here the total absence of the article a-)

à-x°əlbəqxa(-zə)

'in the evening'

(à-)c'xəbžən (a-zə)

'at midnight'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.3. day of the week

One may use the noun by itself, or the noun plus the postposition -zə, or the noun plus postposition -qnə 'day-on', for which latter root one may compare qən+la 'during the day', e.g.

a- šax'a (-zə) // a-šax'a a- qnə

(art.) Monday for

it day-on

'on Monday'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.4. month of the year

The postposition -zə follows the noun of the year in question, e.g.

yanar a- zə

January it for

'in January'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.5. year

The noun for 'year' must be used in association with the postposition -zə, e.g.

zk'ə- y ž°+š°ə- y xə-n y°a+ž°ə-y ž°a+f gək°sa-zə

1,000 & 9+ hundred & 3 times 2 10 & 10 6 year for

'in 1976'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.6. festivals

The postposition -zə appears with the appropriate noun, e.g.

k'ərsa-

zə

Xmas(lit. = December) for

'at Xmas'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.7. seasons

Each of the four nouns has two forms, one without and one with the suffix -ra; either form may be used alone or in

conjunction with the postposition *-zə*, e.g.

à- pxən (a- zə) // à-pxən+ra(-zə)
(art.) summer it for
'in summer'
à-jən (a-zə) // à-jən+ra (-zə)
'in winter'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

(It seems that there is no restriction on the use of any of the above (2.1.1.6.1.1-7) as regards the tense of the associated verb.)

2.1.1.6.2. frequentative

The frequentative expressions differ from their general counterparts above either by the addition to those general temporal expressions of the pre-posed adjective *es-* 'each, every' or by the addition of the instrumental suffix *-la*.

2.1.1.6.2.1. time of day

es- a- sàat bəž+bà rə- zə //
each (art.) hour 7 (non-hum.) them for
a-sàat bəž+bà-la
(instr.)

'regularly at 7 o'clock'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.2. period of the day

es-šəbžəštəx' (a-zə) // šəbžəštəx'-la
afternoon (instr.)

'regularly in the afternoon'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.3. day of the week

es-š'ax'à(-zə) // š'ax'à-la
Monday (instr.)

'on Mondays'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.4. month of the year

es-yanàr (a-zə) // yanàr-la
January (instr.)

'regularly in January'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.5. year

esə-şək'sa(-zə) // şək'sə-la
year (instr.)

'every year' ('every 1976' would, of course, be illogical)

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.6. festivals

es-k'èrsa // k'èrsa-la
Xmas (instr.)

'every Xmas'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.7. seasons

ex-pxnə // es-pxən+rà // pxən-là // pxən+rà-la
summer (instr.) (instr.)
'every summer'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.3. punctual-future

Either the postposition *-la* or the postposition *-q'ə+n+tə'* is used, e.g.

y'ə-sàat-k' rə- la // rə- q'ə+n+tə'
2 hour 1 them (instr.) them (ablative)
s-xə+n- x'ə- we- yt'
I (compound prev.) return (dyn.) (fin.)
'I'll be back in two hours'

This temporal expression is impossible with the Perfect tense.

Such expressions are [+cop] and [+rel].

2.1.1.6.4. punctual-past

The postposition is *-əpx'a*, e.g.

y'ə-sàat-k' r- əpx'a
2 hour 1 them before(ago)
'two hours ago'

This type of expression is not found with the Present, Future I and II tenses.

Such expressions are [+cop] and [+rel].

2.1.1.6.5. duration

If the period is regarded as one to be completed (i.e. absolute or relative future), there is a distinct preference for the noun expression the duration to be followed by the root of the verb 'to say' *-h'a-*, otherwise this particle is not likely to be used, e.g.

y'ə-şək'sa abrà sə-n- xò- yt'
2 year here I (prev.) live (fin.)
(+dyn.)

'I have been living here for two years'

y'ə-şək'sa h'a abrà sə-n-xò-yt'

(?)saying

'I shall be living here for two years'

y'ə-mčəbža h'a s-aa- yt'
2 week I come (fin.)

'I came for two weeks'

Such phrases are [+cop], in which case *h'a* becomes optional, and [+attr], i.e. when construed with *masdars*.

2.1.1.6.6. anterior-duration-past

The postposition is *-nja*, e.g.

a- š'ax'à-nja // a-š'ax'a-qnə- nja
(art.) Monday until day-on until
'until Monday'

Such expressions are not found with the Perfect and are suspect with the Plu-perfect. They are to be characterised as [+cop], and [+attr] if construed with *masdars*.

2.1.1.6.7. anterior-duration-future

As for 2.1.1.6.6.

2.1.1.6.8. posterior-duration-past

Abkhaz seems not to differentiate between this and expressions signifying posterior-duration-future (2.1.1.6.9), the selection of postpositions being: -štax', -nay°s, yə+na+r+k'+nə (which is a fossilised past absolutive of the verbal root -k' - 'to hold'), na+xəs, and aa+xəs. However, as my informant was most reluctant to accept this last alternative with any verb having future signification, one should perhaps view aa+xəs as the most appropriate equivalent for English 'since', e.g.

a- š°ax'ā à- štax' // a- nàyo°s //
(art.) Monday it since/after it since/after
na+xəs // yə+na+r+k'+nə // aa+xəs
since/after since/after since
'since (after) Monday'

2.1.1.6.9. posterior-duration-future

Cf. 2.1.1.6.8.

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+attr] if construed with masdars.

2.1.1.6.10. anterior-general

The Abkhaz equivalent here is 'even before (until)', the postposition being -nja plus the clitic -g'ə 'even', e.g.

a- š°ax'ā-nja- g'ə // a-š°ax'ā-qnə- nja-g'ə
(art.) Monday until even day-on
'previous to Monday'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr] when construed with masdars.

2.1.1.6.11. posterior-general

The clitic -g'ə 'even' is added to the forms given above under 2.1.1.6.8, e.g.

a- š°ax'ā à- štax'-g'ə // a-nàyo°s-g'ə // na+xəs-g'ə //
(art.) Monday it after even
yə+na+r+k'+nə-g'ə // aa+xəs-g'ə
'subsequent to Monday'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr] if construed with masdars.

2.1.1.6.12. point in period-past

The postposition is -y°nə+c'q'a 'within'. As the adjective used for 'last' also means 'final', the following phrases are not restricted to past tenses, e.g.

a- c'əx°t°ant°əy (a-) y°ə-sàat-k' rə- y°nə+c'q'a
the last/final (art.) 2 hour 1 them within
'within the last/final two hours'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl], and [+attr] when construed with masdars.

2.1.1.6.13. point in period-future

The postposition is again -y°nə+c'q'a, e.g.

y- āa+y-wa y°ə-sàat-k' rə- y°nə+c'q'a
which come (dyn. non-fin.) 2 hour 1 them within
wə- xə+n- x°ə
you (compound prev.) return
'Return within the next (coming) two hours!'

Such phrases are naturally restricted to verbs having (either absolute or relative) future signification. They are to be characterised as [+ps-cl], and [+attr] when construed with masdars.

2.1.1.8.1. Does the language have a number-marking system in nouns?

Yes.

2.1.1.8.1.1. singular-plural

There are two distributive plural-markers — -c°a and -k°a, the former being used only with human nouns, the latter mainly with non-human, e.g.

à- jyab : à- jyab-c°a
the girl the girl (pl.)
a- là : a- là- k°a
the dog the dog (pl.)

However, a-x°əč'è 'child' may only take this latter suffix to produce the plural a-x°əč'-k°a. The noun a-ph°əs 'woman' has an anomalous plural à-h°sa, which may nevertheless also accommodate one of the pluralisers given above, but, where this double plural-marking occurs, only -k°a is possible, à-h°sa-k°a.

Nouns describing races sometimes allow either pluraliser, even though -c°a is preferred, e.g.

à- gər+wa : à- gər-c°a// -k°a
(art.) Mingrelian (art.) (pl.)
a- š°anə+wa : a- š°an-c°a// -k°a
(art.) Svan (art.) (pl.)

whereas others permit only -c°a, e.g.

àps+wa : àpsa-c°a (*-k°a)
Abkhazian (pl.)

(N.B. the marker -wa which appears in the singular and collective plural (cf. section 2.1.1.8.4i) forms of the names of some of the races who are neighbours of the Abkhazians.)

For the choice of pluraliser on attributive or predicative adjectives cf. 2.1.4.ff.

2.1.1.8.1.2. Is the marking of number obligatory or optional?

Number-marking is usually obligatory, but observe the following cases where plural nouns are not marked for plurality:

(i) where an attributive adjective follows its noun, the adjective must be marked for number, whereas the noun need not be (for examples cf. 2.1.4.3.1.1);

(ii) after s+aq'ā 'how many' the singular is preferred (after wəbə(r)sq'āk' 'so many' either the singular or plural of countable nouns is possible), e.g.

s+aq'ā c°a (ø-)wə-mo-y (←*yə-wə- ma- wə-
how-many apple (sg.) it you have (stat.)
(non-fin.)

y)

(Qu.)

'How many apples do you have?'

But, with the order reversed, the pluraliser is required, e.g.

a- c°a- k°a s+aq'ā (ø-)wə-mo-y
(art.) apple (pl.) how-many

'How many apples do you have?'

(iii) The pluraliser is excluded from such quantitative expressions as 'a kilo of X', '3 pounds of X' etc..., e.g.

x-k'alàt-k' a- c'ò'à
3 basket 1 (art.) apple
'three baskets of apple(s)'

(iv) With non-human nouns, where the numeral is attached directly to the nominal root, no pluraliser is possible, e.g.

x-c'ò'a- k'
3 apple(sg.) 1
'three apple(s)'

N.B. that, although a-x'ò'è'è 'child' takes the pluraliser -k'ò'a, any attributive numeral associated with it manifests the form appropriate to human nouns, with the result that -k'ò'a is obligatory on the noun, e.g.

x-y'ò'è x'ò'è'-k'ò'a
3 (human) child (pl.)
or x-y'ò'è- k' a- x'ò'è'-k'ò'a
3 (hum.) 1 (art.) child (pl.)
or a- x'ò'è'-k'ò'a x-y'ò'è- k'
(art.) child (pl.) 3 (hum.) 1
'three children'

(v) Animate, non-human nouns may stand in the singular, though semantically plural, if a plural affix appears in the verb (and particularly when they are functioning as (transitive) subjects), e.g.

a- gəgš'ò'g sə-r- bè- yt'
the beast(sg.) me they see (fin.)
'The beasts saw me'

BUT a- ph'ò's sə-l- bè-yt' (*sə-r- bè-yt')
the woman(sg.) me she they
'The woman saw me (*The women saw me)'

For 'the women saw me' one may only say:
à- h'ò'sa sə-r-bè-yt'
the women(pl.)

And so we see that, where plural-marking is not obligatory, there has always been some disambiguating factor present. Note, however, the expressions

c'ò'à- fa- ra // lahà-fa-ra // hà- fa-ra š- aa-
apple eat (masd.) fig pear you come
là
(suff.)

'Come and eat apple(s)//fig(s)//pear(s)!'.

Here there is no disambiguating factor present; these forms cannot, however, have any other meaning than the one appended above, since only direct-object nouns of non-specific, general application may stand as part of a masdar (as here). Note that in a case like

a- c'ò'à (ø)-l- fò- ma
(art.) like it she eat (Qu.)
+(dyn.)

the meaning may be either 'Is she eating the apple?' or 'Does she eat apples?' by virtue, no doubt, of the double rôle of the article (definite-marker and generic-marker - cf. 2.1.1.10), despite the complete absence of (nominal and verbal) plural-markers.

2.1.1.8.4. Is there a distinction between collective and distributive plurals?

Abkhaz has four types of collective plural formations:-

(i) -aa, which is used (a) for certain ethnic groups, e.g.
àps+w- aa
the-Abkhazian (coll.pl.)
'the Abkhazian people' (cf. àps+wa 'the Abkhazian')
a- š'anè+w-aa
the Svan (coll.pl.)

'the Svan people' (cf. a-š'anè+wa 'the Svan')
(see 2.1.1.8.1.1 for the distributive plurals);

(b) for the populations of towns, cities, etc..., e.g.

k'ò'ətòl-aa
K'ò'itol (coll.pl.)
'the people of K'ò'itol'

N.B. that in such circumstances -aa is also used in a distributive sense 'so many residents of ...', e.g.

x-y'ò'è- k' k'ò'ətòl-aa a- mašina y- at zə- pšə- w+p'
3 (hum.) 1 the bus they it+for wait (stat.)
'Three K'ò'itolians are waiting for the bus'

although the first two words of this sentence may be replaced by

k'ò'ətòlə-n+t' x-y'ò'è- k'
from 3 (hum.) 1
'Three from K'ò'itol...'

(c) for all possessors of one surname, either in a universal sense or in the more restricted meaning of all members of a particular family, e.g.

x'èy(b)aa (← *x'èyba-aa)
'all the Khibas'

N.B. that, for reference to a small group of the whole Khibas-family, one would rather say à-x'èyb-k'ò'a, as in

à- x'èyb-k'ò'a sə-r+ tà- n
the (pl.non-hum.) I them+among (stat.past)

'I was with the Khibas' (sc. our neighbours, for example)

(ii) -ar(a), which is used as the collective plural marker for a small group of nouns whose singular ends in -s (this -s being replaced by the collective plural formant in question). Note that a regular distributive plural in -k'ò'a is formed from the collective, although there appears to be no great distinction in meaning between the two plurals. The majority of nouns in this category are names for the young of animals, e.g.

a-sè+s 'lamb' ⇒ a-s-àr(a) 'flock of lambs' ⇒ a-s-àra-k'ò'a 'lambs'

à-jè+s 'kid' ⇒ à-j-ar(a) 'kids' ⇒ à-j-ara-k'ò'a 'kids'
a-c'è+s 'bird' ⇒ a-c'-àr(a) 'birds' ⇒ a-c'-àra-k'ò'a 'birds'

a-šè+š 'piglet' ⇒ à-š-ar(a) 'piglets' ⇒ à-š-ara-k'ò'a 'piglets'

a-k'ò'è+š 'chick' ⇒ a-k'ò'è'-àr(a) 'chicks' ⇒ a-k'ò'è'-àra-k'ò'a 'chicks'

a-h'ò+š 'calf' ⇒ a-h'ò-àr(a) 'calves' ⇒ a-h'ò-àra-k'ò'a 'calves'

There are five exceptions where a collective plural exists but where the noun does not represent the young of an animal. In the case of à-rpə+s 'teenager' (⇒ à-rp-ar//à-rp-ar-c'ò'a

'teenagers') one may argue that the word represents the young of the human animal. One might argue along similar lines in the case of the adjective a-q'â 'young, new' (⇒ a-q'â-[a]r 'youth' ⇒ a-q'â-[a]ra-c°a//k°a 'young men'), although here the singular is anomalous both in respect of it being an adjective and by virtue of its lack of final -s. Also lacking -s in the singular is àž°a 'word', the collective plural of which (àž°a-[a]r) has the distinct meaning of 'dictionary' (cf. àž°a-k°a 'words'). This leaves a-na+c°+k'°+s 'little finger' (⇒ a-na+c°+k'°-àr(a)//a-na+c°+k'°-àra-k°a 'fingers') and a-ša+c°+k'°+s 'little toe' (⇒ a-ša+c°+k'°-àr(a)//a-ša+c°+k'°-àra-k°a 'toes'), where -na- derives from a-nap'è 'hand' and -ša- derives from a-šap'è 'foot', -c°- comes from a-c°à 'skin', but the meaning of the remaining element -k'°e- is uncertain.

(iii) -ra, which is used for plantations of trees. Here collectives in -ra are contrasted with distributives in -k°a added directly to the root, e.g.

a-l 'alder' ⇒ à-l-ra 'alder-plantation' vs à-l-k°a 'alders'

a-ž 'oak' ⇒ à-ž-ra 'oak-plantation' vs à-ž-k°a 'oaks'

N.B. the following example

à-bna 'wood' ⇒ à-bna-ra 'wooded place' vs à-bna-k°a 'woods'

(iv) -raa, which is added to proper-names to produce the meaning 'X and friends/family/the rest', e.g.

Zaira-raa

Zaira and friends etc...'

2.1.1.8.7. Do foreign words retain their native number-marking or are they integrated?

They are integrated.

2.1.1.9. Are nouns divided into classes or genders?

Yes.

2.1.1.9.2. Characterise the meaning of each class/gender.

There is a basic division of nouns into the two classes 'human' vs. 'non-human', and within the former class there is a gender-distinction between 'male' and 'female'.

2.1.1.9.3. Formal class-/gender-marking on elements other than the nouns themselves.

No formal markers appear on the nouns themselves, so that gender-/class-distinctions are, to this extent, covert categories. The class-categorisation of nouns is relevant both to the choice of nominal pluraliser (cf. 2.1.1.8.1.1) and to the numeral system in general (cf. 2.1.6.3.ff), whilst both class- and gender-distinctions are equally relevant for the pronominal system (cf. 2.1.2.1.10) and for the three-fold system of pronominal affixes discussed under section (2.1.1.1.1).

2.1.1.10. Is definiteness marked in noun-phrases?

There is no formal distinction between definiteness and genericness. This joint category is marked in noun-phrases.

2.1.1.10.1. Formal marking of definite-genericness.

The definite-generic marker is the article a-, which, being in part the exponent of genericness, always precedes the root of nouns and adjectives in their citation-forms. In the sequence N+Adj, the article a- is prefixed to the N; for the sequence Adj+N, it attaches to the Adj. This article is always used if a demonstrative adjective is associated with the NP.

2.1.1.10.2. Is the marking of definiteness/genericness in the NP optional or obligatory?

Generally it is obligatory, although one can find cases when the article a- is absent:-

(i) As we see under section (2.1.6.3), if a cardinal is actually prefixed to the noun, no article will be present, even though the meaning would warrant it, e.g.

pš-la- k'

4 dog 1

'(the) four dogs'

pš-y°e- jya-b-c°a

4 (hum.) girl (pl.)

'(the) four girls'

(ii) If the NP, as copular complement, becomes the root of a stative verb (cf. 2.1.1.2.9), then no article is found, e.g.

Adg°er dè-č'k°'èna-bzəyo-w+p'

Adgur he boy good (stat.)

'Adgur is a good boy'

2.1.1.10.5. Is definiteness indicated with

2.1.1.10.5.1. proper-names?

The article is never associated with christian-names, but it may be attached to surnames if it is clear to which bearer of the surname in question reference is being made and if the surname is used without any preceding christian-names, although this association of article with surname is not characteristic of my informant's speech.

2.1.1.10.5.2. abstract-nouns?

By virtue of its generic-marking role, the article a- is an essential component of abstract-nouns.

2.1.1.11. Is indefiniteness marked in noun-phrases?

Yes.

2.1.1.11.1. How is indefiniteness marked?

The exponent of indefiniteness is -k' (which also serves as the numeral 'one'), suffixed to the last element of the NP, e.g.

č'k°'èn(a)-k'

'a boy'

č'k°'èna-bzəya-k'

'a good boy'

q- k°a- k'

horse (pl.)

'some horses'

č'k°'ən-c°a- k°a- k'
 (pl.hum.) (pl.non-hum.)
 'some boys'

2.1.1.11.2. Is the marking of indefiniteness optional or obligatory?

Indefiniteness must be marked unless the verb contains the negative particle, e.g.

pənc'a (ø-)yà-ma- m
 nose it he have not
 'He hasn't a nose'
 ž°ə (ø-)sə-m- bè- yt'
 cow it I not see (fin.)

'I didn't see a cow // any cows'

But, if the meaning is 'not a single X', then -k' must be used and be followed by the suffix -g'ə 'also, even', e.g.

ž°ə-k'-g'ə (ø-)sə-m-bè-yt'

'I didn't see a single cow // Not one cow did I see'

2.1.1.11.5. Is indefiniteness indicated with

2.1.1.11.5.1. non-singular nouns?

As seen above (2.1.1.11.1), -k' is used with -k°a- for non-human plurals, or with -c°a-k°a- for human plurals, to give the sense of 'some'. Note also the rare use of either of these compound-suffixes in association with a noun preceded by the article a- in the meaning 'one of X', e.g.

a- q- k°à- k'
 (art.) horse (pl.) 1
 'one of the horses'
 a- č'k°'ən-c°a-k°a-k'
 (art.) boy (pl.) 1
 'one of the boys'

For the use of -k' in association with either overtly or covertly plural nouns construed with cardinals cf. the examples given under section (2.1.6.3).

2.1.1.11.5.2. mass-nouns?

The indefinite article -k' is used with mass-nouns in the sense of 'some X', e.g.

gəla- k' (ø-)s- bə- r- psàxə- nda
 flour some it me you cause borrow (optative)
 'I'd like you to let me borrow some flour'

If the mass-noun is being used as a count-noun, then -k' will have its normal indefinite sense, e.g.

š°ə- k' (ø-)sə- t
 cheese a/some it to-me give

'Give me some cheese // a cheese' (depending on context)

2.1.1.11.6. Are such uses of the indefinite article optional or obligatory?

Two alternative constructions are possible for the association of indefinite article with mass-nouns:

(i) a more usual way of expressing the idea 'some' with mass-nouns is to use in conjunction with -k' one of the adjectives

a-x°əč'ə 'small', a-màč' 'a little', pət+k' 'little, a few',
 e.g. š°-x°əč'ə-k' // š°-màč'-k' // š°-pət+k' (ø-)sə-t
 'Give me some cheese'

(ii) where the mass-noun is functioning as a count-noun, the following alternative is possible: the noun takes its pluraliser and the indefinite article attaches to rəwa- 'of them',

e.g. à- š°- k°a rəwà-k' (ə) (ø-)sə- t
 the cheese (pl.) it to-me give
 'Give me one of the cheeses'

2.1.1.13. Is genericness indicated in noun-phrases?

For questions touching on genericness see above (2.1.1.10) and following sections.

2.1.2. Pronouns

2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

2.1.2.1.1. Do free pronouns occur?

Free pronouns may optionally be used in all three persons for subject, direct object, indirect object and for the possessor in the genitive construction. In the case of postpositions standing independently of the verbal complex, some require the presence of the free pronoun, others are judged acceptable only when endowed with the column II pronominal prefix, e.g.

sa(rà) sə-zə yə-q'a- l- c'è-yt'
 I me for it (prev.) she do (fin.)
 'She did it for me'

BUT (sa(rà)) s- àayg°a də-gəlo- w+p'
 me near he stand (stat.)
 'He is standing near me'

2.1.2.1.1.3. Do free pronouns occur

2.1.2.1.1.3.1. in non-contrastive non-emphatic contexts generally?

They may do so, e.g.

(sarà) (barà) (yarà) (ø-)bè- s-te- yt'
 I you(f.sg.) it it to-you I give (fin.)
 'I gave it to you'

2.1.2.1.1.3.2. in contexts where the referent of the pronoun is emphasised?

Yes, e.g.
 ha(rà) yə-š°- àh-te- yt'
 we it to-you(pl.) we give (fin.)
 'We gave it to you'

2.1.2.1.1.3.3. in unemphatic contexts with imperative verbs?

No.

2.1.2.1.1.3.4. with imperative verbs when the referent of the pronoun is emphasised?

Yes, e.g.

ba(rà) bə- cà
 you(f.sg.) you go
 'You go!' (sc. and no-one else)

2.1.2.1.1.3.5. in answer to questions of the type 'Who is that?'

If no verb appears in the answer, the full form of the free pronoun must be used. If the copula is used in the answer, either the full or the reduced form may be chosen.

2.1.2.1.1.3.6. in pseudocleft constructions?

Either the full or the reduced form may be chosen, e.g.
 sa(rà) s-o- w+p'
 I I be (stat.)
 'I am (sc. the one who...)'

2.1.2.1.1.4. What is the difference between reduced and unreduced pronouns?

Reduced (without -ra) and unreduced pronouns are generally interchangeable regardless of whether the context is emphatic or not; in a string of free pronouns, as given in 2.1.2.1.1.3.1, the full forms are preferred. Neither is there any noticeable difference in supra-segmental structure between emphatic and non-emphatic contexts. My informant does not accept a reduced form for the 3rd. pers. pl. pronoun, allowing only darà (*da).

2.1.2.1.2. What person-distinctions are made in the pronouns?

2.1.2.1.2.1. 1st. v. 2nd. v. 3rd. person?

Yes.

2.1.2.1.3. Is the opposition inclusive v. exclusive relevant?

Such an opposition is relevant to both 1st. and 2nd. pers. pl.

2.1.2.1.3.1. inclusive v. exclusive

The exclusive forms 'we excluding you' and 'you excluding them' contrast with the inclusive 'we including you' and 'you including them' respectively (cf. 2.1.2.1.10), although the strictly inclusive forms may and usually do appear where one would expect the exclusives.

2.1.2.1.4. Are pronouns marked for number?

Yes.

2.1.2.1.4.1. Which number-distinctions occur?

2.1.2.1.4.1.1. singular-plural

Yes, in all three persons.

2.1.2.1.4.2. Is the marking of any number-distinction optional?

No.

2.1.2.1.4.6. Can pronouns be associated in NPs with numerals?

Yes, without limit, e.g.

ha(rà) y°à-ja
 we 2 (human)
 'we two'

2.1.2.1.8. Are there gender-/class-distinctions in pronouns?

The 2nd. pers. sg. pronoun distinguishes between a masculine (wa(rà)) and a feminine (ba(rà)) form, the former being also used for addressing non-human objects.

The 3rd. pers. sg. also distinguishes a masculine and non-human form (ya(rà)) from a feminine form (la(rà)).

2.1.2.1.10. List of pronominal forms

	singular	plural	
1st. pers.	sa(rà)	ha(rà)	: hart (incl. or general) (excl.)
2nd. pers.	{ human masc. & non-human } wa(rà)	ša(rà)	: šart (incl. or general) (excl.)
	{ human fem. } ba(rà)		
3rd. pers.	{ human masc. & non-human } ya(rà)		
	{ human fem. } la(rà)	darà	

N.B. that the demonstratives wəy/wərt are frequently used for the 3rd. person personal pronouns - wəy for la(rà) and ya(rà), wərt for darà.

2.1.2.1.13.1. Are there special non-specific indefinite pronouns?

There are no forms such as English 'one', German 'man'.

2.1.2.1.13.2. Are there forms from the personal system used as non-specific indefinite pronouns?

As in English, the 2nd. pers. pronoun is used - specifically, the 2nd. pers. sg. masculine/non-human form is employed, e.g.

wə c°à (ø-) wə- t°à- m- za+r, a- hak'əm y- ax'
 your skin it you belong-to not if the doctor him to
 wə- cà-r- o- w+p'
 you go if be (stat.)

'If you get pregnant, you must go to the doctor'

2.1.2.1.13.3. Do any nouns have the function of non-specific indefinite pronouns?

The noun a-way°à 'man, person' may be so used, even as an alternative for the last example where reference is obviously being made to the female of the species, e.g.

a- way°à arəy a- š°q°à d- à- px'a-r, a-k'è-r
 (art.) person this (art.) book he it read if something
 (ø-)ey+lè- y- k'+ aa- we- yt'
 it (compound prev.) he learn+(suff.) (dyn.) (fin.)

'If one reads this book, one will learn something'

a-way°ə yə-c°à (ø-)yə-t°'ə-m-za+r, a-ħak'əm y-ax' də-cà-r-
 he him he
 o-w+p'

'If one gets pregnant, one must go to the doctor'

2.1.2.1.14. Specific indefinite pronouns

a-j°ə
 'someone' (cf. a-j°ə-r 'anyone')
 a-k'ə
 'something' (cf. a-k'ə-r 'anything')
 ʃowk'ə // ʃowk'ə 'some(pl.)'

2.1.2.1.15. Are there special emphatic pronouns?

The emphatic pronouns are produced as follows: prefix the appropriate column II pronominal affix to -xata; the resulting compound may be preceded by either the full or the reduced form of the appropriate personal pronoun with no apparent difference in emphasis, e.g.

		singular	plural
1st. pers.	'I myself'	(sa(rà)) s-xatà	(ha(rà))//(ħart) ħ-xatà(-k°a)
2nd. pers.	{ masc.	(wa(rà)) wə-xatà	ʃ°a(rà))//(ʃ°art)
	{ fem.	(ba(rà)) bə-xatà	ʃ°-xatà(-k°a)
3rd. pers.	{ masc.	(ya(rà)) yə-xatà	
	{ fem.	(la(rà)) l-xatà	(darà) r-xatà(-k°a)
	{ non-human	(ya(rà)) a-xatà	

By suffixing to any of the above -c°'q'°a an even more emphatic form ('I myself') is produced, e.g.

(sa(rà)) s-xatà-c°'q'°a

By employing a different suffix, -j°+k', we shall obtain forms meaning 'only I myself etc...', e.g.

(ba(rà)) bə-xatà-j°+k'

'only you yourself'

Either of these suffixes may also be joined to the simple personal pronouns to lend the appropriate emphasis, e.g.

warà-c°'q'°a wə- cà
 you go

'You go!' (N.B. that this suffix only attaches to the unreduced form of the personal pronoun)

wa(rà)-j°+k' wə-cà

'Only you go!' (here the reduced personal pronouns are also permitted)

Mutually interchangeable but of rare and limited occurrence are cases of the suffix -k' being attached either to the full personal pronoun or to any of the forms in the table above,

e.g. barà-k' // (ba(rà)) bə-xatà-k' s- g° (ø-)aa-
 my heart it (prev.)

pà- b- c°'e- yt'
 (prev.) you annoy (fin.)

'I'm fed up with you'

2.1.2.1.17. Are collocations of pronoun-noun feasible where both have the same reference?

Yes. Two cases may be distinguished:-

- (a) free pronouns in all persons, e.g.
 ħa(rà) (ʃ°a(rà), darà) a- bəħč- aa- ja- y°-
 we you they (art.) garden (prev.) tend (Ag.)
 c°a
 (pl.)

'we (you, they) gardeners'

N.B. my informant prefers the unreduced pronominal forms in each case here.

(b) specific indefinite pronouns may only be used in this way if accompanied by a relativised verb, in which case the noun will stand in the predicative case, e.g.

bəħč-aa-ja-y°ə {-s yə- q'o-w //
 -nə who be (stat.non-fin.)
 (pred.)

a- wəs (ø-)zə- w- wà a-j°ə
 (art.) job it who do (dyn.non-fin.) someone (a certain)
 'a certain gardener'

N.B. that the phrase 'one gardener' may also be used in the sense of 'a certain gardener', e.g.

bəħč-aa-ja-j°ə-k'

1

In the plural, 'certain gardeners' will be

bəħč-aa-ja-j°ə-c°a {-s yə- q'a-k°ò-
 (pl.) {-nə who be (pl.)

w ʃowk'ə // ʃowk'ə
 (stat.non-fin.) some(certain)

2.1.2.2. Reflexive pronouns

2.1.2.2.1. Are there special reflexive pronouns or common nouns used as reflexives?

The common noun a-xə 'head' must be used to convey reflexivity if the reflexive functions as anything other than direct object; and some verbs require a-xə for the direct object position too (such as the common verbs a-ba-rà 'to see', à-ta-ra 'to eat', a-ga-rà 'to convey', àaja-ra 'to rear' cf. 2.1.2.2.3).

2.1.2.2.2. Does the reflexive distinguish

2.1.2.2.2.1. the subcategory of person?

The common noun a-xə in its role as a reflexive distinguishes the person of the reflexivised nominal, as anticipated, by allowing the appropriate column II affix to replace the article a-, which is included in the citation-form above.

2.1.2.2.2.3. the subcategory of number?

If the reflexivised nominal is plural, the plural-marker -k°a may be added to a-xə, but this is by no means essential.

2.1.2.2.3. Examples of the common noun functioning as reflexive pronoun

- h- xə (ø-)h- q'azè-yt'
our head it we calm (fin.)
- or h-a- x- k'ə (ø-) h-q'azè-yt'
our head (pl.) them
'We restrained ourselves (direct object)'
- r- xə y- à- s- we- yt'
their head they it hit (dyn.) (fin.)
- or rə- x- k'ə yə- rə- s-we-yt'
their head (pl.) they them
'They hit themselves'

(N.B. that the verb à-s-ra 'to hit' is intransitive and thus takes an indirect object for the entity being hit.)

2.1.2.2.5. If there is no reflexive pronoun, how is reflexivity expressed?

By far the most common way of expressing reflexivity if the reflexive is the verb's direct object is to use the verbal affix -q(ə)-, whose only function is to mark reflexivity; this affix does not of itself alter to indicate the plurality of its referent, and it occupies that slot in the verbal complex otherwise taken by the column I, direct object affix. This reflexive affix must be preceded by the appropriate column II affix to indicate the person of the reflexivised nominal; it is, of course, by means of this column II affix that the plurality of the reflexivised nominal may be marked, e.g.

š'ə+ qə- š'ə- š- we- yt'
your(pl.)self you(pl.) kill (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.II)
'You kill yourselves'

2.1.2.3. Reciprocal pronouns

2.1.2.3.5. If there is no reciprocal pronoun, how is reciprocity expressed?

Abkhaz can mark reciprocity only within the verbal complex (for extra-verbal reinforcements of the intra-verbal affixes about to be described cf. section 1.7.4). Two reciprocal affixes exist: ay- and ayba- (cf. section 1.7 for their distribution). They distinguish no subcategories such as person and number.

2.1.2.3.7. Does the reciprocal pronoun (or affix) have other uses?

There are examples of ay- functioning as a simple preverb; it may stand alone or in association with another preverb, e.g.

d- ey- sə- yt'
he (prev.) quarrel (fin.)
'He quarrelled'

də-y- èy- sə- yt'
he with-him (prev.) quarrel (fin.)
(col.II) 'He quarrelled with him'

šk'òl- k'ə (ø-) ey+q'ə- r- k'+ aa-
school (pl.) them (compound prev.) they (root) (suffix)
yt'
(fin.)

'They opened schools' (after Lomtadidze, 1952.114)
This same element is also found in nouns which inherently signify a reciprocal relationship, e.g.

əy-š-c'ə
'brothers' (cf. s-ašə 'my brother')

The second reciprocal, ayba-, appears not to be used as a preverb. It clearly retains its reciprocal signification in the abstract-noun produced from the root -š- 'to kill' which provides Abkhaz with its common noun for 'war', namely ayba-š-ra.

2.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns

2.1.2.4.1. Does the language have special possessive pronouns?

Yes.

2.1.2.4.3. Formation of the possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are produced by prefixing the appropriate column II affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1) to the root -t'ə-, which means 'belonging to' (cf. the noun a-t'ə 'slave'). This compound may then or may not be preceded by either the full or the reduced form of the appropriate personal pronoun, e.g.

(sa(rà)) s-t'ə
'mine'

An alternative is to form a headless relative clause from the stative verb having -t'ə- as its root in the meaning 'X belongs to Y'; in this case the full form of the relevant personal pronoun must also be used, e.g.

sarə yə- s- t'ə- w
that-which to-me belong (stat.non-fin.)
'that which belongs to me // mine'

As this second expression contains a verbal component, by substituting the past non-finite form we shall obtain the equivalent for 'that which belonged to me // mine [Past]', which is the only way of making tense relevant to the system of possessive pronouns in Abkhaz, e.g.

sarə yə-s-t'ə-z
(past, non-fin.)

2.1.2.4.4. Are possessive pronouns marked for case?

The non-verbal type may be marked for the predicative case by taking the case-marker -s, just like any noun, e.g.

arəy s- t'ə- s yə-sə-px'ajò- yt'
this my (belonging) (pred.) it I regard (fin.)
(+dyn.)

'I regard this as mine'

It will be recalled that the less common morph for the predicative case is -nə; this marker alone may not be suffixed to the possessive pronouns. However, the possessive pronouns may be made the basis of adverbs, which will here function just like the predicative case in the last example, and these are formed by using the suffix -nə in conjunction with the appropriate column I affix, which is prefixed to the relevant possessive,

e.g. arèy a- ph°ès dè- s+ t°'- nè d-
 (art.) woman her my+(belonging (adv.) her
 sè-px'ajò-yt' (col.I) (col.I)
 'I consider this woman mine'

Should the headless relative clause alternative be employed, then we must insert the adverbial form of the copula whose root is -a+k°'(ə)-, which will, of course (cf. 2.1.1.2.3), contain the appropriate column II affix, e.g.

arèy a-ph°ès sarà yè-s-t°'ə-w l- a+k°'-nè
 her be (adv.)
 d-sè-px'ajò-yt' (col.II)
 'I consider this woman (as being) mine'

2.1.2.4.7. Does the language have reflexive possessive pronouns?
 Yes.

2.1.2.4.7.1. If so, describe them

Reflexive possessive pronouns are based on that form of the reflexive pronoun which uses the common noun a-xè 'head' (← *a-xa, cf. Abaza ga 'head'). The original a-grade of the noun is preceded by the relevant column II prefix and followed by the same 'possessive' suffix -t°'ə described immediately above, e.g.

yè- xa- t°'ə (ø-)nè- y- ge- yt'
 his (head) (belonging) it (prev.) he take (fin.)
 'He took his own away'

2.1.2.4.8. Does the language have reciprocal possessive pronouns?
 Yes.

2.1.2.4.8.1. If so, describe them

Reciprocal possessive pronouns are expressed by a reduplication of either the numeral '1' (human or non-human as appropriate) or the relevant personal pronoun, e.g.

wert à+j°ə- y=à+j°ə-y // darà=darà rè- h°sa (-k°a)
 those 1(hum.) & they their wives (pl.)
 (ø-) rə- šə- yt'
 them they kill (fin.)

'They killed each other's wives'

cf. à+k°'ə- y=à+k°'ə-y // darà=darà rə- c°'əx°a-k°a
 1(non-hum.) & they their tail (pl.)
 'each other's tails'

2.1.2.4.9. Does the language have emphatic possessive pronouns?
 Yes.

2.1.2.4.9.1. If so, describe them

Emphatic possessive pronouns combine the emphatic pronouns of the type (sa(rà)) s-xatà and the possessive pronouns set out under (2.1.2.4.1), e.g.

(sa(rà)) s-xatà { s-t°'ə
 yè-s-t°'ə-w
 'my very own'

2.1.2.4.10. Are there other types of possessive pronoun?
 Yes.

2.1.2.4.10.1. If so, describe

Expressions of the type 'something/anything of mine(etc...)' may be derived by suffixing the numeral '1', -k', to the appropriate possessive pronoun, thus -
 s-t°'ə-k'

2.1.2.4.11. Can the above-forms be used adjectivally?

Of the above possessive pronouns, those that may be used adjectivally are:

- (i) the verbally based possessive of the type
 sa(rà) yè- s- t°'ə- w a- ph°ès
 me who to-me belong (stat.non-fin.) the woman
 'the woman who belongs to me // my woman'
 (cf. 2.1.1.4.7, for the normal expression of possession involving the prefixation of the relevant column II affix onto the possessed noun.)
 (ii) the reflexive possessive, e.g.
 yè- xa- t°'ə ph°ès
 his (head) (belong) woman
 'his own woman' (N.B. the lack of the article on the noun)
 (iii) the verbally based emphatic possessive, e.g.
 (sa(rà)) s-xatà yè-s-t°'ə-w a-ph°ès
 'the woman who belongs to me // my woman'

2.1.2.5. Demonstrative pronouns

2.1.2.5.1. Which of the following parameters are involved in the demonstrative-system?

2.1.2.5.1.1. relative distance from the speaker

This '1st. person deixis' is used to refer to objects near the speaker.

