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ABKHAZ

B. G. Hewitt
University of Cambridge

in collaboration with Z. K. Khiba

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Introduction

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

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

The first alphabet for Abkhaz was established in 1862 by Uslar
(Lomtatidze, 1967.101), but widespread publication of materials
in Abkhaz became the norm only in the Soviet period, during
which time three main (plus two minor) orthographies have been
tried - (a) Latin-based (1928-38), (b) Georgian-based (1938-54)
(c) Cyrillic-based (from 1954) (ibid. 102), which latter con-
tains fourteen characters not found in Cyrillic but which is
regrettably inconsistent in its marking of glottalisation and
aspiration. It is interesting to note that the Abaza ortho-
graphy, which is also based on Cyrillic, employs only one
additional character, which is used exclusively to indicate
glottalisation.

In the present work, morpheme-boundaries are most commonly
marked by means of a hyphen (-), although the plus-sign (+) is
also used where a particularly close bond applies between two
morphemes, as in the case of a column II, intra-verbal, pro-
nominal affix which is 'governed' by a following preverb, deter-
miner or relational particle (e.g. (∅-)yə+c'à-1-c'e-yt' 'She
-1- fed him -yə+', which is, etymologically speaking, 'She put
it (∅-) into his (-yə+) mouth (+c'à-)'); the plus-sign is also
used to indicate morpheme-boundaries where no morpheme-by-mor-
pheme gloss is given, as in the case of the word for 'train',
e.g.

a-   d°ə̀+γba
(article)   train

which would be fully segmentable thus:

    a-   d°ə̀- γba
    (art.) field ship

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

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

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

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

Abbreviations

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

stat. = stative
V. = verb

1. Syntax

1.1. General questions

1.1.1. Sentence-types

1.1.1.1. Direct and indirect speech

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

```
      a-  d°k´àn (∅-)aa-        də-  r-    t'-  àanja s-gèlo-
      the inn    it  (preverb) they cause open until I stand-up
      m                                                +(dyn.)
      not
      (∅-)yə-ħ°è-yt'
      it  he say (finite)
```

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

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

'I told them: "I shall not get up..."'
Indeed, if the introductory verb contains any pre-radical affix
in addition to the subject-affix, there is a preference for ħ°a
to be used, e.g.

```
      ...s-gèlo-m ħ°a (∅-)sə-m-  ħ°è-yt'
                       it  I not say (fin.)
```

'I did not say: "I shall not get up..."'
If the pre-radical affix -amxa- (cf. 2.1.3.4.15) appears as the
single additional component in the introductory verb, then ħ°a
is obligatory, e.g.

```
      ...s-gèlo-m ħ°a (∅-)s+àmxa-        ħ°e-yt'
                       it  I+unwillingly say (fin.)
```

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

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

    wəy   (∅-)yə-ħ°è-yt'   a- š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)z-y°- àanja
    that-one it he say (fin.) the book   it I write until
    s-d°ə̀+l-   c'-   wa-   ṁ ħ°a
    I (compound preverb) go-out (dyn.) not
      'He said: "I shall not go out until I have written the
      book(//letter)."'

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

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

    ...s-gə̀lo-m ħ°a a- xàc'a a- pħ°ə̀s yə-l+ è- y- ħ°e-yt'
                   the man   the woman it her+to he say (fin.)
    'The man said to the woman: "I shall not get up..."'

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

    a-xàc'a a-pħ°ə̀s a-d°k'àn (∅-)aa-də-r-t̶àanja s-gə̀lo-m ħ°a
    (∅-)l+è-y-ħ°e-yt'
      'The man told the woman: "I shall not get up until they
      open the inn."'

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

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

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

(a) Present
    yə-q'a-   s-c'ò-   yt'
    it (prev.) I do   (fin.)
               +(dyn.)
    'I am doing it'
→ yə-sə̀- q'e-   y- c'o   (ħ°a)(∅-)yə-ħ°è-yt'
    it that (prev.) he do   it he say (fin.)
                      (Present, non-finite)
    'He said that he was doing it'

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

    yə-sə̀-q'e-y-c'o-z (∅-)yə-ħ°è-yt'

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

(b) Aorist
    yə-q'a-s-c'è-yt'
    'I did it'
→ yə-sə̀-q'e-y-c'a   (ħ°a) //
           (Aorist, non-fin.)
    yə-sə̀-q'e-y-c'a-z
              (Past Indef., non-fin.)
    (ħ°a) (∅-)yə-ħ°è-yt'
    'He said that he had done it'

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

(c) Future I
    yə-q'a-s-c'à-p'
    'I shall do it then'
→ yə-sə̀-q'e-y-c'a-ra   (ħ°a) //
           (Future I, non-fin.)
    yə-sə̀-q'e-y-c'a-rə-z
             (Conditional I, non-fin.)
    (∅-)yə-ħ°è-yt'
    'He said that he would do it then'

(d) Future II (for the difference between the two Futures
    cf. 2.1.3.2.1.4)
    yə-q'a-s-c'à-s+t'
    'I shall probably do it'

→ yə-ŝə̀-q'e-y-c'a-ŝa   (ħ°a) //
                        (Fut.II, non.fin.)
    yə-ŝə̀-q'e-y-c'a-ŝa-z
                        (Condit.II, non-fin.)
    (∅-)yə-ħ°è̀-yt'
         'He said that he would probably do it'
(e) Perfect
    yə-q'a-s-c'a-x'è-yt'
         'I have already done it'
→ yə-ŝə̀-q'e-y-c'a-x'o-w   (ħ°a) //
                        (Perfect, non-fin.)
    yə-ŝə̀-q'e-y-c'a-x'a-z
                        (Plu-perf. non-fin.)
    (∅-)yə-ħ°è̀-yt'
         'He said that he had already done it
    Of course, if the original words spoken contain a tense from
column II, then, in indirect quotation, the non-finite form of
that tense is obligatory, and ħ°a is once again optional.

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

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

1.1.1.2.1. Yes-no questions

1.1.1.2.1.1. Neutral

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

            ↘   ↘↗
    wə- cò-   ma   // wə-cò-w
    you go   (Qu.)   (Qu.)
         +(dyn.)
         'Are you going?'
cf.   ↘   ↘   ↗
    də-y- k''è̀-   s-   ma   // də-y-k''ə̀-sə-w
    he him (prev.) touch (Qu.)   (Qu.)
         'Did he touch him?'
There is no form in -w for the Aorist tense; only də-cà-ma
(plus the two forms derived from the Past Indefinite tense,
namely də-cà-z-ma and də-cà-zə-w) may be used to give the mean-
ing 'Did he go?'. For the Future I tense, the form in -w (i.e.
də-ca-rə̀-w)has the simple temporal meaning 'Will he go?',
whilst the form in -ma (də-ca-rə̀-ma) rather has a deliberative
force 'Is he to go?'. In the Perfect tense, apart from the
form də-ca-x'ò-w-ma 'Has he already gone?', there is also the
form də-ca-x'ò-w (← *də-ca-x'a-w-w). In the Future II tense,
forms in -w (e.g. də-cà-ŝo-w) are rare. For the Present tense

---

of stative verbs (see section 2.1.3.2.ff for the dichotomy
between stative and non-stative, or dynamic, verbs), the choice
exactly parallels that found in the Perfect of dynamic verbs,
namely:
    də̀-q'o-w-   ma   //
    he be (non-fin.) (Qu.)
    də̀-q'o-w (← *də-q'a-w-   w)
                    he be (non-fin.) (Qu.)
    'Is he?'

1.1.1.2.1.2. Leading

1.1.1.2.1.2.1. expecting the answer 'yes'

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

                    ↘↗
    wə- m- cò-   y
    you not go   (Qu.)
         (+dyn.)
         'You are going, aren't you?'
This final interrogative particle -y may be omitted from the
non-finite Present tense and from all the non-finite forms of
the second group of tenses (i.e. Imperfect, Past Indefinite,
Conditionals I and II, and Plu-perfect); the verb's stressed
syllable will, however, still be marked by a fall-rise
intonation, e.g.
                ↘↗
    də-m- cò   (-y)
    he not go   (Qu.)
         +(dyn.)
         'He is going, isn't he?'
                ↘↗   ↗
    də-m- cò-   z   (ə-y)
    he not go   (non-fin.)   (Qu.)
         +(dyn.)
         'He was going, wasn't he?'
Note that in the Perfect, the final -w of the non-finite form
(e.g. yə-ca-x'ò-w 'he who has already gone') disappears to give
such structures as
    də-m- ca-x'è-   y
    he not go (Perf.) (Qu.)
         'He has gone already, hasn't he?'
    This time there is no parallelism between the structures of
dynamic Perfects and stative Presents as a result of the dif-
ferent placement of the negative element in the latter (cf.
1.4), e.g.
         ↘   ↗
    də̀-q'a-mə- y
    he be not (Qu.)
         'He is, isn't he?'
the Past tense of which will be:
       ↘   ↗   ↘   ↗
    də̀-q'a-m-zə-y // də̀-q'a-mə-z
         'He was, wasn't he?'

1.1.1.2.1.2.2. expecting the answer 'no'

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

```
                                 ˅ʌ
àq°'a-  q'a də-m-  ca-jè-        y        (or with the
Sukhumi to  he not go (emphatic) (Qu.)    reverse word-order)
   'Didn't he go to Sukhumi?'
```
However, in the Perfect and Plu-perfect only the forms contain-ing the post-radical element -cə- appear to be acceptable, e.g.

```
          ˅               ⁷ʌ
də-m-ca-jà-        cə-     y
       (emph.)  (Perf.)  (Qu.)
   'Hasn't he already gone?'
         ˅ ⁷ʌ            ⁷ʌ
də-m-ca-jà-cə-z         (ə-y)
            (non-fin.)   (Qu.)
   'Hadn't he already gone?'
```
It will be clear from the form of the English translation appended to these examples that the formations under review are really nothing more than negative questions. Abkhas has no independent equivalent to real leading questions of the type 'He is not going, is he?' or 'Surely he's not going?'. The formations in -ja- plus -y are dealt with under the present heading because of their structural similarity to leading ques-tions expecting the answer 'yes'.

1.1.1.2.1.3. Alternative

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

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

1.1.1.2.2. Question-word questions

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

```
         ˅
y-       aa-  da
who      come who?
(relative)
   'Who came?'
                      ˅
yə-z-    fa- c°a-  x'à-   da-  z
it who   eat too-much (Perf.) who? (non-fin.)
   (rel.)
   'Who had already eaten too much?'
```

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

```
yə-z-      fa- x'à-    da
it who     eat (Perf.) who?
   (rel.)
   'Who has already eaten it?'
yə̀-     q'a-da
who     be  who?
(rel.)
   'Who is it?'
```
Alternatively, one may use the pure relative form of the verb in association with either of the interrogative pronouns d-àrban or də-z+wə̀s+ta(+da)//də-z+wə̀s+da 'who?', where d(ə)- is the column I, 3rd. person singular, human affix. The stressed syllable of these pronouns is characterised by high-falling intonation, e.g.

```
                     ˅                     ˅
y-       aa-  z          d- àrban // də-z+wə̀s+ta (etc..)
who      come (non-fin.) he
(rel.)
(or with the reverse order)
   'Who came?'
```
If the person concerned is plural, only the form yə-z+wə̀s+ta-(+da) // yə-z+wə̀s+da // yə-z+wə̀s+c°a+da, where yə- is the column I, 3rd. person plural pronominal affix, and +c°a+ is the human pluraliser, is possible, e.g.

```
y-       aa- k°à- z          (∅-) z+wə̀s+c°a+   da (etc..)
who      come (pl.) (non-fin.) they       (pl.)
(rel.)
```
or
```
yə-  z+wə̀s+c°a+da (etc..) y-aa-k°à-z
they
   'Who (pl.) came?'
```
N.B. that d-àrban, or more rarely də-z+wə̀s+ta only, plus the interrogative suffix -w means 'Which one?', especially when one is seeking more detailed information about the identity of some-one already referred to. If the noun representing the entity whose identity is in doubt is actually used, it will either stand in the predicative case in -s, in which case the word-order is irrelevant, e.g.

```
xàc'a-s         d-àrbanə-w  //  də-z+wə̀s+to-w  (or with the
man   (pred.)                                   reverse order)
   'Which man?'
```
or the noun itself will take the suffix -w and be placed after d-àrban alone, e.g.

```
d-àrban xàc'o-w
   'Which man?'
```
The plural human form is yə-z+wə̀s+c°o-w 'Which ones?'.

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

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

    y-   aa- x'ò-   w
    which come (Perf.) (non-fin.)
    (rel.)
        'that which has already come'
BUT
    y-   aa- x'è-   y   // y-aa-x'à-zə+y // y-aa-x'à-ze+y
    which come (Perf.) (Qu.)   (Qu.)   (Qu.)
    (rel.)
        'What has already come?'
In the Present of stative verbs, on the other hand, the base-
form is usually the same as the pure non-finite relative (i.e.
it ends in -w), e.g.
    yə-   q'o-y   (← *yə-q'a-wə-y)
    which be what?
    (rel.)
or
    yə-q'o-[w-]zə+y // yə-q'o-[w-]ze+y
        'What is there?'
although the form lacking this final -w is also occasionally
heard, being apparently a Bzyp-dialect form, e.g.
    yə-   q'è-y
    which be what?
    (rel.)
        'What is there?'
Should the tense of the verb be one of the second group, either
the element -zə- will be inserted immediately before the non-
finite marker -z, e.g.
    yə-   cò-   zə-   z
    which go   what? (non-fin.)
            +(dyn.)
        'What was going?'
or a structure resembling the simple relative non-finite form
is employed; the form in question differs from the non-finite
relative in three ways: the stress seems always to fall on the
final syllable, although the first syllable also appears to
bear a strong secondary stress; high-falling intonation accomp-
anies this stressed syllable; and the vowel of this final
syllable is lengthened and pronounced as illustrated below:-

    yə-   cò-   z   (pronounced [-'tsɔ·ɔz])
    which go   (non-fin.)
    (rel.) +(dyn.)
        'What was going?'

    yə-   b- y°ə-   z   (pronounced [-'ɥə·əz])
    which you write (non-fin.)
    (rel.)
        'What did you write?'
Alternatively, -zə+y may be added to the appropriate non-finite
form (e.g. yə-cò-z-zə+y 'What was going?'. The Past form for
stative verbs parallels the choice available for the second
group of tenses of dynamic verbs, e.g.

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

    y-   aa- x'ò-   w   (∅-)àrban //
    which come (Perf.) (non-fin.) it what?
    (rel.)
    (∅-)z+a+k°'ə̀[+wə]+y
    it what?
or
    y- àrban // yə-z+a+k°'ə̀[+wə]+y y-aa-x'ò-w
    it   it
        'What has already come?'
N.B. that only the form y-àrbanə-w is used in the sense of
'which one?'; for the construction accompanying this interro-
gative form, see above for examples of d-àrbanə-w.
    To produce temporal Wh-questions ('when?'), the element -ba-
is added to the relative-subordinating temporal verbal infix
-an-, which infix stands immediately after the column I affix
of the verbal complex. The verb appears in the non-finite form
of the appropriate tense, if the verb is stative or if the
dynamic tense concerned is one of the second group of tenses;
note that for both of the latter group of tenses the interro-
gative element -zə- may precede the non-finite marker -z. The
verb's stressed syllable is characterised by high-falling
intonation, e.g.

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

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

    d- an+bà-co-   z   // d-an+bà-co-zə-   z
    he when? go   (non-fin.)   (Qu.) (non-fin.)
            +(dyn.)
        'When was he going?'
Should the dynamic tense belong to the first group of tenses,
the verb-form may be the appropriate non-finite structure (in
the case of the Present, Perfect, and possibly in the case of
the Aorist and Future I too) or the non-finite form plus the
interrogative suffix -y, which we saw above to be characteristic

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

Present: Aorist:

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

Future I: Future II:
d-an+bà-ca-ra(??) //   d-an+bà-ca-ṣe-y
d-an+bà-ca-rə-y   'When will he probably go?'
  'When will he go then?'

