ARIE SPRUIT

ABKHAZ STUDIES

Бзабàала ìqоуп атцàбѵрг азѵ̀ ірѵ̀лѵрцѵуа
Аҧсһарà урҧ ірҭхѵуòіт азѵ̀
Бзабàала щ̆ѵ̀qоуп, Сарà сѵ̀мшала іанщ̆àц
анѵ̀ҧхартцѵуа, щ̆ѵ̀цг̆а анѵ̀рһуа,
Щ̆гѵ̀рҧала, щ̆гуàцѵз, урҧ рцѵнхурàс àһам

v. Chirikba

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I N T R O D U C T O R Y

Of the studies collected here, I appeared in S(tudia) C(aucasica) 5 (1983), II and III in SC 6 (1985), IV will appear in SC 7 (1986).

The focal point of these studies is the Abkhaz verb. Whereas the remaining parts of speech in Abkhaz are comparatively simple, the verb exhibits a great complexity. Together, these studies aim at giving a complete description of the Abkhaz verb structure.

To arrive at such a description, it has been necessary first of all to make a detailed study of the prefixes of local reference, not only because of their large number but also because of their wide use in forming verb-stems. These prefixes are dealt with in chapter I.

To describe the prefixes of local reference, certain questions pertaining to stress arise. Since a description of Abkhaz stress has never been given, this subject is dealt with exhaustively in chapter II.

The treatment of the stress, in turn, gives rise to certain questions of phonology. Though Abkhaz phonology has been treated many times over (e.g. by Uslar, Dumézil, Lomtati3e), certain problems of detail are nowhere dealt with exhaustively. It has been our aim to add the finishing touches to the basic outlines given in the literature on Abkhaz. This is done in III.

The last chapter gives a full description of the Abkhaz verb by summing up all other categories of affixes (besides the ones dealt with in I), giving their combinatory possibilities and a concise description of the meaning of the verb forms.

CHAPTER I

ABKHAZ VERBS OF LOCAL REFERENCE

1 INTRODUCTION.

1.1 To define the Abkhaz verbs of local reference it suffices to start from the infinitive (dictionary form). As is well known, Abkhaz verb-forms are polysynthetic; the verb-root can be preceded and followed by strings of affixes. Many of these have temporal, modal or syntactic functions and do not appear in the infinitive. The latter maximally contains ten elements as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
a-	č-	ay-	Preverb	(n)a-	m-	r-	Root	Extension	-(zaa-)ra

Of these, the infinitive obligatorily contains 1 (def. article), 8 and 10 (infinitive-suffix). Unimportant for our purposes are 1 and 10[1], and also 2 (reflexive), 5 (agent), 6 (negation); of marginal importance are 3(reciprocal) and 7 (causative). There remains the complex 4-8-9, which we shall call the stem. A stem may consist of a single root (R), of Preverb+R, and it may also contain a stem-extension (E), the occurrence of which is conditioned by the presence of a preverb, so that the third possibility is Preverb+R+E.

1.2 The preverb-slot can be filled with three types of mutually exclusive elements: 1 the relational preverbs a-, ay-, xʷa-, which are used with a limited number of roots ("say to", "bark at", "look at", etc.), 2 the directional preverbs aa- "hither", na- "thither", la- "downwards", yʷa- "upwards"[2] and 3 a very large group of preverbs, which with minor exceptions (see sect. 5) are of a local nature. It is the presence of a local preverb that defines a stem as a stem of local reference (LR-stem). Henceforth, these preverbs are symbolized P. They are summed up in sect. 5; so are the few non-local preverbs of the group, mostly occurring in verbs of motion, but not referring to a locality but rather to a direction or posture, or occurring in unique stems.

The above-mentioned stem-type Preverb+R+E occurs only with preverbs P, i.e. the occurrence of E is limited to LR-stems[3]. An LR-stem, then, has the structure P-R(-E).

1.3 The preverbs P have in common that they refer to a location with regard to which a process or state expressed by the root takes place. The P can give the local relation in two ways. Either the P is accompanied by a personal element referring to the "local object", i.e. the entity with regard to which a relative location is specified ("the table me-its-top/bottom-he-puts" = "he puts me on/under the table"), or the P itself specifies the class of the locally related entity ("me-horse-he-puts" = "he puts me on the horse"), see further sect.5.

1.4 An Abkaz LR-verb with local object differs from an English verb plus prepositional phrase on the following points:

(a) The English phrase "he is sitting in the yard" is rendered in Abkhaz by an LR-verb with local object; the English phrase "he is eating in the yard" corresponds to an Abkhaz simple verb plus noun with postposition. In Abkhaz, "the yard" is the complement of the LR-verb "to sit in", whereas with "eating" a local adverbial phrase is used. The difference between the two sentences consists in the fact that the Abkhaz notion "sitting" is readily determined by a location – there is, so to say, an organic connection between the state and the place; the notion "eating", on the other hand, is no more closely connected with a location than it is with a time or circumstance. One can say that the Abkhaz LR-verb corresponding to English "to go into" is halfway between "to go into" and "to enter". In this connection it is significant that many Abkhaz roots found in LR-verbs are restricted to the latter.

(b) The interrogative correlate of an Abkhaz LR-verb is always a "who/what"-(and not a "where"-)question; in this respect the LR-verb plus local object resembles an English "prepositional verb" plus complement ("he worked at it" vs. "he went into the house")[4]. An Abkhaz "where"-question combined with an LR-verb would be of the type "where did he put it on the table?" – answer: "in the kitchen, in the yard". In Abkhaz, LR-verbs are easily idiomaticized (e.g. "he put it next to me" → "he charged me with it", see sect. 6), combinations of plain verb plus noun with postposition never are.

(c) The local preverbs in Abkhaz are much more numerous, and semantically much more specific than the English prepositions.

2 INTROVERT AND EXTROVERT FORMS.

2.1 In the LR-verbs as a class there is a distinction between illative or inessive on the one hand and elative or translative on the other hand. Hence-

forth, these categories will be labeled introvert (inv.) and extrovert (exv.) respectively. The features illative vs. inessive in the inv. category and elative vs. translative in the exv. category are characteristic of individual verbs (with a notable exception in certain derived LR-verbs, see sect. 3.3).

2.2 The distinction inv. vs. exv. can be overtly expressed (1) in the P and (2) by a stem-extension (E):

(1) Most of the P's have forms with and without a, expressing the inv. and exv. categories respectively, e.g. ta- inv. "in,into", t- exv. "out of, through". Most of the remaining P's have only one form (always without a) in both functions, e.g. d- "to, at/from, past (the space) besides". These P's are called neutral. We symbolize inv., exv. and neutral P's as Pi, Pe and Pn respectively. Finally, a few P's are limited to one of the two functions, see sect. 5.

(2) There are two stem-extensions, viz. -la "inv." and -aa "exv."

2.3 The way roots are combined with P's and E's for the expression of the exv. resp. inv. categories yields seven formal classes (of which only class III is productive, see below). With each class, an indication is given of the number of roots belonging to it (M = many); this indication is given separately for verbs with roots not found outside LR-verbs (α) and for "derived" LR-verbs (β).

		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Exv.	Pe	–	–	R-aa	R	R	R-aa	R
	Pn							
Inv.	Pi	R	R	R	R	R-la	–	–
	Pn		R-la	R-la	R-la			
α		3	M	–	M	2	–	M
β		1	M	M	1	2	M	1

Comments to the chart:

(a) The E -aa in III and VI and the E -la in V directly express the exv. resp. inv. categories, they form, so to say, an IC with the root. On the other hand, the E -la in II, III and IV is limited to forms with a Pn and is absent in forms with a Pi, so that here the E can be said to form an IC with the Pn.

(b) The Pn's kʷ- "on,onto/off,over" and x̌- "all over" are exceptional in that inv. stems containing these P's lack E -la in the classes II, III,IV.
(c) A small number of exv. stems of class III and VI were encountered without E -aa besides their regular form with -aa, e.g. y-ā-mə-z-ɣ̌ɣ̌(a)-aa-yt̓, y-ā-mə-z-ɣ̌ɣ̌a-yt̓ "I scraped it off it", y-ā-lə-px(a)-aa-yt̓, y-ā-lə-pxa-yt̓ "it shone through it". Such stems seldom contain a Pn. The cases that were encountered show not only the form Pn-R-aa or Pn-R, but also Pn-R-l(a)-aa and Pn-R-aa-la, e.g. y-a-nə̄-prə-l(a)-aa-yt̓ "it flew from it", y-a-nə̄-z-b(a)-aa-yt̓, y-a-nə̄-z-b(a)-aa-la-yt̓ "I descried it on it", lit. "I saw it from it".
(d) This irregular use of E -la in exv. stems with a Pn is also found with two roots of class VII, viz. -š̌- tr. "pass, draw through" and -r-ša- tr. "let (water) run through", e.g. s-napə̌ə̄ a-nə̄-s-š̌ə-la-yt̓ "I passed my hand over it", a-3ə̄ a-n-sə-r-šā-la-yt̓ "I let the water run over it".

3 ROOT CLASSES.

3.1 A large number of roots are limited to LR-verbs, i.e. they do not occur as simple stems. We speak of <u>exclusive</u> LR-verbs; these are the verbs in row α of the chart. In addition, five roots, though occurring as simple stems, are found in the closed (non-productive) formal classes I, IV, V and VII; together with the exclusive LR-verbs we call these the <u>primary</u> LR-verbs[5].
3.2 Class III represents the regular way of deriving LR-stems from simple stems (e.g. "fly"—"fly into"—"fly out of"); these we call the <u>secondary</u> LR-verbs. There are cases where such derivations are limited to either the exv. or the inv. category. Besides "wash" there is the LR-stem "wash out of", besides which there is no inv. LR-stem. Class VI wholly consists of such cases, and can therefore be combined with class III. On the other hand, besides "sew" there is inv. "sew onto", but no exv.* "sew off of". These verbs represent the derived part of class II, which can likewise be combined with class III.
3.3 There is the following difference between primary and secondary LR-verbs: primary LR-verbs always make a definite choice between the meaning illative vs. inessive, or between elative vs. translative. Secondary LR-verbs in principle allow both interpretations; this can be seen if the simple root expresses a movement, e.g. y-tā-prə-yt̓ 1) "it flew inside it", 2) "it flew into it", y-tə̄-praa-yt̓ 1) "it flew out of it", 2) "it flew through it"[6]. Compare the primary LR-verbs d-tā-pa-la-yt̓ "he jumped into it", d-tə̄-pa-yt̓ "he jumped out of it". Note that "he jumped inside it" is rendered by də̄-pa-wa d-tā-n "jumpingly he was inside it".

Another difference between primary and secondary LR-verbs consists in the fact that among the primary ones the same root is usually found with a large array of P's ("to fall into, onto, under, etc."; we call this a primary LR-paradigm). On the other hand, with the secondary ones one normally finds incidental derivations only ("to wash out of", "to sew onto").

3.4 A number of primary LR-paradigms may be de-localized by substituting the (non-local) preverb ǩa- for P, e.g. d-tā-ha-yt' "he fell into it", d-ā-va--ha-yt' "he fell next to it", etc., d-ǩā-ha-yt' "he fell". With the roots -pa- (V) "jump" and -pš- (IV) "look" both the simple stem and the ǩa-stem exist. In these cases there is a difference in meaning: the simple stem gives the mere action (e.g. "to jump"), the ǩa-stem implies an unspecified locality (e.g. "to take the jump").

3.5 List of the primary root-classes[1,2].

Class I: -Ø-[3,4] st. "be in", -la-[4] itr. "go into", -c'a-[4] tr. "put into", -gəla-[5,6] st./itr. "be standing in"/"go and stand into".

Class II: -xa- itr. "remain in", -3a- itr. "fit, find room in", -tʷa- itr. /tr. "be poured into"/"pour into", -psa- itr./tr. "be strewn into"/"strew into", -ha- itr. "fall into" (ab. large things), -r-sʷ- tr. "throw into" (of small things), -ž́- tr. "throw into" (of large things), -xx- itr. "run into", -š́š́- "be inserted, get stuck in", -ɣʷɣʷa- itr. "be pressed into", -s- itr. "make a swift movement into", -t'at'a- st./itr. "be powdered, smeared in"/ "get powdered, smeared into", -ž́cʷa- itr. "spit into".

Class IV[7]: -sʷa- itr. "fall into"/"fall out of" (ab. small things), -pš-[6] itr. "look into"/"look out of", -yʷ- itr. "travel into"/"travel out of" (ab. sound), -ga- itr. "be produced into"/"be produced out of" (ab. sound), -zza- itr. "go into"/"go out of" (slowly, clumsily), -žž- itr. "ooze into"/ "ooze out of", -č̓́č̓́a- itr. "shine, sparkle into"/"shine, sparkle out of", -xʷxʷa- itr. "go in full swing into"/"go in full swing out of".

Class V: -ca- tr. "drive into"/"drive out of" (of cattle), -ga-[6] tr. "bring, lead into"/"bring, lead out of", -pa-[6]itr. "jump into"/"jump out of", -ž́- tr. "let into"/"let out of".

Class VII: -c'-[4] itr. "go out of", -x-[4] tr. "take out of", -s-[4] itr. "pass through", -š́-[4] tr. "pass, draw through", -q̓́a- itr. "go fast out of", -yʷr- itr. "fall out of" (ab. large things), -xa-[6]itr. "pull at, root in", -bb- itr. "billow out of" (ab. smoke), -hʷhʷa- itr. "protrude, be visible out of", -da- tr. "draw through" (of a thread), -r-ša- tr. "let run through" (of water), -k̓́asa- itr. "gush out of".

Notes: 1) Abkhaz verb-stems fall into a static or dynamic class, the latter subdivided into intransitive and transitive. The distinction static – dynamic consists in the use of different tense-markers, the distinction intransitive – transitive in the absence vs. presence of an actor-prefix. For every root we indicate whether it is static intransitive (st.), dynamic intransitive (itr.), or dynamic transitive (tr.).

2) The meaning of every root is given in combination with one of the prepositions "in", "into", "out of", "through", which stand for all other prepositions, e.g. -la- "go into" stands for "go into, onto, between, etc.".

3) In the literature on Abkhaz the usage is to state that P's can function as roots of static verbs. By introducing the root -Ø-, the description can be simplified: it brings, e.g., d-tə̄-Ø-w-p' "he is in it" on a par with d-ta-gə̄la-w-p' "he is standing in it", not with d-gə̄la-w-p' "he is standing"; likewise, it brings, e.g., d-ā-va-Ø-w-p' "he is next to it" on a par with d-ā-va-gəla-w-p' "he is standing next to it", not with d-a-čə̄-w-p' "he is busy with it" (where a- is indirect object prefix).

4) The roots -Ø-, -la-, -c'a- of class I and -c'-, -x-, -s-, -š‾- of class VII are the semantically most neutral roots; they can be arranged as follows:

rest	motion		
st.	itr.	tr.	
-Ø-			inessive
	-la-	-c'a-	illative
	-c'-	-x-	elative
	-s-	-š‾-	translative

5) -gəla- is (besides -la-) the only root ending in la. The fact that the root ends in la is evidently the reason that it never takes E -la.

6) The following roots in the list occur also as simple stem: -gəla- (I), -pš- (IV), -ga- (V), -pa- (V), -xa- (VII; as simple stem -xa- requires an indirect object prefix: d-sə̄-xa-yt' "he pulled me").

7) It can be seen in the chart in sect. 2 that class IV is formally a combination of class II and VII. We have listed verbs with formally identical roots separately unless the semantics are identical.

3.6 The secondary LR-verbs concern all of class III and VII and part of II. Here follow some examples (the reader is reminded that by definition all of the verb-roots can occur as simple verbs): y-cʷā d-ta-3ə̄3a-yt' "he shivered in his skin"; y-gʷə̄ d-ta-c'ʷə̄wa-yt' "he wept in his heart"; s-lə̄mha d-ta-qaa-yt' "he shouted into my ear"; a-k'ʷalāp y-tā-s-c'ʷaxə-yt' "I hid it in the box"; āhʷa a-

-trā y-ta-ž́-ākca-yt' "the sword rusted in the sheath"; a-sārk̆a d-anə̄-z-ba-la--yt' "I saw him in the mirror"; a-psā d-a-xā-s-š́-ə-yt' "I killed him with (lit. on) the bayonet"; w-nacʷā ā-də-w-fa-la-wa-yt' "it is finger-licking good" (lit. "you eat your finger next to it"); y-xə̄ ā-kʷə-r-ps-nə d-a-č̆ə̄-n "in deep concentration (lit. "having caused his head to die on it") he was busy with it"; a--xə̄lpa y-ā-kʷə-l-3axə-yt' "she sewed it onto her hat"; a-kʷā s-č̆a-na-wə̄-yt' "it rained in my face" (cf. a-kʷā a-wə̄-yt' "it rained", lit. "it made rain"); a-pšā a-dʷə̄ yə̄-kʷ-xʷmarə-yt' "the wind played on the field"; a-sʷaxʷā l-č̆ā-xʷmarə-yt' "the sunbeam played on her face"; ā-laš́cara y-ā-la-3ə-yt' "it disappeared (lit. "got lost") into the darkness"; a-3́abāa ā-kʷ-sə-r-3ə-yt' "I spent (lit. "caused to get lost") hard work on it"; s-yʷə̄za d-sə̄-və-r-š́-aa-yt' "they killed my friend from next to me"; a-čə̄ sə̄-č̆ə-r-š́-aa-yt' "they killed the horse from under me"; s-gʷāara s-xə-ps-aā-yt' "my anger disappeared"(lit. "died out of my head"); y-napə̆ a-š́ā ā-mə-z-3ʷ3ʷ(a)-aa-yt' "I washed the blood off his hand"; sə̄-mč́ sə̄-l-3-aa-yt' "my strength gave out" (lit. "got lost out of me"); a-3ə̄ y--tə̄-z-b(a)-aa-yt' "I descried it in the water" (lit. "I saw it out of the water"); a-gʷāra y-ā-və-z-b(a)-aa-yt' "I descried it next to the fence"; ā-č̆la ā--xra y-a-č̆-y-aā-yt' "the tree grew out of the rock"; y-xapə̄c-kʷa y-rə-bž́-ə̄-y-hʷ(a)-aa-yt' "he said it through his teeth"

4 LOCAL PREVERB CLASSES.

4.1 The P may or may not be combined with personal prefixes referring to a local object. Accordingly, three types of P's must be distinguished: type A must be combined with a personal prefix, type B may be combined with one, type C cannot be combined with a personal prefix. Moreover, type A takes prefixes of any person, whereas type B allows only 3 sg. irrational, 3 pl., and the relative personal prefix; the 3 sg. irr. pers. prefix for type A is a-, for type B Ø-. Eight P's allow forms of A as well as B (with a difference in meaning, see sect. 5). In the following chart the 1 sg. pers. prefix represents all pers. prefixes other than 3 sg. irr., 3 pl. and relative:

	A	B	C
1 sg.	s-	—	—
3 sg. irr.	a-	(Ø-)	—
3 pl.	r-	(r-)	—
rel.	z-	(z-)	—

4.2 The 3 sg. irr. is not a mere zero-counterpart of 3 pl. r- and relative z-; it plays a role with regard to the stress. Broadly speaking, as to stress the elements[7] making up an Abkhaz word fall into two classes, called D(ominant) and R(ecessive) and the stress falls on the first D-element that is followed by an R-element, i.e. on the initial element of the first sequence ...D´R... in the word. The 3 sg. irr. prefix Ø- acts as a D-element. As a result, it attracts the stress when the following P is or begins with an R-element. If the P consists of or begins with a D-element the presence vs. absence of Ø- is not reflected in the place of the stress. The existence of forms with 3 pl. r- or relative z- is then the decisive factor for including the P under type B.

4.3 Many LR-verbs with a P of type B (including those which also have forms of type A) allow what we shall call "prefix-adverbial" use. These "prefix-adverbial" uses are of two kinds. In a number of cases, the P is accompanied by the 3 sg. irr. Ø- (we shall speak of "empty" use of the pers. prefix), in others only the bare P without personal element appears.

From the discussion in sect. 4.2 it follows that these two kinds of prefix-adverbial uses are distinguished only if the P is R, in which case the stress falls either immediately before the P (indicating the presence of Ø-) or farther to the end of the verb (indicating the absence of Ø-).

5 LIST OF PREVERBS. The preverbs are listed below, in the following order: b p p̓ v f d t t̓ dʷ tʷ t̓ʷ 3 c c̓ 3ʷ cʷ c̓ʷ z s zʷ sʷ ǯ č č̓ ǯ´ č´ č̓´ ʒ š ʒ´ š´ g k k̓ g´ k´ k̓´ gʷ kʷ k̓ʷ ɣ x ɣ´ x´ ɣʷ xʷ q̓ q̓´ q̓ʷ h yʷ hʷ y w m n l r a; ə is disregarded for alphabetic purposes. The P's are listed first, thereafter follow the non-local preverbs (see sect. 1.2).

The preverbs fall into simple and complex ones; of the latter, the final element is always itself found as a simple preverb. In general, the simple preverbs have a wider range of application (can be combined with a greater number of roots) than the complex ones.

With each preverb there follows an indication of its stress-status (see sect. 4.2), its type (A, B or C, see sect. 4.1), its meaning (if statable), and additional comments if necessary.

5.1 bž´(a)- (DD) A "between" (with pl. local object): d-rə-bž´ā-Ø-w-p̓ "he is between them"; d-rə-bž´ə̄-sə-yt̓ "he passed between them".

B "in (a long and narrow space): a-k̓oridōr də-Ø-bž´ā-Ø-w-p̓ "he is in the corridor"; a-bārc̓a də-Ø-bž´ə̄-sə-yt̓ "he passed over the balcony".

5.2 bna- (DD) C cf. ā-bna "wood", only in: də-bnā-la-yt̓ "he fled".

5.3 p- (D) A "in the path of": də-s-pə̄-la-yt̓ "he came to meet me,he

came across me"; a-xə̄ s-gʷəšpə̄ a-pə̄-s-kʼə-la-yt' "I exposed my breast to the bullet"; a-čadā s-pə̄-s-ca-yt' "I chased away the donkey"; y-a-pə̄-Ø-w-pʼ "it is normal, it is the rule", lit. "it is in the path of it"[1].

5.4 pəsʷər- (DRI) C cf. a-pə̄sʷ "lip", only in: d-pə̄sʷər-č´č´a-yt' "he smiled" (-č´č´a- "to laugh").

5.5 pn- (DD) A "watching over", only inv.: ā-zʷ-kʷa də-r-pən-gə̄la-w-pʼ "he looks after the cows"; a-č´əmazayʷə də-pən-tʼʷā-la-w-pʼ "he looks after the patient".

5.6 pər(a)- (DR) A "obstructing": a-kdə̄ a-gʷās y-a-pə́ra-Ø-w-pʼ "the log is barring the gate-way"; də-s-pə́ra-gəla-yt' "he took up a position obstructing my view"; wə-s-pə́r-3-aa! "get out of my way!" (-3- "to get lost").

5.7 v(a)- (R) A "next to, along (an object conceived of as horizontally extended)": aā́nda, a-mšə̄n s-ā-va-Ø-w-pʼ "I am next to the fence, at the seashore", a-mšə̄n s-ā-va-nəqʼʷa-yt' "I walked along the sea"; d-sə̄-v-sə-yt' "he passed me".

5.8 vcʼ(a)- (RI) A "in (a slit), between/behind (a narrow space)": a-sār-kʼa, a-maqʼā y-ā-vcʼa-Ø-w-pʼ "it is behind the mirror, stuck in the belt"; s-na-pʼə̄ á-sʷ y-ā-vcʼa-xa-yt' "my hand got caught in the door".

B, only in: á-sʷ Øə̄-vcʼ-raa-yt' "the door opened a crack"[2].

5.9 d- (R) A "next to, against (an object conceived of as vertically extended)": ā-sʷ, a-t3ā́mc d-ā-də-Ø-w-pʼ "he is next to the door, the wall"; d-sə̄-d-gəla-w-pʼ "he is standing next to me".

B, only in: á-sʷ Øə̄-də-s-cʼa-yt' "I closed the door"; ā-sʷ Øə̄-d-sə-ž´-la-yt' "I slammed the door"[2].

5.10 t(a)- (D) A, only in: s-a-tā-Ø-m-zaa-yt' "may I not be blamed for it"; d-a-tā-sə-m-cʼa-yt' "I did not blame him for it".

B "in (a hollow space): a-ǯ´əba, a-dā, ā-žra y-Ø-tā-Ø-w-pʼ "it is in the pocket, the vein, the ditch"; ā-lyʷa s-čə̄ y-Ø-tə̄-bbə́-yt' "the smoke billowed out of my mouth".

5.11 təsʷən- (DRI) C etymology unclear, only in: y-tə̄sʷən-tʼʷa-la-yt' "they settled down".

5.12 tn- (DD) A "in return for", only in: maat-kʼ a-tnə̄-s-xə-yt' "I sold it for one rouble", lit. "I took one rouble in return for it".

5.13 dʷəkʷ- (DR) C "on the way", cf. a-dʷə̄ "field", only inv.; d-dʷə̄kʷə-Ø-w-pʼ "he is on his way"; d-dʷə̄kʷ-la-yt' "he set out".

5.14 dʷəl- (DR) B "outside a building", only exv.: a-yʷnə̄ s-Ø-dʷə̄l-cʼə-yt' "I went outside the house"; a-yʷnə̄ d-Ø-dʷə̄l-sə-ž´ə-yt' "I let him go outside the house".

5.15 3x- (DD) B "on the water", cf. a-3ə̄ "water": Don y-Ø-3əx-gə̄la-w Rostʼov "Rostov on Don"; d-Ø-3xə̄-cʼə-ytʼ "he went ashore".

5.16 3aa- (DR) B "in (a liquid)", 3aa ←*3əˤ: a-3ə̄, ā-xš y-Ø-3āa-Ø-w-pʼ "it is in the water, the milk"; a-3ə̄ s-Ø-3āa-pšə-la-ytʼ "I looked into the water".

5.17 c- (R) A "together with" (German "bei", not "mit"), only with roots -Ø-, -la-, -cʼa-: d-sə̄-cə-Ø-w-pʼ "he is with me"; d-sə̄-c-la-ytʼ "he joined me"; d-sə̄-cə-r-cʼa-ytʼ "they made him join me".

5.18 cḱla- (RII) A "proximity", only inv.: d-sə̄-cḱla-pšə-ytʼ "he looked at me closely"; a-kʷtə̄ a-wāc y-ā-cḱla-sə-ytʼ "the hen picked at the manure".

5.19 cr(a)- (DD) A "caught by (a fire)", "proximity", cr- also serves as the exv. counterpart of c-: ā-mca sə-crā-Ø-w-pʼ "I am on fire"; ā-mca sə-crā--sə-ytʼ "I was caught (swiftly) by fire"; d-sə-cra-pšə̄-ytʼ "he looked at me closely"; d-sə-crə̄-cʼə-ytʼ "he went away from me".

5.20 cʼ(a)- (R) A "under": y-sə̄-cʼa-Ø-w-pʼ "it is under me"; d-sə̄-cʼa-pšə-ytʼ "he looked up at me".

B "under","in (a low room)": a-yārta y-Øə̄-cʼa-Ø-w-pʼ "it is under the bed"; a-hapə̄, a-nanə̄ra d-Øə̄-cʼa-Ø-w-pʼ "he is in the cave, the barn"[3].

5.21 cʷ- (D) B "in (a meteorological phenomenon)": a-kʷā, ā-mra, a-pšā d-Ø-cʷə̄-Ø-w-pʼ "he is in the rain, the sun, the wind"; a-takʼār də-Ø-cʷ-tʼʷā-la-w-pʼ "he is sitting in the heat".

5.22 cʷəcʼ(a)- (DR) B "(hidden) in, under": a-bard, a-xə̄za y-Ø-cʷə̄cʼa-Ø-w-pʼ "it is (hidden) in the thicket,under the blanket"; ā-laš˘cara s-Ø-cʷə̄cʼa-tʼʷa-w-pʼ "I am sitting in the dark".

5.23 cʷər(a)- (DR) C "the unseen, the hidden": d-cʷə̄r-cʼə-ytʼ "he appeared", lit. "he came out of the unseen"; ā-mra cʷə̄r-q˘a–cʷə̄ra-sə-ytʼ "the sun briefly appeared, then disappeared".

5.24 cʼʷərn- (DDD) C "in pickles", cf. a-cʼʷcʼʷə̄ra "pickle", only in: y--cʼʷərnə̄-s-cʼa-yt "I pickled it".

5.25 zʷ- (R) A "attacking", only in: d-sə̄-zʷ-la-ytʼ "he attacked me"; a-lā sə̄-zʷə-y-cʼa-ytʼ "he sicked the dog on me".

5.26 sʷ- (D) A "on the body" (ab. clothes), only in comb. with the roots -Ø-, -la-, -cʼa-, -cʼ-, -x-, cf. 5.27: a-xārp, ā-matʷa s-sʷə̄-Ø-w-pʼ "I am wearing a shirt, clothes; a-xārp s-sʷə̄-s-xə-ytʼ "I took off the shirt".

5.27 sʷx(a)- (DD) A "on the body" (ab. clothes): sə̄-matʷa sə-sʷxa-xā-ytʼ "my clothes got worn on me" (-xa- "to get worn"); s-wāpʼa sə-sʷxə-cʼʷr-aā-ytʼ "my felt cloak slipped off me" (-cʼʷr- "to slip").

5.28 čpn- (DDD) B "on the bank": a-3ə̄myʷa də-Ø-čpən-gə̄la-w-p̓ "he is standing on the bank of the river".

5.29 čəzʷ- (DR) C "on horseback", cf. a-čə̄ "horse": d-čə̄zʷə-Ø-w-p̓ "he is on horseback"; d-čə̄zʷ-pa-la-yt̓ "he jumped on the horse"; d-čə̄zʷ-pa-yt̓ "he jumped off the horse".

5.30 čx̌ n- (DDD) A "in close contact": d-sə-čx̌ nə̄-la-yt̓ "he sat down touching me"; a-la-kʷə̄ sə-čx̌ nə̄-pa-la-yt̓ "the dogs jumped all over me".

5.31 čʰ(a)- (DD) B "at the fire": ə̄-mca, a-xʷəštaarə̄ də-Ø-čʰə̄-Ø-w-p̓ "he is at the fire, the hearth"; ə̄-mca sə-Ø-čʰa-t̓ʷə̄-w-p̓ "I am sitting at the fire".

5.32 čan- (DD) A, only in: s-gʷə̄ s-čanə̄-Ø-w-p̓ "I am vigilant"; s-gʷə̄ s-čanə̄-s-c̓a-yt̓ "I became vigilant".

5.33 č̓(a)- (D) A "on,at the face","on (a height)": a-pač̓ə̄, a-bzə̄ s-č̓ə̄-Ø--w-p̓ "I have a beard, a tongue"; ə̄-šx̌a, ə̄-marda d-a-č̓ə̄-Ø-w-p̓ "he is on the mountain, the slope; də-s-č̓ə̄-pa-la-yt̓ "he jumped and came face to face with me.

B "on" (e.g. fruit on a tree, button on a coat): a-sʷər ə̄-c̓la y-Ø-č̓ə̄-Ø-w-p̓ "the fruit hangs on the tree"; a-yʷnə̄ x-sʷə̄-k̓ Ø-č̓ə̄-Ø-w-p̓ "the house has three (x- -k̓) doors".

5.34 č̓əc̓(a)- (DR) A "in the mouth": a-tatə̄nəzʷga s-č̓əc̓a-s-k̓ə-yt̓ "I put the pipe in my mouth" (-k̓- "to take").

5.35 č̓əkʷ- (DR) A "on the face": ə̄-mcabz s-č̓əkʷ-hʷhʷə-w-p̓ "the flame is reflected (lit. sparkling) on my face"; l-šx̌ə̄ l-č̓əkʷ-px(a)-aa-yt̓ "she blushed", lit. "her blood shone from her face".

5.36 šx̌(a)- (R) A "on the legs" (ab. footwear, trousers): ə̄y-kʷa, a-mə̄gʷ--kʷa sə̄-šx̌a-Ø-w-p̓ "I am wearing trousers, boots"; a-mə̄gʷ-kʷa sə̄-šx̌ə-y-xə-yt̓ "he pulled the boots from my feet".

5.37 šx̌t(a)- (RI) A "in the tracks": də-sə̄-šx̌ta-Ø-w-p̓ "he is following me"; də-sə̄-šx̌ta-pa-la-yt̓ "he ran after me".

5.38 šx̌t(a)- (RI) C "on the ground": yə-šx̌tə̄-Ø-w-p̓ "it is on the ground"; də-šx̌tə̄-pa-yt̓ "he jumped from the ground".