2.1.2.5.1.3. relative distance from speaker and hearer

Two degrees of '3rd. person deixis' may be distinguished: (a) used for objects visible to both speaker and addressee (cf. Džanašia, 1954.10). However, this might perhaps better be described as marking objects not greatly removed from the area of discourse.

(b) used for objects visible to neither speaker nor hearer; or perhaps better described as marking objects more remote from the area of discourse.

(The distinction between these last two forms, it seems, is not always preserved.)

2.1.2.5.2. Illustrate the demonstrative-system

		singular	plural
1st. pers. deixis		a(b)rèy	(ab)àrt
3rd. pers. deixis	{ visible -remote	a(b)nèy	(ab)ànt
3rd. pers. deixis	{ invisible +remote	wey//wèbrèy	wert//wèbè/àrt

2.1.2.5.4. Are demonstrative pronouns marked for number?

As just seen in the table immediately above, the demonstratives are indeed marked for number.

2.1.2.5.4.1. Is the means of expressing number in the demonstrative the same as that used with the noun?

Plural-marking on the demonstratives is clearly not the same as that used for nouns.

2.1.2.5.8. Can the above-demonstratives be used adjectivally?

Yes, without any formal alteration - singular forms with singular nouns, plural forms with plurals.

2.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns and other question-words

2.1.2.6.1. Does the language have interrogative pronouns?

See section (1.1.1.2) for a full presentation of the facts relating to question-formation in Abkhaz. The following interrogative pronouns are attested:-

2.1.2.6.1.1.1. general

(i) *d-àrban* 'who//who is it?'. Note that by replacing the column I 3rd. pers. sg. human affix *d-* by any other column I affix we can produce questions of the form 'Who am I(etc..)?' for all three persons, singular and plural, except that the 3rd. pers. pl. *y-àrba-(k'a-)*n may refer only to non-human objects - see (ii) below for the human equivalent.

(ii) *də-z+wès+ta//də-z+wès+da//də-z+wès+ta+da* 'who//who is (s)he?'. The plural form will be *yə-z+wès+t+c'a+da//yə-z+wès+t+k'a+da* 'who//who are they(human)?'. As Marr (1926) observed, the basic form is analysable so:

<i>də-</i>	<i>z+</i>	<i>wès+</i>	<i>da</i>
(s)he	whose	business	who?
(col.I)	(relative for col.II)		(Qu.)

'(S)He, whose business it is, who (is (s)he)?'

The human question-particle may here be devoiced (*-da* ⇒ *-ta*), and to this devoiced form may be added by reduplication this same human question-particle *-da*. As in (i) above, any column I affix with a human referent may stand in place of the *də-* to produce questions of the form 'Who am I(etc..)?'.

(iii) it is customary to treat as interrogative pronouns the forms *(yə-)z+a+k'ə'+zə/e+y* and *(yə-)z+a+k'ə'+y*. However, these are purely verbal forms meaning 'what is it?' or, with the replacement of *(yə-)* by any other column I affix, 'What am I(you, he, etc..)?'. This is clear from the fact that any of the pronouns from (i)-(ii) may be used together with *rəwa* 'of these' in a selective sense, whilst the last two pseudo-pronouns may not, e.g.

<i>rəwa</i>	{ <i>d-àrban</i> <i>də-z+wès+ta+da</i> *(<i>yə-</i>) <i>z+a+k'ə'+(zə)+y</i>	<i>yə-</i>	<i>w-</i>	<i>taxə-w</i>
		that-which	you	want (stat.
				non-fin.)

'Which of these do you want?'

These pseudo-pronouns were analysed by Lomtadidze (1942) as follows: the basic form is:

<i>z+</i>	<i>a+k'ə'+y</i>
that-which	be what?
(rel. of col.II)	(Qu.-particle)

'That which is, what (is it)?'

where *-y* is the question-particle. The root *-a+k'ə'()*- 'to be' requires a column II affix as subject, whose relative form will be *z-*. From a sequence such as

<i>wə- z+</i>	<i>la-cò</i>	<i>z+a+k'ə'+y</i>
you	which+by	go

(non-fin.)

'By what means are you going?'

the first two letters of the second word were associated with the first word. To the resulting structure was added the particle *-y*; and the sequence *-za+y* first gave *-ze+y*, and then this latter produced *-zə+y*, both of which last two forms are currently in use. The suffixes *-ze+y/-zə+y* were subsequently re-interpreted as a variant for the question-particle *-y* - hence, from the basic *z+a+k'ə'+y*, we obtain an additional *z+a+k'ə'+zə/e+y*. The possible addition to these three variants of column I affixes is due to analogy with the other, true interrogative pronouns, for, as we have remarked, the root *-a+k'ə'()*- does not accommodate a column I affix at all.

The plural forms of the pseudo-pronouns will be

(yə-)z+a+k'ə'-k'ò-y // *(yə-)z+a+k'ə'-k'ò-w+zə/e+y*

Of all the above-interrogatives only the pseudo-pronouns admit the predicative case-marker *-s*, e.g.

<i>z+a+k'ə'+s</i>	<i>s- wə- px'ajò-y</i>
what	(pred.) me you regard what(Qu.)

'As what do you consider me?'

(N.B. the single appearance of the question-particle at the end of the entire complex). An alternative would be to turn the predicative question into an adverb by prefixing a column I affix and suffixing the adverbial formant *-nə* in place of *-s*, e.g.

<i>sə-</i>	<i>a+a+k'ə'+nə</i>	<i>s-wə-px'ajò-y</i>
(1st.pers.sg.)		(adv.)

2.1.2.6.2. List all other question-words

yə-zbàn 'why?' (*yə-* is the 3rd. pers. sg. non-human column I affix)

y-a-bà 'where//whither?' (≠ **y-ax'-ba*, where *-ax'-* = 'to')

y-a-bà-n+t' 'whence?'

y-a-bà-nja 'up to where?'

y-an-bà 'when?'

y-an-bà-nja 'up to when?'

z+aq'ə//g+aq'ə 'how many?'

(N.B. that the associated verb must contain the question-particle, since these words are relatives rather than true interrogatives (Lomtadidze, 1942.977-78). This may be seen in such forms as:

<i>yə-z+</i>	<i>aq'arò-y</i>	<i>yə-g+</i>	<i>aq'arò-</i>	{ <i>y</i>
it of-what+	size	(Qu.)	how	<i>zə/e+y</i>
(rel. of col.II)			(rel. of	
'Of what size is it?'			manner)	

- z- } aq'a-n+t° 'how often?' (these too require the question-particle in the following verb)
- y- } a-ba-t° 'è+yè-w 'being -w from -t° 'è+yè- 'where?'
d- }
etc.
- y- } an-ba-t° 'è+yè-w 'belong to what time?'
d- }
etc.
- yè- } z+a+k° 'è+yè-w 'being -w from -t° 'è+yè- where?'
dè- }
etc.
- (cf. yè(etc..)-z- eyps+rò- w- ze+y
to-what similarity (stat.) what
(rel. of col.II) (non-fin.)
'what sort?')
- yè- } z+t° 'è-da 'whose?' (lit. 'who'
dè- }
etc.)

2.1.2.7. Relative pronouns and other relative words

2.1.2.7.1. Does the language have special relative pronouns?

No - for the relative clause forming strategy cf. section (1.1.2.3).

2.1.2.7.3. Do the words for 'place' and 'time' take relative pronouns, or relative words corresponding to 'where' and 'when'?

A temporal relative clause is formed in the same way as a temporal subordinate clause, i.e. by inserting the particle -an(ə)- after the column I affix of the appropriate non-finite verbal form in question, e.g.

Meràb à- kalak' (ø-)anə- nè- y- žə (-z)
M. the town it when (prev.) he leave (Past, non-fin.)
x°àga- n
Friday (stat.past)

'Friday was when Merab left the town'

For the relative of a general locative, -ax'(ə)- will be used in place of -an(ə)-, e.g.

sarà yè-z-bò- yt' Meràb d- ax'ə- n-
I it I see (fin.) he where (prev.)
+(dyn.)

xò a- y°nè
live the house
(Pres.non-fin.)

'I see the house where Merab lives'

The notion of 'whither' is expressed by the particle -ax'ə+nja-, that of 'whence' by -ax'ə+n+t°-.

2.1.3. Verb-morphology

2.1.3.1. Voice

2.1.3.1.1. Passive

Abkhaz has no passive voice. Dynamic passives are expressed by means of an active verb with a 3rd. pers. pl. subject (agent), e.g.

a- y°nè (ø-)dè- r- gèlo- yt'
the house it they cause stand (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'The house is being built' (lit. 'They are building (making to stand) the house')

As Lomtadidze (1956.208) observes, it is possible to produce an artificial dynamic passive by suffixing the copular root -xa- 'to become' to the base of the verbal complex to be passivised; the agent is expressed by a postpositional phrase, the post-position being the instrumental -la 'by (means of)'. Such artificial passives are virtually unknown in the spoken language, though Lomtadidze notes that they are more widespread in Abaza; they are really restricted to literary attempts at faithfully representing in Abkhaz the passive structures of some other language - hence all thirteen of Lomtadidze's examples are drawn from the (Bzyp) Abkhaz translation from Russian of the Gospels. Below are given two of these examples together with their more normal Abkhaz versions:

zeg'ə yè- dè- r- c'a- xò- yt'
all it them cause learn become (fin.)
(col.I) (IO coll.II) + (dyn.)

a- nc°à yè- la
(art.) God him by

'All will be taught by God'

cf. zeg'ə a- c'a+ra= dèr+ra (ø-)rè- w- we-
(art.) learning knowledge it they receive (dyn.)
yt' a-nc°à yè-la // yè- q'è+n+t°
(fin.) him from
'All will receive instruction by // from God'
(John:6.45)

or sarà bzèya sè-z- bò, wèy s- ab yè- la bzèya
me well me who see he my father him by well
(non-fin.)
dè- ba- xò- yt'
he(?him) see become (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'He who loves me will be loved by my father'

cf. sarà bzèya sè-z-bò, s- ab- g'è bzèya dè- y- bà-
my father too well him he see
s+ t'
(Fut.II) (fin.)
'Whoever loves me, my father also will love him'
(John:14.21)

2.1.3.1.1.4.2. Is there a distinction between dynamic and static passives?

As we have just discovered, there is no true dynamic passive in Abkhaz. However, it is possible to form static passives by making the base of the transitive verb concerned the root of a stative verb (i.e. by adding to the transitive base the stative markers -w+p' in the present, -n in the past). No column III, transitive subject-affix is permitted within such verbal complexes; if the agent is present in the sentence, it is expressed either as above by the postpositional phrase including the post-

position -la 'by', or by the postpositional phrase including the postposition -q'a+n+t°// -q'a+n+t° 'from', e.g.

a- pàra- k'a a- k'olənxàra a-q'a+n+t°
the money (pl.) the collective it from

yə-lə- to- w+p'

it to-her give (stat.)

'The money is (in a state of having been) given to her by the collective' (after Lomtadidze, 1956.202)

Note that causative verbs may also stand in these (subjectless) static passive structures, e.g. (ibid.)

(sarà sè-la) yə- dè- r- q'a- c'o-w+p'
me me by it them cause (prev.) do (stat.)

(col.I) (IO col.II)

'They are in a state of having been made to do it (by me)'

cf. yə- d- sè- r- q'a- c'o- yt'
it them I cause (prev.) do (fin.)
(col.I) (col.II) (col.III) +(dyn.)

'I get them to do it'

2.1.3.1.2. Means of decreasing the valency of a verb

2.1.3.1.2.1. formation of an intransitive from a transitive by not specifying the subject

This is possible in some cases, e.g. (after Lomtadidze, 1956.199)

də- z- bəl- wè- yt'
him I burn (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.I) (col.III)

'I burn him'

vs. də- bəl-wè- yt'
he
(col.I)

'He is burning'

yə- pè- s- qə- yt'
it (prev.) I break (fin.)
(col.I) (col.III)

'I broke it'

vs. yə- p-qè- yt'
it
(col.I)

'It broke'

2.1.3.1.2.2. formation of an intransitive from a transitive by not specifying the direct object

This too is feasible with certain verbs, e.g.

yə- z- jax-wè- yt'
it I sew (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.I) (col.III)

'I am sewing it'

vs. s- jax-wè- yt'
I
(col.I)

'I am sewing'

yə- zə- y°- wè- yt'
it I write (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.I) (col.III)

'I am writing it'

vs. sə- y°-wè- yt'
I
(col.I)

'I am writing'

See also section (2.1.3.8.7).

2.1.3.1.2.3. formation of a reciprocal intransitive verb by expressing both subject and direct object as subject

This is not possible - for reciprocals see section (1.8).

2.1.3.1.2.4. other means of decreasing the valency of a verb

Upon the introduction into a transitive verbal complex of either the potential exponent -z(ə)- or the exponent -amxa-, which indicates the unwillingness of the subject, the subject of the verb is spontaneously demoted to become the (oblique) object 'governed' by whichever of the above-exponents happens to be present and is thus represented in the verbal complex by a column II affix. As is clearly demonstrated by the first pair of examples, the sequence of affixes 'col.II + -z(ə)-// -amxa-' precedes any column II, indirect object affix already present in the complex, e.g.

yə- s- nà- to- yt'
it to-me it give (fin.)
(col.I) (col.II) (col.III) +(dyn.)

'It gives it to me'

vs. y- a+ z- sè- to- m
it it+ (pot.) to-me give not
(col.I) (col.II) (col.II) +(dyn.)

'It can't give it to me'

One might argue (Hewitt, 1979b, note 23) that we have here an instance of spontaneous subject-demotion (i.e. demotion not conditional upon the raising to subject-position of the direct object), for it is possible to use the reflexive affix in place of the column I affix within such complexes, and we saw above (cf. 1.6.ff) that this affix cannot function as anything other than direct object, e.g.

yə+ q- s+ àmxa- yə- r- š-
his+ self I+ unwillingly him cause kill
(col.II) (col.II) (col.II)

we- yt'
(dyn.) (fin.)

'I unwillingly make him kill himself'

No subject-demotion occurs if the verb into which either of the above-mentioned exponents is introduced is intransitive. This can be demonstrated if we choose a verb-form containing one of the conjunctive affixes which precede any column II affix present in the complex whilst following any affix from column I, e.g.

sə- sə- zə- m- co (ø-)l- dər- we-
 I that (pot.) not go it she know (dyn.)
 (col.I) (non-fin.)
 yt'
 (fin.)

'She knows that I can't go'

2.1.3.1.3. Does the language have means of increasing the valency of a verb?

Yes.

2.1.3.1.3.1.1. How is an intransitive verb made causative?

An intransitive verb is made causative by the insertion of the causative formant -r- into the verbal complex immediately before the root, e.g.

d- gəlo- yt'
 he stand (fin.)
 (col.I) +(dyn.)

'He is standing up'

⇒ də- sə- r- gəlo-yt'
 him I cause
 (col.I) (col.III)

'I stand him up'

From this example we observe that the embedded intransitive subject becomes matrix direct object.

N.B. that in the case of intransitive verbs of motion formed by means of an association between a directional preverb and either the root -la- 'to move towards' or the root -c'(ə)- 'to move from/out of', the corresponding 'causatives' will be produced simply by replacing -la- or -c'(ə)- with the roots -c'a- or -x(ə)- respectively (cf. 2.1.1.5), e.g.

(a- qə) də-qə+ ž°- le- yt'
 the horse he horse+onto move (fin.)

'He mounted (the horse)'

⇒ də- qə+ ž°ə- s-c'e-yt'
 him horse+onto I put (fin.)

'I put him on the horse//I helped/forced him to mount'

də-qə+ ž°- c'ə- yt'
 he horse+from-on move (fin.)

'He dismounted'

⇒ də- qə+ ž°ə- s-xə- yt'
 him horse+from-on I remove (fin.)

'I took him off the horse//I helped/forced him to dismount'

2.1.3.1.3.1.2. How is a transitive verb made causative?

Transitive verbs similarly produce their causatives by accommodating the causative formant -r- before the root; if the complex happens to contain a preverb, then there is no way of predicting whether the causative-formant will stand immediately before the root (although this is its place in the majority of such verbs) or immediately before the preverb - N.B. that, if the causative -r- precedes the preverb, no other element will separate this preverb from the root (i.e. the column III affix and the negative, where appropriate, will precede the causative formant), even though in the corresponding non-causative verb, both the column III affix and the negative (where appropriate)

will split this same preverb and root, e.g.

yə-q'a- s- c'è-yt'
 it (prev.) I do (fin.)
 (col.III)

'I did it'

⇒ yə-b- sè- r- q'a- c'e-yt'
 it you I cause (prev.) do (fin.)
 (col.II) (col.III)

'I made you do it'

yə-q'a-sə-m- c'è-yt'
 not

'I didn't do it'

⇒ yə-b- s- mè- r- q'a- c'e-yt'
 you I not cause (prev.) do (fin.)
 (col.II) (col.III)

'I didn't make you do it'

On the other hand, the causative morph separates preverb from root in

a- pə- r- q'a-rà
 (art.) (prev.) cause cut (masd.)
 'to make cut'

which comes from a-p-q'a-rà 'to cut'.

The examples given above show that the embedded transitive subject becomes matrix indirect object.

2.1.3.1.3.1.3. How is a di-transitive verb made causative?

Abkhaz, unlike Abaza (Lomtadidze, 1945, 90-91), avoids 4-person verbs, and so causatives of di-transitives are produced periphrastically - the embedded verb takes the form of the purposive (traditionally 'purpose-conditional') in -r+t°, the matrix verb is a-q'a-c'a-ra 'to make'. The purposive in -r+t° is traditionally stated to be derived from the conditional mood in -r by the addition of the suffix -t° (Aristava et al., 1968:124); in section 2.1.3.5 we suggest that the base-form rather be regarded as the non-finite Future I. The matrix-verb may be either simple or may itself be made causative by the normal insertion of -r-, e.g.

d- bə- l- ta- r+t°
 him to-you she give (purp.)

(col.I) (col.II) (col.III)

(ø-)q'a- s- c'ò- yt' //
 it (prev.) I make (fin.)

(col.III) +(dyn.)

(ø-)l- sè- r- q'a-c'o-yt'
 it her I cause

(col.II) (col.III)

'I make her give him to you'

2.1.3.1.3.2. Is there any formal difference depending on the agentivity or otherwise of the causee?

No.

2.1.3.1.3.3. Is it possible for the causee to be omitted?

No.

2.1.3.1.4. Are there special reflexive or reciprocal verb-forms? Do these have any other uses?

For the special reflexive affix in the verbal complex see section (2.1.2.2.5); such verb-forms have no other uses. We should, however, note the anomalous verb à-qə+r+ba-ra 'to behave affectedly', where both the reflexive particle -qə+ and the causative formant +r+ have become part of a compound root in association with the true verbal root +ba- 'to see'; this compounding of the root is clearly shown by the place of the compounding particle in the Aorist, e.g.

də- m- qə+r+bə-yt'
she not (fin.)

'She did not behave affectedly'

This intransitive verb may also accommodate an indirect object, column II affix, in which case the meaning becomes 'to flirt// try to ingratiate oneself with' and the reciprocal exponent ay- also becomes part of the compound root, e.g.

də-l- m- èy+qə+r+be-yt'
he her not flirt (fin.)

'He did not flirt with her'

For the reciprocal affixes see section (2.1.2.3.5); for other, non-reciprocal uses of the reciprocal affix ay- see section (2.1.2.3.7).

2.1.3.2. Tense

2.1.3.2.1. Which of the following tenses are formally distinguished?

2.1.3.2.1.2. present

The Present may be used in a universal sense ('The earth moves round the sun') and, as a past historic, to refer to past events. In the case of dynamic verbs, the Present also functions as the definite future ('X will certainly do Y').

For stative verbs the Present is formed by adding the finite marker -w+p to the root, e.g.

s-t'ò'w+p'
I stand (stat.)
'I am standing'

cf. the root -t'ò'a-.

yə- s- taxə-w+p'
it I want (stat.)
(col.I) (col.II)
'I want it'

cf. the root -tax(ə)-.

For non-stative (dynamic) verbs the finite formant -(y)t follows the dynamic marker -wa-, which itself follows the root, e.g.

yə- z- bə-yt' (≡ *-ba- wa- yt)
it I see (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.I) (col.III)
'I see it'

where the root is -ba-.

də- s-š- wə- yt'
him I kill (dyn.) (fin.)
'I kill him'

where the root is -š(ə)-.

2.1.3.2.1.3. past

Stative verbs have a single past tense marked by -n attached to the root, e.g.

s-t'ò'a-n
'I stood/was standing'
yə-s-taxə-n
'I wanted it'

Dynamic verbs, on the other hand, have two (absolute) past tenses - (a) the Imperfect, (b) the Simple Past (Aorist); for the Perfect see below under section (2.1.3.3.1.1).

(a) Imperfect: this combines past tense and imperfective aspect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.2). It is formed by replacing the finite marker -(y)t of the Present with the finite marker -n, e.g.

yə-z-bə-n (≡ *ba-wa-n)
'I was seeing it'
də-s-š-wà-n

'I was killing him'

The Imperfect is also used with gnomic functions in certain aphorisms, e.g. (adapted from Čkadua, 1970.133)

an lə- phà d- l+ a- bzò- n,
the-mother her daughter she her+to give-advice (fin.)
(+dyn.)

a- phà a- mc' (ø-)lə- px'ajò- n
the daughter (art.) fly it she count (fin.)

'The mother gives (was giving) her daughter advice, and the daughter counts (was counting) flies'

The Imperfect is also used, devoid of any imperfective aspectual sense, in the apodosis of unreal conditional sentences, e.g. (ibid.131)

b- ca-r, də- b- bə- n
you go if him you see (fin.)
(+dyn.)

'If you had gone, you would have seen him'

(cf. also 2.1.3.2.1.4.3)

(b) Simple Past (Aorist): this combines past tense and perfective aspect. It is formed by placing the finite marker -(y)t immediately after the verbal root, e.g.

yə-z-bə-yt'
'I saw it'
də-s-šə-yt'
'I killed him'

In addition to being used in straightforward narrative contexts to describe (recent or remote) past events, viewed as simple, completed actions, this tense has a variety of other functions:-

(i) an event about to occur in the immediate future may be expressed as though it were already accomplished, e.g.

b- ab də-cè-yt'
your father he go (fin.)
'Your father is (on the point of) going' (lit. 'Your father went')

(ii) It appears in expressions of greeting, in wishes, oaths and curses, e.g. (ibid. 135)

wa bzəya (ø-)wə- bə- yt'
you something-good it you see (fin.)
'Greetings'

š°ə- c'x (ø-)aa- bzəya-xe- yt'
your night it (prev.) good become (fin.)

'May your night be peaceful'

(cf. the subjunctive (ø-)aa-bzəya-x-aa+yt', which is also possible here)

dàara wə- žò- w+p', Čəyx'a, warà wə- m- (p)sə-
very-much you cheat (stat.) Chixa you you not die
yt', dàara
(fin.) very-much

'You're utterly cheated, Chixa, I assure you (lit. you didn't die), utterly!'

y- àa-ba- x'o- w a+k'
that-which we see (Perfect) (non-fin.) anything
ə- q'a-ja- m, a- f (ø-)à- s- t'
it be (emphatic) not (art.) lightning it it strike (fin.)

'What we've already seen is nothing at all, damn it (lit. lightning struck it)!'

(iii) Accompanied by the particle indicating a direct quote,

h°a, an Aorist has concessive force, e.g.

à- kalak' [a] ax' wac°ə s-ce-yt' h°a,
the town it to tomorrow I go (fin.) (?saying)
a+k'ə+g'ə (ø-)àa- s-x°o- m
anything-at-all it (prev.) I buy not
(dyn.)

'Although I shall go to town tomorrow, I shan't buy anything at all'

(iv) To indicate a nuance of unhappiness, tenderness, displeasure or indignation, the (vocative) noun used in addressing the hearer may have suffixed to it the root -xa- 'become', which is itself put into the Aorist-form, e.g. (adapted from ibid. 136)

yə-š+pò-w- h°o, Ahmàt-xe- yt'
it how you say A. become (fin.)
(non-fin.)

'What on earth are you saying, Ahmet?'

(v) The Aorist is also found in proverbs, where it is endowed with gnomic functions, e.g. (ibid.)

à- jma (ø-)z+ c°ə- jə- z, à- mš- g'ə
(art.) goat it whom+from lose (non-fin.) the day too
(ø-)yə+ c°ə- j- t'
it him+from lose (fin.)

'He who loses (lost) a goat, loses (lost) the day too'

2.1.3.2.1.3.2. Are there also relative past tenses?

Yes (cf. 2.1.3.5.2 for the non-finite counterparts of the tenses set out immediately below).

2.1.3.2.1.3.2.1. Past Indefinite

This combines the same tense and aspectual characteristics as the Aorist, but it differs from this latter by incorporating within its meaning the notion of the co-ordinating conjunction 'and'. This obviously requires that the Past Indefinite always be followed by another (usually Aorist) verb to complete the sense of the sentence.

This tense is produced by suffixing the finite marker -n directly to the root, e.g.

yə-z-bà-n

'I saw it and...'

də-s-šə-n

'I killed him and...'

The first example-sentence below shows that there is no absolute requirement that the subjects of the Past Indefinite and its following verb be identical, e.g. (adapted from ibid. 139)

yə- d°ə+k°ə- l- c'a- n rə- y°nə-q'a yə-
them (compound prev.) she send (fin.) their home to they
cè-yt'
go (fin.)

'She sent them home and they went'

However, if we look at the following sentence -

a- xàc'a a- ph°əs də- y- bà- n də-d°ə+k°-le-yt'
the man the woman her he see (fin.) ? out go (fin.)

the meaning of the first part is quite clear; it is 'the man saw the woman and...'. The question is then - as the column I, subject-affix də- of the second verb may theoretically refer to either a male or female 3rd. person entity, is the sentence ambiguous between the readings (i) 'The man saw the woman and (he) went out', and (ii) 'The man saw the woman and she went out'? The answer is that only reading (i) is permissible. This demonstrates that the subjects of the Past Indefinite and the following verb will be treated as identical, unless the affixal structure of the verbs concerned is such as to make this reading absolutely impossible, as in the case of the first sentence above.

2.1.3.2.1.3.2.2. Plu-perfect

This tense is used, as its name suggests, to indicate that some past action preceded some other past event. The Plu-perfect is formed by suffixing the finite marker -n to the Perfect-suffix -x'a- (cf. 2.1.3.3.1.1), e.g. (ibid. 144)

warà wə- y- àanja- g'ə wə- gàra
you you be-born before even your cradle
(ø-)q'a- h- c'a- x'a- n
it (prev.) we make (Perf.) (fin.)

'Even before you were born, we had made your cradle'

The Plu-perfect is also used as one of the means to express the idea 'X almost happened' - this being a not unnatural development from the basic meaning of this tense, e.g. (ibid. 146)

yaxà sə-ps- x'a- n
last-night I die (Perf.) (fin.)

'Last night I almost died'

A similar emphatic role of the Plu-perfect is its role in the apodosis of unreal conditions in the past, e.g. (adapted from ibid. 147)

warà wə- q'a-m- za+r, s-k'à- ha x'a- n
you you be not if I down fall (Perf.) (fin.)

which may perhaps best be translated by the idiomatic English -

'Had you not been (here), I was as good as flat on my face'

2.1.3.2.1.3.2.3. Future-in-the-past

As we have already seen (2.1.3.2.1.3a), the Imperfect tense may function as a future-in-the-past in the apodoses of past unreal conditional sentences. For a similar use of the two Conditional tenses see section (2.1.3.2.1.4.3).

2.1.3.2.1.4. future

If one wishes to form a future for a stative verb, one has first to add to the root the element -zaa-, to which is then added the typically Present tense ending for dynamic verbs, -we-yt', e.g.

də-t' ā-zaa+we+yt'
he sit

'He will be sitting'

Also possible is the addition of the (dynamic) Future II ending -s+t, e.g.

yə-sə-ma- zaa+s+t'
it I have

'I'll probably have'

(Note the nuance 'probably' associated with this particular suffix.) Addition of the Future I exponent -p' is rare in the sense of providing a stative verb with a future tense, since the compound exponent -zaa+p' is used as one of the markers of the inferential mood (cf. 2.1.3.4.9).

It is traditionally stated that Abkhaz has the following two dynamic futures: (a) the Definite Future, formed by suffixing -p' to the verbal root; (b) the Indefinite Future, formed by suffixing the compound exponent -s+t' (\Leftarrow *-ga+t') to the verbal root; the terms Definite and Indefinite were first used by Uslar (1887.35). However, my informant uses the ordinary Present tense to describe actions which will definitely occur in the future. For this reason we shall not use the terms Definite and Indefinite Futures but shall rather call the form in -p' Future I, and that in -s+t' Future II. Their meanings, being predominantly modal, will be listed in the following subsection.

2.1.3.2.1.4.1. Modal values of the future tenses

(a) Future I

(i) The clearest modal value of this form is seen when the subject is 1st. person plural. The Future I then expresses an exhortation 'let us...!', e.g.

ħa-cà-p'
we go (Fut.I)
'Let's go!'

With such exhortations one may optionally use the imperative of the verb āa+y-ra 'to come', e.g.

šə- aa+y // w/b- aa+y ħa-cà-p'
you(pl.) come you(m./f.sg.) come
'Come on, let's go!'

Suffixation of the element -yš lends a nuance of reluctance to the exhortation, e.g.

Nəli-raa rə- q'ə+nja ħa-cà-p'ə-yš a+j'ə+r d- aa-
Neli (pl.) them to anyone he come
x'ā- za+r (ø-)aa-bà- p'
(Perf.) if it we see (Fut.I)

'O well then let's go to Neli and company and see if anyone has come yet!'

(ii) The general sense of the Future I is rather difficult to capture; perhaps it may best be described as representing a future action which is dependent on some other action or event - upon a condition either stated or tacitly assumed. One may, therefore, assume that the meaning 'Well, such being the case, ...' is part of the signification of this particular tense, e.g.

āymaa-k'a (ø-) āa- s-x'a-p'

shoe (pl.) them (prev.) I buy

'Well, in that case (sc. something like - if you really want me to), I shall buy some shoes'

ā- kalak' [a] ax' də-cà-r, āymaa-k'a (ø-)āa-y- x'a-p'
(art.) town it to he go if he

'If he goes to town, (then, there's a good chance that) he'll buy some shoes'

But note that only by using the Present tense here

((ø-)āa-y-x'o-yt') is it possible to show the certainty of the fulfilment of the act of buying.

(iii) A use related to this last is the following: the subject is 1st. person singular, and the form in -p', although expressing the intention of the speaker to do something, nevertheless seeks the approval, or at least the attention, of those present for the action being suggested, e.g.

s- an- dēw l- q'ə+nja s-ca-p'

my mother big her to I go

'I'll go to grandmother's (sc. if that's alright by you//what do you think?)'

The addition of -yš once again adds a note of reluctance on the part of the speaker.

(iv) with a 2nd. person subject the form in -p' may express a mild imperative or entreaty, e.g.

waxà arà bə- q'a-z, wac'ə bə- cà-p'
tonight here you be (stat.imper.) tomorrow you go

'Stay here tonight - (you can) go tomorrow!'

With a 3rd. person subject, we have -

Meràb d- aa- p', nas ħa-cò- yt'
M. he come then we go (fin.)

+(dyn.)

'Let Merab come, then we'll go!'

(N.B. the Present tense in the second clause here.)

(b) Future II

(i) This tense has the nuance 'probably, possibly', e.g.

ā-kalak' [a]ax' də-cà-r, āymaa-k'a (ø-)āa-y-x'a-s+t'

'If he goes to town, he'll probably buy some shoes'

Compare this sentence with the almost identical one above where the final verb was āa-y-x'a-p', and note that there is apparently a greater likelihood of the subject actually buying his shoes when the form of the main verb is Future II.

(ii) With a 1st. person singular subject, the Future II expresses a sudden impulse on the part of the subject, e.g.

s-an-dēw l-q'ə+nja s-ca-s+t'

'I think I'll be off to grandmother's!'

2.1.3.2.1.4.3. relative futures

The two futures just described each have a past counterpart, which we shall call Conditional I and II respectively (N.B. that these tenses are to be kept quite distinct from the Conditional mood, which is dealt with in section 2.1.3.4.2). The former is produced by removing the element -p', which signals both finiteness and futurity in the Future I, and by adding to the (restored) future marker -rə- the finite ending -n; the Conditional II is produced by adding this same finite marker to the characteristic suffix of the Future II, namely -ga- (note the restoration of the -a-, which is absent in the finite Future II). The two conditionals are to be distinguished according to the same principles we attempted to explain above when discussing the two futures. The conditionals are used in the apodosis of unreal conditional sentences where English distinguishes a non-progressive (future/present) and a progressive conditional ('He would do it//would be doing it') plus a similar pair for the past ('He would have done it//would have been doing it'). Just as the Present may be opposed to the two so-called future tenses by virtue of indicating an action which will definitely occur, so the Imperfect (cf. 2.1.3.2.1.3a) may similarly be opposed to either of the conditionals when they stand in the apodosis of an unreal conditional sentence, e.g.

h- y'əza wac'ə d- aa- wà- z+t+g'ə, a- waps
our friend tomorrow he come (dyn.) if (art.) Ossetic
bəzš'a d- a+ la- c'əž'a-rə- n //
language he it+about talk (Fut.I) (fin.)

(Conditional I)
d-a+la-c'əž'a-ga- n // d-a+la-c'əž'o- n
(Fut.II) (fin.) talk (fin.)
(Conditional II) +(dyn.)
'If our friend were to come (Imperfect)
tomorrow, he would talk about Ossetic'

By substituting for the second and third words above the words
abrà waž'ə dè-q'a-z+t+g'ə
here now he be if

we shall obtain the sentence 'If our friend were now here, he would be talking about Ossetic'. By replacing waž'ə 'now' with yacè 'yesterday', we obtain 'If he had been here yesterday, he would have been talking about Ossetic'. As an example of the non-progressive meaning of these same three forms, we may quote

wəy yacè də- z-bà-za+r // də-z-bà-z+t+g'ə,
that-one yesterday her I see if if
yə-b+ à- s-ħ'a-rə- n //
it you+to I say (Fut.I) (fin.)

(Conditional I)
yə-b+à-s-ħ'a-ga- n // yə-b+à-s-ħ'o- n
(Fut.II) (fin.) say (fin.)
(Conditional II) +(dyn.)
(Imperfect)

'If I had seen her yesterday, I would have told you'

Both conditionals are used with certain secondary meanings, and in such cases there is virtually no difference in meaning between them.

(i) Both conditionals are found where English would have either a Simple Past or Perfect in association with the words

'no doubt', e.g. (after Čkadua, 1970.176)

yə- q'a- la- z ...
that-which (prev.) happen (non-fin.)
(ø-)š'ə- aħa- rə- n // (ø-)š'ə-aħa-ga- n
it you hear (Fut.I) (fin.) (Fut.II) (fin.)
'You (have) no doubt heard what happened'

(ii) They may be used, as in English also, to represent repeated and contrasted past actions in expressions like the following (N.B. the optional presence of the iterative suffix -la-)

z+nə as (ø-)yə-ħ'a-(la-) rə- n //
now like-this it he say (iter.) (Fut.I) (fin.)
(ø-)yə-ħ'a-(la-)ga- n, daqa+ z+nə ans
(Fut.II) (fin.) other time like-that
(ø-)yə-ħ'a-(la-)rə-n // (ø-)yə-ħ'a-(la-)ga-n
'Now he would say it like this, now he would say it like that'

The Imperfect may also be used here, with or without the iterative -la-.

(iii) The conditionals are used to indicate a wavering on the part of the subject as to what he should do, e.g. (ibid.)

s-cà-ga- n // s-ca-rə- n Temər y- ax'
I go (Fut.II) (fin.) (Fut.I) (fin.) T. him to
'Perhaps I should go to Temer's'

2.1.3.2.2. Do the same tense-distinctions obtain in all moods and non-finite forms?

The infinitive/verbal noun (masdar) is tenseless. The present absolute functions as an English present participle and indicates that an action is contemporaneous with another (cf. 2.1.1.3). The past absolute in -nə shows that one action precedes another, just like the English perfect participle, and is used in association with any of the tenses, being thus a relative past tense (i.e. relative to the tense of whatever verb it is accompanying).

The remaining non-finite forms, which take the place of finite tenses in subordinate clause constructions, have the same tense-specifications as their finite counterparts. The non-finite Past Indefinite is virtually synonymous with the non-finite Aorist, despite a clear functional distinction between their finite forms, e.g.

a- xac'a a- ph'əs də- y- šə- yt' (*də-y-šə-n)
the man the woman her he kill (fin.) (non-fin.)
(Aorist) P.Ind.)

'The man killed the woman'

With the Past Indefinite here, the sentence would be incomplete 'The man killed the woman and...'. Therefore, the Past Indefinite is starred for equivalence with the finite Aorist. However, when the non-finite form is required, as in the following relative structure, either form is possible, with preference being shown for that of the Past Indefinite -

a-ph'əs də- z- šə (-z) a-xac'a
her who kill (non-fin.Aor.) (non-fin.P.Ind.)

'the man who killed the woman...'

2.1.3.2.3. To what extent are the tenses absolute, to what extent relative?

2.1.3.2.3.1. with respect to mood

The indicative mood is as outlined above (2.1.3.2) - for a table of finite indicative forms see section (2.1.3.4.1). The imperative is conveyed by the pure verbal root and refers, naturally, to the (present-) future. Moods formed by the attachment of special modal suffixes to the appropriate non-finite tense-forms may retain the tense-signification of their non-finite base-form (cf. the inferential described in 2.1.3.4.9) or may not - the addition of the conditional marker -r to the non-finite Aorist (i.e. to the pure root of dynamic verbs) produces a form that most commonly has future temporal reference, although it may also represent an unreal condition in past time and even an indefinite temporal clause in past time (cf. 2.1.3.4.2a). The details of the temporal reference of the individual modal formations is given where the moods themselves are described in detail (cf. 2.1.3.4).