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

   To produce locative Wh-questions ('where//whither?'), the
element -ba- is added to the relative locative verbal infix
-ax'- (from which -x'- is subsequently lost), which infix also
stands immediately after the column I affix of its verbal comp-
lex. The verb-form will then exactly parallel the forms des-
cribed above for the interrogatives formed with -an+ba- 'when?',
except that only one choice seems available for the Perfect,
namely:
     d- a+bà- ca-x'o- w
     he where? go (Perf.) (non-fin.)
      'Where has he already gone?'
The interrogative intra-verbal affix meaning 'whence?' is
-a+ba+nt°'-, e.g.
     d- a+bà+nt°'-aa- we- y
     he whence? come (dyn.) (Qu.)
      'Whence is he coming?'
   To produce Wh-questions of manner ('how?'), the element
-ba- is added to the relative verbal infix of manner -ṣ- (the
-b- of -ba- being subsequently devoiced to -p-), which infix
also stands immediately after the column I affix in the verbal
complex. The verb-form exactly parallels the choices set out
above for the interrogatives formed with -an+ba- 'when?',
except that in the Future I only the form ending with the
interrogative particle -y seems feasible, e.g.

     də-ṣ+pà-ca-rə   y
     he how? go (Fut.I) (Qu.)
      'How will he go then?'
   To produce Wh-questions of reason ('why?'), the verbal infix
-z(ə)- is placed immediately after the column I affix of the
verbal complex. The post-radical structure of the complex will
then be as described earlier for Wh-questions formed on non-
human NPs, except that in the Perfect only the variant contain-
ing the interrogative particle -y seems possible, e.g.
     də-z- ca-x'e- y
     he why? go (Perf.) (Qu.)
      'Why has he already gone?'

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

yə-zə̀-q'a-z-zə+y
     (Qu.)
  'Why was it?'

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

də-z-cà-z-zə+y
     (Qu.)
  'Why did he go?'
  Questions of the type 'how much//many?' are produced by
using ṣ+aq'à//z+aq'à 'how much/many?' in association with an
appropriate interrogative verb-form. And high-falling intona-
tion marks the stressed syllable of whichever word follows
either of the above interrogatives, e.g.

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

ṣ+aq'a//z+aq'a y°(ə̀)   (∅-)   àa- da
how-many   man(men) he//then come (Qu.)
  'How many men came?'   (human)

1.1.1.2.2.1. What elements of the sentence can be questioned?

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. which constituents of the main clause?

   Any constituent of the main clause may be questioned by
employing the appropriate relativised verb-form in association
with the appropriate interrogative particle, e.g. (for a human
direct object)
yə̀-   b- dər- wa-   da
whom   you know (dyn.) who?
(rel.)
   'Whom do you know?'
Only questions formed on nouns in the predicative case call for
special comment since there is no non-periphrastic way of pro-
ducing a relative expression on such predicative nouns (see
1.1.2.3.7). The interrogative pronoun yə-z+a+k°'ə̀+y 'what?' is
placed in the predicative case in -s (i.e. (∅-)z+a+k°'ə̀+s), and
this is then used in conjunction with the appropriate interro-
gative verb-form, e.g.

arə̀y (∅-)z+a+k°'ə̀+s də- rə- px'ajò- y
this as-what   him they consider what?
                          +(dyn.)
  'What do they consider this one as?'
Alternatively, this same interrogative pronoun may be turned
into its adverbial form by taking as prefix the appropriate
column I pronominal affix (in this case the human affix də-)
and by taking as suffix the adverbial formant -nə, e.g.
arə̀y də- z+a+k°'-nə̀   də-rə-px'ajò-y
   him   (adv.)   (Qu.)

1.1.1.2.2.1.2. which constituents of which types of subordinate
                  clauses?

   For the relativisation of elements within subordinate
clauses represented by the masdar//infinitive (i.e. nominalisa-
tions) or by the various forms of the purposive, see section
(1.1.2.3.7); for the terms 'masdar' and 'purposive' see section
2.1.3.5. All elements which may be so relativised may be ques-
tioned by coupling the relative form of the verb with the ap-
propriate interrogative pronoun, e.g. (for the direct object of
a purpose-clause)
        d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta(etc..) də- z-bà- r+c   //
        who   him I see (purp.)
        yə̀-   z-ba-r+c
        whom
        (rel.)
(or other forms of the purposive)
        sə-zə+   z   cò
        I   whom+ for go+(dyn.)
           (rel.)   (non-fin.)
           'Whom am I going to see?'
or (for the indirect object of such a clause):-
        d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta(etc..) a- š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)lə̀-
        who   the book   it to-her
        s-ta- r+c   // (∅-)zə̀-   s-ta-r+c (etc..) sə-zə+z-cò
        I give (purp.)   it to-whom
                          (rel.)
           'For the purpose of giving the book to whom am I going?'
(where the presence of the indirect object affix lə- in the
first alternative presupposes that the indirect object con-
cerned is female) or (for the objective genitive of a nominal-
isation)
        d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta(etc..) z-   ba- ra-   zə̀
        who   whose see (masd.) for
        s-co   (rel.)
        I go+(dyn.)
           (non-fin.)
           'Whom am I going to see?' (lit. 'Who is the one for
           whose seeing I am going?')
If the subordinate clause is represented by one of the purpos-
ives, the non-finite form of the introductory verb may appear
in its pure form (i.e. without any relative expression -zə+z-
'for whom'), but only if a relative affix appears in the purp-
osive verbal complex, or the relative-interrogative particle
-z- 'why' may substitute for the relative complex -zə+z-, e.g.
        d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta (etc..) a-š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)zə̀-
                                                 to-whom
                                                 (rel.)
        s-ta-r+c (etc..)
        s-co   // sə-z-   cò
        I go+(dyn.)   why   go+(dyn.)
           (non-fin.)   (rel.) (non-fin.)
or   d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta (etc..) a-š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)lə̀-   s-ta-r+c
                                                 to-her
        sə-z-cò
           'For the purpose of giving the book to whom am I going?'

In place of the interrogative pronouns (being in this case
d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta (etc..)), the appropriate interrogative
verbal suffix (being in this case -da) may be used in any of
the above three variants for the introductory verbal complex,
with s-cò-da being possible only if the subordinate verb con-
tains a relative affix, e.g.
        yə̀-   z-ba- r+c (etc..) s-cò   da   //
        whom   I see (purp.)   I go   who?
        (rel.)   +(dyn.)
        sə- zə+   z- cò-   da   // sə-z-   cø̀-   da
        I   whom+ for go   who?   why   go   who?
           (rel.)   +(dyn.)   (rel.) +(dyn.)
or
        də- z-bà- r+c (etc..) sə-zə+z-cò-da// sə-z-cò-da
        him I see (purp.)
           'For the purpose of seeing whom am I going?'
   A further set of examples containing the purposive in -r+t°'
in the analytic causative construction employed in the case of
di-transitive verbs would be:
        sarà a- ph°əs a- š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)zə-   l- tà- r+t°'
        I   the woman the book it to-whom she give (purp.)
                                           (rel.)
        (∅-)q'a-   s- c'à- da
        it (prev.) I make who?
or
        ...(∅-)yə̀-   l- ta- r+t°'   yə-   q'a   s-c'à- da
           it to-him she give (purp.) whom (prev.) I make who?
                                           (rel.)
or
        d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta(etc..)...yə-zə-   l- tà- r+t°'
        who   it to-whom she give (purp.)
                                                 (rel.)
        (∅-)q'a-   s-c'à- z
        it (prev.) I make (non-fin.)
or
        d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta(etc..)...(∅-)yə-   l- tà- r+t°'
        who   it to-him she give (purp.)
        yə̀-   q'a- s-c'a- z
        whom (prev.) I make (non-fin.)
        (rel.)
           'To whom did I make the woman give the book?'
   If the subordinate clause is such that one cannot form a
relative clause directly on one of its arguments (e.g. condi-
tional clause, temporal subordinate clause, etc..), then one
may only form a question on a constituent of such a clause if
that constituent also happens to be a constituent of the main
clause, in which case question-formation proceeds as normally
vis-à-vis this main verb, the subordinate verbal complex rem-
aining unaffected, e.g.
        d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta(etc..) G°ə̀nda a- š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)lə̀-
        who   G.   the book   it to-her
        y- ta- r yə̀-   wə- p'q'o
        he give if whom   you hit
                   (rel.)   +(dyn.)
or
        G°ə̀nda a-š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)lə̀-y-ta-r yə̀-   wə-p'q'o-da
                                        whom   who?
                                        (rel.)

'If who gives Gunda the book will you hit?'
(lit. 'Whom$_i$ will you hit if he$_i$ gives Gunda the book?')

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

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. which constituents of noun-phrases?

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

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

or

    d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta(etc.) z-la (∅-)wə-bà
                                    (non-fin. Aor.)
     'Whose dog did you see?'

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

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

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

    š°q°'ə̀-wə-   y   (//-w-   zə/e+y) //
    book   (non-fin.) what?   (non-fin.) what?
    (yə-)z+a+k°'ə+t°'-š°q°'ə̀-wə-y(//-w-zə/e+y)
    y-   àa-   w- x°a-z
    which(rel.) (prev.) you buy (non-fin.)
     'What sort of book did you buy? (lit. 'What sort of book
     is it that...')
    (də-)   z+eyps̩+ra-xàc'ā-z
    he   man   (non-fin.)
    (col.I, 3rd.sg.)
    (hum.)
    (//-xàc'a-zə-   z   // -xàc'a-z-zə+y) //
           (Qu.) (non-fin.)

    (də-)z+a+k°'ə+t°'-xàc'ā-z(//-xàc'a-zə-z//xàc'a-z-zə+y)
    y-   aa- z
    who(rel.) come (non-fin.)
     'What sort of man (was it that) came?'

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

    s̩+aq'à//z+aq'à də-q°'ə̀s̩ə-   wə-   y(etc..) yə̀-
    how-much   he intelligent (non-fin.) what?   whom
    w- ba- z   à- č'k°'ən   (rel.)
    you see (non-fin.) the child
     'How intelligent is the child you saw?' (lit. 'What is
     the extent to which the child you saw is intelligent?')

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

1.1.1.2.2.1.4. which elements of postpositional phrases?

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

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

or

    d-àrban//də-z+wə̀s+ta(etc..) z-q'ə-n+t°' à-salam+š°q°'ə
    (∅-)b-o+w-z
     'From whom did you receive the letter?'

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

```
d- z+      ašà-     da  z-      q'ə-n+t°' à-  salam+š°q°'ə
he whose+ brother who? whom    from       the letter
                     (rel.)
(∅-)b-  o+w-    z
it  you receive (non-fin.)
```
or
```
d-àrban//də-z+wès+ta(etc..) d-z+ašò-w...
                                 (non-fin.)
```
   'From whose brother did you receive the letter?'

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

```
ş+aq'à//z+aq'à//yə+z+aq'a+ra+nè də-ħarak'ò-wə-
how-much                          he tall     (non-fin.)
y    z-      àayg°a(ra) də-gèlo- w      a- pħ°ès
what? whom    near        he stand (non-fin.) the woman
      (rel.)
```
   'Near how tall a woman is he standing?' (lit. 'How tall is the woman near whom he is standing?'

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. which elements of co-ordinate structures?

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

```
Adg°ərə-y d- àrbanə-wə-  y y-    aa-  z
A.         & who         (Qu.) & who   come (non-fin.)
                                (rel.)
```
or
```
d-àrbanə-wə-y Adg°ərə-y y-aa-z
```
   'Adgur and who came//Who and Adgur came?'

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

```
Adg°ərə-y z-      le- y (∅-) àa-  da
A.        & whose  dog & they come who?
          (rel.)
```
or
```
z-le-y Adg°ərə-y (∅-)àa-da
```
   'Adgur and whose dog came//Whose dog and Adgur came?'

NPs which are 'or' co-ordinated may be queried in a fashion which may be literally translated as, for example, 'Is it Adgur or who came?', e.g.

```
Adg°ər y- à+k°'ə-w (← *y-a+k°'ə-w-        w)   ma//
A.     he be         (non-fin.) (Qu.)
ma+m+zà+r+g'ə y-    aa-  z        d-àrban(ə-w)
             who    come (non-fin.) who       (Qu.)
             (rel.)
```
(Note that in the first conjunct of such structures the copular root -a+k°'(ə)-, and not -a-, and the interrogative particle -w, and not -ma, are obligatory.) The genitive of an NP in 'or' co-ordination may be queried once the NP as a whole has been made the base of a stative verb; question-formation then proceeds as normal, e.g.

```
Àdg°ər ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə yə-z+    là- da  y-     aa-
A.      or                it whose+ dog who? which come
                               (rel.)          (rel.)
z
(non-fin.)
```
   'Adgur or whose dog came?'
(N.B. that only the interrogative particle, and not the pronoun, is possible in this construction.)

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

```
(??) Adg°ər -y (d-)z+eypş+ra-   pħ°əs-wə-       y
     A.      & she what-sort-of woman (non-fin.) what?
[-y] yè-   ca-z
  &  who   go (non-fin.)
          (rel.)
```
   'Adgur and what sort of woman went?'

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

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

   No.

1.1.1.2.2.2. What happens to the questioned element?

1.1.1.2.2.2.6. pseudo-clefted

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

```
d-àrban yacè      y-    aa-  z
who      yesterday who   come (non-fin.)
                        (rel.)
```
or
```
yacè d-àrban y-aa-z
```
or
```
yacè y-aa-z d-àrban
```
   'Who came yesterday?'

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

1.1.1.2.3. Echo-questions

1.1.1.2.3.1. Yes-no echo-questions

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

```
Nèli də- z-bè- yt'
N.   her I see (fin.)
Nèli ba? // Nèlyə-w?
ayèy
yes
   'I saw Neli. Neli? Yes'
```

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

```
sarà a-  vok'zàl [a-]ax' s-co-    yt'
I    the station  it to  I go    (fin.)
                               +(dyn.)
a-vok'zàl [a-]ax' ba?
ayèy
   'I'm going to the station.  To the station?  Yes'
```

1.1.1.2.3.2. Question-word echo-questions

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

```
sarà a-vok'zàl [a-]ax' s-co-yt'
y-abà?
a-vok'zàl [a-]ax'
   'I'm going to the station. Where? To the station'
```

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

```
Nèli də- z-bè- yt'
N.   her I see (fin.)
d-àrbanə-w // də-z+wə̀s+to-w
whom
Nèli
   'I saw Neli. Whom? Neli'
```

1.1.1.2.3.3. Yes-no question echo-questions

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

```
a-vok'zàl [a-]ax' wə- co-    ma  // wə-co-w?
                  you go        (Qu.)
                        +(dyn.)
a-vok'zàl [a-]ax' s-co-ma ba // s-co-w ba? - ayèy
I
   'Are you going to the station? Am I going to the
   station? - Yes'
```

1.1.1.2.3.4. Question-word question echo-questions

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

```
w-  a+bà- co-    y
you where go      (Qu.)
         +(dyn.)
s-a+bà-co-y (ba)? - a-vok'zàl [a-]ax'
I
   'Where are you going? Where am I going? - to the
   station'
```

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

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

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

No.

1.1.1.2.4. Answers

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

No.

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

1.1.1.2.4.2.1. yes-no questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

```
      wə- m-  cò-      y?    ayèy (= s-co-    yt')    //
      you not go      (Qu.) yes   I go        (fin.)
         +(dyn.)                    +(dyn.)
      ma+p'/ma+mò+w (= s-co-m)
      no                    not
         'You are going, aren't you? Yes (sc. I'm going) //
         No (sc. I'm not)'
```

The same is true for questions of the type discussed in
1.1.1.2.1.2.2, e.g.

```
      wə- m- ca-jò-          y?    ayèy (= s-co-yt')   //
      you not go (emphatic) (Qu.) yes
              +(dyn.)
      ma+p'/ma+mò+w (= s-co-m)
      no
         'Aren't you going? Yes (sc. I'm going) //
         No (sc.  I'm not)'
```

<u>1.1.1.2.4.2.2. question-word questions</u>

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

```
      w-  a+bà- co?      a-  vok'zàl [a-]ax'
      you where go       the station  it to
              +(dyn.)
         'Where are you going? To the station'
```

<u>1.1.1.3. How are the different types of imperative sentence
marked?</u>

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

<u>1.1.1.4. Are there other distinct sentence-types in the
language?</u>

<u>1.1.1.4.1. Exclamations</u>

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

---

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

```
      yə-z+a+k°'ə+t°'-š°q°'ə̌-wə-           y
      it                book  (non-fin.) (Qu.)
or    yə-z+a+k°'ə+t°'-š°q°'ə̌-w-zə/e+y
                                       (Qu.)
         'What a book (it is)!'
      də-    z+a+k°'ə+t°'-x°əč̌'ə̌-wə-y
      (s)he               child
or    də-z+a+k°'ə+t°'-x°əč̌'ə̌-w-zə/e+y
         'What a child ((s)he is)!'
```

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

```
      yə-z+eypş+ra-š°q°'ə̌-wə-y(etc..)
         'What a book (it is)!'
```

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

```
      ş+aq'à // z+aq'à də-    pşjo-      z ³/e+y (etc..)
                            (s)he beautiful (non-fin.) (Qu.)
         'how beautiful (s)he is!'
```

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

```
      də-ş+pà-pşjo-w           // də-ş+pà-pşjo-wə-y(etc..)
                (non-fin.)                      (Qu.)
         'How beautiful (s)he is!'
```

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

s̨+aq'à//z+aq'à yə+bzə̀ya+nə à-   š°a
                 well   (art.) song
(∅-)1- ħ°ò-   zə-   z   //
it she say   (Qu.) (non-fin.)
          ł(dyn.)   (Imperfect)
(∅-)1-ħ°ō-z (=['ħʷɔ·ɔz]) // (∅-)1-ħ°ò-z-zə+y
      'How well she was singing!'
(b) alternatively, the infix -s̨+pa- will stand after the verb's column I affix, and the verb's post-radical structure will be represented either by the simple non-finite ending or by the form appropriate to a Wh-question built on a non-human NP in the tense concerned, with the exception that the variant with lengthened final vowel is not possible (cf. 1.1.1.2.2), e.g.