5.39 šx̌k̓la- (RII) A "at the heels", only inv.: a-kdə̄ sə̄-šx̌k̓la-ha-yt̓ "the log fell at my heels"; a-lə̄ sə̄-šx̌k̓la-šə-yt̓ "the dog barked at my heels".

5.40 šx̌x(a)- (RI) A "on the legs" (ab. footwear, trousers), cf. 5.36: a-mə̄gʷ-kʷa sə̄-šx̌xə-y-hʷa-yt̓ "he pulled the boots off my feet (with force)".

5.41 šx̌xn- (DDD) C, only in: l-xə̄-l-č̓ə̄ šx̌xən-psə̄-la-yt̓ "her face froze" (-ps- "to die").

5.42 š˝acʷx- (DDD) C, cf. a-š˝acʷā "toe", only in: d-š˝acʷxə̄-s-la-yt̓ "he stumbled".

5.43 š˝acʷxn- (DDDD) C, same as 5.42.

5.44 š˝akʷ- (DR) C, cf. a-š˝apə̀ "foot, leg": ā-mč˝ra š˝ākʷ-gəla-yt̓ "the power was established"; s-čə̄ š˝ākʷə-s-k̓-wa-n "I kept my horse on its feet".

5.45 š˝amxəš- (DDDR) C, cf. a-š˝amxə̄ "knee", only in: d-š˝amxə̄š-gəla-w-p̓ "he is kneeling".

5.55 gar(a)- (DR) C "in the cradle": d-gə̄ra-Ø-w-p̓ "he is in the cradle"; d-gə̄r-c̓ə-yt̓ "he got out of the cradle"[4].

5.56 k̓əd- (DR) B "touching a plane": a-t3ə̄mc, ā-yʷadara y-Ø-k̓ə̀də-Ø-w-p̓ "it is on the wall, the slope"; a-t3ə̄mc d-Ø-k̓ə̀d-gəla-w-p̓ "he is standing against the wall"; ā-mc a-twə̄n y-Ø-k̓ə̀d-hʷaza-la-yt̓ "the fly crept over the ceiling".

5.57 k̓č̓(a)- (DD) B "in (a corner)": a- k̓ʷāk̓ ta də-Ø-k̓č̓ə̀-Ø-w-p̓ "he is in the corner"; yə-Ø-k̓č̓a-sə̄-ž˝ə-yt̓ "I threw it into the corner".

5.58 k̓n(a)- (DD) C "on a hook": yə-k̓nə̄-s-ha-yt̓ "I hang it up"; yə-k̓nə̄-s--xə-yt̓ "I took it off (from a hanging position)'

5.59 k̓əl(a)- (DR) B "in (an opening)": ā-sʷ, a-pēnǯ˝ər d-Ø-k̓ə̀la-Ø-w-p̓ "he is in the doorway, at the window"; a-3ə̄ a-xə̄b y-Ø-k̓ə̀l-sə-yt̓ "the water leaked (lit. passed) through the roof".

5.60 k˝əsʷər- (DRI) C, cf. a-k˝ə̄sʷ "lip", only in d-k˝ə̄sʷər-č˝č˝a-yt̓ "he smiled" (-č˝č˝a- "to laugh").

5.61 gʷəd- (DR) A "against the breast", cf. a-gʷə̄, only inv.: də-s-gʷə̄d--s-k̓ə-la-yt̓ "I held him against my breast", ā-c̓la s-gʷə̄də-m-3a-la-yt̓ "I could not span the tree",lit. "the tree did not find room on my breast".

5.62 gʷəd- (DR) C, only in: d-gʷə̄də-s-k̓ə-la-yt̓ "I embraced him"

5.63 gʷta- (DD) A "on the breast", only in: d-sə-gʷtə̄-sə-yt̓ "he pushed me".

5.64 gʷtəla- (DDR) A "amidst", cf. a-gʷtə̄ "middle", only inv.: s-rə-gʷtə̄la--də-r-ɣʷɣʷa-yt̓ "they crowded me", lit. "they pressed me in their middle".

5.65 gʷəc̓(a)- (DR) A "on the body": ā-mra s-gʷə̄c̓a-pxa-yt̓ "the sun shone on me"; s-nap̓-kʷā s-gʷə̄c̓a-s-psa-yt̓ "I crossed my arms on my breast".

5.66 gʷn- (DD) C "in the mind": ā-zʷa-kʷa gʷnə̄-s-k̓ə-la-yt̓ "I kept these words in mind"; də-gʷnə̄-z-ga-yt̓ "I grieved about him".

5.67 gʷəl(a)- (DR) A "packed in,surrounded by": a-bambā, a-p̓ap̓k̓a y-a-gʷə̄la--Ø-w-p̓ "it is in the wadding, the papercase"; ā-sʷt-kʷa yə-r-gʷə̄la-gəla-w-p̓ "it stands amidst the flowers".

5.68 gʷala- (DR) A, only in: yə-s-gʷāla-sʷa-yt' "I remembered it".

5.69 gʷar(a)- (DR) C "in the enclosure": ā-raxʷ gʷāra-Ø-w-p' "the cattle is in the enclosure"; ā-raxʷ gʷār-c'ə-yt' "the cattle went out of the enclosure".[4]

5.70 kʷ- (R) A "on": a-xāza sā-kʷə-Ø-w-p' "the blanket is on me"; a-xāhʷ sā-kʷ-ha-yt' "the stone fell on me"; a-čā s-ā-kʷ-t'ʷa-w-p' "I am sitting on the horse".

B "on": a-st'ōl, s-gʷā y-Øā-kʷə-Ø-w-p' "it is on the table, my breast"; a-dʷā s-Øā-kʷ-xxə-yt' "I ran onto the field".[3]

5.71 k'ʷ(a)- (R) A "in the bosom, on the breast": a-cgʷā sā-k'ʷa-la-yt' "the cat nestled against my breast"; s-xā sā-k'ʷa-sə-r-sʷə-yt' "I bent my head", lit. "I threw my head on my breast".

5.72 ɣr(a)- (DD) A "in the stomach, in the interior"; "pressing into": y-sə-ɣrā-Ø-w-p' "it is in my stomach"; a-p'ăp'ăka y-a-ɣrā-Ø-w-p' "it is in the papercase"; s-šʷap'ā d-a-ɣrā-pa-la-yt' "he jumped on my foot"; ā-gʷažʷ sə-ɣrā-sə-yt' "the wheel passed over me".

5.73 x- (D) A "at (home)"; "belonging to" (ab. a name): a-yʷnā d-a-xā-Ø-w-p' "he is at home"; a-yʷnā d-a-xā-la-yt' "he went home"; ā-xʷə3-bzəya l-xā-Ø-w-p' "she has a fine name". Also in the following incidental cases: wə-y-xā-s-aa3a-la-yt' "I brought you up together with him"; sā-č'ʷk'ʷən-cʷa də-r-xā-sə-rxʷa3a-la-yt' "I reckoned him among my children"; s-a-x-yʷāšʷa-la-yt' "I was mistaken in it".

B "(not resting) on": a-3ā, ā-la, ā-tra y-Ø-xā-Ø-w-p' "it is on the water, the eye, the nest"; a-3ā də-Ø-x-nāq'ʷa-la-yt' "he walked on the water"; a-bāb sā-la y-Ø-xā-s-xə-yt' "I took the dust from my eye"; a-3ā d-Ø-xə-rāā-la-yt' "he looked onto the water".

5.74 x(a)- (D) A "on the head"; "on (a knob)"; "above": a-xālpa, a-k'asā s-xā-Ø-w-p' "I am wearing a hat, a kerchief"; a-k'ʷāc a-c'ʷā y-a-xā-Ø-w-p' "the meat is on the spit"; a-kʷāb ā-mca y-a-xā-Ø-w-p' "the cattle is over the fire"; a-xālpa s-xā-y-p-aa-yt' "he grabbed the hat off my head"

5.75 xtn- (DDD) A "in return for", only in: maat-k' a-xtnā-s-c'a-yt' "I paid one rouble for it", lit. "I put one rouble in return for it".

5.76 xəkʷ- (DR) B "on the edge", only inv.: a-k'arwāt d-Ø-xākʷ-t'ʷa-la-w-p' "he is sitting on the edge of the bed"; a-nāsʷəntra d-Ø-xākʷ-gəla-w-p' "he is standing at the edge of the grave".

5.77 xx- (DD) B "on the nest", only in: a-k'ʷtā a-k'ʷət'c'ărta y-Ø-xəx-c'ă-la-yt' "the hen laid eggs on the nest (-c'a- "to lay eggs").

5.78 xəl(a)- (DR) A "rising out of, originating from" (exv.); inv. only in

comb. with -pš-: a-gʷāq̓ra s-xəl-c̓ə-yt̓ "misery was caused by me"; a-haskʲ̆ən a--hatgʷən y-a-xəl-y-aa-yt̓ "grass grew out of the grave"; ancʷā də-s-xəla-pš-wa--yt̓ "god watches over me".

5.79 xˇ- (D) A "all over": a-sāba sə-xˇ-tʲ̆at̓a-w-p̓ "dust is powdered all over me"; s-šˇapʲ̆ə a-3ə a-xˇ-sə-r-šā-yt̓ "I let the water run over my foot".

5.80 xˇ3- (RI) A "as the name of", cf. ā-xˇ3, only in: N sə-xˇ3ə-Ø-w-p̓ "my name is N"; N sə-xˇ3ə-r-c̓a-yt̓ "they named me N".

5.81 xˇn- (DD) A "hanging on": ā-maxʷ d-a-xˇən-hā-la-yt̓ "he went and hung on the branch"; ā-c̓la d-a-xˇən-pašā-la-yt̓ "he clung to the tree".

5.82 xʷəc̓(a)- (DR) C "in hiding": y-xʷəc̓a-la-yt̓ "it went into hiding"; y--bžˇə xʷəc̓a-kʲ̓-nə "(talking) softly", lit. "holding his voice in hiding".

5.83 xʷəl- (DR) C "out of its feather, fur", cf. a-xʷə "hair", only exv.: a-kʲ̓ʷtʲ̆ə xʷələ-s-xə-yt̓ "I plucked the hen", lit. "took it out of its feather"; a-lā xʷəl-c̓ə-yt̓ "the dog shed its hair", lit. "went out of its fur".

5.84 xʷl(a)- (RI) A "in the throat", cf. ā-xʷda "neck": ā-bayʷ sə-xʷla-Ø--p̓ "I have a bone in my throat"; s-āzʷa-kʷa sə-xʷla-xa-yt̓ "my words stuck in my throat".

5.85 q̓a- (R) C "existence", only in comb. with roots -Ø-, -la-, -c̓a-: də-q̓a-Ø-w-p̓ "he exists", "he is (this or that)"; d-q̓a-lā-yt̓ "he came into existence", "he became X"; d-q̓a-s-cʲ̆ā-yt̓ "I brought him into existence", "I made him X".

5.86 q̓ʷ- (D) A "off,from", only exv.: a-cʷāzʷara d-a-q̓ʷə-c̓ə-yt̓ "he stopped talking"; a-cʷāzʷara d-a-q̓ʷə-s-xə-yt̓ "I made him stop talking"; a-lā y-q̓ʷə-s-ca-yt̓ "I chased the dog away from him".

5.87 q̓ʷa- (D) A, only with root -c̓-: it replaces q̓ʷ- if the P is preceded by a pers. prefix other than 3sg. irr. a-: a-cʷāzʷara-kʷa yə-r-q̓ʷā-c̓ə-yt̓ "they stopped the discussions"; də-s-q̓ʷā-c̓ə-yt̓ "he left me alone".

5.88 q̓ʷn- (DD) A "tucked behind the belt" (ab. a weapon): a-q̓ʲ̆ama sə--q̓ʷnə-Ø-w-p̓ "I am wearing a dagger"; a-q̓ʲ̆ama yə-q̓ʷnə-z-b(a)-aa-la-yt̓ "I descried a dagger on him".

5.89 yʷn(a)- (DD) B "in a lodging": a-yʷnə, a-wāda də-Ø-yʷnā-Ø-w-p̓ "he is in the house, the room"; a-wāda də-Ø-yʷnə-sə-yt̓ "he passed through the room".

5.90 yʷəc̓r(a)- (DRI) A "under the arm": āylahʷara s-yʷəc̓ra-s-kʲ̓ə-yt̓ "I took the bundle under my arm"; a-šāxa s-yʷəc̓rə-s-šˇə-yt̓ "I passed the rope under my arm".

5.91 ya- (R) B "along (a road), only exv. ā-myʷa d-Øə-ya-sə-yt̓ "he went along the road"; a-mašˇəna-kʷa ā-myʷa y-Øə-ya-rə-žˇ-wa-mə-z-t̓ "they did not

allow cars to go along the road".

5.92 m(a)- (R) A "fast to"; "possessed by": y-sə̄-ma-Ø-w-p̓ "I have it"; y-sə̄-mə-y-xə-yt̓ "he took it from me"; ā-matʷa y-ā-ma-yʷa-yt̓ "it dried fast to the clothes"; ā-matʷa y-ā-mə-z-3ʷ3ʷ(a)-aa-yt̓ "I washed it out of the clothes"; a-č́ásʷ č́asā-kʼ á-mə-s-xə-yt̓ "I took a piece of bread from the loaf".

5.93 mpəx́a- (DDR) A, only in a-pára sə-mpə̄x́a-sʷa-yt̓ "I obtained the money".

5.94 mp̓əc̓(a)- (DDR) A "in the hand"; "in control": y-sə-mp̓ə̄c̓a-s-kʼə-yt̓ "I took it in my hand", "I conquered it"; y-sə-mp̓ə̄c̓-3-aa-yt̓ "I lost control of it" (-3- "to get lost").

5.95 mc̓(a)- (RI) A "below in front of": a-sʷq̓ʷə̄ sə̄-mc̓a-Ø-w-p̓ "the book lies in front of me"; ā-c̓la s-ā-mc̓a-tʼʷa-w-p̓ "I am sitting under the tree".

5.96 mc̓xa- (RII) A, only in y-sə̄-mc̓xa-s-kʼə-yt̓ "I took hold of it".

5.97 mɣ(a)- (RI) A "around the finger, the waist" (ab. a ring, a belt): a-maq̓a sə̄-mɣa-Ø-w-p̓ "I am wearing a belt"; a-macʷāz lə̄-mɣə-s-xə-yt̓ "I took the ring from her finger".

5.98 mq̓ʷəc̓(a)- (DDR) A, same as 5.94.

5.99 myʷa- (RI) C, cf. ā-myʷa, only in də-myʷā-sə-yt̓ "he passed by".

5.100 myʷap- (RII) C, only in: āyzara myʷapə̄-r-ga-yt̓ "they held the meeting"; āyzara myʷapə̄-sə-yt̓ "the meeting was held".

5.101 myʷax- (RII) C, only exv.: a-3ə̄yas myʷaxə̄-r-ga-yt̓ "they diverted the river"; də-myʷax-q̓́ā-yt̓ "he lost his way".

5.102 myʷan- (RII) C, only in yə-mʷanə̄-z-ga-yt̓ "I transported it".

5.103 n- (D) A "on (a page, the skin, a concave surface)": a-sʷāxsta-kʷa s-nə̄-Ø-w-p̓ "I have scars on me"; ā-mzac̓a z-nə̄-Ø-w a-birāq̓ "the flag on which is the crescent"; a-saán, a-laǵán, a-nə̄š́, á-myʷa y-a-nə̄-Ø-w-p̓ "it is on the plate, in the basin, in the boat, on the road"; a-wardə̄n d-a-nə̄-pa-yt̓ "he jumped from the cart".

5.104 l(a)- (R) A "in (a mass)"; "among": a-háwa, a-3ə̄, a-nə̄sʷ, a-xə̄hʷ y-ā-la-Ø-w-p̓ "it is in the air, the water, the ground, the stone"; y-sə̄-la-Ø-w-p̓ "it is in me, in my body"; a-w-aā d-rə-la-Ø-w-p̓ "he is among people"; a-ššā a-kʼʷāc y-ā-l-c̓ə-yt̓ "fat came out of the meat"; a-kə̄ta d-ā-la-la-yt̓ "he entered the village".

B "in (a two-dimensionally extended space, or material)": a-haskʼə̄n, a-sə̄ y-Øə-la-Ø-w-p̓ "it is in the grass, the snow (on the ground)"; ā-sʷ d-Øə̄-la-gəla-w-p̓ "he is standing in the doorway"; a-yārta d-Øə̄-la-ya-w-p̓ "he is lying in the bed"; ā-bna d-Øə̄-la-la-yt̓ (!) "he went into the wood"

5.105 r- (R) B "across (a water)", only exv.: a-3ə̃ d-Øə̃-rə-z-ga-yt' "I took him across the water"; ã-rax^{w} a-3ə̃yas y-Øə̃-rə-s-ca-yt' "I drove the cattle across the river".[5]

5.106 azk^{w}n- (RIII) A "on the shoulders", cf. ã-z-k^{w}a "shoulders": only in: y-s-ãzk^{w}nə-s-c'a-yt' "I put it on my shoulders".

5.107 ay^{w}- (RI) A "past", only exv.: d-s-ãy^{w}-sə-yt' "he passed me"; az^{w}ã-k' s-ãy^{w}-s-mə-ž´ə-yt' "I did not miss a word", lit. "I did not let a word go past me".

5.108 ah^{w}ta (RII) A "at the bottom", cf. ãh^{w} "bottom, seat", only inv.: s-š´ap'-k^{w}ã s-ãh^{w}ta-sə-psa-yt' "I crossed my legs under me"; s-y-ãh^{w}ta-sə-yt' "I hit him on his bottom".

The following preverbs (which are never combined with a pers. prefix), though occurring in verbs that express movement, are not P's, since they do not refer to a locality:

5.109 pxa- (DD), only in: də-pxã-s-c'a-yt' "I repelled him".

5.110 px´a- (always stressed px´ã) "back", cf x´a-, only in: yə-px´ã-s-k'ə-yt' "I concealed it,held it back".

5.111 k'a- (D), see 3.4: d-k'ã-pa-yt' "he jumped, took the jump"; d-k'ã-š´c^{w}a-yt' "he spat"; ã-rax^{w} k'ã-s-ca-yt' "I drove the cattle"; y-k'a-sə̃-š´ə-yt' "I threw it".

5.112 xa- (D) "upwards", this preverb is exceptional in that in all recorded cases it is accompanied by E -la (except if the root is -la-): ã-mra xã-la-yt' "the sun rose", lit. "the sun went up"; a-saba xa-t'^{w}ã-la-yt' "the sand flew up"; yə-bž´ə̃ xa-cã-la-nə "shouting", lit. "having droven up his voice".

5.113 x´a- (always stressed x´ã) "back", d-x´ã-c'ə-yt' "he receded"; d-x´ã-pšə-yt' "he looked back"; y-x´ã-s-k'ə-yt' "I concealed it, held it back".

5.114 hara- (RI), only in s-nap'-k^{w}ã harã-s-k'ə-yt' "I raised my hands".

5.115 lbaa- (RII) "down": də-lbaã-pa-yt' "he jumped down"; də-lbaã-y^{w}rə-yt' "he fell down"

5.116 ayta- (RII) "aside, from one place to another": d-aytã-c'ə-yt' "he moved, he went from one place to another"; d-aytã-pa-yt' "he jumped aside"; y-aytã-z-ga-yt' "I moved it, I took it from one place to another".

5.117 aw- (RI) "out, free": d-aw-sə̃-š´tə-yt' "I set him free" (-št- "to send").

The following preverbs occur in unique stems:

5.118 t'ʷa- (D) A: d-a-t'ʷā-sə-m-ba-yt' "I did not consider him worthy of it" (-ba- "to see").

5.119 čə3- (DR) A: y-a-čə̄3ə-z-ga-yt' "I blamed it on it".

5.120 gʷa- (D) A: yə-s-gʷa-pxā-yt' "it pleased me, I liked it", lit. "it warmed my heart".

5.121 gʷa- (D) C: y-gʷā-s-ta-yt' "I noticed it (-ta- "to give").

5.122 gʷx̌aa- (DDR) C, cf. a-x̌āa "pain": də-gʷx̌āa-z-ga-yt' "I longed for him".

5.123 nəq'ʷ- (DR) C, cf? -nəq'ʷa- "to walk": d-nə̄q'ʷə-z-ga-yt' "I maintained him, supported him"; a-maš̌ə̄na nə̄q'ʷə-s-ca-yt' "I drove the car".

Notes: 1) This is an instance of the "empty use" of pers.prefix a- in idiomatic expressions (see sect.8).

2) These are instances of "empty" Ø- in idiomatic expressions.

3) The difference between type A and type B of the P's kʷ- and c'(a)- may be described as "effective local" vs. "plain local", compare the following examples: a-wardə̄n d-ā-kʷə-Ø-w-p' "he is on the cart (and ready for transportation)" vs. ā-myʷa d-Øə̄-kʷə-Ø-w-p' "he is on the road"; s-šapə̄ a-pedāl y-ā--kʷ-sə-r-ɣʷɣʷa-yt' "I pressed my foot on the pedal (and moved it)" vs. s-nap'--kʷā s-šamxə̄ y-Øə̄-kʷ-sə-r-ɣʷɣʷa-yt' "I pressed my hands on my knee"; a-3ə̄ y--xə̄ y-ā-kʷə-y-tʷa-yt' "he poured water on his head (and made it wet)" vs. sac'ā y-xə̄ y-Øə̄-kʷə-y-c'a-yt "he put the sack on his head"; a-stə̄lkʷərsʷ a--stə̄l y-ā-kʷə-y-c'a-yt' "he put the table-cloth on the table (and covered it)" vs. a-sʷq'ʷə̄ a-stə̄l y-Øə̄-kʷə-y-c'a-yt' "he put the book on the table"; a-stə̄l d-ā-c'a-Ø-w-p' "he is (effectively) under the table", i.e. "he is carrying it on his back" vs. a-stə̄l d-Øə̄-c'a-Ø-w-p' "he is under the table"; a-k'rān d-ā--c'a-gəla-w-p' "he is standing under the tap (in order to drink)" vs. ā-cha d--Øə̄-c'a-gəla-w-p' "he is standing under the bridge".

4) The P's gar(a)- and gʷar(a)- lose final a in comb. with the introvert root -la-, a phenomenon that can be explained phonologically.

5) -r- occurs also as root of a simple stem (requiring indirect object): a--3ə̄ d-Øə̄-rə-yt' "he crossed the water"; a-3-kʷā d-rə̄-rə-yt' "he crossed waters".

6 IDIOMATIC USE. The LR-verbs are a rich source of idiomatic expressions. The following examples may illustrate this: a-ca-rā sə-psə̄ y-Ø-tā-Ø-w-p' "I intend to go", lit."to go is in my heart"; a-bž̌ə̄-xaa s-xā-Ø-w-p' "I have a

sweet voice", lit. "a sweet voice is on me"; a-xāra sə̄-də-Ø-w-p̓ "I am guilty", lit. "the guilt is besides me"; ā-ma3a sə̄-c̓a-Ø-w-p̓ "I have a secret", lit. "the secret is under me"; a-xʷə̄c-ra d-ā-la-Ø-w-p̓ "I am lost in thought", lit. "I am in thought"; s-gʷə̄ y-ā-l-sə-yt̓ "it depressed me", lit. "it passed through my heart"; s-gʷə̄ y-Ø-tə̄-xa-yt̓ "it grieved me", lit. "it rooted in my heart"; ā-x˝ta sə̄-la-3a-yt̓ "I endured the cold", lit. "the cold fitted in me"; a-lāf yə̄-lə-s-xə-yt̓ "I mocked him", lit. "I took the mocking out of him"; a-mc̆̓ə̄ y-ā-lə-s-xə-yt̓ "I made it of wood", lit. "I took it out of wood"; d-sə̄-də-s-k̓ə-la-yt̓ "I received him", lit. "I held him besides me"; āzʷa y-ā-c̓a-na-k̓-wa-zəy? "what does the word mean?", lit. "what does the word hold under it?"; sə-z-nə̄-Ø-w āamta "the time in which I live".

Often such idiomatic use is characteristic of whole groups of verbs, e.g., with the "semantically neutral" roots (see sect. 3.5 Note 4): a-bž˝ə̄-xaa s-xā-Ø-w-p̓ "I have a sweet voice"; a-bž˝ə̄-xaa s-xā-la-yt̓ "I acquired a sweet voice"; a-bž˝ə̄-xaa s-xā-s-c̓a-yt̓ "I produced a sweet voice".

7 RECIPROCAL VERBS.

7.1 Preverbs of type A (including those which also have forms of type B, except bž˝(a)-) may be combined with the reciprocal pers. prefix ay-, "each other, one another", e.g. s-rə̄-la-la-yt̓ "I went among them": h-ay-la-la-yt̓ "we mingled", lit. "we went among each other"; y-ā-kʷə-s-c̓a-yt̓ "I put it on it": y-ay-kʷə̄-s-c̓a-yt̓ "I piled them up", lit. "I put them on one another"; s-rə̄-š˝ta-Ø-w-p̓ "I follow them": h-ay-š˝tā-Ø-w-p̓ "we follow one another.

7.2 Very often such reciprocal forms are lexicalized; in these cases they do not require the Abkhaz subject to be in the plural, the subject is conceived of as one whole consisting of several parts which have a reciprocal relation (cf. German auseinanderfallen "to fall apart" and, more idiomatic, auseinandersetzen "to explain". Exx.: d-ay-kʷ-t̓ʷā-yt̓ "he calmed down" (-t̓ʷa- "to sit down"); d-ay-kʷə̄-s-k̓ə-yt̓ "I calmed him down" (-k̓- "to take, to hold"); y-ay-c̓ă-la-yt̓ "it was compressed"; y-ay-c̓ə̆-c̓ə-yt̓ "it expanded"; y-ay-lə̄-s-k-aa-yt̓ "I understood it".

7.3 Some of the type A preverbs occur only rarely or not at all with reciprocal ay-. Exx. of rare combinations: d-ay-crā-la-yt̓ "he got furious"; d-ay-ɣra-na-k̓ə̆-yt̓ "he got constipated"; ārbaɣ˝ ay-xʷla-č˝ə̄-yt̓ "the rooster bristled up its feathers" (-č˝- "to swell").

8 EMPTY PERS. PREFIXES. We often meet idiomatic expressions (see sect. 6) with an "empty" pers. prefix. This is especially the case with LR-verbs with a type B preverb, while only a few instances of LR-verbs with a type A preverb are found in such phrases. As a rule, LR-verbs found in idiomatic expressions with "empty" pers. prefix can also be used with "full" pers. prefix. In a small number of cases, however, only the "empty" use is found, see e.g. nrs. 5.3, 5.8 and 5.9 in the list. Exx.: ("empty" a-) a-č-kʷā a-nə̄-s-ć̓a-yt̓ "I bred horses", lit. "I put horses on it"; d-ā-lə-r-xə-yt̓ "they elected him", lit. "they took him out of it"; d-ā-ć̓a-xa-yt̓ "he was defeated", lit. "he remained under it"; ("empty" Ø-) sə-psə̄ Ø-tā-Ø-w-p̓ "I am alive", lit. "my soul is in it"; ā-mra Ø-ta-sʷā-yt̓ "the sun set", lit. "the sun fell into it"; d-Ø-ta-xa--yt̓ "he perished", lit. "he remained in it"; sə-bž̌ə̄ Øə̄-ć̓a-k̓-nə "(talking) softly", lit. "holding my voice under it"; y-Øə̄-kʷ-gəla-yt̓ "they revolted", lit. "they went and stood onto it"; y-Øə̄-kʷə-r-xə-yt̓ "they destroyed it", lit. they took it from it"; ā-myʷa Øə̄-lə-r-xə-yt̓ "they made a road", lit. "they took a road out of it"; yə-Ø-bž̌ə̄-s-xə-yt̓ "I spoiled it", lit. "I took it from between it"; s-Ø-k̓ə̄l-sə-yt̓ "I showed up", lit. "I passed through it".

One can compare this phenomenon with the empty use of the (Abkhaz) subject-prefix and actor-prefix, e.g. a-ca-rā y-ā-kʷə-s-k̓ə-yt̓ "I intended to go", lit. "I held it (unspecified) on going"; d-rə̄-la-na-ga-la-yt̓ "he found himself among us", lit "it (unsp.) brought him among us"; a-psə̄3 sə-č̓-nā-xə-yt̓ "I vomitted the fish", lit. "it (unsp.) took the fish out of my mouth".

9 SHIFTED LOCUS. Besides the cases where an LR-verb with a type B preverb is used with empty preverbal object, we have LR-verbs where the locus (with regard to which something moves) is not referred to by the pers. prefix accompanying the P, but is itself the (Abkhaz) subject (cf. English "to shake out a blanket, brush off a coat", where it is the dust that is shaken out or brushed off). It is these verbs which typically lack a pers. prefix with the P, though, curiously, the recessive P kʷ- always has the stress before it, indicating the presence of Ø-. Exx.: ā-c̓ʷca tə̄-z-3ʷ3ʷ(a)-aa-yt̓ "I washed the dishes", lit. "I washed out the dishes"; a-st̓ə̄l Øə̄-kʷə-s-rə-ck̓(a)-aa-yt̓ "I cleared the table", lit. "I cleaned off the table"; a-wāda yʷən-də-r-tʷ-aā-yt̓ "they filled the room", lit. "they filled out the room"; ā-šta Øə̄-kʷ-də-r-tʷ--aa-yt̓ "they filled the yard", lit. "they filled off the yard"; ā-mra yə-bɣā k̓ə̄d-na-r-š-aa-yt̓ "the sun burned his back", lit. "the sun burned off his back"; ā-c̓la c̓-sə-r-ffā-yt̓ "I trimmed the tree".

As the examples show, LR-verbs with shifted locus are tipically exv.; furthermore, roots found in such verbs belong to class III or VI.

10 LEXICAL COMPOUNDS. Certain preverbs which we met as P's occur in stems which are not LR-stems, i.e. they do not have inv. and exv. forms, and the preverb does not allow a "local object"; moreover, many of them allow derivations of LR-stems in the regular way, in which case the P precedes the preverb under discussion. These preverbs undoubtedly go back to P's but have formed a "lexical compound" (LC) with the root. The most frequent examples concern the preverbs p- (such LC's express the notion breaking, tearing etc.[8]), n- and x-. Exx.: yə-p-zʷā-yt' "it tore; it burst"; y-sʷāk' y-č'a-p-zʷā--yt' "his gun burst in his face"; y-pə̄-s-q'a-yt' "I cut it"; y-ā-l-pə-s-q'(a)-aa--yt' "I cut it out of it"; də-n-xā-yt' "he lived"; ā-kalak' d-ā-la-n-xa-yt' "he lived in the town"; d-sə̄-də-n-xa-la-yt' "he lived next to me"; yə-n-č'ʷā-yt' "they perished"; a-mšən y-Ø-ta-n-č'ʷā-yt' "they perished in the sea"; y-nə̄-s--xə-yt' "I spent it"; y-xə̄-s-t'ə-yt' "I uncovered it"; y-xə̄-z-yʷa-yt' "I covered it"; y-č'ā-s-hʷa-yt' "I tied it"; a-lā ā-č'la y-ā-d-č'a-s-hʷa-la-yt' "I tied the dog to the tree"; y-la-s-č'ā-yt' "I sowed it"; y-kʷə-s-č'ā-yt' "I embroidered it".

11 CAUSATIVES. Transitive LR-stems do not occur causativized unless they contain a complex ay-P with lexicalized meaning (see 7.2). In addition, tr. k'a-stems (see 3.4) and LC's may be causativized. Exx.: y-ay-lə̄-s-k'-aa-yt' "I understood it"; y-l-ā́y-l-sə-r-k'-aa-yt' "I made her understand it"; y-k'ā-s-psa--yt' "I strewed it"; yə-l-ka-sə-r-psā-yt' "I made her strew it"; y-pə̄-s-q'a-yt' "I cut it"; yə-l-p-sə-r-q'ā-yt' "I made her cut it".

Two cases were encountered where the causative-marker appears before the preverb, viz.: y-q'a-s-č'ā-yt' "I made it", lit. "I put it into existence"; yə--l-sə̄-r-q'a-č'a-yt' "I made her make it"; y-la-s-č'ā-yt' "I sowed it"; yə-l-sə̄-r--la-č'a-yt' "I made her sow it". These cases are quite irregular. The irregularity is compounded by the fact that the first example allows derivations with another P, e.g. y-Ø-tā-q'a-s-č'a-yt' "I made it in it", lit. "I put it into existence in it". This feature it has in common with the LC's; however, the latter, when causativized, has the causative-marker regularly between preverb and root.

FOOTNOTES: 1) The infinitive-suffix of dynamic verbs is -ra, of static verbs -zaa-ra.

2) In forms other than the infinitive, these preverbs also occur as perfectivizers, in which case they occupy a different position in the string (between 2 and 3).

3) For an exception see sect. 10.