2.1.3.2.3.2. with respect to finiteness

The situation is as given above (2.1.3.2) and in the section dealing with the modal formations (2.1.3.4).

2.1.3.2.3.3. with respect to subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses are basically represented by non-finite verb-forms - the conditional mood (i.e. the form taken by the verb in the protases of conditional sentences) is produced by attaching the suffix -r to certain non-finite forms (cf. 2.1.3.4.2, where any changes to the temporal reference of the non-finite bases is described in detail; and for the 'purposive', which is traditionally described as being formed from the conditional in -r(a), see section 2.1.3.5, where we argue that the base-form should rather be regarded as the non-finite Future I). Each indicative tense has its own non-finite member, whose temporal reference reflects that of the corresponding member. However, we saw in section 1.1.1.1 that in speech-reporting, if the introductory verb is in the past tense and the indirect mode of reporting is used, the tense of the non-finite, subordinate verb may remain that which was employed in the actual words spoken. In this case, then, we have an instance of each tense being used relatively to that of the introductory verb.

2.1.3.3. Aspect

2.1.3.3.1. Perfect aspect

2.1.3.3.1.1. Is there a perfect aspect and how is it formed?

The Perfect is formed by suffixing to the root (of dynamic verbs) the element -x'a-.

2.1.3.3.1.2. In which tenses does this form exist?

This form exists in (i) the Present Perfect, formed by adding to the element -x'a- the finite marker -yt', e.g.

yə-q'a s-c'a-x'è- yt'
it (prev.) I do (Perf.) (fin.)

'I have already done it'

and (ii) the Plu-perfect, formed, as seen above (cf. 2.1.3.2.1.3.2) by adding the finite-marker -n to the element -x'a-.

2.1.3.3.1.3. If there is a perfect aspect, what does it indicate?

2.1.3.3.1.3.2. a situation that has held at least once in the period leading up to the present

This is entirely consistent with the Perfect's basic role of marking an action that has 'already' occurred, e.g.

London bæ- ca-x'ò- w- ma z+nè+k'ə+r
L. you go (Perf.) (non-fin.) (Qu.) ever

'Have you ever been to London?'

As stative verbs have no Perfect, the question 'Have you ever been in London?' would be expressed by the simple past of the copula, e.g.

London bè-q'a-z- ma z+nè+k'ə+r
be (non-fin.)

2.1.3.3.1.4. Are there similarities between the expression of perfect aspect and recent past tense?

No.

2.1.3.3.2. Aspect as different ways of viewing the situation

2.1.3.3.2.1. Which of the following are formally marked?

2.1.3.3.2.1.4. continuous aspect

As a special stative paradigm exists, it may be said that continuous aspect (non-habitual imperfective aspect) is always formally marked in the present by the finite suffix -w+p', in the past by -n (recall that for dynamic verbs suffixation of the finite-marker -n directly onto the root produces the Past Indefinite). However, the verb 'to know' a-dër-ra is formally dynamic (non-stative) in Abkhaz; but observe that when used in the Aorist, Past Indefinite, Perfect and Plu-perfect (tenses which are inherently perfective), the verb rather means 'to realise'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.5. progressive aspect

In the past tense dynamic verbs always indicate this aspect by adding the finite suffix -n to their dynamic marker -wa-, this combination producing the (progressive) Imperfect tense.

The Present is not specifically progressive in meaning, although it may be used to describe a present progressive action. One can, however, make the progressive nature of the action formally explicit by using the denominative postposition -q'ə 'in' (cf. a-q'ə 'mouth') as the root of a stative verb (copular complement) in association with the masdar of the verb whose progressivity is being described, e.g.

a- x'mär-ra d- a+ q'ə-w+p'
(art.) play (masd.) he it+in (stat.pres.)
'He is playing'

This same expression may also be employed for a past progressive action, in which case the main verb will be *d-a+q'è-n*. For the future one may either put the stative verb just mentioned into its future form (*d-a+q'è-zaa+p'* or *d-a+q'è-zaa-we-yt'*) or one may use the suffix *-la-* (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.8) placed immediately after the root of the Present tense, e.g.

də-x°mar-lo-yt' ← **də-x°mar-la- wa- yt'*
he play (suff.) (dyn.) (fin.)

'He will be playing'

2.1.3.3.2.1.6. ingressive aspect

The iterative suffix *-la-* in association with the Imperative and Future I may indicate the start of the action concerned, e.g. (Čkadua, 1970.276)

š°- ca-là, s-š°ə+x'- jò- yt'
you go (suff.) I you+(prev.) catch-up (fin.)

'You set off and go, I'll catch you up'

px'a- q'à h- ca-là- p'
front to we go (suff.) (Fut.I)

'Let's start to go forward'

2.1.3.3.2.1.7. terminative aspect

2.1.3.3.2.1.7.1. Is there a special form indicating the completion of another situation prior to the situation being described?

The Past Indefinite is a past perfective form which indicates the completion of one past action prior to the commencement of another. It thus cannot alone form a complete statement and is usually followed by an Aorist verb - 'X did Y and (+ Aorist)', cf. 2.1.3.2.1.3.2.1. The past absolutive in *-nə* (cf. 2.1.1.3) similarly indicates the completion of one action prior to the commencement of another but, being equivalent to the English perfect participle, is freely used in association with any tense of verb.

2.1.3.3.2.1.8. iterative aspect

This is optionally expressed by means of the suffix *-la-*, which is placed directly after the root. This suffix is not possible if the verb is in one of the inherently perfective tenses (Aorist, Past Indefinite, Perfect, Plu-perfect), nor is it found in association with stative verbs, e.g.

a- gk'òlè-n+t°' a- y°nè- q'a s-cà-cəpx'aja à-
(art.) school from (art.) house to I go every-time (art.)
mp'el s-à- s- wa- n // s-à-s-lo- n
ball I it hit (dyn.) (fin.) (iter.+dyn.) (fin.)
(Imperf.)

'Every time I got home from school, I used to play ball'

In association with a future tense *-la-* may have an iterative sense, e.g. (ibid.274)

arèy àq'ara àwə+ra (ø-)à- wə- m- ta- n — à-
this much height it to-it you not give (prohib.) (art.)
ž°lar yə-r- ba- là- p'
people it they see (iter.) (Fut.I)

'Don't give it (sc. a chimney) so much height ...

people will see it (sc. every time they pass by)'

However, it often functions simply as a progressive marker (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.5), e.g. (adapted from ibid.)

warà wə- cà - sarà wə- mat°a- k°a (ø-) sə-r- ba-
you you go I your clothing (pl.) them I cause dry
là- p' // (ø-)sə-r-ba-là-š+ t'
(progr.) (Fut.I) (Fut.II) (fin.)

'You go, (while) I'll be drying your clothes'

(also possible here, of course, would be any of the three future progressive forms given earlier under 2.1.3.3.2.1.5).

2.1.3.3.2.1.13. other aspects

The non-human nominal plural-marker *-k°a* also has a role to play which is similar to that of the iterative suffix just examined. It too may be slotted into the verbal complex immediately after the root and shows that the verbal action has been accomplished 'several times'. Unlike *-la-*, it is not excluded from use in the Aorist, Past Indefinite, Perfect and Plu-perfect tenses; indeed, my informant feels that it is most naturally associated with the Perfect, e.g.

yə-z-ba- k°a- x'è- yt'
it I see (suff.) (Perf.) (fin.)

'I have already seen it several times'

(cf. 2.1.3.6.4 for the use of *-k°a* in this same position as a reinforcement for the plurality of any of the personal pronominal prefixes).

2.1.3.3.2.2.1. What possibilities are there for combining different aspectual values?

Apart from the combination of *-k°a* with the Perfect just described, the only possible combination of aspectual values seems to be that of progressive and iterative, e.g.

wəy də-y°nà- la- cəpx'aja y- an a- gazèt
he he house-into enter every-time his mother the paper
d- à- px'a-lo- n
she it read (iter.+dyn.) (fin.)

'Every time he entered the house, his mother would be reading the paper'

Nevertheless, the simple (progressive) Imperfect is apparently preferred here (*d-à-px'o-n*).

2.1.3.3.2.2.2. Are there any restrictions on the combination of different aspectual values with the various

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.2. tenses?

The iterative exponent *-la-* is never associated with either tense of stative verbs (continuous aspect) or with the inherently perfective tenses of the dynamic verbs (Aorist, Past Indefinite, Perfect, Plu-perfect).

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.3. moods?

The iterative suffix *-la-* is not compatible with debitive expressions formed on the nouns *a-x'tà//a-k°nagà* 'portion, lot' (cf. 2.1.3.4.6b) or with that formed on the noun *a-wàl* 'obligation' (cf. 2.1.3.4.6c). Some doubt was expressed as to the combinability of this iterative *-la-* with the verb expressing potentiality, *à-l-ga-ra* 'to be able' (cf. 2.1.3.4.7).

The overt expression for progressive aspect involving the verb a-q'è-zaa-ra 'to be in' (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.5) does not combine with either of the debitive expressions based on the nouns a-x'tà//a-k'nagà 'portion, lot' and a-wàl 'obligation'. Neither is it found with à-l-ga-ra 'to be able', with monitory expressions incorporating the verb a-g°-q-a-nè-zaa-ra (cf. 2.1.3.4.11), or with -amxa-, the prefix marking the subject's unwilling involvement in the verbal action (cf. 2.1.3.4.15).

2.1.3.3.2.2.4. non-finite forms?

The iterative suffix -la- is never found in the masdar (infinitive).

2.1.3.4. Mood

2.1.3.4.1. indicative

This mood exists, but it is not marked by any single exponent whose sole function is to convey 'indicativeness'. For example, the finite marker -(y)t' is found in the following indicative tenses:-

Present	s-co-yt'	'I go'
Aorist	s-ce-yt'	'I went'
Future II	s-ca-g+t'	'I may go'
Perfect	s-ca-x'e-yt'	'I have already gone'

but this same exponent is also found in the subjunctive -(z)aa+yt'. Similarly, the finite marker -n appears in the following indicative tenses:

Imperfect	s-co-n	'I was going//would (have) go(ne)'
Past Indefinite	s-ca-n	'I went and ...'
Conditional I	s-ca-rè-n	'I would (have) go(ne)'
Conditional II	s-cà-ga-n	'I would probably (have) go(ne)'

Plu-perfect s-ca-x'à-n 'I had already gone'

but the inferential -zaa+rè+n and negative imperatives (prohibitions) also end in -n. The marker -p' of the Future I is a portmanteau morph combining representation of the morphemes 'finiteness' and 'futurity', but it is also associated with the inferential exponent -zaa+p'.

2.1.3.4.2. conditional

(a) the fundamental marker on the verb in the protasis of a conditional sentence is -r 'if'. In this its simplest form it is suffixed to the non-finite form of the Aorist (i.e. to the simple root of dynamic verbs). The resulting form represents a real condition in future time, e.g.

wəy də- z-bà- r, yè+r+las+nə s-aa- wè- yt'
that-one her I see if quickly I come (dyn.) (fin.)

'If I see her, I'll come quickly'

However, if the form of the apodosis is such as to require that the protasis be interpreted as representing an unreal condition in past time, forms in -r may indeed bear this meaning, e.g.

(Čkadua, 1970.157)

a- wəxa sə-n- xà- r, (ø-)ey+lè- s-k'+ aa-
the night I (prev.) stay if it (compound I (root+suff.)
wa- n prev.)
(dyn.) (fin.)

'If I had stayed the night, I would have realised it'
Such a form may also represent what amounts to an indefinite temporal clause in past time, e.g. (ibid.)

a- là d- a+ c°-g°ò- mə+z+t', a- y°è
(art.) dog he it+of afraid (neg. Imperf.) (art.) man
(dyn.)
y+a+šə+w də- y- bà- r, a- y° də-c'a- lo-
drunk him he see if (art.) moth//mite he under go
(fin.)
(dyn.)

'He was afraid of dogs, (but) whenever (if ever) he saw a drunk, he used to crawl under a moth//mite' (i.e. he used to shrink away in dread)

(b) One may note the conditional -r plus the clitic -g'ə 'and, also' being attached to the non-finite form of the Future II to produce the following indirect question

wac°'ə àq°'a- q'a s-ca-r, wəy də- z-bà- ga-
tomorrow Sukhumi to I go if that-one her I see (Fut.II)
r+ g'ə (ø-)z- dər- wa- da
if+indeed it he-who know (dyn.) who?

'If I go to Sukhumi tomorrow, who knows if I'll see her?'
(for the formation of indirect questions see section 1.1.2.2.4)

(ci) If the conditional exponent is suffixed to any non-finite form other than that of the Aorist, then, instead of -r alone, we have forms ending in -za-r. It seems best to analyse these as being simply the conditional -r added to the (original) non-finite forms of the Imperfect, Past Indefinite, Conditional I and II, and Plu-perfect (cf. Lomtadze, 1954.269-70) - the present-day non-finite forms of these tenses end in -z, not *-za. From what has been said above (2.1.3.2.1.3), it will be obvious that -za+r can be the only marker of conditionals for stative verbs, and it derives from the suffixation of -r to the non-finite past tense of the stative verb in question. However, stative verbs in -za+r may actually have present temporal reference, e.g. (Čkadua, 1970.159)

b- ca, (ø-)b- taxə-za+r
you go it you want if
'Go, if you want to!'

But they may also refer to the past as in (ibid. 160):-

Francia a- zè+h'a+n (ø-)c°g'ā-m- za+r bzəya (ø-)q'a-
France it for it bad not if good it (prev.)
rə- m- c'a-jè- yt'
they not do (emphatic) (fin.)

'What they did for France, if it was not bad, was not good'

In the case of dynamic verbs, forms ending in -za+r placed immediately after the root are derived from the non-finite form of the Past Indefinite (i.e. by the addition of -r to the non-finite Past Indefinite, which ends with -z(a) following the root). Such forms appear in real, past conditions, e.g. (adapted from ibid. 161)

barà a- c'a- rà bzəya-nə b- à+ l- ga-
you (art.) learn (masd.) good (adv.) you it+from (root)
finish

za+r, harà y- ah+ g°a- pxò- yt'
if we it our+heart warm+(dyn.) (fin.)

'If you graduated with distinction, we are pleased'

Such forms may even have future temporal reference, as the next sentence illustrates:

wəy də- z-bà- za+r, yə+r+las+nə s-aa- wè- yt'
that-one her I see if quickly I come (dyn.) (fin.)

'If I see her, I'll come quickly'

Such forms are also used, without any conditional force, as virtual equivalents for the Past Indefinite 'he did it and ...', e.g. (ibid. 162)

a- y°n- a+ q'è d- nè+y-za+r, ph°ezba-k' a- y°nè-
(art.) house it+into he go if girl one the house
ž° d- gə- y°nà- z (ø-)yə-bè- yt'
old she that be-in (non-fin.) it he see (fin.)

'He arrived home and saw that a girl was in the old house'

These forms in -za+r may also represent an unreal, past condition, e.g.

wəy yacè də- z-bà- za+r, yə-b+ à- s-ħ°o-
that-one yesterday her I see if it you+to I tell
n +(dyn.)
(fin.)

'If I had seen her yesterday, I'd have told you'

(cii) forms in -za+r deriving from the non-finite Imperfect will show the dynamic element -wa- immediately after the root. Such forms have both present and future temporal reference in real conditional sentences, e.g. (ibid. 163)

y- ax'ə- n- xò (ø-)b- dər- wa- za+r,
they where (prev.) live+(dyn.) it you know (dyn.) if
à- zamana
(art.) fine

'If you know where they live, fine!'

wəy də- z-bò- za+r, d- aa- r+c
that-one her I see+(dyn.) if she come (purposive)
yə-l+ à- s-ħ°o- yt'
it her+to I tell+(dyn.) (fin.)

'If I see her, I'll tell her to come'

This form also appears in unreal, past conditions, e.g. (ibid. 164-65)

barà b- an àž°a-k°a yə- s+ à- l- ħ°a-z
you your mother word (pl.) which me+to she say (non-fin.)
(ø-) b- dər- wa- za+r, ... (ø-)s+ à- b- ħ°a-rə-
them you know (dyn.) if it me+to you say (Fut.I)
n
(fin.)

'If you had known what words your mother said to me, you'd have said to me...'

Rarely such forms are used to represent the repetition of real conditions in the past (Čkadua, 1970.165). e.g.

abràx' wəy d- aa- wà- za+r, yə- z+xa+rà
hither that-one he come (dyn.) if his fill
(ø-)yə-fà- r+c d- aa- wà- n
it he eat (purp.) he come (dyn.) (fin.)

'If he used to come here, he used to come to eat his fill'

(ciii) Forms in -za+r immediately preceded by the Perfect exponent -x'a- may either express real, perfect conditions, e.g. (ibid. 165)

wəy a- š°q'è sar-g'è yə-z-ba- x'è- yt' — bar-
that (art.) book I too it I see (Perf.) (fin.) you
g'è yə-b- ba- x'è- za+r eyħa-g'è (ø-)èyy'ə- w+p'
too it you see (Perf.) if more even it better (stat.)

'I too have already seen that book - if you also have already seen it, so much the better'

or unreal, past (perfect) conditions, e.g.

wəy də- z-ba- x'è- za+r, barà yə-b+ à- s-ħ°o-
that-one her I see (Perf.) if you it you+to I tell
n +(dyn.)
(fin.)

'If I had (already) seen her, I'd have told you'

(civ) Forms where -za+r is preceded by the Future I marker, -rə-, have a forceful, threatening nuance; the associated apodosis is usually characterised by a verb in the subjunctive (ibid. 166), e.g.

abrèy a+k'è (ø-)a+ xə- b- ħ°[a]+aa- rə-
this anything it it+about you say+ (suffix) (Fut.I)
za+r, sə-ps- rà (ø-)bə- b[a]-aa+yt'
if my die (masd.) it you see (subjunctive)

'If you say anything about this, so let it pass that you witness my death!'

(cv) The element -za+r is apparently rarely found preceded by the Future II exponent -sa- (ibid. 166); the temporal reference of such forms is future, and they seem to be restricted to indirect questions; N.B. the optional addition of the clitic -g'ə 'also, even', e.g.

wa-[a]x' bə- cà-ga- za+r(-g'ə) (ø-)s+ a- ħ°
thither you go (Fut.II) if it me+to tell

'Tell me if you'll go there'

(d) Another conditional suffix is -t+g'ə, which appears to be made up from the clitic -g'ə 'also, even' plus some other element. This compound exponent may be attached to the non-finite forms of the Past Indefinite, Imperfect or Plu-perfect tenses.

(di) With the Past Indefinite the suffix may be used in unreal, past conditions, e.g.

wəy yacè də- z-bà- z- t+g'ə,
that-one yesterday her I see (non-fin.) if
yə-b+ à- s-ħ°o- n
it you+to I tell (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'If I'd seen her yesterday, I'd have told you'

Alternatively, the resulting form may appear in the protases of real, past conditions, e.g.

wəy a- xàc'a də- b- bà- z- t+g'ə,
that (art.) man him you see (non-fin.) if
yə-z- s+ à- bə- m- ħ°e- y
it why me+to you not tell (Qu.)

'If you saw that man, why didn't you tell me?'

(dii) The compound formant -t+g'ə added to the non-finite Imperfect may convey a repeated, unreal, past or present condition, e.g.

lassè=lassè sè-r+c'a+y'ò d- aa- wà- z- t+g'è,
 often my teacher she come (dyn.) (non-fin.) if
 Anglèz bèžš'a èy'-nə yè-s-c'ò- n
 English language better(adv.) it I learn (fin.)
 +(dyn.)

'If my teacher had come//came (more) often, I'd (have)
 learn(ed) English better'

Alternatively, it may indicate a real, past condition of imper-
 fective aspect, e.g. (ibid.167)

sarà sè-phà wè- l- èylaħa-wa- z- t+g'è,
 I my daughter you her like (dyn.) (non-fin.) if
 yè-z- s+ ò- w- m- ħ'a- zè- y wèbrəy warà
 it why me+to you not tell (non-fin.) (Qu.) it you

'If you liked my daughter, why didn't you tell me?'

With reference to the present-future, such forms are found in
 unreal conditions, e.g.

wac'ò Lòndon-q'a ħ- cò- z- t+g'è, ħ-
 tomorrow London to we go+(dyn.) (non-fin.) if our
 y'èza dè- ħa-ps+ aa- wà- n
 friend him we look-for+(suffix) (dyn.) (fin.)

'If we were to go to London tomorrow, we'd look for our
 friend'

waž'ò Lòndon-q'a ħ- cò- z- t+g'è, à-
 now London to we go+(dyn.) (non-fin.) if (art.)
 x'ta ħ- a- k'- wà- n
 cold us it seize (dyn.) (fin.)

'If we were travelling to London at this moment, we'd
 freeze!'

(diii) When -t+g'è is suffixed to the Plu-perfect non-finite
 form, the resulting complex may be used only for real, plu-
 perfect conditions, e.g.

wəy wa-[a]x' dè-ca-x'à- z- t+g'è,
 that-one there he go (Perf.) (non-fin.) if
 yè-z- s+ à- bə- m- ħ'e- y
 it why me+to you not tell (Qu.)

'If he had already gone there, why didn't you tell me?'

(div) The complex produced by suffixing -t+g'è to the non-
 finite past tense form of stative verbs may be used in the pro-
 tases of unreal conditions relating to past, present or future
 time, e.g.

ħ- y'èza yacè // waž'ò // wac'ò abrà
 our friend yesterday now tomorrow here
 dè-q'a-z- t+g'è, a- wəps bèžš'a d- at la-
 he be (non-fin.) if the Ossetic language he it+about
 c'əž'ò- n
 talk+(dyn.) (fin.)

'If our friend had been here yesterday//were here now//
 tomorrow, he would (have)be(en) talking about the
 Ossetic language'

Alternatively, this form may appear in real, past conditions,
 e.g. (ibid. 168)

wə- xa- zè a- wəs yə- wə- r- wə- r+c (ø-)
 your head for (art.) work him you cause work (purp.) it
 wə- taxè-z- t+g'è, sarà yè-s+ ò- w- ħ'a- nda
 you want (non-fin.) if me it me+to you tell (optat-
 ive)

'If you wanted to make him work for you, would that you
 had told me!'

2.1.3.4.3. imperative

2.1.3.4.3.1. In which persons and numbers does the imperative have special forms?

The imperative exists only in the second person (for 3rd.
 person imperatives cf. 2.1.3.4.16) and, for dynamic verbs, con-
 sists of the bare verbal stem (i.e. devoid of suffixes), which
 is identical with the non-finite Aorist (at least, as regards
 the post-radical structure of the complex). In the case of in-
 transitive verbs, the subject-affix is always present in the
 pre-radical verbal structure, e.g.

š'ò- t'ò'a

you(pl.) sit

'Sit down!'

b- sè-s

you(f.sg.) me hit

'Hit me!'

If the verb is transitive, then the subject-affix is present
only if the subject is 2nd person plural, e.g.

yè-q'a- š'ò- c'a

it (prev.) you(pl.) do

'Do it!'

BUT yè-q'a-c'ə

'Do it!' (i.e. you m.//f.sg.)

N.B. that some verbal roots ending in -a lose this vowel in the
 imperative, e.g.

yè-f

it eat

'Eat it!' (cf. à-fa-ra 'to eat')

Prohibitions have the negative particle -m(ə)- placed before
 the root (or before the causative exponent, if present) and
 also require a word-final -n after the root; the subject-affix
 is always present, e.g.

š'ò-m-t'ò'à-n

'Don't sit down!' (i.e. you pl.)

yè-q'a-bə- m-c'ə'n

you(f.sg.)

'Don't do it!' (i.e. you f.sg.)

də- s- pə- w- mə- r- q'à-n

him me (prev.) you(m.sg.) not cause cut (suff.)

'Don't make me cut him!' (i.e. you m.sg.)

The imperative of stative verbs, on the other hand, has a -z
 appearing immediately after the root (in other words, from the
 point of view of the post-radical structure of the complex,
 there is complete identity between the imperative and the non-
 finite past tense), e.g.

wa bə- q'a-z

there you(f.sg.) be

'Stay there!'

The negative is not used in association with stative imperat-
 ives - one must employ the negative of the first type of
 'debitive' example discussed below in section 2.1.3.4.6, namely

arà bə- q'a-m- za+r-ò- w+p'
 here you be not if be (stat.)
 'Do not be here!' (lit. = 'You must not be here')

2.1.3.4.4. optative (cf. also 2.1.3.4.16)

This mood is marked by the suffix -nda(z). With stative verbs, this formant is attached to the simple verbal root and has present temporal reference, e.g. (ibid. 178)

tàca bzəya-k' d- bə- ma- nda(z)
 daughter-in-law good one her you have

'Would that you had a good daughter-in-law!'

When this formant is attached to the bare stem of dynamic verbs (i.e. to the non-finite Aorist), the temporal reference is either future, e.g. (ibid.)

sarà arəy à- mčəbž (ø-)sə- z-ga- z
 I this (art.) week it how I bear (non-fin.)

(ø-)b- dərə- nda(z)

it you learn

'Would that you may learn how I endured this week!'

or past, e.g.

arəy yacə yə-s+ à- b- ħ'a- nda(z)
 this yesterday it me+to you tell

'Would that you had told me this yesterday!'

If -nda(z) is attached to the non-finite present of dynamic verbs, the temporal reference may be future, present or (progressive) past, e.g. (ibid.)

ħ- rə+ la- m- š'ò- nda(z) a- gəgš'ég
 we them+among not fall+(dyn.)

'May we not fall among the beasts!'

yə- sə- q'a la- k'a- z (ø-) ž'- dər-
 they how (prev.) happen (pl.) (non-fin.) it you know
 wa- nda(z)
 (dyn.)

'Would that you knew how these things happened!'
 arəy a- š'q'ə yacə b- à- px'o- nda(z)
 this (art.) book yesterday you it read+(dyn.)

'Would that you had been reading this book yesterday!'

Not surprisingly, such optatives easily come to function in the protases of conditional sentences with the sense of English 'if only!', e.g. (ibid. 179)

abrà-[a]x' s- àayg'ara-[a]x' w- àa+y-wa- nda(z),
 hither me near to you come (dyn.)
 wə- pənc'a (ø-)ta+pə- s-c'o'a- rə- n
 your nose it (preverbs) I break (Fut.I) (fin.)

'If only you would come over here near me, I'd break your nose!'

The suffix -nda(z) may also be attached to the non-finite Perfect, e.g.

s- taa+c'ò (ø-) z-ba- x'à- nda(z)
 my parents them I see (Perf.)

'If only } I had seen my parents!'

'Would that

In association with the element eg'à 'however much', -nda(z) usually has suffixed to it the clitic -g'ə 'also, even', and there is no longer any nuance of 'optativeness' left. In such

constructions the temporal reference must be the past, e.g.

eg'à də- z-bò- nda(z)+g'ə
 however-much her I see+(dyn.)

s- g'ə y- à- x'o- n
 my heart it it please+(dyn.) (fin.)

'However much I saw her, my heart used to rejoice'
 eg'à d- a+ z- x'əcə-nda(z)+g'ə, aħ y- àž'a
 he it+about think the-king his word

y- a+ zə- y- x'əc- rə- z
 that-which it+about he think (Fut.I) (non-fin.)

(ø-)yə +zə- m- dər- t
 it he +(potential) not know (fin.)

'No matter how much he thought about it, he didn't know what he was to make of the king's statement' (ibid. 180)

eg'à də- z-ba- x'à- nda(z)+g'ə də-sə- q'a-c
 him I see (Perf.) he how be (Perf.non-
 də-q'a-n
 he be (fin.)

'However often I've seen him, he's remained unchanged' If we require such a construction to have present or future temporal reference, then, instead of the optative suffix, we must use the appropriate form of the conditional mood, e.g.

eg'à də- z-bò- za+r+g'ə, s- g'ə y- à-
 her I see+(dyn.) if my heart it it
 x'o- yt'
 please+(dyn.) (fin.)

'However often I see her, my heart rejoices'
 eg'à də-z-bà-r+ g'ə, s-g'ə y-à-x'o-yt'
 if

'However much I see her, my heart will rejoice'

Just as what is essentially the optative mood may be used as a 'semi-'conditional with the meaning 'if only', so by suffixing -awaz to a true conditional (in -r alone or in -za+r) we shall have another means of expressing the idea of regret inherent in the phrase 'if only'. The suffix -awaz may be derived from the form

y- a- w- àa- zə+y
 that-which it does (suffix) (Qu.)

'What will happen?'

Examples:-

yax'à d- aa- r- a+w+à+z
 today he come if

'If only he were coming today (sc. and not some other time)!'

waž'ə-c'o'q'a də- c'ò- za+r-a+w+a+z
 now exactly she sleep if

'If only she were sleeping right now!'

abrəy a- k'inò (ø-)z-ba- x'à- za+r-a+w+a+z
 this (art.) film it I see (Perf.) if

'If only I had seen this film already!'

2.1.3.4.5. intentional

As we have already seen (2.1.3.2.1.2), the Present indicative is used to mark an action that the subject definitely intends to occur in the future. However, another expression

with the specific meaning 'X intends to ...' also exists - it consists of the purposive (cf. 2.1.3.5) in either -ne or -c plus the copula a-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be', e.g.

s-ca-ra+nə // s-ca-r+c sè-q'o-w+p'

I go I be (stat.)

'I intend to go'

2.1.3.4.6. debitive

(a) The verb expressing the action to be carried out stands in the conditional mood, most commonly in -r alone. This is then followed either by the present of the copular root -a- 'to be' or by the corresponding past form of the copular root -a+k'o'e-, e.g.

s-cà-r- o-w+p' (← *a- a- w+p')

I go it be (stat.)

(coll.II)

'I must go' (of which the negative form would be

sə-m-cà-r-o-w+p')

s-ca-r-à+k'o'e-n (← *a- a+k'o'e-n)

it be (stat.)

(col.II)

'I had to go // should have gone' (of which the negative form will either be sə-m-cà-r-à+k'o'e-n or

s-ca-r-à+k'o'e-mə-z+t')

With stative verbs, of course, only the conditional in -za+r is possible, e.g. (Čkadua, 1970.194)

à- h'osa rac'à (ø-) wè- ma- za+r-o-w+p'

(art.) women many them you have if

'You ought to have many women

In place of the two copular roots just illustrated one may also use either à+k'o'e-xa-ra 'to come into being//become', e.g. (ibid. 195)

wəbrà-[a]x' də-cà-r, də- y- bà- r (ø-)à+k'o'e-

there to he go if him he see (condit.) it be

xo- n

become (fin.)

+(dyn.)

'If he had come, he would have had to have seen him'

(of which the negative form would be də-y-bà-r à+k'o'e-xo-mə-z+t') or a-taxə-zaa-ra 'to want'. This verb is 'inverted', which is to say simply that in Abkhaz the verb is intransitive, with the result that the object desired is marked by a column I affix, the person desiring by a column II affix. In the construction being examined here the 3rd. person singular non-human column I affix correlating with the clause represented by the conditional verb is absent as its referent immediately precedes it; this leaves the one column II 3rd. person singular non-human affix acting as a 'dummy' indirect object marker (cf. Georgian unda 'he/she/it wants it // it is necessary'), e.g.

s-ca-r (ø-) a- taxə-w+p'

it it

(col.I) (col.II)

'I must go' (of which the negative form would be

a-taxə-m)

s-ca-r (ø-)a-taxə-n

'I should have gone // had to go'

(of which the negative form would be a-taxə-mə-z+t')

The conditional mood may be replaced by the masdar containing the appropriate column II, possessive prefix, which in the present example would be s-ca-rà.

(b) Either of the two nouns meaning 'portion, lot' may be used as the root of a stative verb in another analytic expression of obligation; the nouns are a-k'nagà and a-x'tà. If the masdar is employed to represent the verb whose action is necessary, then two variants are possible: (i) the nominal root of the stative verb will be preceded by the appropriate column II possessive prefix, and the masdar will begin with the definite-generic article a-, e.g.

a- ca-rà (ø-)sə+x'tò-w+p' //

(art.) go (masd.) it my lot (stat.) //

(ø-)sə+k'nagò-w+p'

'It is necessary that I go'

(of which the negative forms would be sə+x'tà-m // sə+k'nagà-m)

a-ca-rà (ø-)sə+x'tà-n // (ø-)sə+k'nagà-n

'It was necessary that I go' (or 'I should have gone')

(of which the negative forms would be sə+x'tà-mə-z+t' // sə+k'nagà-mə-z+t')

(ii) alternatively, the masdar will begin with the appropriate column II, possessive prefix, whilst the finite verb contains the same 'dummy' column II 3rd. person singular non-human affix described in the last section in the case of a-taxə-zaa-ra, e.g.

s-ca-rà (ø-)a+x'tò-w+p' // (ø-)a+k'nagò-w+p'

'It is necessary that I go'

(of which the negative forms would be a+x'tà-m // a+k'nagà-m)

If, on the other hand, the conditional in -r represents the subordinate verb, then this conditional will show in its pre-radical structure an affix correlating with the subject, and the nominal root of the stative verb will be preceded by the 3rd. person singular non-human column II 'dummy'-affix a-, e.g.

s-ca-r (ø-)a+x'tò-w+p' // (ø-)a+k'nagò-w+p'

'It is necessary that I go'

(of which the negative forms would be a+x'tà-m // a+k'nagà-m)

s-ca-r (ø-)a+x'tà-n // (ø-)a+k'nagà-n

'It was necessary that I go // I should have gone'

(of which the negative forms would be a+x'tà-mə-z+t' // a+k'nagà-mə-z+t')

(c) The noun a-wàl 'obligation' (cf. Georgian vali 'obligation') may also be used as the root of a stative verb and be preceded by the infinitive (masdar), e.g.

a-ca-rà (ø-)s+wàlə-w+p'

'I am obliged to go'

(of which the negative form would be s+wàlə-m)

a-ca-rà (ø-)s+wàlə-n

'I was obliged to go'

(of which the negative form would be s+wàlə-mə-z+t')

My informant expressed a strong reluctance to accept the suggested variant whereby the masdar would contain the appropriate possessive prefix whilst the nominal root of the stative verb would be preceded by the 'dummy'-affix a-.

2.1.3.4.6.1. Is any distinction made between moral and physical obligation?

No.

2.1.3.4.6.2. Are different degrees of obligation distinguished?

Of the three types of debitive expression (a) seems to have the greatest degree of obligation associated with it. And (c) seems stronger than (b).

2.1.3.4.7. potential

In a simple affirmative statement that the ability to do something exists the verb à-l-sa-ra 'to be able' is used in association with the masdar of the verb whose action is possible, e.g.

a-	ca-rà	//	à-	q'a-	c'a-ra
(art.)	go (masd.)		its	(prev.)	do (masd.)
			(col.II)		
(ø-)	sè-	l-	go-	yt'	
it	to-me	(prev.)	be possible	(fin.)	
(col.I)	(col.II)		+(dyn.)		

'I can go // do it'

If the verb is negated, then we have a choice of constructions:

(a) the verb à-l-sa-ra may incorporate the negative particle,

e.g. a-ca-rà // à-q'a-c'a-ra (ø-)sè-l-go-m
not

'I can't go // do it' (sc. either because I'm too busy or because I am physically incapable)

(b) alternatively, the potential marker -z(ə)-, which is homonymous with the benefactive relational particle (cf. 2.1.1.4.1), will simply appear within the pre-radical complex of the verb whose action is being described as impossible. When this potential marker is inserted into the complex of an intransitive verb, nothing happens to the personal pronominal affixes of the complex, e.g.

sə-	z-	cò-	m
I	(pot.)	go	not
(col.I)		+(dyn.)	

'I can't go' (sc. because I don't want to)

cf. sə- gə- zə- m- co (ø-)l- dər- we-
I that (pot.) not go it she know (dyn.)
(col.I) (non-fin.)
yt'
(fin.)

'She knows that I can't go'

However, when it is inserted into a transitive complex, the following change occurs - the verb's subject may no longer be represented by the usual column III affix; instead, it is represented by a column II affix, which is, in effect, 'governed' by the potential marker, for no other element may intervene between these two elements, e.g.

yə-sə+	zə-	q'a-	c'o-	m
it I+	(pot.)	(prev.)	do	not
(col.II)		+(dyn.)		

'I can't do it'

cf. yə-s- sə+zə-q'a-m- c'o (ø-)l-dər-we-yt'
that not do
+(dyn.)

'She knows that I can't do it'

The potential -z(ə)- may be used with non-negative verbs in:-
(i) conditions, e.g.

àq'o'a-	q'a	sə-z-	cà-r,	sə-y'əz-	c'a
Sukhumi	to	I	(pot.)	go	if my friend (pl.) them
(ø-)	z-bo-	yt'			
them	I see	(fin.)			

+(dyn.)

'If I can go to Sukhumi, I'll see my friends'

(N.B. that this condition implies that I have it within my own power to go or not, whereas the alternative a-ca-rà (ø-)sè-l-sa-r, as in the case of the negative examples given above, rather suggests physical ability; this same dichotomy is also valid for the other examples below);

(ii) questions, e.g.

wac'o'a	àq'o'a-q'a	bə- z-	ca-rè-	{ ^w ma
tomorrow	you	(pot.)	go (Fut.I)	(Qu.)

'Will you be able to go to Sukhumi tomorrow?'

(iii) wishes, e.g.

a-	gk'òl	a-	c'è	a+k'è	(ø-)sə+z-	c'à-
(art.)	school	it	in	something	it	I+ (pot.) learn
nda(z)	h'a	d-	à+	šta-	n	

(optative) saying he its+track (fin.)

'It was his desire to learn something at school' (lit. = "If only I could learn something at school!" (was the desire) he pursued')

(N.B. that the potential -z(ə)- is always used when the verb a-dər-ra 'to know' is negated.)

2.1.3.4.8. degree of certainty

(a) simple statement: the copular is used, as in:-

a-	y'ònè	də-q'o-w+p'
(art.)	house	he be (stat.)

'He is at home'

(b) obligation-statement: the construction is that described under 2.1.3.4.6a, e.g.

a-y'ònè	də-q'a-za+r-ò-w+p'
---------	--------------------

'He must be at home'

(c) contingent: the conditional mood is used together with the auxiliary verb à-q'a-la-ra 'to happen', which may be either Present or Future I indicative, cf. section 2.1.3.4.14, e.g.

a-y'ònè	də-q'a-za+r	(ø-)q'a	là-	p'	//
		if	it	(prev.)	happen (Fut.I)

(ø-)q'a-lò-	yt'
happen	(fin.)
+(dyn.)	