à-š°a yə+bzə̀ya+nə yə-s̨+pà-1-ħ°o   //
                    it   (non-fin. Pres.)
yə-s̨+pà-1-ħ°o-y(etc..)
          (Qu.)
    'How well she sings!'
If the focus of the exclamation is an NP consisting of noun and attributive adjective, three constructions are possible: (a) the Adj+N complex combines with either z+a+k°'ə+t°' or z+eyps̨+ra to form the base of a stative verb, whose column I affix will correlate with the noun in its base and whose post- radical structure will parallel that found for a Wh-question on a non-human NP in the tense concerned, e.g.

yə-z+a+k°'ə+t°'- ⎤
                 ⎥ ħàmta- bzə̀yo-w-   zə/e+y(etc..)
yə-z+eyps̨+ra-   ⎦ present good (non-fin.) (Qu.)
yə-   sə̀-   b-   ta-   z
which to-me you give (non-fin.)
    'What a fine present (it is that) you gave me!'
(b) the Adj+N complex forms the base of a stative verb, which is otherwise identical to the verbal structure described immed- iately above, and the verbal complex is preceded by s̨+aq'à// z+aq'à 'how (much)', e.g.

s̨+aq'à//z+aq'à də-   x°əč'-bzə̀yo-w-zə/e+y(etc..)
                (s)he child good
    'What a good child ((s)he is)!'
(c) with the Adj+N complex remaining the base of a stative verb, the infix -s̨+pa- 'how?' is placed immediately after the column I affix. The verb will either appear in its simple non-finite form, or its post-radical structure will parallel that used for a Wh-question formed on a non-human NP, with the exception that the variant with lengthened final vowel is not possible, e.g.

yə-s̨+pa-ħàmta-bzəyo-w (-zə/e+y(etc..))
it
    'What a fine present (it is)!'

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

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

yə-w- taxə̀-za+r
it you want if
    'Do you want it?'

àq°'a- q'a wə- cò-   za+r
Sukhumi to you go   if
                +(dyn.)
    'Are you going to Sukhumi?'

də-ca-x'à-   za+r
he go (Perf.) if
    'Has he already gone?'
If the conditional mood in -r alone is similarly used with fall-rise intonation, rather than producing a neutral question, the sentence will be interpreted as a mild request, e.g.

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

abrə̀y (∅-)bə- fà- r
this it you eat if
    'You are going to eat this, aren't you?'
If the context requires it, forms in -za+r may also be interpretable as requests, e.g.

a+k'rə̀   (∅-)wə- ħ°ò-   za+r
something it you say   if
                +(dyn.)
    'Are you going to say something?'
    (= 'Say something then!')
The type of leading question described in section 1.1.1.2.1.2.2 may also be used as a means of making a request, e.g.

a+k'ə+g'ə̀ (∅-)wə- m- ħ°a-jò-   y
anything if you not say (emphatic) (Qu.)
                +dyn.
    'Aren't you going to say anything?'(= 'Say something!')

yax'à a+k'r-   aħ+q'à-   š°ə-m- c'a- jò-   y
today anything us+(prev.) you not feed (emphatic) (Qu.)
                +(dyn.)
    'Aren't you going to feed us today?'
    (= 'Feed us please!')

1.1.2. Subordination

1.1.2.1. Are there any general markers of subordination?

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

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

1.1.2.2. Noun-clauses

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

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

a-   čəmaza+y°(ə) də- ş-   ba- t°'ə́-   w
the sick-man   him that see (gerundive) (non-fin.Pres.)
(ħ°a) s- x-   a- q'ə́ y- aa- wè-   yt'
      my head it into it come (dyn.) (fin.)
    'It occurs to me that it's necessary to see the sick man' (Subject)
Čerkèssk' -q'a ħa-şə̀-   r-   št- wa   (ħ°a)
Č.   to us that they send (non-fin.Pres.)
sarà yə-z-də̀r- we-   yt'
I   it I know (dyn.) (fin.)
    'I know that they'll allow us to go to Čerkessk' (Direct object)
də- şə̀- r-   k'ə- z   (ħ°a) s-à- px'e-yt'
him that they catch (non-fin.)   I it read (fin.)
    'I read that they caught him' (Indirect object)
(N.B. that, if the noun-clause is not directly dependent on the verb, ħ°a may not be used, e.g.

də-şə̀-r-k'ə-z a-   t°'ə́   s-à-px'e-yt'
                its affair(??)
    'I read about the fact that they caught him' - which is equivalent to Russian ...о том, что...)
If the subject noun-clause given above has as its introductory verb a-g°a-pxa-rà 'to please', or the direct object noun-clause is introduced by a-ȷ̌a-ša-rà 'to be surprised at', then the subordinate clauses must contain the particle -ax'(ə)- in place of -ş(ə)-; and now the particle ħ°a may not be used, e.g.

arà s-ax'ə̀-q'o-w   (∅-)s+ g°a- pxò- yt'
here I that be (non-fin.Pres.) it my+heart warm (fin.)
                                                   +(dyn.)
    'That I am here pleases me'
Čerkèssk'-q'a ħ- ax'ə̀-rə- št- wa
Č.   to us that they send (non-fin.Pres.)
(∅-)ȷ̌à-   s-šo-   yt'
it (prev.) I be-surprised-at+(dyn.) (fin.)
    'I am surprised that they'll let us to go Čerkessk'
As regards the tense of the non-finite verb-form, if the introductory verb is Present or Future, then the tense of the subordinate verb will be that which correctly locates in time the subordinate verbal action; if the introductory verb is not Present of Future, then the subordinate verb will either appear in the tense which would have been appropriate at the time that the action of the introductory verb took place, or, if at the time the introductory verbal action was completed the tense of the subordinate clause had belonged to the first group of tenses, then the non-finite form of the corresponding tense from the second group of tenses may be used - in other words, all noun-clauses are treated like indirect statements. Compare the following examples with their equivalent non-past forms given above and with the range of indirect statements presented in 1.1.1.1:-

a-čəmaza+y°(ə) də-ş-ba-t°'ə́-w (ħ°a) //
də-ş-ba-t°'ə́-z
                (non-fin., Past)
s-x-a-q'ə́ y-aa-yt'
                (fin.Aorist)
    'It occurred to me that it was necessary to see the sick man'
Čerkèssk'-q'a ħa-şə̀-rə-št-wa (ħ°a) //
ħa-şə̀-rə-št-wa-z
                (non-fin., Imperfect)
(∅-)z-də̀r-wa-n
                (fin.Imperf.)
    'I knew that they would allow us to go to Čerkessk'
arà s-ax'ə̀-q'o-w // s-ax'ə̀-q'a-z
                                (non-fin.Past)
(∅-)s+g°a-pxò-n
                (fin.Imperf.)
    'It pleased me that I was here'
Čerkèssk'-q'a ħ-ax'ə̀-rə-št-wa(-z)
                (non-fin.Imperf.)
(∅-)ȷ̌à-s-šo-n
                (fin.Imperf.)
    'I was surprised that they would allow us to go to Čerkessk'
If the introductory verb is a verb of perception (seeing, hearing, knowing, smelling), the (direct object) noun-clause may (less commonly) be expressed by means of one of the 'absolutives' (see 2.1.1.3 and 2.1.3.5.5), with ħ°a being optionally present if the clause is directly dependent on the verb (which it is not in the case of 'smelling', e.g.

à-   fa+t°' (∅-)q'a-   r-   c'o-   nə   (*ħ°a)
(art.) food   it (prev.) they make   (absol.)
                                        +(dyn.)
a- fy°ə (∅-)s-k'ə- yt'
the smell it I catch (fin.)
    'I smelled that they were preparing food')
If the introductory verb is Present or Future, the imperfect
absolutive (2.1.3.5.5) may have present, future of imperfect
reference, e.g.
      də-co-   nə   (ħ°a) (∅-)z-dər- we-   yt'
      he go   (absol.)   it I know (dyn.) (fin.)
      +(dyn.)
      'I know that he (a) is going, (b) will go, (c) was
      going';
the regular absolutive (2.1.1.3) will refer to the simple past,
e.g. də-ca-nə (ħ°a) (∅-)z-dər-we-yt'
      go
      'I know that he went';
whilst the plu-perfect absolutive (2.1.3.5.5) refers to a past
action already accomplished, e.g.
      də-ca-x'a-   nə(ħ°a) (∅-)z-dər-we-yt'
           (Perf.)
      'I know that he has already gone'
If the introductory verb is neither Present nor Future, then
the imperfect absolutive will have either imperfect or condi-
tional reference, e.g.
      də-co-nə (ħ°a) (∅-)z-dər-wa-n
                                (fin.Imperf.)
      'I knew that he (a) was going, (b) would go';
whilst the regular and the plu-perfect absolutives become virt-
ually synonymous, e.g.
      də-ca-nə // də-ca-x'a-nə (ħ°a) (∅-)z-dər-wa-n
      'I knew that he had (already) gone'
   Should the meaning of the noun-clause be contrary to fact,
this may optionally be emphasised by using the suffix -š°a
(2.1.5.1.4.4) in association with the appropriate non-finite
verb-form, e.g.
      Amèrik'a anglìz bəzš°à- la   yə- m-   c°àž°o-
      A.   English language (instr.) they not   speak
                                                (non-fin.) +(dyn.)
      š°a   // yə-c°àž°o-m   ħ°a // yə-gə̀- m-c°àž°o ħ°a
      that   not   that
      (untrue)   (fin.)
      r-   g°ə y- àa-   na-go-   yt'
      their heart it (prev.) it bring+(dyn.) (fin.)
      'They think that in America they don't speak English'
   Positive (i.e. non-negative) noun-clauses may also be repres-
ented by means of the masdar/infinitive. Transitive direct ob-
jects and intransitive subjects are marked on the masdar by the
appropriate column II (possessive) prefix, whilst transitive
subjects become governed by the instrumental postposition -la
'by'. Such masdars may have unrestricted temporal reference,
e.g.

darà rə̀- la wac°'ə̀ // yax'à // yacə̀   Čerkèssk'-q'a
them them by tomorrow   today   yesterday Č.   to
ħà- št-   ra   (∅-)ʝà-   s-šo-   yt'   //
our sending (masd.) it (prev.) I be-surprised-at (fin.)
                                            +(dyn.)
(∅-)s+ g°a- pxò-   yt'
it my+heart warm+(dyn.) (fin.)
      'I am surprised // pleased that they (a) will send us
      tomorrow, (b) are sending us today, (c) sent us yester-
      day to Čerkessk'
wac°'ə̀ // yax'à // yacə̀ arà sə̀-q'a-zaa-   ra
                            here my be (suff.) (masd.)
(∅-)r-   dər- we-   yt'   // (∅-)r+   g°a-pxò-yt'
it they know (dyn.) (fin.)   it their
      'They know // are pleased that (a) I shall be here to-
      morrow, (b) I am here today, (c) I was here yesterday'

1.1.2.2.3. How are indirect statements marked?

   See section 1.1.1.1.

1.1.2.2.4. How are indirect questions marked?

   If it necessarily follows from the structure of the intro-
ductory verb that the question took one particular, definite
form (e.g. 'He asked me if I was well' necessarily implies the
question 'Are you well?', whereas 'He wanted to know if I was
well' does not contain any indication of what the actual words
used may have been), then by far the most usual way of report-
ing that question will be for the actual words of the original
question to be repeated and to be followed by the particle ind-
icating the reporting of direct speech, i.e. ħ°a 'saying'; the
subordinate clause most naturally precedes its superordinate
clause - cf. the following example of a neutral 'yes-no'
question:
      wə- cò-   ma   // wə-cò-za+r ħ°a də-s-
      you go+(dyn.) (Qu.)   if   he me
      à+z+c'+aa-yt'   (neg. = də-s-m-à+z+c'+aa-yt') //
      ask   (fin.)
      d- à+ z-   c'+ aa-   yt'   (neg.= d-à+zə-m-c'+aa-yt')
      he it+about ask+(suff.) (fin.)
      'He asked me // He asked if I was going' (lit. '"Are you
      going?" he asked (me)')
However, it must be stressed that the above-sentence is not the
unambiguous structure one would expect it to be - the wə- of
the subordinate verbs may refer either to the speaker (i.e. the
-s- of the main verb) or to the addressee of the present sen-
tence, wuch that the second reading will be 'He asked (me) if
you are going'.
   A truly indirect representation of the above-example may be
achieved in one of three ways: (a) the person of the subordin-
ate verb may be altered to conform to the requirements of the
introductory verb, thereby producing the sentence:-
      s-cò-ma ħ°a də-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt' // d-à+z-c'+aa-yt'
      'He asked (me) if I was going'
although a second reading is possible according to which the s-
of the subordinate verb is co-referential with the də̀- of the
main verb (i.e. 'He$_i$ asked if he$_i$ was going'), in which case

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

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

 s-cò-za+r ħ°a də-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt' // d-à+z-c'+aa-yt'
  'He asked (me) if I was going'
where the expected second reading will be 'He$_i$ asked (me) if
he$_i$ was going'.
 [1]The series of alternatives given above shows that the vari-
ants for the formation of indirect questions are: (a) repeti-
tion of the actual direct question + ħ°a, (b) change of the
person of the subordinate verb (to conform with the require-
ments of the introductory verb) + ħ°a, (c) if the introductory
verb is past, change of both the person and tense of the sub-
ordinate verb (to conform with the requirements of the intro-
ductory verb) + ħ°a (the use of ħ°a in this context should be
contrasted with its absence in the same context for indirect
statements (1.1.1.1) and constructions involving noun-clauses
generally (1.1.2.2.1) - each of these three alternatives being
ambiguous in the ways outlined above. Such a choice of alter-
native is available not only for neutral 'yes-no' questions
(1.1.1.2.1.1) but also for leading 'yes-no' questions
(1.1.1.2.1.2) and for alternative questions (1.1.1.2.1.2). In
the case of question-word questions, there are two possibili-
ties in addition to those outlined above - (a) the person is
changed to conform to the requirements of the introductory verb
and the subordinate verb is put into the appropriate relative
form (1.1.2.3.ff) + ħ°a, (b) if the introductory verb is past,
both the person and tense of the subordinate verb are altered
to conform with that introductory verb's requirements, and the
subordinate verb is put into the appropriate relative form
+ ħ°a, e.g.

 yə̀- q'a- w- c'o- y (etc..) //
 which(rel.) (prev.) you do+(dyn.) (Qu.)
 yə̀-q'a-s-c'o-y (etc..)//yə-q'a-s-c'o-z   //
   I   (non-fin.Imperf.)
 yə-q'a-s-c'ò-zə- z // yə̀-
  (Qu.) (non-fin.Imperf.) which(rel.)
 q'a-s-c'o // yə̀-q'a-s-c'o-z   //
  (non-fin.Pres.)   (non-fin.Imperf.)
 yə-q'a-s-c'ò-z-zə+y ħ°a də-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt'
  'He asked me what I was doing'

 wə- z- cò- y (etc..) // sə-z-cò-y (etc..) //
 you why go+(dyn.) (Qu.)   I
 sə-z-co-z   // sə-z-cò-zə-z //
  (non-fin.Imperf.
 sə-z-cò-z-zə+y // sə-z- cò   //
      why (non-fin.Pres.)
 sə-z-cò-z   ħ°a də-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt'
  (non-fin.Imperf.)
  'He asked me why I was going'
 wə- ṣ+pà-q'o-w   // sə-ṣ+pà-q'o-w //
 you how? be (non-fin.Pres.) I
 sə-ṣ+pà-q'a-z   // s-ṣə̀- q'o-w //
  be (non-fin.Past) how(rel.)
 s-ṣə̀-q'a-z ħ°a də-s-à+z+c'+aa-yt'
  'He asked me how I was'
 If the introductory verb does not contain any indication as
to the precise form of the corresponding direct question, then
the choice of alternatives will most naturally be restricted to
the indirect variants, e.g.

 s-a+bà- co   // s-a+bà-co-z
 I where? go(non-fin.Pres.) (non-fin.Imperf.)
 ħ°a (ø-)ey+lə̀- y- k'+ aa- r+c (ø-)yə-
  it (preverbs) he (root)+(suff.)(purp.) it
 taxə̀-n   `learn´
 want (fin.)
  'He wanted to learn where I was going'
Should the relative form rather than the question form of the
subordinate verb (where such a choice is feasible) be chosen in
such a context, ħ°a will preferably be omitted, with the result
that, strictly speaking, we no longer have an example of an
indirect question but rather of a headless relative, e.g.