4) For the distinction between English phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and verbs plus prepositional phrase, see R. Quirk and S. Greenbaum, A University Grammar of English, London, 1973, pp. 347-350.

5) It must be noted in passing that there are cases where it is hard to decide whether or not the root of a primary LR-stem is identical with the root of a simple stem, e.g. -yʷ- 1) "to run" (simple), 2) "travel of sound (LR, IV; counted by us as "exclusive").

6) There are only a few such roots, e.g. -pr- "to fly", -hʷaza- "to crawl", -ɜsa- "to swim", -yʷ- "to run", -nəqʲʷa- "to walk", -kʲʷr- "to roll", -kʲʷaša- "to dance"; also -ca- "to go, to leave", -šˇt- "to send", which, however, allow no derivations.

7) By "element" is meant 1) any syllable Cə or Ca, 2) any C not followed by a vowel, 3) the 3sg. irr. prefix a-, 4) stem-extension -aa (the latter two are Dominant).Besides the syllables D and R there are elements the stress-status of which cannot be determined (and is for our purposes irrelevant); they are indicated "I" (Indeterminate). These elements are found only after R-syllables, and the prefix Ø- regularly attracts the stress before a sequence RI, as it does before any element R.

8) Among the roots which occur in stems used with "shifted locus" (see sect. 9) there are a number which are also found in LC's with p-, e.g., besides á-cʲə-r--ffa-ra "to trim" there is a-pə-r-ffa-rá.

CHAPTER II

STRESS IN ABKHAZ

1 INTRODUCTION*

1.1 To describe the place of the stress in Abkhaz words it is convenient to consider each word as consisting of a string of elements C(ə) or Ca (where C is any consonant); in addition, there are elements a and aa (a being counted a separate element in morpheme-initial position, see 2.4-5 and 3.4-5).

Elements C(ə), Ca (and also the instances of a, aa just mentioned) are combinedly referred to as "C(a)". In the absence of a, the occurence of ə is to a very large extent predictable. A stressed element C(ā) is realized as Cā or, in the absence of a, as Cə̄[1].

Non-initial morphemes beginning in a or aa coalesce with a preceding element C(a). As to the stress, the following possibilities obtain:

C-ā... represents either C(ā)+a... or C(a)+ā...
C-a... ,, C(a)+a...
C-aā... ,, C(a)+aā...
C-āa... ,, C(ā)+aa...
C-aa... ,, C(a)+aa...

If such morphemes are preceded by morpheme a, the following possibilities obtain:

ā... represents either ā+a... or a+ā...
a... ,, a+a
aā... ,, a+aā
āa... ,, ā+aa
aa... ,, a+aa

On the basis of certain diagnostic tests, to be discussed below, the large majority of the elements C(a) can be divided into two classes as regards the stress, which we label D for "dominant" and R for "recessive". In these terms,

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an Abkhaz word will consist of a string of D's and/or R's.

The general rule for the stress is that it falls on the first D in the word not followed by another D (hence on the first D followed by R or by #). Examples (D' is the stressed element): D', D'R, RD', DD', RD'R, RRD', RDD', DDD', RD'RR, RD'RD, RDD'R, DDDD', D'RDD, etc.[2].

The rule does not predict the position of the stress in words with elements R only; for such words, the position of the stress has to be stated for each particular morphological type. In what follows, forms with elements R exclusively are underlined.

For elements with indeterminate stress-status see 1.3.

For special phenomena in causative forms see 5.2.2.10.

In what follows, forms which violate the general stress-rule are doubly underlined. Where possible, explanations for such exceptions are given (analogy within paradigm).

1.2 Diagnostic procedure. The rule stated above is itself used as a diagnostic principle to determine the status of individual elements in terms of D or R. For example, in the dictionary- or quotation-form an Abkhaz noun (substantive or adjective) appears preceded by the def. article a-. With nouns C(a) we have the two possibilities a-C(ā) and ā-C(a), which could point to either DD' and D'R or to RD' and R'R (in case RR would have stress on the first syllable). In either case, the nouns would fall into a D- and an R-class. If now we combine the same nouns with another prefix, such as z- "whose", we find z-C(ā) corresponding to a-C(ā) and z-C(ā)/zə̄-C(a) (free variation) corresponding to ā-C(a). From this it follows that a- is D, and z- is R:

a-C(ā)$_1$	DD'	ā-C(a)$_2$	D'R
z-C(ā)$_1$	RD'	z-C(ā)$_2$/zə̄-C(a)$_2$	<u>RR'</u>/<u>R'R</u>

In this case, then, RR allows alternative stresses (this is not true of all forms with R's exclusively).

Examples: la D "dog", la R "eye", a-lā "the dog", ā-la "the eye", z-lā "whose dog", z-lā/zə̄-la "whose eye"; 3ə D "water", 3ə R "flea", a-3ə̄ "the water", ā-3 "the flea", z-3ə̄ "whose water", z-3ə̄/zə̄-3 "whose flea".

The D-status of the article a- can be arrived at in another way, too. Since the dictionary-form is diagnostic for the stress-status of the noun C(a) and substantives can be combined with adjectives (in this order) to form compound nouns, we can make compounds D+D and R+D. If the article a- were R, the

we would expect final stress in both *a-DD', *a-RD'; if it were D, we would expect a-DD', á-RD; the second of these possibilities obtains, cf.:

a-yʷá	DD'	"dry"			
a-čʼá	DD'	"bread"	a-čʼa-yʷá	DDD'	"dry bread"
á-xʼa	D'R	"chestnut"	á-xʼa-yʷa	D'RD	"dry chestnut"

Again, to determine the stress-status of the indef. article -ḵ', we start from nouns the status of which is known:

a-C(ā)	DD'	ā-C(a)	D'R
C(ā)-ḵ'		C(ā)-ḵ'/C(a)-ḵ'ə	

It is clear that -ḵ' is R, as otherwise both forms would have been end-stressed. Once again, the RR-forms allow alternative stresses.

1.3 Indeterminate status. Certain elements in plurisyllabic morphemes escape the above diagnostic procedure. For instance, suppose there were trisyllabic morphemes *DRD and *DRR, we would have *a-D'RD, *D'RD-ḵ' and *a-D'RR, *D'RR-ḵ', that is, both would behave exactly the same with regard to the stress. In other words, the status of the final syllable is indeterminate; for such syllables we introduce the designation "I", that is, instead of morphemes *DRD, *DRR we have only one kind: DRI.

In disyllabic morphemes no distinction is found between *RD and *RR (see 2.2.1-2), and we write RI. In trisyllabic morphemes there can be no distinction between *RDD and *RRD (for the same reason as in the case *DRD, *DRR above); furthermore, they are not distinct from *RRR either (for the same reason as in the case *RD and *RR), so that we have only RII (besides DDD, DDR, DRI and RDR).

For morphemes of four and more syllables similar rules hold; the rules can be summed up as follows: in longer morphemes, we have

after D: D or R

after R
after I
: I or DR

For monosyllabic elements I see sections 5.2.1.1 and 6.2.1.

In general, elements I attract the stress in the same way as elements D,

and forms with stressed I (e.g. RI'RR, RI'RD) are considered regular. There are exceptions in certain nominal forms, see 2.2.2, 5.1.2.3, 5.1.3. The essential point is that in all cases of I there is no opposition D vs. R.

1.4 In the following sections we treat successively the stress of nouns (2), verbs (3), derivational suffixes (4) and grammatical affixes (5); some special phonological phenomena connected with the stress are discussed in sect. 6. Sect. 7 contains remarks on a heterogeneous group of stress-related grammatical questions.

In sections 2 and 3 we proceed from smaller to larger units, i.e., we first discuss roots C(a), then compounds C(a)+C(a) (using elements already treated under C(a)), then roots C(a)C(a), etc.

2 NOUNS.

2.1 Nouns C(a). As was pointed out in 1.2, the dictionary-form yields the stress-status of nouns C(a). Exx.:

Cə D		Cə R		Ca D		Ca R	
a-3ə́	"water"	á-3	"flea"	a-lá	"dog"	á-la	"eye"
a-čə́	"horse"	á-cʷ	"bull"	a-hʷá	"pig"	á-wa	"kin"
a-ɣ´ə́	"violent"	á-zʷ	"old"	a-yʷá	"dry"	ā-xʷa	"grey"
a-xʷə́	"hill"	á-z	"sorrel"	a-cá	"hot"	á-pa	"chaff"
a-ž´ə́	"meat"	á-xʷ	"wounded"	a-čá	"new"	á-k̓´a	"falcon"
a-xə́	"head"	á-ǯ´	"oak"	a-č´á	"bread"	á-k̓ʷa	"bosom"
a-tʷə́	"full"	á-zʷ	"cow"	a-ž´á	"hare"	á-x´a	"chestnut"
a-t̓ʷə́	"slave"	á-sʷ	"door"	a-tʷá	"hay"	á-čʼa	"cup"

2.2 Disyllabic nouns.

2.2.1 We first consider compounds consisting of two elements C(a) the stress-status of which was determined in sect. 2.1. Theoretically, we have the following four possibilities: (1) Cə+Cə, (2) Cə+Ca, (3) Ca+Cə, (4) Ca+Ca, and for each of these there are the four possibilities DD, DR, RD, RR. Examples (with a- D def. art. and -k̓ R indef. art.):

(see chart on the next page)

	Cə+Cə	Cə+Ca	Ca+Cə	Ca+Ca
D+D	a-3-γ´ə́ 3-γ´ə́-k̓ "swift water"	a-3-cá 3-cá-k̓ "hot water"	no exx.	a-č´a-yʷá č´a-yʷá-k̓ "dry bread"
D+R	a-čə́-z čə́-z-k̓ "sorrel horse"	a-čə́-xʷa čə́-xʷa-k̓ "grey horse"	a-hʷá-xʷ hʷá-xʷ-k̓ "wounded pig"	a-hʷá-xʷa hʷá-xʷa-k̓ "grey pig"
R+D	no exx.	á-ǯ´-yʷa ǯ´-yʷá-k̓ "dry oak"	no exx.	á-x´a-yʷa x´a-yʷá-k̓ "dry chestnut"
R+R	á-sʷə-zʷ sʷ-zʷə́-k̓/ sʷə-zʷ-k̓ə́ "old door"	á-zʷ-xʷa zʷ-xʷá-k̓/ zʷ-xʷa-k̓ə́ "grey cow"	á-la-xʷ la-xʷə́-k̓/ la-xʷ-k̓ə́ "wounded eye"	á-la-xʷa la-xʷá-k̓ "grey eye"

Comments: (1) Only one example can be given of C(a)+Cə with dominant Cə. The reason is that there are only a few dominant adjectives Cə, and these with quite specific meanings.

(2) Notice that the difference R+D vs. R+R is apparent only in the cases Cə+Ca, as in the case Ca+Ca R+D and R+R behave in the same way.

2.2.2 For unanalyzable nouns C(a)C(a) we have the following possibilities:

(a) def. a-C(a)C(á), indef. C(a)C(á)-k̓

(b) def. a-C(á)C(a), indef. C(á)C(a)-k̓

(c) def. á-C(a)C(a), indef. C(a)C(á)-k̓ (with alternative C(a)C(a)-k̓ə́ except in the case CaCa, which allows only CaCā-k̓)

(see chart on the next page)

	CəCə	CəCa	CaCə	CaCa
(a)	a-cgʷə́ cgʷə́-ḱ "cat"	a-pšá pšá-ḱ "wind"	a-xaɱə́ xaɱə́-ḱ "coat"	a-labá labá-ḱ "stick"
(b)	a-tə́p tə́p-ḱ "place"	a-c̓ə́xʷa c̓ə́xʷa-ḱ "tail"	a-sʷáx sʷáx-ḱ "foam"	a-dágʷa dágʷa-ḱ "deaf"
(c)	á-mc̓ mc̓ə́-ḱ/ məc̓-ḱə́ "fly"	á-cha chá-ḱ/ cha-ḱə́ "bridge"	á-baxʷ baxʷə́-ḱ/ baxʷ-ḱə́ "rock"	á-ma3a ma3á-ḱ "secret"

It is clear that the disyllabic nouns in (a) are DD and those in (b) DR. Case (c) covers both R+D and R+R in 2.2.1; the alternative stresses are as in case R+R of sect. 2.2.1, but in compounds the cases (c) parallel R+D (see 2.3.1). We have a case here where *RD and *RR are not distinguished, and hence we write RI (see sect. 1.3)[3].

2.3.1 Next we treat compound nouns consisting of a monosyllabic plus a disyllabic noun (in either order):

		def.	indef.	
(1)	D+DD	a-la-xʷc̓́ə́	la-xʷc̓́ə́-ḱ	"small xʷc̓́ə dog la"
(2)	D+DR	a-la-də́w	la-də́w-ḱ	"big dəw dog la"
(3)	D+RI	a-lá-ɣra	lá-ɣra-ḱ	"pied ɣra dog la"
(4)	R+DD	á-xʼa-xʷc̓́ə	xʼa-xʷc̓́ə́-ḱ	"small xʷc̓́ə chestnut xʼa"
(5)	R+DR	á-xʼa-dəw	xʼa-də́w-ḱ	"big dəw chestnut xʼa"
(6)	R+RI	á-cʷə-ɣra	cʷə-ɣrá-ḱ/ cʷə-ɣra-ḱə́	"pied ɣra ox cʷə"
(7)	DD+D	a-laba-p̓ə́	laba-p̓ə́-ḱ	"thin p̓a stick laba"
(8)	DR+D	a-3ára-p̓a	3ára-p̓a-ḱ	"slender p̓a waist 3ara"
(9)	RI+D	á-maxʷ-yʷa	maxʷ-yʷá-ḱ	"dry yʷa branch maxʷ"

(10) DD+R	a-labá-xʷa	labá-xʷa-ḱ	"bent xʷa stick laba"
(11) DR+R	a-mágʷə-zʷ	mágʷə-zʷ-ḱ	"old zʷə boot magʷ"
(12) RI+R	á-cha-zʷ	chá-zʷ-ḱ	"old zʷə bridge cha"

Nouns consisting of two disyllabic nouns:

(13) DD+DD	a-yʷnə-xʷčˊə́	yʷnə-xʷčˊə́-ḱ	"small xʷčˊə house yʷnə"
(14) DD+DR	a-laba-ḱˊáčˊ	laba-ḱˊáčˊ-ḱ	"short ḱˊačˊ stick laba"
(15) DD+RI	a-wayʷə́-las	wayʷə́-las-ḱ	"quick las man wayʷə"

(16) DR+DD	a-qʼʷə́d-cʼaɣa	qʼʷə́d-cʼaɣa-ḱ	"thin cʼaɣa beans qʼʷəd"
(17) DR+DR	a-wáda-dəw	wáda-dəw-ḱ	"big dəw room wada"
(18) DR+RI	a-qʼʷə́də-zʷpʼa	qʼʷə́də-zʷpʼa-ḱ	"thick zʷpʼa beans qʼʷəd"

(19) RI+DD	á-cʼla-xʷčˊə	cʼla-xʷčˊə́-ḱ	"small xʷčˊə tree cʼla"
(20) RI+DR	á-cʼla-dəw	cʼla-də́w-ḱ	"big dəw tree cʼla"
(21) RI+RI	á-ǯˊma-ɣra	ǯˊmá-ɣra-ḱ	"pied ɣra goat ǯˊma"

Comments are necessary for (12) and (21) only: we find the stress RI'+R-R in (12) and RI'+RI-R in (21). We recall that in 2.2.2 cha RI behaved like R+R in 2.2.1, whereas here it acts as RD (adding a D suffix such as -kʷa "pl.", see 5.1.1.3, to chá-zʷ-ḱ yields the form chá-zʷ-kʷa-ḱ "old bridges", which would point to RD; cf., also, for (21) ǯˊmá-ɣra-kʷa-ḱ "pied goats").

2.3.2 Nouns C(a)C(a)C(a). For unanalyzable nouns C(a)C(a)C(a) we have the following possibilities (cf. sect. 1.3; _ stands for "C(a)"):

(a) def. a- — — ˊ , indef. — — ˊ -ḱ	a-pstá	pstá-ḱ	DDD	"ravine"
(b) def. a- — ˊ — , indef. — ˊ — -ḱ	a-psə́ǯ	psə́ǯ-ḱ	DDR	"fish"
(c) def. a- ˊ — — , indef. ˊ — — -ḱ	a-bárcʼa	bárcʼa-ḱ	DRI	"balcony"
(d) def. á- — — — , indef. — ˊ — -ḱ	á-ǯɣab	ǯɣə́b-ḱ	RDR	"girl"
(e) def. á- — — — , indef. — — ˊ -ḱ/	á-psta	pstá-ḱ/	RII	"lead"
— — — -ḱə́		psta-ḱə́		

The type RDR comprises a relatively large number of loanwords, e.g., á-tawad, tawád-ḱ "prince" (Georgian tavad-i).

Note that the dictionary-form fails to disambiguate types (d) and (e). In most cases, Ǯanašia 1954 quotes examples without def. art. from which the

stress-status can be determined (see also 6.1.1).

2.3.3 In the same way unanalyzable nouns C(a)C(a)C(a)C(a) fall into the following types:

(a) a- – – – ´ , – – – ´ -ḵ’	a-x´š´cbá	x´š´cbá-ḵ’	DDDD	"sparrow-hawk"
(b) a- – – ´ – , – – ´ – -ḵ’	a-c̓ərbə́l	c̓ərbə́l-ḵ’	DDDR	"leech"
(c) a- – ´ – – , – ´ – – -ḵ’	no exx.		DDRI	
(d) a- ´ – – – , ´ – – – -ḵ’	a-ḵ’ʷə́ndxʷ	ḵ’ʷə́ndxʷ-ḵ’	DRII	"corner"
	a-ɣʷák’´aməsa	ɣʷák’´aməsa-ḵ’	DRII	"poniard"
(e) á- – – – – , – – ´ – -ḵ’	á-mansʷala	mansʷála-ḵ’	RIDR	"adroit"
(f) á- – – – – , – ´ – – -ḵ’	á-sʷapəǯ´ap	sʷapə́ǯ´ap-ḵ’	RDRI	"vegetation"
(g) á- – – – – , – – – ´ -ḵ’/	á-psthʷa	psthʷá-ḵ’/	RIII	"cloud"
– – – – -ḵ’ə́		psthʷa-ḵ’ə́		

Ad (d): Two examples are given, of which the second differs from the first by the ə which is present in the penult I. About this ə, see 6.1.1.

2.4 Nouns aC(a), aC(a)C(a). As mentioned in 1.1, morpheme-initial a coalesces with a preceding element C(a) and with morpheme a, so that we have the following possibilities for the stress:

$$\text{C-á...} \leftarrow \begin{cases} \text{C(á)+a...} \\ \text{C(a)+á...} \end{cases} \qquad \text{á...} \leftarrow \begin{cases} \text{á+a...} \\ \text{a+á...} \end{cases}$$

$$\text{C-a...} \leftarrow \text{C(a)+a...} \qquad \text{a...} \leftarrow \text{a+a...}$$

2.4.1 There is no noun *a.

2.4.2 Nouns aC(a). We find only two stress-types here, one of which is represented by only one noun, viz. aš´a "brother". Since this noun (and also ahʷš´a "sister", see 2.4.3) are preceded in the def. and indef. form by the reciprocal prefix ay- (see sect. 5.2.2.5), we give a form with the possessive prefix s- "my" (D, see sect. 5.1.2.2):

s-aš´á DD "my brother"

All other nouns exhibit the pattern:

def. ásʷ, indef. asʷə́-ḵ’/ asʷ-ḵ’ə́ "cheese"
def. ásʷa, indef. asʷá-ḵ’ "song"

The def. forms point to either DR (i.e. ás^{w} ← a-ás^{w}, ás^{w}a ← a-ás^{w}a) or RI (i.e. ás^{w} ← á-as^{w}, ás^{w}a ← á-as^{w}a). The indef. forms make clear that we deal here with type RI (as otherwise these forms would have been *ás^{w}-ḱ, *ás^{w}a-ḱ).

2.4.3 Nouns aC(a)C(a). The following types are found:

(a) def. aC(a)C(á), indef.	aC(a)C(á)-ḱ	s-ah^{w}š´á		DDD	"sister"
(b) def. áC(a)C(a), indef.	aC(á)C(a)-ḱ	ábaz	abáz-ḱ	RDR	"20 copecks"
(c) def. áC(a)C(a), indef.	aC(a)C(á)-ḱ/ aC(a)C(a)-ḱə	ápš´	apš´ə-ḱ/ apš´-ḱə	RII	"red"

2.4.4 Nouns aC(a)C(a)C(a). There exists only one type:

def. áC(a)C(a)C(a), indef.	aC(a)C(á)C(a)-ḱ	ábǯ´ar	abǯ´ár-ḱ	RIDR "weapon"

2.5 Though aa has three possibilities for the stress (aá, áa, aa), there are in fact only two (aá and aa), i.e., stressed and unstressed (áa results from either á+aa or from C(á)+aa, see sect. 1.1). That is to say, aa counts as a single element for stress-purposes: like any element C(a), it may be stressed (aá) or unstressed (aa).

2.5.1 For nouns aa we expect the following possibilities for the stress:

(a) for nouns aa D: def. aá ← a-aá, indef. aá-ḱ
(b) for nouns aa R: def. áa ← á-aa, indef. aá-ḱ/ aa-ḱə

However, the three existing nouns aa are all R (meanings: "yew", "leather belt" and "foundation").

2.5.2 For nouns Caa we have the following possibilities for the stress:

(a) def. a-Caá, indef.	Caá-ḱ	a-baá	baá-ḱ	DD	"fortress"
(b) def. a-Cáa, indef.	Cáa-ḱ	a-x´áa	x´áa-ḱ	DR	"pain"
(c) def. á-Caa, indef.	Caá-ḱ/ Caa-ḱə	á-maa	maá-ḱ/ maa-ḱə	RI	"handle"

cf. the three types of nouns C(a)C(a) in sect. 2.2.2.

2.5.3 For nouns aaC(a) we have the following possibilities for the stress:

(a) def. aaC(á) ← a-aaC(á),	indef. aaC(á)-ḱ	aaxə́	aaxə́-ḱ	DD "threshold"
(b) def. aáC(a) ← a-aáC(a),	indef. aáC(a)-ḱ	no exx.		
(c) def. áaC(a) ← á-aaC(a),	indef. aaC(á)-ḱ/	áas	aasə́-ḱ/	RI "thicket"
	aaC(a)-ḱə̌		aas-ḱə́	

2.5.4 Examples of longer nouns containing aa:

def. aánda ← a-aánda,	indef. aánda-ḱ	DRI	"fence"
def. áapən ← á-aapən,	indef. aapnə́-ḱ/	RII	"spring"
	aapən-ḱə̌		
def. á-cʷaaḱ,	indef. cʷaaḱə̌-ḱ/	RII	"wet"
	cʷaaḱ-ḱə̌		
def. ábaa ← á-abaa,	indef. abaa-ḱ/	RII	"lean"
	abaa-ḱə̌		

3 VERBS.

3.1 Verbs C(a). In the dictionary-form an Abkhaz verb appears preceded by the def. art. a- D (see 1.2) and followed by the masdar-suffix -ra. With roots C(a) we have the two possibilities a-C(a)-rá and á-C(a)-ra which respectively point to DDD' and D'RD. The dictionary-form is therefore diagnostic for verb-roots C(a), and the masdar-suffix -ra is D. Exx.:

DDD'		D'RD	
a-3-rã	"to bake"	ã-3-ra	"to get lost"
a-ž-rã	"to dig"	ã-zʷ-ra	"to drink"
a-ḱ-rã	"to catch"	ã-s-ra	"to hit"
a-pa-rã	"to pleat"	ã-pa-ra	"to jump"
a-ya-rã	"to lie down"	ã-fa-ra	"to eat"
a-ca-rã	"to go"	ã-ta-ra	"to give"

3.1.1 A large number of roots occur only in complex stems (i.e. in stems consisting of preverb+root). In the dictionary-form a verb with preverb C(a) and root C(a) has the following possibilities for the stress: a-C(a)-C(a)-rá, a-C(á)-C(a)-ra, á-C(a)-C(a)-ra, which respectively point to DDDD', DD'RD and D'RDD or D'RRD. The dictionary-form is therefore diagnostic for preverbs C(a)

and, if the preverb is D, for roots C(a) as well. Exx:

a-xa-c̓a-rá DDDD' "to put c̓a onto xa"
a-xá-la-ra DD'RD "to go la onto"
á-va-c̓a-ra D'RDD "to put next to va"
á-va-la-ra D'RRD "to go next to"

Note that only the first two forms, with a D preverb, are diagnostic for the root.

3.2.1 Stems C(a)+C(a). Here follow more examples of roots C(a) with preverb C(a). Such stems are the closest analogue to the nominal compounds of sect. 2.2.1. Most roots in such complex stems are never found without a preverb; however, any particular root can always be quoted both with preverbs D and R (the forms with preverb D being diagnostic for the root, see 3.1.1).

	Cə+Cə	Cə+Ca	Ca+Cə	Ca+Ca
D+D	a-pə-č-rá "to break"	a-t-sʷa-rá "to fall out of"	a-ta-k̓-rá "to keep in"	a-ta-xa-rá "to remain in"
D+R	a-tə́-c̓-ra "to go out of"	a-tə́-pa-ra "to jump out of"	a-tá-s-ra "to beat into"	a-tá-la-ra "to go into"
R+D	á-kʷ-k̓-ra "to point at"	á-kʷ-xa-ra "to remain on"	á-c̓a-k̓-ra "to keep under"	á-va-xa-ra "to remain next to"
R+R	á-kʷ-c̓-ra "to go from"	á-kʷ-la-ra "to go onto"	á-la-s-ra "to beat into"	á-va-la-ra "to go next to"

3.2.2 Disyllabic roots C(a)C(a):

(see chart on the next page)

	CəCə	CəCa	CaCə	CaCa
DD	a-c̓əs-rá "to move"	a-ǯ´gʷa-rá "to plug"	no exx.	a-hʷaza-rá "to crawl"
DR	a-dər-ra "to know"	a-gə́la-ra "to stand up"	a-gʷáq̓-ra "to grieve"	a-cʷázʷa-ra "to speak"
RI	á-təy-ra "to send"	á-3sa-ra "to swim"	á-c̓ʷax-ra "to hide"	á-g´ala-ra "to swing"

In contradistinction to nouns (see sect. 1.3 and 2.2.2), disyllabic verb-roots beginning with R always behave like RD (see sect. 5.2.2.1-2); however, we label them RI as there is no distinction *RD vs. *RR.

3.3.1 Here follow complex stems consisting of preverb C(a) and root C(a)C(a), and of preverb C(a)C(a) and root C(a):

(1) D+DD a-ta-xx-ra "to run into"
(2) D+DR a-ta-gə́la-ra "to go and stand in"
(3) D+RI a-tá-3sa-ra "to swim in"

(4) R+DD á-c̓a-xx-ra "to run under"
(5) R+DR á-c̓a-gəla-ra "to go and stand under"
(6) R+RI á-c̓a-3sa-ra "to swim under"

(7) DD+D a-yʷna-xa-rá "to remain in (a lodging)"
(8) DR+D a-kʷ́əla-xa-ra "to remain in (an opening)"
(9) RI+D á-š´ta-xa-ra "to remain on the ground"

(10) DD+R a-yʷná-la-ra "to go into (a lodging)"
(11) DR+R a-kʷ́əla-la-ra "to go into (an opening)"
(12) RI+R á-š´ta-la-ra "to go to the ground"

Complex stems consisting of preverb C(a)C(a) and root C(a)C(a):

(13) DD+DD a-yʷna-xx-rá "to run into (a lodging)"

(14) DD+DR a-yʷna-gə́la-ra "to go and stand in (a lodging)"
(15) DD+RI a-yʷná-3sa-ra "to swim in (a lodging)"

(16) DR+DD a-kə̌la-xx-ra "to run into (an opening)"
(17) DR+DR a-kə̌la-gəla-ra "to go and stand in (an opening)"
(18) DR+RI a-kə̌la-3sa-ra "to swim in (an opening)"

(19) RI+DD á-š´ta-xx-ra "to go swiftly to the ground"
(20) RI+DR á-š´ta-gəla-ra "to go and stand on the ground"
(21) RI+RI á-š´ta-3sa-ra "to swim on the ground"

3.3.2 Verbal roots C(a)C(a)C(a) (cf. 2.3.2). Exx.:

(a) a-psahʷa-rá DDD "to moisten"
(b) a-pšə́xʷ-ra DDR "to waylay, to watch"
(c) a-gʷə́rɣ´a-ra DRI "to rejoice"
(d) á-psax-ra RDR "to borrow"
(e) á-bɣaɣa-ra RII "to stagger"

3.3.3 Verbal roots C(a)C(a)C(a)C(a) (cf. 2.3.3). Exx.:

(a) no exx. DDDD
(b) a-c̓ərk̓´ə́pa-ra DDDR "to hop on one leg"
(c) a-garə́gača-ra DDRI "to stagger"
(d) no exx. DRII
(e) ã-px´arəla-ra RIDR "to nestle"
(f) no exx. RDRI
(g) á-k´aranž´-ra RIII "to work as a farm-hand"

3.4 Verbal roots aC(a). Only the following type is found (cf. 2.4):

ázʷ-ra ← á-azʷ-ra RI "to grow old"
ásʷa-ra ← á-asʷa-ra RI "to weed"

That these forms are RI rather than DR appears from such forms as d-azʷə́-ma "did he grow old?" which represents R-RI'-R (for the affixes, see 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.2.1).

3.5.1 Verbal roots Caa (cf. 2.5.2). Exx.:

(a) a-baa-rá DD "to rot"
(b) a-gʷáa-ra DR "to get angry"
(c) á-taa-ra DR "to gather"

3.5.2 Verbal roots aaC(a) (cf. 2.5.3). There are no examples of roots DD, DR, only the type RI occurs:

áaš´a-ra ← á-aaš´a-ra RI "to laze around"
áa3a-ra ← á-aa3a-ra RI "to bring up"
áaxa-ra ← á-aaxa-ra RI "to hit (a target)"

4 DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES. Abkhaz has the following productive suffixes deriving nouns from nouns or verbs. We can determine the stress-status of these suffixes in nouns where they follow a root D(D).

4.1 Denominal suffixes: -ra (1) "abstract noun", (2) "place characterized by (vegetation, sand, etc.)"; -t'ʷ "pertaining to"; -tra "abode (of animals)", "depository (of objects)":

a-xʷč´ə	DDD'	"child"	a-xʷəč´-rá	DDDD'	"childhood"	-ra	D
a-rasá	DDD'	"hazel-nut"	a-rasa-rá	DDDD'	"place with many hazelnuts"	-ra	D
a-x´ə	DD'	"gold"	a-x´-t'ʷə	DDD'	"golden"	-t'ʷ	D
a-čə	DD'	"horse"	a-č-trá	DDDD'	"stable"	-tra	DD

4.2 Deverbal suffixes: -yʷ "agent"; -t'ʷ "gerundive"; -ga "instrument", -xa "time"; -š´a "manner"; -mta "result"; -rta "place":

a-c'a-rá	DDD'	"to learn"	a-c'a-yʷə	DDD'	"pupil"	-yʷ	D
			a-c'a-t'ʷə	DDD'	"what is to be learnt, lesson"	-t'ʷ	D
a-ča-rá	DDD'	"to hoe"	a-čá-ga	DD'R	"hoe"	-ga	R
a-hʷa-rá	DDD'	"to say"	a-hʷá-xa	DD'R	"(sufficient) time to say"	-xa	R
a-yʷ-rá	DDD'	"to write"	a-yʷə-š´a	DD'R	"handwriting"	-š´a	R
			a-yʷə-mta	DD'RI	"letter,article"	-mta	RI

a-ya-rá DDD "to lie down" a-yá-rta DD'RI "bed" -rta RI

5 GRAMMATICAL AFFIXES.

5.1 Nominal affixes.

5.1.1 Nominal suffixes.

5.1.1.1 The indef. art. -ḵ' is R, see 1.2.

5.1.1.2 -da privative, -la instrumental, -s transformative. These are all R, as is shown by the forms with la D "dog": lá-da "without a dog", lá-la "with a dog", lá-s "as a dog". With la R "eye" we have lá-da, lá-la, lá-s/la-sə́, with š´xa RI "mountain": š´xá-da, š´xá-la, š´xá-s/š´xa-sə́.

5.1.1.3 -cʷa (pl. rat.), -kʷa (pl. non-rat.). These are D, as is shown by the forms with tʼʷə D "slave", la D "dog": a-tʼʷ-cʷá "the slaves", a-la-kʷá "the dogs".