'He may be at home'

(d) assumption: here Abkhaz employs one of its many idioms - a finite verb is used for the action being assumed; this is followed by the particle indicating a direct quotation h'a, which in turn is followed by the copula à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be', which contains the column I affix appropriate to the person making the assumption, e.g.

a-y°nè dè-q'o-w+p' h°a sè-q'o-w+p'
 saying I be (stat.)
 (= I think)

'I think that he is at home'

A variant for this last example seems to involve a contamination of the last two structures, such that the conditional mood of (c) combines with the idiomatic expression 'to think' found in (d), e.g.

a-y°nè dè-q'a-za+r h°a sè-q'o-w+p'
 if

'I think he's at home'

2.1.3.4.9. authority for assertion

Abkhaz is able to indicate that an assertion is made as a result of inference or hear-say by means of the following device - the complex exponent -zaa+p' is suffixed to the non-finite forms of the following tenses: Perfect, Aorist, Future II, and Present. An example based on the Perfect would be

dè-r-š-x'ā-zaa+p'
 him they kill (Perf.)

'Apparently they have already killed him'

On the other hand, the complex exponent -zaa+rə+n is suffixed to the non-finite forms of the Imperfect, Past Indefinite, Conditional II, and Plu-perfect, and, as a result of the collocation of the final -z of these non-finites with the initial z- of the suffix concerned, one -z- disappears, as illustrated in this example of the Plu-perfect

dè-r-š-x'ā-zaa+rə+n

'Apparently they had already killed him'

All tenses thus have a corresponding inferential mood with the exception of the Future I and Conditional I (see Hewitt, 1979 for a discussion).

In the case of stative verbs, -zaa+p' is attached to the bare stem, e.g.

dè-štā-zaa+p'
 he lie

'He is lying down apparently'

There is no way of deciding whether the suffix -zaa+rə+n is similarly attached to the bare stem or to the non-finite past, which subsequently loses a -z-, just like the corresponding dynamic verbs described above - the result is the same, viz.

dè-štā-zaa+rə+n

'Apparently he was lying down'

2.1.3.4.10. hortatory

For exhortations (1st. person imperatives) see 2.1.3.2.1.4. lai.

2.1.3.4.11. monitor

The idiomatic expression a-g°-q-a-nè-zaa-ra, which literally means 'the-self-to-be-in-the-heart (i.e. centre of intelligence)', is used in the subjunctive in conjunction with either a negative subjunctive (for a general warning) or with a prohibition (for a more immediate warning) representing the action being warned against, e.g.

wè- g°è wè+ q- a- nè-z(aa+yt')
 your heart your+self it in (subjunctive)
 wè- k'a- m- h[a]- àa+yt' // wè-k'a-m-ha-n
 you down not fall (subj. (prohibition
 (prev.) suffix)
 'Be careful you don't fall down!'

2.1.3.4.14. contingent

The verb à-q'a-la-ra 'to happen' is used in association with the appropriate conditional mood (in -r alone for a simple action; in -(wa-)za+r for a progressive action). Note that the Future I and the Present of the main verb are interchangeable if the temporal reference is future or present, e.g.

wac°'è a- k°à (ø-)a- wè- r (ø-)q'a-
 tomorrow (art.) rain it it make (condit.) it (prev.)
 là- p' // (ø-)q'a-lò- yt'
 happen (fin.) happen+(dyn.) (fin.)

'It may rain tomorrow'

d- à- px'o- za+r (ø-)a'q-là-p' // (ø-)q'a-lò- yt'
 he it read (condit.)
 +(dyn.)

'He may be reading'

a- y°nè dè-q'a-za+r (ø-)q'a-là-p' //
 (art.) house he be (condit.)
 (ø-)q'a-lò- yt'

'He may be at home'

If the temporal reference of the sentence is past, then either the Imperfect or Conditional I tenses of the main verb are possible, e.g.

yacè a- p'rofèsor d- aa- r (ø-)q'a-la-
 yesterday the professor he come (condit.)
 rè-n // (ø-)q'a-lò-n, yè- y°èza abrà dè-gè-
 (Cond.I) (Imperf.) his friend here he that
 q'a-z (ø-)yè-dèr- wa- z- t+g'è
 be (non-fin.) he know (dyn.) (non-fin.) if

'The professor might have come yesterday, if he had known that his friend was here'

An alternative construction is for à-l-sa-ra 'to be possible' to be used impersonally, i.e. with a dummy, 3rd. person singular non-human column II affix standing in place of the personal affix indicating the person possessing the ability concerned; this verb will then be preceded by either a conditional mood or the masdar (plus appropriate possessive prefix) of the verb whose action is being stated to be possible, e.g.

s-ca-r // s- ca-rà (ø-)à- l- go-
 I go (condit.) my go (masd.) it it (prev.) be-possible
 yt'
 (fin.) +(dyn.)

'There is a possibility that I shall go // I may go'

2.1.3.4.15. unwillingness

A special affix is inserted into the pre-radical verbal complex to show that the subject is acting unwillingly; it is -amxa-, and it has the same effect on transitive verbs as does

the potential affix -z(ə)- (cf. 2.1.3.4.7), namely the expected column III, transitive subject-affix is replaced by the corresponding column II affix, which becomes 'governed' by the affix -amxa-, e.g.

s-amxa-co- yt'
I go (fin.)
+ (dyn.)
'I am going unwillingly'
yə-s- s-amxa- q'a- c'o (ø)-l- də- we-
it that I (prev.) do it she know (dyn.)
yt' (col.II) (non-fin.)
(fin.)

'She knows that I am doing it unwillingly'

Both the potential and unwillingness markers may stand in the same complex, e.g.

yə+ q- y+ amxa-sə+zə- r- š- wa- m
his+self him I+ (pot.) cause kill (dyn.) not

'I can't make him kill himself unwillingly'

(where -amxa- is construed with the subject of the embedded verb).

2.1.3.4.16. subjunctive

The characteristic suffix for this mood is the compound exponent -aa+yt'. In the case of stative verbs, the suffix is added to the non-finite past tense form, which ends in -z; however, the subjunctive suffix may be entirely omitted such that this non-finite past tense form in -z becomes endowed with subjunctive functions. For dynamic verbs, the suffix is added to the non-finite Aorist (i.e. to the simple stem) to produce a form having future temporal reference - if the verbal root ends in -a, this will fall before the aa- of the suffix. The suffix is also attached to (a) the non-finite Past Indefinite (in -z) for past temporal reference, (b) the non-finite Imperfect (in -wa-z) for present temporal reference, and (c) the non-finite Plu-perfect (in -x'a-z) for perfect temporal reference. In each of these last three cases (i.e. where the base-form ends in -z) the subjunctive suffix may be omitted leaving the simple non-finite forms themselves endowed with subjunctive functions.

The subjunctive is used for (i) 3rd. person imperatives, e.g. (Čkadua, 1970.187)

à- rax'- g'ə ... a- tēp a- q'ə yə-q'a-z
the cattle also its place it in it be (non-fin)
(aa+yt')
(subj.)

'Let the cattle also be in its place!'

yə-l- g[a]-aa+yt'
it she take (subj.)

'Let her take it!'

(ii) for wishes in all three persons, e.g. (ibid.)

sə-ps- aa+yt'
I die

'May I die!'

bzəya (ø)-wə- b[a]-aa+yt'
good(thing) it you see

'Greetings!' (lit. 'May you see something good!')

a- nc'ə wə- y- m- š- aa+yt'
(art.) God you he not kill
'May God not kill you!'
rax' (ø-) sè-ma- z (-aa+yt')
cattle them I have (non-fin.)
'May I possess cattle!'

(iii) when -aa+yt' is attached to forms ending in -z, i.e. where it is possible for the entire suffix to be omitted (in the case of stative verbs, since this suffix always attaches to the same form and this ends in -z, there is here no formal difference), the meaning is slightly different, being rather 'let it be so that...//so be it then that...', e.g.

wəy wə- g'əla saq'a də-bəyo-w- zə+y!
that your neighbour how he rich (non-fin.) (exclamation)
a- y'n- k'ə x-pa, à- rax' = à-š'ax'
(art.) house (pl.) 3 (non-human) (art.) livestock
rac'a+nə (ø-) yə-mo- w+p'. (ø-) yə-ma- z
many them he have (stat.) them he have (non-fin.)
(-aa+yt'), sarà a+k'ə + g'ə (ø-) sè-ma- m, axà yahà
subj.) I anything even it I have not but more
nasəp (ø-) sè-mo- w+p'
happiness it I have (stat.)

'How rich that neighbour of yours is! He has three houses and many animals.'

'Let him have them! (What of it that he has them?!).

I have nothing but yet have greater happiness.'

yə-sə+z- q'ə- l- t- wa- z (-aa+yt'),
it me+for (prev.) she shout (dyn.) (non-fin.) (subj.)

wəy l- àxa (ø-) sè-ma- m
that-one her time(for) it I have not

'So she's shouting for me - let her, I don't have time for her!'

yə-l- gə- z (-aa+yt') - wəs+g'ə yə-ga-
it she take (non-fin.) (subj.) anyway it take
t'ə- n

(gerundive) (fin.)

'She took it - so what? it was to be taken in any case!'

də- l- ga- x'ə- z (-aa+yt'), sa s-rə-
him she take (Perf.) (non-fin.) (subj.) I them

x'- jò- yt'
(prev.) overtake (fin.)
+ (dyn.)

'So she's taken him already - it doesn't matter, I'll catch them up' (ibid.)

2.1.3.5. Finite and non-finite forms

Abkhaz has a non-finite formation which is here called 'purposive' but which is traditionally termed the 'purpose-conditional mood' (Georgian = mizan-p'irobiti k'ilo; Russian = uslovno-celevoe naklonenie), which is generally described as being formed by means of the suffixation of one of the three exponents -c, -nə, -t' to the conditional mood in -r alone (see Aristava et al., 1968.124). The work just quoted also states another generally accepted view to the effect that: 'In the Abkhaz literary language there also exists an analytic means of representing the purpose-conditional. In such cases

the postposition -zə "for" is attached to the masdar.' If such forms in -zə are examined, it will be seen that, when formed on transitive verbs, they contain both the column III, subject-affix and the column I, direct-object affix, e.g.

yə-q'a- s- c'a-ra-zə (← *ra-a- zə)
it (prev.) I do it for
'... that I do it'

But it is known from section 2.1.1.3.2 that the masdar may not contain any column III or column I affixes. It is clear also from the form just given that -zə is attached to a base ending in -ra, just as does the masdar too. On the other hand, there actually exists a form that ends in -ra and contains column I and column III affixes - this is the non-finite Future I, and, since clauses expressing purpose have a temporal reference which is future (i.e. relative to the temporal reference of their introductory verbs), there is clearly an argument in favour of analysing such formations as being based not on the masdar but on the non-finite Future I. Now let us turn to the purposives proper. Formations in -nə are always attached to bases ending in -ra; where the formant is -t°, whilst forms in -r+t° are now the most common, parallel formations in -ra+t°'ə are not unknown; formations in -c always end in -r+c. Given the precisely parallel formations of forms in -zə and those in -nə, plus the possibility of attaching -t°'ə to a base ending in -ra suggests to the present author that we are here dealing with a unified phenomenon, and that all four formations ultimately derive from the non-finite Future I - the present-day compound suffixes -r+c and -r+t° will result from the loss of interconsonantal -a- (loss of the vowel a is not unknown in Abkhaz generally - witness such imperative formations as yə-f 'Eat it!' ← à-fa-ra 'to eat' - and is very frequent in the Bzyp dialect, whereas the proponents of regarding the base-form here as being the conditional mood in -r would either have to propose an unusual rule of a-insertion or to assume that an older form of the conditional suffix was actually -ra in order to account for forms in -ra+nə and -ra+t°'ə). What has been said so far about the morphology of the purposives is true only for those derived from dynamic verbs; purposives built on stative verbs show the element -zaa- before the usual purposive-endings (i.e. those endings that are characteristic of the purposive in dynamic verbs), e.g.

də-štà-zaa-r+t°' // də-štà-zaa-ra+t°'ə
də-štà-zaa-r+c
də-štà-zaa-ra+nə
də-štà-zaa-ra+zə

where -štà- is the root 'to lie (down)'. Such forms will be based on the non-finite Future ending in -zaa-ra, which derives from the (admittedly rare) stative Future formation in -zaa-p'.

As regards the function of these purposives, it is by no means clear that the three formations in -c, -nə and -t° should all be described by one single term - whilst the first two formations (plus that ending in -zə) certainly serve to illustrate a purpose, e.g.

də- s-š- ra+zə // də-s-šə-r+c s-aa- yt'
him I kill I come (fin.)
'I came in order to kill him'

də- r- š- ra+nə // də-r-šə-r+c (ø-)rə- jbə- yt'
him they kill it they decide (fin.)

'They decided to kill him'

the remaining formation in -t°, in addition to its function in the periphrastic construction employed when a di-transitive verb is made causative (2.1.3.1.3.1.3), also appears in consecutive clauses, e.g.

webàs (ø-)yè+ cə- w+p' à- y°- ra
so it him+with (stat.) (art.) run (masd.)
(= he-is-fat)

(ø-)yè-lə- m- ga- r+t°' eyps
it he (prev.) not can as

'He is so fat that he can't run'

and in such potential expressions as:

s-ca-r+t°' // s-ca-ra+t°'ə sè-q'o-w+p'
I go I be (stat.)
'I am ready go to//can go'

Perhaps, therefore, this last formation could more justifiably be styled the 'potential-consecutive'.

Also, in addition to possessing the archetypal non-finite form, the verbal noun (masdar//infinitive), which for dynamic verbs ends in -ra (à-q'a-c'a-ra 'to do, make'), and for stative verbs in -zaa+ra (à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be'), together with a past absolute in -nə (equivalent in meaning to an English perfect participle) and (in the case of dynamic verbs only) a present absolute, which is formally identical to the non-finite Present and is equivalent in meaning to an English present participle (cf. 2.1.1.3), Abkhaz makes a most important distinction between finite and non-finite forms of each main indicative tense. The function of the non-finite forms is, by incorporating a variety of affixes, to represent the entire range of subordinate constructions - cf. the section on syntax to discover which affixes combine with the non-finite forms to produce the various subordinate structures; the non-finite forms presented below are those used for the representation of Abkhaz relative clauses (see 1.1.2.3).

2.1.3.5.2. Finite and non-finite tense-forms

There are 10 dynamic tense-forms in Abkhaz, which may be set out in two groups, thus:-

I
Present: s-co- 'y't' (← *s-ca-wa- 'y't') 'I go'
Aorist: s-ce-yt' (← *s-ca-yt') 'I went'
Future I: s-ca-p' 'I shall go then'
Future II: s-ca-g+t' 'I shall probably go'
Perfect: s-ca-x'è-yt' (← *s-ca-x'a-yt') 'I have already gone'

II
Imperfect: s-co-n (← *s-ca-wa-n) 'I was going'
[Past Indefinite s-ca-n 'I went and ...']
Conditional I: s-ca-rè-n 'I should go them'
Conditional II: s-cà-ša-n 'I should probably go'
Plu-perfect s-ca-x'à-n 'I had already gone'

From this we see that the finite marker of the second group is -n, which is simply replaced by -z to produce the corresponding non-finite forms set out below (in the case of the second variant for the non-finite Plu-perfect the final -z is added to a

base-form which does not appear in any corresponding finite form; this base-form is discussed later in this section):-

Imperfect: yə-cò-z (≡ *yə-ca-wa-z) '(he) who was going'
 Past Indefinite: yə-cà-z '(he) who went'
 Conditional I: yə-ca-rè-z '(he) who would go then'
 Conditional II: yə-cà-ḡa-z '(he) who would probably go'
 Plu-perfect: yə-ca-x'à-z//yə-cà-cə-z '(he) who had already gone/(he) who had already gone several times'

The finite forms of the first group show the finite marker -'y't', with the exception of the Future I, whose final -p' combines the functions of indicating both futurity and finiteness. When transformed into their non-finite counterparts, the finite marker -'y't' simply disappears - in the case of the Future II, the final -a is then restored to the characteristic morph of this tense to produce final -ḡa, whilst for the Future I, -p' disappears and the underlying morph characteristic of this tense (-ra) is restored (N.B. that -rə- in the Conditional I is derived from this -ra):-

Present: yə-cò (≡ *yə-ca-wa) '(he) who goes'
 Aorist: yə-cà '(he) who went'
 Future I: yə-ca-rà '(he) who will go then'
 Future II: yə-cà-ḡa '(he) who will probably go'
 Perfect: yə-ca-x'ò-w (≡ *yə-ca-x'a-w) '(he) who has already gone'

A few additional remarks about certain of the non-finite forms are in order. Whilst the finite Past Indefinite may not be used unless followed by (usually) an Aorist finite form by virtue of its meaning ('X did Y and ...') and is thus not a true 'finite' form at all, it is convenient to treat it together with the regular finite forms for two reasons - (a) formally it ends in the marker characteristic of the second group of tenses (-n); (b) it behaves like a true finite form in possessing a corresponding non-finite structure (see the list above). Now, regarding this non-finite Past Indefinite, as is clear from the gloss appended to it above, it does not require the presence of any following non-finite verb to complete the sense of the subordinate clause in which it stands; indeed, there is virtually no difference between the Aorist and Past Indefinite non-finite forms. Of the non-finite Aorist Ćkadua (1970.215) states that 'it is predominantly found with the temporal adverbial element -an- and very rarely with the other adverbial affixes and with the relative-pronominal prefixes', whereas her comment on the non-finite Past Indefinite is that 'it differs from the Aorist in that essentially it is found with the relative-pronominal prefixes or with the adverbial elements of place -ax'-... or manner -ḡ- ... [or cause -z- - B.G.H.] and very rarely with the adverbial element of time -an-' (ibid. 216) - see the relevant examples in 1.1.2.4.2.

An alternative, though little used form of the non-finite Perfect is yə-ca-x'à. A special non-finite form that is generally assigned to the Perfect paradigm exists to indicate that the activity concerned has already been in progress for some time or has already occurred several times; this is produced by attaching -c directly to the verbal root, e.g.

yə- cò- da — yə- cà-c
 he-who go who? he-who go
 +(dyn.)

'Who is going? He who has already gone several times' (see also the pair of examples presented in 1.4.1); for the negative non-finite Perfect only this latter form may be used (yə-m-ca-c 'he who has not already gone'). Note also that, when this base is used for the alternative non-finite Plu-perfect (yə-cà-cə-z), the same nuance attaches to it as to the corresponding non-finite Perfect in -c.

An alternative form for the non-finite Future I is often given as ending in -la+k' (//-la+g'). However, when this form is used with future signification, we seem to have a (relative) Future Perfect rather than a simple Future, e.g.

d- an- ca-là+k' yə-b+ à- s-ḥ'o- yt'
 he when go it you+to I say (fin.)
 +(dyn.)

'When he goes (i.e. will have gone), I will tell you'
 cf. d-an-ca-rà (ø-)sə+z- dər- wa- m
 (non-fin. Fut.I) it I+ (pot.) know (dyn.) not

'I don't know when he'll go'
 That forms in -ra are not restricted to indirect questions is shown by the following

wac'ò yə- ca-rà à- č'k'o'en də- sə+z- dər-
 tomorrow who go (Fut.I) the boy him I+(pot.) know
 wa- m
 (dyn.) not

'I don't know the boy who will go tomorrow'

However, forms in -la+k', or, more usually, -la+k'+g'e, where -g'e is the clitic 'also, even', (N.B. the non-palatalsation of the -k'-), are most commonly used to mark indefinite subordinate clauses, regardless of the tense of the main verb, e.g.

d- an- aa- là+k' (//-k'+g'e) sə-y+ à-
 he when come (indefinite) I him+to
 c'až'a-lo- n
 talk (iter.+dyn.) (fin.)

'Whenever he came, I used to talk to him'

This fact rather casts doubt on the ascription of forms in -la+k' exclusively to the Future I paradigm.

As regards the stative verbs, there is naturally a pair of finite and non-finite forms for each of the two basic tenses of Present and Past, as here illustrated by the copula à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be':-

Present finite = dè-q'o-w+p' (≡ *dè-q'a-w+p') 'he is'
 Present non-finite = yè-q'o-w (≡ *yə-q'a-w) '(he) who is'
 Past finite = dè-q'a-n 'he was'
 Past non-finite = yè-q'a-z '(he) who was'

From this we see that the non-finite Present is produced by simply dropping the final +p' of the corresponding finite form, whereas the Past behaves like all dynamic verbs of the second group of tenses, which end in -n and simply replace this by -z to produce the non-finite counterpart. In addition, there exists a non-finite (and non-finite only) Perfect formed by attaching -c directly to the root, e.g.
 Perfect finite = no form

Perfect non-finite = $y\grave{e}-q'a-c$ '(he) who has already been' (the negative of this form will be $y\grave{e}-q'a-m\grave{e}-c$).

The derived tenses of stative verbs, produced by the insertion of the suffix -zaa-, form their non-finite forms entirely regularly, as illustrated by the following three Futures of $\grave{a}-q'a-zaa-ra$ 'to be':-

Future (corresponding formally to a dynamic Present):

finite = $d\grave{e}-q'a-zaa-we-yt'$ 'He will be' (negative = $d\grave{e}-q'a-zaa-wa-m$)

non-finite = $y\grave{e}-q'a-zaa-wa$ '(he) who will be'

(N.B. that the negative this time will be $y\grave{e}-q'a-m-zaa-wa$, with the negative -m- following the root, whereas in the parallel dynamic formation this particle must stand before the root, as in $y\grave{e}-m-co$, which derives from $*y\grave{e}-m-ca-wa$ '(he) who is not going').

Future I:

finite = $d\grave{e}-q'a-zaa-p'$ (negative = $d\grave{e}-q'a-zaa-r\grave{e}-m$)

non-finite = $y\grave{e}-q'a-zaa-ra$ (negative = $y\grave{e}-q'a-m-zaa-ra$)

Future II:

finite = $d\grave{e}-q'a-zaa-s+t'$ (negative = $d\grave{e}-q'a-zaa-sa-m$)

non-finite = $y\grave{e}-q'a-zaa-sa$ (negative = $y\grave{e}-q'a-m-zaa-sa$)

2.1.3.5.3. Finite and non-finite aspect-forms

All the aspects discussed in 2.1.3.3 have corresponding non-finite forms (in the sense of the specifically Abkhaz opposition of finite v. non-finite forms as just examined in the preceding section) formed in the regular way (cf. 2.1.3.5.2) with the exception of the terminative aspect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.7), which is represented by the finite Past Indefinite, for the corresponding non-finite form is virtually equivalent to the non-finite Aorist (cf. 2.1.3.5.2).

The masdar may not contain any aspect-marking affixes. The purposives may contain the iterative suffix -la-, as is clear from the following

a-	gk'ol	[a]	ax' d-	a-	g\grave{e}-	m-	x\grave{a}-	
(art.)	school	it	to	she	it	(prev.)	not be-late-for	
k'o'a	d\grave{e}-	ca-l\grave{a}-	r+c	//	d\grave{e}-	ca-la-ra+z\grave{e}	//	
(absol.neg.)	she	go	(iter.)	(purp.)			(purp.)	
d\grave{e}-	ca-la-ra+n\grave{e}	//	d\grave{e}-	ca-l\grave{a}-r+t'	(\phi-)	l+	\grave{a}-	s-h'e-
yt'	(purp.)		(purp.)		her+to	I	say	
(fin.)								

'I told her to go regularly to school without being late'

The only absolutive (cf. 2.1.1.3 and 2.1.3.5) possessed by stative verbs, which is produced by adding the suffix -n\grave{e} to the root of the verb, naturally conveys the same continuous aspect that is inherent in the meaning of all stative verbs (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.4), e.g.

\grave{a}-	my'a	d-	a-	n\grave{e}-n\grave{e}	d-	\grave{a}a+y-we-	yt'
	the	road	he	it	on	(absol.)	he come (dyn.) (fin.)

'He is coming along the road' (lit. 'being on the road')

For dynamic verbs the present absolutive, which differs from the non-finite Present in that, if the verb is transitive, there will be no column III, subject-affix present (cf. 2.1.1.3), is used to indicate that one action is contemporaneous with another and thus marks progressive aspect, e.g.

a+k'r\grave{e}-	fo	d\grave{e}-t'o'	\grave{e}-w+p'
something	eat	he	sit (stat.)
			+(dyn.)

'He is sitting eating'

The past absolutive, on the other hand, which is formed by adding the suffix -n\grave{e} to the verbal root and which, if transitive, similarly lacks the column III, subject-affix (cf. 2.1.1.3), indicates that one action is completed before another begins and thus conveys terminative aspect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.7.1); this absolutive is equivalent in meaning to the English perfect participle and is construed with any tense of main verb, e.g.

a+k'r\grave{e}-	fa-	n\grave{e}	d\grave{e}-d'o'+l-	c'-we-	yt'
something	eat	(absol.)	he	(preverbs)	go (dyn.) (fin.)

'Having eaten, he will go out'

The absolutives may not incorporate the iterative suffix -la- nor the suffix -k'o'a-, which is similar in meaning to the iterative suffix (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.13). For the formation and function of two other non-finite forms in -n\grave{e} see below (2.1.3.5.5).

Non-finite Perfects and Plu-perfects characterised by the element -c(\grave{e}) provide an aspectual nuance not associated with their finite counterparts - that of indicating that an action begun some time before is still in progress at the time of the events being described (cf. the discussion in 2.1.3.5.2). Such forms sometimes rather seem to suggest that the action is one that has been accomplished several times (cf. the example given in 2.1.3.5.2). It will be recalled that Abkhaz has another device for indicating this, namely the post-radical suffix -k'o'a-, which my informant particularly associates with the Perfect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.13). It should not be assumed that non-finite (Plu-)Perfects in -c(\grave{e}) are to be regarded therefore as the non-finite counterparts of these finite forms, for finites containing the suffix -k'o'a- possess entirely regular non-finite formations. Thus the difference between the following pair of sentences -

y-	\grave{a}a-ba-	c	a-	k'in\grave{o}	(\phi-)q'a-	lo-	yt'
	which	we	see	the	film	it	(prev.) happen (fin.)
vs. y-	\grave{a}a-ba-	k'o'a-x'o-	w	a-k'in\grave{o}	(\phi-)q'a-lo-yt'		
	which	we	see	(Perf.)	(non-fin.)		
	'The film we've already seen several times is going to be on'						

is that the first alternative (with -c) suggests that each separate instance of our seeing the film is part of one whole process or 'chain of events' (to use the description of Aristava et al., 1968. 109) - thus 'the film which we have been seeing regularly ...', whereas the second variant implies no more than is stated in the first translation appended to the examples above, namely that we have seen the film several times. This allows us to conclude that the essential role of forms in -c(\grave{e}) is to mark an action begun prior to, but still in progress at, the time of the events being described (past or present) however loosely interpreted this action or process may be.

2.1.3.5.4. Finite and non-finite modal forms

As the majority of the moods (other than the indicative) are formed by means of the suffixation of special markers to the various non-finite forms, it is natural that such moods will

not have non-finite forms themselves. However, regular non-finite forms, produced in the normal way, are readily available where the mood in question is produced by means of prefixation (e.g. the potential formed by insertion of -z(ə)-, cf. 2.1.3.4.7; and 'unwillingness' formed by insertion of -amxa-, cf. 2.1.3.4.15) or by association of either the masdar or the conditional mood in -r with the auxiliary a-taxə-zaa-ra 'to want', cf. 2.1.3.4.6; if the auxiliary is rather the straightforward copula, then only the root -a+k'(ə)- seems possible as the basis for building the necessary non-finite form, whereas the copular root -a- is rather used for the finite Present, cf. 2.1.3.4.6; alternatively, either the masdar or the conditional mood in -r may be associated with stative verbs built on the nouns a-x'tà/a-k'nagà 'portion, lot' and a-wàl 'obligation', cf. 2.1.3.4.6b/c; (b) potential, where the construction is that of masdar plus auxiliary à-l-ga-ra 'to be able', cf. 2.1.3.4.7; (c) contingent, where there will be an association of conditional mood with à-q'a-la-ra 'to happen', or either the masdar or the conditional mood will be used in conjunction with à-l-ga-ra 'to be able', cf. 2.1.3.4.14.

Examples of constructions (a)-(c) are set out below:-

(a) debitive

- (i) yə-q'a- s-c'à-r (ø-)z- taxə-w
it (prev.) I do (condit.) it which (must) (non-fin.)
a- wès
the job
'the job that I must do...'

(for the replacement of the dummy-affix a- of the finite (ø-)a-taxə-w+p by the relative affix z- agreeing with the head-noun see the discussion in 1.1.2.3.7)

- (ii) s-ca-r ax'- [a]-à+k'ə-w à- kalak'
I go (condit.) where it be (non-fin.) the town
'the town where I must go ...'

Note that, where the head-noun is an argument of the subordinate verb, this construction involving the copula plus conditional mood is avoided altogether in favour of the non-finite Future II, e.g.

- yə- q'a- s-c'a-ga a- wès
which (prev.) I do (Fut.II) the job
'the job I must do ...'
- (iii) yə-q'a-s-c'à-r (ø-)zə- x'tò-w //
(condit.) it whose lot (non-fin.)
(ø-)zə-k'nagò-w // (ø-)z-wàlə-w a-wès
'the job I must/am obliged to do ...'
- (iv) s- ca-rà (ø-)ax'- a- x'tò-w (etc..) à-kalak'
my go (masd.) it where it
'the town where I must go ...'

(b) potential

- s-ca-rà (ø-)ax'- à- l- go à-kalak'
it where it (prev.) be-possible
(non-fin.)
'the town where I can go ...'

(c) contingent

- (i) arəy (ø-)q'a- z- c'à-r (ø-)q'a- lò
this it (prev.) who do (condit.) it (prev.) happen
a- xàc'a (non-fin.)
the man
'the man who may do this ...'
- (ii) yə-q'a-s-c'à-r (ø-)zə- l- sò a-wès
it I it which (prev.) be-possible
(non-fin.)
'the job which I may do ...'
- (iii) s-ca-rà (ø-)ax'- à- l- go à-kalak'
(masd.) it where it (prev.) be-possible
(non-fin.)
'the town where I may go ...'

2.1.3.5.5. Supplement on non-finite forms

Perhaps an analogy with the formal difference between the Past Indefinite (-Root+n) and the past absolutive (-Root+nə), two other tenses ending in -n (namely, the Imperfect and the Plu-perfect) form the basis for other non-finite verbal forms in -nə. The derivative from the Plu-perfect is used either alone or in association with the postposition eyps 'like, as' (or with àamta+zə 'at the time', or with eyps àamta+zə together) to give the equivalent of English 'when X had (just) happened', e.g.

- wərt (ø-) ca-x'à- nə { eyps
they they go (Perf.) { eyps àamta+zə } s-aa- yt'
àamta+zə } I come (fin.)
'I came at the moment when they had just gone'

- cf. wərt (ø-) ca-x'à-n
'They had gone'

The form in -nə derived from the Imperfect functions as the marker of a direct object subordinate clause, e.g.

- d- aa- wa- nə (ø-) yə-h'è-yt'
he come (dyn.) it he say (fin.)
'He said that he would come'

- cf. d-aa-wà-n

'He was coming'

(N.B. that also possible here would be either the Present or Imperfect non-finite forms containing the complementiser-prefix -g- 'that' - də-g-aa-wà//də-g-aa-wà-z respectively.)

- àq'o'a- q'a də-co- nə (ø-)z-be- yt'
Sukhumi to he go it I see (fin.)
+ (dyn.)

'I saw that he was going to Sukhumi'

(N.B. that also possible here is the non-finite Imperfect containing the complementiser-prefix -g- - də-g-cò-z.) Observe that a variant of this last example exists where the subject of the subordinate verb appears as direct object to the main verb, e.g.

- àq'o'a-q'a də-co-nə // də-g-cò-z də- z-bè-yt'
him

which may be translated 'I saw him going to Sukhumi'.

cf. also

- àq'o'a-q'a də-co-nə // də-g-cò-z // d-an- cò-z sè-yt'
when I him+

k°- š°e- yt'
(prev.) meet (fin.)

'I met him going (when going) to Sukhumi'

However, such forms in -nə based on the Imperfect are not always possible where English employs such gerunds, e.g.

də-d°ə+l- c'-wa- nə // də-g- d°ə+l-c'-wa (-z)
he (preverbs) go (dyn.) that
(ø-)s-aḥà- yt'
it I hear (fin.)

'I heard that he was going out'

but, if the meaning is 'I heard him going out', we may only have

də-g-d°ə+l-c'-wa-z (ø-)s-aḥà- yt'

The following example is, however, quite ungrammatical:

*də-d°ə+l-c'-wa-nə də-s-aḥà- yt'

Wherever the form in -nə derived from the Imperfect has appeared above, it has been possible to substitute for it the non-finite Imperfect containing the complementiser-prefix -s(ə)-. However, there is another context in which this form in -nə appears where its variants are rather either the finite Present plus the particle marking a direct quote, ḥ°a, or the non-finite Present containing the complementiser-prefix -s(ə)- that context is the indirect question, e.g.

àq°'a-q'a də-co-nə (ḥ°a) (ø-)bə- dər- wa- ma
saying it you know (dyn.) (Qu.)

'Do you know whether he is going to Sukhumi?'

(N.B. the optional presence here of the particle ḥ°a which perhaps arises as the result of a contamination with the first of the variants, which are: də-cò- yt' ḥ°a and də-g-cò; where this latter form is used, the sentence may mean 'Do you know that he is going to Sukhumi?'.)

2.1.3.6. Person/number/etc. (cf. 2.1.2.1)

2.1.3.6.1. The following (a) must (b) may be coded within the verb

2.1.3.6.1.1. subject

Subjects must be coded by means of the appropriate pronominal affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1) in all complexes with the exception of (a) 2nd. person singular subjects of the (positive) imperative of transitive verbs (cf. 2.1.3.4.3.1); (b) all transitive subjects of the present and past absolutes (cf. 2.1.1.3) - in both these exceptional cases the transitive subjects in question are not coded within the verbal complex, e.g.

s-ce- yt'
I go (fin.)
'I went'
yə-z-bè- yt'
it I see (fin.)
'I saw it'
yə-q'a- (ø-) c'a
it (prev.) do
'Do it!' (sc. you sg.)
cf. yə-q'a-š°- c'a
you(pl.)
'Do it!' (i.e. you pl.)

arəy (ø-)q'a-c'a-nə də-d°ə+l- c'ə- yt'
this it (absol. he (compound go (fin.)
past) prev.)

'Having done this he went out'

cf. a- gazèt d- à- px'a-nə də-d°ə+l-c'ə- yt'
the paper he it read (absol. Past)

'Having read the paper he went out'

(where à-px'a-ra 'to read' is intransitive)

a- kalpād (ø-) (ø-)po a- š°q°'ə d- à- px'o- n
the sock it knit the book she it read (fin.)
(absol. present) + (dyn.)

'(While) knitting the sock she was reading the book'

cf. a- gazèt d- à- px'o d- t°'à- n
(absol. present) he sit (past stat.)

'He was sitting reading the paper'

Should the column I subject-affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1) be y(ə)-, if it is immediately preceded by its referent, it will disappear, e.g.

yə- cè- yt' darà vs. darà (ø-)ce- yt'
they go (fin.) they
'They went'

2.1.3.6.1.2. direct object

This must be coded within the verbal complex by means of the appropriate column I affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1). Once again, if the affix happens to be y(ə)- and is immediately preceded by its referent, it will disappear, e.g.

yə-z-bè- yt' a- š°q°'ə (ø-)z-be- yt'
it I see (fin.) the book
'I saw the book'

2.1.3.6.1.3. indirect object

This must be coded within the verbal complex by means of the appropriate column II affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1), e.g.

yə-sè- t
it to-me give
'Give it to me!'

2.1.3.6.1.4. benefactive

Such phrases are optionally but perhaps preferably marked within the complex (cf. 2.1.1.4.1). Under relativisation on the benefactive noun, marking within the complex becomes obligatory (cf. 1.1.2.3.7).

2.1.3.6.1.5. instrumental

This too is optionally but perhaps preferably marked within the complex (cf. 2.1.1.4.3). Under relativisation on the instrumental noun, verbal marking becomes obligatory (cf. 1.1.2.3.7).

2.1.3.6.1.6. comitative

This is obligatorily marked within the complex (cf. 2.1.1.4.4), e.g.

də-sè+c- aa- yt'
he met+with come (fin.)
'He came with me'

2.1.3.6.1.7. disadvantage ('dativus incommodus')

This is obligatorily marked within the verbal complex by means of the relational particle -c°(ə)- preceded by the appropriate column II affix, e.g.

yə-s+ c°ə- l- ge- yt'
it me+from she take (fin.)
'She took it away from me'

2.1.3.6.1.8. subject-matter

This is optionally marked within the verbal complex. If marking does occur within the complex, it is achieved by means of the determiner -x(ə)- 'about' preceded by the appropriate column II affix, e.g.

wəy a- wəs y- a+ x- c°əž°e-yt'
that (art.) business they it+about talk (fin.)
'They talked about that affair'

Alternatively, a pseudo-postposition is used which in reality is the past absolutive in -nə of the verb a-k'-rà 'to seize, hold' containing the benefactive relational particle -z- 'for' preceded by the column II affix which correlates with the entity representing the subject-matter, which affix is in turn preceded by a dummy, 3rd. person singular non-human direct object affix y-, e.g.

wəy a-wəs y+ a+ z+ k'+ nə yə- c°əž°e-yt'
it it for hold (absol.) they talk (fin.)
'They talked about that affair'

Under relativisation on the subject-matter noun the first alternative is preferred, although the second is not impossible, e.g.

yə- zə+ x- c°əž°o- z a-wəs
they which+about talk (non-fin.)
(+dyn.)
yə+zə+ z+k'+nə yə- c°əž°o-z a-wəs
which they

'The affair which they were talking about ...'
(cf. also section 2.1.1.4.15)

2.1.3.6.1.9. locative

For details of locative expressions see 2.1.1.5. If the locative is represented by a preverb rather than by a postposition, then it should be noted that some preverbs must be preceded by a column II pronominal affix correlating with the noun representing the location concerned, whilst others cannot be used in association with such an affix - N.B. the following pair of sentences where the use or non-use of this pronominal affix with one and the same preverb is apparently determined solely by the difference in the noun representing the direct object:-

a- xah° à- šaq'a yə-k°ə-y- c'e-yt'
the stone the pillar it on he put (fin.)
'He put the stone on the pillar'

vs.

a- xah°c°'ah° à- šaq'a y- à+ k°ə-y- c'e-yt'
the beam the pillar it it+on he put (fin.)
'He put the beam on the pillar'

The use vs. non-use of column II pronominal affixes with preverbs in Abkhaz requires further investigation.