 s-ax'- cò   (-z)
 I where(rel.) go(non-fin.Pres.) (non-fin.Imperf.)
 (ø-)ey+lə̀-y-k'+aa-r+c (ø)-yə-taxə̀-n
  'He wanted to know (sc. the place) where I was going'
 If the introductory verb does not imply that any question
was asked at all, then, if that introductory verb is positive
(i.e. non-negative), ħ°a will not be used, e.g.

 wəy (ø-)yə-də̀r- we- yt' // (ø-)yə-bò-
 that-one it he know (dyn.) (fin.) it he see+(dyn.)
 yt' \ // (ø-)y- aħà- yt' // int'erès-s
 (fin.) it he hear (fin.) interest (pred.)
 (ø-)yə̀-mo- w+p' s-ax'- cò (*ħ°a)
 it he have (stat.) I where(rel.) go+(dyn.)
  'He knows // sees // has heard // is interested in where
  I am going'
but, if that introductory verb is either negated or queried,
ħ°a becomes optional, e.g.

 wəy (ø-)yə+z- də̀r-wa-m (etc..) s-ax'-cò (ħ°a)
   (potential) not
  'He doesn't know (etc..) where I'm going'
 s-ax'-cò (ħ°a) (ø-)yə-bò- ma (etc..) wəy?
      it he see+(dyn.) (Qu.)
  'Does he see (etc..) where I'm going?'
 If this last group of introductory verbs are construed with
an indirect neutral 'yes-no' question, in addition to the

regular choice of indirect constructions described at the beg-
inning of this sub-section, if the introductory verb is negated
or queried, the subordinate clause may be represented either by
the appropriate <u>finite</u> tense + ḥ°a or by the appropriate 'abso-
lutive' ± ḥ°a, e.g.

```
də-cò-        yt'    ḥ°a // də-co-nə̀                    (ḥ°a)
he go+(dyn.) (fin.)           (Imperf.absol.)
(ø-)s+z-       də̀r- wa-    m   (etc..)
it  I+(pot.) know (dyn.) not
   'I don't know (etc..) whether he's going'
də-cè-yt' ḥ°a // də-ca-nə̀                      (ḥ°a) (ø-)w- aḥà-
                            (Past absol.)         it   you hear
ma     (etc..)?
(Qu.)
   'Did you hear whether he went?'
də-ca-x'è-    yt' ḥ°a // də-ca-x'a-nə̀                  (ḥ°a)
      (Perf.)                      (Plu-perf.absol.)
int'erès-s       yə-sə̀-ma- ja-      m  (etc..)
interest (pred.) it I  have (emphatic) not
   'I am not interested in (etc..) whether he has already
   gone'
```

Indirect questions may not be represented by means of the
masdar/infinitive; a structure of the form
```
wə-   ca-rà      d- à+ z-   c'+ aa-     yt'
your go (masd.) he it+about ask+(suff.) (fin.)
```
means exactly the same as English 'He asked about your going'.

1.1.2.2.5. How are indirect commands marked?

The most usual way of expressing an indirect command is to
repeat the actual words spoken in conjunction with the particle
indicating a direct quote, ḥ°a 'saying'. The command may
either precede or follow the indirect object of the introduct-
ory clause, e.g.
```
(an     lə- pḥà)    yə̀-   s-taxə-w                   a-
the-mother her daughter which I want (non-fin.Pres.) the
c'k'ə̀ (ø-)jaxə̀ ḥ°a (an lə-pḥà) (yə-)lə̀+ də-l-  c'e-  yt'
dress it  sew              it     her+on place (fin.)
   'The mother ordered her daughter to sew the dress she
   wanted' (lit. '..."Sew the dress I want" saying')
s- an    s-anə̀- xə+n-      ḥ°ə- lak''     arà  bə- q'a
my mother I when (preverbs) return (non-fin.) here you be
-m-   z-       aa+yt'      ḥ°a (ø-)sə̀+də-l-c'e-yt'
not (non-fin.) (subjunctive)    it  me+on
   'My mother ordered me not to be here when she came back'
```
A true indirect command may be formed by placing the impera-
tive (or subjunctive) of direct speech in the purposive in -r+c
(see 2.1.3.5), regardless of the tense of the introductory verb.
The persons of the purposive (and of any subordinate verbs
present) are adapted to fit the requirements of the introduct-
ory verb, whilst the tenses (sc. of any subordinate verbs)
either remain those of direct speech, or, if the tense con-
cerned belongs to the first group of tenses and the introduct-
ory verb is past, the corresponding non-finite form from the
second group of tenses may be used, e.g.

```
s-an yə̀-l-taxə-w                // yə̀-l-taxə-z
                 (non-fin.Pres.)              (non-fin.Past)
a-c'k'ə̀ (ø-)z-jaxə̀-r+c          (ø-)sə̀+də-l-c'e-yt'
      I       (purp.)
```
   'My mother ordered me to sew the dress she wanted'
If the imperative of direct speech contained either of the
politeness suffixes -y(š), the only way of preserving the nuance
of these suffixes when reporting such a direct command is to
repeat the actual words + ḥ°a, e.g.
```
à-  ḥ°əzba (ø-)sə̀-   tə-  y(š) ḥ°a s-an yə-s+ à- l-
the knife   it  to-me give              it to+me she
ḥ°e-yt'
say (fin.)
```
   'My mother told me kindly to give her the knife'
If the verb of the direct command is the simple imperative
(i.e. if it contains neither the negative element nor one of
the politeness suffixes -y(š)), then the equivalent indirect
command may be expressed by means of the masdar/infinitive,
e.g.
```
s-an s-          lass- nə̀     // yə-
   me(col.I) quick (adv.)      (col.I, 3rd.sg., non-hum.)
lass-nə̀ // yə̀-r-        lass-nə a-       ca-rà
               (cause)           (art.) go (masd.)
(ø-)sə̀+də-l-c'e-yt'
```
   'My mother ordered me to go quickly'
where we note that an adverb rather than an adjective is the
only way of modifying a masdar.

1.1.2.3. Adjective (relative) clauses

1.1.2.3.1. How are adjective clauses marked?

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

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

No.

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

1.1.2.3.3.2. after the relative clause.

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

1.1.2.3.4.2.3. replaced by an invariant particle?

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

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

    a- pʰ°ə̀s rc'ay°ə̀-s   də̀- q'o-w+p'
    the woman teacher (pred.) she be (stat.)
      'The woman is a teacher'
→ Meràb də- y- də̀r- we-   yt'   rc'ay°ə̀-s   yə̀-
   M.   her he know (dyn.) (fin.) teacher (pred.) who
   q'o-w   a- pʰ°ə̀s
   be (stat.non-fin.) the woman
     'Merab knows the woman who is a teacher'
(Transitive) direct object

    a- xàc'a a- pʰ°ə̀s də- y- bè- yt'
    the man   the woman her he see (fin.)
      'The man saw the woman'
→ Meràb də-y-də̀r-we-yt' a-xàc'a yə̀- y- ba- (-z)
                      whom he see (non-fin.)

a-pʰ°ə̀s
[N.B. that yə̀-y-ba-z, with final -z, is strictly speaking the
non-finite Past Indefinite; whilst the Aorist non-finite form,
yə̀-y-ba, is also possible, the form with -z is judged to be
somehwat 'fuller']
     'Merab knows the woman whom the man saw'
Transitive subject

    a- xàc°a a-pʰ°ə̀s də- r- šə̀- yt'
    the men   her they kill (fin.)
      'The men killed the woman'
→ a-pʰ°ə̀s də- z- šə̀ (-z)   // də-zə-š-k°à   (-z)
       her who kill (non-fin.)   (pl.)
a-xàc°a (∅-) aa- wè- yt'
       they come (dyn.) (fin.)
     'Here come the men who killed the woman'
Indirect object

    a-xàc'a a-pʰ°ə̀s a- š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)lə̀- y- te- yt'
              the book   it to-her he give (fin.)
     'The man gave the book to the woman'
→ a-xàc'a a-š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)zə-   y- tà (-z)   a-pʰ°ə̀s
             it to-whom he give (non-fin.)
də- z-də̀r- we-   yt'
her I know (dyn.) (fin.)
     'I know the woman to whom the man gave the book'

1.1.2.3.6. Do headless relative clauses occur?

Yes, and they are not marked in any special way, e.g.
    yə- b- taxə̀-z   (∅-)z-be- yt'
    what you want (non-fin.) it I see (fin.)
     'I saw what you wanted'

1.1.2.3.7. What elements can be relativised?

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

---

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

    wəy à-   way° ħ°əzbà-la a- k°'ət'ə̀ (∅-)yə-šə̀- yt'
    that (art.) man knife by the chicken it he kill (fin.)
or
    wəy à-way° à-ħ°əzba a-k°'ət'ə̀ (∅-)à+ le- y- šə- yt'
                         it it+with he kill (fin.)
     'That man killed the chicken with the knife'
→ ONLY
sarà wəy à-way° a-k°'ət'ə̀(∅-)z+   lè- y- š   (ə-z)
I   it which+with he kill (non-fin.)
à-ħ°əzba (∅-)z-be- yt'
      it I see (fin.)
     'I saw the knife with which that man killed the chicken'
(Similar examples could be provided for benefactive phrases.)
    The column II (possessive) prefix attached to the possessed
noun in genitive-expressions simply yields to its relative sur-
rogate z(ə)-, if relativisation is on the 'genitive' NP, e.g.

    (yarà) yə- mč   (∅-)màč'ə-w+p'
    he   his strength it small (stat.)
     'His strength is small'
→ zə- mč   (∅-)màč'ə-w   yə- bz
whose strength it small (non-fin.) his language
(∅-)də̀w- xo-   yt'
it great become (fin.)
        +(dyn.)
     'The language of him whose strength is small waxes great'
The following example illustrates that the same substitution of
relative z(ə)- for the possessive prefix occurs even when the
relative clause is formed on the subordinate verb's subject -
in other words, no matter what the role of the head-noun within
the subordinate clause, if that head-noun incidentally enters
into a possessive relationship within the subordinate clause,
its possessive prefix will be replaced by the relative z(ə)-,
e.g.

    à- č'k°'ən y- an   d- lə̀+ cə- m- nəq°'e-yt'
    the boy   his mother he her+with not go   (fin.)
     'The boy did not go for a walk with his mother'
→ z- an   yə- lə̀+cə-m-nəq°'a(-z)   à-č'k°'ən
whose mother who   (non-fin.)
yə- c'a+rà d- à- g-   xe-   yt'
his lesson he it (prev.) reach-late (fin.)
     'The boy who did not go for a walk with his (lit. whose)
    mother was late for his lesson'
This leaves the question of relativisation from inside an
already subordinate clause. First let us examine structures
where the subordinate clause is itself an argument (subject,
direct or indirect object) of its introductory verb. In such
cases the introductory verb will contain an affix referring to
its subordinate clause. It is suggested in Hewitt (1979a) that,
if the sentential boundary between introductory and subordinate

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

```
a-  pħ°əs a-  xàc'a də- 1-  bà- r+c            d-  à+ la-
the woman the man   him she see (purposive)   she it+(prev.)
ge-  yt'
begin (fin.)
    'The woman began to see the man'
→ a-pħ°əs də- 1-  bà-r+c // yə- 1-  bà-r+c
          him she              whom she

   də- z+  la-   gà    (-z)      a-xàc'a
   she whom+(prev.) begin (non-fin.)
```

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

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

```
a-pħ°əs a-xàc'a yə- ba- rà       d-à+la-ge-yt'
                   his see (masd.)

→ a-pħ°əs z-   ba-rà d-à+ la-ga(-z) a-xàc'a
          whose        it
```

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

```
d- bə-   1- ta-  r+c      (yə-)s-taxə-w+p'
him to-you she give (purp.) it   I want (stat.)
    'I want her to give him to you'

→ yə-  bə-1-ta-r+c yə-     s-taxə-w         a-  way°ə
  whom            who(m)        (non-fin.   the man
    'the man whom I want her to give to you...'
```

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

```
a-  š°q°'ə s-à- px'a-r+c      s-aa-  yt'
the book  I it read (purp.)  I come (fin.)
    'I came to read the book'
→ s-à-px'a-r+c // sə-zə-    px'à-r+c sə-z+   z-  àa
                  which         I  which+for come

(-z)      a-š°q°'ə
(non-fin
    'the book I came to read...'
```

1.1.2.4. Adverb-clauses

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

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

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

1.1.2.4.2.1. Time

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

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

```
Amra a-     š°q°'ə d-  an-  à- px'o            warà
A.   (art.) book   she when it read           you
                               +(dyn.)
                               (non-fin. Pres.)
yə-     q'a-   w- c'o-   y
which  (prev.) you do    what?
(rel.)             +(dyn.)
```

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

```
Amra d-  anə- c°o-  w                 sarà a-   wəs
A.   she when sleep (non-fin.stat.Pres.) I   (art.) work
(∅-)z-[w-] we-    yt'
it  I  do  (dyn.) (fin.)
```

'When Amra is sleeping, I work'

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

```
d- anə- z-ba           (*-z)              a-  š°q°'ə
her when I see          (non-fin.Past Indef.) the book
           (non-fin.Aor.)
(∅-)lə-      s-te-  yt'
it  to-her I give (fin.)
```

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

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

```
d-  an- aa-  làk''    də- šə
she when come (non-fin) her kill
```

'When she comes, kill her!'

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

```
d-  an-  aa-  làk'' à-      fa+t°' (ø-)lə̀-   s-ta-  lo-
                    (art.) food   it  to-her I give (iter.)
                                                 +(dyn.)
n      // (ø-)lə̀-s-to-     n
(fin.)            give     (fin.)
                 +(dyn.)
```
'Whenever she came, I used to give her food'
However, more common here would be the complex suffix
-zaa+lak'+g'ə, which is suffixed to the non-finite Present, e.g.
```
d-an-aa-wà-    zaa+lak'+g'ə // d-an-aa-lò-    zaa+lak'+g'ə
       (dyn.)                            (iter.)
                                          +(dyn.)
à-fa+t°' (ø-)lə̀-s-ta-lo-n // (ø-)lə̀-s-to-n
```
Such subordinate forms may also be used where the tense is
general (gnomic), e.g.
```
sarà a+k'r-    anə̀- s-fo       (-zaa+lak'+g'ə) wəy
I     something when I eat                      that-one
                         +(dyn.)
də-s-    pərxà+go-   w+p'
he to-me be-hindrance (stat.)
```
'Whenever I'm eating, he's forever pestering me'
   Temporal adverbial clauses with the meaning 'after' are
formed by an association of the appropriate temporal clause
meaning 'when' followed immediately by the postposition à-štax'
'after, behind', e.g.
```
d- anə̀- y- ba      à- štax' də-cè-yt'
him when he see     it after he go (fin.)
            (non-fin.)
```
'After he saw him, he left'
   Temporal adverbial clauses with the meaning 'as soon as' are
expressed as follows: the intra-verbal particle of manner
-ṣ(ə)- is inserted, immediately after the complex's column I
pronominal affix, into the non-finite form of the required
tense; the suffix -c°'q''a, which usually means 'indeed,
really', will either be attached as final element to the re-
sulting complex, or it will stand immediately after the verbal
root. If the tense is simple past, either the non-finite Aor-
ist or the non-finite Past Indefinite may be used, e.g.
```
də- ṣə̀-y- ba           (z-)                   c°'q''a //
him    he see           (non-fin.Past Indef.)
             (non-fin.Aor.)
də-ṣə̀-y-ba-c°'q''a(-z) də-cè-yt'
                      he go (fin.)
```
'As soon as he saw him, he went'
If the tense required is future, the non-finite ending of the
subordinate verb will be -lak'', e.g.
```
də-ṣə̀-y-ba-lak''-c°'q''a // də-ṣə̀-y-ba-c°'q''a-lak''
də-cò-      yt'
   go
   +(dyn.)
```
'As soon as he sees him, he'll go'
Note that this last subordinate verb-form is obligatory if the
tense is indefinite past, e.g.

```
də-ṣə̀-y-ba-lak''(-c°'q''a) // də-ṣə̀-y-ba-c°'q''a-lak''
də-cò-      n
   go       (fin.)
   +(dyn.)
```
'As soon as ever he saw him, he used to go'