5.1.2 Nominal prefixes.

5.1.2.1 The def. art. a- is D, see 1.2.

5.1.2.2 Possessive prefixes. With a noun R (e.g. la "eye") we have on the one hand sə́-la, wə́-la "my, your (sg.m.) eye", on the other hand zə́-la/z-lá "whose eye". It follows that s-, w- are D, so are the other personal possessive prefixes: b- 2sg.f., y- 3sg.m., l- 3sg.f., a- 3sg.irrat., h- 1pl., sʷ- 2pl., r- 3pl.; the relative possessive prefix z- is R.

5.1.2.3 Prefixed numerals yʷ- "two", x- "three", etc. These are R, as is shown by the forms with a noun R: yʷ-lá-ḵ'/ yʷ-la-ḵ'ə́ "two eyes", x-lá-ḵ'/ x-la-ḵ'ə́ "three eyes", so are the other numerals xʷ- "five", f- "six", aa- "eight", zʷ- "nine", zʷa- "ten". As to pš´- "four" and "bž´- "seven", the forms pš´--lá-ḵ'/ pš´-la-ḵ'ə́, bž´-lá-ḵ'/ bž´-la-ḵ'ə́ show that they are neither DD nor DR, so that they must be RI.

5.1.3 Survey of affixed forms.

la D "dog"	la R "water"	š´xa RI "mountain"
lá-ḵ' D' R "a dog"	lá-ḵ'/ la-ḵ'ə́ R' R/ R R' "a water"	š´xá-ḵ'/ š´xa-ḵ'ə́ R I' R/ R I R' "a mountain"
a-lá D D' "the dog"	á-la D'R "the water"	á-š´xa D'R I "the mountain"

s-lá́ D D' "my dog"	sə́-la D' R "my eye"	sə́-š´xa D' R I "my mountain"
z-lá́ R D' "whose dog"	zə́-la/ z-lá́ R' R / R R' "whose eye"	zə́-š´xa/ zə-š´xá́ R' R I / R R I' "whose mountain"
la-kʷá-ḱ D D' R "dogs"	la-kʷá-ḱ R D' R "eyes"	š´xa-kʷá-ḱ R I D' R "mountains"
a-la-kʷá D D D' "the dogs"	á-la-kʷa D'R D "the eyes"	á-š´xa-kʷa D'R I D "the mountains"
s-la-kʷá D D D' "my dogs"	sə́-la-kʷa D' R D "my eyes"	sə́-š´xa-kʷa D' R I D "my mountains"
z-la-kʷá R D D' "whose dogs"	zə́-la-kʷa/ z-la-kʷá R' R D / R R D' "whose eyes"	zə́-š´xa-kʷa/ zə-š´xa-kʷá R' R I D / R R I D' "whose mountains"
yʷ-lá-ḱ R D' R "two dogs"	yʷ-lá-ḱ/ yʷ-la-ḱə R R' R/ R R R' "two eyes"	yʷə-š´xá-ḱ/ yʷə-š´xa-ḱə R R I' R/ R R I R' "two mountains"
á-yʷ-la-ḱ D'R D R "the two dogs"	á-yʷ-la-ḱ D'R R R "the two eyes"	á-yʷə-š´xa-ḱ D'R R I R "the two mountains"
sə́-yʷ-la-ḱ D' R D R "my two dogs"	sə́-yʷ-la-ḱ D' R R R "my two eyes"	sə́-yʷə-š´xa-ḱ D' R R I R "my two mountains"

zə́-yʷ-la-ḱ/ zə-yʷ-lá-ḱ R' R D R/ R R D' R "whose two dogs"	zə́-yʷ-la-ḱ/ zə-yʷ-lá-ḱ/ R' R R R/ R R R' R/ zə-yʷ-la-ḱə́ R R R R' "whose two eyes"	zə́-yʷə-šˊxa-ḱ/ zə-yʷə- R' R R I R/ R R -šˊxá-ḱ/ zə-yʷə-šˊxa-ḱə́ R I' R/ R R R I R' "whose two mountains"

5.2 Verbal affixes.

5.2.1 Verbal suffixes. As in the cases of sect. 5.1.1, the stress-status of verbal suffixes can be determined by selecting a root D. The examples contain subject-prefixes and the negative prefix m-; their stress-status is anticipated here (see sect.5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.7); however, this status is immaterial for the diagnosis.

5.2.1.1 Tense-suffixes. The following suffixes consist of one element:

d-cá-ma	RD'R	"did he go?"	-ma	R
y-cá-da	DD'R	"who went?"	-da	R
d-ca-sʷá	RDD'	"as if he went"	-sʷa	D
d-ca-nə́	RDD'	"(he) having gone"	-n	D
d-cá-r	RD'R	"if (he) going"	-r	R
d-cá-n	RD'R	"he went and"	-n	R
d-cá-ṗ̓	RD'R	"he will go"	-ṗ̓	R
y-cá-z	RD'R	"which went"	-z	R
y-tˊʷá-w	DD'R	"which is sitting"	-w	R
y-tˊʷá-m	DD'R	"which is not sitting"	-m	R
də-m-cá-y	RRD'R	"didn't he go?"	-y	R
də-m-cá-ḱʷa	RRD'R	"(he) not having gone"	-ḱʷa	R

The following suffixes consist of more than one element[1]:

d-cá-yt̓	RD'RI	"he went"	-yt̓ [2]	RI
d-cá-zar	RD'RI	"if he went"	-zar	RI
d-tˊʷa-nac̓ə́	RDDD'	"as long as he is sitting"	-nac̓	DD
d-cá-rc	RD'RI	"in order that he go"	-rc[3]	RI
d-cá-rtˊʷ	RD'RI	"so that he goes"	-rtˊʷ[3]	RI
d-cá-nda	RD'RI	"may he go"	-nda	RI
d-c(á)-aayt̓ [4]	RD'RII	"let him go"	-aayt̓	RII
d-c(á)-aan3a[4]	RD'RII	"until his going"	-aan3a	RII
d-cá-ztgˊə	RD'RII	"if he went"	-ztgˊ	RII

d-cá-zaayt̓	RD'RIII	"supposing he went"	-zaayt̓	RIII
d-cá-yž́tay	RD'RIII	"since he went"	-yž́tay	RIII
d-ca-cə́px́a3a	RDD'RII	"each time when going"	-cəpx́a3a	DRII

The following suffixes are always followed by another suffix. We give forms with -ma R:

d-ca-wá-ma	RDD'R	"is he going?"	-wa	D
d-ca-rə́-ma	RDD'R	"will he go?"	-r(a)	D
d-cá-ša-ma	RD'RR	"will he go?"	-š(a)	R
d-ca-x́á-ma	RDD'R	"has he gone?"	-x́a	D

The stress-status of one suffix can not be determined since it occurs in only one type of form, viz. the positive present declarative of static verbs in which it is preceded by the suffix -w R:

d-t̓ʷá-w-p̓	RD'R?	"he is sitting"
də́-cʷa-w-p̓	R'RR?	"he is sleeping"

In the first of these forms, with a D root, the suffix -p̓ could be either I or R. The second form, with an R root, belongs to a category of irregular cases (see 5.2.2.1) with stress on an R prefix. Hence, the status of -p̓ cannot be determined and we label it I (see sect. 1.3).

Notes: 1) Some of these are at least historically compounds, e.g., -zar may well contain -r conditinal A the stress-status of which is R. We treat these suffixes as units, however (e.g., -zar is determined as RI and not RR), as the stress characteristic of fixed compounds may differ from what would be expected in a productive compound.

2) The suffix -yt̓ can have the variant -t̓ under certain phonological conditions, see sect. 6.2.1.

3) For d-cá-rc, d-cá-rt̓ʷ one also finds d-ca-racə́, d-ca-rat̓ʷə́; besides the first of these also d-ca-razə́/ d-cá-r a-zə́ lit. "if (he) going its-for"; the second undoubtedly goes back to *d-cá-r a-t̓ʷə́ lit. "if (he) going its-about". The forms -racə, rat̓ʷə must be accorded the status DD. After a sequence D'R these retain their final ə (see sect. 6)

4) d-c(á)-aayt̓ → d-c-áayt̓, d-c(á)-aan3a → d-c-áan3a, cf. sect.1.1.

5.2.1.2 Modal suffixes: -cʷa- "too, excessively"; -kʷa-"plural"; -x- "again";

-la- "iterative"; -3a- "very, at all"; -gʷəšˊa- "alas"; -cˀʷqˀa- "really":

y-ca-cʷá-n	RDD'R	"it was too hot"	-cʷa-	D
y-ca-kʷá-z	DDD'R	"those who went"	-kʷa-	D
d-cá-x-ma	RD'RR	"did he go again?"	-x-	R
d-ca-la-wá-ma	RDDD'R	"does he use to go?"	-la-	D
də-m-ca-3á-y	RRDD'R	"didn't he go (at all)?"	-3a-	D
d-ca-gʷáš́a-ma	RDD'RR	"did he go, alas?"	-gʷəš́a	DR
y-cá-cˀʷqˀa-n	RD'RIR	"it was really hot"	-cˀʷqˀa-	RI

5.2.1.3 Stem-extensions: -la- "introvert"; -aa- "extrovert":

a-ta-cá-la-ra	DDD'RD	"to drive into"	-la-	R
a-t-y-aa-rá	DDDDD'	"to grow out of"	-aa-	D

5.2.2 Verbal prefixes.

5.2.2.1 Subject-prefixes. With a root RI (e.g. -gˊažˊə- "to turn") we have on the one hand s-gˊažˊə́-ma "did I turn?", w-gˊažˊə́-ma "did you (sg.m.) turn?", on the other hand yə́-gˊažˊə-da "who turned?". From this it follows that the personal subject-prefixes s-, w- are R, so are the other personal subject-prefixes: b- 2sg.f., d- 3sg.rat., y- 3sg.irrat., h- 1pl., sʷ- 2pl., y- 3pl.; the relative subject-prefix y- is D.

Survey of forms with the subject-prefix before a D and an R.

-D		-R	
D-	R-	D-	R-
y-cá-da D D' R "who went?"	s-cá-ma R D' R "did I go?"	yə́-pa-da D' R R "who jumped?"	sə̃-pa-ma[1] R' R R "did I jump?"
y-kˇá-pa-da D D' R R "who jumped?"	s-kˇá-pa-ma R D' R R "did I jump?"	yə́-qˀa-la-da D' R R R "who became X?"	s-qˀa-lá-ma[1] R R R' R "did I become X?"

yə́-g´až´ə-da D' R I R "who turned?"	s-g´až´ə́-ma R R I' R "did I turn?"
y-ázʷə-da D'RI R "who grew old?	s-azʷə́-ma R RI' R "did I grow old?"
y-áaš´a-da D'R I R "who lazed around?"	s-aaš´á-ma R R I' R "did I laze around?"
yə́-š´ta-la-da D' R I R R "who went to the ground?"	sə-š´tā́-la-ma R R I' R R "did I go to the ground?"

Note: 1) In forms with R's only, the subject-prefix has the stress in forms without preverb, the root in forms with preverb:

wə́-p(a) R' R	"jump!"	w-q̓a-lá R R R'	"become X!"
sə́-pa-ma R' R R	"did I jump?"	s-q̓a-lá-ma R R R' R	"did I become X?"
sə́-pa-ša-ma R' R R R	"will I jump?"	s-q̓a-lá-ša-ma R R R' R R	"will I become X?"
sə́-pa-x-ša-ma R' R R R R	"will I jump again?"	s-q̓a-lá-x-ša-ma R R R' R R R	"will I become X again?"

Irregularities occur with a suffix D in forms otherwise consisting of R's only: we have irregular stress in (A) and (B) below, where the stress falls as elsewhere in the left column above, and in (D), where the stress falls as elsewhere in the right column above; the latter case obtains only if the D-element does not immediately follow the root (as it does in (C), where the

stress is regular).

sə́-pa-wa-ma	"do I jump?"	s-q̓a-la-wá-ma	"do I become
R' R D R (A)		R R R D' R (C)	X?"
sə́-pa-x-wa-ma	"do I jump again?"	s-q̓a-lá-x-wa-ma	"do I become
R' R R D R (B)		R R R' R D R (D)	X again?"

These exceptions occur in the same way with other D-suffixes than -wa, e.g., də́-pa-nə R'RD "he having jumped", etc.

5.2.2.2 Agent-prefixes. With the relative subject-prefix y- D and a root D (e.g. ba "to see") we have on the one hand yə́-z-ba-da "whom did I see?", yə́-w-ba-da "whom did you (sg.m.) see?", on the other hand y-a-bá-da "whom did it see?". From this it follows that the agent-prefixes s-/z-, w- are R, so are the other agent-prefixes: b- 2sg.f., y- 3sg.m., l- 3sg.f., h-/aa- 1pl., s^w-/z^w- 2pl., r- 3pl., z- relative; the agent-prefix 3sg.irrat. (n)a- is D.

Survey of forms with the agent-prefix in the contexts D-D, D-R, R-D, R-R, I-D and I-R.

	-D		-R	
	-D-	-R-	-D-	-R-
D-	y-a-bá-da D D D' R "whom did it see?"	yə́-z-ba-da D' R D R "whom did I see?"	y-á-fa-da D D'R R "whom did it eat?"	yə́-s-fa-da D' R R R "whom did I eat?"
D-	y-k̓a-na-cá-ma R D D D' R "did it drive it down?"	y-k̓ə́-s-ca-ma R D' R D R "did I drive it down?"	yə-t-ná-x-ma R D D' R R "did it take it out of it?"	y-tə́-s-x-ma R D' R R R "did I take it out of it?"
R-	d-a-bá-ma R D D' R "did it see him?"	də-z-bá-ma R R D' R "did I see him?"	d-á-fa-ma R D'R R "did it eat him?"	də-s-fə́-ma[1,2] R R R' R "did I eat him?"

R-	y-q̓a-na-c̓ă-ma R R D D' R "dit it make it X?"	y-q̓a-s-c̓ă-ma R R R D' R "did I make it X?"	no exx.	no exx.
R-	y-á-3axə-ma R D'R I R "did it sew it?"	yə-z-3axə́-ma R R R I' R "did I sew it?"		
R-	y-ás^{w}a-ma ← y-á-as^{w}a-ma R D'RI R "did it weed it?"	y-s-as^{w}á-ma R R RI' R "did I weed it?"		
R-	d-áa3a-ma ← d-á-aa3a-ma R D'R I R "did it bring him up?"	d-s-aa3á-ma R R R I' R "did I bring him up?"		
I-	yə-š´ta-na-c̓ă-ma R R I D D' R "did it put it on the ground?"	yə-š´tá-s-c̓a-ma R R I' R D D "did I put it on the ground?"	yə-š´t-ná-x-ma R R I D' R R "did it take it from the ground?"	yə-š´tə́-s-x-ma R R I' R R R "did I take it from the ground?"

Notes: 1) Transitive roots R preceded by R-prefixes exclusively show the same stress-pattern and the same irregularities as the cases with preverb of 5.2.2.1 (type s-q̓a-lá-ma):

yə-s-fá-ma "did I eat it?"
R R R' R

yə-s-fá-ša-ma "will I eat it?"
R R R' R R

yə-s-fá-x-ša-ma "will I eat it again?"
R R R' R R R

yə-s-fa-wá-ma "do I eat it?"
R R R D' R

yə-s-fá-x-wa-ma "do I eat it again?"
R R R' R D R

2) The tr. verb has two forms where the agent-prefix is lacking, viz. the imperative (ending -Ø) and the gerund (ending -n D, see 5.2.1.1). For á-fa--ra we have:

yə́-f(a)	"eat it!"	cf.	wə́-p(a)	"jump!"
R' R			R' R	
yə́-fa-nə	"having eaten it"		də́-pa-nə	"he having jumped"
R' R D			R' R D	

We see that in the absence of an agent-prefix the subject-prefix is stressed, as is the case in forms with an itr. root R, see sect 5.2.2.1.

5.2.2.3 Object-prefixes. With a personal subject-prefix and a root R (e.g. -xʷa- "to help") we have on the one hand d-sə́-xʷa-ma "did he help me?", d-wə́-xʷa-ma "did he help you (sg.m.)?", on the other hand d-zə́-xʷa-da/ də-z-xʷá-da "whom did he help?". From this it follows that s-, w- are D, so are the other personal object-prefixes: b- 2sg.f., y- 3sg.m., l- 3sg.f., a- 3sg.irrat., h- 1pl., sʷ- 2pl., r- 3pl.; the relative object-prefix is R. The object-prefix Ø- 3sg.irrat. requires separate discussion, see sect. 5.2.2.4.

Survey of forms with the object-prefix in the contexts D-D, D-R, R-D and R-R.

(see next page)

	-D		-R	
	-D-	-R-	-D-	-R-
D-	y-sə-fyʷə́-da D D DD' R "who smelled at me?"	(excluded)[1]	y-sə́-xʷa-da D D' R R "who helped me?"	(excluded)[1]
D-	yə-s-ná-ta-da D D D' R R "whom did it give to me?"		y-sə́-l-ta-da D D' R R R "whom did she give to me?"	
D-	yə-s-čə̆́-la-da D D D R R "who came to my face?"		yə-sə́-va-la-da D D' R R R "who came next to me?"	
D-	y-sə́-pxʼa-da D D' RI R "who called me?"			
D-	y-sə́-šʼta-la-da D D' R I R R "who came after me?"			
R-	d-sə-fyʷə́-ma R D DD' R "did he smell at me?"	d-zə-fyʷə́-da R R DD' R "at whom did he smell?"	d-sə́-xʷa-ma R D' R R "did he help me?"	d-zə́-xʷa-da/ R R' R R də-z-xʷə̃́-da[2] R R R' R "whom did you help?"

R-	yə-s-ná-ta-ma R D D' R R "did it give it to me?"	yə-z-ná-ta-da R R D' R R "to whom did it give it?"	y-sə́-l-ta-ma R D' R R R "did she give it to me?"	y-zə́-l-ta-da/ R R' R R R/ y-zə-l-tá-da[2] R R R R' R "to whom did she give it?"
R-	də-s-čá-la-ma R D D' R R "did he come to my face?"	də-z-čá-la-da R R D' R R "to whose face did he come?"	d-sə́-va-la-ma R D' R R R "did he come next to me?"	də-z-vá-la-da[3] R R R' R R "next to whom did he come?"
R-	d-sə́-px´a-ma R D' RI R "did he call me?"	d-zə-px´á-da R R RI' R "whom did he call?"		
R-	d-sə́-š´ta-la-ma R D' R I R R "did he come after me?"	d-zə-š´tá-la-da R R R I' R R "after whom did he come?"		

Notes: 1) The presence of the relative object-prefix excludes that of any D-prefix (rel. subject-prefix, syntactic prefix).

2) də-z-xʷá-da shows the same stress-pattern as d-q̓a-lá-ma (see 5.2.2.1) or yə-s-fá-ma (see 5.2.2.2); d-zə́-xʷa-da has a pattern with always stressed object-prefix. The same goes for y-zə-l-tá-da/ y-zə́-l-ta-da.

3) In forms where the combination of z+preverb R is followed by a D-element, this element is regularly stressed, e.g.

də-z-va-t̓ʷá-da "next to whom did he sit down?"
R R R D' R

yə-z-va-na-čá-da "next to whom did it put it?"
R R R D D' R

If, however, the combination is followed by an R-element, then the stress

is fixed on the preverb, even if there is a D-element further to the right:

yə-z-və́-s-x-da "from next to whom did I take it?"
R R R' R R R

yə-z-vá-s-c̓a-da "next to whom did I put it?"
R R R' R D R

5.2.2.4 The object-prefix 3sg.irrat. Ø- (for the choice between Ø- and 3sg. irrat. a-, see Chapter I 4.1). Though this prefix has no overt phonemic shape, its presence influences the stress the way a D-element does, cf.

d-Øə́-c̓a-la-ma	d-q̓a-lá-ma
R D' R R R	R R R' R
"did he go under c̓a it Ø-?"	"did he become X", lit. "did he come into existence?"

In the above forms, c̓a is preceded by a personal element (cf. d-rə́-c̓a-la-ma RD'RRR "did he go under them r-?"), q̓a is not. Before a preverb D, the 3sg.irrat. element Ø- leaves no trace, cf. d-Ø-tá-la-ma, də-r-tá-la-ma (both RDD'RR) "did he go into it, them?".

Note that C(ə)+Øə́ merges into Cə́, we write C-Øə́- for morphological reasons. There is a difference between, on the one hand, forms like də́-pa-wa-ma R'RDR "does he jump?" with an irregular stress on the subject-prefix (see 5.2.2.1) and no object-prefix and, on the other hand, d-Øə́-r-wa-ma RD'RDR "does he cross r it Ø-?", besides which we have d-rə́-r-wa-ma RD'RDR "does he cross them?", with an object-prefix.

5.2.2.5 The reciprocal object-prefix is ay-; the reciprocal agent-prefix is ay-ba-/y-ba- (the latter if it is preceded by a preverb).

As regards the element ba-, with 3pl. subject-prefix y- R and a root R we have, e.g., y-ay-bá-fa-ma "did they eat e.o.?". It follows that ba- is D.

As to the variant y-ba-, we have with a preverb D, e.g., y-Ø-tə́-y-ba-x-ma "did they take e.o. out of it?". It follows that y- is R.

As to ay-, with the relative subject-prefix y- D and a preverb D we have, e.g., y-áy-c̓a-ha-da "who collided?", lit. "who fell into e.o.'s face?". In view of the rule stated in sect. 1.1, y-áy- results from either yə́+ay or y+áy, and since the y in ay is R (see above), we have either DR or RR. With the 3pl.

subject-prefix y- R we have y-ay-čă-ha-ma "did they collide?". From this it follows that ay- is RR.

Survey of forms with ay-, (a)y-ba- in the contexts D-D, D-R, R-D, R-R.

D-D	D-R	R-D	R-R
y-áy-ča-ha-da D'RR D R R "who collided?"	y-áy-la-la-da[1] D'RR R R R "who went among e.o.?"	y-ay-čá-ha-ma R RR D' R R "did they collide?"	y-ay-lá-la-ma[2] R RR R' R R "did they go among e.o.?"
	y-áy-š´ta-la-da D'RR R I R R "who came after e.o.?"		y-ay-š´tá-la-ma R RR R I' R R "did they come after e.o.?"
y-ãy-ba-ba-da D'RR D D R "who saw e.o.?"	y-áy-ba-fa-da D'RR D R R "who ate e.o.?"	y-ay-ba-bá-ma R RR D D' R "did they see e.o.?"	y-ay-bá-fa-ma R RR D' R R "did they eat e.o.?"
y-Ø-tá-y-ba-ča-ma R D D' R D D R "did they put e.o. into it?"	y-Ø-tə́-y-ba-x-ma R D D' R D R R "did they take e.o. out of it?"		

Notes: 1) A preverb C(ə) retains an "irrational" ə in this form, cf. y-ãy--də-la-da "who went next to e.o.?". For this ə see 6.1.1.

2) As is the case with the combination z+preverb (see 5.2.2.3), the stress is fixed on the preverb if the preverb is followed immediately by an R-element:

y-ay-lã́-la-ma "did they go among e.o.?"
R RR R' R R

y-ay-la-t'ʷã́-ma "did they sit down among e.o.?"
R RR R D' R

y-ay-la-na-c̓ă-ma "did it put them among e.o.?"
R RR R D D' R

y-ay-lá-s-c̓a-ma "did I put them among e.o.?"
R RR R' R D R

5.2.2.6 The reflexive prefix č-. This prefix is D as is clear from the dictionary-form (see 3.1),e.g., a-č-š´-rá DDDD' "to kill oneself". In other forms the reflexive prefix is always preceded by a possessive prefix:

s-čə́-s-š´ə-ma "did I kill myself?"
D D' R D R

a-č-a-š´ə́-ma "did it kill itself?"
D D D D' R

z-čə́-z-š´ə-da "who killed himself?"
R D' R D R

5.2.2.7 The negative prefix m-. With the relative subject-prefix y- D and a root D (e.g. -ca- "to go") we have yə́-m-ca-da "who didn't go?". From this it follows that m- is R.

Survey of forms with m- in the contexts D-D, D-R, R-D, R-R.

D-D	D-R	R-D	R-R
yə́-m-ca-da D' R D R "who didn't go?"	y-mə́-pa-da[1] D R' R R "who didn't jump?"	sə-m-cá-y R R D' R "didn't I go?"	s-mə́-pa-y[2] R R' R R "didn't I jump?"
d-á-m-ba-y R D'R D R "didn't it see him?"	d-á-m-fa-y R D'R R R "didn't it eat him?"	d-sə-m-bá-y R R R D' R "didn't I see him?"	d-sə-m-fá-y[2] R R R R' R "didn't I eat him?"

d-sə́-m-fyʷə-y R D' R DD R "didn't he smell at me?"	də-s-mə́-xʷa-y[1] R D R' R R "didn't he help me?"	d-zə-m-fyʷə́-da R R R DD' R "at whom didn't he smell?"	də-z-mə́-xʷa-da/ R R R' R R/ d-zə-m-xʷá-da[2] R R R R' R "whom didn't he help?"
d-Ø-tá-m-xa-y R D D' R D R "didn't he remain in it?"	d-Ø-tá-m-la-y R D D' R R R "didn't he go into it?"	d-qa̓-m-cə̆́-kʷ̓a R R R D' R "not having made him X"	d-qa̓-m-lá-y[2] R R R R' R "didn't he become X?"
	yə́-m-gˊažˊə-da D' R R I R "who didn't turn?"		də-m-gˊažˊə́-y R R R I' R "didn't he turn?"
	yə́-m-azʷə-da D' R RI R "who didn't grow old?"		d-m-azʷə́-y R R RI' R "didn't he grow old?"
	yə́-m-aašˊa-da D' R R I R "who didn't laze around?"		d-m-aašˊá-y R R R I' R "didn't he laze around?"
	y-á-m-3axə-y R D'R R I R "didn't it sew it ?"		y-sə-m-3axə́-y R R R R I' R "didn't I sew it?"
	y-á-m-asʷa-y R D'R RI R "didn't it weed it?"		yə-s-m-asʷá-y R R R RI' R "didn't I weed it?"

d-á-m-aa3a-y R D'R R I R "didn't it bring him up?"	də-s-m-aa3á-y R R R R I' R "didn't I bring him up?"
də-s-mə́-px´a-y[1] R D R' RI R "didn't he call me?"	də-z-mə-px´á-da R R R RI R "whom didn't he call?"

Notes: 1) Note that the exceptions are limited to forms with D-m-R.
2) The cases with R's only show the same stress-pattern as their positive counterparts (see 5.2.2.1-3).

5.2.2.8 The syntactic prefixes š- "how", z- "why", an- "when", ax´- "where". Prefixes š- and z- are D, as appears from:

d-šə́-s-š´-wa "how I kill him"
R D' R D D

d-š-a-š´-wá "how it kills him"
R D D D D'

d-zə́-s-š´-wa "why I kill him"
R D' R D D

d-z-a-š´-wá "why it kills him"
R D D D D'

Prefixes an- and ax´- are DD, as appears from:

s-č-anə́-s-š´-wa "when I kill myself"
D D DD' R D D

a-č-an-a-š´-wá "when it kills itself"
D D DD D D D'

s-č-ax´ə́-s-š´-wa "where I kill myself"
D D DD' R D D

a-č-ax´-a-š´-wá "where it kills itself"
D D DD D D D'

5.2.2.8.1 -ba- added to š- (š-ba- → š-pa-), an-, ax´- (ax´-ba- → a-ba-) forms questions. -ba- is <u>always</u> stressed, and in stress-notation we leave it as is:

də-š-ca-wa	"how he goes"	də-š-pá-ca-wa	"how does he go?"
R D D D'		R D bá D D	
d-an-ca-wá	"when he goes"	d-an-bá-ca-wa	"when does he go?"
R DD D D'		R DD bá D D	
d-ax´-ca-wá	"where he goes"	d-a-bá-ca-wa	"where does he go?"
R DD D D'		R D bá D D	

5.2.2.9 The directional prefixes aa- "hither", n(a)- "thither", y^{w}(a)- "upwards" and l(a)- "downwards" (the variants n-, y^{w}-, l- are used before object-prefix 3sg.irrat. a- or Ø-, and before adverbial preverbs, i.e., in those contexts where na- etc. would obscure the distinction a+preverb vs. (Ø+)preverb). With syntactic prefix an- DD "when" (see 5.2.2.8) and a root D (e.g. -3a- "reach") we have d-anə́-na-3a "when he reached (thither)". It follows that n(a)- is R, so are the other directional prefixes.

Survey of forms with a directional prefix in the contexts D-D, D-R, R-D, R-R.

D-D	D-R	R-D	R-R
d-anə́-na-3a R DD' R D "when he reached (thither)"	d-an-ná-pa <u>R DD R' R</u> "when he jumped (thither)"	d-na-3á-ma R R D' R "did he reach (thither)?"	d-ná-pa-ma <u>R R' R R</u> "did he jump (thither)?"

y-anə́-na-na-q̓a R DD' R D D "when it waved it (thither)"	y-anə́-na-s-q̓a R DD' R R D "when I waved it (thither)"	y-na-na-q̓á-ma R R D D' R "did it wave it (thither)?"	y-na-s-q̓á-ma R R R D' R "did I wave it (thither)?"
d-anə́-n-ḵa-pa R DD' R D R "when he jumped (thither)"	d-an-nə́-q̓a-la R DD R' R R "when he became X (thither)"	də-n-ḵá-pa-ma R R D' R R "did he jump (thither)?"	d-nə́-q̓a-la-ma R R' R R R "did he become X (thither)?"
y-anə́-n-ḵa-s-c̓a R DD' R D R D "when I drove it (thither)"	d-an-nə́-q̓a-s-c̓a R DD R' R R D "when I made him X (thither)"	yə-n-ḵá-s-c̓a-ma R R D' R D R "did I drive it (thither)?"	d-nə́-q̓a-s-c̓a-ma R R' R R D R "did I make him X (thither)?"
d-anə́-na-sə-xa R DD' R D R "when he pulled me (thither)"		d-na-sə́-xa-ma R R D' R R "did he pull me (thither)?"	d-na-zə́-xʷa-da/ R R R' R R/ d-na-z-xʷá-da R R R R' R "whom did he help (thither)?"
y-anə́-na-sə-c̓a-la R DD' R D R R "when it went under me (thither)"		y-na-sə́-c̓a-la-ma R R D' R R R "did it go under me (thither)?"	y-na-z-c̓á-la-da R R R R' R R "under whom did it go (thither)?"
y-anə́-na-s-xa-la R DD' R D D R "when it went on my head (thither)"		y-na-s-xá-la-ma R R D D' R R "did it go on my head (thither)?"	y-na-z-xá-la-da R R R D' R R "on whose head did it go (thither)?"

d-an-n-á-xa R DD R'D R "when he pulled it (th.)"	d-n-á-xa-ma R R'D R R "did he pull it (th.)?"
y-an-n-á-c̓a-la R DD R'D R R "when it went under it (th.)"	y-n-á-c̓a-la-ma R R'D R R R "did it go under it (th.)?"
d-anə́-n-a-xʷa R DD' R D D "when he sipped it (th.)"	d-n-a-xʷá-ma R R D D' R "did he sip it (th.)?"
y-anə́-n-a-xa-la R DD' R D D R "when it went on its head (th.)"	y-n-a-xá-la-ma R R D D' R R "did it go on its head (th.)?"
d-an-nə́-Ø-r R DD R' D R "when he crossed it (th.)"	d-nə́-Ø-r-ma R R' D R R "did he cross it (th.)?"
y-an-nə́-Ø-c̓a-la R DD R' D R R "when it went under it (th.)"	y-nə́-Ø-c̓a-la-ma R R' D R R R "did it go under it (th.)?"
y-anə́-n-Ø-ta-la R DD' R D D R "when it went into it (th.)"	də-n-Ø-tá-la-ma R R D D' R R "did it go into it (th.)?"

y-anə́-n-ay-la-la R DD' R RR R R "when they went among e.o. (th.)"	y-n-ay-lá-la-ma R R RR R' R R "did they go among e.o. (th.)?"
d-anə́-na-č´č´a R DD' R R I "when he laugh-ed (th.)"	d-na-č´č´á-ma R R R I' R "did he laugh (th.)?"
d-an-nə́-š´ta-la R DD R' R I R "when he went to the ground (th.)"	d-nə́-š´ta-la-ma R R' R I R R "did he go to the ground (th.)?"

Note that in all cases with exceptional stress it is either the directional prefix that is stressed, or a merged form consisting of directional prefix plus Ø- or a-. Since C(á)+a and C(a)+á both result in Cá (and the same is true, mutatis mutandis, for C(ə)+ə), we have the choice of writing R'D or RD' in the merged cases. Since in all other irregular cases it is the directional prefix that is stressed, we write R'D, to keep the irregularity to a minimum.