2.1.3.6.1.10. object of comparison

This is not normally marked within the verbal complex, but, for the expression 'bigger/taller than X', the comparative postposition eyhà 'than' may be used as the root of a stative verb as an equivalent all by itself for the whole expression 'bigger/taller than'; in this case the object of comparison is optionally marked in the complex, e.g.

a- ph°ès a- xàc'a d- y+ eyhà-w+p'
the woman the man she him than (stat.)
or
a-ph°ès a-xàc' à y- àc'k'°ès d- eyhà-w+p'
him than she
'The woman is bigger/taller than the man'

2.1.3.6.2. For each of 2.1.3.6.1.1-10, how is agreement marked?

2.1.3.6.2.1. marker on the verb

The three relevant sets of pronominal affixes are set out in section 2.1.1.1.1. Transitive direct objects and intransitive subjects correlate with column I affixes, transitive subjects with column III affixes, indirect objects plus all other types of NP listed under 2.1.3.6.1.4-10 with column II affixes. In addition to the relational particles/determiners governing these column II affixes in examples 2.1.3.6.4-8 the following two cases should be noted: the indirect object affix for the verb a-h°a-rà 'to say' is followed by the particle -a- 'to', e.g.

yə-s+ à- l- h°e-yt'
it me+to she say (fin.)
'She said it to me'

and secondly note the particle -x'ə- in the following example:-

yə- s+ x'ə- m- pšə- yt'
they me+after not follow (fin.)
'They did not follow me'

2.1.3.6.3. If not all members of each class 2.1.3.6.1.1-10 are coded in the verb, what are the conditioning factors determining this?

2.1.3.6.3.1. word-order

For instances of the column I affix y(ə)- disappearing if immediately preceded by its referent-noun cf. above under 2.1.3.6.1.1-2.

2.1.3.6.4. What features of the noun-phrase are coded in the verb?

An examination of the three sets of pronominal affixes given in section 2.1.1.1.1 reveals the extent to which features of the NP may be coded in the verb. All three persons, singular and plural, are distinguished - the possibility of opposing an inclusive to an exclusive form in the personal pronouns of the 1st. and 2nd. persons plural is not possible within the verbal

complex. For the 2nd. person singular, female humans are distinguished from male humans, the form for which latter also serves to indicate non-human addressees. For the 3rd. person singular, there is a general distinction between human and non-human, and, in the case of transitive subjects and indirect objects (and for column II affixes generally), the human class is further divided into male and female. In addition to the above-features, the plurality of any of the pre-radical affixes may be re-inforced by placing after the root the essentially non-human pluraliser -k°a-, e.g.

à- ǫ'k°'en-c°a à- mp'el à- s- ra yə- ca-k°è-
the boy (pl.) the ball its hit (masd.) they go (pl.)
yt'
(fin.)

'The boys went to play ball'

wəy a- xàc°a à- x°ga (ø-)rè- y- ta-
that-one the men (art.) butter it to-them he give
k°e- yt'
(pl.) (fin.)

'He gave butter to the men'

s-rè+ c- ca-k°e- yt'
I them+with go (pl.) (fin.)

'I went with them'

This use of the suffix -k°a- is most common with relativised verb-forms, where, of course, the relative affix cannot itself indicate the plurality (or the person) of the head-noun (cf. 1.1.2.3.4.2.3).

2.1.3.6.6. Is agreement the same for all verb-forms?

Yes; agreement is always marked by the three sets of pronominal affixes set out in section 2.1.1.1.1. For the formal changes affecting these affixes under relativisation, see section 1.2.3.4.2.3.

2.1.3.6.8. Are there special reflexive forms of the verb?

For reflexive verb-forms (i.e. those containing the reflexive particle -q(ə)-) see section 1.6.

2.1.3.6.9. Are there special reciprocal forms of the verb?

Reciprocal verb-forms (i.e. those incorporating the reciprocal affixes ay-, ayba-) are described in section 1.7.

2.1.3.6.10. Is there any distinction made according to the orientation of the verbal action?

It is usually stated that the distribution of the four orientational preverbs -aa- [a:], -na-, -y°a-, -la-, is as follows:

2.1.3.6.10.1. action towards the speaker -aa-

2.1.3.6.10.2. action towards the hearer -na-

2.1.3.6.10.7. action 'upwards' -y°a-

2.1.3.6.10.8. action 'downwards' -la-

This is a satisfactory characterisation of the last two preverbs, but the function of the first two is more complex than

this traditional explanation suggests. Before addressing the problem of the precise meaning of -aa- and -na-, a few general points may be made which are relevant to all four of these orientational preverbs.

Their positioning within the verbal complex varies upon the structure of the complex with which they are used. If the complex does not contain a locational preverb (or determiner), then the orientational preverb may occupy the position normally taken by these other elements, i.e. the slot immediately in front of the column III, transitive subject affix (this is the position they occupy with the root -ga- 'to carry', with which the functions of -aa- and -na- will be illustrated below) - cf. Šaduri (1975.115). If a locational preverb is present in the complex, and if the complex also contains one of the 'relational particles' (e.g. -z(ə)- 'for', -la- 'by', -c(ə)- 'with', etc. - see Dumézil, 1967.22-23) together with its associated column II affix, then the orientational preverb will precede the column II affix just mentioned; the orientational preverb may also occupy this slot even where no locational preverb is present in the complex. All of these three postpositions are now illustrated:-

(a) yə-b+ z- aa- z-gè- yt'
it you+ for hither I bring (fin.)
(col.II)

'I brought it for//to you'

(b) y- aa- sə+ z- tə- l- te- yt'
it hither me+ for from-in she take (fin.)
(col.II)

'She brought//took it out for me'

(c) y- aa- sə+ zə- m- k'ə- yt'
it hither me+ (pot.) not hold (fin.)
(col.II)

'I couldn't get hold of it'

All four orientational preverbs (particularly the first two) are often endowed with non-orientational functions. The precise nuance each lends to the overall meaning of the verbal complex depends on the root with which the preverb is associated - Arstaa et al. (1966.181ff.) list as the range of possible nuances for -aa:- 'slowly', 'with difficulty', 'from time to time', 'slightly', intensive-marker, durativity-marker, suddenness-marker. An example of -aa- marking durativity or 'slowness' would be

d- aa-k°ə- psəχha-yt'
he (prev.) sigh (fin.)

'He sighed slowly'

The second preverb -na- (with -nə- being its variant in ablative/relative contexts - cf. 2.1.1.5) may imply instantaneous or inchoative actions or may express scorn on the part of the speaker. The remaining two preverbs, -y°a- (ablative/relative -y°ə-) and -la- (ablative/relative -lə-), may also represent the sudden nature of the action; one example for this nuance of 'suddenness' expressible by any of these last three preverbs would be

à- bna d - {lè-
y°è-
nè-} l- q'e- yt'
the wood he from-in emerge (fin.)

'He suddenly emerged from the wood'

N.B. the following close parallelism with English - if I nudge someone sitting next to me (in the theatre, for example) and request them to move down the row of seats, I can say 'Move up!', 'Move down!' or 'Move along!'; Abkhaz has exactly the same choice of expressions, e.g.

bè- y°a-sk''à // bè-la- sk''à // bè-na- sk''à
you up move down along

Each of the above-preverbs combines with an element +y to produce the roots for the following four verbs of motion:

aa+y'-ra 'to come', a-nè+y-ra 'to go', a-y°è+y-ra 'to go//come up', a-lè+y-ra 'to go//come down'.

Perhaps we should also mention in this section (as does Dumézil, 1967.22) the preverb -k'a-, which seems only to be used in the orientational sense of 'down', as in

yè-k'a- sè-ž- we- yt'
it down I throw (dyn.) (fin.)

'I throw it down//I drop it'

s-k'à- ha- we- yt'
I down fall (dyn.) (fin.)

'I am falling'

And it seems more fitting to include with the orientational preverbs the element -x'a- (given above under 2.1.1.5.6b as a locational/directional preverb meaning 'behind'), e.g. a-x'à-ps-ra 'to look behind', a-x'à-ñ°-ra 'to turn round'.

This leaves us with the problem of determining the precise orientational values of -aa- and -na-. The crucial parameters seem to be (a) the persons (i.e. 1st., 2nd. or 3rd.) involved in the verbal action, and (b) the location of the speaker at the time of speaking relative to his position at the time of the action. First it may be stated that -aa- always implies motion either directly towards the speaker or to a location in his vicinity, e.g.

(i) yè-ha+z- aa-l- gè- yt'
it us+for she bring (fin.)

'She brought it to us (e.g. of a waitress bringing food)' (sc. to the spot where we now are)

(ii) yè-sè+z- aa-b- gè- yt'
me+for you

'You brought it to me' (sc. to the spot where we now are)

(iii) yè-b+ z-aa-z-gè- yt'
you I

'I brought it to you' (sc. to the spot where we now are)

(iv) (ø-)yè+ z-aa-b- gè- yt'
it him you

'You brought it to him' (sc. that he is in my presence)

(v) (ø-)yè+z-aa-l- gè- yt'
she

'She brought it to him' (sc. that he is in my presence)

(vi) (ø-) yè+z-aa-z-gè- yt'
I

'I brought it to him' (sc. that he is in my presence)

The above-examples are quite clear, but the additional specification of the location concerned, which is the information enclosed in the brackets, raises the question as to what will happen if the above-statements are made when the interlocutors are no longer at the same location where the actual events took place. In such circumstances, the speaker may choose to ignore the actual difference in location and speak as if he were actually present at the scene of action, in which case the forms set out above will be used. Alternatively, he may decide to make explicit the fact that the action took place elsewhere by choosing the preverb -na- in place of -aa- above, e.g.

(ia) yè-ha+z-nà-l-gè- yt'

(iia) yè-sè+z-nà-b-gè- yt'

(iiaa) yè-b+z-nà-z-gè- yt'

(iva) (ø-)yè+z-nà-b-gè- yt'

(va) (ø-)yè+z-nà-l-gè- yt'

(via) (ø-)yè+z-nà-z-gè- yt'

This clearly shows the inappropriateness of interpreting -na- as a marker of motion towards the hearer. Under what circumstances, then, apart from the above, is -na- employed in an orientational sense? It is not essential that the speaker or hearer have any connection whatsoever with the action - for example, if I say to a friend here in England that President Carter took a letter to President Brezhnev in Moscow, I can say (ø-)yè+z-nè-y-gè- yt' 'He (-y-) took it to him', even though I do here have the option of omitting all orientational preverbs and saying simply (ø-)yè+zè-y-gè- yt'. Note that by omitting the preverbs from examples (i) and (ia) above, the resulting yè-ha+zè-l-gè- yt' means 'She took it for us'. This suggests that, if the interlocutors are mentioned in the verbal complex, (i.e. if they are involved in the action), the presence of -na- requires that the orientation is towards a point at which the speaker is not at the moment of speaking - cf. the two imperatives

yè-ha+z- aa-gà

it us+for bring

'Bring it to us!' (sc. where I am at the moment)

vs.

yè-ha+z-nà-g

'Bring it to us!' (sc. at some location other than where I now am)

Other contexts deliberately chosen to illustrate the nuances of these two preverbs were the following: imagine that, while I was out, someone brought my wife a letter; if, on my return, I say to her 'He brought you a letter', I must use -aa- since the action was to the spot where I now am - hence yè-b+z-aa-y-gè- yt'. On the other hand, if I say the same sentence (i.e. English sentence) to my wife in reference to an incident that took place when she was at some other location where I was (and am) not, I must say yè-b+z-nè-y-gè- yt'. Imagine now that we sent a parcel via some third party to someone in Abkhazia; if we subsequently visit Abkhazia and I say, in the absence of the individual to whom the present was delivered, 'He brought it for us', I must use -na- - hence yè-ha+z-nè-y-gè- yt'. On the other hand, if I say the same English sentence in the presence of the recipient, then the Abkhaz equivalent must contain -aa- - yè-ha+zè-l+z-aa-y-gè- yt' 'He brought it to her (-l+z-) on our

behalf ($\bar{h}a+z\bar{e}$)). The selection of examples presented above demonstrates the subtle interplay between the parameters involved in determining the choice of the preverbs \bar{aa} - and \bar{na} -.

One further pair of examples may be described since the factors involved affect not merely the choice of preverbs but also the syntax of the sentence. Imagine that, during the course of a telephone-conversation or in a letter, I say 'I shall bring it to you'; in the Abkhaz version \bar{na} - must be used - $y\bar{e}-b\bar{e}+z-\bar{n}\bar{a}-z-go-yt'$. If subsequently I visit the person who was the hearer//addressee above and say 'I said that I would bring it to you', Abkhaz allows me to choose either direct or indirect modes of speech (cf. 1.1.1.1). If the indirect mode is chosen, it should be possible for me to use either the tense of direct speech ('semi-'indirect speech) or, because the verb of saying is in the past tense, the equivalent past tense form (fully indirect speech), e.g.

$y\bar{e}-g\bar{e}-b+z-\bar{aa}-z-go$ ($\bar{h}^{\circ}a$) (\emptyset)-s- $\bar{h}^{\circ}e-yt'$
that (Pres.non-fin.) saying it I say (fin.)
or $y\bar{e}-g\bar{e}-b+z-\bar{aa}-z-go-z$ (\emptyset)-s- $\bar{h}^{\circ}e-yt'$
(Imperf.non-fin.)

We note the presence of \bar{aa} -, which is possible because I, the speaker, am now in the presence of the hearer; note also that, although the particle $\bar{h}^{\circ}a$ is optional in the first alternative, there is a slight preference to omit it. However, as the original sentence spoken contained the preverb \bar{na} - obligatorily, it might be expected that an alternative with \bar{na} - would be possible here. If \bar{na} - is used, only the 'semi-'indirect mode is allowed, and the particle $\bar{h}^{\circ}a$ appears to be no longer omissible, e.g.

$y\bar{e}-g-\bar{b}\bar{e}+z-\bar{n}\bar{a}-z-go$ $\bar{h}^{\circ}a$ (\emptyset)-s- $\bar{h}^{\circ}e-yt'$
The problems here are the virtually obligatory use of $\bar{h}^{\circ}a$ and the inadmissibility of the fully indirect mode. To take the latter point first, it may be said that adaptation of both the person and the tense of the verb in the quotation to bring these features into conformity with the verb introducing the quotation renders the quotation fully subordinate to the introductory verb and thus requires that the orientation-system of the subordinate verb conform to that which is applicable to the introductory verb; as the speaker is present at the location to which he has delivered the object in question, this would necessitate the use of \bar{aa} -, as in the example given earlier. As to the requirement that $\bar{h}^{\circ}a$ be associated with the 'semi-'indirect mode, we may perhaps argue thus: what may be termed 'semi-'indirect may equally well be styled 'semi-'direct. The particle $\bar{h}^{\circ}a$ is most usually associated with direct speech, and its use (normally optional) with 'semi-'indirect speech might well result from a contamination between the direct and indirect modes. However, its unchallengeable links with the direct mode seem to provide just the factor which allows the orientational system required when the words were originally uttered to be retained in this particular representation of these words - simply, without $\bar{h}^{\circ}a$, the verb containing the complementiser-particle \bar{g} - would be subject to the orientational system of its introductory verb, and this would demand the replacement of \bar{na} - by \bar{aa} -.

2.1.3.6.12.1. Does optional/obligatory incorporation of the following elements occur?

2.1.3.6.12.1.2. intransitive noun subject

2.1.3.6.12.1.3. noun direct object

Both these categories are treated together for, as the column I, 3rd. person pronominal affix $y(\bar{e})$ - disappears from the verbal complex if immediately preceded by its referent, one could argue that this be interpreted as an instance of the obligatory incorporation of the intransitive subject or transitive direct object concerned. Abkhaz orthographic practice does not, however, permit such elements to be written as part of their verbal complexes.

An interesting case of incorporation is seen in the choice of expressions available for representing the notion of 'singing'; Abkhaz employs the periphrasis 'to say the song', as in

$lar\bar{a}\ \bar{a}-\ \bar{s}^{\circ}a\ (\emptyset)-l-\ \bar{h}^{\circ}e-yt'$
she the song it she say (fin.)
'She sang'

Alternatively, the nominal root $\bar{s}^{\circ}a$ may be incorporated into the verb, which thus becomes intransitive, e.g.

$lar\bar{a}\ d\bar{e}-\ \bar{s}^{\circ}a+\bar{h}^{\circ}e-yt'$
she she sing (fin.)
(compound root)

That we here have a compound root is shown by the placing of the negative affix in this Aorist verb - $d\bar{e}-m-\bar{s}^{\circ}a+\bar{h}^{\circ}e-yt'$ 'She did not sing', for, were the element $\bar{s}^{\circ}a$ - anything other than part of the root, the negative affix \bar{m} - would stand before $\bar{h}^{\circ}e$ -. Only one other example of this type seems to be possible in the modern language, and this too involves the root $\bar{h}^{\circ}a$ -, but, as is clear from the placement of the negative in the intransitive variant, the incorporated element $\bar{c}^{\circ}g'a$ - 'something bad' does not become part of the verbal root - $\bar{a}-\bar{c}^{\circ}g'a\ (\emptyset)-l\bar{e}-m-\bar{h}^{\circ}e-yt'$ // $d\bar{e}-\bar{c}^{\circ}g'a-m-\bar{h}^{\circ}e-yt'$ 'She did not gossip in a nasty way'.

The noun representing the direct object is incorporated into the infinitive (masdar) of certain common expressions, e.g.

$a-$ $w\bar{e}s\bar{e}-$ $w-$ ra
(art.) business do (masd.)
'to work'
(cf. $a-w\bar{e}-r\bar{a}$ 'to do')
 $a-$ $nap'\bar{a}-j^{\circ}j^{\circ}a-ra$
(art.) hand wash (masd.)
'to wash one's hands'
(cf. $\bar{a}-j^{\circ}j^{\circ}a-ra$ 'to wash')

2.1.3.6.12.1.5. other nominal elements

In section 2.1.1.5, where examples may be found, we met a number of nominal elements that function as preverbs - forms which Dumézil (1967.21) calls 'determiners'.

Examples of the incorporation of nominal elements functioning as subject- and object-complements may be found described in sections 2.1.1.2.10 and 2.1.1.2.11 respectively.

2.1.3.6.12.1.6. adjectives

For the incorporation of adjectives (or even of adjectives plus accompanying nouns) when copular complements, cf. 1.2.1.1.4.2.1b-c.

2.1.3.6.12.1.7. adverbs

For the incorporation of adverbs as copular complements in pseudo-cleft structures, cf. 1.2.1.1.3.1-2.

2.1.3.6.12.1.8. postpositions

As illustrated in section 2.1.2.4.1 and 2.1.1.4.3 respectively, the benefactive and instrumental postpositions may optionally (though perhaps preferably) be incorporated into the pre-radical structure of the verbal complex. As the examples cited earlier show, if the postposition is incorporated, there will also appear preceding it within the complex a column II affix correlating with the noun governed by the postposition, this noun being left standing in the sentence with neither case-marker nor independent postposition to indicate its function, which is thus only marked within the verbal complex.

2.1.3.7. In a string of verbs, is there any change or loss of any features normally marked on the verb?

Should the tense concerned be future, then all verbs other than the last one in the sequence will stand in the past absolute, which ends in -nə and is equivalent in meaning to the English perfect participle. This past absolute does not permit any column III, transitive subject-affix in its pre-radical structure, e.g.

a- xàc'a də-y'nà- la- nə, yə- p'alt'a (ø-)yə+
the man he (prev.) enter (absol.) his coat it him+
š'ə-x- nə, yə- q'ə=yə- nap'ə (ø-)j'j'a-nə
off take (absol.) his face his hand it wash (absol.)
àš'a də-na- xa- t'a-nə, a+k'rə- fa-
the-table he (prev.) at sit (absol.) something eat
(prev.)

ra d- à+ la- ga- s+ t'
(masd.) he it+into (root) (Fut.II) (fin.)
"begin"

'The man will enter the house, take off his coat, wash his hands and face, sit down at the table and begin to eat'

On the other hand, if the tense of the final verb is Perfect, Plu-perfect, Present, Imperfect (rarely) and, most commonly of all, Aorist, one has a choice of using either the past absolute or the Past Indefinite tense, which means 'X did Y and...' - the Past Indefinite differs from the past absolute in two ways: it ends in -n (not -nə) and permits a column III, transitive subject affix in its pre-radical structure, e.g.

a-xàc'a də-y'nà-la-n, yə-p'alt'a (ø-)yə+š'ə-y- xə-n //
he
(ø-)yə+š'ə-x-nə, yə-q'ə=yə-nap'ə (ø-)j'j'a-nə,
(past absol.) (past absol.)
àš'a də-na-xa-t'ə-n, a+k'rə-fa-ra d-à+la-ge-yt' absol.)

'The man entered the house, took off his coat, washed his hands and face, sat down at the table and began to eat'

The first sentential example given in section 2.1.3.2.1.3.2 shows that the Past Indefinite may be used when there is non-identity of subjects between itself and the following verb. In that example one could not use the past absolute in place of the Past Indefinite, for the absence of an overt transitive subject-affix in the past absolute means that it will only be used if it shares a subject with the following verb.

Should the verbal actions be simultaneous rather than sequential, then the non-final verbs will stand in the present absolute, which, like its past counterpart, does not admit a column III, transitive subject-affix (cf. 2.1.1.3), e.g.

a- š'q'ə d- à- px'o (a+)k'rə- y-
he it read something he
(col.I) (col.II) (pres.absol.)
fə- yt'
eat (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'He is reading the book and eating'

2.1.3.8. Other intra-verbal elements

A number of intra-verbal affixes have not yet been specifically described in detail; this gap will now be filled.

2.1.3.8.1. -c'g'a-

This suffix, which stands immediately after the verbal root, means 'really, indeed', e.g.

wəy àq'ə-a- q'a də-cà-c'g'o-yt'
that-one Sukhumi to he go indeed (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'He is really going to Sukhumi'

2.1.3.8.2. -c'a-

This suffix, which also stands immediately after the verbal root, is formally identical with the nominal pluraliser for human nouns. Its verbal function is to indicate that the verbal action is carried out 'to excess', e.g.

àq'ə-a- q'a də-ca-c'ò- n
Sukhumi to he go too-much (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'He used to go too often to Sukhumi'

a- x'əš'ə-a+k'rə- l- f- c'è- yt'
the child something she eat too-much (fin.)

'The child ate too much'

2.1.3.8.3. -ja-

This suffix stands immediately after the verbal root and intensifies the meaning of the verb, e.g.

wəy a- pàra- k'a (ø-)yə-ga- jè- yt'
that-one the money (pl.) it he take (emphatic) (fin.)
'He took the money right away' (i.e. and he won't return it)

This suffix is very frequently used in association with the negative affix and, although glossed as emphatic, really adds

no greater force to the negation than that which is already inherent in the negative affix itself, e.g.

wəy a-pàra-k'a (ø-)yə-m- ga-jè- yt' //
not (emphatic)

(ø-)yə-m-gè-yt'
'He did not take the money'

2.1.3.8.4. -g°əša-

Placed immediately after the root this suffix characterises the subject of the verb as being wretched or unfortunate to have suffered, or to have to suffer, the verbal action, e.g.

àq°'a- q'a s-ca-g°əša-p'
Sukhumi to I go (Fut.I, fin.)
'I'll be off to Sukhumi then, poor me' (sc. because I just don't want to go)
a- cg°ə (ø-)s-š- g°əše-yt'
the cat it I kill (fin.)
'Poor old me, I've killed the cat!'

(N.B. that this sentence cannot have the meaning *'Poor old cat, I've killed it!')

2.1.3.8.5. -x-

This suffix means 'again' and stands immediately after the root, e.g.

wəy yax'à àq°'a- q'a də-cà-x (ə- y)t'
that-one today Sukhumi to he go again (fin.)
'He went to Sukhumi again today'

2.1.3.8.6. -əyta-

This prefix stands immediately after the column I pronominal prefix within the verbal complex. In meaning it exactly parallels the suffix -x(ə)- described immediately above; indeed, the two elements -aytā- and -x(ə)- may appear in the same complex, e.g.

d- eytā- ce-yt' // d-eytā-ca-x-t'
he again go (fin.)
'He went again'

2.1.3.8.7. (a+)k'r(ə)-

A few verbs, which are usually fully transitive, when used 'intransitively' take this 'dummy'-prefix in place of their normal column I pronominal prefix. The two most common and straightforward of such verbs appear in the following examples:

(a+)k'rə-y- fò- yt'
he eat (fin.)
+(dyn.)
'He's eating'
(a+)k'rə-l- ž°- wè- yt'
she drink (dyn.) (fin.)
'She's drinking'

Although elsewhere in this work we have glossed this element as 'something', the sentences given above do not mean 'He is eating something' or 'She is drinking something'; the Abkhaz equivalents of these would be

a+k'ə (ø-)y- fò-yt'
something it he

and

a+k'ə (ø-)l- ž°-wè-yt'
she

respectively.
(See also section 2.1.3.1.2.2.)

2.1.3.8.8. eg'(ə)-

In cases where English has the word 'nothing' functioning as intransitive subject or transitive direct object, the prefix eg'(ə)- 'anything' will occupy the slot normally taken by the column I pronominal affix within the Abkhaz verbal complex; the complex must also contain the negative particle, e.g.

eg'- aa- wà- m
anything come (dyn.) not
'Nothing is coming'
àyš°a y- a+ xa-t°'à-z à- sas- c'a
the-table who it+at sit (non-fin.) the guest (pl.)
eg'ə- r- fò- mə- z+t'
anything they eat not (Imperf.)
+(dyn.)

'The guests sitting at the table were eating nothing'
It may be noted that Abkhaz orthographic practice permits this element eg'(ə)- either to be written as an independent word or as part of the verbal complex, as it is written here.

2.1.3.8.9. -aa- and -la-

It is convenient to treat these two suffixes together. Should either of them co-occur with any of the suffixes described in the preceding paragraphs of section 2.1.3.8 as appearing immediately after the verbal root, then, since both -aa- and -la- are utterly inseparable from the verbal root, it follows that the suffixes examined in the preceding paragraphs will stand after the pair of elements about to be discussed.

Both these suffixes are usually associated only with verbs possessing a directional preverb (although they never co-occur with the four roots -la- 'to move to', -c'(ə)- 'to move from', -c'a- 'to put into/onto', -x(ə)- 'to take out of/off' - Lomtadidze, 1952.120), the difference being that, where such an opposition exists, -la- is used where the preverb is in its a-grade, -aa- where the preverb has its zero-grade. In other words, the suffix -la- re-inforces the illative/allative force inherent in the a-grade of directional preverbs, whilst the suffix -aa- re-inforces the ablative//relative force of the reduced-//zero-grade of those preverbs. We, therefore, see why these suffixes are incompatible with the four roots listed in brackets above, for these roots (cf. 2.1.1.5) do themselves re-inforce these very notions (in addition to conveying the lexical meanings of 'motion into//out of' and 'placing into//out of').

A list of verbs containing these two suffixes may be located on pp.112-119 of Lomtadidze's detailed study of Abkhaz preverbs (1952). Only one of her examples will now be quoted for each of the suffixes in question, e.g.

a- bəsta (ø-)aa- y°nà- l- ga- la- n
the maize-porridge it hither (prev.) she carry into (fin.)
'She brought the maize-porridge into the house and ...'

cf. a-bèsta (ø-)y°nà-l-ga-la-n

'She took the maize-porridge into the house and ...'
(where the orientational preverb -aa- is absent)

wəbrəy y- à+ lə- r- c°c°[a]-aa- we- yt'
that it+from-in they draw from (dyn.) (fin.)
a- c°yaa-k°a rə- fa+t°'
(art.) plant (pl.) their food

'From that (sc. soil) plants draw their food'

cf. b- ša (ø-)aa bə+ l- sə-c°c°[a]-aa- yt'
your blood it (hither) you+from-in I draw from (fin.)
'I draw out your blood'

This last pair of examples demonstrates that the suffix -aa- is functionally independent of its homonymous orientational preverb (for which cf. 2.1.3.6.10).

(N.B. that the root -gəla- 'to stand' is diachronically to be analysed as consisting of a root -gə- plus the suffix -la-, although this particular root -gə- is no longer independently attested.)

2.1.4. adjectives

As a general rule, adjectives follow their nouns; exceptions are (i) those indicating nationality; (ii) pronominal adjectives (e.g. 'other') - N.B. that rac°à 'many', though normally placed after its noun, may be pre-posed, in which case it is adverbialised to give the form yə+rac°a(+y°)+nə (cf. 2.1.4.3.1.1); (iii) adjectives in -t°'ə (cf. 2.2.3.1) signifying source-material (e.g. a-mc'-t°'ə 'made from wood'); (iv) ordinals.

2.1.4.1. Is there any distinction between attributive and predicative adjectives?

The only difference is that the latter become stative verbal bases (cf. 1.2.1.1.2.2).

2.1.4.3.1. Do (a) attributive (b) predicative adjectives agree with nouns in terms of the following categories?

2.1.4.3.1.1. number

(a) Attributive adjectives:

Where the numeral '1' is involved (and this is also the indefinite marker), only the last element of the NP carries this numeral, e.g.

la bžəya-k'
dog good 1
'one//a good dog'
jyab bžəya-k'
girl
'one//a good girl'
kərt+wa jyab-k'
Georgian girl 1
'one//a Georgian girl'

In the plural, the last element of the NP must carry the plural-marker, whilst the first may do so. Note that, for human nouns, the adjective, if following the noun, may take either the human or the non-human plural-marker, e.g.

a- la (-k°a) bžəya-k°a
(art.) dog (pl.) (pl.)

'(the) good dogs'

à- jyab (-c°a) bžəya-c°a // -k°a
(art.) girl (pl.human) (pl.hum.) (pl.non-hum.)

'(the) good girls'

(N.B. that, if the plural-marker is absent on the human noun, then there is a distinct preference for the adjective to be endowed with the human pluraliser -c°a)

à- kərt+wa jyab-c°a
(art.) Georgian (pl.)

or

à-kərt-c°a jyab-c°a
(pl.) (pl.)

'(the) Georgian girls'

In expressions like 'such a (Adj + N)' the normally post-posed adjective stands before its noun and, at the same time, is turned into an adverb by accommodating the adverbial suffix -nə and the appropriate column I pronominal affix, e.g.

abàs yə-bžəya-nə la- k' (ø-)sə-m- bà- c- t'
such it good (adv.) dog 1 it I not see (Perf.) (fin.)
'I haven't seen such a good dog'

abàs də- bžəya-nə jyab-k' d- sə-m-bà-c-t'
she girl 1 her
'I haven't seen such a good girl'

As examples of rac°a 'many' we may quote:-

a- c°ərtà rac°a
(art.) bed

'many beds' (N.B. the absence of any plural-marker on the noun)

cf. yaḥà yə+ rac°a+nə a- c°ərtà-k°à
more (col.I) (adv.) (art.) (pl.)
'more beds' (N.B. that the noun must now be marked for plurality)

In expressions like 'such a (Adj + N)' the adverbialised adjective may itself be pluralised if it is associated with a plural noun; where the associated noun is of the human class, the pluralised adverbial may nevertheless accommodate only the non-human pluraliser -k°a, e.g.

abàs yə-bžəya (-k°a)-nə a- la-k°à (ø-) sə-m-bà-c-t'
(pl.) (art.) them

'I haven't seen such good dogs'

abàs yə-bžəya (-k°a)-nə à- jyab-c°a (ø-)sə-m-bà-c-t'
(art.) (pl.)

'I haven't seen such good girls'

The patterns for number-concord are not radically affected by the presence of actual numerals, except that a pre-posed non-human noun is preferred if it is without its own plural-exponent, and, where the numeral does not stand as an independent word, no pluraliser is possible at all, e.g.

pš-la bžəya-k'
4 dog good 1

or

- a- la bzəya-k^oa pš-ba
(art.) (pl.) 4 (non-hum.)
- and (?) a-la-k^oa bzəya-k^oa pš-ba
(pl.)
'4 good dogs'
- cf. pš-kərt+wa la- k'
4 Georgian dog l
'4 Georgian dogs' (with a pre-posed adjective)
- and for a human noun
pš-y^oə- k' à- jɣab (-c^oa) bzəya-k^oa// -c^oa
4 (hum.) l (art.) girl (pl.) good (pl.)
- or à-jɣab(-c^oa) bzəya-k^oa// -c^oa pš-y^oə-k'
'4 good girls'
- (My informant hesitates in accepting this last phrase if plural-markers are absent altogether, e.g.
(?*) pš-y^oə-k' à-jɣab bzəya)
- and for a human noun with pre-posed adjective
pš-kərt+wa jɣab-k'
4 Georgian girl l
- or pš-y^oə- k' a- kərt(+wa) jɣab-c^oa
4 (hum.) l (art.) (pl.)
- and a-kərt(+wa) jɣab-c^oa pš-y^oə-k'
'4 Georgian girls'
- (b) Predicative adjectives:
(i) Adjectives which are post-posed when used attributively:-
If the noun (copular subject) carries its own plural-marker, the predicative adjective, now functioning as the base of a stative verb, may or may not take the plural-marker; if, however, the noun is not overtly marked for plurality, the predicative adjective must be, e.g.
art a- la- k^oà (ø-) bzəyo-w+p' //
these (art.) dog (pl.) they good (stat.)
(ø-)bzəya-k^oo- w+p'
(pl.)
- or art la (ø-)bzəya-k^oo-w+p'
'These dogs are good'
- art à- jɣab-c^oa (ø-) bzəyo-w+p' //
these (art.) girl (pl.) they good (stat.)
(ø-)bzəya-k^oo- w+p' // (?) (ø-)bzəya-c^oo- w+p'
(pl.) (hum.pl.)
- or art jɣab (ø-)bzəya-k^oo-w+p'
'These girls are good'
- (where we note a general preference for -k^oa- in the verb)
- (ii) Adjectives which are pre-posed when used attributively:-
As an example of the predicative use of an adjective which precedes its noun when used attributively we have
art à- jɣab-c^oa (ø-) kərt- k^oo- w+p' //
these (art.) girl (pl.) they Georgian (pl.) (stat.)
(ø-)kərt-c^oo- w+p' // (?) (ø-)kərt+wo-w+p'
(pl.)
- but not
*art jɣab (ø-)kərt-k^oo-w+p' // (ø-)kərt-c^oo-w+p'
'These girls are Georgian'

art a- š^oq^o'-k^oà (ø-) kərt+wo- w+p' //
(art.) book (pl.) they Georgian (stat.)
*(ø-)kərt-k^oo-w+p'

but not
*art š^oq^o'ə (ø-)kərt-k^oo-w+p'
'These books are Georgian'

where we note firstly that the option of leaving the subject unmarked for plurality no longer obtains; the pluraliser preferably accompanies the predicative adjective if the subject is human, even though this subject itself will be marked for plurality; the plural-marker will only appear in the verb if the subject is human.

2.1.4.3.1.3. gender/class

As we have just seen, when the adjective agrees with its noun in respect of plural-marking, there is a general tendency for the non-human pluraliser -k^oa- to be preferred, even when the adjective is in agreement with a human noun - in the case of a pre-posed adverbialised adjective, -k^oa- seems obligatory. In this connection we should perhaps recall that, when used within the post-radical structure of verbal complexes, the human pluraliser has a second, somewhat different function to play, namely that of indicating the verbal action to have been carried to excess (cf. 2.1.3.8.2), although one might argue that this is not the sole determining factor in the preference here manifested for -k^oa-, as -k^oa- also has another role to play when following the root in the verbal complex (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.13).

For the different forms taken by cardinals depending on whether the noun is human or non-human, see 2.1.6.3.

Although the adjective rac^oà 'many' need not agree with human nouns, e.g.

à- jɣab rac^oà
(art.) girl many
'many girls'

it may accommodate the human affix -y^o-, but, if it does, it must take the form of an adverb, e.g.

yə- rac^oa+y^o+ nè à- jɣab-c^oa
(col.I) (hum.) (adv.) (art.) (pl.)

or à-jɣab-c^oa (ø-)rac^oa+y^o+nè
'many girls'

2.1.4.3.1.5. definiteness/indefiniteness

As a general rule, adjectives do not agree with their nouns in respect of definiteness(-genericness), e.g.

a- la bzəya
the//a dog good
'the//a good dog'
à-jɣab bzəya
'the//a good girl'

If the adjective precedes the noun, the adjective will carry the definite(-generic) marker for the whole NP, e.g.

à kərt+wa jɣab
(art.) Georgian
'the//a Georgian girl'

As we see, the article, which, it should be stressed, marks both definiteness and genericness, attaches to whichever element (adjective or noun) comes first in the NP. Absence of agreement in respect of definiteness(-genericness) also applies to predicative adjectives, e.g.

arəy a- lə (ø-)bzəyo-w+p'
(art.) dog it good (stat.)

'This dog is good'

arəy à-jyab də- bzəyo-w+p'

she

'This girl is good'

arəy à-jyab də-kərt+wo-w+p'

Georgian

'This girl is Georgian'

We should, however, note that, if the adjective ends in the suffix -t'ə+y (cf. 2.2.3.1), both adjective and following noun will have the article, e.g.

à- y'ə+ba-t'ə+y a- x'əč'ə
(art.) 2 (art.) child

'The second child'

The indefinite article -k' attaches to the last word in the NP, be this the noun or the adjective - see examples under 2.1.4.3.1.1.

2.1.4.3.2. Does agreement depend on

2.1.4.3.2.1. relative position of noun and adjective?

Number-agreement, as evidenced here, is essential for the order N-Adj (unless a cardinal is present and does not stand as an independent word, e.g.

pš-la bzəya-k'
4 dog good 1
'4 good dogs'

N.B. that pš-la bzəya-k'a-k' = 'some 4 good dogs'; see 2.1.6.6 for the suffix -k'a-k' 'some'), optional for the order Adj-N (once again, non-independence of a cardinal results in the omission of the pluraliser, as in pš-kərt+wa la-k' '4 Georgian dogs', for its presence again gives the meaning 'some 4 Georgian dogs' - pš-kərt+wa la-k'a-k').

2.1.4.3.2.2. whether or not the noun is overtly expressed?

If an adjective is substantivised (i.e. if the noun to which it is attribute is not expressed overtly), then, if plural, it must be marked for plurality, e.g.

a- bzəya-k'a (ø-) sə- t
the good (pl.) them to-me give

'Give me the good ones!'

Where we have a predicative adjective without an overtly expressed subject-noun, then we have the choice of inserting the pluraliser into the stative verbal complex, if the column I subject-affix clearly shows the plurality of the subject, e.g.

ha-bzəya-k'o- w+p' // ha-bzəyo-w+p'
we good (pl.) (stat.)

'We are good'

Since the 3rd. person singular non-human column I affix is identical to the 3rd. person plural column I affix, yə-, in this case the pluraliser will normally be present for plural sub-

jects, unless it is clear from the context that the reference is to a plural entity, e.g.

yə-bzəyo-w+p'
'It is (?they are) good'
yə-bzəya-k'o-w+p'
'They are good'

(Note that yə-bzəya-c'o-w+p' is only admissible in the meaning 'It is/They are too good' - for this use of the suffix -c'a- see 2.1.3.8.2).