1.1.2.4.2.2. Manner

   Adverbial clauses of manner are produced by inserting the
particle -ṣ(ə)-, immediately after the complex's column I pro-
nominal affix, into the non-finite form of the required tense.
If the tense is simple past, only the non-finite Past Indefin-
ite may be used, e.g.
```
də-ṣə̀-  z-ba- z                          də-q'o-w+p'
him how I see (non-fin. Past Indef.) he be
```
'He is as I saw him'
If the element -c°'q''a is added for purposes of precision,
it will either be attached to the complex as a whole, or will
stand after the verbal root, and, in the case of the Perfect,
Plu-perfect and Conditionals I and II, it may also split tense-
marker from non-finite ending, e.g.
```
də- ṣə̀- z-ba- x'o-  w-            c°'q''a //
him how I see (Perf.)(non-fin.) just
də-ṣə̀-z-ba-c°'q''a-x'o-w  //
də-ṣə̀-z-ba-x'a-c°'q''o-w də-q'o-w+p'
                          he be  (stat.)
```
'He is just as I have already seen him'
   Two formations are possible for indefinite adverbial clauses
of manner: (a) the intra-verbal particle of manner -ṣ(ə)- is
inserted, immediately after the complex's column I pronominal
affix, into the non-finite form of the required tense, to which
is suffixed the clitic -g'ə, which normally means 'and, also,
even', although a more appropriate translation in the present
context would be 'ever', e.g.
```
də- pṣja-    nə̀      // yə-              pṣja-nə̀ //
she beautiful (adv.)    (col.I, non-hum.)
yə̀-r-          pṣja-nə à-     š°a  (ø-)ṣə̀- 1-  ħ°o-
   (causative)          (art.) song it  how she say
                                                +(dyn.)
g'ə lə- bž̌ə̀   (ø-)s+ g°a-   pxò-   m
ever her voice it  me+(prev.) please not
                                  +(dyn.)
```
'However beautifully she sings, I don't like her voice'
cf. the corresponding sentence when the tense is Imperfect:
```
...(ø-)ṣə̀-1-ħ°o-z-        g'ə...(ø-)s+g°a-pxò-mə- z+t'
             (non-fin.)                        not (fin.)
        (Imperfect)                           (Imperfect)
```
'However beautifully she used to sing, I used not to
like her voice'
   If the subordinate tense is simple past, either the non-fin-
ite Aorist of the non-finite Past Indefinite is possible, e.g.

yə-   ɣ°ɣ°a-nə̀   də- s̰ə̀- sə-p'q'a-
(col.I, non-hum.) hard   (adv.) him how I   hit
                                              (non-fin. Aor.)
(z-) g'ə   yə̀-   q'e-   y- c'a-c
(non-fin. Past Indef.) which (prev.) he do (non-fin.)
                               (rel.)
(∅-)q'e-   y- c'è-yt'
it   (prev.) he do (fin.)
    'However hard I hit him, he did·what he'd been doing
    previously'
(b) the adverb eg'à 'however much' is used in association with
a verb placed in the conditional mood in -r alone or in -za+r
suffixed to either the non-finite Present or the non-finite
Aorist; the verbal complex ends with the clitic -g'ə, e.g.
eg'à   də-pʂja-nə̀(etc..) à-š°a (∅-)1-ħ°à-r- g'ə //
however-much   if
(∅-)1-ħ°ò-   za+r-g'ə'// (∅-)1-ħ°à-
    (non-fin. Pres.) if   (non-fin. Aor.)
za+r-g'ə lə-bž̌ə̀ (∅-)s+g°a-pxò-m
    if
    'However beautifully she sings, I don't like her voice'
The same choice of words for the adverbial clause applies re-
gardless of the tense of the main verb - if the main verb is
Imperfect, for example, only the final word of the last example
will be altered to (∅-)s+g°a-pxò-mə-z+t', thereby giving the
meaning 'However beautifully she sang, I used not to like her
voice'.

1.1.2.4.2.3. Purpose

Purpose-clauses are expressed in one of three ways: (a) the
purposive in -r+c, -ra+zə or -ra+nə (see 2.1.3.5) is used, ir-
respective of the tense of the introductory verb, e.g.
s- y°ə̀za də- z-bà- r+c // də-z-ba-ra+zə̀ // də-z-ba-ra+nə̀
my friend him I see
à-   kalak' [a-]ax' s-co-   yt'   // s-ce-yt' (etc..)
(art.) town   it to I go   (fin.)   go
                              +(dyn.)
    'I am going // I went (etc..) to town to see my friend'
(b) the purposive in -r+c may be followed by the postposition
-zə 'for'; and this postposition will be prefixed with the
column II, 3rd. person singular non-human pronominal prefix a-
correlating with the entire subordinate expression represented
by the purposive, e.g.
    s-y°ə̀za də-z-bà-r+c a- zə̀ à-kalak' [a-]ax' s-co-yt' //
                       it for
s-ce-yt'
    'I am going // I went to town to see my friend'
(c) The masdar/infinitive plus the postposition -zə 'for' may
be used, in which case no column III, transitive subject-affix
will be present in the subordinate expression, and the direct
object becomes an objective genitive, being represented by the
appropriate column II possessive pronominal prefix in the mas-
dar-complex, e.g.

    s-y°ə̀za yə- ba- ra-   [a-]zə̀ à-kalak' [a-]ax' s-co-yt'//
                 his see (masd.) it for
s-ce-yt' (etc..)
N.B. that in the event of the introductory verb being one of
motion, a fourth alternative exists, and this is to use the
masdar//infinitive by itself, e.g.
    àamta a- ga-   ra-   [a-]zə̀ (etc..) (*a-ga-rà) a-
    time   its waste (masd.) it for   the
    š°q°'ə̀ s-à- px'o-   yt'
    book   I it read   (fin.)
                +(dyn.)
    'I am reading the book in order to waste time'
BUT
    àamta a-ga-rà // a-ga-ra-[a-]zə̀ (etc..) s- an   arà+x'
                                                  my mother hither
    s- aa-   lə̀- štə- yt'
    me (prev.) she send (fin.)
    'My mother sent me here in order to waste time'
Where the masdar is thus employed, one may optionally place
after it the particle which usually marks the quotation of dir-
ect speech (see 1.1.1.1), namely ħ°a; this would here give
àamta a-ga-rà (ħ°a)... Where the dependent noun of such mas-
dars refers to a non-referentially indefinite entity, not only
can the dependent noun stand without its article a- but the
possessive prefix referring to that noun may be omitted from
the masdar, e.g.
    àamta ga-ra (ħ°a)...
    'to waste time'
    pħ°əs š-   ra   (ħ°a)..// a-pħ°ə̀s lə- š-rà (ħ°a)
    woman kill (masd.)   her
    'to kill a woman (sc. any woman at all)'
If, however, the dependent noun refers to one specific, known
entity, then neither of these elements may be omitted, e.g.
    wəy a-   pħ°ə̀s lə-š-rà (ħ°a)
    that (art.)
    'to kill that woman'
    s- ab   yə- š-rà (ħ°a)
    my father   his
    'to kill my father'
But if the dependent noun, even when it is of definite refer-
ence, is syntactically construed with the introductory verb of
motion rather than with the masdar, the masdar will preferably
not contain any possessive prefix referring to that noun, e.g.
    š- ra   s- ab   arà+x' d- aa-   z-gè- yt'
    kill (masd.) my father higher him (prev.) I bring (fin.)
    'I brought my father here to kill (him)'

1.1.2.4.2.4. Cause

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

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

```
   a-       şk'òl a- q'ə a-    c'a-  rà      bzəya-nə
   (art.) school it at  (art.) learn (masd.) good  (adv.)

   (∅-)ax'ə-y- c'o-    z       a- zə // a- q'ə+n+t°',
   it         he learn (non-fin.) it for    it from
              +(dyn.)
   ayḥabə+ra=c'a+ra d-  aa-      nà-x°e-yt'
   the-institute    him (prev.) it buy
```
   'Because he studied well at school, he was admitted to
   the institute' (lit. '... the institute bought him')
cf. the same sentence in the present-future tense:

```
   ...(∅-)ax'ə-c'o           a-zə // a-q'ə+n+t°'...
              (non-fin. Pres.)
   d-aa-nà-x°o-    yt'
           buy
           +(dyn.)
```
   'Because he studies well at school, he will be admitted
   to the institute'
(b) alternatively, it is actually possible for the finite form
of the appropriate tense to be used in conjunction with either
of the postpositions -zə or -q'ə+n+t°'. This is clearly a con-
struction that has arisen under foreign influence as the a-
prefix of either postposition should correlate with an NP (the
affix in question is pronominal), but, with a finite verb-form
representing the subordinate expression, there is no NP present
to correlate with this pronominal prefix - it is worth emphas-
ising at this point that the postpositions are indeed part of
the subordinate expression for the pause in the sentence falls
after and not before them, making them part of the tone-group
of the subordinate verb, e.g.

```
   a-şk'òl a-q'ə a-c'a-rà bzəya-nə (∅-)yə-c'ò-   n
                                    learn     (fin.)
                                    +(dyn.)
   a-zə // a-q'ə+n+t°', ayḥabə+ra=c'a+ra d-aa-nà-x°e-yt'
```
   'Because he studied well at school, he was admitted to
   the institute'

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

1.1.2.4.2.5. Condition

   For all variants of conditional clauses, see section
2.1.3.4.2.

1.1.2.4.2.6. Result

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

```
   a-       wəsə+w+ra (∅-)ḥà-    lə-   m- şa-          r+t°',
   (art.) work       it for-us (prev.) not be-possible
   eypş şòwro-w+p'    // şòwra-n
        heat (stat.)      (stat.)
             (Pres.)      (Past)
```
   'It is//was (so) hot that we can't//couldn't work'
   If the post-radical verbal element marking excess, -c°a-, is
used, then the meaning will rather be 'It is too hot for us to
work', i.e.
   a-wəsə+w+ra (∅-)ḥà-lə-m-şa-r+t°' eypş şòwra-c°o-w+p'
Another example of a simple consecutive clause would be:
```
   yarà+z+n+a+k' də-c°a-          r+t°' eypş d- aa+psa-nə
   suddenly       he go-to-sleep        he tired (adv.)
   də-q'o-w+p'    // də-q'a-n
   he be  (stat.)    he be  (stat.)
          (Pres.)           (Past)
```
   'He is//was (so) tired that he suddenly falls//fell
   asleep'
A less acceptable way of expressing consecutive clauses in
Abkhaz is to use eypş 'like, as' in conjunction with wəbàs 'in
such a way, so' in the main clause, and then simply to state
the result by means of the appropriate finite verb, e.g.
```
   wəbàs eypş d-aa+psa-nə də-q'o-w+p' - yarà+z+n+a+k'
   də-c°o-      yt'
   fall-asleep (fin.)
   +(dyn.)
```
   'He is so tired - he suddenly falls asleep'

1.1.2.4.7. Degree

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

1.1.2.4.2.8. Concessive

   Abkhaz has only the one means of expressing concession, and
that is by saying 'even if' - the clitic -g'ə 'even' is suffix-
ed to the appropriate conditional form, e.g.
```
   à- mra (∅-)pxò-   za+r-g'ə x'to-w+p'
   the sun it shine   if       cold (stat.)
                               +(dyn.)
```
   'Although (even if) the sun is shining, it's cold'
```
   à-mra (∅-)pxà-r- g'ə x'ta-xò-     yt'
                 if      become  (fin.)
                                 +(dyn.)
```
   'Although (even if) the sun shines, it will become cold'

1.1.2.5. Sequence of tenses

1.1.2.5.1. Is there a sequence of tenses?

   No.

1.2. Structural questions

1.2.1. Internal structure of the sentence

1.2.1.1. Copular sentences
cf. 2.1.1.2.3 and 2.1.1.2.9.

1.2.1.1.1. Copular sentences with nominal complement

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

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

```
wəy        r+c'a+y°ə̀-s       // də-r+c'a+y°-nə̀
that-one teacher     (pred.)      he teacher  (adv.)
də̀-q'o-w+p'
he be  (stat.)
   'He is a teacher'
```
But where the copular roots -a- (or -a+k°'(ə)-) are used (cf. 2.1.1.2.9.2 for this identity-marking copula, and 2.1.1.2.9.3 for its role-marking functions), the noun-complement is un-marked, e.g.

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

1.2.1.1.1.3. give the order of the constituents
The word-order is S-Comp-V.

1.2.1.1.2. Copular sentences with adjectival complement

1.2.1.1.2.1. is there an overt 'be'-copula?
No, see 1.2.1.1.4.ff.

1.2.1.1.3. Copular sentences with adverbial complement

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

Where the overt copula is à-q'a-zaa-ra, the adverb-comple-ment may be either
(i) unmarked, e.g.
```
(sarà) arà  sə̀-q'o-w+p'
  I      here I  be (stat.)
   'I am here'
```
where arà is a non-derived adverb and thus requires no addi-tional marker to indicate its adverbial status.
```
(yarà) bzə̀ya        də̀-q'o-w+p'
  he     well(lit. good) he
   'He is well'
```
N.B. that formally bzə̀ya is an adjective, but this sentence cannot nevertheless mean 'He is good', which would be də-bzə̀yo-w+p' (cf. 1.2.1.1.4.2.1). Such uses of adjective for adverb are rare - in place of bzə̀ya here, but with the same sentential meaning, we could use pşja 'beautiful'.

```
warà wə- q'ə̀+n+t°'  xarà sə̀-q'o-w+p'
you  you from    far  I
   'I am far from you'
```
or (ii) marked (by having the appropriate column I pronominal affix as prefix, and the adverbial formant -nə as suffix), e.g.
```
də-bzə̀ya-nə      də̀-q'o-w+p'
he good  (adv.) he
   'He is well'
sə-w+  c°ə̀+ xara-nə      sə̀-q'o-w+p'
I  you+from+far  (adv.) I
   'I am far from you'
```
In the case of the pseudo-cleft construction where the cop-ula will be the root -a- (or -a+k°'(ə)-), both unmarked (non-derived) and marked (derived) adverbs are found, as would be expected, e.g.
```
a(b)rò-w+p' (←*a(b)ra-a- w+p')   s-ax'ə̀- q'o-w
                here  be (stat.) I where be  (non-fin.)
   'It is here where I am'
yə-pşja-      n-      ò- w+p'   (←*yə-pşja-nə-a-w+p')
it beautiful (adv.) be (stat.)
yə-şə̀- q'a-   c'o-  w
it how (prev.) make (non-fin. stat.)
   'It is beautifully made'
```

1.2.1.1.3.3. give the order of constituents
The order is S-Comp-V.

1.2.1.1.4. In cases of copular sentences without overt copula

1.2.1.1.4.1. are the normal verbal categories expressed?
Yes.

1.2.1.1.4.2. if so, how is this done?

1.2.1.1.4.2.1. verbal affixes affixed to the complement-element

In the case of copular sentences without an overt 'be'-copula, the normal verbal categories (person, tense) are expressed by attaching as prefix to the complement the appropriate column I pronominal affix and as suffix to the complement the stative verb markers (-w+p' in the Present, -n in the Past) - in other words, the complement becomes the root of a stative verb, e.g.
(a) noun-complement
```
wəy       də-way°ə̀-w+p'
that-one he man  (stat.)
   'He is a man'
```
(b) adjective-complement
```
(barà) bə- pşjò-     w+p'
you    you beautiful (stat.)
   'You are beautiful'
```
(c) noun+adjective-complement
```
abrə̀y d- apsə̀+wa  xàc'o-w+p'
this  he Abkhazian man   (stat.)
   'This is an Abkhazian man'
```
(d) adverbial-complement
No example, as adverbial complements are always construed with an overt 'be'-copula.

1.2.1.1.6. Are there different types of copula?

Yes.

1.2.1.1.6.1. defining

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

1.2.1.1.6.2. identity

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

1.2.1.1.6.3. role

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

1.2.1.1.6.4. other

For the 'become'-copula see 2.1.1.2.9.4.

1.2.1.2. Verbal sentences

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

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

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

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

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

a-   psà (∅-)à-   s-   we-   yt' (=[æ'psæsweit'])
(art.) wind it it(?) strike (dyn.) (fin.)
   'The wind is blowing'
However, the verb à-s-ra 'to strike' is intransitive (cf. s-yə̀-sə-yt' 'I s- hit him -yə-'), and so the dummy-affix -a- is the column II, 3rd. person singular, non-human, pronominal affix and is here fulfilling the role of indirect object, whereas a-psà is the verb's subject. Cf. the dummy, indirect object -a- in the 'absolutive' complex:
xar   (∅-)à-   ma- m- k°'a(-n)
trouble(?) it it(?) have not (neg. absol. suff.)
   'enough' (cf. 1.2.4.3.4)
The verb a-w-rà 'to do, make' with the same dummy subject-affix -a- seen above is also used in conjunction with either the conditional mood or the masdar//infinitive in the sense of 'it is possible', e.g.