5.2.2.10 Causatives. The causative element r- takes the stress-status of the (first element of the) root[1] (in stress-notation we write r for the causative element):

a-tʾʷa-rá D D D'	"to sit down"	a-r-tʾʷa-rá D r D D'	"to seat"
á-cʷa-ra D'R D	"to fall asleep"	á-r-cʷa-ra D'r R D	"to cause to sleep"
a-hʷaza-rá D D D D'	"to crawl"	a-r-hʷaza-rá D r D D D'	"to cause to crawl"
a-gə́la-ra D D'R D	"to stand up"	a-r-gə́la-ra D r D'R D	"to cause to stand up"

á-g´až´-ra "to turn"	á-r-g´až´-ra "to cause to turn"
D'R I D	D'r R I D
a-ta-t'ʷa-rá "to sit down into"	a-ta-r-t'ʷa-rá "to seat into"
D D D D'	D D r D D'
a-k'á-pa-ra "to jump down"	a-k'á-r-pa-ra "to cause to jump down"
D D' R D	D D' r R D

The subject-prefixes which are R in noncausative verbs (see 5.2.2.1) are all D in preverbless causative forms, as follows from the following exx. (in stress-notation we write D for these prefixes with changed status, the cause of the change appears from the r in the stress-notation):

də́-r-cʷa-nə "having caused him to sleep"
D' r R D

də́-r-g´až´-nɔ "having caused him to turn"
D' r R I D

If, however, the causative form contains a preverb, the subject-prefixes are R, as in noncausative forms:

də-š´ta-r-t'ʷa-nə́ "having seated him on the ground"
R R I r D D'

The agent-prefixes which are otherwise R (see 5.2.2.2) are all D in all causative forms with and without preverb, as follows from the following exx. (in stress-notation we write D):

d-sə́-r-cʷa-ma "did I cause him to sleep?"
D D' r R R

d-sə́-r-g´až´ə-ma "did I cause him to turn?"
D D' r R I R

d-Ø-ta-sə-r-t̓ʷá-ma "did I seat him into it?"
R D D D r D' R

d-ḱa-sə́-r-pa-ma "did I cause him to jump down?"
R D D' r R R

The negative prefix m- (otherwise R, see 5.2.2.7) is D in all causative forms (we write D):

də-s-mə́-r-cʷa-y "didn't I cause him to sleep?"
D D D' r R R

də-s-mə́-r-gˊažˊə-y "didn't I cause him to turn?"
D D D' r R I R

d-Ø-ta-s-mə-r-t̓ʷá-y "didn't I seat him into it?"
R D D D D r D' R

d-ḱa-s-mə́-r-pa-y "didn't I cause him to jump down?"
R D D D' r R R

Notes: 1) The only exceptions to this rule are roots RI beginning in a, e.g. ázʷ-ra ← á-azʷ-ra D'RID "to grow old", caus. a-r-ázʷ-ra DD'RID "to make old", where the causative prefix is D.

5.2.2.10.1 The root -žˊ- R 1) "to throw", 2) "to admit", found only in combination with preverbs, has the same effect as causative verbs on the stress-status of agent-prefixes and negative prefix (this is the only case where the symbol D is used in forms without causative r-):

y-Ø-ta-sə́-žˊ-ma "did I throw it into it?"
R D D D' R R

y-Ø-ta-s-mə́-žˊə-y "didn't I throw it into it?"
R D D D D' R R

6 PHONEMIC PHENOMENA CONNECTED WITH THE STRESS-STATUS OF THE ELEMENTS INVOLVED.

6.1.1 If a word contains a second sequence DR (counting from the left), and the element D in it is C(ə) (rather than Ca), it retains its ə in positions that do not require an automatic ə. The dominant status of these elements accounts for occurrences of ə so far called "irrational" (i.e., unaccounted for) in the literature[4].

The preservation of ə in these cases may result from an older secondary stress; in fact, the very presence of ə gives the impression of a secondary stress. However, no secondary stress has been observed on dominant elements Ca in the same position.

A sequence I+R in the same position also gives rise to a nonautomatic ə.

Exx. with nouns:

a-phʷə́s-kʼəya "honest kʼəya woman phʷəs"
D DD' R D R

a-kʼʷə́c-xxə-ga "meat-mincer" (kʼʷac "meat", xxə "to mince", -ga see 4.2)
D D' R DD R

á-baxʷə-qʼapšʼ "red qʼapšʼ rock baxʷə"
D'R I R II

á-3axə-ga "sewing-machine" (3axə "to sew", -ga see 4.2)
D'R I R

We recall that in sect. 2.3.3 we met two different forms under case (d) DRII: a-kʼʷə́ndxʷ vs. a-ɣʷákʼaməsa. It is now clear that the ə in the second word disambiguates these two cases, i.e., it is itself diagnostic, and a-ɣʷákʼaməsa represents not DRII but DRDR (not DRIR, as this is excluded within morphemes, see 1.3).

Schwa plays the same disambiguating role in a number of instances of sect. 2.3.2 (d) vs. (e), e.g. á-ǯʼnəš RDR "devil" vs. á-ǯʼəmšʼ RII "eye-brow".

Exx. with verbs (roots are underlined). Within morphemes:

d-an-bá-Ø-kʼəla-la "when did he go into it (viz. an opening)?"
R DD bá D D R R

d-Ø-ƙ́ə́la-gəla-ma "did he go and stand into it?"
R D D'R D R R

d-gə́la-gʷəš´a-ma "did he go and stand, alas?"
R D'R D R R

d-an-bá-Ø-ƙ́əla-gəla-gʷəš´a "when did he go and stand into it, alas?"
R DD bá D D R D R D R

In object-prefix+preverb:

d-an-bá-sə-va-la "when did he come next to me?"
R DD bá D R R

In preverb+root:

d-an-bá-Ø-tə-pa "when did he jump out of it?"
R DD bá D D R

In root+extension:

y-á-də-s-ƙ́ə-la-ma "did I hold it next to it?"
R D'R R D R R

In root+tense-suffix:

y-Ø-tá-s-ƙ́ə-ša-ma "will I hold it in it?"
R D D' R D R R

In root+syntactic suffix:

y-Ø-tá-s-ƙ́ə-ma "did I hold it in it?"
R D D' R D R

In tense-suffix+syntactic suffix:

y-ɸ-tá-s-k̓-ro-ma "will I hold it in it?"
R D D' R D D R

6.1.2 In the same way as above, though less regularly, a final unstressed element D is responsible for the occurrence of nonautomatic ə.

Exx. with nouns:

á-zʷ-ž́ə "beef", lit. "cow zʷə meat ž́ə"
D'R D

á-x́a-xʷč̓́ə "small xʷč̓́ə chestnut x́a"
D'R D D

Exx. with verbs:

y-an-Ø-tá-s-k̓ə "when I held it into it"
R DD D' R D

d-an-k̓́əla-ɒšə "when I looked into it"
R DD D'R DD

In the above forms, the final ə is easily omitted. Tendencies:
(a) in nominal forms ə is mostly pronounced, but can be omitted.
(b) in verbal forms the only D-elements Cə that can occur in Auslaut are root-elements, the gerund-suffix -n and c̓ in -nac̓ "as long as".In root-elements, ə is usually omitted, in -n and -nac̓ it is usually present.
6.2.1 The declarative suffix -yt̓ RI (see 5.2.1.1), when following an (unstressed) recessive element C(ə), has a truncated variant -t̓ I. Exx.:

d-Ø-tə́-c̓ə-yt̓ / d-Ø-tə́-c̓-t̓ "he went out of it"
R D D' R RI R D D' R I

y-Ø-tə́-s-xə-yt̓ / y-Ø-tə́-s-x-t̓ "I took it out of it"
R D D' R R RI R D D' R R I

d-cá-xə-yt' / d-cá-x-t' "he went again -x (see 5.2.1.2)"
R D' R RI R D' R I

The same truncated forms occur after -la- R "to go" (only in combination with preverbs), -gəla- DR "to (go and) stand", -la R "introvert" (see 5.2.1.3), -ša R "Future I" (see 5.2.1.1); in these truncated forms, the a of the preceding element is dropped:

d-Ø-tá-la-yt' / d-Ø-tá-l-t' "he went into it"
R D D' R RI R D D' R I

d-gə́la-yt' / d-gə́l-t' "he went and stood"
R D'R RI R D'R I

y-á-də-s-k'ə-la-yt' / y-á-də-s-k'ə-l-t' "I held it next to it"
R D'R R D R RI R D'R R D R I

d-cá-š-t' (only possibility) "he will go"
R D' R I

6.2.2 In unstressed final Ca R the a is usually dropped in imperative forms. The only possible final elements in such forms are roots and -la "introvert". Note that this rule concerns <u>all</u> roots ending in Ca R. Exx.:

w-Ø-tá-l	"go into it!"	cf. a-tá-la-ra
R D D' R		D D' R D
w-gə́l	"go and stand!"	a-gə́la-ra
R D'R		D D'R D
y-á-d-k'ə-l	"hold it next to it!"	á-d-k'ə-la-ra
R D'R D R		D'R D R D
wə́-p	"jump!"	á-pa-ra
R' R		D'R D

yə́-f	"cat it!"	cf. á-fa-ra
R' R		D'R D
w-sə́-hʷ	"ask me!"	á-hʷa-ra
R D' R		D'R R
y-sə́-t	"give it to me!"	á-ta-ra
R D' R		D'R D
də́-r-cʷ	"cause him to sleep!"	á-r-cʷa-ra
D' r R		D'r R D

The a of Ca D is never dropped, e.g. y-á-kʷ-ć'a RD'RD "put it on it!" (vs. w-á-kʷə-l RD'RR "go onto it!").

Of course, the a of Ca R is not dropped if it is stressed, e.g. w-q'a-lá RRR' "become X!"

6.3 In the numerous class of preverbs opposing forms Ca- "introvert" to forms C(ə)- "extrovert" (see I 2.2), the a in Ca is not considered a separate morpheme. The reason is that Ca plays the role of a single element with regard to the stress: Ca- and the corresponding C(ə)- always have one and the same stress-status. The same goes, mutatis mutandis, for preverbs C(ə)Ca- besides C(ə)C(ə)-.

7 STRESS-RELATED GRAMMATICAL PHENOMENA.

7.1 Fricative agent-prefixes are voiced if the root begins in a (marked) voiced consonant; fricative object-prefixes are not. This fact can be used to determine if a verb has an agent-prefix and hence is transitive; however, this criterion fails with roots beginning in a voiceless consonant. Agent- and object-prefixes also differ in stress-status, and this criterion can now also be used.

Hewitt 1979:230 concluded that the static verb -tax- DD "to want" yə-s-taxə́-w-p' "I want it" is (pseudo-)transitive because its reciprocal form is y-ay-ba-taxə́-w-p' (and not *y-ay-taxə́-w-p') "they want e.o.". This conclusion, which contradicts all the existing literature on Abkhaz[5], can be supported by the stress-status of the prefix, e.g., y-anə́-s-taxə-w RDD'RDDR "when I want it": s-, being recessive, is clearly an agent-prefix.

7.2 In some transitive verbs the subject-place may be occupied by a combination of possessive prefix plus č- D "self" (see 5.2.2.6), e.g.,

də-s-š´-wá-yt' RRDD'RI "I kill him", s-čə́-s-š´-wa-yt' DD'RDDRI "I kill myself". Reflexivity can also be expressed with the noun s-xə́, w-xə́ "my, your head/self" etc., e.g., də-z-ba-wá-yt' RRDD'RI "I see him", s-xə́ z-ba-wá-yt' DD' RDD'RI "I see myself". The status of s-č- as part of the verb and of s-xə́ as a separate word is correlated with a difference in the distribution of the stress: note the different accentuation in s-čə́-s-š´-wa-yt' vs. s-xə́ z-ba-wá--yt'.

7.3 Besides á-ʃa-ra D'RD "to eat", yə-s-ʃa-wá-yt' RRRD'RI "I eat it", Žanašia 1954 lists a verb a-K'rə́-ʃa-ra DDD'RD "to eat (in general)", K'rə-s-ʃa-wá-yt' DDRRD'RI "I eat". Other forms are K'r-á-ʃa-wa-yt DDD'RDRI "it eats", K'rə́-ʃ DD'R "eat!", K'rə́-ʃa-nə DD'RD "having eaten". The form K'rə-s-ʃa-wá-yt' suggests that K'rə- does not occupy the subject-place, but is a separate word: K'rə y-ʃa-wá-yt', K'r(ə) á-ʃa-wa-yt', K'r(ə) áʃ, K'r(ə) á-ʃa-nə. The infinitive is a-K'rə́-ʃa-ra.

7.4 Fixed compounds often have a stress different from what would be expected on the basis of the separate constituants, e.g.,

a-K'ʷtə́-ž´	"chicken-meat"	cf.	a-K'ʷtə́ DD	"chicken"
D D D' R			a-ž´ə́ D	"meat"

Such compounds are (or should be) listed in the dictionary.

7.5 A number of infinitives have acquired a semantic status independent of the verbal paradigm (cf. English "to live" and "living"). In such cases, end-stressed infinitives often retract the stress one syllable. The simplest way to account for this fact is to posit a derivational suffix -ra R (different from the infinitive-suffix -ra D). Exx.[6]:

a-bá-ra	"dry place"	cf. a-ba-rá	"to dry"
D D' R		D D D'	
a-yʷə́-ra	"writing"	a-yʷ-rá	"to write"
D D' R		D D D'	

In some cases we find, besides -ra R, reduplicated -rra RI:

a-pxá-ra, a-pxá-rra	"heat"	cf.	a-pxa-rá	"to be hot"
D DD' R D DD' RI			D DD D'	

FOOTNOTES: 1) Elements quoted in isolation are written with or without ə as convenient in the particular context. Where affixes are summed up, we write s-, w-, etc.; roots are quoted as tə, və, i.e. as if they are stressed. All these transcriptions have to be understood as s(ə)-, w(ə)-, t(ə), v(ə), etc.
2) For Abkhaz this rule was first stated by Dybo (1973:9); however, Dybo here starts from morphemes, not from elements C(a), cf. Dybo 1977. In Dybo c.s 1978, elements C(a) are given a stress-status in terms of "dominant" or "recessive", but here only very little material is given. This material is highly interesting, however, in that the Tapanta dialect of Abaza is shown to have a distinction of high and low tone in stressed syllables corresponding to Abkhaz D and R syllables. We adopt the terms "dominant" and "recessive" and the general stress-rule. Our purpose is to give a full account of the stress in Abkhaz only, i.e., without reference to Tapanta.
3) According to Dybo c.s. 1978, Tapanta has a distinction of high vs. low tone on the last syllable here.
4) We find a ə of the type under discussion also in a form like y-ā́y-də-la-da D'RRRRR "who went next to e.o.?" (see sect. 5.2.2.5 Note 1).In this paradigm, the stress remains fixed on -ay-də̄- before R even if a D element follows farther to the right, e.g. y-ay-də̄-s-ć́a-ma RRRR'RDR (parallel to y-ay-lā́-s-ć́a-ma quoted in 5.2.2.5). Both the accentuation in this form, and the retention of ə in y-ā́y-də-la-da can be brought under a common denominator by saying that the R-prefix becomes D under the condition of 5.2.2.5 Note 2.
5) The traditional view is that static verbs are always intransitive.
6) More examples are given in Lomtati3e 1974.

CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGY

1 CHART OF PHONEMES. The phoneme inventory of Abkhaz is sufficiently known in the literature (cf. Lomtatiʒe 1976). We reproduce the phonemes of the Abzhuy dialect, to provide a background for the discussion of details which follows (´ palatalized, ʷ labialized, ’ glottalized).

Labial	b	p	p’	v	f
Dental	d	t	t’		
	dʷ	tʷ	t’ʷ		
Alveolar	ʒ	c	c’	z	s
	ʒʷ	cʷ	c’ʷ	zʷ	sʷ
Palatal	ǯ´	č´	č’´	ǯ´	š´
	ǯ	č	č’	ǯ	š
Velar	g´	k´	k’´	γ´	x´
	g	k	k’	γ	x
	gʷ	kʷ	k’ʷ	γʷ	xʷ
Uvular			q’		
			q’´		
			q’ʷ		
Laryngal					h
					hʷ

Others: m, n, l, r, y, yʷ, w.

Vowels: a, ə.

Stress: ´ (over a vowel).

Remarks: 1) Adjacent to h we find only a (and never ə); morphophonemically, a sequence ha may represent Ca and Cə, cf. há-la "our eye", h-lá "our dog" (besides sə́-la "my eye", s-lá "my dog"), where há- clearly takes the place of *hə́-, and on the other hand a-há "the pear", a-ha-kʷá "the pears", where há represents Ca, as otherwise the plural would have been *a-h-kʷá. For ah, cf. də-s-k’ə́-yt’ "I caught him" vs. da-h-k’ə́-yt’ "we caught him", where morphopho-

nemically we have də-h-kʷə-yt'.

2) The vowel a occurs long: aa, with three possibilities for the stress: aá, áa, aa. Historically, aa is the reflex of *ʕ, the voiced counterpart of h; aá, áa and aa parallel resp. (a)ʼhá, áh(a) and (a)h(a).

2 THE SCHWA.

2.1 The status of ə in Abkhaz – and in North-West Caucasion in general– has been a subject of much discussion[1]. The difficulties arise from the fact that (1) not all occurrences of ə are automatic, and (2) the automatic ə's are often facultative or may be found in alternative positions in consonant sequences.

2.2 Spelling. 1) In the present official Abkhaz alphabet (Cyrillic script), as well as in the one used from 1937 till 1953 (Georgian script), the presence or absence of a schwa is not reflected in writing in the following cases:

i, u stand for y, w and əy, əw and yə, wə.

Cu (where C is a velar or uvular[2]) stands for C^w and C^wə.

2) In the cases where the ə is reflected in writing, we often find alternative forms, with and without ə, see 2.5.

The way words are written in the sources does not necessarily reflect the pronunciation, as spelling habits are sometimes maintained throughout the paradigm. For instance, Ǯanašia 1954 quotes infinitive, present and aorist forms, and invariably maintains the infinitive and present forms of the root in the spelling of the aorist, cf. á-bəl-ra "to burn", yə-bəl-wā-yt' "it burns", yə-bələ́-yt' "it burnt".

2.3 In the absence of ə, a ə is present under the stress. Exx.: a-tə́-pa-ra "to jump out of", d-rə́-sə-yt' "he beat them", a-cgʷə́ "cat", tə́p-k' "a place".

2.4 Nonautomatic ə. A nonautomatic ə appears in Abkhaz words depending on the stress-status of the element C(ə) involved. As to stress, the elements making up a word fall into a D(ominant) and a R(ecessive) class, the stress falling on the first D-element followed by an R-element (see II 1.1)
In case a word contains a second sequence DR, and the element D lacks the vowel a, a nonautomatic ə appears. Nonautomatic ə is written ə̆.

yə-Ø-tá-s-kʷə̆-ma "did I hold it in it?"
R D D' R D R

yɔ-Ø-tá-s-ḱ-rə̀-ma "will I hold it in it?"
R D D' R D D R

yə-Ø-tá-s-ḱə̀-ša-ma "will I hold it in it?"
R D D' R D R R

a-kʷ́ác-xxə̀-ga "meat-mincer"
D D' R DD R

2.5.1 There remain those instances of ə which result from the comparative sonority of resonants, or break up consonant sequences. (We consider stressed á as well as nonautomatic ə̀ to limit such sequences, i.e. in CCáCC we have two sequences CC which may or may not give rise to ə's between them, in CáCCC we have a final sequence CCC, etc.)

As was mentioned in 2.1 there is a certain freedom here in many cases. Examples from the literature:

Šan. 1954	Bgažba 1964	
a-šʼə́lə́tra	a-šʼ́lətra	"joy"
a-cʼʷəcʼʷə́ra	a-cʼʷcʼʷəra	"sourness"
á-3γ	a-3əγ	"thorn"
a-rəphá	a-rpha	"lung"
a-čpnə́hʷa	a-čəpnəhʷa	"reproach"
á-ltʼʷzʷyʷa	a-ltʼʷəzʷyʷa	"collar-bone"
á-xʼ́əm3γ	a-xʼ́mə3γ	"shame"
a-kʼə́lərhʷhʷara	a-kʼəlrəhʷhʷara	"to protrude"

2.5.2 It must be emphasized that there is no clear-cut distinction "presence vs. absence of ə";in many cases one can interpret a sequence either as one- or as two-syllabic, e.g., the sequence /sya/ may be heard as [sya] or [sĭya], the word dcayt' as [dceyt'], [ḍceyt'] or [dᵊceyt'], abz as [abz], [abẓ] or [abəz][3].

2.5.3 It is possible, however, to formulate rules for the (often facultative) occurrence of ə, with the understanding that we are mostly dealing with tendencies rather than strict laws.

A resonant not bordering on a vowel will always have a ə adjacent to it or be pronounced syllabic: # RC=[R̩C], CR# =[CəR/CR̩], CRC=[CəRC] except that CRR# =[CRəR]. Exx.: mtakʼ [m̩takʼ] "a present", á3ɔn [a3ɔn, a3n̩] "the winter", abənhʷá [abənhʷa] "the wild pig", á3nəy [a3niy] "and the winter".

Elsewhere, ə tends to remain absent from two-consonant sequences, e.g., acgʷə́ "the cat", ázna "full", ámta "the present", ámla "the hunger", ámarya "easy". In three-consonant sequences ə, if it appears, will be found between the first and second consonant, e.g., acəgʷkʷá "the cats", agʷabəcqˀ́á "the chest", agəgsʷə́g "the beast"; but often in comparable sequences no ə is written, e.g., apscʷá "the corpses". In four-consonant sequences ə may appear between the first and second or the second and third consonant, e.g., apəsʷtrə́kˀ́ "(kind of) porridge", dəpsx́áytˀ "he has died", ábɣəčˀ́ra "to scratch", axbəkˀrá "to deviate"; but again, one finds without ə ápsthʷa "the cloud", áx́š́cba "the hawk" (examples from Žanašia 1954).

The word-end counts as a consonant, e.g., ábəz "the tongue", ámaɣ "the thorn" (besides abz, amɣ); no ə in apš "the maize", aqˀʷə́nž́ "the reedstem", art "these". With three consonants in final position we have on the one hand, e.g., dətáməztˀ "he was not in it", álax́əsʷsʷ "unfortunate", and on the other hand, e.g., yətámcəz "which had not been in it", yəsə́cməz "which was not with me"; no ə in apxt "mangy".

Voiced consonants sooner give rise to ə than voiceless ones, cf., e.g., d(ə)cáytˀ "he went" vs. scaytˀ "I went", áb(ə)z "the tongue" vs. apš "the maize", cf. also, among the examples above, acəgʷkʷá, agʷabəcqˀ́á but apscʷá. Especially voiced fricatives come close to the resonants in their behaviour, cf. yətámcəz above parallel to RCR# , yəsə́cməz CRR# , dətáməztˀ RRC# .

3 PRONUNCIATION OF a, ə

3.1 Pronunciation of /Cay,Caw/.

3.1.1 /Cay, Caw/ are [Cay, Caw] if y, w are stressed, i.e. Cay(á), Caw(á):

tawád-kˀ "a prince", y-awə́-w-pˀ "it is long", a-cˀawə́la "deep", nawə́r-kˀ "a ghost", d-Ø-ta-yá-ma "did he lie down in it?", y-Ø-ta-wə́-ž́ə-ytˀ "you threw it into it", y-Ø-ta-yə́-ž́ə-ytˀ "he threw it into it".

3.1.2 /Cay, Caw/ are [Cey, Cow] if Ca is stressed, i.e. Cáy(a), Cáw(a):

a-bə́aya "rich", y-Ø-tə́-w "which is in it", s-cə́-ytˀ "I went", d-nə́-y-aan3a "until he comes", y-Ø-tə́-w-cˀa-ytˀ "you put it into it", y-Ø-tə́-y-cˀa-ytˀ "he put it into it".

3.1.3 If y, w belong to an element D in a second sequence DR (see II 6.1.1) i.e. with "secondary stress" Cay(à), Caw(à), we have [Cay, Caw]:

á-tawàd "the prince", á-nawèr "the ghost", d-sə́-va-yà-ma "did he lie down next to me?", y-sə́-va-wə̀-ž́ə-ytˀ "you threw it next to me", y-sə́-va-yə̀-ž́ə-ytˀ "he threw it next to me".

3.1.4 If Ca carries secondary stress, i.e. in the cases Cày(a), Càw(a), we

have [Cey, Cow]:

a-phʷə́s-bàya "the rich woman", d-sə́-c-nà-y-aan3a "until he comes with me", y-an-bə̃-Ø-tà-w-c̓a "when did you put it into it?", y-an-bə̃-Ø-tà-y-c̓a "when did he put it into it?".

3.1.5 If both Ca and y,w are unstressed, we have [Cey, Cow] if y, w are followed by C or #:

yə́-q̓a-w "which exists", də́-q̓a-w-p̓ "he exists", də́-pa-yt̓ "he jumped".

3.1.6 If both Ca and y, w are unstressed, we have [Cay, Caw] if y,w are followed by a or ə:

y-na-w-a-na-hʷə́-yt̓ "it told it to you", y-na-y-a-na-hʷə́-yt̓ "it told it to him", y-Ø-ta-wə-r-č́ə́-yt̓ "you blew it into it", y-Ø-ta-yə-r-č́ə́-yt̓ "he blew it into it"

3.1.7 In hay(a), haw(a), aay(a), aaw(a) we always have [a, ā], e.g.:

há-yaš "our squirrel", há-wa "our kin", d-k̓á-ha-yt "he fell", y-ha-w-p̓ "it is a pear", y-baá-yt̓ "it rotted", y-cáa-w-p̓ "it is ice"

3.1.8 Cawa is pronounced [Cō] if -wa is the Tense A-suffix "Situational/Progressive:

d-ca-wá-m [dᵊcōm] "he does not go", də́-pa-wa-m [dəpōm] "he does not jump", d-an-ca-wá [dancō] "when he goes", d-anə́-pa-wa [danəpō] "when he jumps", d-ca-wə́-yt̓ [dᵊcɔ̄yt̓] "he goes", də́-pa-wa-yt̓ [dəpɔ̄yt̓] "he jumps".

One also hears [dᵊcōt̓, dəpōt̓], i.e. /d-ca-wá-t̓, də́-pa-wa-t̓/, cf. the alternatives -yt̓,-t̓ in d-Ø-tə́-c̓ə-yt̓, d-Ø-tə́-c̓-t̓ (see II 6.2.1)

3.1.9 However, in hawa, aawa we have [awa, āwa] resp. [awey, āwey], e.g.:

d-k̓á-ha-wa-m "he does not fall", y-baa-wá-m "it does not rot", d-k̓á-ha-wa-yt̓ "he falls", y-baa-wá-yt "it rots".

3.2 /ay, aw/ in Anlaut. In this position we must distinguish between sequences aY not involving the def. article a- (morphophonemic {aY}) and sequences aY with a (merged) article (morphophonemic {a-Y} and {a-aY}).In the case {aY} the rule of 3.1 holds, e.g., awə́-k̓ [awək̓]/ aw-k̓ə́ [owk̓ə] "a long one", ayxá-da [eyxada] "without iron". In the cases {a-Y, a-aY},however, a retains the timbre [a] under the stress (cf. 3.1.2) and unstressed if Y is followed by a consonant (cf. 3.1.5). In these cases we write ą. Exx. of Y(a):

ą-y-rá "to be born", ą-w-rá "to do", a-ya-rá "to lie down", a-yá "burden", ą́-wa "kin".

Exx. of Y(a)C(a):

a-wasá "sheep", a-wayʷə́ "man", a-yə́k̓a "cock's comb", a-wə́s "case", a-yáša "truth", a-wáp̓a "felt cloak", ą́-whʷ "behind", ą́-yaš "squirrel".

Exx. of aY(a):

ą̃y- ← ã-ay- "each other", ą̃w ← ã-aw "long".

Exx. of aY(a)C(a):

ąyxã ← a-ayxã "iron", ą̃yba ← ã-ayba "orphan".

3.3 Pronunciation of /ya, wa/.

3.3.1 Under stress we have [ya, wa], e.g.:

y-ãb, w-ab "his, your (m.) father", a-yãša "truth", a-wãp'a "felt cloak".

3.3.2 Unstressed we have [yɛ, wɔ], e.g.:

a-ya-rã "to lie down", a-walər "barrel", yacə̃ "yesterday", waz^{w}ə̃ "now", ą̃-yah^{w}a "wine-press", ą̃-waday^{w} "difficult".

In these cases the spelling is often ye (ie), wo (uo) or e, o.

3.3.3 The sequence ...Yah... is pronounced [Yah] if a is stressed, also in ...Yah$^{\#}_{C}$; otherwise [yɛh, wɔh] (i.e. if a is unstressed and h is followed by V), e.g. wãha [a] "more, else", ya-h-k'ə̃-yt' [a] "we caught it", yahã [ɛ] "more (comparative)", y-w-ahã-yt' [ɔ] "you heard it".

3.4 Pronunciation of CəY.

3.4.1 / $^{\#}_{C}$CəyV, $^{\#}_{C}$CəwV/ are pronounced [^{ə}y,w], [^{ə}] slightly coloured by following resonant: s^{ə}-yãša "my truth", s^{ə}-wãp'a "my felt cloak". Between resonants, [^{ə}] is coloured by the first one: w^{u}-yãša, y^{i}-wãp'a.

3.4.2 In the cases CəY, CəY$^{\#}_{C}$ əy,əw are pronounced [iy,uw]. Exx.:

sə̃-wa "my kin", yə̃-wa "his kin", sə̃-yac^{w}a "my star", wə̃-yac^{w}a "your star", a--bzə̃ya "good", a-k'^{w}ə̃wa "turtoise", ã-3ə-y "and the flea", y-ã-k^{w}ə-w-p' "it is on it", wə-y-bã-yt' "he saw you", yə-w-bã-yt' "you saw him", ã-ləw "millstone", a-šə̃məy "sort of millet".

4 Merging.

4.1 In general, 2 adjacent y's or w's do not merge:

y-yə̃rx "his wheat", y-yãrta "his bed", yə̃-yaš "his squirrel", y-yə̃-yt' "they were born", y-yã-yt' "they lay down", w-wə̃s "your work", w-wãp'a "your felt cloak", wə̃-wa "your kin", yə-w-wə̃-yt' "you did it", w-wantã-yt' "you ironed", a--wəw-rã "to howl", y-də̃wə-w-p' "it is big", y-awə̃-w-p' "it is long".

4.2 However, 2 y's merge if (1) the first y- is the subject-prefix (whether personal "it, they" or relative "which") and the second y- is the object- or agent-prefix and (2) the first y- is not stressed. These conditions are fulfilled in the following cases:

(y-)y-bã-yt' "he saw it,them" (but yə̃-y-ba-z "which he saw"), (y-)yə̃-sə-yt' "it,they hit him", (y-)yə̃-va-la-yt' "it,they went next to him", (yə-)y-čã-la-yt'

"it,they went to his face", (y-)yə̃-s-ta-yt' "I gave it,them to him".

4.3 The object-prefix y- and the agent-prefix y- do not merge:

d-yə̃-y-ta-yt' "he gave him to him", (y-)yə̃-y-ta-yt' "he gave it,them to him", də-y-yə-r-bã-yt' "he showed him to him", (yə-)y-yə-r-bã-yt' "he showed it,them to him".

4.4 For d-nã-y-t' ← d-nã-yə-yt', see II 6.2.1

4.5 Two w's merge if the first one ends the root and the second one is w in -wa Sit./Progr.:

yə-z-w-(w)ã-yt' "I do it", yə-w-w-(w)ã-yt' "you (sg.m.) do it".

FOOTNOTES: 1) See Allen 1965.

2) With the other labialized consonants the labialization is rendered by a digraph resp. diacritic.

3) Occasionally one finds graphic variants with and without ə, where no phonetic difference is possible, e.g., afəyʷrã/afyʷrã [afüra] "to smell at".

C H A P T E R IV

A B K H A Z V E R B M O R P H O L O G Y

1 INTRODUCTION.

1.1 Abkhaz verb-forms can contain a large number of elements, which occur in a definite order as shown in the ordered list below[1]. They fall into a lexical and a grammatical group. The lexical elements fall into stem-elements (St) and ad hoc elements, called markers (Ma); the grammatical elements into pronominal prefixes (Pr), tense-suffixes (Te), clausal affixes (Cl) and the negative affix (Ne). In the list, stem-elements are underlined and markers doubly underlined; where an Abkhaz morpheme is given, it is the only member of its class.

1	Pr	Subject prefix
2	Cl	Conjunctional prefix
3	Cl	Interrogative prefix ba-
4	Pr	Marker-object prefix
5	Ma	Prefixed marker
6	Pr	Causee prefix
7	Pr	(Indirect or preverbal) object prefix
8	St	Preverb
9	St	Fused particle
10	St	Copulative/factitive complement
11	Pr	Agent prefix
12	Ne	Negative prefix m-
13	St	Causative prefix r-
14	St	Root
15	St	Extension
16	Ma	Suffixed marker
17	Te	Tense A-suffix
18	Ne	Negative suffix -m
19	Te	Tense B-suffix
20	Cl	Ending

1.2 Pronominal prefixes.

1.2.1 Pronominal prefixes fall into (1) personal prefixes, (2) the reflexive prefix, (3) the reciprocal prefix and (4) the relative prefix. The pronominal prefixes are dealt with in detail in section 3.