2.1.4.3.3. How is agreement affected by

2.1.4.3.3.2. agreement with co-ordinated nouns not belonging to the same class?

In Abkhaz the problem does not arise as the adjective is repeated with each element co-ordinated, e.g.

a- la bzəya-k'e- y à- jyab-c'a bzəya-k'e-
(art.) dog good (pl.) and (art.) girl (pl.) good (pl.)
y
and

'good dogs and (good) girls'

cf. a-la bzəya-k'e-y à-jyab-c'e-y

'[good dogs] and girls'

à- kərt+wa la- k'e- y à-kərt+wa jyab-c'e- y
(art.) Georgian dog (pl.) and girl (pl.) and

'Georgian dogs and (Georgian) girls'

cf. à-kərt+wa la-k'e-y à-jyab-c'e-y

'[Georgian dogs] and girls'

2.1.4.4. How are the various types of comparison expressed?

2.1.4.4.1. equality

The postpositions, of which either may be chosen, are -eyps 'like, as' and -aq'ara 'to such and such an extent', e.g.

a- ph'əs a- xac'a y- eyps // y-aq'ara
the woman the man him as
(col.II)

də- ħarak'ə-w+p'

she tall (stat.)

'The woman is as tall as the man'

N.B. that this particular equative comparison may be made by omitting the actual adjective for 'tall', -ħarak'ə-, and replacing it with the second of the above-postpositions together with its associated column II affix, e.g.

a-ph'əs a-xac'a də- y+ aq'aro- w+p'
she him+as-big-as

This possibility exists because of the indication of size inherent in the meaning of -aq'ara. That this postposition is not restricted to this particular equative comparison is shown by the sentence

a-ph'əs a-xac'a y-aq'ara də- psjò- w+p'
she beautiful

'The woman is as beautiful as the man'

2.1.4.4.2. comparative

There are three comparative postpositions, namely -aasta, -eyha, and -ac'k'əs 'than'. If the standard of comparison

immediately precedes the parameter of comparison, then the comparative element yahà (or y'eyhà) 'more' is normally omitted, e.g.

a-ph°ès a-xàc'a y- àasta // y-àc'k'°ès // y-eyhà d-
him than

harak'è-w+p'

'The woman is taller than the man'

Once again, this particular comparison of size may be made by omitting the adjective -harak'è- and substituting for it the postposition -eyhà together with its associated column II prefix, e.g.

a-ph°ès a-xàc'a d- y+ eyhà- w+p'
she him+more (sc. tall)-than (stat.)

Another alternative for this particular comparison is to replace the adjective -harak'è- with the postposition -eyhà minus its column II prefix; the sentence must now contain one of the postpositions -aasta or -ac'k'°ès in the normal way, e.g.

a-ph°ès a-xàc'a y-àasta//y-àc'k'°ès d- eyhà- w+p'
she more(sc.tall)

2.1.4.4.3. superlative

2.1.4.4.3.1. compared to other entities

Essentially the same construction is used as that just described in section 2.1.4.4.2, the difference being that the standard of comparison is represented by the word zeg' (à) 'all'

e.g. yarà zeg' r- èyhà//r-àasta//r-àc'k'°ès d- harak'è-w+p'
he all them than he

or yarà zeg'èd- r+ eyhà-w+p'
he them

or yarà zeg' r-àasta//r-àc'k'°ès d- eyhà-w+p'
he

'He is the tallest' (lit. 'taller than all')

2.1.4.4.3.2. compared to itself at other points/times

The same superlative expression as that just described in section 2.1.4.4.3.1 is used inside a pseudo-cleft construction such as the following

a- jèyas zeg' r- èyhà//r-àasta//r-àc'k'°ès y- ax'è-
the river all them than it where
tbaa-w abrò-w+p' (← *abra-a- w+p')
wide (non-fin.) here be (stat.)

'The river is widest here' (lit. 'This is where the river is widest (wider than all)')

Note that the most precise literal English translation here suggests that the Abkhaz might rather mean 'Here is where the river is wider than all other rivers'; this is not so, for the actual Abkhaz equivalent for this would be

abrò-w+p' arèy a- jèyas eg'èrt a- jèyas-k°a
this (art.) other (art.) river (pl.)
r- àasta // r-eyhà//r-àc'k'°ès y- ax'è- tbaa-w
them than it where wide (non-fin.)

'Here is where this river is wider than other rivers'

2.1.4.5. How are various degrees of a quality expressed?

2.1.4.5.1. in large measure

The adverb is dàara 'very', e.g.

a- ph°ès dàara d- harak'è-w+p'
the woman very she tall (stat.)

'The woman is very tall'

(see also section 2.2.3.3.2.)

In attributive position (and the same applies to the examples given in sections 2.1.4.5.2-4), the relativised form of the stative verb found when the adjective is acting as predicate must be employed, e.g.

dàara y- harak'è-w a- ph°ès
very who tall (stat.non-fin.) the woman
'the very tall woman'

2.1.4.5.2. in superabundance

The suffix -c°a- (cf. 2.1.3.8.2) is attached directly to the verbal root (i.e. to the adjective which forms the base of the stative verb), from which it follows that a verb-form must be present before this affix (and thus this expression) may be used, e.g.

a-ph°ès d- harak'-c°ò-w+p'
'The woman is too tall'

When construed with quantifiers, this element may be attached to the quantifier-root, the resulting compound then being turned into its adverbial form, e.g.

y- rac°a-c°a-nè a- š°q°'-k°à (ø-) sè-
(col.I) many too (adv.) (art.) book (pl.) them to-me
(non-hum.)
y- te- yt' // a-š°q°'-k°à (ø-) sè-y-ta- c°e- yt'
he give (fin.) give (suff.) (fin.)

'He gave me too many books'

cf. a-š°q°'-rac°a // y- rac°a-nè a-š°q°'-k°à
'many books'

(Because of the cacophonous sequence -c°a-c°a- in the form above, an alternative expression is possible, namely that based on the adjective a-mxc° 'superfluous' - y- mcax°-c°a-nè a-š°q°'-k°à 'too many books')

y- mäch'- c°a-nè a- š°
little too (art.) cheese
'too little cheese'

cf. mäch'-k' a-š°
one

'a little cheese'

2.1.4.5.3. in small measure

The adverb is ak'èr 'somewhat', e.g.

a-ph°ès ak'èr d- harak'è-w+p'
'The woman is rather tall'

2.1.4.5.4. to a satisfactory degree

Here we have a choice of two Abkhaz idioms: the first is based on the expression

xar (ø-)à- ma- m
trouble(?) it it have not

which is used as the answer 'It's o.k.' in response to the question 'How is it?' The typically negative absolutive ending -k'ò'a(-n) is added to give the expression seen in

a-ph'òès xar (ø-)à-ma-m-k'ò'a(-n) dè-harak'è-w+p'

'The woman is tall enough'

The second alternative would give

a-ph'òès ye+s+aa+na+ga+ra dè-harak'è-w+p'

where the second constituent may easily be analysed, although it is nevertheless not clear from the analysis why this form should provide the meaning required of it in this context: the analysis is - ye- is the column I, 3rd. person singular non-human affix here representing the direct object of the verb; -s- is the manner-adverbial particle 'how'; -aa- is the orientational preverb 'hither'; -na- is the column III, 3rd. person singular non-human subject-affix used in place of -a- if the verb is tri-personal or, as here, contains a preverb; -ga- is the root 'to carry'; -ra is the characteristic ending of the non-finite Future I tense.

2.1.4.6. With predicative adjectives, are the categories that characterise the verbal morphology of the language

2.1.4.6.1. expressed in the adjective-morphology?

As already described (cf. 1.2.1.1.4.2.1 and 2.1.1.2.9), predicative adjectives become the root of stative verbs, i.e. they have prefixed to them the column I, intransitive subject affix correlating with the copular subject, whilst the stative verbal exponents (-w+p' for the present, -n for the past) will be attached as suffixes, e.g.

barà bə- pgjò- w+p'
you you beautiful (stat.)
(col.I)

'You are beautiful'

barà bə-psjà-n
(stat.past)

'You were beautiful'

2.1.5. Postpositions

2.1.5.1. Postpositions not already mentioned in 2.1.1

2.1.5.1.1. -ag'ara 'to such and such an extent'

sarà s- àq'ara d- awè-w+p'
I me as-much-as he big (stat.)
'He is as big as me'

2.1.5.1.2. -eyps 'like, as'

sarà s- eyps ye-q'e- y- c'è-yt'
I me like it (prev.) he do (fin.)
'He did it like me'

2.1.5.1.3. -aa+n 'at the time of'

a+k'rè- fa- ra aa+n (≡ *a- aa+n)
something eat (masd.) its time-at
'at the time of eating'

2.1.5.1.4. 'conjunctive postpositions'

A number of elements may be suffixed directly to non-finite verbal forms, and, to this extent, they may be regarded as semi-postpositions, although, since they function as conjunctions in a language like English, let us provisionally call them 'conjunctive postpositions'.

2.1.5.1.4.1. -cəpx'aja 'every time that'

This is only found attached to the non-finite Aorist (i.e. it is attached directly to the root of dynamic verbs) and is used in all cases regardless of the tense of the following verb, e.g.

də- z-bà- cəpx'aja a- š'q'ò- (ø-)yè- s-ta lo-
him I see (art.) book it to-him I give (iter.)
+ (dyn.)

yt' // (ø-)yè-s-ta-lo-n // (ø-)yè-s-ta-la-
(fin.) (fin.) (iter.)

g+ t'
(Fut.II) (fin.)

'Every time I see him, I regularly give him a book//
Every time I saw him, I regularly gave him a book//
Every time I see him, I'll give him a book'
(respectively)

2.1.5.1.4.2. -yžtey 'since (the time that)'

This is found suffixed to the non-finite forms of the following tenses:-

(a) Present, e.g.

way (ø-)l- h'ò- yžtey y'è-mčəbža (ø-) c'- we-
that it she say w week they pass (dyn.)
yt' + (dyn.)
(fin.)

'Two weeks have passed since she has been saying that'

A stative example would be

way abrà dè-t'ò-wə- yžtey y'è-sàat-k'
that-one here he sit (non-fin.) 2 hour 1
(ø-)c'-we-yt'

'Two hours have passed since he has been sitting here'

(b) Aorist, e.g.

way (ø-)l-h'ò- yžtey y'è-mčəbža (ø-)c'-yt'
'Two weeks have passed since she said that'

(c) Perfect, e.g.

wərt rə- y'ò- a- r- gəla- ra y- a+
those their house its cause stand (masd.) they it+
l- ga- x'è- yžtey ak'èr (ø-)c'- we- yt'
from (root) (Perf.) some-time it pass (dyn.) (fin.)
(= finish)

'Some time has passed since they have already finished building their house'

(d) Imperfect, e.g.

abrà yə- n- xò- zə- yžtey ak'èr (ø-)c'-
here they (prev.) live (non-fin.)
we-yt' + (dyn.)

'Some time has passed since they were living here'

(e) Past Indefinite, e.g.

wəy də- z-bà- zə- yžtey a+k'+g'ə
that-one him I see (non-fin.) one even
(ø-)c'-wa-m
not

'Not long has passed since I saw him'

N.B. that here again we have a clear demonstration of the virtual synonymy of the Aorist and Past Indefinite non-finite forms.

The element -yžtey may also be used with non-finite, past forms of stative verbs, which are formally identical to the Past Indefinite of dynamic verbs (both forms end in -z attached to the root). However, in the case of non-finite, past forms of stative verbs, one has the option of retaining or omitting the final non-finite marker -z, e.g.

abrà də-q'a-zə- yžtey // də-q'e-yžtey a+k'+g'ə
here he be (non-fin.)
(ø-)c'-wa-m

'Not long has passed since he was here'

(f) Plu-perfect, e.g.

wəy də- z-ba- x'à- zə- yžtey y'ə-šək'sa
that-one him I see (Perf.) (non-fin.) 2 year
(ø-)c'- x'a- n
they pass (Perf.) (fin.)

'Two years had passed since I had seen him'

2.1.5.1.4.3. -nac'ə 'while'

For dynamic verbs, this is used only with the non-finite Present, irrespective of the tense of the following verb, e.g.

wəy à- way° sə-y+ à- c'až'o-nac'ə, a+j°+g'ə sarà
that (art.) man I him+to talk one even I
+(dyn.)

s- ax' də-m- nè+y- aa+yt'
me to he not go-thither (subjunctive)

'While I am talking to that man, no-one is to enter my room!'

wəy à-way° sə-y+à-c'až'o-nac'ə, a+j°+g'ə də-y'nà- m-
le- yt' he (prev.) not
enter (fin.)

'While I was talking to that man, no-one came in'

When -nac'ə is used in association with stative verbs, it is attached directly to the root - in other words, neither the present nor the past non-finite markers (-w and -z respectively) are retained, e.g.

abrà də-q'a-nac'ə, a+j°+g'ə sarà s-ax' də-m-nè+y-aa+yt'

'While he is here, no-one is to enter my room!'

abrà də-q'a-nac'ə, a+j°+g'ə də-y'nà-m-le-yt'

'While he was here, no-one came in'

2.1.5.1.4.4. -š'a 'as if, as though, supposedly'

This suffix may be used in association with any of the non-finite verbal forms, e.g.

zeg'ə (ø-)ey+lə- y- k'+ aa-
everything it (compound prev.) he (root)+(suffix)
z- š'a də-t'ə-à-n understand
(non-fin.) he sit (fin.)

'He was sitting as though he understood everything!'
zeg'ə (ø-)ey+lə-y-k'+aa-wa- š'a də-t'ə-ò-
w+p' (non-fin.Pres.)

(stat.Pres.)

'He is sitting as though he understands everything'
də-č+ma+za+y'ə-z- š'a də-q'a-n
(non-fin.) he be (fin.)

'It was (lit. he was) as though he was ill'

Note the use of this suffix in the role of complementiser if the clause it governs represents an untruth, e.g.

a- šk'òl [a-] ax' də-cò- z- š'a
go (non-fin.)
+(dyn.)

(ø-)h'a-nə a- k'inò [a-]ax' də-cè-yt'
it say (absol.) the cinema it to he go (fin.)

'Having said that he was going to school, he went to the cinema'

This suffix may also be attached to nouns, e.g.

a+k'rə+fa+r+ta-q'ə fa+t'ə-š'a a+k'
stolovaja in food as/like something
(ø-)h'a-fè- yt'
it we eat (fin.)

'In the stolovaja we ate something resembling food'

2.1.5.1.4.5. -aa+nja 'until, before'

This is used only with the non-finite Aorist of dynamic verbs, regardless of the tense of the verb in the main clause, e.g.

wəy də- z-b[a]-aa+nja, a- x'əš'ə+t'ə+r+ta
that-one him I see the hospital

də- tē- r- ge- yt'
him from-in they take (fin.)

'They took him out of the hospital before I saw him'

s-aa+y-aa+nja arà d- aa- n- xò- yt'
I come here he (prev.) (prev.) stay (fin.)

'He will stay here till I come' + (dyn.)

2.1.5.1.4.6. -aħa 'any more than, let alone'

This element may be used with four verb-forms: the non-finite Present, the conditional mood in -r, the conditional mood in za+r (i.e. when this conditional suffix is directly preceded by the verbal root), and the conditional mood in -x'a-za-r, e.g.

à- mza- [a-]ax' s-ca-r- aħa à- ps- š'a-
the moon it to I go (condit.) the Abkhaz language
g'ə (ø-)sə+z- c'ò- m
even it I+(pot.) learn not
+(dyn.)

'I can't learn Abkhaz any more than fly to the moon!'
à-mza-[a-]ax' s-cà-za-r- aħa à-ps-š'a-g'ə
(condit.)

(ø-)sə+zə-m- c'e-yt'
not

'I couldn't learn Abkhaz any more than fly to the moon'
à-mza-[a-]ax' s-ca-x'à- za-r- aħa à-ps-š'a-g'ə
(Perf.) (condit.)

(ø-)sə+zə-m- c'a-c- t'
 not (Perf.) (fin.)
 'I haven't been able to learn Abkhaz any more than fly
 to the moon'

a- psə d- wə+ zə- bza- t'ə-wa- [a]ha
 the dead him you+(pot.) good make (non-fin.)
 yə- q'a- la- z
 that-which (prev.) happen (non-fin.)
 (ø-)wə+ z- x+nə- r- ħ°- wə- m
 it you+(pot.) (preverbs) cause turn (dyn.) not
 'You can't overturn what has taken place any more than
 you can raise the dead'
 (example provided by Miss Inga Šaduri)

2.1.5.3. Do postpositions combine with the personal pronouns they govern to form series of personal forms?

Regardless of whether they combine with pronouns or nouns,
 the majority of postpositions require as a prefix that column
 II pronominal affix which is appropriate to the word they are
 governing (cf. the examples given in section 2.1.1.5.ff).
 Those postpositions not requiring a pronominal prefix are directly
 suffixed to their nouns, pronouns or, in the case of the
 'conjunctive postpositions' just examined, non-finite verb-
 forms.

2.1.6. Numerals/quantifiers

2.1.6.1. Numerals used in counting

a+k'ə '1'
 y°-ba '2'
 x-pa '3'
 pš-ba '4'
 x°-ba '5'
 f-ba '6'
 bəž-bà '7'
 aa-bà '8'
 ž°-ba '9'
 ž°a-bà '10'
 ž°ə-y-za '11' (lit. '10-&-1', where -y- is the conjoining
 clitic 'and', and -za is a remnant of the proto-North West
 Caucasian word for '1' now replaced in Abkhaz by a+k'ə)
 ž°ə-y°a (lit. '10-2') '12'
 ž°ə-xa '13'
 ž°ə-pš '14'
 ž°ə-x° // ž°a-x° [ž°ə-x°] '15'
 ž°a-f // ž°ə-f '16'
 ž°ə-bž '17'
 ž°-aa '18'
 ze-y-ž° [sic] '19' (lit. '10-&-9')
 y°a-ž°à '20' (lit. '2-10')
 y°a-ž°ə-y a+k'ə '21' (lit. '20-&-1')
 y°a-ž°ə-y y°-ba '22'
 y°a-ž°ə-y ž°a-bà '30' (lit. '20-&-10')
 y°a-ž°ə-y ž°ə-y-za '31'
 y°ə-n y°a-ž°à '40' (lit. '2-times -n 2-10')

y°ə-n y°a-ž°ə-y a+k'ə '41'
 y°ə-n y°a-ž°ə-y ž°a-bà '50' (the form š°ə-bžà-k' '100-
 half-one' is not now used)
 y°ə-n y°a-ž°ə-y ž°ə-y-za '51'
 xə-n y°a-ž°à '60'
 xə-n y°a-ž°ə-y ž°a-bà '70'
 pšə-n y°a-ž°à '80'
 pšə-n y°a-ž°ə-y ž°a-bà '90'
 š°-k'ə '100' (lit. '100-1')
 š°ə-y a+k'ə '101' (lit. 100-& 1')
 y°ə-š° '200'
 xə-š° '300'
 bəž-š°ə '700'
 aa-š°ə '800'
 ž°ə-š°ə '900'
 zk'ə '1,000'
 y°-nə zk' '2,000'
 x-nə zk' '3,000'
 ž°a-nə zk' '10,000'
 million-k' '1,000,000'

And so, the co-ordinating clitic -y 'and' will be suffixed to
 each unit (millions, thousands, hundreds, multiples of '10')
 save the last in all compound numerals (by which is to be under-
 stood compounds from '21' onwards - the appearance of -y- in
 the Abkhaz forms for '11' and '19' is clearly exceptional from
 a synchronic, if not from a diachronic, point of view), e.g.
 million-k'ə-y xə-š°ə-y y°ə-n y°a-ž°ə-y ž°a-y°a-nə zk'ə-y
 million 1 & 3 100 & 2 times 2 10 & 10 2 times
 zk'ə-y y°ə-š°ə-y y°a-ž°ə-y x°-ba
 1000 & 2 100 & 2 10 & 5
 '1,352,225'

cf. million-k'ə-y xə-š°ə-y y°ə-n y°a-ž°ə-y ž°a-y°a-nə zk'ə-y
 y°ə-š°ə-y y°a-ž°à
 '1,352,220'

cf. million-k'ə-y xə-š°ə-y y°ə-n y°a-ž°ə-y ž°a-y°a-nə zk'ə-y
 y°ə-š°
 '1,352,200'

etc...

Fractions:

à-bžà '½'; alternatively the more colloquial expression
 y°ə-žara y°ə-ša- nè x°ə-tà- k'
 2 times (of division) it split (absol.) portion 1

is used.

'½' will be either

(a-) pš-ba r- a+k'
 (art.) 4 their 1

or the colloquial expression parallel to that given above for
 '½' pšə-žara y°ə-ša-nə x°ə-tà-k'

Multiples of fractions are uncommon (being mainly confined
 to mathematics' lessons) and modelled on Russian, e.g.

x-pa à- ž°a-ba-t°ə-y
 3 (art.) 10 (ordinal)
 'three-tenths'

Similarly, combinations of whole numbers and fractions are
 rare, e.g.

y°-be-y bza-k'è-y
 2 & ½ 1 &
 '2½'
 pš-be-y x-pa r- à+k'è-y
 4 & 3 their 1 &
 '4 and one-third'
 f-be-y x-pa à- pš-ba-t'è[+y]-y
 6 & 3 (art.) 4 (ord.) &
 '6¾'
 bəž-bè-y bəž-bà àa-ba-t'è[+y]-y
 7 & 7 8 (ord.) &
 '7⅞'

2.1.6.3. Are distinct numerals used for counting different kinds of objects?

The numerals listed under 2.1.6.1 are used for abstract counting or counting of non-human objects; if the objects to be counted are human, then from '3' onwards -ba (-pa in the case of '3' itself) is replaced by the suffix -y°è(-k'), where -y°è is clearly related to the agentive derivational affix -y°è (cf. 2.2.1.2.3) and -k' is the numeral '1' - from '11' onwards, where no -ba occurs, -y°è(-k') is simply added to the form as given in the list in section 2.1.6.1. This leaves the first two numerals, which have the following special forms:-

a+j°è '1'
 y°è-ja(-y°è(-k')) '2'
 A selection of other examples would be:-
 x-y°è(-k') '3'
 pš-y°è(-k') '4'
 ž°è-y-za-y°è(-k') '11'
 y°a-ž°è-y a+j°è '21'
 š°-y°è(-k') '101'
 š°è-y y°è-ja(-y°è(-k')) '102'

If cardinals are used as nominal attributes, then the appropriate forms must be chosen in accordance with the human vs. non-human categorisation of the noun. Once the appropriate cardinal-form has been selected, the following basic types of Adj-N sequences may occur:-

(i) non-human nouns

(a) where the numeral follows its noun, the numeral will take the suffix -ba (i.e. for numerals '2'-'10'), and the noun will have both the article (a-) and the plural-marker, e.g.

a- la- k°a pš-bà
 (art.) dog (pl.) 4
 '(the) 4 dogs'

If the numeral is one which does not accommodate the suffix -ba, its noun may drop the article and its plural-marker, e.g.

(Arstaa et al., 1966.70)

wasà š°-k'
 sheep 100
 '100 sheep'

(b) if the numeral precedes its noun, the suffix -ba disappears, and the noun (or NP) will end with the numeral '1' (-k'); should the article (a-) and the plural-marker be absent, the phrase will be an equivalent for the first example above, e.g.

pš-la- k'
 4 dog 1
 '(the) 4 dogs'

On the other hand, if the plural-marker is used, the phrase will assume a greater nuance of indefiniteness, e.g.

pš-la- k°a-k'
 'some//any 4 dogs'

With no plural-marker but with the article (a-) preceding the entire complex, the NP will become definite, e.g.

à-pš-la-k'
 'the (group of) 4 dogs (sc. that we have been discussing)'

Dumézil (1967.16) observes that, in the case of compound numerals, two more variants are possible; one of his examples shows a pre-posed numeral not requiring the suffix -k' at the end of the complex -

ž°è-y-za qə
 11 horse
 '11 horses'

He also notes the following

qə y°a-ž°a
 horse 20
 '20 horses'

(ii) human nouns

Human nouns require their plural-markers in all cases (unless an attributive adjective follows, which itself carries the pluraliser for the whole NP). Our first example is of a noun prefixed with the article (a-); the numeral may either precede or follow the noun, will be endowed with the human affix -y°è, and may or may not end with the numeral '1', e.g.

pš-y°è(-k') à- jya-b-c°a
 (art.) girl (pl.)

or
 à-jya-b-c°a pš-y°è(-k')
 '(the) 4 girls'

Where the numeral is pre-posed and lacks the numeral '1', the noun may drop its article, e.g.

pš-y°è jya-b-c°a
 '(the) 4 girls'

By attaching to this last form the compound-suffix -k°a-k', the expression for 'some//any 4 girls' is produced, e.g.

pš-y°è jya-b-c°a-k°a-k'

To make the NP absolutely definite, the numeral, ending in -k', will itself be endowed with the article; it may then either precede or follow its noun, which also possesses the article, e.g.

à- pš-y°è-k' à- jya-b-c°a
 (art.) (art.)

or

à-jya-b-c°a à-pš-y°è-k'
 'the (group of) 4 girls (sc. that we have been discussing)'

cf. also

à-pš-y°è jya-b-c°a (where the noun does not, in fact, take the article)

2.1.6.4. Ordinals

These are of rather recent formation in Abkhaz - hence Dumézil's statement (1967.16) that ordinals do not exist in Turkish Abkhaz. They are produced by attaching the suffix -t°'ə+y to the non-human forms of the cardinals - in other words, there is no distinction between human and non-human ordinals. There are four variants for '1st.', e.g.

à+k'-t°'ə+y // (r-) àpx'a yə- gəlo-
them in-front-of he-who stand

w- // àpx'a-t°'ə+y
(non-fin.stat.)

'1st.'

à- y°-ba-t°'ə+y

(art.) 2

'2nd.'

à-x-pa-t°'ə+y '3rd.'

à-ž°a-ba-t°'ə+y '10th.'

a-ž°è-y-za-t°'ə+y '11th.'

à-y°a-ž°è-y-ž°a-ba-t°'ə+y '30th.'

à-ž°-k'-t°'ə+y '100th.'

à-bəž-ž°-k'-t°'ə+y '700th.'

N.B. that ordinals represent one of the classes of adjectives which, when used attributively, precede their nouns (cf.2.1.4).

2.1.6.5. What other derivatives of numerals exist and how are they formed?

2.1.6.5.1. Multiplicatives

Apart from the individual formation for 'once', multiplicatives are produced by suffixing -n+t°' usually to the appropriate numerical base (i.e. to avoid the numeral devoid of human or non-human suffixes), e.g.

z+nə(-k') 'once' (where z- is again a remnant of the proto-NWC numeral for '1')

y°è-n+t°' 'twice'

xə-n t°' 'thrice'

y°a-ž°è-y ž°a(-bà)-n+t°' 'thirty times'

N.B. the rare occurrence of old forms in -na only (-na => -nə => -n, which latter two forms we have already met, glossed as 'times', in the list of numerals in section 2.1.6.1), e.g.

a-y°è-na 'twice'

2.1.6.5.2. Distributives

These are produced by reduplicating the appropriate human or non-human cardinal, e.g.

a+k'=[a+]k'a : a+j°=[a+]j°a

'one each'

y°-bà=y°-ba : y°è-ja=y°è-ja

'two each'

x-pà=x-pa : xə-y°è=xə-y°è(-k')

'three each'

By adding the instrumental postposition to the above, the corresponding adverbials are produced, e.g.

y°-ba=y°-bà-la : y°è-ja=y°è-ja-la

'in two's'

2.1.6.5.3. Approximatives

The element -q'a is suffixed to the appropriate human or non-human cardinal. This -q'a derives from -àq'ara 'as big as', and this full form must be used when the cardinal is '1'; it may also be used as just such an independent postposition with the other cardinals, e.g.

a+k' [a-] àq'ara : a+j° y- àq'ara//l-

1 it as-big-as his her

'one or so' àq'ara

y°-ba-q'á//y°-ba r- àq'ara : y°è-ja-q'a//y°è-ja r-

'two or so' their àq'ara

x-pa-q'á//x-pa r-àq'ara : x-y°è-k'-q'a//x-y°è-k'

'three or so' r-àq'ara

2.1.6.5.4. Completives

The clitic -g'ə 'also, even' is suffixed to the appropriate human or non-human cardinal preceded by the article (a-), e.g.

à-y°-ba-g'ə : a-y°è-ja-g'ə

'both'

à-x-pa-g'ə : à-x-y°è-k'-g'ə

'all three'

Note that, if the article (a-) is absent, the meaning is rather 'even two', 'even three' etc..., e.g.

x-pa-g'ə : x-y°è-k'-g'ə

'even three'

pš-ba-g'ə : pš-y°è-k'-g'ə

'even four'

2.1.6.6. Quantifiers

mač'-k' (non-human) : màč'-y°è-k' (human)

'little, a few'

pət-k' (non-human) : pət-y°è-k' (human)

'several'

-k°a-k' (non-human) : -c°a-k°a-k' (human)

'some'

zeg'ə (or, more rarely, yə-š(ə-n)-èyba-k'ə-w 'all together')

'all'

cəpx'aja//dowsə//es-

'each, every'

à-y°-ba-g'ə (non-human) : a-y°è-ja-g'ə (human)

'both'

eg'ə (plural = eg'ərt) // (d)aq'a-k'ə (non-human) :

'other' (d)aq'a-j°è (human)

a+k'è-m-za+r-a+k' (-g'ə) (non-human) : a+j°è-m-za+r-a+k'

'no, nothing/no-one' (-g'ə) (human)

a+k'è-r (non-human) : a+j°è-r (human)

'any, anything/anyone'

2.1.6.6.1. Quantifier-compounds

See immediately above for 'nothing', 'no-one', 'anyone', 'anything'.

jar-g'ə (s-co-m)

'(I am going) nowhere'

(N.B. the obligatory negative -m in the associated verb)

jar-à+k'ə-r
'anywhere'

y-an-à+k'ə-z-aa-lak' (-g'ə) // a-xàan (-g'ə) (sə-q'a-mə-z+t')
'(I was here) never' (N.B. again the negative -m- in the verb)

z-nə-k'ə-r // z+nə-m-za+r-z+nə

'ever' (used with both future and past tenses)

cf. məg-k'ə-z+nə

'ever' (used only with a future tense)

d(etc..) -àrban-z-aa-lak' (-g'ə) // d(etc..) -z-wəs-ta-z-aa-lak' (-g'ə)

'whoever' (whichever column I affix is appropriate may be used in place of initial d-, hence '(etc..)')

y-àrban-z-aa-lak' (-g'ə)

'whatever'

y-an-à+k'ə-z-aa-lak' (-g'ə)

(N.B. that wherever the clitic g'ə is added to -lak', -k' loses its palatalisation)

'whenever'

y-ax'-à+k'ə-z-aa-lak' (-g'ə)

'wherever'

yə-g-à+k'ə-z-aa-lak' (-g'ə)

'however'

yə-z-à+k'ə-z-aa-lak' (-g'ə)

'for whatever reason'

2.1.7. Adverbs

2.1.7.1. How are various kinds of comparison expressed?

2.1.7.1.1. equality

For the basic construction see 2.1.4.4.1, e.g.

a- xàc'a y- eypg // y- àq'ara wəbàs d- las-
the man him like him as-much-as so she quick

nə də- cè-yt' a- ph'əs (col.I)

(adverb) she go (fin.) the woman

'The woman went as quickly as the man'

From this we see that the typical adverbial suffix is -nə; preceding the lexical morpheme the adverb accommodates the column I pronominal affix correlating with the sentential subject (d-). This may be replaced by the neutral, 3rd. person singular, column I non-human affix yə-, giving yə-las-nə; alternatively, this same affix may be used, but separating it from the adverb's lexical morpheme there will be the causative formant -r- — yə-r-las-nə.

If a full clausal comparison is required, this will be expressed by the appropriate non-finite verb-form containing the manner-particle -g-; in this case, only the postposition -eypg is possible, e.g.

a-xàc'a də-g- cò [a-] eypg wəbàs d-las-nə //
he how go it like
(non-fin.Pres.)

yə-las-nə // yə-r-las-nə də-cè-yt' a-ph'əs

'The woman went as quickly as the man goes'

2.1.7.1.2. comparative

For the basic construction see 2.1.4.4.2, e.g.

a-ph'əs a-xàc'a y- eyhà d-las-nə // yə-las-nə //
him more(than)

yə-r-las-nə də-cè-yt'

'The woman went more quickly than the man'

In place of y-eyhà one may have any of the following variants:-

y- àasta // y- àc'k'əs (yahà // eyhà)
him than him than more

Should the full clausal comparison be required, once again the appropriate non-finite form containing the particle -g- will be used, e.g.

a-ph'əs a-xàc'a də-g- cà (-z) [a-] àasta
he how go (non-fin.) it than
(yahà // eyhà) (etc..) d-las-nə (etc..) də-cè-yt'
more

'The women went as quickly as the man went'

2.1.7.1.3. superlative

For the basic construction see 2.1.4.4.3, e.g.

a-ph'əs zeg' r- èyha d-las-nə // yə-las-nə //
all them more(than)

yə-r-las-nə də-cè-yt'

'The woman went most quickly (of all)'

The variants for r-èyha are:-

r- àasta // r- àc'k'əs (yahà // èyha)
them than them than more

2.1.7.2. How are various degrees of a quality expressed?

2.1.7.2.1. in large measure

Cf. 2.1.4.5.1, e.g.

dàara yə-r-las-nə // yə-las-nə // d-las-nə (etc..)
very quickly

'very quickly'

Whichever column I affix is appropriate to the sentential subject may be used—hence '(etc..)' is written above. In place of dàara 'very' one may place the verbal emphatic suffix after the adverb's lexical morpheme, e.g.

yə-r-las-ja- nə // yə-las-ja-nə // d-las-ja-nə (etc..)
(emphatic)

'very quickly'

2.1.7.2.2. superabundance

Cf. 2.1.4.5.2, e.g.

yə-r-las-c'a-nə // yə-las-c'a-nə // d-las-c'a-nə (etc..)
'too quickly'

2.1.7.2.3. in small measure

Cf. 2.1.4.5.3, e.g.

ak'èr yə-r-las-nə // yə-las-nə // d-las-nə (etc..)
'rather quickly'

2.1.7.2.4. to a satisfactory degree

Cf. 2.1.4.5.4, e.g.

xar (ø-)à-ma-m-k'a (-n) yə-r-las-nə // yə-las-nə //
d-las-nə (etc..)
'quickly enough'

2.1.8. Clitics

2.1.8.1. What kind of clitic-elements occur in the language?

Affixation (prefixation and suffixation) is clearly such a widespread and integral feature of Abkhaz morphology, particularly as regards the structure of the verbal complex, that, by treating all such affixes as clitics, one would virtually have to recapitulate the entire section on morphology if one were to treat them again under the present heading. This we shall refrain from doing and mention only (a) the co-ordinating particle -y, which is suffixed to each noun or pronoun being co-ordinated, e.g.

s- ànə- y s- àbə- y
my mother & my father &
'my mother and father'
barè-y sarè-y
you & I &
'you and I'

(b) the connective -g'ə 'also, and', which, in addition to being attached to nouns and pronouns, may also connect subordinate verb-forms, e.g.

sar-g'ə s-co- yt'
I too I go (fin.)
+(dyn.)
'I too am going'

də-ca-nə a+j°- g'ə də- š- nè d- an-
he go (absol.) someone and him kill (absol.) he when
àa zeg'ə yə-ǰà- r- še-
come(non-fin.) everyone it (prev.) they view-with-surprise
yt'
(fin.)

or də-ca-nə a+j° də-šə-n- g'ə d-an-àa zeg'ə yə-ǰà-r-
še-yt'
(absol.) and
'When he came after having gone and killed someone,
everyone was surprised'

2.2. Derivational morphology

2.2.1.1. nouns from nouns

2.2.1.1.1. -r+ta

This suffix indicates the place where something is found; it is more common with verbal bases (cf. 2.2.1.2.1), e.g.

a-y°na- (r+)tə
house
'household'
a-ǰək°rèy-r+ta
maize
'maize-field'
a-bambà- r+ta
cotton
'cotton-field'

2.2.1.1.2. -ta

This suffix too indicates location and is very common in topographical terms, e.g.

a-g°- tà
heart
'middle'
a-g°àra-ta
fence
'fenced area, yard'
Bzəp-ta
Bzyp
'the area belonging to the Bzyp Abkhazians'

2.2.1.1.3. -tra

This suffix also indicates location; it is particularly common as a means of designating the home of animals, e.g.

à-ž°- tra
cow
'cow-shed'
a-q- trà
horse
'stable'

2.2.1.1.4. -ra

This is the formant for abstract-nouns and is very common, e.g.

à-č'k°'ən-ra
child
'childhood, youth'
a-gəzmāl-ra
devil
'devilishness'

2.2.1.1.5. -c

This is used to designate a single entity for objects normally thought of in groups, e.g.

a-x°ə- c
hair
'a single hair'
à-šxə-c
bee
'a single bee'

2.2.1.1.6. -ša

This is a rare suffix indicating a characteristic, e.g.

a-way°ə-ša
man
'humaneness//humanity'
a-xàc'a-ša
man
'manliness'

2.2.1.1.7. -(a)y'

This suffix marks the male of certain animals, e.g.

à-c° -ay'
cow 'bull'

a-tə(+y')
ram
'ram'

2.2.1.1.8. -c'əs

This is used to represent the young of certain animals, e.g.

a-q- c'əs
horse
'foal'

2.2.1.1.9. -s

This suffix appears in the singular of certain nouns (particularly those representing the young of animals) which have a collective plural in -ar(a) (cf. 2.1.1.8.4.ii), this pluraliser -ar(a) replacing the -s of the singular, e.g.

a-h°ə+s
'calf' (cf. a-h°-àr 'herd of calves')
à-jə+s
'kid' (cf. à-j-ar 'flock of kids')

2.2.1.2. nouns from verbs

2.2.1.2.1. -r+ta

This suffix indicates the location of an activity (cf.

2.2.1.1.1), e.g.

à-jaxə-r+ta
sew
'sewing-room'
à-px'a-r+ta
read
'reading-room'
a-x°àrx'ə-r+ta
saw
'saw-mill'

This suffix is used extensively.