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

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

a- gazèt d- à- px'o-   za+r (∅-)a-[w-]wè-yt'
the paper he it read   if
            +(dyn.)
   'It is possible that he is reading the paper'
An alternative verb in each of the above three examples would be:
(∅-)   à-   l-   ço-   yt'
it (sc. subordin-   for-it(?) (prev.) be-possible (fin.)
   ate clause)   +(dyn.)
where the dummy-affix -a- is present once more, although this time it is again the column II, 3rd. person singular, non-human pronominal affix and is fulfilling the role of indirect object, cf.
a-   wə̀sə+w+ra (∅-)sə̀-   l-ço-yt'
(art.) work   it for-me(col.II)
   'I can work'
Traditionally the verb a-taxə̀-zaa-ra 'to want' is interpreted as an intransitive verb containing a subject (column I) affix and an indirect object (column II) affix. However, arguments are presented below (1.6.5.73) for interpreting this verb rather as a (syntactically if not morphologically) normal transitive verb with a subject (column III) affix and a direct object (column I) affix. If this view is correct, then another instance of a- appearing as dummy subject-affix will be its use with a-taxə̀-zaa-ra when this verb is used in association with the masdar to mean 'X is necessary', e.g.

àq°'a- q'a a- ca-rà // s- ca-rà (∅-)a-
Sukhumi to (art.) go (masd.) my
taxə̀-w+p'
   (stat.)
  'It is necessary to go // that I go to Sukhumi'
  Two other expressions of obligation are based on nominal
bases meaning 'lot, portion', namely -x°ta // -k°naga. Each of
these bases, preceded by the appropriate column II possessive
prefix correlating with the person upon whom the obligation
falls, is made the base of a stative verb, whose column I sub-
ject-affix correlates with the masdar representing the act that
is the obligation, e.g.

wəy   yə- ba- rà   (∅-)sə+k°nagò-w+p' // (∅-)sə+
that-one his see (masd.) it my+lot   (stat.)
x°tò-w+p'
  'I must see him'
Should the person upon whom the obligation rests be left un-
specified, the dummy, 3rd. person singular, non-human posses-
sive (i.e. column II) pronominal prefix a- will appear in the
verbal complex, e.g.
    wəy yə-ba-rà (∅-)a+k°nagò-w+p' // (∅-)a+x°tò-w+p'
    'It is necessary to see him'

1.2.1.2.2. Are there verbs without direct objects?

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

1.2.1.2.3. Is there a separate category 'indirect object'
(definable other than in semantic terms) which can be present?

  The indirect object may be formally defined as the referent
of the column II, pronominal affix which may be present in any
verbal complex and which is not 'governed' by a preverb, deter-
miner or relational particle (cf. 2.1.1.5 for the terminology),
and which is not used in association with the reflexive affix
-č(ə)- (cf. 1.6.1.3), e.g.
    d- à-   px'o-   yt'
    he it(col.II) read+(dyn.) (fin.)
      'He reads it (indirect object)'
    yə-sə̀-   l- te- yt'
    it to-me(col.II) she give (fin.)
      'She gave it to me (indirect object)'
    yə-l-   də- r-   bè- yt'
    it her(col.II) they cause see (fin.)
      'They made her (indirect object) see it // They showed
      it to her'
    yə-sə̀-   lə-   m- ĝe-   yt'
    it for-me(col.II) (prev.) not (root) (fin.)
                \\   //
             be possible
    'It was not possible for me'
(where it is impossible, synchronically speaking, to assign
individual meanings to the verbal root and preverb, such that
the column II affix could be regarded as being dependent on the

---

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

a- xaħ°+c°'àħ° à- šaq'a y- a+ k°ə-   y- c'è-yt'
the beam   the pillar it it+on(prev.) he put (fin.)
  'He put the beam on the pillar')
yə-s-   lə̀- r-   q'a-   c'e- yt'
it me(col.II) she cause (prev.) make (fin.)
  'She made me (indirect object) do it'
(N.B. that in the present work any intra-verbal column II affix
that is followed in the transcription by a hyphen, rather than
by a plus-sign, may be interpreted as representing an indirect
object.)

1.2.1.2.4. What other kinds of verbal arguments are there?

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

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

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

1.2.1.2.6. Give the order of the constituents for the combina-
tion of verb, subject, and direct object etc...

  The most frequent word-order (cf. 2.1.1.1.5) is S-IO-DO-V,
although any order is theoretically possible. The referent of
any other intra-verbal affix will most naturally stand between
IO and DO, e.g.
    a- xàc'a a-   pħ°ə̀s 1- y°ə̀za a- š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)lə+ z- lə̀-
    the man   the woman her friend the book it her+for to-her
    y- te- yt'
    he give (fin.)
    'The man gave the book to the woman for her friend'

1.2.1.3. Adverbials

1.2.1.3.1. Do the following types of adverbial occur?

1.2.1.3.1.1. adverbs

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

1.2.1.3.1.2. postpositional phrases

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

1.2.1.3.1.3. cases of NPs

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

1.2.1.3.1.4. adverbial clauses

  For the various adverbial clauses see 1.1.2.4.ff.

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

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

```
yacə        a-  xàc'a a-  pħ°əs a-  š°q°'ə (ø-)lə-    y-
yesterday the man    the woman the book   it  to-her he
te-   yt'
give (fin.)
```

or
```
a-xàc'a a-pħ°əs yacə a-š°q°'ə (ø-)lə-y-te-yt'
    'The man yesterday gave the book to the woman'
abrəy a-     təp  a- q'ə a-xàc'a a-pħ°əs a-š°q°'ə
this  (art.) place it at
(ø-)lə-y-te-yt'
```

or
```
a-xàc'a a-pħ°əs abrəy a-təp a-q'ə a-š°q°'ə (ø-)lə-y-te-yt'
    'The man gave the woman the book at this spot'
```
Postpositional phrases may also split direct object from verb, e.g.
```
a-xàc'a a-pħ°əs a-š°q°'ə abrəy a-təp a-q'ə ya-lə-y-te-yt'
```

Non-derived adverbs of manner (e.g. abàs 'thus') and of place (e.g. a(b)rà 'here') preferably appear before the direct object, e.g.
```
a-xàc'a a-pħ°əs abàs // a(b)rà a-š°q°'ə (ø-)lə-y-te-yt'
    'The man gave the book to the woman thus // here'
```
The predicative case of the NP usually stands immediately before the verb, e.g.
```
a-xàc'a a-pħ°əs gajà-s        //
                 fool (pred.)
gaja-nə        də- y- px'ajè-yt'
    (pred.) her he regard (fin.)
    'The man considered the woman a fool'
```
Adverbial clauses usually split direct object from main verb, e.g.
```
a-xàc'a a-pħ°əs l-  an       l- ba- rà        (etc..) də- y-
                her mother her see (masd.)            her he
štə- yt'
send (fin.)
    'The man sent the woman to see her mother'
```
Derived adverbs may stand either before the direct object or between direct object and verb, e.g.
```
a-xàc'a (yə+r+lass+nə) a-š°q°'ə (yə+r+lass+nə) d- à-
         quickly                               he it
px'o-       yt'
read+(dyn.) (fin.)
    'The man reads the book quickly'
```
If more than one postpositional phrase occurs in the same sentence, no special ordering is necessary. If a derived adverb and either a non-derived adverb or postpositional phrase of time both occur before the direct object, the derived adverb will stand first, e.g.
```
a-xàc'a a-pħ°əs yə+r+lass+nə yacə        // a-  sàat x°+ba
                              yesterday    the hour 5
rə-   zə // a(b)rà a-š°q°'ə (ø-)lə-y-te-yt'
them for   here
    'The man quickly gave the book to the woman yesterday //
    at 5 o'clock // here'
```

Otherwise the postpositional phrase (of place or manner) will stand first, e.g.
```
a-xàc'a a-pħ°əs bzəya+ba+rà-[a-]la // abrəy a-təp a-q'ə
                love            it by
yə+r+lass+nə a-š°q°'ə (ø-)lə-y-te-yt'
    'The man quickly gave the woman the book with affection
    // at this spot'
```
If an adverbial clause and a derived adverb occur together, the adverbial clause will stand first, e.g.
```
a-xàc'a a-pħ°əs l-an l-ba-rà (etc..) yə+r+lass+nə
də-y-štə-yt'
    'The man quickly sent the woman to see her mother'
```

1.2.1.3.3. Are adverbials obligatory in any construction?

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

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

1.2.2. Adjective phrases

1.2.2.2. Are there adjectives that take arguments?

See section 2.1.1.2.12.

1.2.2.3. Which types of adverbials can modify adjectives?

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

1.2.2.3.1. adverbs

```
dàara yə- pşjo-       w          à-      jγab
very  who beautiful (non-fin.) the//a girl
    'the//a very beautiful girl' (lit. 'girl who is...')
```

1.2.2.3.2. postpositional phrases

```
d- an- yə-     z         [a-]eypş yə-pşjo-w à-jγab
she when be-born (non-fin.)  it like
    'the//a girl who is (as) beautiful as the day she was
    born'
[y-]ey+lə-      w- k'+aa-     r+t°'        (a-]eypş yə-
it (preverbs) you understand (purposive)  it like which
maryo-w         a-    ħ°òw
easy (non-fin.) the//a sentence
    'the//a sentence (which is) easy for one to understand'
```

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

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

1.2.2.3.4. adverbial clauses

Not possible.

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

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

```
(dàara) z-    ab       (dàara) y-  [y+] èypsə-w
very    whose father            who him+like (non-fin.)
à-      č'k°'ən
(art.) boy
   'a boy (who is) very like his father'
```

1.2.3. Adverbial phrase

1.2.3.2. Which types of adverbials can modify adverbials?

1.2.3.2.1. adverbs

Yes, with modifier preceding modified, e.g.

```
dàara yə̀+r+lass+nə
   'very quickly
```

1.2.3.2.2. postpositional phrases

Yes, with modifier preceding modified, e.g.

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

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

Yes, with modifier preceding modified, e.g.

```
p'olìt'ik'a+t°' wə̀s+zə+w+y°ə-s də-q°'ə̀s-    nə    a-
                                 he intelligent (adv.)(art.)
wə̀s (ø-)yə-[w-]wè-   yt'
job it   he  do (dyn.) (fin.)
   'He works intelligently for a politician'
```

1.2.3.2.4. adverbial clauses

Not possible.

1.2.4. Postpositional phrases

1.2.4.2. Postpositional phrases and their arguments

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

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

1.2.4.2.2. Can postpositions occur with more than one argument?

No.

1.2.4.2.3. Can postpositions occur with arguments other than NPs?

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

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

No.

1.2.3.4.3. What elements can modify postpositions?

1.2.3.4.3.1. adverbs

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

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

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

```
(zənjà((s)k')) a-y°n à- štax'(-c°'q'a)
   'right behind the house'
```

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

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

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

```
(dàara) a-y°nə̀ (dàara) d  -a+ zàayg°a(+ra)-nə də-gə̀lo-
                        he it                     he stand
w+p'
(stat.)
   'He is standing very close to the house'
```

1.2.4.3.2. postpositional phrases

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

```
yə+s+àa+na+ga+ra eyps a-y°nə̀ a- xəx' də-xà-    le-
                             it above he (prev.) go-up
yt'
(fin.)
   'He went up quite (sc. high) above the house'
```

1.2.4.3.4. adverbial clause

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

(yə+ₛ+àa+na+ga+ra) a-y°nə̀ (yə+ₛ+àa+na+ga+ra) d-a+zàayg°a-nə
də-gə̀lo-w+p'
'He is standing quite close to the house'

If the 'absolutive' complex

xar   (∅-)à-   ma- m- k°'a(+n)
trouble(?) it it(?) have not (neg. absol. suff.)

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

xar (∅-)à+ma+m+k°'a(+n) a-y°n [a-]àayg°a(+ra) (etc..)
'near enough to the house'

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

a-y°nə̀ xar (∅-)à+ma+m+k°'a(+n) d-a+zàayg°a-nə də-gə̀lo-w+p'
'He's standing close enough to the house'

1.2.5. Noun phrase (nominal constituent)

1.2.5.2. Which of the following types of modifier occur?

1.2.5.2.1. adjective

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

à- jɣab ħàrak'
the girl tall
'the tall girl'
à- kərt+wa jɣab
the Georgian girl
'the Georgian girl'

1.2.5.2.2. relative clauses

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

yacə̀   y- aa- z   à- jɣab
yesterday who come (non-fin.) the girl
'the girl who came yesterday'

1.2.5.2.3. possessive 'adjective'

Non-emphatic possession is expressed by a set of pronominal prefixes (see the column II affixes set out in section 2.1.1.1.1), which occupy the same position in the NP as the definite-generic article a-, and not by possessive adjectives, e.g.

sə̀-jɣab
my girl
'my girl'

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

s- xa+t°'ə̀ jɣab
my own   girl
'my own girl'

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

1.2.5.2.4. article

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

jɣab-k'
girl one//a
'a//one girl'

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

à-jɣab
'(the) girl'

1.2.5.2.5. demonstrative 'adjective'

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

wəy   à-   jɣab
that-one (art.) girl
'that girl'

1.2.5.2.6. quantifiers

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

mač'-y°ə̀- k'   à-   jɣab-c°a   (or reversed)
few (hum.) one//a (art.) girl (pl.)
'few girls'
pət-   y°ə̀- k'   à-jɣab-c°a (or reversed)
several (hum.) one//a
'several girls'

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

à-   jɣab rac°a
(art.) girl many
'many girls'

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

yə+rac°a+(y°+)nə̀ à-jɣab-c°a
'many girls'

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

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

à-   š°q°'-k°à   mač'-k'
(art.) book (pl.) few one//a
   'few books'
a-š°q°'-k°à pət-   k'
              several one//a
   'several books'
     In the case of the quantifier 'many', either the simple form
rac°a will follow its head-noun, which will again appear in the
singular (e.g. a-š°q°'-ə̀ rac°a 'many books'), or the adverbial-
ised form will either precede or follow its head-noun, which
will be plural (e.g. yə-rac°a-nə̀ a-š°q°'-k°à or a-š°q°'-k°à
(yə-)rac°a-nə̀ 'many books').
     The negative 'not many' is expressed by the one form
yə-rac°à-(y°ə̀-)m-k°'a+n, where -k°'a+n is the suffix that re-
places -nə when the absolutive verb-form (cf. 2.1.1.3) is neg-
ated (e.g. yə-rac°à-(y°ə̀-)m-k°'a+n à-jɣab-c°a 'not many girls').
     N.B. that, with all the quantifiers, the definite-generic
article is necessary on the head-noun.

1.2.5.2.7. adverbials

     NPs may incorporate certain postpositional phrases (see the
various sub-sections of 2.1.1.4 and 2.1.1.5), such as the
following 'ablative' postpositional expression, where the word-
order is free:
     Očamčə̀ra-n+t°' à- jɣab (or reversed)
     O.   from the girl
        'the girl from Očamčira'

1.2.5.2.8. emphatic words

     Emphatics follow their head-nouns, e.g.
     à-jɣab-g'ə
        'the girl also//even the girl'
     à-jɣab l- xatà
                her self
        'the girl herself'

1.2.5.2.9. comparative/superlative/equative structures

     Such modifiers must be expressed verbally – the relevant
adjective is made the base of a stative verb, which is then
relativised, so that such expressions are not formally distin-
guished from the relative constructions discussed in 1.2.5.2.2,
e.g. Àdg°ər y- àc'k''əs//y- àasta//y- èyħa yə-
     A.   him than   him than him than who
     ħarak'ə̀-w   à-jɣab
     tall   (non-fin.)
        'the girl (who is) taller than Adgur'
     zeg' r- àc'k''əs (etc..) yə-ħarak'ə̀-w à-jɣab
     all them than
        'the tallest girl'
     Àdg°ər y- eypṣ yə-ħarak'ə̀-w à-jɣab
               him like
        'the girl (who is) as tall as Adgur'
For the morphology of comparatives etc... see section 2.1.4.4.
ff.

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

1.2.5.3.1. adjectives

     The order for postposed adjectives is: colour-quality-size,
e.g. à- mp'əl q'apš pṣja   dəw
     the ball red   beautiful big
        'the beautiful big red ball'
For preposed adjectives the order is: ordinal-(definite-generic
article)+nationality Adj, e.g.
     r+àpx'a+t°'ə+y à-   kərt+wa jɣab
     first   (art.) Georgian girl
        'The first Georgian girl'

1.2.5.3.2. relative clauses

     It is possible to have more than one relative construction
modifying a single head-noun, but such complex sequences would
most naturally be avoided. If we take as an example the three-
clause structure 'the girl who came yesterday, whom you know,
and who sewed the coat', all three relatives may precede the
head, or two may precede and one follow, or one may precede and
two follow – the word nàs-g'ə, which literally means 'then-and',
may precede the final relative, e.g.
     yacə̀   y- aa- z,   warà yə- w- də̀r- wa
     yesterday who come (non-fin.) you whom you know (non-fin.)
     (nàs-g'ə) a- p'àlt'a (∅-)z- jaxə̀-z   à-jɣab
              the coat   it who sew (non-fin.)
or
     yacə̀ y-aa-z, warà yə-w-də̀r-wa à-jɣab (nàs-g'ə) a-p'àlt'a
     (∅-)z-jaxə̀-z
or
     yacə̀ y-aa-z à-jɣab warà yə-w-də̀r-wa, (nàs-g'ə) a-p'àlt'a
     (∅-)z-jaxə̀-z

1.2.5.3.3. emphatics

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

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

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

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

     The order of head and modifier for each individual modifier
has been presented above. We shall, therefore, now concentrate
on combinations of different modifiers.
     The combination of postposed adjective and relative con-
struction presents no problems, as the relative precedes the

head (e.g. yacə̀ y-aaẕ à-jɣab ħàrak' 'the tall girl who came yesterday'). In the case of preposed adjectives plus relatives, the relative will precede adjectives of nationality, but will follow ordinals (e.g. yacə̀ y-aa-z à-kərt+wa jɣab 'the Georgian girl who came yesterday', but r+àpx'a+t°'ə+ɣ yacə̀ y-aa-z à-jɣab 'the first girl who came yesterday').