1.2.2 Personal prefixes agree with (syntactically unmarked) subordinates with respect to person, class and number, and indicate their syntactic function by the form and/or position in the verb.

1.2.3 From a syntactic point of view, there are four types of personal prefixes:

(a) subject prefix, indicating the Abkhaz subject (corresponding to English subject of intransitive verbs and direct object of transitive verbs).

(b) agent prefix, indicating the Abkhaz agent (corresponding to English subject of transitive verbs).

(c) object prefix, indicating the Abkhaz object (corresponding to English indirect or prepositional object). The Abkhaz object prefix may be:

(ca) indirect-object prefix,

(cb) preverbal-object prefix (in comb. with a preverb),

(cc) marker-object prefix (in comb. with a prefixed marker).

Accordingly, we will speak of indirect object, preverbal object and marker object.

Outside the verb, the object prefix may be:

(cd) postpositional-object prefix (in comb. with a postposition),

(ce) possessive prefix (in comb. with a noun).

We will speak of postpositional object and possessor.

(d) causee prefix, indicating the causee of a causativized transitive verb.

1.3 Object-rection.

1.3.1 A preverb may or may not be combined with preverbal-object prefixes. In this respect, three types must be distinguished: type A must be combined with an object prefix, type B may be combined with one, type C cannot be combined with an object prefix. Moreover, type A takes prefixes of any person, whereas type B allows only 3sg.irrat., 3pl. and the relative prefix; the 3sg.irrat. object-prefix for type A is a-, for type B Ø-. In the following chart the 1sg. represents all object prefixes other than 3sg.irrat., 3pl. and the relative:

	A	B	C
1sg.	s-	—	—
3sg.irr.	a-	(Ø-)	—
3pl.	r-	(r-)	—
relative	z-	(z-)	—

Preverbs of type B are all of a local nature. Eight local preverbs allow forms of A as well as B (with a difference in meaning), see I 5.

1.3.2 The prefixed markers fall in two groups, viz. one that must and one that cannot be combined with object prefixes; hence they correspond to type A and C of the preceding section. Two markers allow forms of A as well as C (in transitive resp. intransitive verbs, see sect. 6 .2.3).

1.4 Degrees of Cohesion: preverb vs. prefixed marker.

1.4.1 Preverbs are closely tied up with roots to form "stems", e.g.:

d^{1}-sə̃^{7}-xʷa^{8}-pšə^{14}-yt'^{20} "he looked pšə at xʷa me"
a-kʷalāp y^{1}-Ø^{7}-tā^{8}-s^{11}-c'a^{14}-yt'^{20} "I put c'a it into ta the box kʷalap"

Prefixed markers are elements inserted ad hoc within the verb, e.g.:

d^{1}-sə̃^{4}-ç^{5}-ca^{14}-yt' "he left ca together with ç me"
yə^{1}-l^{4}-z̲ə̃^{5}-q'a^{8}-s^{11}-c'a^{14}-yt'^{20} "I did q'a-c'a it for z̲ her"

1.4.2 Many roots occur only in complex stems preverb+root, e.g. the root la "go" is found only with the preverbs kʷ "on", ta "in", c'a "under",etc.

1.4.3 The 3sg.irr. agent prefix is na- after a preverb and a- after a marker, cf.:

y^{1}-sə̃^{7}-kʷ^{8}-na^{11}-c'a^{14}-yt'^{20} "it put c'a it on kʷ me"
y^{1}-sə̃^{4}-ç^{5}-a^{11}-ba^{14}-yt'^{20} "it saw ba it together with ç me"

1.5 "Linkage".

1.5.1 In the English sentence "the man went into the house", the prepositional phrase "into the house" locates the subject "the man"; in "the man put the book on the table",the phrase "on the table" locates the direct object

"the book". On the other hand, the sentences "the man slept in the barn", "the man ate an apple in the barn" may be paraphrased as "the man slept and it happened in the barn", "the man ate an apple and it happened in the barn".

1.5.2 In Abkhaz, the "linkage" between subject and preverbal object is grammatically implied, in other words, the preverbal object always bears upon the Abkhaz subject (i.e. the English intr. subject or tr. direct object, see 1.2). Exx.:

a-cgʷə̃ a-xə̃b y^1-$Øə̃^7$-kʷə^8-z^{11}-b(a)^{14}-aa^{15}-yt'^{20} "I saw b(a)-aa the cat cgʷə (which was) on kʷə the roof xəb"

cf. a-xə̃b a-čə̃ a-cgʷə̃ $Ø^1$-z^{11}-bə̃^{14}-yt'^{20} "I, being on čə the roof xəb, saw ba the cat cgʷə"

a-mxə̃ a-wə̃s $Ø^1$-$Ø^7$-tə̃^{8}-z^{11}-wə^{14}-yt'^{20} "I did wə work wəs (i.e. worked) in ta the field mxə (i.e. cultivated it)"

cf. a-mxə̃ a-čə̃ a-wə̃s $Ø^1$-z^{11}-wə̃^{14}-yt'^{20} "I, being in čə the field mxə, did wə work wəs (i.e. worked)"

a-3ə̃ d^1-$Ø^7$-3ə̃a^8-psə^{14}-la^{15}-yt'^{20} "he died psə-la in 3aa the water 3ə (i.e. he drowned)"

a-čə̃ d^1-$ə̃^7$-kʷ^8-t'ʷa^{14}-yt'^{20} "he sat t'ʷa on kʷ the horse čə"

a-wə̃da də^1-$Ø^7$-yʷnə̃^{8}-la^{14}-yt'^{20} "he went la into yʷna the room wada"

1.5.2.1 If the preverb is of type C, then the "linkage" is between the subject and the preverb itself, e.g.:

a-cgʷə̃ $Ø^1$-š́-tə̃^{8}-s^{11}-č'a^{14}-yt'^{20} "I put č'a the cat cgʷə on the ground š́-ta"

a-wayʷə̃ d^1-na^8-sə̃^{11}-š́-tə^{14}-yt'^{20} "I sent š́-tə the man wayʷə thither na"

1.5.3 The marker, with or without the marker object, gives a circumstantial reference to the stem, e.g.:

ə̃-zʷ ə̃-hʷəzba y^1-ə̃^{4}-la^5-s^{11}-š́-ə^{14}-yt'^{20} "I killed š́-ə the cow zʷ with la the knife hʷəzba"

a-šə̃la (a-)aač'ʷə̃ y^1-lə^4-z^5-$Ø^7$-tə̃^{8}- "I put č'a the flour šəla into ta

-s^{11}-c̓a^{14}-yt̓^{20} — the sack aac̓^{w}a for z her"

ã-č̓ k̓^{w}ən d^{1}-aa^{5}-č˝č˝ã^{14}-yt̓^{20} — "the boy č̓ k̓^{w}ən laughed č˝č˝a hither aa (i.e. began to laugh)"

1.5.4 The postposition together with the postpositional object gives a circumstantial reference to the verb-form as a whole. Exx. (see also 1.5.2):

x-sãat-k̓ rə̃-la a-s^{w}q̓^{w}ə̃ d^{1}-ã^{7}-px˝a^{14}-yt̓^{20} — "he read px˝a the book s^{w}q̓^{w}ə in la three x hours saat"

arə̃y a-q̓nə̃t̓^{w} d^{1}-cã^{14}-yt̓^{20} — "because of q̓nət̓^{w} this arəy he left ca"

larã 1-ãx˝ d^{1}-cã^{14}-yt̓^{20} — "he went ca to ax˝ her lara"

sarã s-ãx˝ d^{1}-aã^{8}-y^{14}-yt̓^{20} — "he came aa-y to ax˝ me sara"

a-twãn a-q̓ə̃n3a d^{1}-y^{w}a^{8}-3ã^{14}-yt̓^{20} — "he reached 3a up y^{w}a to q̓ən3a the ceiling twan"

The last three examples show that, though not grammatically implied, there may be a semantic linkage between subject and postpositional object; in the last two examples the reason for using a postposition is evident: the verb-stem already contains a preverb.

1.6 There are elements which can function both as preverb and as prefixed marker, in other words, they may in one case form a close unit with the root, and in another case have an ad hoc function. The morphological criteria mentioned in 1.4.2-3 give the necessary clue here, e.g.:

y^{1}-na^{8}-na^{11}-gã^{14}-yt̓^{20} — "it took ga it thither na"

vs. y^{1}-na^{5}-(ã^{11}-)c̓^{w}axə^{14}-yt̓^{20} — "it hid c̓^{w}axə it thither na"

d^{1}-aa^{8}-na^{11}-gã^{14}-yt̓^{20} — "it brought ga him hither aa"

vs. d^{1}-aa^{5}-(ã^{11}-)r^{13}-č˝č˝a^{14}-yt̓^{20} — "it made r him laugh č˝č˝a hither aa"

y^{1}-na^{8}-s^{11}-cã^{14}-yt̓ — "I drove ca it thither na"

(there is no *yə^{1}-s^{11}-cã^{14}-yt̓^{20})

d^{1}-aã^{8}-y^{14}-t̓^{20} — "he came y hither aa"

(there is no *də̃^{1}-y^{14}-t̓^{20})

1.7 In the following sections we treat successively the stems (sect. 2), the pronominal prefixes (3), the tense-suffixes and clausal affixes (4), the negative affix (5) and the markers (6). We conclude with a section on clitics (7).

2 STEMS.

2.1 Introduction.

2.1.1 Stems are (α) plain, (β) causative or (γ) copulative/factitive stems.

2.1.2 Plain stems.

2.1.2.1 Plain stems consist of a root alone (R, slotnumber 14, see 1.1), of a combination of preverb (P,8)+R, or of a combination of P+R+extension (E,15) (stems R+E, without P, do not occur), e.g. ba "to see" (R), ta-ca "to put into" (P+R), ta-ga-la "to bring into" (P+R+E).

In addition, a (small) number of stems consist of a fused particle (F,9) plus root forming a semantic unit. Such a semantic unit may occur in combination with a P (and an E): F+R, P+F+R+(E); these stems are dealt with in I 10.

2.1.2.2 On the basis of their combinatory possibilities, to be dealt with in detail below, the preverbs fall into four classes, called (a) relational, (b) local, (c) directional and a restgroup, labeled (d) unique. Stem-type P+R+E (as well as P+F+R+E) occurs only with local preverbs.

2.1.2.3 Stems can be divided into the following categories:

(1) the intransitive vs. transitive category; the latter requires an agent prefix (A, slot-number 11).

(2) the static vs. dynamic category, distinguished by a different tense system (see sect. 4).

(3) the requirement vs. non-requirement of an object prefix (see 1.3).

2.1.2.4 Survey of the stems (P+)R(+E).

(see next pages)

STEM		Dyn.intr.	Dyn.tr.
R	C	d-t'ʷa-wã-yt' "he sits down"	də-z-ba-wã-yt' "I see him"
	B	d-Øə̃-r-wa-yt' "he crosses it"	– – –
	A	d-sə̃-s-wa-yt' "he beats me"	yə-lə̃-s-ta-wa-yt' "I give it to her"
P rel.+R	A	y-s-ãy-š-wa-yt' "it barks at me"	y-l-ã-s-hʷa-wa-yt' "I say it to her"
P loc.+R(+E)	C	də-š˝ta-t'ʷa-wã-yt' "he sits down on the ground"	yə-š˝ta-sə̃-ž˝-wa-yt' "I throw it to the ground"
	B	d-Ø-ta-t'ʷa-wã-yt' "he sits down in it"	y-Ø-ta-sə̃-ž˝-wa-yt' "I throw it in it"
	A	d-ã-va-t'ʷa-wa-yt' "he sits next to it"	y-ã-va-sə-ž˝-wa-yt' "I throw it next to it"
P dir.+R	C	d-aã-y-wa-yt' "he comes hither"	y-aa-z-ga-wã-yt' "I bring it hither"
P uniq.+R	C	də-pxa-š˝a-wã-yt' "he is ashamed"	y-gʷã-s-ta-wa-yt' "I notice it"
	A	yə-s-gʷa-pxa-wã-yt' "it pleases me"	yə-l-čə̃3ə-z-ga-wa-yt' "I blame it on her"

STEM		St.intr.	St.tr.
R	C	d-t̓ʷā-w-p̓ "he is sitting"	yə-s-kə̄-w-p̓ "I am holding it"
	B	– – –	– – –
	A	də-s-čə̄-w-p̓ "he is busy with me"	– – –
P rel.+R	A	y-sə-z-t̓ʷā-w-p̓ "it costs me"	– – –
P loc.+R(+E)	C	də-š´ta-t̓ʷā-w-p̓ "he is sitting on the ground"	– – –
	B	d-Ø-ta-t̓ʷā-w-p̓ "he is sitting in it"	– – –
	A	d-ā-va-t̓ʷa-w-p̓ "he is sitting next to it"	– – –
P dir.+R	C	– – –	– – –
P uniq.+R	C	– – –	– – –
	A	– – –	– – –

2.1.3 Causative stems and copulative/factitive stems.

2.1.3.1 Causative stems contain the causative prefix r- (slot-number 13). Cop./fact. stems contain one of the following roots: Ø St.intr. "be", zaa Dyn. intr. "be", xa Dyn.intr. "become", t'ʷ Dyn.tr. "make, turn into", š´a Dyn.tr. "find".

2.1.3.2 Scheme of the possible formations:

(8)	(9)	(10)	(13)	(14)	(15)	
(P)	(F)	--	--	R	(E)	plain
(P)	(F)	--	r	R	(E)	causative (of plain stem)
--	--	--	r	N_a	--	,, (of adjective)
(P)	(F)	(r+)R(+E)	--	Ø,xa	--	copulative (passive)
(P)	--	N	--	Ø,xa	--	,, (of noun)
(P)	--	N_s	--	t'ʷ	--	factitive (of substantive)

2.2 The plain stem.

2.2.1 Simple stems not requiring an object prefix.

2.2.1.1 Examples:

d-ca-wã-yt'	"he is going"	Dyn.intr.
də-z-ba-wã-yt'	"I see him"	Dyn.tr.
d-t'ʷã-w-p'	"he is sitting"	St.intr.
yə-s-kə̃-w-p'	"I am holding it"	St.tr.

2.2.1.2 All St.intr. stems of this group also occur as Dyn.intr.'s. They are the following:

d-t'ʷa-w-p'	"he is sitting"	d-t'ʷa-wã-yt'	"he sits down"
d-gə̃la-w-p'	"he is standing"	d-gə̃la-wa-yt'	"he stands up"
d-yã-w-p'	"he is lying"	d-ya-wã-yt'	"he lies down"
də̃-cʷa-w-p'	"he is sleeping"	də̃-cʷa-wa-yt'	"he falls asleep"
də-psə̃-w-p'	"he is dead"	də-ps-wã-yt'	"he dies"
də-pšə̃-w-p'	"he is waiting"	də-pš-wã-yt'	"he is waiting"
y-tʷə̃-w-p'	"it is full"	yə-tʷ-wã-yt'	"it is filled"
y-tacʷə̃-w-p'	"it is empty"	y-tacʷ-wã-yt'	"it gets empty"

2.2.1.3 The St.tr. stems are the following[1]:

yə-s-k̓ə̃-w-p̓[2] "I am holding it"
yə-s-taxə̃-w-p̓[3] "I want it"
yə-s-t̓ʷə̃-w-p̓ "I own it"

Notes: 1) For the argument to regard these stems as St.tr., rather than St.intr. (requiring an object prefix), see II 7.1.
2) The stem k̓ə also occurs as Dyn.tr. meaning "to get hold of"
3) The element tax also occurs as copulative complement, see 2.3.2.

2.2.1.4 A number of stems occur both as Dyn.intr. and as Dyn.tr.. They can be divided into two groups; the largest group comprises stems whose subject in the intr. use is identical with the agent in the tr. use, e.g. s-pa-wã-yt̓ "I knit", yə-s-pa-wã-yt̓ "I knit it". Besides, there is a small group where the subject in the intr. use is identical with the subject in the tr. use, e.g. y-bəl-wã-yt̓ "it burns", yə-z-bəl-wã-yt̓ "I burn it".

2.2.1.5 For the roots which, besides as simple stems, may also function as the root in complex stems, see the following sections. Some roots occur in simple stems exclusively, e.g. ca Dyn.intr. "to go, to leave", č̓ha Dyn.tr. "to endure".

2.2.2 Simple stems requiring an object prefix.

2.2.2.1 Examples:

d-rə̃-r-wa-yt̓	"he crosses them (viz. waters)"	Dyn.intr.
d-Øə̃-r-wa-yt̓	"he crosses it"	
d-sə̃-xʷa-wa-yt̓	"he helps me"	Dyn.intr.
y-sə̃-l-ta-wa-yt̓	"she gives it to me"	Dyn.tr.
də-s-c̓ə̃-w-p̓	"he is busy with me"	St.intr.

2.2.2.2 The stem r is the only instance of a stem of type B; the element r is also found as a local preverb, see I 5.105.

2.2.2.3 List of the Dyn.intr. stems:

d-a-pš-wã-yt̓[1]	"he looks at it"
d-sə̃-px̌a-wa-yt̓	"he calls me", also "to read"
d-a-fəyʷ-wã-yt̓	"he smells at it"

də-s-tãa-wa-yt̓	"he visits me"
d-ã-tʷhʷa-wa-yt̓	"he blows at it"
y-sə̃-cha-wa-yt̓[1]	"it bites me"
d-sə̃-s-wa-yt̓	"he beats me"
d-sə̃-š˝cəla-wa-yt̓	"he gets used to me"
d-a-gʷə3-wã-yt̓[2]	"he kisses it"
d-sə̃-gʷa-wa-yt̓	"he pushes me"
d-sə̃-xa-wa-yt̓	"he pulls me"
y-sə̃-x˝-wa-yt̓	"it hurts, happens to me"
d-sə̃-xʷa-wa-yt̓	"he helps me"
d-a-xʷa-wã-yt̓	"he sips it"
d-sə̃-hʷa-wa-yt̓[1]	"he asks, begs me"
də-s-yaãy-wa-yt̓	"he overpowers me"

Notes: 1) The stems pš, cha, hʷa occur also without object prefix; d-a-pš--wã-yt̓ is used only in the phrase a-zʷyʷasʷãq̓a d-a-pš-wã-yt̓ "he looks at the shoulder-blade (in fortune-telling)".
2) The stem gʷə3 also occurs as Dyn.tr..

2.2.2.4 There is only one Dyn.tr. stem requiring an object prefix:

y-sə̃-l-ta-wa-yt̓	"she gives it to me"

2.2.2.5 List of the St.intr. stems:

də-s-tã-w-p̓[1]	"he stays with me"
də-s-cʷə̃mɣə-w-p̓[2]	"he is hateful to me"
də-s-c̓ə̃-w-p̓	"he is busy with me"
d-sə̃-š˝cəla-w-p̓[3]	"he is used to me"
y-sə̃-gə-w-p̓[2]	"I lack it", lit. "it is lacked by me"
d-sə̃-kʷəytə-w-p̓	"he is entitled to me"
y-sə̃-matʷa-w-p̓	"it is of help to me"
y-s-ãtʷa-w-p̓	"it suits me"

Notes: 1) Cf. taa in 2.2.2.3.
2) The elements cʷəmɣ, g also occur as a copulative complement, see 2.3.2.
3) Cf. š˝cəla in 2.2.2.3.

2.2.3 Stems containing a relational preverb.

2.2.3.1 The relational preverbs are the following: xʷa- "at", a- "to, at", ay- "to, at", z- "for", cʷ- "against" (all of type A). Examples:

d-s-ā-cʷazʷa-wa-yt'	"he speaks to me"	Dyn.intr.
y-s-ā-l-hʷa-wa-yt'	"she says it to me"	Dyn.tr.
y-sə-z-t'ʷā-w-p'	"it costs me", lit. "it is sitting for me"	St.intr.

2.2.3.2 List of the relational Dyn.intr. stems:

d-sə̄-xʷa-pš-wa-yt' "he looks at me"
d-sə̄-xʷa-č̌č̌a-wa-yt' "he smiles at me"

d-s-ā-baš̌-wa-yt' "he struggles with me"
d-s-ā-bž̌a-wa-yt' "he advises me"
d-s-a-pə̄za-wa-yt' "he leads me"
y-s-ā-3a-wa-yt' "it falls to my share, I have (time)"
d-s-ā-clab-wa-yt' "he competes with me"
d-s-ā-cʷha-wa-yt' "he scolds me"
d-s-ā-cʷazʷa-wa-yt' "he speaks to me"
d-s-ā-š̌apk'-wa-yt' "he beseeches me"
d-s-ā-xʷətxʷət-wa-yt' "he whispers to me"
y-s-a-ha-wā-yt' "I hear it", lit. "it is audible to me"
y-s-ā-w-(w)a-yt' "I get it"
d-s-ā-makar-wa-yt' "he threatens me"
d-s-ā-lacʷq'ʷəs-wa-yt' "he winks at me"

d-s-āy-pxə3-wa-yt' "he dreams of me"
d-s-āy-s-wa-yt' "he quarrels with me"
d-s-āy-sʷarəca-wa-yt' "he hunts me"
d-s-āy-čərba-wa-yt' "he pays court to me"
d-s-āy-č'aha-wa-yt' "he looks after me"
y-s-āy-š-wa-yt' "it barks at me"
d-s-āy-g3a-wa-yt' "he spares me"
d-s-āy-gʷərɣ̌a-wa-yt' "he takes pleasure in me"
d-s-āy-k'an-wa-yt' "he competes with me"
d-s-āy-ɣ̌əč̌-wa-yt' "he robs me"

d-s-ãy-xs-wa-yt' "he shoots at me"
d-s-ãy-xərxʷa-wa-yt' "he bows at me"

də-s-zə-pš-wã-yt' "he is waiting for me"
y-sə-z-t'ʷa-wã-yt' "it costs me"
də-s-zə̃-ʒəryʷ-wa-yt' "he listens to me"
d-sə-z-c'aa-wã-yt' "he asks me"
d-sə-z-gʷəš̌-wã-yt' "he yearns for me"
d-sə-z-gʷãq'-wa-yt' "he needs me"
d-sə-z-gʷãa-wa-yt' "he gets angry with me"
y-sə-z-xa-wã-yt' "it is enough for me"
y-sə-z-ha-wã-yt' "I grow"
də-s-z-ãšš-wa-yt' "he complains about me"

yə-s-cʷə̃-ʒ-wa-yt' "I loose it", lit. "it is lost on me"
d-sə-cʷ-sʷa-wã-yt' "he is afraid of me"
d-sə-cʷ-gʷəš-wã-yt' "he gets furious with me"
d-a-cʷ-ãaš̌a-wa-yt' "he is lazy about (doing s.th.)"

2.2.3.3 List of the relational Dyn.tr. stems:

y-s-ã-l-hʷa-wa-yt' "she says it to me"

y-s-ãy-lə-rxa-wa-yt' "she turns it to me"

yə-s-zə̃-lə-cha-wa-yt' "she reports it to me"
yə-s-zə̃-l-k'-wa-yt' "she intends it for me"
bə-y-zə̃-s-hʷa-wa-yt' "I ask you to marry him"

də-s-cʷə̃-lə-xˇčˇa-wa-yt' "she protects him against me"
yə-s-cʷə̃-l-ga-wa-yt' "she takes it away from me"

2.2.3.4 The three relational St.intr. stems also occur as Dyn.intr.'s:

də-s-zə-pšə̃-w-p' "he is waiting for me"
y-sə-z-t'ʷa-w-p' "it costs me"
y-sə-z-xã-w-p' "it is enough for me"

2.2.4 The stems of local reference are treated in I.

2.2.5 Directional stems.

2.2.5.1 The directional preverbs are the following: aa- "hither", na- "thither, yʷa- "upwards", la- "downwards" (all of type C). The preverbs aa- and na- express direction towards resp. from the speaker (cf. English "he came home" and "he went home", "I brought him home" and "I took him home"). Examples:

d-aa-3a-wā-yt'	"he reaches hither"	Dyn.intr.
y-na-s-ca-wā-yt'	"I drive them (viz. cattle) thither"	Dyn.tr.

2.2.5.2 The directional stems are found with twelve roots that are listed here (exemplified with preverb na-):

d-na-pš-wā-yt'	"he looks thither"
d-na-3a-wā-yt'	"he reaches thither"
d-na-skʷa-wā-yt'	"he moves a little thither"
y-nā-yʷ-wa-yt'[1]	"it (viz. sound) travels thither"
d-na-hʷ-wā-yt'[1]	"he turns thither"
d-nā-y-wa-yt'	"he goes thither"
d-nā-lə-pxʷa-wa-yt'	"she calls him thither"
y-na-l-ca-wā-yt'[1]	"she drives them (viz. cattle) thither"
y-na-lə̄-cha-wa-yt'[1]	"she reports it thither"
d-na-lə̄-šʷt-wa-yt'	"she sends him thither"
d-na-l-ga-wā-yt'	"she takes him thither"
l-c̓ə̄-nā-l-xa-wa-yt'[2]	"she sets out thither", lit. "she pulls her face thither"

Notes: 1) The roots yʷ, hʷ, ca, cha are found only with the preverbs aa- and na-.

2) With the verb s-c̓-āa-s-xa-wa-yt' etc., the subject-slot is occupied by a possessive prefix plus c̓ə "face".

2.2.5.3 The roots of directional stems do not necessarily occur also in simple or LR-stems; there are four theoretical possibilities, for all of which instances exist:

D, +S, +LR: pš̌, hʷ, px̌a, ga, xa.
D, +S, -LR: cha, š̌t.
D, -S, +LR: ʒa, yʷ, ca.
D, -S, -LR: sǩa, y.

2.2.5.3 A small number of roots are combined with just one of the directional preverbs. They are the following:

y-aa-t'-wā-yt'	"it opens"
d-la-q'ʷ-wā-yt'	"he bends"
y-na-sə-gʒa-wā-yt'	"I finish it"
y-aā-s-xʷa-wa-yt'	"I buy it"
y-aa-s-rəx-wa-yt'	"I reap it"

2.2.5.4 The directional preverbs may be combined with the element sǩa (cf. root sǩa above) to form the complex preverbs aasǩa-, nasǩa-, yʷasǩa-, lasǩa "a little hither, thither, upwards, downwards". These complex preverbs are found only with the roots ga "take, bring" and px̌a "call", e.g.:

y-yʷasǩā-z-ga-wa-yt'	"I take, bring it a little upwards"
d-aasǩā-sə-px̌a-wa-yt'	"I call him nearer"

2.2.5.5 The stem yʷa-xa "to raise, to lift", lit. "to pull upwards" takes an object prefix:

sə-ǯ̌əmš̌-kʷa sə-r-yʷā-xa-wa-yt'	"I lift my eyebrows"
s-xə̄ s-Ø-yʷā-xa-wa-yt'	"I raise my head"

2.2.6 The unique stems are treated in I 5.118-123. The following stems must be added to this list:

5.124 pxa- (RI) C, cf? ā-pxa "warm": də-pxa-š̌ā-yt' "he felt ashamed".
5.125 ana- (RI) A: y-s-āna-xa-yt' "I was forgiven", y-s-āna-lə-ž̌ə-yt' "she forgave me".

2.3 The causative stem. Causative stems are formed with the prefix r- (slot-number 13). The causative expresses causation or permission ("make",

"let").

2.3.1 The following plain stems cannot be causativized:

(1) static stems,

(2) dyn.tr. stems requiring an object prefix,

(3) dyn.tr. LR-stems in general.

In the causativized verb the causer is the agent, while the agent of the basic verb becomes the causee, indicated by the causee prefix (C,6).

2.3.2 Survey of the causatives (cf. sect. 2.1.2.4).

STEM		Dyn.intr.	Dyn.tr.
R	C	d-sə-r-t'ʷa-wã-yt' "I seat him"	də-l-sə-r-ba-wã-yt' "I make her see him"
	A	d-a-sə̃-r-xa-wa-yt' "I make him pull it"	– – –
P rel.+R	A	y-lə-cʷ-sə̃-r-ʒ-wa-yt' "I make her lose it"	– – –
P loc.+R(+E)	C	də-šˊta-sə-r-t'ʷa-wã-yt' "I seat him on the ground"	– – –
	B	d-Ø-ta-sə-r-t'ʷa-wã-yt' "I seat him in it"	– – –
	A	d-ã-va-sə-r-t'ʷa-wa-yt' "I seat him next to it"	– – –
P dir.+R	C	d-aa-sə-r-pš-wã-yt' "I make him look hither"	y-l-ãa-sə-r-ga-wa-yt' "I make her bring it hither"
P uniq.+R	C	d-sə̃-r-pxa-šˊa-wa-yt' "I make him ashamed"	yə-l-gʷã-sə-r- ta -wa-yt' "I make her notice it"
	A	yə-l-gʷa-sə-r-pxa-wã-yt' "I cause it to please her"	– – –

Remarks: 1) Of course, not all stems that may be causativized according to the survey above, have been recorded as such.
2) Dyn.tr. ƙa-stems (see I 3.4) and fused stems (or "lexical compounds", see I 10) may be causativized, e.g. yə-l-ƙa-sə-r-psa-wā-yt' "I cause her to throw it", yə-l-p-sə-r-q'a-wā-yt' "I cause her to break it".
3) Dyn.tr. LR-stems may be causativized if they contain a complex ay-P loc. (with lexicalized meaning, see I 7.2), e.g. y-l-āy-l-sə-r-k'-aa-wa-yt' "I make her understand it".
4) The stem r-q'aċ'a (yə-l-sə̄-r-q'aċ'a-wa-yt' "I cause her to make it") is irregular since a) it is the causative of a dyn.tr. LR-stem and b) the preverb q'a- has become part of the root.
5) The causative of pxa-š̌a "to be ashamed" is r-pxaš̌a ; here too, the preverb pxa- has become part of the root.
6) The causative of the dyn.intr. stem a-ha "to hear" (see 2.2.3.2) is r-ha: yə-l-sə-r-ha-wā-yt' "I make her hear it", i.e. the preverb a- is dropped and the stem is simple (requiring an object prefix).
7) The causative of the dyn.intr. stem a-3a "to have (time)" (see 2.2.3.2) is a-r-a3a: y-l-ā-s-r-a3a-wa-yt' "I give her (time)" with twice a, the first one being a preverb, the second one being part of the root.

2.3.3 The root-slot of a causative may be filled with an adjective, e.g.:

y-sə-r-də̄w-wa-yt'	"I enlarge it, I make it big", cf. a-də̄w "big, large"
y-sə-r-k'̌āč'-wa-yt'	"I make it short", cf. a-k'̌āč' "short"
y-sə̄-r-q'apš̌-wa-yt'	"I make it red", cf. ā-q'apš̌ "red"

2.4 The copulative/factitive stem.

2.4.1 The copulative/factitive stems contain one of the following roots: Ø St.intr. "be", zaa Dyn.intr. "be", xa Dyn.intr. "become", t'ʷ Dyn.tr. "make, turn into" and š̌a Dyn.tr. "find". Root zaa, instead of Ø, is used in verb-forms with dynamic endings (such as, e.g., -lak̓ "wh-ever", see 4.4.6).