2.2.1.2.2. -(r+)s+ta

This compound-suffix indicates the spot where an action has already occurred, e.g.

a-jaxə-r+s+ta
sew
'seam'
a-š°àx-s+ta
?
'scar'

2.2.1.2.3. -y°(ə)

This is a very common agent-suffix, e.g.

a-c'a- y°ə
learn
'pupil'
a-r- c'a- y°ə
cause learn
'teacher'
a-n- xa- y°ə
(prev.) live
'peasant'

2.2.1.2.4. -ra

This abstract-noun formant (cf. 2.2.1.1.4) is the means whereby the masdar (or infinitive) is formed, e.g.

a-š- rà
kill
'killing, to kill'
a-ba- rà
see
'seeing, to see'

2.2.1.2.5. -ga

This is a very common suffix marking the instrument of the verbal action, e.g.

a-qà- ga
hoe
'hoe'
a-zə- ga
dig
'spade'

2.2.1.2.6. -mta

Forms in -mta represent the result of the verbal action, e.g.

a-y°ə- mta
write
'written work, writings'
a-h°à-mta
say
'statement'

Such forms also function as adjectives, in which function they are virtual equivalents for relative clauses, e.g.

l- šə- mta a- k°t'ə (ø-)s-fe- yt'
her kill the chicken it I eat (fin.)
'I ate the chicken killed by her'

cf. yə- l- šə- z a-k°t'ə (ø-)s-fe-yt'
which she kill (non-fin.)
'I ate the chicken killed by her'

2.2.1.2.7. -mta (← aamta 'time')

This suffix marks the time of a verbal action and is used only to indicate momentary actions, e.g.

l- šə- mta s-à+ k°- š°e- yt'
her kill I it+(prev.) attend (fin.)
'I attended the moment of her killing'

2.2.1.2.8. -ša

This suffix indicates the characteristics of an action (cf. 2.2.1.1.6), e.g.

a-h°à-ša
say
'manner of speaking'
à-q'a+z-ša
be
'character'

2.2.1.2.9. -t°'(ə)

This suffix strictly speaking, forms the gerundive (verbal adjective) (cf. 2.2.3.2) '(that) which is to be done'. However, in the absence of an overtly expressed noun, forms in -t°'(ə) are used substantively, e.g.

a-fa- t°'
eat
'food'
a-ž°- t°'
drink
'drink'
a-y°- t°'ə
write
'something to write'

2.2.1.2.2. To what extent is the syntax of deverbal nouns similar to that of sentences, and to what extent like that of non-derived nouns?

With the exception of masdars, the syntax of all deverbal nouns is the same as that of non-derived nouns. In the case of masdars, what in the finite verb-forms would have been represented by a column I pronominal affix (i.e. intransitive subjects and transitive direct objects) will be represented by a column II affix functioning as a possessive marker, and so, to this extent, masdars behave like non-derived nouns, e.g.

sarà s- àa+y-ra
I my come (masd.)
(col.II)
'my coming'
cf. s- àa+y-we- yt'
I come (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.I)
'I am coming'
sarà sè-la lə- š- rà
I me by her kill (masd.)
(col.II)
'my killing of her' (lit. 'her killing by me')
cf. də- s-š- wè- yt'
her I kill (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.I)
'I am killing her'

This last pair of examples shows that, also like non-derived nouns, masdars do not normally permit the inclusion of any column III, transitive subject-affix - there are a few exceptions where the column III affix has become fossilised, as in the expression for 'to think', namely

a- g° [a-] àa- na- ga- ra
(art.) heart (art.) (prev.) it bring (masd.)
(col.III)

However, the masdars of di-transitive verbs, such as à-ta-ra 'to give', allow the insertion of a column II, indirect object affix after a possessive column II affix, such as those described above, e.g.

barà bə- la sə- yə- ta- ra
you you by my to-him give (masd.)
(col.II) (col.II)
'your giving of me to him'
sarà sè-la lə- yə- ta-ra
I me by her to-him
(col.II) (col.II)
'my giving of her to him'

2.2.1.3. nouns from adjectives

The abstract-noun formant -ra is freely used with adjectives to produce the corresponding abstract-noun, e.g.

à-psja-ra
'beauty'
cf. à-psja
'beautiful'
a-bèya-ra
'richness'
cf. a-bèya
'rich'

2.2.1.3.1. To what extent is the syntax of de-adjectival nouns similar to that of a sentence, and to what extent like that of a non-derived noun?

The syntax of de-adjectival nouns exactly parallels that of non-derived nouns.

2.2.1.5. nouns from any other category

2.2.1.5.1. -ra

The abstract-noun formant may be added to a sequence of 'noun + postposition -da "without"' to produce the corresponding abstract-noun, e.g.

à-my°a-da- ra
road without
'the state of roadlessness'
a-xgəy°-da- ra
brain without
'lack of intelligence'

2.2.1.5.2. -ra

This same abstract-noun formant -ra, when added to the postposition -eyps 'like', produces the noun meaning 'similarity', namely àyps-ra.

2.2.2.1. verbs from nouns

An example of a noun forming the root of a stative verb, where the noun is functioning as subject-complement, is given under section 1.2.1.1.4.2.1.

For a noun being incorporated into the verbal complex as subject-complement of the copular root -xa- 'to become' see sections 2.1.1.2.9.4i and 2.1.1.2.10.

For a noun being incorporated into the verbal complex as object-complement of the root -t°'(ə)- 'to become' see section 2.1.1.2.11ii.

2.2.2.2. verbs from verbs

For the formation of artificial dynamic passives by means of the copular root -xa- 'to become' see section 2.1.3.11.

For the formation of stative passives see 2.1.3.1.1.4.2.

For details of the morphological causative-formation see section 2.1.3.1.3.1.1-2.

2.2.2.3. verbs from adjectives

For adjectives forming the roots of stative verbs see section 1.2.1.1.4.2.lb.

Adjectives may also be incorporated into the verbal complex as subject-complements of the copular root -xa- 'to become',

e.g. ħa-bèya-xe- yt'
we rich become (fin.)
'We became rich'

cf. a-bèya
'rich'

Two expressions are possible for the incorporation into the verbal complex of adjectives as object-complements:

(i) the verbal root is -t°'(ə) 'to turn into//make', e.g.

yə- bèya-š°- t°'ə-yt'
them rich you make (fin.)
'You made them rich'

(ii) the adjective itself becomes the verbal root and is preceded by the causative formant -r-, e.g.

yə- š°ə-r- bèye-yt'
them you cause rich (fin.)
'You made them rich'

2.2.2.4. verbs from adverbs

An example of an adverb amalgamating with the copular root -a- 'to be' in the pseudo-cleft construction may be found in section 1.2.1.1.3.1-2ii.

2.2.2.5. verbs from any other category

As is clear from the examples presented in sections 2.1.1.2.3 and 2.1.1.2.9, both a noun prefixed with a column II possessive affix and a sequence of 'noun + adjective' may also stand as the root of stative verbs in their role as NP subject-complements.

2.2.3.1. adjectives from nouns

The suffix -t°'(ə)//-t°'ə+y is freely used to derive denominative adjectives, e.g.

a- x'- t°'ə mac'əz
(art.) gold ring
'golden ring'

cf. a-x'ə
'gold'

à- x°əlbəqxa-t°'ə+y a- psà
(art.) evening (art.) wind
'evening wind'

cf. à-x°əlbəqxa
'evening'

The suffix -t°'ə+y is used with nouns expressing time and, as we have seen (cf. 2.1.6.4), is the formant of ordinal numerals. Note that the accompanying noun does not show the article after -t°'(ə), whereas it does after -t°'ə+y.

2.2.3.2. adjectives from verbs

As mentioned above (cf. 2.2.1.2.9), gerundives (verbal adjectives) are formed by means of the suffix -t°'ə, e.g.

a- š°q°'ə y°- t°'ə (ø-)sə-mo- w+p'
(art.) letter write it I have (stat.)
'I have a letter to write' (lit. 'a to-be-written-letter')

2.2.3.3. adjectives from adjectives

2.2.3.3.1. -c°ə-

As will be clear from a perusal of the examples given in section 5.1.2, attachment of the prefix -c°ə- to a colour-adjective indicates possession of the colour in question only to a moderate degree, e.g.

a- c°ə-q'apš
(art.) red
'reddish'

cf. à-q'apš
'red'

2.2.3.3.2. -ja

The suffix -ja intensifies the meaning of an adjective (just as it is used as a post-radical verbal suffix with the same emphatic nuance - cf. above section 2.1.3.8.3), e.g.

à- q'apš-ja
(art.) red
'very red'

cf. à-q'apš
'red'

à-ħarak'ə-ja
tall
'very tall'

cf. à-ħarak'ə
tall

Recall that in section 2.1.4.5.1 we had the example

a- ph°əs dàara də- ħarak'ə-w+p'
the woman very she tall (stat.)
'The woman is very tall'

This sentence has an exact parallel in the following

a-ph°əs də-ħarak'ə-jò-w+p'

2.2.3.3.3. -q'əg'ara(-ja)

This suffix, with the variant -ħahara(-ja), is used with colour-adjectives to intensify the basic meaning, e.g.

àyac°'-q'əg'ara(-ja)
green
'very green'

cf. àyac°'a
'green'

à- q'apš-hàhara(-ja)
(art.) red
'very red'

Note yet another variant for this last colour-term, namely
a-q'apš-k'ò'ak'ò'ara(-ja)
'very red'

2.2.3.3.4. -wark'aley

This suffix is found with the one colour-term à-q'apš 'red'
to signify 'brilliantly red', e.g.
à-q'apš-wark'aley

2.2.3.3.5. -g'antaley

This intensifying suffix is found only with the colour-term
a-y'ò'èž 'yellow' e.g.
a-y'ò'èž-q'antaley

2.2.3.3.6. -samsal

This intensifying suffix is found only with the colour-term
àyk'ac'ò'a 'black', e.g.
àyk'ac'ò'a-samsal
'very black'

2.2.3.3.7. -c'ò'a-

This suffix indicates that the quality expressed by the adjective is possessed to an excessive degree (cf. the use of this suffix with the same meaning in the post-radical structure of verbal complexes - section 2.1.3.8.2), e.g.

à- harak'-c'ò'a
(art.) tall
'too tall'
cf. à-harak'è
'tall'

Note that this suffix is most commonly attested when its associated adjective is incorporated into the verbal complex as subject- or object-complement.

2.2.3.4. adjectives from adverbs

The suffix -t'ò'ə+y may be attached to adverbs of place to produce the corresponding adjectives, e.g.

wà- t'ò'ə+y a- wàa
there (art.) people
'people from there'
cf. wa
'there'

2.2.3.5. adjectives from any other category

The suffix -t'ò'ə+y may be added to temporal expressions (formed by means of a postposition) to give the corresponding adjective, e.g.

bəž-sàat-k'-rə- z- t'ò'ə+y a- wəròk'-k'ò'a
7 hour 1 them for (art.) lesson
'7 o'clock lessons'
cf. bəž sàat-k' rə-zə
'at 7 o'clock'

2.2.4.1. adverbs from nouns

2.2.4.1.1. -la

This instrumental postposition appears with certain nouns (minus the article a-) to produce adverbs such as

maja- là
secret
'secretly'
cf. à- maja
(art.)
'secret'
xè- là
head
'head-first'
cf. a-xè
'head'

2.2.4.1.2. -nə

For a-d'ò'è 'field' plus the adverbial formant -nə in the sense of 'outside' - or 'in the field' - (i.e. a-d'ò'-nə, or, with the addition of the postposition -q'a 'to', a-d'ò'-nə-q'a) see section 2.1.1.5.1.

For -nə used with nouns as a variant for the marker -s of the predicative case see 2.1.1.

2.2.4.1.3. -xa

The copular root -xa- 'to become' seems to be the element that is met as a suffix on some nouns to produce what amounts to a derived adverb, as in the following

gan-xà
'apart'
cf. a- gàn
(art.) side
'side'
a- mašina (ø-) eydàra-xa y- aa- yt'
the truck it load become it come (fin.)
(col.I)

'The truck came loaded'

cf. àydara
'(the) load'

2.2.4.1.4. -h'ò'a

The particle used to indicate direct speech, h'ò'a, is used to form a few adverbs, e.g.

à- c'èk''-h'ò'a dè-xèsə- yt'
(art.) he shoot (fin.)
'He shot loudly'
cf. à-c'èk''
'(gun's) report'
à-c'èk''-h'ò'a d- ey+m- sè- yt'
he (compound prev.) sneeze (fin.)
'He sneezed loudly'

This h'ò'a is fossilised on certain elements which have no independent existence, e.g.

a- ššè-h'ò'a
(art.) 'steadily, calmly'

cf. pšaa-la
'steadily, quietly'

2.2.4.1.5. -c'as

The nominal base seen in the noun a-c'as 'manner, character' may be suffixed to a noun to produce an adverb meaning 'after the manner of', e.g.

way°-c'as yə-q'e- y- c'è-yt'
man it (prev.) he do (fin.)
'He did it well' (lit. 'like a man')

2.2.4.1.6. reduplication

Note the uncommon reduplication of the nominal base seen in a-x°ə+c 'single -c hair -x°ə' to give the adverb x°ə+c=x°ə+c 'in detail'.

2.2.4.2. adverbs from verbs

2.2.4.2.1. -sək°

This suffix is found with a few intransitive verbal bases in the sense of 'in such-and-such a manner', e.g.

x°mār-sək°
play
'in a playful manner'

cf. à-x°mār-ra
'to play'
pàg'a-sək°
boast

'in a boastful manner'
cf. a-pàg'a-ra
'to boast'

2.2.4.2.2. -nə

The past absolutive form (cf. 2.1.1.3) of certain verbs is sometimes found in a purely adverbial role, e.g.

wəbrəy y-a+x-q'a-nə
that
'for that reason, thus'

where the verb a-x-q'a-rà means 'to fall over/on'. In this regard, it may be emphasised that the past absolutive ends in -nə, which also happens to be the most common adverbial suffix.

2.2.4.3. adverbs from adjectives

2.2.4.3.1. -la

This instrumental suffix is attested with some adjectives as an adverbial formant, e.g.

baapsə-la
'extremely'

cf. a- baapsə
(art.)
'bad, evil'

2.2.4.3.2. -nə

The most common adverb-forming suffix is -nə. Adverbs in -nə must contain a column I pronominal prefix. In all cases this may be, and usually is, yə-, the 3rd. person singular non-

human affix. However, this may be replaced by the affix appropriate to the verb's subject, as may here be seen -

sarà yə-las-	nə	//	s-	las-nə	s-nəq°o-	yt'
I	quick (adv.)		I	I walk		(fin.)
			(col.I)		+(dyn.)	

'I walk quickly'
cf. à- las
(art.)
'quick'

larà yə-psja-	nə	//	də-	psja-nə	à-	š°a
she	beautiful		she		(art.)	song
			(col.I)			

(ø-)l-	h°o-	yt'
it she	say	(fin.)
(col.III)	+(dyn.)	

'She sings beautifully'
cf. à-psja
'beautiful'

An alternative formation for adverbs with the suffix -nə is for the causative formant -r- to stand before the adjectival base; in this case only the column I prefix yə- is possible,

e.g. yə-r-las-nə s-nəq°o-yt'
'I walk quickly'
yə-r-psja-nə à-š°a (ø-)l-h°o-yt'
'She sings beautifully'

2.2.4.3.3. zero

An uncommon form for de-adjectival adverbs is for the pure adjectival base to be used without any addition of prefixes or suffixes. This type of adverb is quite common in expressions of an exclamatory nature, such as -

rac'à psja à- š°a (ø-)l- h°o-yt'
how beautifully (art.) song it she say (fin.)
'How beautifully she sings!'

2.2.4.3.4. reduplication

Some adjectives may reduplicate to produce an adverb conveying that the action occurs over a period, possibly at intervals, e.g.

x°əč'ə=x°əč'ə(-la)
'little by little, gradually'

2.2.4.3.5. -xa

The copular root -xa- 'to become' is used with some adjectival bases in the following kind of adverbial usage -

à- h°əzba ccəš°
the knife sharp

'the sharp knife'
⇒ à-h°əzba ccəš°-xa (ø-)yə-xə- yt'
it he sharpen (fin.)
'He sharpened the knife sharp'

2.2.4.3.6. distributives

For the distributives derived from cardinals see section 2.1.6.5.2.

2.2.4.4. adverbs from adverbs

Some adverbs may reduplicate after the fashion of the adjectives described in section 2.2.4.3.4, e.g.

waž°ə=waž°ə də-c°əž°ə- n
he talk (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'He was forever talking'

cf. waž°ə

'now'

na+q'=na+q'

'in the future'

cf. na+q'

'thither'

which is made up of the orientational preverb -na- 'thither' and the postposition -q'(a) 'to'.

2.2.6.1. Complex postpositions

2.2.6.1.1. two postpositions

See the sub-sections of section 2.1.1.5. *passim*, particularly the allative and ablative postpositions, for examples of compounding in postpositions. Complex postpositions (such as English 'from behind', as in examples like 'from 10 yards behind the car') are not found.

2.2.6.1.2. nominal formations

For examples of compound postpositions built on a nominal base see the various sub-sections of section 2.1.1.5, where instances such as àpx'a-q'a 'towards the front (of)' from àpx'a 'front' may be found.

2.2.6.2. Simple derived postpositions

2.2.6.2.1. denominal

For denominal postpositions (such as àpx'a 'the front' and 'in front of'; a-q'ə 'the mouth' and 'in') see the various sub-sections of section 2.1.1.5.

2.2.6.3. Compound morphology

Compounding is such an integral, all-pervasive feature of word-formation for all the N.W. Caucasian languages that an analysis of the principles involved would be an undertaking of too vast a scope to be attempted here. However, one may follow Aristava et al. (1968.45-46) in mentioning the following seven types of compound:-

(a) compound of two nouns where the first acts as determiner, as in a-ž°-žə 'beef', which is made up of a-ž° 'cow' and a-žə 'meat';

(b) compound consisting of noun plus adjective, as a-way°-àpš 'red-head', which is made up of a-way° 'person' and -apš from à-q'apš 'red';

(c) compound of two nouns joined by the co-ordinating

particle -y- 'and', as in a-čè-y-žək'a 'food prepared for a guest', which is made up of a-čà 'bread' and a-žək'a 'salt' plus -y- 'and';

(d) compound of a cardinal numeral and noun, as in a-y°ə-maa 'type of harp', which consists of -y°ə- from y°-ba '2' and à-maa 'handle';

(e) compound of two nouns and a verb, as in a-ps-x°-rà 'meal made for a dead person either 40 days or 1 year after death has occurred', which consists of a-psə 'dead person', a-x°ə 'portion' and the 'root+ra' of the verb a-w-rà 'to make' (the root -w- having been lost because of the preceding labialised fricative -x°-). Another example would be: a-bz-k'ata-ha 'spider's web', which consists of a-bz 'tongue', à-k'ata 'net' and the root of the verb a-ha-rà 'to weave' - hence 'woven by the tongue';

(f) compound of noun and verb, as in a-mra-gèla-ra 'east', which is made up of à-mra 'sun' and a-gèla-ra 'to stand up, rise';

(g) compound consisting of three nominal bases and one verbal base, as in a-ma-š-x°è-l+c' 'elbow', which is made up of -ma- from a-m/nap'ə 'hand', à-š+x°a 'heel', which itself consists of -š- from a-šap'ə 'foot' and à-x°a 'arc', and the 'pre-verb plus root' of the verb à-l-c'-ra 'to come out of'.

3. PHONOLOGY

3.1 Phonological units (segmental)

3.1.1. What are the distinctive segments?

Consonants and vowels

3.1.2. The elements are as follows

3.1.2.1. non-syllabics

3.1.2.1.1. plosives and affricates

1. Labio-labial voiced pulmonic plosive, b.
2. Labio-labial voiceless pulmonic plosive, p; phonetically aspirated.
3. Labio-labial voiceless ejective plosive, p'.
4. Apico-alveolar voiced pulmonic plosive, d.
5. Apico-alveolar voiceless pulmonic plosive, t; phonetically aspirated.
6. Apico-alveolar voiceless ejective plosive, t'.
7. Apico-alveolar voiced pulmonic plosive labialised, dw; phonetically, labialisation takes the form of complete labio-labial closure (together with definite lip-protrusion), the labial and alveolar closures being released simultaneously, with the labial release being characterised by a trill. Elsewhere, this is symbolised as d°.
8. Apico-alveolar voiceless pulmonic plosive labialised, tw; labialisation is as (7) above. Elsewhere symbolised as t°.
9. Apico-alveolar voiceless ejective plosive labialised, tw'; labialisation is as (7) above. Elsewhere symbolised as t°'.
10. Lamino-alveolar voiced pulmonic affricate, dz. Elsewhere symbolised as j.
11. Lamino-alveolar voiceless pulmonic affricate, ts; phonetically aspirated. Elsewhere symbolised as c.
12. Lamino-alveolar voiceless ejective affricate, ts'. Elsewhere symbolised as c'.
13. Dorso-post-alveolar voiced pulmonic affricate labialised, dzw; the active articulator for this series is the right side of the dorsum. Labialisation for this and the following two phonemes is phonetically as follows: the upper lip plays no active role in the articulation - the sides of the lower lip (especially the right side) are drawn up into contact with the upper teeth, while the centre of the lower lip protrudes somewhat and is slightly rounded, giving this type of labialisation rather a labio-dental flavour. Elsewhere symbolised as j°.
14. Dorso-post-alveolar voiceless pulmonic affricate labialised, tw; phonetically aspirated. Elsewhere symbolised as c°.
15. Dorso-post-alveolar voiceless ejective affricate labialised, tw'. Elsewhere symbolised as c°'.
16. Lamino-post-alveolar voiced pulmonic affricate, dz. Elsewhere symbolised as j.
17. Lamino-post-alveolar voiceless pulmonic affricate, tf; phonetically aspirated. Elsewhere symbolised as c.
18. Lamino-post-alveolar voiceless ejective affricate, tf'. Elsewhere symbolised as c'.
19. Apico-palatal voiced pulmonic affricate, dz; there is retroflexion of the tongue-tip and the lips are sufficiently

wide apart in this and the following two phonemes for the upper and lower teeth to be visible, and there is a pronounced rounding of the lower lip, which entails a slight rounding of the upper lip too. Elsewhere symbolised as j.

20. Apico-palatal voiceless pulmonic affricate, tʃ. Elsewhere symbolised as c.

21. Apico-palatal voiceless ejective affricate, tʃ'. Elsewhere symbolised as c'.

22. Dorso-velar voiced pulmonic plosive, g. Elsewhere symbolised as g.

23. Dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic plosive, k.

24. Dorso-velar voiceless ejective plosive, k'.

25. Fronted dorso-velar voiced pulmonic plosive, ɟ. Elsewhere symbolised as g'.

26. Fronted dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic plosive, ɟ. Elsewhere symbolised as k'.

27. Fronted dorso-velar voiceless ejective plosive, ɟ'. Elsewhere symbolised as k''.

28. Dorso-velar voiced pulmonic plosive labialised, gw. Elsewhere symbolised as g°. Labialisation for this and the following two phonemes is as follows: the lips adopt the position for a slackly articulated labio-labial semi-vowel, w, which is to say that they are very close together with no noticeable rounding.

29. Dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic plosive labialised, kw. Elsewhere symbolised as k°.

30. Dorso-velar voiceless ejective plosive labialised, kw'. Elsewhere symbolised as k°'.

31. Dorso-uvular voiceless ejective plosive, q', sometimes realised as a glottal stop between vowels or word-initially if also pre-vocalic.

32. Dorso-uvular voiceless ejective plosive palatalised, q̟'. Elsewhere symbolised as q'''. Colarusso (1974) introduces the feature [advanced tongue-root] to account for the fact that palatalised uvulars in Abkhaz and its sister-language Ubykh are not realised as simple velars, as Chomsky and Halle (1968) would claim.

33. Dorso-uvular voiceless ejective plosive labialised, qw'. Elsewhere symbolised as q°'. This time lip-rounding and protrusion is more evident than in the case of the velar series.

3.1.2.1.2. fricatives

1. Labio-dental voiced pulmonic fricative, v.

2. Labio-dental voiceless pulmonic fricative, f.

[3. Labio-dental voiceless ejective fricative, f'. This rare phoneme is only found in one word, and even then only in the speech of some speakers, a-f'ə 'thin', which is pronounced a-p'ə by the majority of speakers.]

4. Lamino-alveolar voiced pulmonic fricative, z.

5. Lamino-alveolar voiceless pulmonic fricative, s.

6. Lamino-post-alveolar voiced pulmonic fricative, ʒ. Elsewhere symbolised as z.

7. Lamino-post-alveolar voiceless pulmonic fricative, ʃ. Elsewhere symbolised as s.

8. Apico-palatal voiced pulmonic fricative, ʒ (with retroflexion of tongue-tip).

9. Apico-palatal voiceless pulmonic fricative, ɬ (with retroflexion of tongue-tip).
10. Lamino-post-alveolar voiced pulmonic fricative labialised, ɬ^w . Elsewhere symbolised as ʒ° . In this and the following phoneme the labialisation parallels that described for the velar series.
11. Lamino-post-alveolar voiceless pulmonic fricative labialised, ɬ^w . Elsewhere symbolised as ʃ° .
12. Dorso-velar voiced pulmonic fricative, ɣ . This and the following phoneme may be realised phonetically as dorso-velar or dorso-uvular depending on the phonetic environment.
13. Dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic fricative, x .
14. Fronted dorso-velar voiced pulmonic fricative ɣ . Elsewhere symbolised as $\text{ɣ}'$.
15. Fronted dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic fricative x . Elsewhere symbolised as x' .
16. Backed dorso-velar voiced pulmonic fricative labialised, ɣ^w . Elsewhere symbolised as ɣ° .
17. Backed dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic fricative labialised, x^w . Elsewhere symbolised as x° .
18. Radico-pharyngeal voiceless pulmonic fricative, h .
19. Radico-pharyngeal voiced pulmonic fricative labialised, ɣ^w . Labialisation in this and the following phoneme is of the labio-palatal approximant variety, u . Not all speakers have the pharyngeal fricative component; often there is just a strong constriction of the pharynx, and Catford's informants (1972) produced no pharyngeal component at all. Elsewhere symbolised as y° .
20. Radico-pharyngeal voiceless pulmonic fricative labialised, h^w . Elsewhere symbolised as h° .

3.1.2.1.3. nasals

1. Labio-labial voiced pulmonic nasal, m.
2. Apico-alveolar voiced pulmonic nasal, n.

3.1.2.1.4. liquids

1. Apico-alveolar lateral approximant, *l*, which is devoid of vowel-colouring.

3.1.2.1.5. semi-vowels

1. Labio-labial voiced frictionless continuant, w.
N.B. the rule
/ə/ + /w/ → [u:]
wəy də-way°-u: +p' (←/də-way°ə-w+p'/)
that he man (stat.)
'That is a man'
cf. a-way°ə 'man/person'
2. Dorso-palatal voiced frictionless continuant, j. Elsewhere
symbolised as y.
N.B. the rule
/ə/ + /j/ → [i:]
s- ʌn- i: a- way°-i: (←/s-ʌnə-y a-way°ə-y/)
my mother and the man and
'my mother and the man'

3.1.2.1.6. others

1. Apico-alveolar roll, r.

3.1.2.2. syllabics

3.1.2.2.1. vowels

1. Close vowel, ə. The precise realisation of this and the following phoneme depends greatly on their phonetic context. We have already seen that the sequence /ə/ + /j/ yields [i:]. In reverse the result is

$$/j/ + /ə/ \rightarrow [j_i]$$

e.g. [ʃitabu:p'] 'thank you'

Similarly,

$$/w/ + /ə/ \rightarrow [w\text{u}]$$

e.g. [wurt] 'those'

The close vowel is also realised as [u] when preceded by labialised velars and uvulars (after the labialised pharyngeal the colouring is rather [ə]), as in a-g'ə [-'gʷu] 'heart', a-q'ə [-'qʷud] 'bean', with which we may compare the sequence in a-ph'əs 'woman', viz. [-'pʰəs]. After palatalised consonants the close vowel is frequently realised as a high central vowel [ɨ], as in a-x'əmɣ [-'xɨmdzʰ] 'shame', with which, however, we should compare a-x'ə 'gold', where the realisation is that of a normal central vowel [-'xə]. Note that the placement of the accent is irrelevant, for the [ɨ]-colouring is found also when a is stressed, as in a-x'ə 'white-footed (horse)'. This same colouring is also heard sometimes after lamino-post-alveolars, as in a-jək'a [-'dʒɨk'a] 'salt' and in a-jəmsə [-dʒɨm'sə] 'onion'. Elsewhere the close vowel will be realised as a central vowel [ə], which will be rounded [ɵ] in the environment of labial or labialised consonants (sc. other than those labialised velars and uvulars specifically mentioned above) and slightly backed and raised after plain uvulars, as in a-q'ərq'ə [-'qʷər'qʷu] 'throat'. The close vowel is never found after h. N.B. that not all scholars agree that ə is to be assigned phonemic status in Abkhaz: see Allen (1965) and cf. Section 3.4.4.2.

2. Open vowel, a.
Unless preceded by another a or h, the following change occurs

$/a/ \rightarrow [e:] / \text{---} \{ \overset{j}{\underset{9}{C}} \}$

e.g. s-ce-yt' (\leftarrow *s-ca-yt')

I go (fin.)