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

The indefinite article attaches to the noun if the adjective is preposed, otherwise it is suffixed to the adjective (e.g. kə̀rt+wa y°ə̀za-k' 'a Georgian friend'; jɣab ħàrak'ə-k' 'a tall girl').

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

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

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

Emphatics follow the N-Adj//Adj-N complex (e.g. à-jɣab ħàrak' l-xatà // ħàrak'-g'ə 'the tall girl herself // even the tall girl'; à-kərt+wa jɣab l-xatà // jɣàb-g'ə 'the Georgian girl herself // even the Georgian girl').

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

As both the possessive prefixes and the definite-generic article are prefixed to the noun, they naturally follow relative constructions (e.g. yacə̀ y-aa-z sə̀-jɣab // à-jɣab 'my // the girl who came yesterday'). The same applies to the emphatic possessive adjective (e.g. yacə̀ y-aa-z s-xa+t°' y°ə̀za 'my own friend who came yesterday').

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

of the relativised clause (e.g. wəy yacə̀ y-aa-z à-jɣab 'that girl who came yesterday', but:

a- xàc'a də- z- bà- z   wəy à-jɣab
the man   him who see (non-fin.)
  'that girl who saw the man'

for with the order wəy a-xàc'a də-z-bà-z à-jɣab, the meaning would be 'the girl who saw that man').

In the case of postposed quantifiers, there is no problem about the order of relative, head and quantifier. If the quantifier is preposed, it will normally follow the relative (e.g. yacə̀ y-aa-z pət-y°ə̀-k' à-jɣab-c°a 'several girls who came yesterday'). But if the preposed quantifier is yə-rac°a-(y°-)nə̀ 'many', it must stand within the relative construction (e.g. yacə̀ yə-rac°a-y°-nə̀ y-aa-z à-jɣab-c°a 'many girls who came yesterday').

Relatives precede any preposed adverbials (e.g. yacə̀ y-aa-z Očamčə̀ra-n+t°' à-jɣab 'the girl from Očamčira who came yesterday').

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

Possessives (prefix or emphatic adjective) always occupy the same position vis-à-vis their head-nouns as the definite-generic article (e.g. wəy sə̀-jɣab 'that girl of mine'; wəy s-xa+t°' y°ə̀za 'that very own friend of mine'; pət-y°ə̀-k' sə̀-jɣab-c°a 'several of my girls'; s-xa+t°' jɣàb rac°a 'many of my own girls'; yə-rac°a-y°-nə̀ s-xa+t°' jɣàb-c°a 'many of my own girls'; Očamčə̀ra-n+t°' s-y°ə̀za 'my friend from Očamčira'; Očamčə̀ra-n+t°' s-xa+t°' y°ə̀za 'my own friend from Očamčira'; sə̀-jɣab l-xatà 'my girl herself'; s-xa+t°'ə̀ jɣab l-xatà 'my own girl herself').

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3. Co-ordination

1.3.1.1. What means are used for co-ordinating sentences?
1.3.1.1.1. 'and' co-ordination

   Where one would expect a co-ordinating conjunction for the
co-ordination of sentences, Abkhaz most naturally employs
either the past absolutive (cf. 2.1.1.3), which is equivalent
to the English perfect participle, or, if the tense is past
(and especially if it is Aorist), the Past Indefinite tense,
whose meaning incorporates the notion 'and' (i.e. 'X did Y and
...'), e.g.
        yə- nap'ə̀ (∅-)j°j°a-nə̀   a+k'rə̀- fa- ra (masd.)
        his hand it wash (past absol.) something eat (masd.)
        d- à+ la-   ge- yt'
        he it+(prev.) begin (fin.)
or
        yə-nap'ə̀ (∅-)yə-j°j°à-n   a+k'rə̀-fa-ra
                  it he wash (fin.Past Indef.)
        d-à+la-ge-yt'
           'He washed his hands and began to eat'
   If more than two sentences are being conjoined, the clitic
-g´ə 'and, also' may appear in either the penultimate or final
conjunct, e.g.
        a-   wə̀sə+w+ra-n+t°' d- aa- n   //
        (art.) work   from he come (fin.Past Indef.)
        d-aa-nə̀,   a- š°q°'ə-g´ə d- à- px'a-n   //
        (past absol.) the book   &   he it read (fin.Past
                                                       Indef.)
        d-a-px'a-nə̀   a+k'rə̀- fa- ra   d- à+ la-
        (past absol.) something eat (masd.) he it+(prev.)
        ge- yt'
        begin (fin.)
or
        ...a-š°q°'ə̀ d-à-px'a-n(ə̀) a+k'rə̀-fa-ra-g´ə d-à+la-ge-yt'
                                               &
        'He came from work, read the book and began to eat'
This clitic attaches either to the first constituent of the
conjunct concerned or to the verb-form (i.e. to the last elem-
ent) of any nominalised subordinate expression present at the
beginning of the conjunct, e.g.
        ...a- gazèt q'ə̀c-g´ə à- px'a-ra   d-à+la-ge-yt'
           the paper new   &   its read (masd.)

or
        ...a-gazèt q'əc à-px'a-ra-g´ə d-à+la-ge-yt'
                                &
        '... and began to read the new paper'
        ...yə-   bzə̀ya-nə-   g´ə à-   x°mar-ra
        (col.I, non-hum.) good   (adv.) &   (art.) play (masd.)
        d-à+la-ge-yt'
or
        ...yə-bzə̀ya-nə à-x°mar-ra-g´ə d-à+la-ge-yt'
                                &
        '... and began to play well'
        ...a-gazèt-g´ə d-à-px'a-r+c   d- aa-   yt'
                   &   (purposive) he come (fin.)
or
        ...a-gazèt d-à-px'a-r+c-g´ə d-aa-yt'
                                 &
        '... and came in order to read the paper'
   An alternative to using the clitic -g´ə is to use the intra-
verbal particle -eg´(ə)-, which stands after the column I pro-
nominal prefix within the verbal complex, e.g.
        a-wə̀sə+w+ra-n+t°' d-aa-n(ə̀) a-š°q°'ə̀ d-eg´-à-px'a-n(ə̀)
                                                         &
        a+k'rə̀-fa-ra d-à+la-ge-yt'
or
        a-wə̀sə+w+ra-n+t°' d-aa-n(ə̀) a-š°q°'ə̀ d-à-px'a-n(ə̀)
        a+k'rə̀-fa-ra d-eg´-à+la-ge-yt'
                                &
        'He came from work, read the book and began to eat'
   Should two sentences only be conjoined, one may indicate the
virtual simultaneity of the actions concerned either by attach-
ing the clitic -g´ə to the first constituent of each conjunct
or by inserting the intra-verbal particle -eg´(ə)- into both
verbal complexes, e.g.
        yə- nap'-g´ə̀ (∅-)yə-j°j°è-yt'   a+k'rə̀- fa- ra-   g´ə
        his hand &   it he wash (fin.) something eat (masd.) &
        d- à+ la-   ge- yt'
        he it+(prev.) begin (fin.)
or
        yə-nap'ə̀ (∅-)eg´ə̀-y- j°j°e-yt'   a+k'rə̀-fa-ra
                       &   he   (fin.)
        d-eg´-à+la-ge-yt'
        &
        'He washed his hands and began to eat (almost simultane-
        ously)'

1.3.1.1.2. 'but' co-ordination
   The conjunction is axà, which stands at the beginning of the
second sentence, e.g.
        à- mra (∅-)pxo   yt'   axà à-   x'ta ə̀- q'o-w+p'
        the sun it shine   (fin.) but (art.) cold it be (stat.)
                    +(dyn.)
        'The sun is shining, but it is cold'

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

```
(ma)    sarà àq°'a-  q'a s-co        yt'    ma //
either I      Sukhumi to  I go        (fin.) or
                                +(dyn.)
ma+m+zà+r+g'ə warà wə- cà
             you  you go
   '(Either) I'll go to Sukhumi or you go'
```

1.3.1.1.4. other types

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

```
sar-g'ə àq°'a-  q'a s-co-       m   war-g'ə wə- m-
I   &      Sukhumi to  I go       not you &   you not
                             +(dyn.)
cà-n
go (prohibitive)
   'Neither shall I go to Sukhumi nor are you to go'
```

1.3.1.2. Give full details of the following possibilities:-

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

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

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

```
·(ma)  à-     š°a  (∅-)yə-ħ°ò-     yt'    ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə
either (art.) song it  he say      (fin.) or
                             +(dyn.)
a- p'ianino d- à- s-     we-   yt'    ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə
the piano      he it strike (dyn.) (fin.) or
àž°eynraala d- à- px'o    yt'    ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə zənjà
poem           he it read    (fin.) or                at-all
                             +(dyn.)
d- aa-  jò-      m
he come (emphatic) not
          +(dyn.)
   '(Either) he will sing, or play the piano, or read a
   poem, or not come at all'
```

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

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

```
m   àq°'a-  q'a, ħar-g'ə ħ- co-      m   Mosk'và-q'a
not Sukhumi to   we  &   we go       not Moscow  to
                                 +(dyn.)
   'Neither will you go to Tbilisi, nor shall I go to
   Sukhumi, nor shall we go to Moscow'
```

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

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

```
a-    wèsə +w+ra-n+t°' d- aa-  n       yə- p'àlt'a
(art.) work      from  he come (fin.) his coat
(∅-)yə+ š°ə-y- xə-  n       yə- q'ə+ yə- nap'ə
it  him+off he take (fin.) his face his hand
(∅-)j°j°a-nə           àyš°a    d- na+xa-    t°'à-n
it  wash  (past absol.) the-table he (preverbs) sit  (fin.)
a+k'rə-  fa- ra-     g'ə d- à+ la-     ge-  yt'    //
something eat (masd.) &   he it+(prev.) begin (fin.)
a+k'rə-fa-ra d-eg'-à+la-ge-yt'
                   &
   'He came from work, took off his coat, washed his face
   and hands, sat down at the table and began to eat'
```

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

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

```
barè-y sarè-y
you &  I    &
```
or
```
sar-g'ə bar-g'ə
I   &   you &
   'you and I'
s- ànə-   y s- àbə-   y
my mother & my father &
```
or
```
s-àn-g'ə s-àb-g'ə
   'my mother and my father'
```
(of which alternatives the first, with the clitic -y, is in each case the more common).

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

```
yə-   dèw-zə-            y yə-  q'apšè-zə-          y
which big (non-fin.Past) & which red    (non-fin.Past) &
la- k' (∅-)z-be- yt'
dog a  it  I see (fin.)
   'I saw a big and red dog' (lit. '... dog which was big
   and which was red')
```
This same notion is more usually expressed either by the equivalent of 'I saw a big, red dog', e.g.

```
là   q'apš dəw-k'  (∅-)z-be-yt'
dog red   big a
```
or by making the first adjective into an adverb and by putting
the second into its relativised stative form, e.g.
```
yə-              dəw-nə      yə-   q'apšə̀-z
(col.I, non-human) big (adv.) which red     (non-fin.)
la- k'
dog a
```
which literally means 'a bigly red dog'.

For 'and' co-ordinated adjectives functioning as predicate,
each conjunct is made the base of a stative verb, and each of
these stative verbal complexes will incorporate the particle
-eg'(ə)-, e.g.
```
yə-   sə̀-mo- w          a  mašìna (∅-)eg'-ɋ'ə̀cə-w+p'
which I   have (non-fin.) the car    it  &   new   (stat.)
(∅-)eg'ə̀-psjo-    w+p'
it  &    beautiful (stat.)
```
    'The car I have is new and beautiful'

For 'but' co-ordination, NPs are conjoined just like sen-
tences, by means of axà, e.g.
```
x-y°ə-     k' a-     xàc°a axà pš-y°ə-   k' à-      ħ°sa
3 (human) 1 (art.) men   but 4  (hum.) 1  (art.) women
(∅-) z-be- yt'
them I see (fin.)
```
    'I saw three men but four women'

Adjectives can only be 'but' co-ordinated if they are first
made the base of a stative verb which is then relativised, e.g.
```
yə- q°'ə̀sə-w          axà yə- ččar+x°ə-w          a-
who wise   (non-fin.) but who funny   (non-fin.) (art.)
way°ə̀
man
```
    'a wise but funny man'
```
cf.  a-way° q°'ə̀s
```
    'a wise man'
and
```
     a-way°ə̀ ččar+x°
```
    'a funny man'

In the case of 'or' co-ordination, NPs cannot be co-ordin-
ated unless each element is 3rd. person - the only way of say-
ing 'He will give the book to either me or you' is to say
'Either he will give the book to me or he will give it to you',
e.g.
```
ma     sarà yə-sə̀-   y- to-    yt'    a- š°q°'ə̀
either me   it to-me he give  (fin.) the book
              +(dyn.)
ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə yə-wə̀-   y- to-yt'
or                it to-you he
```
If each element is 3rd. person, then 'or' co-ordination takes
the same form as for 'or' co-ordination of sentences with per-
haps a greater preference for the use of ma with the first
component, e.g.
```
(ma)    s- an    ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə s- y°ə̀z-  c°a   (∅-)
either my mother or                my friend (pl.) they
aa- wè-   yt'
come (dyn.) (fin.)
```
    'Either my mother or my friends will come'

For negated 'or' co-ordination, the verb must be repeated
for each conjunct irrespective of the person of the co-ordin-
ated elements, e.g.
```
s- àn-   g'ə d- aa-  wà-   m  s- y°ə̀z-  c°a-  g'ə
my mother & she come (dyn.) not my friend (pl.) &
(∅-) aa-  wà-    m
they come (dyn.) not
```
    'Neither will my mother come nor will my friends come'
Adjectives can be 'or' conjoined only if they are first made
the base of stative verbs and subsequently relativised, e.g.
```
(ma)    yə-   q'apšə̀-w          ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə yə-
either which red     (non-fin.) or                which
sk°'ak°'o-w         à-     mp'əl (∅-)sə-   t
(non-fin.) (art.) ball   it  to-me give
```
    'Give me either a red or a white ball' (lit. '... ball
    which is red or which is white')

For negated 'or' co-ordination, each adjective must be made
the base of a stative verb, which is then relativised, negated
and possessed of the intra-verbal clitic -eg'(ə)- 'and', e.g.
```
y-   eg'ə̀-q'apšə-m   y-   eg'ə̀-sk°'ak°'a-m   à-
which &  red   not which &   white   not (art.)
mp'əl (∅-)sə-  t
ball  it  to-me give
```
    'Give me neither a red nor a white ball' (lit. '... ball
    which is not red and which is not white')

1.3.1.4. Are the means used for expressing co-ordination and accompaniment the same?

No, accompaniment is expressed by means of the intra-verbal
particle -c(ə)- 'with', e.g.
```
də-     sə̀+     c-   q'o-w+p'
he      me+     with be  (stat.)
(col.I) (col.II)
```
    'He is with me'

1.3.1.5. Is there a degree of structural parallelism required between elements of the same category before they can be co-ordinated?