2.4.2 The copulative/factitive complement may be any nominal stem (simple, compound or derivation, and in sg. or pl.). Exx.:

d-wayʷə̄-Ø-w-p'	"he is a man", cf. a-wayʷə̄ "man"
də-bzə̄ya-Ø-w-p'	"he is good", cf. a-bzə̄ya "good"
d-wayʷ-bzə̄ya-Ø-w-p'	"he is a good man"
də-mč̌ə̄-da-Ø-w-p'	"he is weak", cf. ā-mč̌ə-da "weak, strength-less"

yə-3ɣ̄ab-cʷa-Ø-w-p' "they are girls", cf. ā-3ɣab "girl", -cʷa "pl.rat."
d-lasʷ-xa-wā-yt' "he goes blind", cf. ā-lasʷ "blind"
d-wayʷə̄-s-t'ʷ-wa-yt' "I make him a man"

2.4.3 The complement may take an object (viz. possessive) prefix, e.g.:

də-s[7]-pā[10]-Ø-w-p' "he is a son of mine", cf. a-pā "son"
də-s-yʷə̄za-xa-wa-yt' "he becomes a friend of mine", cf. a-yʷə̄za "friend"
də-s-t'ʷə̄-s-t'ʷ-wa-yt' "I make him my slave", cf. a-t'ʷə̄ "slave"

2.4.4 The complement may be one of the four comparatives that exist in Abkhaz, viz. ayha "bigger, more", ayč'a "smaller, less", ayɣ̆ə "better", aycʷa "worse"[2]. The comparatives may take as object prefix only 3sg.irrat., 3pl. or the relative prefix, i.e. they are of type B[3]; forms with 3pl. have a superlative meaning. Exx.:

arə̄y wə̄y y-Ø-āyha-Ø-w-p' "this arə̄y is bigger, more than that wə̄y"
y-r-ayč'ā-Ø-w a-labā "the smallest stick", lit. "the stick laba which is smaller than them"
d-Ø-āyɣ̆-xa-wa-yt' "he recovers", lit. "he becomes better"
y-Ø-aycʷā-s-t'ʷ-wa-yt' "I make it worse"

2.4.5 The copulative/factitive stem may contain one of the following preverbs: z-, cʷ-, ma-, kʷ-, e.g.:

də-s-cʷə̄-xara-Ø-w-p' "he is far away from me", cf. ā-xara "away"
ā-magʷ Ø-sə-z-bzə̄ya-Ø-w-p' "the boot magʷ fits me", lit. "is good for me"
d-ā-kʷ-šahatə-Ø-w-p' "he agrees with it", cf. ā-šahat "witness"

2.4.6 In certain fixed expressions, a pronoun, pronominal adverb or postposition is found as complement (for the grammatical affixes, see sect. 3,4):

Ø-a3ʷə̄-Ø-m-zar a3ʷə̄ d-sə-m-ba-wā-yt' "I don't see anybody at all", lit. if it isn't anybody, I don't see anybody"
Ø-ǯ̆ʼarā-Ø-m-zar ǯ̆ʼarā d-sə-m-ba-wā-yt' "I don't see him anywhere at all", lit. "if it isn't anywhere, I don't see him anywhere"

mšə̃-kʼ	y-ã-da-Ø-m-zar-gˇə	"if only for one day", lit. "even if it isn't except one day"

2.4.7 The element akʼʷ "identical to" (not found as a noun) occurs as complement in the stems akʼʷ-Ø, akʼʷ-zaa "to be (identifying)" and akʼʷ-xa "to appear to be (identifying)", e.g.:

s-ãb	Ø-y-ãkʼʷə-Ø-w-pʼ	"it is my father"
larã	Ø-l-ãkʼʷə-Ø-w-pʼ	"it is her"
sarã	Ø-s-ãkʼʷ-xa-wa-ytʼ	"it appears to be me"
yarã	d-z-akʼʷə̃-Ø-w-zay	"who is he?"

In the present tense we find, besides akʼʷ-Ø, the variant a-Ø:

yarã	Ø-y-ã-Ø-w-pʼ	"it is him"
larã	Ø-l-ã-Ø-w-ma	"is it her?"

2.4.8 The root šˇa Dyn.tr. "find, think" occurs only with a small number of complements. Exx.:

d-rə̃cha-s-šˇa-wa-ytʼ		"I pity him", cf. a-rə̃cha "pitiful"
y-lãkʼʷə-s-šˇa-wa-ytʼ		"I marvel at it", cf. a-lãkʼʷ "fairy-tale"

The complements ǰˇ and ǰˇa occur only as such:

yə[1]-w[7]-ǰˇə̃-s-šˇa-wa-ytʼ		"I am grateful to you[7] for it[1]"
də-ǰˇã-s-šˇa-wa-ytʼ		"I am astonished at him"

The stem ǰˇ-šˇa (complement without object prefix) is used to express "to think that (a fact)", e.g.:

d-cã-z	Ø-ǰˇə̃-s-šˇa-wa-ytʼ	"I think he has gone"

For the form d-cã-z, see 4.4.4.8.

2.4.9 Passive stems. The passive of Dyn.tr. stems is formed by treating

(r+)R(+E) as a complement in combination with the roots Ø and xa. Exx:

d-bã-Ø-w-p'	"he has been seen", lit. "he is seen"
y-sə̃-ta-Ø-w-p'	"it has been given to me"
y-sə-r-bã-Ø-w-p'	"it has been shown to me"
y-Ø-tã-ž-la-Ø-w-p'	"it has been thrown into it"
d-ba-xa-wã-yt'	"he is seen", lit. "he becomes seen"
y-sə̃-ta-xa-wa-yt'	"it is given to me"
y-sə-r-ba-xa-wã-yt'	"it is shown to me"
y-Ø-tã-ž-la-xa-wa-yt'	"it is thrown into it"

Passive stems are artificial, they are used to translate the passive of other languages.

3 PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.

3.1 Chart of the personal prefixes.

	subject (1)	object (4,7)	in causative verb-forms: causee (6) agent (11)	agent (11)
1sg.	s-	s-	s-	s-/z-
2sg.m.	w-	w-	w-	w-
f.	b-	b-	b-	b-
3sg.m.	d-	y-	y-	y-
f.	d-	l-	l-	l-
irr.	y-/Ø-	a-/Ø-	(n)a-	(n)a-
1pl.	h-	h-	h-	h-/aa-
2pl.	s^w-	s^w-	s^w-	s^w-/z^w-
3pl.	y-/Ø-	r-	d-	r-

Remarks: 1) C stands for C and Cə; h stands for h and ha (the only possible vowel adjacent to h is a, see III 1).

2) The prefixes of column 1 are recessive, those of column 2 and 3 are domi-

nant, the prefixes of column 4 are recessive, except 3sg.irr. (n)a- (see II 5. 2.2).

3) The choice between the agent prefix 1sg. s/z, 1pl. h/aa and 2pl. s^w/z^w is dependent on what follows: if the root begins with distinctively voiced C(a), the prefix is voiced; it is also voiced before y^w and w, but not before l, r (Dyn.tr. roots beginning in m, n do not exist). The voiced correlate of h, viz. *ʕ, has become aa in modern Abkhaz. Before a voiced root CC(a) we find (in written Abkhaz) both sə and z, etc. Exx.:

yə-s-pa-wã-yt'	"I knit it"	ya-h-pa-wã-yt'	"we id."
yə-z-ba-wã-yt'	"Isee it"	y-aa-ba-wã-yt'	"we id."
yə-z-w-wã-yt'	"I do it"	y-aa-w-wã-yt'	"we id."
yə-z-y^w-wã-yt'	"I write it"	y-aa-y^w-wã-yt'	"we id."
yə-s-laga-wã-yt'	"I grind it"	ya-h-laga-wã-yt'	"we id."
yə-z-$ʒ^w ʒ^w$a-wã-yt'	"I wash it"	y-aa-$ʒ^w ʒ^w$a-wã-yt'	"we id."
y-sə-$ʒ^w ʒ^w$a-wã-yt'		y-ha-$ʒ^w ʒ^w$a-wã-yt'	

4) The object prefix 3sg.irrat. is a- with type A stems, and Ø- with type B stems (see 1.3.1).

5) The agent prefix 3sg.irrat. is na-, rather than a-, if one or more of the prefixes 6-10 is present. As a result, the opposition C versus Ca, characteristic of many local preverbs, is maintained: C-na- vs. Ca-na-. Exx. with na-:

yə-s-nã-ta-wa-yt'	"it gives it to me"
y-aa-na-ca-wã-yt'	"it drives it hither"
y-ã-la-na-c'a-wa-yt'	"it puts it into it"
y-ã-l-na-x-wa-yt'	"it takes it out of it"
yə-s-na-r-ba-wã-yt'	"it makes me see it"

6) The subject prefix 3sg.irrat. and 3pl. is Ø-, instead of y-, if the subject itself immediately precedes the verb; as a result, one can distinguish between, e.g.,

a-lã	a-$cg^wə$	Ø-a-ba-wã-yt'	"the dog la sees the cat $cg^wə$"
a-lã	a-$cg^wə$	y-a-ba-wã-yt'	"the cat sees the dog"

Furthermore, if the stem allows only 3sg.irrat. subject prefix, the latter

is usually Ø- (these cases all concern "empty use" of the subject prefix, see the next section).

3.2 Empty use of 3sg.irrat. The subject prefix Ø- and the object prefix Ø- are often "empty", i.e. cannot be specified by a word outside the verb-form (cf. English "it rains", "she queened it"). Exx. with subject prefix:

Ø-pxnə̃-Ø-w-pʼ (also y-)	"it is summer"
Ø-aapənra-xa-wã-ytʼ (also y-)	"it becomes spring"
sarã Ø-s-ãkʼʷə-Ø-w-pʼ	"it is me"
sarã Ø-sə-z-ha-wã-ytʼ (also y-)	"I grow", lit. "it grows for me"

For exx. with object prefix, see I 8.

Though rarely, one also finds instances of "empty use" with the subject prefix y-, object prefix a- and agent prefix (n)a-. For exx. with y-, see above; for exx. with a-, see I 8; Exx. with (n)a-:

a-kʷã Ø-a-w-wã-yt	"it rains", lit. "it makes rain kʷa"
a-kʷã Ø-s-čʼa-na-w-(w)ã-ytʼ	"it rains in my face"

3.3 Reflexivity.

3.3.1 Abkhaz has a subject prefix č- which in combination with a possessive (= object) prefix expresses a reflexive relation between subject and agent, e.g.:

s-čə̃-s-kʼʷaba-wa-ytʼ	"I wash myself"
a-3ə̃ y-č-ã-y-ta-wa-ytʼ	"he drowns himself", lit. "he gives himself to the water 3ə"
s-čə-y-tʼʷə̃-s-tʼʷ-wa-ytʼ	"I submit to him", lit. "I make myself his slave"
lə-č-Ø-ta-lə̃-žˊ-wa-ytʼ	"she throws herself into it"
sə-č-sə-r-ps-wã-ytʼ	"I pretend to be dead", lit. "I cause myself die"
ã-mla s-č-a-sə-r-ga-wã-ytʼ	"I starve", lit. "I let the hunger mla take me"
a-sãrkʼˇa s-č-a-nə̃-z-ba--la-wa-ytʼ	"I see myself in the mirror sarkʼˇa"

3.3.2 For the rest, reflexivity is expressed by phrases involving the noun xə lit. "head", here "self", or is not expressed at all. Exx. with xə:

s-xə̃	Ø-z-ba-wã-yt	"I see myself"
l-xə̃	Ø-l-də̃r-wa-yt'	"she knows herself"
y-xə̃	Ø-s-yə-r-š́-wã-yt'	"he causes me to kill him"
l-xə̃	y-ã-də-l-c'a-wa-yt'	"she charges herself with it", lit. "she puts it next to herself"
y-xə̃ p'at'əw	Ø-ã-kʷə-y--c'a-wa-yt'	"he respects himself", lit. "he puts respect p'at'əw on himself"
s-xə̃	y-a-sə̃-r-xʷa-wa--yt'	"I make use of it", lit. "I cause it to be of help to me"
s-xə̃	s-ã-s-wa-yt'	"I beat myself"
l-xə̃	d-a-z-gʷãa-wa-yt'	"she is angry with herself"

3.3.3 Exx. where the reflexive relation is not expressed:

(ã-)aykʷa	Ø-lə̃-š́a-l-c'a--wa-yt'	"she dresses her(self or another) in the trousers", lit. "she puts the trousers aykʷa on her"
y-lə̃-l-lə-r-ša-wa-yt'		"she causes her(self) to be able to it"

3.4 Reciprocity.

3.4.1 The agent prefix (a)y-ba- indicates a reciprocal relation between agent and (a) subject, (b) object or (c) causee; the prefix has the form y-ba- if it is preceded by one or more of the prefixes 6-10, cf. 3.1 Remark 5). Exx.:

sʷ-ay-ba-ba-wã-yt'	"you see e.o."
a-3ə̃ y-Øə̃-rə-y-ba-ga-wa-yt'	"they take e.o. across the water 3ə"
h-k'ã-y-ba-ž́-wa-yt'	"we throw e.o. down"
y-ay-bã-r-č́č́a-wa-yt'	"they make e.o. laugh"
ã-myʷa y-a-nə̃-y-ba-r-3a-la--wa-m	"the road is thronged with people", lit. "they cause e.o. not to find room on the road myʷa"

ã-hatər Ø-sʷə̃-kʷə-y-ba-c̓a-wa-yt̓	"you respect e.o.", lit. "you put respect hatər on e.o."
a-q̓ama-kʷa Ø-rə̃-la-y-ba-hʷa-wa-yt̓	"they thrust the daggers q̓ama into e.o."
y-sʷə̃-y-ba-r-ba-wa-yt̓	"you make e.o. see it"
y-də̃-y-ba-r-hʷa-wa-yt̓	"they give e.o. a chance to say it" "

3.4.2 The object prefix ay- expresses a reciprocal relation between object and subject, e.g.:

sʷ-ay-s-wã-yt̓	"you beat e.o."
y-ay-la-t̓ʷa-wã-yt̓	"they sit down between themselves"
y-ay-lã-s-c̓a-wa-yt̓	"I mix them up"
y-ay-la-sə-r-t̓ʷa-wã-yt̓	"I make them sit down between themselves"
y-ay-z-gʷãa-wa-yt̓	"they are angry with e.o."
y-ay-nasə̃p-xa-wa-yt̓	"they make e.o. happy" (ã-nasəp "happiness")

The relational preverbs a-, ay- are dropped, e.g.:

y-ay-cʷãzʷa-wa-yt̓	"they talk to e.o.", cf.:
d-s-ã-cʷazʷa-wa-yt̓	"he talks to me" (see 2.2.3.2)

3.4.3 The following instances of object prefix ay-b- are found:

y-ay-bə̃-sʷ-hʷa-wa-yt̓	"you say it to e.o.", cf.:
y-s-ã-l-hʷa-wa-yt̓	"she says it to me" (see 2.2.3.3)
y-ay-b-ã-d-r-a3a-wa-yt̓	"they give e.o. (time)", cf.:
y-s-ã-l-r-a3a-wa-yt̓	"she gives me (time)" (see 2.3.2 Remark 7)
y-ay-bə̃-s-ta-wa-yt̓	"I assemble it", lit. "I give them to e.o.", cf.:
y-sə̃-l-ta-wa-yt̓	"she gives it to me" (see 2.2.2.4)

3.4.4 The causee prefix ay-ba- expresses a reciprocal relation between causee and subject, e.g.:

sʷ-ay-ba-sə-r-ba-wã-yt̓	"I show you to e.o."

y-ay-ba-sə-r-də̃r-wa-yt̓	"I introduce them to e.o.", lit. "I cause them to know e.o."

3.5 Combinations of reciprocal ay-(b-) with reflexive č- or reciprocal (a)y-ba-:

s-č-ãy-la-s-hʷa-wa-yt̓	"I dress myself", cf.:
d-ay-lã-s-hʷa-wa-yt̓	"I dress him"
s-č-ãy-bə-s-ta-wa-yt̓	"I equip myself", cf.:
d-ay-bə̃-s-ta-wa-yt̓	"I equip him"
y-ay-lə̃-y-ba-k̓-aa-wa-yt̓	"they understand e.o.", cf.:
y-ay-lə̃-s-k̓-aa-wa-yt̓	"I understand them"
y-ay-də̃-y-ba-r-psə-la-wa-yt̓	"they cause e.o. to die next to e.o.", cf.:
y-ay-d-sə-r-psə̃-la-wa-yt̓	"I cause them to die next to e.o."

The only instance of a combination of the reciprocal causee-prefix ay-ba- with reflexive č-:

r-č-ãy-ba-də-r-k̓-wa-yt̓	"they unite", lit. "they cause themselves to hold e.o.", cf.:
y-ay-ba-sə-r-k̓-wa-yt̓	"I cause them to hold e.o."

3.6 The relative prefix.

3.6.1 The relative subject prefix is y- (dominant), the relative prefix in the other pronominal prefix slots is z- (recessive). The relative prefix is neutral with regard to person, class and number. Exx.:

y-t̓ʷã-w	"the one that is sitting"
y-ca-wã	"the one that is going"
yə̃-s-pa-wa	"the one that I am knitting"
yə-z-pa-wã	"the one that is knitting it"
yə-z-tã-s-c̓a-wa	"into which I put it"
yə-z-sə-r-ba-wã	"to which I show it"
y-ãy-ba-ba-wa	"the ones that see e.o."
y-ãy-la-s-c̓a-wa	"the ones I mix up"
z-čə̃-z-š́-wa	"the one that kills him-, her, itself"
yə-z-xã-z-c̓a-wa	"the one that puts it on his, her, its (own) head"

3.6.2 Relativity may (or may also) be expressed outside the verb-form, e.g.:

z-pā	d-ca-wā	"the one whose son is going"
z-pā	də-l-ba-wā	"the one whose son she sees"
z-pā	də-z-ba-wā	1) "the one that sees his, her (own) son"
		2) "the one whose son I see"
z-čə̄	s-ā-kʷ-t'ʷa-w	"the one whose horse I am sitting on"
z-čə̄	y-ā-kʷ-t'ʷa-w	1) "the one that is sitting on his, her (own) horse"
		2) "the one whose horse they are sitting on"

The relative group may contain a second verb-form with the relative prefix, e.g. (for the ending, see 4.4.15):

a-mčə̄	Ø-zə-n-Ø-nə̄	"the cart wardən that is standing with wood on it",
y-gə̄la-w	a-wardə̄n	lit. "wood mčə being on which"

3.6.3 The relative form may (a) function as a subordinate, or (b) be combined with a noun (or pronoun), which itself functions as a subordinate. In case (b), the relative form has a restrictive meaning if it precedes the noun, and a non-restrictive meaning if it follows it. Exx.:

yə̄-l-yʷə-z	s-ā-px-a-wa-yt'	"I am reading what she has written"
yə-z-yʷə̄-z	də-z-ba-wā-yt'	"I see the one who has written it"
yə-z-yʷə̄-z	də-z-dər-wa-yt'	"I know the one who has written it"
yə̄-l-yʷə-z	a-sʷqʷ-kʷā	"the books that she has written"
a-sʷqʷ-kʷā	yə̄-l-yʷə-z	"the books, which she has written"
warā	y-ca-wā	"you, who are going"

4 TENSE-SUFFIXES AND CLAUSAL AFFIXES.

4.1 Introduction.

4.1.1 There are two kinds of tense-suffixes, called the tense A-suffixes (slot-number 17) and the tense B-suffixes (slot-number 19). The five tense A-suffixes, which can only be combined with a dynamic stem, give the general tense-plan, e.g. -wa "Situational/Progressive", -xʷa "Perfect". The two tense B-suffixes, which are combined with a static stem or with a tense A-suffix, express present resp. past.

4.1.2 As regards their combinability with tense-suffixes, four types of endings (slot-number 20) must be distinguished:

(1) ending A immediately follows a static stem,

(2) ending B is combined with a tense B-suffix,

(3) ending C is combined with a tense A-suffix and

(4) ending D immediately follows a dynamic stem.

(It follows that forms with an ending of type A or D are tenseless.)

4.1.3 In forms with a tense B-suffix the ending may be absent. In such cases the form either contains a conjunctional prefix (slot-number 2), e.g. an- "when", which in turn may be followed by the interrogative prefix -ba- (slot-number 3), e.g. an-ba- "when?", or it contains the relative prefix y-, z- "which" (see 3.6); the latter form can be turned into a question by the endings -da "who?", -z(a)y, -y, -z "what?". In addition, there is an interrogative prefix aw-, see 4.4.2.3.

4.1.4 One ending of type D, viz. -laǩ(-gˇə) "-ever", requires a conjunctional or relative prefix, e.g. an-...-laǩ(-gˇə) "whenever".

4.2 Chart of the tense-suffixes and clausal affixes.

(see next pages)

(Rel. prefix y-, z-)

Conj. prefix		
an-	"when"	-ba- "?"
ax˝-	"where"	
š-	"how, that"	
z-	"why"	

Interr. prefix aw-

STATIC

STATIC

or

DYN.+Tense A:

-wa	Sit./Progr.
-Ø	Aorist
-ša	Future
-r(a)	Volitive
-x˝a, -c	Perfect

DYNAMIC

(Rel. prefix y-, z-)
Conj. prefix (see above)

-z	imperative		Ending A	
		-(y)t', -p'	declarative	
		-ma, -w	interrogative	Ending B'
		-s^{w}a	"as if"	
		-da	"who?"	Ending B''
		-z(a)y, -y, -z	"what?"	
	Tense B: -Ø, -w	present		
	Tense B: -z	past		
	-zar, -ztg$^{\varsigma}$ə	conditional II		
	-zaayt'	subjunctive II		
	-nda(z)	optative		
	-n(ə), -Ø	gerund		Ending C
	-nac'(ə)	"as long as"		
	-yž$^{\varsigma}$tay	"since"		
	-zaap', -zaarən	inferential (present,past)		
	-r	conditional I		
	-rc, -racə	"in order to"		
	-rt'^{w}, -rat'^{w}ə	"such that"		
	-aayt'	subjunctive I		Ending D'
	-Ø	imperative		
	-aan3a	"until"		
	-cəpx$^{\varsigma}$a3a	"every time"		
	-lak$^{\varsigma}$(-g$^{\varsigma}$ə)	"wh-ever"		Ending D''

Remarks: 1) The amalgam morpheme -n replaces the combination of the tense B-suffix -z plus the declarative ending -(y)t'/-p' in positive forms, e.g.:

d-t'ʷā-n "he was sitting"
d-ca-wā-n "he was going"

2) The amalgam morpheme -p' replaces the combination of the tense A-suffix -r(a) plus the tense B-suffix -Ø plus the declarative ending -(y)t' in positive forms, e.g.:

d-cā-p' "he will go"

3) The choice between -yt' and -t' is determined by a phonological factor: the suffix may be -t' if it follows a recessive element (which in that case drops a final a), see II 6.2.1. With tense A-suffix -š(a) and with tense B-suffix -z the short form is obligatory, e.g.:

d-Ø-tə̄-c'ə-Ø-Ø-yt'/d-Ø-tə̄-c'-Ø-Ø-t' "he went out of it"
d-Ø-tā-la-Ø-Ø-yt'/d-Ø-tā-l-Ø-Ø-t' "he went into it"
d-cā-š-Ø-t' "he will go"

4) The tense A-suffix of the Volitive is -rə before a recessive element and -ra before a dominant one or in final position, e.g.:

d-ca-rə̄-Ø-ma "will he go?"
d-ca-ra-Ø-sʷā "as if he will go"
d-an-ca-rā-Ø "when he will go"

5) The tense B-suffix -w occurs only in positive forms of the static verb (other than those with -da "who?") and in part of the Perfect of the dynamic verb.

6) The declarative ending -p' is limited to only one form, viz. the present positive of the static verb, the past negative of the static verb being -t' (see 5.2 Remark 1; for the past positive, see Remark 1 above, for the present negative, see 5.2 Remark 2).

7) The Perfect tense A-suffixes -xʷa and -c are in free variation in a number of forms; otherwise, -xʷa is characteristic of positive, -c of negative

forms.

8) The ending forming a what-question is -z with the tense B-suffix -z, and -z(a)y or, rarely, -y with the tense B-suffixes -w, -Ø.

9) In all forms with the tense B-suffix -z and the ending -da "who?", these suffixes change places, i.e. -z comes after -da, e.g.:

y-t'ʷã-da-z	"who was sitting?"
y-ca-wã-da-z	"who was going?"

As for -z "what?" (see Remark 8), since the tense B-suffix is homophonous with this suffix, here the question of order does not arise (exx. 4.4.3.2).

10) With the endings -zaap' and -zaarən the opposition present vs. past is not expressed by the tense B-suffix, but in the ending itself. The suffixes -zaap', -zaarən, -zaayt' and -zar actually represent the root zaa Dyn.intr. "be" (see 2.4.1) plus the endings -aayt' (subjunctive I), -p' and rə-n (see Remarks 1-2), and -r (conditional I) respectively.

4.3 Use and meaning of the tenses.

4.3.1 The tense A-suffixes. The Static and the Sit./Progr. -wa express a state or action that is (a) progressive, (b) habitual or (c) future (with the connotation: "certainty"). The Aorist -Ø expresses a completed action in the past. The Future -š(a) expresses an action in the future. The Volitive expresses an action in the future (with the connotation "intention"). The Perfect expresses an action that has taken place before.

4.3.2 The tense B-suffixes. The suffixes -Ø, -w express present, the suffix -z expresses past. As in many other languages, the combination of future and past elements may yield the meaning: unreal.

4.3.3 Combinations of tense A- and tense B-suffixes:

d-t'ʷã-w-p'	(a) "he is sitting"
	(b) "he is (always) sitting"
	(c) "he is sitting, he will (certainly) be sitting"
d-t'ʷã-n	(a) "he was sitting"
	(b) "he used to sit"
	(c) "(then) he would (certainly) be sitting/ have been sitting"

d-ca-wã-Ø-yt'	(a) "he is going"
	(b) "he (always) goes"
	(c) "he is going, he will (certainly) go"
d-ca-wã-n	(a) "he was going"
	(b) "he used to go"
	(c) "(then) he would (certainly) go/ have gone"
d-cã-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he left/ has left"
d-cã-n[1]	"he left/ has left and then"
d-cã-š-Ø-t'	"he will go"
d-cã-ša-n	"(then) he would go/ have gone"
d-cã-p'	"he will (intends to) go"
d-ca-rə̃-n	"(then) he would (intended to) go/ have gone"
d-ca-x̌ã-Ø-yt'	"he has (already) gone"
d-ca-x̌ã-n	"he had (already) gone"

Note: 1) The Aorist past has the same meaning as the Aorist present; it is used if followed by another declarative, e.g.:

d-aã-y-n y-s-ã-l-hʷa-Ø-Ø-yt' "she came and told it to me"

4.4 Use and meaning of the clausal affixes.

4.4.1 The declarative ending is used for statements, e.g.:

d-t'ʷã-w-p' "he is sitting."

4.4.2.1 The ending -ma expresses a neutral yes-no question, e.g.:

d-t'ʷã-w-ma	"is he sitting?"
d-ca-wã-z-ma	"was he going?"

4.4.2.2 The ending -w expresses an alternative or indirect question, e.g.:

d-ca-wã-Ø-w	"is he going or not?"
d-ca-rə̃-Ø-w	"will he go or not?"
d-ca-wã-Ø-w Ø-w-dər-wa-Ø-ma	"do you know whether he is going?"

4.4.2.3 The prefix aw- expresses a rhetorical question (Russian razve); it

is usually accompanied by the suffixed marker -x̲, see 6.3.2.

d-aw-t̓ʷã̲-x̲ə̲-w	"is he sitting?" (implication: "you know he isn't")
d-aw-cã̲-x̲-wa-z	"was he going?"

4.4.3.1 The ending -da expresses a who-question, e.g.:

y-t̓ʷã̲-Ø-da	"who is sitting?", lit. "who is the one that is sitting?"
yə̃-z-ba̲-wa-da-z	"whom did I see?"
yə-z-ba̲-wã-da-z	"who saw it?"
yə-z-xã̲-s-c̓a̲-wa-Ø-da	"on whose head do I put it?"
yə-z-sə-r̲-ba̲-wã-Ø-da	"to whom do I show it?"
y-ãy-ba-ba̲-wa-Ø-da	"which people see e.o.?"
z-čə̃-z-š́-wa-Ø-da	"who kills him-, herself?"
yə-z-xã̲-z-c̓a̲-wa-Ø-da	"who puts it on his, her head?"
z-pã d-ca̲-wã-Ø-da	"whose son is going?"
z-čə̃ s-ã-kʷ-t̓ʷa̲-Ø-da	"whose horse am I sitting on?"

4.4.3.2 The ending -z(a)y, -y, -z expresses a what-question, e.g.:

y-ca̲-wã-Ø-zay	"what is going?"
yə̃-z-ba̲-wa-zə-z	"what did I see?"
yə-z-ba̲-wã-zə-z	"what saw it?"
y-sə̃-xʷa̲-wa-Ø-zay	"what helps me?"
s-zə-yʷnã̲-la̲-rə-Ø-zay	"into what (lodging) will I enter?"

4.4.4 Conjunctional forms.

4.4.4.1 There are the following conjunctional prefixes: an- "when", ax̌- "where, whither", ax̌ə-n3a- "up to where, up to when", ax̌ə-nt̓ʷ- "from where", š- "as, while, that", z- "why".

4.4.4.2 Exx. with an-:

yarã̲ d-an-cã̲-Ø-Ø sarã̲ sə--n-xã̲-Ø-Ø-yt̓	"when he left, I stayed"
d-an-ca̲-wã-Ø Ø-z-də̃r̲-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I know when he will go"
d-an-cã̲-Ø-Ø a-čnə̃	"the day he left"

d-an-ca-wã-Ø Øə̃-q̓a-Ø-w-p̓ "it occurs that he leaves"

4.4.4.3 Exx. with axˇ-:

yarã d-axˇ-cã-Ø-z sar-gˇə̃ "where he went, I went too"
s-cã-Ø-Ø-yt̓
d-axˇ-ca-wã-Ø Ø-z-də̃r-wa-Ø-yt̓ "I know where he will go"
d-axˇ-yə̃-Ø-z (ã-)adgˇəl "the place where he was born"

Conjunctional forms with axˇ- are often subordinated to emotive verbs, e.g.:

d-axˇ-ca-wã-Ø Ø-s-gʷa-pxa-wã- "it pleases me that he is leaving"
-Ø-yt̓
d-axˇ-ca-wã-Ø s-a-z-gʷãa-wa- "I get angry at his leaving"
-Ø-yt̓
d-axˇ-ca-wã-Ø s-ã-c̓a-šəc-wa- "I envy him for leaving"
-Ø-yt̓

4.4.4.4 Exx. with axˇə-n3a-:

d-axˇə̃-n3a-ca-wa-Ø "up to where he goes"
d-axˇə̃-n3a-q̓a-Ø-w "as long as he exists"

4.4.4.5 Exx. with axˇə-nt̓ʷ-:

d-axˇə̃-nt̓ʷ-aa-y-Ø-z d-cã-Ø-Ø- "he went to where he came from"
-yt̓
d-axˇə̃-nt̓ʷ-aa-y-Ø-z Ø-z-də̃r- "I know where he came from"
-wa-yt̓

4.4.4.6 Exx. with š-:

y-šə̃-zʷ-ba-wa-Ø d-cã-Ø-Ø-yt̓ "as you see, he has gone"
də-š-ca-wã-Ø Ø-z-dər-wa-Ø-yt̓ "I know that he will leave"
y-s-ã-sʷ-hʷa-Ø-z s-nəq̓ʷa-Ø-Ø- "I have acted as you told me"
-yt̓

də-š-ca-wã-z sə-y-bã-Ø-Ø-yt' "while he was going, he saw me"

Conjunctional forms with š- are often subordinated to verba sentiendi et declarandi, e.g.:

də-š-cã-Ø-z Ø-gʷã-s-ta-Ø-Ø-yt' "I noticed that he had gone"
də-š-ca-rã-Ø Ø-s-hʷa-wã-Ø-yt' "I say that he will go"

4.4.4.7 Exx. with z-:

də-z-ca-wã-Ø Ø-z-dər-wa-Ø-yt' "I know why he is going"
arəy a-zə Ø-(ã-)a-Ø-w-p' "it is because of this that he goes"
də-z-ca-wã-Ø

4.4.4.8 Forms with a zero conjunctional prefix occur only subordinated to the verb ǯ-š a "to think that" (see 2.4.8), e.g.:

d-Ø-cã-Ø-z Ø-ǯə̃-s-š a-Ø-Ø-yt' "I thought he had gone"

4.4.5 Adverbial questions.

4.4.5.1 Adverbial questions are formed by adding to the conjunctional prefixes (except z- "why") the element -ba, -pa; before this element ax- appears as a-: a-ba-. The prefix z- takes the ending -zay, lit. "what is it why?".

In addition, there are questions with the complex ar-ba-n- "which?" (where ar- can be identified with the deictic root ar in arə̃-y "this", ar-ã "here", etc.), and with a-ba-tʼʷəy- "what kind of?", lit. "of where?". Such questions occur only with copulative/factitive stems.

4.4.5.2 Exx. with an-ba-:

d-an-bã-ca-wa-Ø "when does he go?"
y-an-bã-sə-ma-Ø-z "when did I have it?"

4.4.5.3 Exx. with a-ba-:

d-a-bã-ca-wa-Ø "where does he go?"
y-a-bã-sə-ma-Ø-w "where do I have it?"

4.4.5.4 Ex. with a-ba-n3a-:

d-a-bā-n3a-ca-wa-Ø "up to where does he go?"

4.4.5.5 Ex. with a-ba-nt'^{w}-:

d-a-bā-nt'^{w}-aa-y-wa-Ø "where does he come from?"

4.4.5.6 Exx. with š-pa-:

yə-š-pā-z-w-(w)a-Ø "how will I do it?"
wə-š-pā-q'a-Ø-w "how are you?"

4.4.5.7 Exx. with z-...-zay:

də-z-ca-wā-Ø-zay "why does he go?"
d-z-a-č̣ə̄-w-zay "why is he busy with it?"