'I went'

```
eyps (←*ayps) 'like, as'
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zeg'ə (← *zag'ə) 'all'

BUT *ayba-* *š-* *ra* (← **a-* *ayba-š-ra*)

each-other kill (abstract) (art.)

'war'

h- ayba- š- wè- yt' (← *-wa-yt')

1st.pl. each-other kill (dyn.) (fin.)

(D.O.) (S.)

'We are killing each other'

Similarly, unless preceded by \mathfrak{h} , the following change occurs:

/a/ → [o:] / —w

e.g. də-y- àq'aro- w+p' (←*-àq'ara-w+p')
 he him as-big-as (stat.)
 'He is as tall as him'

BUT d- y- eyhà-w+p'
 he him more (stat.)
 'He is taller than him'

N.B. that the sequence /-a-wa-/, where /-a-/ belongs to a verbal root and /-wa-/ represents the dynamic marker in the Present and Imperfect tenses, gives [-o-]:

s-co-yt' (←*s-ca-wa- y't')
 I go (dyn.) (fin.)

'I go'
 s-co-n (←*s-ca-wa-n)
 (Imperf.fin.)

'I was going'

When following the semi-vowel w, a may be realised as [ɔ], as in waz°ə 'now', which has the two realisations [wa'z°wə] and [wɔ'z°wə], or də-s-s-wà-n 'I was killing him', which may be either [-'wən] or [-'wɔn]. After labialised velars and uvulars unstressed a is often realised as [ɔ], as in bə-k°'agà [-kw'ɔ//a'gə] 'dance!'. After other labialised affricates and fricatives unstressed a may sometimes be heard as nothing more than a centralised vowel [ə], as in a-š°artlèy [-'wərtlèi] 'rag', à-c°ama [-təwa/(ə)ma] '(stomach-)worm', àž°abž [-'zwa//əbž] 'story'. Indeed, inclosed syllables generally even a stressed a may have this [ə]-colouring, as in abàs [a'ba//əs] 'so, like this' (Lomtadidze, 1977.25). We should note here the word for '15', which apparently may have either the close or open vowel phoneme - ž°ə-x° // ž°a-x°, the phonetic realisation of which two variants will be [ž°əxw] and [ž°ɔxw] respectively; the pronunciation *[ž°axw] is impossible, cf. ž°a-ba [ž°əbæ] '10', which contrasts with ž°ə-ba [ž°əbæ] '9'.

And so we see that, whilst in absolute terms it is not the case that every phonetic realisation of a will necessarily be more open than some realisation of ə, nevertheless in any given context the realisation of a will be characterised by a greater degree of aperture than that of ə. In other words, cases of phonetic overlapping exist but never in the same environment - at least if this is likely to lead to confusion (N.B. that there is no word *abàs with which the pronunciation [a'bə] of abàs could be confused).

3.2. Phonotactics

3.2.1. Does the language admit

3.2.1.1. word-final consonants?

Yes

3.2.1.1.1. restrictions

No examples of word-final t° and j° are known, and the following are very rare word-finally - d°, q, g, k, ɣ°, ʃ°.

3.2.1.2. initial consonants?

Yes, without restriction.

3.2.2.1. Does the language admit

3.2.2.1.1. word-initial consonant-clusters?

Yes.

3.2.2.1.2. word-final consonant-clusters?

Yes.

3.2.2.1.3. word-medial consonant-clusters?

Yes.

3.2.2.2. Describe the possible clusters

A description of all possible consonant-complexes and their assignment to word-initial, word-final and word-medial positions represents an investigation of too vast a scope for inclusion in this monograph.

By far the most frequent complexes are those consisting of two consonants, for a so-called 'two-consonant' rule exists (cf. Allen, 1956.142) whereby, counting from the end of the word, or from any vocalic articulation bearing main or secondary stress, there will appear a vocalic transition (ə) between the second and third consonantal articulations (wording adapted from Allen, op.cit.), e.g.

wə- z-bò- mə- z+ t'
 you I see not (non-fin. (fin.)
 +(dyn.)

'I used not to see you'

However, this rule is by no means without exception, as the following examples indicate: a-ps-rà 'to behold', a-q+p+nə+h°a 'reproach', and, from Lomtadidze (1977.239), ā-psth°a 'rain-cloud', a-x'šcbà (variant = a-x'šəjba - B.G.H.) 'hawk', à-lt°'ž°y°a 'collar-bone'.

3.2.3. Does the language admit

3.2.3.1. word-final vowels?

Yes, both vowels may stand word-finally.

3.2.3.2. word-initial vowels?

Yes.

3.2.3.2.1. restrictions

Word-initial ə- is exceedingly rare. As we know (cf. 2.1.1.1.1), if the column I verbal affix yə- is immediately preceded by its referent, then it disappears. But, if this affix carries the word-stress, then only the semi-vowel disappears, leaving a word-initial ə- (cf. Lomtadidze, 1977.38) e.g.

y- àh-fa-ga à- q'o-w- ma
 which we eat (Fut.II.non-fin.) it be (non-fin.) (Qu.)
 'Is there anything for us to eat?'

3.2.3.3. sequences of (syllabic) vowels

Whether or not one admits such sequences depends on what level of analysis one approaches the question. From a purely phonetic point of view, the word for 'lake' does indeed contain a sequence of syllabic vowels, viz. [a-'dzi:a]. However, what

is phonetically [i:], from a phonological viewpoint, is a sequence of /əy/.

If stress falls on -aa-, one sometimes hears a sequence of stressed, half-long ['aː] followed by short [a], as in [a-'ts'a'a-ra] 'to freeze', rather than long [a:], as in [a-'ts'a:ra] 'salted food'.

3.2.4. Does the structure of lexical morphemes correspond with the possibilities for word-structure?

Very few nominal roots begin with the vowel a- (none begins with ə-) e.g. an 'mother' → s-an 'my mother'; ab 'father' → s-ab 'my father'; āž'a 'word' → b-āž'a 'your word'; ah 'prince' → l-ah 'her prince'; ah° 'bottom' → y-ah° 'his bottom' etc...

Almost without exception, verbal roots will be either C(ə) or Ca in structure; in modern Abkhaz the root 'to hear' is, however, the vowel-initial -aha-, as may be observed from the position of the negative particle in

yə- w- h'a-z (ø-)s-m- ahà- yt'

which you say (non-fin.) it I not hear (fin.)

'I did not hear what you said' (Džanašia, 1954.60)

Verbal roots may begin with a two-consonant complex (e.g. à-t'la-ra 'to come undone'), but three-consonant complexes are rare (e.g. à-pssa-ra 'to sweep'). No example of a non-denominative verbal root ending with a consonant-complex is available. Whilst nominal roots are more tolerant of medial and final complexes (e.g. a-cəpxà 'key', à-cəpx' 'splash/spark'), it must be acknowledged that most complexes in the language arise as a result of compounding and affixation. And so, we conclude that there is only a partial correspondence between word-structure and the structure of lexical morphemes.

3.2.5.1. How are medial units or clusters assigned to syllables?

Whilst the actual rules have yet to be formulated, it seems that medial clusters are assigned to syllables partly on the basis of morphological structure, partly on the basis of which produces more natural sub-clusters, e.g. the root -ps- 'die' together closes the first syllable of the infinitive a-ps// -rà, whereas the sequence of preverb and root -v-s- 'pass by' are assigned to different syllables in the corresponding infinitive à-v// -s-ra, where -s-r- is felt to be a more natural complex than -v-s-. In the case of à-t'//la-ra 'to come undone', although there is no morphological boundary within the radical cluster -t'l-, nevertheless -t'- is assigned to the first syllable, -l- to the second, undoubtedly because -t'l- is regarded as a marginal cluster. Similarly, in the noun a-m//q'ə 'fire-wood', there is no boundary between the consonants, although they belong to different syllables - but notice that in mq'ə-k' 'one piece of wood' there is no alternative to placing them in the same syllable. On the other hand, all three consonants of the root -pssa- 'to sweep' are assigned to the second syllable in the corresponding infinitive - à// -pssa-ra.

3.2.5.2. What is the canonical syllable-type?

CV, with VC and CVC being common too (e.g. sa 'I', ab 'father', s-ab 'my father' respectively)

3.3. Suprasegmentals

3.3.1. Are there distinctive degrees of length in

3.3.1.1. vowels?

A distinctive opposition exists only in the case of a : ā (here written aa, in conformity with the orthographic conventions of Abkhaz). In the majority of cases aa is the reflex of *ʔa/aʔ, following the loss of the voiced pharyngeal fricative in Abkhaz - this can be shown by a comparison of Abkhaz and Abaza forms, for the fricative is preserved in Abaza. Some cases of aa derive from ha/ah, e.g. (Lomtadze, 1977.26).

a-k'əlaara (variant = a-k'əlhara) 'hole'

a-taa+c'ə (Bzyp form = a-tah+c'ə) 'parents/family'

Under stress, aa may be heard as a sequence of 2 short a's. However, the straightforward collocation of 2 a's never results in compensatory lengthening (e.g. [ab] 'the father' ← */a-ab/). However, loss of intervocalic -q'- may result in the lengthening of the resulting adjacent a's in the spoken language - e.g. (ibid.27) wəbrāa ← wəbrāq'a 'just there'. In borrowings particularly, loss of an intervocalic consonant may result in lengthening of the resulting adjoining a's - e.g. (ibid.) a-māat ← manatī (Old Georgian) 'rouble'. Although, on occasions, Abkhaz has aa where this is not warranted by the structure of the word being borrowed - e.g. (ibid.28) a-q'arāan 'crow' ← Georgian q'orani 'raven'.

3.3.2.1. Does stress play any role?

Stress does have a certain word-distinguishing role in modern Abkhaz - 185 minimal pairs may be found listed in Gulia (1939.97-106), whose third example is:

à-rac'a 'plurality' : a-rac'a 'coal' : a-rac'ə 'bark from a walnut-tree'

3.3.2.2. What are the phonetic correlates of stress?

The nucleus of the stressed syllable is pronounced with greater intensity than is the case with unstressed nuclei. The main-stressed nucleus of a word is also characterised by falling pitch when pronounced in isolation.

3.3.2.3. Is there a distinction between different levels of stress?

Polysyllabic compounds may have one or more secondarily stressed nuclei which differ from the main-stressed nucleus both with regard to the degree of intensification of their stress and insofar as only the main-stressed nucleus is accompanied by falling pitch when pronounced in isolation.

3.3.2.4. Is the position of stress constant?

No.

3.3.2.5. Is the position of stress forecastable solely in terms of the phonotactic structure of the word?

No.

3.3.4.1. Major types of intonation-pattern having syntactic or semantic function.

1. statement:

Low-falling pitch characterises the last main-stressed syllable - this syllable will normally be part of the verb given an SOV word-order. Subordinate clauses usually precede the main clause and are characterised by a rising pitch on their last main-stressed syllable. In cases where this ordering of the clauses is reversed, or if a vocative element should follow the main clause, the main clause will have a high fall on its last main-stressed syllable, and any subsequent tone-group will have a low fall on its last main-stressed syllable.

Examples of the above would be:

a- xàc'a a- ph'ès yacè a- p'àrk' a- q'è dè- y-
the man the woman yesterday the park it in her he

bè- yt'

see (fin.)

'The man saw the woman in the park yesterday'

a- ph'ès d- an- aa- làk'', dè- b+ z- aa-
the woman she when come (non-fin.) her you+for hither

z-gò- yt'

I bring (fin.)

+(dyn.)

'When the woman comes, I'll bring her to you'

a-ph'ès dè-b+z-aa-z-gò-yt', d-an-aa-làk'',

'I'll bring the woman to you, when she comes'

which sentence, it must be stated, represents a word-order which is unnatural in Abkhaz.

wac'è yè-bè- s-to- yt', sè-č'en
tomorrow it to-you I give (fin.) my child
+(dyn.)

'I'll give it to you tomorrow, my child'

However, two cases were noted where the main verb, preceding (a) a clausal remainder from a comparative construction, and (b) an indirect question, was given a rising pitch, whilst the final main-stressed element of the following tone-groups received the normal sentence-final falling pitch, e.g.

Meràb yahà lassè=lassè dè- z-bò- yt' Zalra saq'à
more often him I see (fin.) how-much

+(dyn.)

dè- z-bò àasta

her I see(non-fin.)

'I see Merab more often than I see Zaira'

abərž'è yè-b+ à- s-h'a-r+c (ø-)s-taxè-w+p'
it you+to I say (purp.) it I want (stat.)

a- saat saq'à r- zè dè- z-bà- z

the hour how-many them for him I see (non-fin.)

'I want to tell you now at what time I saw him'

2. 'Yes-no'- and 'Wh'- questions:

These are characterised by having a high-fall on the last main-stressed syllable (at least in my informant's idiolect),

e.g. b- an arà dè- q'o-w- ma
your mother here she be (non-fin.) (Qu.)

'Is your mother here?'

b- an d- a+ bà- q'o-w
your mother she where+(Qu.) be (non-fin.)

'Where is your mother?'

3. imperative:

As with simple statements, imperatives have a low-fall on their last main-stressed syllable, e.g.

bè- cà

you go

'Go!'

Should the imperative have suffixed either of the particles of politeness, -y // -ys, then the intonation-pattern alters slightly so that these particles are characterised by a low-rising pitch following the normal falling intonation on the last main-stressed syllable, e.g.

bè- y- x'a+pse-y = ['bi'χ'w'apsi']
you him look-at

'Well, look at him!'

3.3.4.2. In normal intonation, where does the intonation-peak come?

In normal (non-contrastive, non-emphatic) intonation, the intonation-peak (information-centre) seems to coincide with the last main-stressed syllable of the tone-group (i.e. that syllable which carries the pitch).

3.3.4.3. Does the language make use of emphatic intonation?

See section 1.11.1.

3.3.4.4. Does the language make use of contrastive stress?

See section 1.11.1.

3.4. Morphophonology (segmental)

3.4.1.1. Assimilatory processes (cf. Lomtadze, 1977.232-233)

Isolated examples in individual compounds may be illustrated:

bè- s+pà-q'o-w < *bè-s+ ba- q'a-w
you how? be (non-fin.) how+(Qu.)

'How are you?'

where we have progressive devoicing of -b-. Regressive voicing occurs in a-ph'èz+ba < *a-ph'ès+ba 'girl'. However, the only general rule of assimilation concerns the voicing of column III, transitive subject-affixes when they appear before a root beginning with a voiced consonant. This process does not apply in the case of column I, intransitive subject-affixes in the same position, e.g.

yè-z-jàx-we- yt'
it I sew (dyn.) (fin.)

'I sew it'

BUT s-jàx-we-yt'
I
'I sew'
y-aa-jàx-we-yt' (-aa- < *a? < *ah)
we
'We sew it'
BUT ha-jàx-we-yt'
we
'We sew'
yə-ž°- jàx-we-yt'
you
'You sew it'
BUT š°- jàx-we-yt'
you
'You sew'

This voicing-assimilation seems optional if the negative particle intervenes between column III affix and root, e.g.

yə- z//sə-m- y°ə- yt'
it I not write (fin.) 'I did not write it'
BUT sə- m-y°ə- yt'
(col.I)
'I did not write'

An isolated case of remote assimilation would be a-c°arda-y°ə
'seat built along a wall to be converted into a bed' <
a-c°artà 'bed/linen' (lit. 'sleep+place') + a-y°ə 'plank'.

3.4.1.2. Dissimilatory processes

Once again isolated instances may be given of which the clearest (from a synchronic point of view) is perhaps ze-y-ž°
'19' < *ž°a-y-ž° '10-+-9' (Lomtadidze, 1977.235). However, the only productive case of dissimilation concerns the change of the 3rd. pers. pl. column III affix -r- to -d- if it is followed by the causative morph -r-, e.g.

yə-r-də-r-bò-yt' < *yə-r- rə- r- ba- wa- yt'
it to-them they cause see (dyn.)(fin.)

'They show it to them'

That this is a true morpho-phonemic rule is demonstrated by the acceptability of forms like

yə-rə- r- to- yt'
it to-them they give (fin.)
+(dyn.)

'They give it to them'

The change of -r- to -d- occurs even if the two relevant exponents are separated by the negative particle:

yə-r-də-mə- r-bè-yt'
not

'They did not show it to them'

3.4.2. Metathesis-processes (cf. Lomtadidze, 1977.237)

Only isolated examples exist, e.g. dəry°àg' or dəy°ràg'
'again'; də-jəry°ə- yt' or də-jəy°rə- yt' 'he listened'; a-klapàd
or a-kalpàd 'sock'; a-peryà (< Svan yerp) 'red-hot coal'. Cf.
also the alternation of ha and ah for the 1st. person plural
pronominal affixes of columns II and III (see 2.1.1.1.1).

3.4.3. Coalescence-processes

1. As pointed out above (3.1.2.2.1.2), the final -a of a dynamic verbal root (or of any of the suffixes that may stand between root and dynamic marker) coalesces with the dynamic marker -wa- in the two tenses where -wa- appears (Present and Imperfect) to give [o], unless the radical vowel -a is preceded by -h-, e.g.

s-co- 'y't' < *s-ca-wa- 'y't'
I go (dyn.) (fin.)

'I go'

də-x°mār-lo- 'y't'
he play (iterative+dyn.) (fin.)

'He will be playing'

BUT bə- k'à- ha- we- yt'
you down fall(dyn.)(fin.)

'You will fall down'

The sequence -awa- is not otherwise treated in any special way, cf. a-wasà 'sheep'.

2. A sequence of two yə- pronominal affixes within a verbal complex coalesces to yield just one, e.g.

yə-l-to-yt' < *yə- yə- l- ta- wa- yt'
it to-him she give (dyn.)(fin.)
(col.I)(col.II)(col.III)

'She gives it to him'

cf. what happens to a sequence of three such affixes:

yə-y-to-yt' < *yə-yə- y- ta-wa-yt'
it to-him he

'He gives it to him'

N.B. that, if the first yə- in a sequence of two yə-affixes is the relative affix for column I (cf. 1.1.2.3.4.2.3), then there is no coalescence, e.g.

yə- y- h°a-z
that-which he say (non-fin.)

'that which he said'

However, if this relative affix appears in a sequence of three yə-affixes, one of these affixes does disappear, e.g.

yə-y-ta-z (< yə- yə- y- ta- z)
that-which to-him he give (non-fin.)

'that which he gave to him'

3. As noted above (3.3.1.1), a sequence of two (or more) a's is coalesced into a single short [ă], e.g. an < *a-an 'the mother'. In speech, such coalescences are common even across word-boundaries, e.g. darànca < darà (ø-)an-ca 'they (they-) when-came' = 'when they came' (Lomtadidze, 1977.113), as are those between other combinations of vowels, e.g. apèyc'ba < a-pà eyc'bà 'the-boy younger' = 'the younger boy' (ibid.). However, coalescence of two a's across a word-boundary is obligatory in the case of a singular inanimate noun with a word-final -a preceding a postposition which (2.1.1.1.4) begins with the column II, 3rd. pers. sg. pronominal affix a-, e.g. a-la-zə 'for the dog' < *a-là a-zə 'the-dog it-for'.

4. The final -z of those non-finite verbal forms which end in -z coalesces with the initial z- of the inferential suffix -zaa+rə+n e.g.

də-cò-zaa+rə+n ∈ də-ca-wa- z- zaa+rə+n
he go (dyn.) (non-fin.)

'He was apparently going'

A similar coalescence occurs in the case of this same final -z and the initial z- of the non-human question-suffix, if this suffix follows rather than precedes the non-finite -z, e.g.

yə-q'a-zə+y ∈ *yə- q'a-z- zə+y
which he (non-fin.) (non-hum.Qu.)

'What was it?'

N.B. that my informant here prefers the form

yə-q'a-zə-z

Two adjacent z's do not otherwise coalesce, e.g.

sə-z+ zə-q'a- b- c'a- da = [sə'z:əq'əbts'ədə]
me whom+for (prev.) you make (Qu.)

'For whom did you make me?'

3.4.4.1. Deletion-processes

1. As mentioned earlier (cf. 2.1.1.1.4), if the referent of the column I 3rd. pers. affix yə- (non-human singular or 3rd. pers. plural) immediately precedes it in the sentence, then the affix is deleted from the verbal complex (if this yə- is stressed, only y- deletes, cf. 3.2.3.2.1), e.g.

a- là (ø-)ce-yt'
the dog it go (fin.)

'The dog went'

a- xàc'a (ø-)ce-yt'
the men they

'The men went'

a- š'q'ò'ə (ø-)sə- t
the book it to-me give

'Give me the book'

2. Some verbal roots ending in -a lose this -a in the imperative, e.g.

à-fa-ra 'eat' ⇒ yə-f
it eat

'Eat it!' (yə-fa is rare)

BUT in the plural we have yə-š'ò-fà.

à-ta-ra 'give' ⇒ yə-sə- t
it to-me give

'Give it to me'

(yə-sə-ta is heard but is not used by my informant).

cf. the plural yə-sə-š'ò-t(a).

àa-ga-ra 'bring' ⇒ yə-sə+z- àa- g
it me+for hither bring

'Bring it to me' (if the object is quite close)

BUT yə-sə+z-aa-gà, if the object is some distance away.

b- èymaa-k'a (ø-)bè+ ša- c'a
your shoe (pl.) them your+foot-onto put

'Put your shoes on!'

(with which we may compare the typically Bzyp form (ø-)bè+ša-c').

3. The final -z of the non-finite past forms of stative verbs is obligatorily deleted when the 'semi-'postposition -nac'a 'while' is suffixed to it (cf. 2.1.5.1.4.3); this deletion is optional in the case of the attachment of the 'semi-'postposition -yžtey 'since' to these same stative forms (cf.

2.1.5.1.4.2. (v)).

3.4.4.2. Insertion-processes

Although the general question of schwa-insertion represents one of the most fundamental problems in Abkhaz, one rule governing the insertion of schwa is as follows:

∅ ⇒ ə/C $\frac{Y}{W}$ (C) #

e.g. [a'ri: də-'s+ an- u:+p'] ∈ /də-s+anə-w+p'/ ∈
this she my+mother (stat.)

*/də-s+an-w+p'/

'This is my mother'

[yə- 's+an-u:] ∈ /yə-s+anə-w/ ∈ */yə-s+an-w/
who (non-fin.)

'she who is my mother'

['s-an-i: 's-ab-i:] ∈ /s-anə-y s-abə-y/ ∈ */s-an-y
s-ab-y/

'my mother and my father'

3.4.5. Reduplication (cf. Arstaa et al. 1966.243ff.)

1. The consonant of a verbal root is sometimes doubled to intensify the meaning, e.g.

a-ħ'a-rà 'to say' ⇒ à-ħ'ħ'a-ra 'to cry'

a-r- c'ò'-rà 'to sour' ⇒ a-r-c'ò'-c'ò'-rà 'to oversour'
(causative)

à-xa-ra 'to pull' ⇒ à-r-xxa-ra 'to pull tight' (N.B. the appearance of the causative -r-).

However, reduplication of the radical element more often indicates that the verbal action either applies to a number of objects or has the effect of reducing a particular object to many pieces, e.g.

a-x- ž'a-rà 'to rip off' (e.g. the head of a sweet-corn)
(prev.)

⇒ a-xə-ž'ž'a-rà 'to rip off' (many such heads)

a-x-rà 'to chop' ⇒ a-xx-rà 'to chop into many pieces'

a-p- q'a-rà 'to cut' ⇒ a-pə-q'q'a-rà 'to cut into
(prev.)

many pieces'

a-p- c'ò'a-rà 'to break' (of sticks, toys etc.) ⇒
(prev.)

a-pə-c'ò'-c'ò'a-rà 'to break into many pieces'

a-x- sa-rà 'to cut' (of hair) ⇒ a-xə-ssa-rà 'to cut'
(prev.)

(of nails)

a-p- ž'a-rà 'to tear' ⇒ a-pə-ž'ž'a-rà 'to tear to
(prev.)

pieces'

a-ša-rà 'to split' (of wood) ⇒ a-šša-rà 'to split into
pieces'

With a verb like à-j'j'a-ra 'to wash', one cannot point to a non-reduplicated source, for the verb a-j'a-rà means 'to vomit'. Although there are two homonymous verbs a-r-š'a-rà (a) 'to frighten', (b) 'to make pay', neither is apparently related to the reduplicated form a-r-š'š'a-rà 'to beat, shake'.

2. Reduplication of more than a single consonant is found in a few cases where the corresponding non-reduplicated form is not attested, e.g.

à-x' + š°aš°a 'cold' (cf. a-x' 'cold')

a- jè (ø-) cah°càh°è-w+p'

the water it very-hot (stat.)

'The water is very hot' (cf. a-j cà 'hot water')

a-jè k'ey=k'ey

'shimmering water'

3. A few words, descriptive of sounds, contain a reduplicated consonant, e.g. a-g°g°ah°a, which is used of the noise made by a large number of people together, or for the noise made by a huge volume of water crashing over a waterfall (recall the root -h°a- 'to say').

4. A few words, descriptive of types of motion, contain a reduplicated segment, e.g.

dè-qè+	r+	pà=	qè+r+po	d-	aa-	yt'
he	horse (caus.)	jump	jump	he	come (fin.)	
			(present			
			absolutive)			

'He's coming with a prancing horse'

(N.B. that, despite the patent etymology given in the gloss, the word rather implies the sort of graceful, prancing movements a horse may produce in a dressage-exercise.)

à-	c'la	(ø-)k°ac=k°acò-	yt'
the	tree	it	sway-from-side-to-side (fin.)
			+(dyn.)

'The tree is swaying from side to side'

5. A number of examples exist where one consonant is altered in the reduplicated portion; such words have a variety of different functions, e.g.

dè-	k'	aq'è=	maq'-we-	yt'
she	waddle(?)		(dyn.)	(fin.)

'She's waddling' (used to describe a plump, elderly person's gait).

àyac°	'a-k°a	(ø-)	k°alè=k°aj°o-	yt'
star	(pl.)	they	twinkle+(dyn.)	(fin.)

'The stars are twinkling'

dè-xràa=	jraa-we-	yt'
he	idle	(dyn.) (fin.)

'He's idling away his time'

6. Reduplicated imperatives with a somewhat illogical opposition between 2nd. and 1st. person are met in certain expressions, e.g.

wè-	tè-	y=	sè-tè-y	(ø-)	ey-	štò-	w+p'
you	give	and	me	they	each-other's	track (stat.)	
					(col.II)		

"Give you" and "Give me" follow each other' (proverb)

w-	à-	xa=	s-à-xa	h°a	a-	wèsè-	w-	ra
you	it	pull	I	saying (art.)	business	do (masd.)		
y-	à+	la-	ge-	yt'				
they	it+into	carry	(fin.)					

'begin'

'They began to work enthusiastically'

wè-	nè+y=s-nè+y	(ø-)rè-	h°à-n	a-	nap'è-j°j°a-ra
you	go	I	it	they	say (fin.) (art.) hand wash (masd)
y-	à+la-	ge-	yt'		

'They began to wash each telling the other to go first'

N.B. that the reduplicated Past Indefinite wè-h°a-n=s-h°a-n of the verb a-h°a-ra 'to say' with a similar alternation of 2nd. and 1st. pers. subjects is used as the simple noun 'rumour, gossip'.

7. If one requires two opposite orientational preverbs in the one verbal form ('to look hither and thither' for example), then the verbal root will be reduplicated to accommodate the extra preverb, e.g.

à-	na-	pš=	àa-	pš-ra
(art.)	thither	look	hither	(masd.)

8. A number of adverbs may be found resulting from the reduplication of adverbial, adjectival or even nominal bases; in some cases the instrumental suffix -la is obligatory, in some optional, and elsewhere impossible, e.g.

yahà=yahà 'more and more' < yaha 'more'

jarà=jarà 'here and there' < jarà 'somewhere'

x°èč' = x°èč'è

x°èč'è = x°èč'è-la } 'little by little' < a-x°èč'è 'small'

x°è+c = x°è+c 'in detail' < a-x°è+c 'single +c hair -x°è+'

3.5. Morphophonology (supra-segmental)

3.5.1.1. Is stress constant under morphological processes and compounding?

No.

3.5.1.2. Processes which inspire change in stress-assignment

The rules governing stress-assignment in Abkhaz, particularly for verbal complexes, have yet to be worked out; see Lomtadidze, 1977.99-100. This is not to say that certain general features cannot be pointed out, such as the following classificatory scheme, which exactly mirrors that established for Abaza by Genko (1955.62ff., cf. Allen's review: 1960.217):-

Independently stressed words:

(a) words with fixed stress

(b) words with movable stress

Type (a) may be sub-divided into

(i) nominal bases of one closed syllable, e.g. a-wès 'job'

: a-wès-k°a 'jobs' : a-wès-k°a-g'è 'jobs also'

(ii) nominal bases of more than one syllable with non-final stress, e.g. a-nxàrta 'place to live' : a-nxàrta-k°a 'places to live' : a-nxàrta-k°a-g'è 'places to live also'

And type (b) may be sub-divided into

(i) words with 'progressive' movements of stress, e.g.

la-k' 'one dog' : a-là 'the dog' : a-la-k°a 'the dogs' :

a-la-k°a-g'è 'the dogs too'; the root -y°- 'to write' ⇒

yè-zè-y°-wè-yt' 'I write it'

(ii) words with 'regressive' stress, e.g. c'la-k' 'one

tree' : à-c'la 'the tree' : à-c'la-k°a-g'è 'the trees too'; the root -y°- 'to run' ⇒ sè-y°-wè-yt' 'I run'.

But the difficulties attending any attempt to establish a comprehensive set of rules will become clear from a perusal of just the following six complexes based on the root -fa- 'to eat' (examples from Lomtadidze, 1977.100):

yə-l-fè-yt'	:	yə-š°-fà
'She ate it		'Eat it (sc. you pl.)!'
à-fa-ra	:	y-à-fe-yt'
'to eat'		'It ate it'
àyba-fa-ra		
'to eat each other'		
eybà-fe-yt'		
'They ate each other'		

5. LEXICON

5.1. Structured semantic fields

5.1.1. kinship-terminology

5.1.1.1. by blood

1. 'mother' an
2. 'father' ab
3. 'brother' àyaša
4. 'sister' àyah°ša
5. 'son' a-pà
6. 'daughter' a-phà
7. 'aunt'
- 7a. 'father's sister' àbyah°ša
- 7b. 'mother's sister' ànlah°ša
8. 'uncle'
- 8a. 'father's brother' àbyaša
- 8b. 'mother's brother' ànša
9. 'grandchild' a-mòta (borrowing from Mingrelian)
- Native Abkhaz terms are:
- 9a. 'sons's son' a-peypà
- 9b. 'daughter's son' a-phalpa
- 9c. 'son's daughter' a-peypà
- 9d. 'daughter's daughter' a-phalphà
10. 'nephew'
- 10a. 'brother's son' àyašeypà
- 10b. 'sister's son' àyah°ša(1)pa
11. 'niece'
- 11a. 'brother's daughter' àyašeyphà
- 11b. 'sister's daughter' àyah°ša(1)phà
12. 'grandfather' abdèw
13. 'grandmother' andèw
14. 'great-grandfather'
- 14a. 'grandfather's father' abdèw yab
- 14b. 'grandmother's father' andèw lab
15. 'great-grandmother'
- 15a. 'grandfather's mother' abdèw yan
- 15b. 'grandmother's mother' andèw lan
16. 'cousin'
- 16a. 'father's brother's son' abyasēypà
- 16b. 'sister's brother's son' anšeypà
- 16c. 'father's brother's daughter' abyasēypà
- 16d. 'sister's brother's daughter' anšeyphà
- 16e. 'father's sister's son' abyah°šapà
- 16f. 'father's sister's daughter' abyah°šaphà
- 16g. 'mother's sister's son' anlah°šapà
- 16h. 'mother's sister's daughter' anlah°šaphà

5.1.1.2. by partial blood

1. 'half-brother' àyašapsa
2. 'half-sister' àyah°šapsa

5.1.1.3. by marriage

1. 'husband' a-xàc'a // à-pš°ma (= 'host')
2. 'wife' a-ph°ès

3. 'mother-in-law' ànx^oa
4. 'father-in-law' àbx^oa
5. 'uncle'
- 5a. 'father's sister's husband' àbyaħ^oša lxàc'a
- 5b. 'mother's sister's husband' ànlah^oša lxàc'a
6. 'aunt'
- 6a. 'father's brother's wife' àbyašeyph^oes
- 6b. 'mother's brother's wife' ànšeyph^oes
7. 'sister-in-law'
- 7a. 'spouse's sister' ànx^oəpha
- 7b. 'husband's brother's wife' àcala
- 7c. 'brother's wife' a-tàca
8. 'daughter-in-law' a-tàca
9. 'brother-in-law'
- 9a. 'spouse's brother' àbx^oənda
- 9b. 'wife's sister's husband' à-maħ^oəla
- 9c. 'sister's husband' à-maħ^o
10. 'son-in-law' à-maħ^o
11. 'in-laws'
- 11a. 'spouses' mothers for each other' à-xla (cf. Džanašia, 1954.416)
- 11b. (from husband's viewpoint only) àbx^oaraa (There is no comparable term for wife's in-laws)

5.1.1.4. by adoption

1. 'adopted son' yəraajaz a-pà (= 'the son whom they reared')
2. 'adopted daughter' yəraajaz a-phà
3. 'adoptive father' a-pà // a-phà dəzaajàz ab (= 'the father who raised the son // daughter')
4. 'adoptive mother' a-pà // a-phà dəzaajàz an

5.1.1.5. by fostering

1. 'foster-mother' ànajjey
2. 'foster-father' àbajjey
3. 'foster-child' aajamta

5.1.1.6. by affiliation

1. 'step-mother' ànpa
2. 'step-father' àbəpa
3. 'step-son' a-papsà
4. 'step-daughter' a-phapsà
5. 'step-brother' àyašapsa
6. 'step-sister' àyah^ošapsa

N.B. that the element ay- which appears word-initially in a number of the preceding kinship-terms is the reciprocal-marker. This element is an essential component of the citation-form of all those terms where it appears above. However, should the relevant terms be construed with a possessive prefix, the reciprocal element disappears, e.g. àyaša 'brother' BUT s-aša 'my brother'.

5.1.2. colour-terminology

1. 'red' à-q'apš
2. 'orange' a-p'at'ərkal-pšt^oàla (= 'orange-colour')
3. 'yellow' a-y^oəž
4. 'green' àyac^oa // a-ħask'əh-pšt^oàla (= 'grass-colour')

5. 'blue' (navy) àyac^oa
6. 'indigo' (?) àyac^oa-eyk^oàra (= 'dark-blue'), which seems to be the nearest equivalent.
7. 'violet' a-d^oək'rən-pšt^oàla (= 'violet-colour')
8. 'light-blue' ž^oy^oan-pšt^oàla (= 'sky-colour')
9. 'white' à-šk^oak^oa
10. 'black' àyk^oac^oa
11. 'grey' à-x^oa-pšt^oàla (= 'ash-colour')
12. 'brown' a-k'ah^oa-pšt^oà (= 'coffee-colour')
13. 'pink' a-g'əl-pšt^oàla (= 'rose-colour')
14. 'purple' a-q'apš-ħaħara (= 'strong-red') // a-q'apš-eyk^oàra (= 'dark-red')
15. 'reddish' a-c^oə-q'apš
16. 'yellowish' a-c^o-y^oəž
17. 'whitish' a-c^oə-šk^oak^oa
18. 'greenish / bluish' a-c^oə-yac^oa
19. 'blackish' a-c^oə-yk^oac^oa

5.1.3. body-parts

1. 'hair' a-xc^oə
2. 'head' a-xə
3. 'ear' a-ləmhā
4. 'eye' à-la
5. 'nose' a-pənc'a
6. 'mouth' a-q'ə
7. 'eyelash' a-lapəj
8. 'eyebrow' à-jəmš
9. 'eyelid' à-lac^oa
10. 'forehead' à-lax'
11. 'cheek' a-jəmy^oa
12. 'chin' a-clamh^oà
13. 'jaw' "
14. 'lip' a-k'əš^o
15. 'tongue' a-bz
16. 'tooth' a-xapəc
17. 'moustache' a-pac'a
18. 'beard' a-zək'a
19. 'neck' à-x^oda
20. 'throat' a-q'ərq'ə
21. 'body' a-c^oeyžə
22. 'chest' a-g^oəspə
23. 'breast' a-k'ək'a
24. 'nipple' a-k'ək'mac^o
25. 'arm' a-max^oar
26. 'armpit' a-y^oəc'ra
27. 'elbow' a-məšx^oəlc'
28. 'shoulder' à-ž^oy^oa
29. 'forearm' —
30. 'wrist' a-nap'ax^oda
31. 'hand' a-nap'ə
32. 'palm' a-nap'sərg^oəc'a
33. 'finger' a-nac^oà
34. 'thumb' a-nac^oadəw
35. 'nail' a-nap'xəc
36. 'rib' a-vacq'āra
37. 'heart' a-g^oə

38. 'lung' a-rphà
39. 'kidney' a-č'áč'a
40. 'liver' a-g°ac°à
41. 'stomach' a-mg°a
42. 'navel' a-č'ap'an
43. 'penis' a-γè
44. 'pudenda' a-g'
45. 'uterus' a-mg°artà
46. 'testicle' a-q°'altàs
47. 'leg' a-šap'è
48. 'hip' a-g°èč'amaxè
49. 'thigh' a-wàt°a
50. 'knee' a-šamxè
51. 'shin' a-šarg°ac°-bay°dèw
52. 'calf' a-šerg°ac°
53. 'ankle' a-šap'ax°da
54. 'foot' a-šap'è
55. 'toe' a-šac°à
56. 'big-toe' a-šac°adèw
57. 'bottom' a-wèh° // ah°
58. 'back' à-bɣa
59. 'spine' à-bɣabay°
60. 'shoulder-blade' a-ž°èy°š°àq'°a
61. 'skin' a-c°à
62. 'heel' à-šx°a
63. 'brain' a-xgèy°bay°(ə) // a-xbèy°lağà
64. 'skull' a-xgèy°bay°(ə)
65. 'bone' à-bay°
66. 'collar-bone' à-lt°'z°y°a

5.1.4. cooking-terminology

1. 'cook' a-k'rè-w-rà (transitive - for the dummy-object affix -k'rè- cf. 2.1.3.8.7)
2. 'fry' a-j-rà (transitive or intransitive by omission of subject)
3. 'boil' (of water) a-g-rà (intransitive)
4. 'begin to boil' ày+la-g-ra (intransitive)
5. 'boil' (of potatoes etc.) a-ž°-rà (transitive or intransitive)
6. 'simmer' a-x°atà=x°atàh°a a-g-rà (intransitive)
7. 'boil' (strongly of water) a-g°aràh°a a-g-rà (intransitive)
8. 'bake/roast/toast/grill' a-j-rà (transitive or intransitive)
9. 'fillet/bone' à-bay° à-l-x-ra
10. 'cut meat into portions' a-k°ac° ày+c'è-x-ra
11. 'beat an egg' a-k°'t'ày' a-y°-rà
12. 'stir' à-c'-š-ra // ày+lè-r-x-ra (transitive)

5.1.5. weekdays

1. 'Sunday' a-mqèğa
2. 'Monday' a-š°ax'à
3. 'Tuesday' a-y°àğa
4. 'Wednesday' à-xağa
5. 'Thursday' a-psàğa
6. 'Friday' a-x°àğa
7. 'Saturday' a-sàbğa

5.1.6. months of the year

	Bzyp dialect	(Abžui dialect)
1. 'January'	x'áčx°amamzè	(yanàr)
2. 'February'	yaš°argèlamz	(perwàl)
3. 'March'	x°až°k'èramz	(mart')
4. 'April'	mšapèmz	(arp'il)
5. 'May'	k'fat	(mes)
6. 'June'	k°'èrk°'(a)x°èč'è	(yewanòba ≪ Mingrelian)
7. 'July'	k°'èrk°'(a)dèw	(k°'èrk°'a)
8. 'August'	nành°(a)mz	(nành°a)
9. 'September'	rapèrbàagamzè	(c°èbbà / c°èbbèn)
10. 'October'	x°k'arčaràmz	(a-bc'arà)
11. 'November'	pxènx°èč'è	(g'arg°àba)
12. 'December'	mzèy°rè	(k'èrsa)

5.1.7. compass-points

1. 'north' à-y°ada
2. 'south' à-lada
3. 'east' a-mra-gèlara (= 'sun-rising')
4. 'west' a-mra-taš°àra (= 'sun-setting')

5.2. Basic vocabulary

1. 'all' zeg'è
2. 'and' -y ... -y // -g'è (= 'also')
3. 'animal' a-pst°'è
4. 'ashes' à-ccèš°
5. 'at' a-q'è // a-q'nè
6. 'back' (of body) à-bɣa
7. 'bad' à-c°g'a
8. 'bark' a-g-rà
9. 'because' yèzbànzar // yèzbàn àk°'zar
10. 'belly' à-mg°a
11. 'big' a-dèw
12. 'bird' a-c'èš
13. 'bite' à-ča-ra
14. 'black' àyk°ac°'a
15. 'blood' a-šà
16. 'blow' à-s-ra (sc. of the wind)
17. 'bone' à-bay° (à-bèy°)
18. 'breast' a-k'èk'a; of women only = a-g°èh°pè//a-g°èph°è
19. 'breathe' a-psèp a-la-ga=y°à-ga-ra
20. 'burn' à-bèl-ra (transitive or intransitive)
21. 'child' a-x°èč'è
22. 'claw' a-šap'xèc
23. 'cloud' à-pta
24. 'cold' à-x'š°aš°a
25. 'come' àa+y-ra
26. 'count' à-px'aja-ra
27. 'cut' a-p-q'a-rà (transitive or intransitive)
28. 'day' a-mš
29. 'die' a-ps-rà
30. 'dig' à-č-ra
31. 'dirty' à-q'°aš
32. 'dog' a-là
33. 'drink' à-ž°-ra

34. 'dry' a-y°à
35. 'dull' a-š°žè
36. 'dust' a-sàba
37. 'ear' a-lòmha
38. 'earth' a-nèš°
39. 'eat' à-fa-ra
40. 'egg' a-k°'t'ày'
41. 'eye' à-la
42. 'fall' a-k' à-ha-ra
43. 'far' à-xara
44. 'fat/grease' a-şşà
45. 'father' ab
46. 'fear' a-š°a-rà (verb); a-š°àra (noun)
47. 'feather' a-x°è
48. 'few' pøtk'
49. 'fight' ày-s-ra (literally = 'to hit one another')
50. 'fire' à-mca
51. 'fish' a-psèj
52. 'five' x°ba
53. 'float' a-jè a-xè-zaa-ra
54. 'flow' a-lè+y-ra
55. 'flower' a-š°t
56. 'fly' a-mc'
57. 'fog' à-naq°'
58. 'foot' a-šap'è
59. 'four' pšba
60. 'freeze' a-c' àa-ra (intransitive)
61. 'fruit' a-š°èr
62. 'full' a-t°rà
63. 'give' à-ta-ra
64. 'good' a-bzèya
65. 'grass' a-šàc // a-ħask' 'èn
66. 'green' àyac°'a
67. 'guts' a-rh°aràx
68. 'hair' a-xc°è // a-xax°è
69. 'hand' a-nap'è
70. 'he' yarà
71. 'head' a-xè
72. 'hear' aħa-ra
73. 'heart' a-g°è
74. 'heavy' à-x'anta
75. 'here' a(b)rà
76. 'hit' à-s-ra
77. 'hold/take' a-k'-rà
78. 'horn' a-t°'èy°a
79. 'how' yøşpà
80. 'hung' à-š°araca-ra
81. 'husband' a-xàc'a // à-pš°ma (= 'host')
82. 'I' sarà
83. 'ice' a-c' àa
84. 'if' -r // -za+r
85. 'in' a-y°nèc'q'a
86. 'kill' a-š-rà
87. 'knee' a-šamxè
88. 'know' a-dèr-ra
89. 'lake' a-jèya

90. 'laugh' à-čč-ra
91. 'leaf' a-by'è(c)
92. 'leftside' àrmarax' // arèmarax'
93. 'leg' a-šap'è
94. 'lie' a-štà-la-ra // a-ya-rà (i.e. 'lie down')
95. 'live' a-n-xa-rà
96. 'liver' a-g°ac°'à
97. 'long' aw
98. 'louse' a-c' à
99. 'man/male' a-xàc'a
100. 'many' à-rac°a
101. 'meat' a-k°àc
102. 'moon' à-mza
103. 'mother' an
104. 'mountain' à-šxa
105. 'mouth' a-q'è (cf. 5)
106. 'name' a-x'j
107. 'narrow' a-tš°à
108. 'near' aayg°à
109. 'neck' à-x°da
110. 'new' a-q'èc
111. 'night' a-c'x
112. 'nose' a-pènc'a
113. 'not' -m(-)
114. 'old' až°
115. 'one' a-k'è
116. 'other' daqak'è
117. 'person' a-way°è
118. 'play' à-x°mar-ra
119. 'pull' à-xa-ra
120. 'push' a-nà-xa-ra
121. 'rain' a-k°à
122. 'red' à-q'apš
123. 'right' ayàga
124. 'rightside' àry'arax' // arèy'arax'
125. 'river' a-jèyas
126. 'road' à-my°a
127. 'root' à-šata
128. 'rope' a-şàxa
129. 'rotten' a-bàa
130. 'round' à-g'az // à-g'ež
131. 'rub' ày-x' -š-ra
132. 'salt' a-žèk'a (-xøş)
133. 'sand' à-psløj
134. 'say' a-ħ°a-rà
135. 'scratch; a-by-rà
136. 'sea' a-mşøn
137. 'see' a-ba-rà
138. 'seed' à-ž°la
139. 'sew' à-jax-ra (transitive or intransitive)
140. 'sharp' à-c'ar
141. 'short' a-k' 'àq'
142. 'sing' à-š°a a-ħ°a-rà (literally = 'to say a song')
143. 'sit' a-t°'a-rà
144. 'skin' a-c°à
145. 'sky' à-ž°y°an

146. 'sleep' à-c°(-ra)
 147. 'small' a-x°əč'è
 148. 'smell' a-fy°è (noun)
 149. 'smoke' à-ly°a
 150. 'smooth' a-marmalt'às
 151. 'snake' à-mat
 152. 'snow' a-sè
 153. 'some' -(c°a)k°ak'
 154. 'spit' a-k' à-žc°a-ra
 155. 'split' ày-q°'ə-r-pa-ra (transitive)
 156. 'squeeze' ày+ma-r-ŷ°ŷ°a-ra
 157. 'stab' à-la-c'a-ra
 158. 'stand' a-gèla-ra
 159. 'star' àyac°'a
 160. 'stick' a-labà
 161. 'stone' a-xàh°
 162. 'straight' ayàša
 163. 'suck' a-c°a-rà
 164. 'sun' à-mra
 165. 'swell' a-č-rà
 166. 'swim' à-jsa-ra
 167. 'tail' a-c'èx°a
 168. 'that' a(b)nèy // wəy/wəbrèy
 169. 'there' a(b)nà // wa/wəbrà
 170. 'they' darà
 171. 'thick' à-š°pa
 172. 'thin' a-p' à (rarely = a-f' à)
 173. 'think' a-g° àa-na-ga-ra
 174. 'this' a(b)rèy
 175. 'thou' warà(masculine) // barà(feminine)
 176. 'three' xpa
 177. 'throw' à-r-š°-ra
 178. 'tie' a-q'a-h°a-rà
 179. 'tongue' a-bz
 180. 'tooth' a-xapèc
 181. 'tree' à-c'la
 182. 'turn' a-x' à-h°-ra (intransitive)
 183. 'two' y°ba
 184. 'vomit' a-j°a-rà
 185. 'walk' a-nèq°'a-ra (intransitive)
 186. 'warm' a-pxà
 187. 'wash' à-j°j°a-ra (transitive)
 188. 'water' a-jè
 189. 'we' harà
 190. 'wet' à-c°aak' // à-baaja
 191. 'what' zak°'èy // zak°'èzey
 192. 'when' yanbà
 193. 'where' yabà
 194. 'white' à-šk°'ak°'a
 195. 'who' dārban
 196. 'wide' à-tbaa
 197. 'wife' a-ph°əs
 198. 'wind' a-pšà
 199. 'wing' a-mc°' àž°y°a
 200. 'wipe' a-rè-ck' 'a-ra
 201. 'with' -la(by means of) // -c- (verbal affix of accompani-
 ment)

202. 'woman' a-ph°əs
 203. 'woods' à-bnak°a
 204. 'worm' à-x°a(c)
 205. 'ye' š°arà
 206. 'year' à-šak°s
 207. 'yellow' a-y°èž

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