4.4.5.8 Exx. with ar-ba-n-:

y-ār-ba-n-wada-Ø-w "which room is it?"
y-ār-ba-n-saatə-Ø-w "what time is it?", lit. "which hour is it?"

4.4.5.9 Ex. with a-ba-t'^{w}əy-:

d-a-bā-t'^{w}əy-čada-Ø-w "what kind of an ass a-čāda he is!"

4.4.6 The combination of a relative or conjunctional prefix with the ending -lak'^{w}(-g^{w}ə̄) expresses "whoever, whatever, whenever, etc.", e.g.:

y-ca-lāk'^{w}(-g^{w}ə) "whoever, whatever (is, etc.) going"
d-an-ca-lāk'^{w}(-g^{w}ə) "whenever he (is, etc.) going"
d-ax^{w}-ca-lāk'^{w}(-g^{w}ə) "wherever he (is, etc.) going"
y-sə̄-ma-zaa-lak'^{w}(-g^{w}ə) "whoever, whatever I have, had"
d-z-ak'^{w}ə̄-zaa-lak'^{w}(-g^{w}ə) "whoever he is, was"
d-ax^{w}ə̄-q'a-zaa-lak'^{w}(-g^{w}ə) "wherever he is, was"

4.4.7 The stem ak̓ʷ-Ø / ak̓ʷ-zaa "to be identical to" (see 2.4.7) may be used in so-called "cleft sentences", e.g.:

warã Ø-w-ãk̓ʷə-Ø-w-p̓ yə̃-q̓a-z- -c̓a-Ø-z		"it is you that did it"
yax̌ã Ø-(ã-)ak̓ʷə-Ø-w-p̓ d-an- -ca-wã-Ø		"it is today that he is leaving"

The same stem may be used in adverbial questions and in -lak̓̌-forms; note the irregularity -ba+ak̓ʷ→-bə-k̓ʷ-. Exx.:

y-an-bə̃-k̓ʷə-Ø-w	"when is it?"
y-a-bə̃-k̓ʷə-Ø-w	"where is it?"
yə-š-pə̃-k̓ʷə-Ø-w	"how is it?"
y-an-ãk̓ʷ-zaa-lak̓̌(-ǧə)	"whenever it is, was"
y-ax̌-ãk̓ʷ-zaa-lak̓̌(-ǧə)	"wherever it is, was"
y-š-ãk̓ʷ-zaa-lak̓̌(-ǧə)	"however it is, was"

4.4.8 The root Ø / zaa may be used without copulative/factitive complement in forms with the complex prefixes ar-ba-n- "which?", z-ba-n- "why?" (the tense B-suffix may be -Ø or -w):

s-ãr-ba-n-Ø(-w)	"who am I?"
d-ãr-ba-n-Ø(-w)	"who is he, she?"
y-ãr-ba-n-Ø(-w)	"what is it, who are they?"
yə-z-bã-n-Ø	"why is it?"
d-ãr-ba-n-zaa-lak̓̌(-ǧə)	"whoever he, she is"
y-ãr-ba-n-zaa-lak̓̌(-ǧə)	"whatever it is, whoever they are"

4.4.9 Conditional I and II.

4.4.9.1 The conditional I -r expresses a timeless condition, e.g.:

d-cã-r	"if he leaving"

The conditional II expresses a state of affairs, e.g.:

d-ca-wã-zar "if it is the case that he is, was leaving"
d-cã-Ø-zar "if it is the case that he left"
d-ca-rə̃-zar "if it is the case that he will, would leave"
d-cã-Ø-ztg´ə "if it were the case that he left"

4.4.9.2 With the conditional I the opposition real vs. unreal is expressed in the apodosis: the present of the Sit./Progr., Future and Volitive gives the real condition, the past the unreal condition, e.g.:

d-cã-r s-aã-y-wa-Ø-yt' "if he leaves, I will come"
d-cã-r s-aã-y-wa-n "if he left, I would come"

The verb-form in the apodosis is not necessarily declarative, it may also be the imperative, subjunctive I or optative, e.g.:

d-cã-r w-aã-y-Ø "if he leaves, come!"

4.4.9.3 The conditional I can function as the subordinate of an (auxiliary) verb. Exx.:

d-cã-r Ø-q'a-la-wã-Ø-yt' "perhaps he is leaving"
d-cã-r Ø-q'a-lã-p' "he will probably leave"
d-cã-r Ø-s-taxə̃-w-p' "I want him to leave"
d-cã-r Ø-z-də̃r-wa-Ø-da "who knows, he may be leaving"

4.4.10 The ending -rc, -racə expresses the content of a plan, intention, wish, e.g.:

d-cã-rc "for him to leave"
yə-z-bã-rc sə̃-q'a-Ø-w-p' "I am to see it"
s-cã-rc Ø-s-ã-l-hʷa-Ø-Ø-yt' "she told me to leave"

4.4.11 The ending -rt'ʷ, -rat'ʷə expresses quality, e.g.:

d-cã-rt'ʷ "such that he (is, was) leaving"
yə-z-bã-rt'ʷ yə̃-q'a-Ø-w-p' "it is such that I (am) seeing it", i.e. "it is visible to me"

4.4.12 Subjunctive I and II. The subjunctive I expresses a command (with the 3rd person) or permission, e.g.:

d-c(ã)-aa-yt'	"let him leave"
s-c(ã)-aa-yt'	"let me leave"

The subjunctive II expresses an assumption, e.g.:

d-ca-wã-zaayt'	"let it be the case, let us assume that he is, was going"
d-cã-Ø-zaayt'	"let us assume that he left"

4.4.13 The imperative expresses a command (with the 2nd person), e.g.:

w-cã-Ø	"(you, 2sg.m.) go!"
b-cã-Ø	"(you, 2sg.f.) go!"
sʷ-cã-Ø	"(you, 2pl.) go!"
w-t'ʷã-z	"(you, 2sg.m.) remain seated!"

The agent prefix 2sg.m./f. (but not 2pl.) is absent in the imperative, e.g.:

y-gã-Ø	"take it!"
yə-zʷ-gã-Ø	"(you, 2pl.) take it!"

4.4.14 The optative endings -nda and -ndaz express a (real resp. irreal) wish, e.g.:

d-cã-Ø-nda	"if only he left"
d-cã-Ø-ndaz	"if only he had left"

4.4.15 The gerund.

4.4.15.1 The two gerund endings -n(ə) and -Ø are found with static stems and with the Sit./Progr., Aorist and Volitive.

4.4.15.2 The static gerund in -n(ə) expresses a state simultaneous with the main action, e.g.:

d-t'ʷa-nə̃	'he, (while) sitting"

d-a-č̓-nə̃ "he, (while) being busy with it"

4.4.15.3 The static gerund in -Ø is rare; it expresses manner, e.g.:

a-čə̃ d-ã-kʷ-tʼʷa-Ø "he, on horseback"

4.4.15.4 The Sit./Progr. gerund in -nə is rare; it can be rendered with "just", e.g.:

d-ca-wa-nə̃ "he, just leaving"
ã-mra Ø-yʷã-y-wa-nə "at sunrise", lit. "the sun just rising"

4.4.15.5 The Sit./Progr. gerund in -Ø expresses an action simultaneous with the main action, e.g.:

d-ca-wã-Ø "he, (while) going"

4.4.15.6 The Aorist gerund in -nə expresses an action prior to the main action, e.g.:

d-ca-Ø-nə̃ "he, having gone"

4.4.15.7 The Aorist gerund in -Ø expresses manner, e.g.:

y-sʷãx-xa-Ø-Ø "as foam", lit. "it, having become foam"

4.4.15.8 The Volitive gerund in -nə or, rarely, -Ø is found only with the stem q̓a-Ø, e.g.:

d-ca-ra-nə̃ də̃-q̓a-Ø-w-pʼ "he will surely go"

4.4.15.9 Gerunds may occur in combination with (auxiliary) verbs. Exx.:

d-tʼʷa-nə̃ də̃-q̓a-Ø-w-pʼ "he is seated"
də-pš-wã-Ø d-q̓a-lã-Ø-Ø-yt̓ "he started looking"
də-pš-wã-Ø d-q̓a-s-c̓ã-Ø-Ø-yt̓ "I made him look"
də-pš-wã-Ø d-ã-la-ga-Ø-Ø-yt̓ "he began to look"

d-ca-wa-nə̃ də-z-bã̄-Ø-Ø-yt̓ "I saw him going"
y-k̓ã̄-ha-Ø-Ø y-cã̄-Ø-Ø-yt̓ "it fell (suddenly)"

4.4.15.10 As a rule, the agent prefix is absent in a gerund, e.g.:

d-ba-wã̄-Ø "seeing him"
d-ba-Ø-nə̃ "having seen him"
y-napə̃ Ø-y-gʷə̃c̓a-psa-Ø-Ø "with his arms crossed on his breast"

However, the agent prefix is maintained in the combinations mentioned in the preceding section, e.g.:

də-z-də̃r-wa-Ø s-q̓a-lã̄-Ø-Ø-yt̓ "I got to know him"
yə-z-yʷ-wã̄-Ø s-ã̄-la-ga-Ø-Ø-yt̓ "I began to write it"
yə-l-ga-wa-nə̃ də-z-bã̄-Ø-Ø-yt̓ "I saw her taking it"

Also, the agent prefix ay-ba- "each other" is maintained, as is 3sg.irrat. (n)a- in fixed expressions, e.g.:

y-ay-ba-ba-Ø-nə̃ "they, having seen e.o."
a-yʷə̃ d-a-ga-Ø-nə̃ "the wine having taken him", i.e. "drunk"

4.4.16 Exx. with the ending -sʷa "as if":

d-t̓ʷã̄-w-sʷa "as if he were sitting"
d-a-čə̃-z-sʷa "as if he were busy with it"
d-ca-wa-Ø-sʷã̄ "as if he were going"

4.4.17 The ending -nac̓(ə) "as long as" is limited to the Static and the Sit./Progr., e.g.:

d-t̓ʷa-nac̓ə̃ "as long as he is, was sitting"
d-ca-wa-nac̓ə̃ "as long as he is, was going"

4.4.18 The ending -yž̌tay "since" is found with Static, Sit./Progr. and Aorist. The translation "since" is appropriate for Aorist forms, in the others the reference is to the duration of the state. Exx.:

d-cā-Ø-yž˝tay		"since he left"
d-t'ʷā-yž˝tay	ak̓ər-aamta	"he has been sitting for a long time", lit.
Ø-c̓-wā-Ø-yt'		"since he is sitting much ak̓ər time aamta passes"
d-ca-wā-yž˝tay	ak̓ər-aam-	"he has been going for a long time"
ta Ø-c̓-wā-Ø-yt'		

4.4.19 Exx. with the ending -aan3a "until":

d-c(ā)-aan3a	"until his going"
d-y-āan3a	"until he was born"

4.4.20 Ex. with -cəpx˝a3a "every time":

d-cā-cəpx˝a3a	"every time he goes"

4.4.21 The inferential present and past. The inferential expresses that a statement is made on the basis not of direct observation but of indirect evidence, including hearsay. Exx.:

d-t'ʷā-zaap'	"apparently, he is sitting"
d-ca-wā-zaap'	"apparently, he is going"
d-ca-wā-zaarən	"apparently, he was going"
d-cā-Ø-zaap'	"apparently, he has gone"

4.4.22 One type of form is not represented in the chart of 4.2, viz. the static stem preceded by a conjunctional prefix and followed by the tense A-suffix -c. Such a form is always combined with the declarative of the same static stem, e.g.:

də-š-t'ʷā-c	d-t'ʷā-w-p'	"he is sitting as before"
d-šə̄-q̓a-Ø-c	də̄-q̓a-Ø-n	"he was still the same"
d-ax˝-gə̄la-c	d-gə̄la-n	"he was still standing in the same place"

5 NEGATION.

5.1 The negative element -m- is prefixed in part of the forms, suffixed in others. The following rule holds: in static verbs -m is always suffixed,

in dynamic verbs m- is prefixed, except in the declarative form of the Sit./Progr., Volitive and Future (in the last case optionally). If suffixed, -m occupies slot-number 18. If prefixed, m-, as a rule, occupies slot-number 12. In certain cases, however, m- precedes the preverb rather than the root.

In the first place, this is the case with intr. stems with the relational preverbs a-, ay- (see 2.2.3.2):

yə-s-m-ā-3a-Ø-Ø-yt'	"I didn't get (time)"
də-s-m-ā-cʷazʷa-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he didn't talk to me"
də-s-m-āy-gʷərɣˇa-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he didn't take pleasure in me"
yə-s-m-āy-šə-Ø-Ø-yt'	"it didn't bark at me"

The reciprocal forms of these verbs (see 3.4.2) have m- preceding the reciprocal prefix, e.g.:

h-m-ay-cʷāzʷa-Ø-Ø-yt'	"we didn't talk to e.o."

In the second place, intr. stems with a directional preverb usually have m- preceding that preverb, although it may also come between the preverb and the root. With the root y the negative prefix always precedes the preverb. Exx.:

d-m-aa-pšə̄-Ø-Ø-yt' / d-aa-m-pšə̄-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he didn't look hither"
d-m-aa-3ā-Ø-Ø-yt' / d-aa-m-3ā-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he didn't reach hither"
d-m-aā-y-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he didn't come"

5.2 The negative differs from the positive on the following points:

(1) The amalgam morpheme -n is replaced by (original) -z-t', regardless of whether -m- is pre- or suffixed:

d-tʼʷā-mə-z-tʼ	"he wasn't sitting"
d-ca-wā-mə-z-tʼ	"he wasn't going"
də-m-cā-Ø-z-tʼ	"he didn't go and"
d-ca-rə̄-mə-z-tʼ	"he wouldn't go"

d-cā-ša-mə-z-t'
də-m-cā-ša-z-t'
"he wouldn't go"

də-m-ca-x̌a-z-t'
də-m-cā-cə-z-t'
"he hadn't yet gone"

(2) The ending -(y)t'/-p' is dropped in the present of the Static and Sit./ Progr., and in the Future in case -m is suffixed:

d-t'ʷā-m-Ø "he isn't sitting"
d-ca-wā-m-Ø "he isn't going"
d-cā-ša-m-Ø "he will not go"

The negative of the Volitive present is -rə-m-Ø:

d-ca-rə̄-m-Ø "he will not go"

In the cases where m- is prefixed, we have:

də-m-cā-Ø-Ø-yt' "he didn't go"
də-m-cā-š-Ø-t' "he will not go"
də-m-ca-x̌ā-Ø-yt'
də-m-cā-c-Ø-t'
"he hasn't yet gone"

(3) The ending for the negative yes-no question is -y, e.g.:

d-t'ʷā-mə-Ø-y "isn't he sitting?"
də-m-ca-wā-Ø-y "isn't he going?"
də-m-ca-wā-zə-y "wasn't he going?"

(4) The ending -n(ə) is replaced by -k'ʷa or, rarely, -k'ʷa-nə, e.g.:

d-t'ʷā-m-k'ʷa "he, not being seated"
də-m-cā-Ø-k'ʷa "he, not having gone"

(5) The ending for the negative imperative is -n, e.g.:

wə-m-cā-n "don't go!"

The agent prefix 2sg.m./f. is present (cf. 4.4.13), e.g.:

y-wə-m-gã̲-n "don't take it!"

6 MARKERS.

6.1 There are prefixed markers (slot-number 5) and suffixed markers (slot-number 16).

6.2 Prefixed markers.

6.2.1 Most of the prefixed markers are formally identical with preverbs. One can distinguish the following groups: (a) relational, (b) potential and obligative, (c) directional and (d) ayta- "again".

6.2.2 The relational markers.

6.2.2.1 They are the following: c̲- "together with", la̲- "with, by way of", z̲- "for, in favour of", c̲ʷ- "against, detrimental to" (all of type A).

6.2.2.2 Exx. with c̲- "together with"

y-lə̃-cə̲-s-fa̲-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I eat it together with her"
s-lə̃-c̲-ca̲-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I go together with her"
a-mãca s-lə̃-c̲-a-s̲-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I play cards with her", lit. "I beat the cards maca with her"
s-lə̃-cə̲-Ø-yʷna̲-la̲-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I go into (a lodging) with her"

The marker c̲- is often preceded by the reciprocal prefix: ay-c- "together":

y-ay-cə̲̃-r-fa̲-wa-Ø-yt̓	"we eat it together"
h-ay-c̲-ca̲-wã̲-Ø-yt̓	"we leave together"

6.2.2.3 Exx. with la̲- "with":

d-ã̲-la̲-sə-x̌ č̌ a̲-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I protect him with it"
d-ã̲-la̲-s-k̓-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I catch him with it"
s-ã̲-la̲-yʷ-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I write with it"

The marker la̲- is exceptional in that, although it is of type A, it has not been found with 1st or 2nd person.

6.2.2.4 Exx. with z̲- "for":

yə-l-z̲ə̃-q̓a-s-c̓a-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I do it for her"
yə-l-z̲-ãa-z-ga-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I bring it to her"
s-lə-z̲-ca-wã-Ø-yt̓	"I go for her"
sə-l-z̲-ã-px̌a-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I read it to her"

6.2.2.5 Exx. with c̲ʷ̲- "against":

y-lə-c̲ʷ̲-k̓ã-ha-wa-Ø-yt̓	"she drops it (ab. large things)"
y-lə-c̲ʷ̲-k̓a-sʷa-wã-Ø-yt̓	"she drops it (ab. small things)"
s-lə-c̲ʷ̲-ca-wã-Ø-yt̓	"I escape her"
s-lə-c̲ʷ̲-Ø-tə̃-c̓-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I go out of it, escaping her"

6.2.3 The potential and obligative marker.

6.2.3.1 The potential marker is z̲- "possible for", the obligative marker is a̲m̲x̲a̲- "unavoidable for". With dyn.tr. stems the marker is preceded by an object prefix indicating the agent of the basic verb, whilst the agent prefix is absent. With dyn.intr. stems the marker stands alone. Exx.:

d-sə-z̲-ba-wã-m-Ø	"I cannot see him"
də-z̲-ca-wã-m-Ø	"he cannot go"
də-z̲-lə̃-xʷa-wa-m-Ø	"he cannot help her"
y-sə-z̲-Ø-ta-c̓a-wã-m-Ø	"I cannot put it into it"
də-z̲-Ø-tã-la-wa-m-Ø	"he cannot go into it"
d-s-ã̲m̲x̲a̲-ba-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I must see him"
d-ã̲m̲x̲a̲-ca-wa-Ø-yt̓	"he must go"
d-ã̲m̲x̲a̲-lə-xʷa-wa-Ø-yt̓	"he must help her"
y-s-ã̲m̲x̲a̲-Ø-ta-c̓a-wa-Ø-yt̓	"I must put it into it"
d-ã̲m̲x̲a̲-Ø-tã-la-wa-Ø-yt̓	"he must go into it"

6.2.3.2 The potential is excluded in the positive declarative forms and in general mostly occurs in negative forms; the obligative is excluded in the negative declarative forms and mostly occurs in positive forms.

6.2.4 The directional markers.

6.2.4.1 They are the following: a̲a̲- "hither", n̲(a)̲- "thither", y̲ʷ̲(a)̲- "up-

wards", l(a)- "downwards". The variants n-, yʷ-, l- are used before object prefix 3sg.irrat. a- or Ø-, and before preverbs of type C, i.e. in those contexts where na- etc. would obscure the distinction a+preverb vs. (Ø+)preverb:

də-n-kʼă-ha-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he fell down (thither)"
də-n-Ø-tā-ha-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he fell into it (th.)"
d-n-Øə-kʷ-ha-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he fell onto it (th.)"
d-n-ā-kʷ-ha-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he fell onto it (th.)"
d-n-Øə-rə-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he crossed it (th.)"
d-n-ā-sə-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he beat it (th.)"

6.2.4.2 The directional markers are labeled as such because of their formal identity with the directional preverbs; as markers, their main function is to express the punctual character of an action. They are found mostly in Aorist forms[4].

The punctual function is most clear in combination with stems indicating a prolonged action; in such cases the marker adds an inchoative or momentaneous element, e.g.:

d-aa-cʼʷəwa-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he burst out crying"
d-na-cʼʷəwa-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he cried a little while"

6.2.4.3 With Sit./Progr. forms (see 4.3) the punctual character of the markers excludes the meaning "progressive", leaving as only possibility habitual (or future) action, e.g.:

d-aa-Ø-ta-pš-wā-Ø-yt'	"he always casts a glance into it (hither)"
d-aa-Ø-ta-pš-wā-n	"he used to cast a glance into it (h.)"
d-aa-Ø-ta-pš-wā-m-Ø	"he does not cast a single glance into it (h.)"
d-aa-Ø-ta-pš-wā-mə-z-tʼ	"he did not cast a single glance into it (h.)"

6.2.4.4 The directional markers cannot be combined with the following stems:

(1) static stems, except in certain fixed cases, e.g.:

y-aā-qʼa-Ø-w	"whatever there is"
y-aa-w-taxə̄-w	"whatever you want"
s-na-z-lā-Ø-w	"including me", lit. "among which I am"

(2) directional stems,

(3) dynamic simple stems denoting a productive activity, such as 3ax "to sew", yʷ "to write",

(4) some other dynamic simple stems, such as ps "to die", y "to be born", ca "to go".

6.2.5 Exx. with ayta- "again, once more":

d-ayta-cā-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he went once more"
d-ayta-Ø-ta-pš-wā-yt'	"he is looking into it again"
d-ayta-(ā)-pxˇa-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he read it again"

6.2.6 The verb-form may contain more than one prefixed marker. The relative order is as follows: (a) ayta-, (b) directional marker, (c) potential/obligative, (d) relational. Exx.:

d-ayta-n-ā-la-la-Ø-Ø-yt'	"he went into it again (thither)"
y-aa-s-z-ay-lə-m-kˇ-aa-Ø-Ø-yt'	"I could not understand it"
yə-s-z-ā-la-nəqˇʷ-ga-wa-mə-z-t'	"I could not support them with it"

6.3 Suffixed markers.

6.3.1 They are the following: -x "again, once more", -cʷa "too (much), excessively", -kʷa "plural", -la (1) "iterative", (2)"adhortative", -3a "really, for good, (not) at all", -gʷəšˇa "alas", -cˇʷqˇa "just, exactly".

6.3.2 Exx. with -x:

d-cā-x-Ø-Ø-t'
d-ayta-cā-x-Ø-Ø-t') "he went once more"

In questions, -x adds a certain emphasis (see also 4.4.2.3):

y-a-xə-y-hʷ(a)-aa-x-wa-Ø-zay	"what does he say about it, then?"
w-a-bā-qˇa-Ø-z – – – s-a-bā-	"where were you?" – – – "(you ask me)
-qˇa-Ø-xə-z	where I was?"

6.3.3 Exx. with -cʷa:

də-ccakˇ-cʷa-wā-Ø-yt'	"he hurries too much"

yə-bž̌ˊə̃ Ø-mə-r-də̃w-c̱ʷa-Ø-kʼʷa	"in a quiet voice", lit. "not having enlarged his voice too much"

6.3.4 The marker -ḵʷa may pluralize a pronominal prefix (in particular a relative prefix) and also a conjunctional prefix, e.g.:

sʷ-tʼʷa-ḵʷə̃́-Ø	"(you pl.) sit down!"
yə̃-z-ba-ḵʷa-wa-Ø	"the things I see"
sə-z-čʼ-ḵʷá-w	"the things I am busy with"
y-šə̃-qʼa-la-ḵʷa-wa-Ø	"the ways it happens"
d-axˊ-kə̃́l-s-ḵʷa-wa-Ø	"the places where he turns up"

6.3.5 In iterative use -ḻa is restricted to the Sit./Progr. and the Future. Exx.:

yasə̃-mša də-z-ba-ḻa-wə̃́-Ø-ytʼ	"I see him every day"
yə-š-sə̃-xˊ-ḻa-wa-Ø	"as it always happens to me"

In adhortative use -ḻa is restricted to the imperative, Volitive and subjunctive I. Exx.:

w-ca-ḻə̃́-Ø	"(come on) go!"
wə-xʷmə́r-ḻa-Ø	"(come on) play!"
wə-m-ca-ḻə̃́-n	"(come on) don't go!"
y-qʼa-w-cʼa-ḻə̃́-pʼ	"(come on) you will do it!"
d-ca-l(ə̃́)-aaytʼ	"(come on) let him go!"

6.3.6 Exx. with -3̱a:

d-ca-3̱a-wə̃́-Ø-ytʼ	"he leaves for good"
də-m-ca-3̱ə̃́-Ø-Ø-ytʼ	"he did not go at all"

6.3.7 Exx. with -g̱ʷəšˊa:

d-ca-g̱ʷə̃́šˊa-wa-Ø-ytʼ	"he leaves, alas"
d-zə-r-cʼʷə̃́wa-g̱ʷəšˊa-wa-Ø-zay	"what makes you cry, alas?"

The element -g^{w}əš$^{\sim}$a is a borrowing from Circassian.

6.3.8 Exx. with -č$^{'w}$q$^{'\sim}$a:

d-ax$^{\sim}$-cā-č$^{'w}$q$^{'\sim}$a-wa-Ø	"where exactly he is going"
də-pš3ā-Ø-č$^{'w}$q$^{'\sim}$a-w-ma	"is she that beautiful?"

7 CLITICS.

7.1 The following clitics exist: -ay "is it not" (tag-question), -š$^{\sim}$ "really?, I wonder", -y, -yš$^{\sim}$, -yš$^{\sim}$t' "just".

7.2 The clitic -ay can be used with declarative forms. Exx.:

d-cā-Ø-Ø-yt'-ay	"he went, didn't he?"
də-m-cā-Ø-Ø-yt'-ay	"he didn't go, did he?"
y-sə̄-ma-Ø-w-p'-ay	"I have it, haven't I?"

7.3 The clitic -š$^{\sim}$ can be used with questions. Exx.:

d-cā-Ø-Ø-ma-š$^{\sim}$	"did he really go?"
y-cā-Ø-Ø-da-š$^{\sim}$	"who went, I wonder?"
d-a-bā-ca-Ø-Ø-š$^{\sim}$	"where did he go, I wonder?"

7.4 The clitics -y, -yš$^{\sim}$, -yš$^{\sim}$t' can be used with the imperative, Volitive and subjunctive I. Exx.:

w-cā-Ø-yš$^{\sim}$	"just go!"
w-ca-lā-Ø-yš$^{\sim}$	"just (come on and) go!"
h-cā-p'ə-yš$^{\sim}$	"just let's go!"
d-c(ā)-aayt'ə-yš$^{\sim}$	"just let him go!"

FOOTNOTES: 1) For the deviations from this order, see 4.2 Remark 9 and 5.1.

2) Other "comparatives" are formed analytically by means of yahā, e,g.:

yahā	də-ɣ^{w}ɣ^{w}ā-Ø-w-p'	"he is stronger"
yahā	y-xaā-Ø-w-p'	"it is sweeter"

3) The postpositions ack̓əs/ack̓əs and aasta (both of type A) have the meaning "compared with, than"; if they are used, yahã can be omitted, e.g.:

sarã	s-ãck̓əs	də-ɣʷɣʷã-Ø-w-p̓	"he is stronger than I"
ã-cxa	(ã-)ack̓əs	y-xaã-Ø-w-p̓	"it is sweeter than honey"
sarã	s-ãck̓əs	d-Ø-ayc̓ã-Ø-w-p̓	"he is smaller than I"

4) In addition, with stems denoting a motion the markers express direction. In many cases, however, the reason for choosing one particular marker, rather than another, is unclear.

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STELLINGEN

1. De opvatting dat in het Abchazisch de prefixen n(ə)-, yʷ(ə)-, l(ə)- de varianten zijn van resp. na- "thither", yʷa- "upwards", la- "downwards" in ablatieve/elatieve werkwoorden is onjuist.

   B.G. Hewitt: Lingua Descriptive Studies 2: Abkhaz, Amsterdam, 1979: 213.

2. Het beschrijven van een Abchazisch complex prefix als een combinatie van twee prefixen betekent het verwarren van analyse met etymologie.

   Š.K. Aristava et al.: Grammatika abxazskogo jazyka, Suxumi, 1968: 158.

3. De opvatting dat in het Abchazisch "(the suffix) -la- is used where the preverb is in its a-grade, -aa- where the preverb has its zero-grade"[1] is niet correct. Hetzelfde geldt voor de stelling dat -la-, -aa- alleen optreden bij die wortels die ook zelfstandig (d.w.z. zonder preverb) kunnen voorkomen[2].

   [1]B.G. Hewitt: op. cit.: 221.

   [2]Š.K. Aristava et al.: op. cit.: 158.

4. De opvatting dat er in het Abchazisch een morfeem ə "prefix van de oblique relatie" bestaat is aanvechtbaar.

   K.V. Lomtatidze: Apxazuri da abazuri enebis istʼoriul-šedarebiti analizi I: Ponologiuri sistʼema da ponetʼikʼuri pʼrocesebi, Tbilisi, 1976: 300.

5. De stelling dat in het Abchazisch "the complement may become the root of a stative verb, where the stative markers (Present -w+pʼ , Past -n) virtually function as the copula"[1] is onhoudbaar.

   [1]B.G. Hewitt: op. cit.: 106.

6. De Abchazische uitgang -zar "conditional II" wordt ten onrechte beschreven als een combinatie van het tijd-suffix -z- "past" en de uitgang -r "conditional I".

   L.P. Čkadua: Sistema vremen i osnovnyx modal'nyx obrazovanij v abxazsko-abazinskix dialektax, Tbilisi, 1970: 14.

7. Het introduceren van de begrippen "preverben-stammen" (preverby-osnovy) en "wortels-suffixen" (korni-suffiksy) maakt de beschrijving van het Abchazische werkwoord onnodig gecompliceerd.
   Š.K. Aristava et al.: op. cit.: 150.

8. In door Georgische taalkundigen behandelde Abchazische grammaticale kwesties worden soms categorieën van het Georgisch (b.v. "versie") ten onrechte toegekend aan het Abchazisch.
   K.V. Lomtatidze: "Abxazskij jazyk", JAzyki narodov SSSR IV, Moskva, 1967: 117.

9. Aan de beweerde genetische verwantschap tussen (NW., NO., of Z.) Kaukasische talen en het Baskisch ontbreekt een wetenschappelijke basis.

10. De aanwezigheid van Kaukasisch sprekende groepen in Turkije (met uitzondering van het Oubykh) wordt onvoldoende uitgebuit voor linguistisch onderzoek.

11. De opzet van de Lingua Descriptive Studies kan weliswaar zijn nut hebben bij de vergelijking van overeenkomstige verschijnselen in verschillende talen, maar is slecht geschikt voor grammaticale beschrijvingen.

12. De syntactische rol die voorzetsels spelen in een taal wordt in het algemeen te weinig onderkend.

13. De in de A.N.S. gegeven beschrijving van de volgorde van SVO in het Nederlands is nodeloos ingewikkeld.
   Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst, Groningen-Leuven, 1984: 917 e.v.

14. De uitspraak dat "een grammatica wordt uitgevonden, niet ontdekt"[1] lijkt weliswaar bevestigd te worden door veel taalkundige activiteit, maar is in tegenspraak met het empirisch karakter van deze wetenschap.
   [1]H. Brandt Corstius: Algebraïsche taalkunde, Utrecht 1974: 30.

Stellingen behorende bij het proefschrift:
A. Spruit: Abkhaz Studies, Leiden, 1986.

SAMENVATTING

Het Abchazisch is een der NW. Kaukasische talen.

In deze studies staat het Abchazische werkwoord centraal. Terwijl de overige woordsoorten betrekkelijk eenvoudig zijn, vertoont het werkwoord een hoge mate van complexiteit. Deze studies trachten tesamen een volledige beschrijving te geven van de structuur van het Abchazische werkwoord.

Om tot zo'n beschrijving te komen, was het allereerst nodig om een gedetailleerde studie te maken van de locale prefixen, niet alleen vanwege hun grote aantal, maar ook vanwege hun ruime gebruik. Deze prefixen worden behandeld in hoofdstuk I.

Bij de beschrijving van de locale prefixen ontstaan bepaalde problemen betreffende het accent. Aangezien een beschrijving van het Abchazische accent nog nooit gegeven is, wordt dit onderwerp uitputtend behandeld in hoofdstuk II.

De behandeling van het accent leidt, op zijn beurt, tot enkele fonologische kwesties. Hoewel de Abchazische fonologie meerdere malen is beschreven (Uslar, Dumézil, Lomtatidze), zijn sommige detailproblemen niet aan bod gekomen. In hoofdstuk III wordt getracht deze leemtes op te vullen.

Het laatste hoofdstuk geeft een volledige beschrijving van het Abchazische werkwoord. Alle categorieën van affixen (behalve die welke behandeld zijn in I) worden opgesomd, hun combinatoire mogelijkheden worden gegeven én een beknopte beschrijving van de betekenis der vormen.

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