No, e.g.
```
sarè-y a- ħ°àa- nərc°ə-       n+t°' waž° aayg°à y-  aa-
I      & the border other-side-of from  now   near who come
                                       "   recently  "
z            à- sasə- y  (or with the
(non-fin.) the guest &   reverse word-order)
```
    'I and the guest recently arrived from abroad'

1.3.1.5.1. Can adjectives and participial constructions be co-ordinated?

Adjectives and participial constructions cannot be directly
co-ordinated. The adjective must first be made the base of a
stative verb. In the role of predicate, we shall then have an
example of sentential co-ordination, e.g. (for 'and' co-ordina-
tion only, 'but' and 'or' co-ordination being straightforwardly
produced according to this same model)

```
də-pşjò-      w+p'    a-  ħ°àa-  nərc°ə-        n+t°'-g'ə
he beautiful (stat.) the border other-side-of from   &
waž° aayg°à d- aa- nə̀          də̀-q'o-w+p'
now  near   he come (past absol.) he be  (stat.)
```
or
```
a-ħ°àa-nərc°ə-n+t°' waž° aayg°à d-aa-nə̀ də̀-q'o-w+p'
d-eg'ə̀-pşjo-w+p'
         &
```
'He is handsome and recently arrived from abroad'
In the case of negated 'or' co-ordination of stativised adject-
ive and stativised participial expression, regardless of the
ordering of the constituents, the participial expression con-
tains the clitic -g'ə 'and', whilst the stativised verb-form
of the adjective incorporates the particle -eg'(ə)-, e.g.
```
d- eg'ə̀-pşja-    m  a-ħ°àa-nərc°ə-n+t°'-g'ə  waž°
he &     beautiful not                      &
aayg°à d-aa-nə̀ // a-ħ°àa-nərc°ə-n+t°' waž° aayg°à
d-aa-n-g'ə̀ də̀-q'a-m       (or with the reverse
     &   he be  not    order of constituents)
```
'He is neither handsome nor recently arrived from
abroad'
   In attributive position, the verbalised adjective will it-
self become a (relativised) participle, e.g. (for 'and' co-
ordination only)
```
a-ħ°àa-nərc°ə-n+t°' waž° aayg°à y-  àa-  zə-       y yə̀-
                             who come (non-fin.) & who
pşjo-     wə-          y a-   xàc'a də- z-bè- yt'
beautiful (non-fin.Present) & (art.) man  him I see (fin.)
```
   'I saw the handsome and recently arrived from abroad
   man' (lit. '... man who recently arrived from abroad
   and who is handsome')
(N.B. that the reverse order of relative expression is here
less acceptable than the order as given above.)
One may, of course, say the literal equivalent of 'I saw the
handsome man who recently arrived from abroad', but this clear-
ly does not incorporate any co-ordinate structure at all.

1.3.1.5.2. Can nouns and nominalised constructions be co-ordinated?

   Yes, for 'and', 'but' and 'or' co-ordination, e.g. (for
'and' co-ordination)
```
a-   š°q°'-k°è- y a-   š°q°'-k°à  rə̀-  px'a-re-
(art.) book (pl.) & (art.)       (pl.) their read (masd.)
y bzə̀ya (∅-) yə-bò-    yt'
& well  them he see    (fin.)
                    +(dyn.)
```
or
```
a-š°q°'-k°à rə̀-px'a-re-y (darà)a-š°q°'-k°à r-  xata-k°è-
                      them           they self (pl.)
y bzə̀ya (∅-)yə-bò-yt
```
   'He loves books and reading books // reading books and
   books themselves'
The negated 'or' co-ordination of nouns and nominalised con-
structions is not possible, a negated verb being essential with
both conjuncts, e.g.

```
a-     š°q°'-k°a-  g'ə̀ bzə̀ya (∅-) yə-bò-     m  a-
(art.) book  (pl.) &  well them he see     not (art.)
                                          +(dyn.)
k'onfèt-k°a   rə̀-   fa- ra-   g'ə̀ bzə̀ya (∅-)yə-bò-m
sweet   (pl.) their eat (masd.) &
```
   'Neither does he like books nor does he like eating
   sweets'

1.3.1.5.3. Can the various different types of adverbial be co-ordinated?

   Different types of adverbial may be co-ordinated, as the
following examples show:-
```
Àmra Omàr yə-                rə+γ°γ°a-nə̀-     y
A.  O.  (col.I, non-hum.) strong    (adv.) &
bzə̀ya+ba+rà-le-y d-  lə- g°əjə̀-yt'
love        by & him she kiss  (fin.)
```
   'Amra kissed Omar forcefully and with love'
```
Àmra Omàr yə-rə+γ°γ°a-nə̀ axà bzə̀ya+ba+rà-da
                        but           without
d-lə-g°əjə̀-yt'
```
   'Amra kissed Omar forcefully but without love'
```
yanàg' də-nə̀q°'o- yt'    à- my°a yàşa+m à- la
always he go       (fin.) the road wrong  it by
            +(dyn.)
ma//ma+m+zà+r+g'ə d- a+g+xa-nə̀
or               he late   (adv.)
```
   'He always goes the wrong way or late'
Negative 'or' co-ordination, however, is not possible; the
relevant adverbs are simply placed side by side, e.g.
```
Àmra Omàr yə-m-  rə+γ°γ°à-k°'a(-n)
               not           (negative absol.)
bzə̀ya+ba+rà-da    d-lə-g°əjə̀-yt'
         without
```
   'Amra kissed Omar neither forcefully nor with love'
   (lit. '... not forcefully without love')
   Two nouns in the predicative (i.e. adverbial) case in -s may
be 'and' co-ordinated in the normal way, e.g.
```
r+c'a+y°ə̀-sə-      y eyħabə̀-  sə-      y də̀-q'o-w+p'
teacher   (pred.) & director (pred.) & he be  (stat.)
```
or
```
r+c'a+y°ə̀-s-g'ə eyħabə̀-s-g'ə də̀-q'o-w+p'
              &            &
```
   'He is both teacher and director'
(the less frequent predicative case-form ending in -nə is judged
'improbable' in this configuration.) But if the alternative
adverbial form (i.e. with column I pronominal prefix and -nə
suffix) is used, only the intra-verbal particle -eg'(ə)- may be
used for 'and' co-ordination, e.g.
```
d- eg'ə-r+c'a+y°nə̀      d- eg'-eyħab-nə̀     də̀-q'o-w+p'
he &           (adv.) he &        (adv.)
```
   Where English displays 'and'   co-ordination in an expres-
sion like 'He is here, there and everywhere', Abkhaz requires
the sentential contrast of the form 'Now he is here, now he is
there', e.g.
```
z+nə arà də̀-q'o-w+p',   z+nə anà  də̀-q'o-w+p'
now  here he be (stat.)        there
```

1.3.2.1. What elements in the sentence can be omitted under identity in co-ordination?

Because all of the verb's arguments are obligatorily marked within the verbal complex, the question of omission does not really arise. However, in a case such as:-

```
a-  xàc'a  a-  pʰ°ə̀s  də-  y-  bà-  n                    //
the man    the woman  her he see (fin.Past Indef.)
də-  ba-  nə̀           də-d°ə̀+l-      c'ə-yt'
her  see (past absol.) ?  (preverbs) go  (fin.)
```

where the pronominal affix də- of the final verb may, when this finite intransitive verb is used in isolation, refer to either a male or female subject, it is of interest to note that the syntagm requires that the referent of this affix be the subject (i.e. a-xàc'a) of the first conjunct, such that the sentence means 'The man saw the woman and (he) went out'; it cannot mean *'The man saw the woman and she went out'.

1.4. Negation

1.4.1. How is sentence-negation expressed?

Negation is expressed by means of the verbal particle -m(-). This negative particle will stand immediately before the verbal root (or before the causative morph -r-, if this latter is present), except in the following cases:-

Finite Present (dynamic/stative):
```
s-co-m  (← *s-ca-wa-  m)   'I am not going'
          I go (dyn.) not
də̀-q'a-m  'He is not'
he  be  not
```
Non-finite Present (stative):
```
yə̀-       q'a-m     'who/which is not...'
who/which be  not
```
Finite Future I:
```
s-ca-rə̀-   m  'I don't think I'll go'
   (Fut.I)
```
Finite Future II:
```
s-cà-ṣa-    m  'I'll probably not go'
   (Fut.II)
```
Derived non-finite Future of stative verbs:
```
yə̀-       q'a-m-zaa-wa//yə̀-q'a-m-zaa-ra//yə̀-q'a-m-zaa-ṣa
who/which be           'who/which will not be...'
```
Finite Imperfect:
```
s-cò-mə-z+t'  (← *s-ca-wa-   mə-z+        t')
                    (dyn.)      (non-fin.)+(fin.)
                'I was not going'
```
Simple Past (finite) of stative verbs:
```
də̀-q'a-mə-z+t'   'He was not'
he
```
Non-finite Past of stative verbs:
```
yə̀-       q'a-mə-z   'who/which was not...'
who/which
```
Finite Conditional I:
```
s-ca-rə̀-mə-z+t'    'I would then not (have) go(ne)'
```
Finite Conditional II:
```
s-ca-ṣà-mə-z+t'   'I would probably not (have) go(ne)'
```

N.B. the strange coupling in four of the last five forms of the non-finite -z and finite -t' exponents to produce an overall finite form. The same collocation is also found in the finite Past Indefinite (sə-m-cà-z+t' 'I did not go and...') and the finite Plu-perfect (sə-m-cà-cə-z+t' 'I had not already gone'). In the Perfect, only the form sə-m-cà-c-t' 'I have not already gone' is possible - cf. the positive form in -x'a-(s-ca-x'è-yt' 'I have already gone'). The element -c- as the Perfect-exponent is also found in non-finite forms to indicate an action that has been in progress for some time or has occurred several times already, e.g.

```
a-  sə̀   (∅-)ṣ-  a-  wə̀-  c      y-  a-  [w]-  wè-    yt'
the snow it  how it make (Perf.) it  it  make (dyn.) (fin.)
'The snow is falling as it has been (for some while)'
cf. a-sə̀ c'əpx     yə-ṣ-a-wə̀-c y-a-[w]-wè-yt'
        last-year it
'The snow is falling as it (already) did last year'
```
Should the Perfect be required in its non-finite, negative form, then, once again, only the form in -c is possible:-
```
yə-        m-  cà-c
who/which not go (Perf.)
'who/which has not already gone...'
```
(cf. 2.1.3.5.2 for further references to this element -c.)

1.4.2. How is constituent-negation expressed?

Constituent-negation must also be expressed verbally (i.e. with the aid of negated stative verbs). Compare the following pair of sentences:-
```
à-    jγab-pṣja      də-  z-bè-  yt'
(art.) girl beautiful her I see (fin.)
'I saw a beautiful girl'
yə̀- pṣja-      m              jγab-k' də-z-bè-yt'
who beautiful not             girl a
                (non-fin.stat.)
'I saw an unattractive girl'
```
Sentences containing a contrast such as 'I saw not two but three' have three variants:-

(i) where the contrast is pointed by mo+w (cf. ma+mò+w 'no'), plus an optional axà 'but', e.g.
```
y°ə+bà mo+w (axà) x+pa-g'ə̀ (∅-) z-be- yt'
2      no   but   3    even them I see (fin.)
```
(ii) in place of the first two words above, we may have the negative of the copular root -a+k°'(ə)- with either a singular pronominal affix, as in
```
y°ə+bà (à+)k°'ə-m (← *a-        a+k°'ə-m)
                     it        be  not
                     (col.II)
```
(iii) or, when y°ə+bà is regarded as syntactically plural, with a plural pronominal affix, as in
```
y°ə+bà r-           à+k°'ə-m
         they(col.II)
```

1.4.3. Is it possible to have more than one negation-element in a sentence?

The negation-element is a verbal infix//suffix, and each verb-form (finite or non-finite) may contain only one such element. But this element is obligatory in the verbal complex when any of the negative quantifiers or quantifier-compounds (2.1.6.6.f) are used, e.g.

```
a+k'+g'ə̀ // a+k'ə̀-m-za+r-a+k'(-g'ə)   (∅-)sə-m-  bè- yt'
nothing                                it I  not see (fin.)
   'I saw nothing'
a+j°+g'ə̀ // a+j°ə̀-m-za+r-a+k'(-g'ə)  də- sə-m-  bè- yt'
no-one                                 him I  not see (fin.)
   'I saw no-one'
ǰar-g'ə̀ // ǰarà-m-za+r-ǰar(-g'ə)  s-co-       m
nowhere                            I go+(dyn.) not
   'I am not going anywhere'
```

Note that either of the words normally meaning 'never' may have the meaning 'ever' if construed with a non-negative but interrogative verb-form, e.g.

```
a-xàan(g'ə) // y-an-à+k°'-z-aa-lak''(//-lak'-g'ə)
ever
yə-w-  ba- x'ò-    w
it you see (Perf.) (Qu.)
   'Have you ever seen it?'
```

1.4.4. In co-ordinated structures, are the negation-elements optionally or obligatorily attracted to the co-ordinator position, combining with the co-ordinator?

No; for the Abkhaz equivalent to English 'nor' see 1.3.1.1.4 above. Otherwise, contrastive sentences, which in English contain the sequence 'and not', are treated as explained in 1.4.2 above, e.g.

```
y°ə-š°q°'ə̀-k'  r-              à+k°'ə-m   (axà)
2    book   a  they (col.II) be      not but
a+k'[a-]à+k°'ə-n    yə̀-      s-taxə-z
one  it be     (Past) which I want (non-fin.)
   'I wanted one and not two books (lit. 'What I wanted was
    one not two books')
```

N.B. that mo+w is unacceptable here as, when numerals are involved, mo+w apparently presupposes that the correct numeral will be larger than the corrected (as in 1.4.2.i above).

1.4.5. Can the negation of a verb in a subordinate clause be expressed by the negation of a verb in a higher clause?

In expressions such as 'to think that...', as in English, the negative particle may stand either in the main or the subordinate verb, e.g.

```
a- xàc'a d- aa- wè-    yt'    ħ°a    s- g°ə
the man    he come (dyn.) (fin.) saying my heart

y-                    àa-    na-go-    m
it                    (prev.) it bring  not
(sc. direct object)           +(dyn.)
   'I don't think the man will come'
```

```
or   a-xàc'a d-aa-wà-    m   ħ°a s-g°ə y-àa-na-go-yt'
                (dyn.) not                      (fin.)
      'I think the man won't come'
```

1.5. Anaphora

1.5.1. By which of the following means is anaphora expressed?

1.5.1.2. deletion if the element concerned is marked on the verb

Compare the following examples:-

```
Àxra də- w-  bò- w?  ma+mò+w, axà a-      ħàmta
A.      him you see (Qu.) no        but (art.) present
(∅-)yə+ zə- q'a-    s-c'e- yt'
it  him+for (prev.) I make (fin.)
```

and

```
Àxra də-w-bò-w? ma+mò+w, axà a-ħàmta (∅-)q'a-s-c'è-yt'
yarà//wəy        yə- zə̀
him    that-one him for
   'Did you see Axra? No, but I made a present for him'
```

where the second variant, in which there is no intra-verbal marker for Axra (in contrast to yə+ in the first variant), must contain either the personal pronoun (yarà) or the demonstrative pronoun (wəy), which is frequently used as an alternative for the true personal pronoun.

1.5.1.3. ordinary personal pronoun

In such examples as the second of those given in the previous sub-section (i.e. where the element concerned is dependent on a postposition), the personal pronoun (or the demonstrative pronouns wəy 'that one', wərt 'those') is essential.

If the element concerned stands in a question, the use of the pronoun seems, if not obligatory in all circumstances, at least preferable, cf. the following:-

```
yacə̀      Àxra d- aa-  yt' — də- w-  dər- wo-   w
yesterday A.     he come (fin.) him you know (dyn.) (Qu.)
wəy      // yarà? ay, də- z-dər- we-    yt'.    yacə̀
that-one    him   yes him I know (dyn.) (fin.) yesterday
də- z-bè- yt'.  a-      ħàmta-  g'ə (∅-)sə̀-  y- te-
him I see (fin.) (art.) present and it to-me he give
yt'.   yə-w- bà- ma    (wəy)        // yarà)?
(fin.) it you see (Qu.) that-one        it
   'Yesterday Axra came - do you know him?  Yes, I know
    him.  I saw him yesterday.  And he gave me a present
    - did you see it?'
```

The column II pronominal possessive prefixes (cf. 2.1.1.1.1) are obligatory if the element concerned enters into a genitival relationship (see below, 1.5.2.1., for examples).

1.5.2. In which of the following situations is anaphora expressed by means of the various above-mentioned types possible, and in which direction?

1.5.2.1. within the clause

If the noun, prefixed with the appropriate column II possessive affix, follows the antecedent, the column II prefix obligatorily refers to that antecedent, e.g.

Zàira l- mac°àz (∅-)lə- t
Z. her ring it to-her give
  'Give Zaira$_i$ her$_i$ ring!'

cf. Zàira wəy l-mac°àz (∅-)lə-t
        that-one
    'Give Zaira$_i$ her$_j$ ring!'

If the word-order is reversed, then, whilst the ring may belong to Zaira, the most natural interpretation would be to assume that reference is being made to someone else's ring - indeed, with this word-order, the demonstrative wəy would most naturally be used to make it quite explicit that the reference is not to any of the clause's following nouns, e.g.

(wəy) l-mac°àz Zàira yə-lə-t
that-one   it
  'Give Zaira$_i$ her$_j$ ring!'

1.5.2.2. between co-ordinate structures

The same is true for such structures as has just been described for anaphora within the clause, e.g.

Zàire-y lə- jɣabə-y (∅-) z-be- yt'
     & her girl & them I see (fin.)
  'I saw Zaira$_i$ and her$_i$ little girl'
BUT
(wəy) lə-jɣabə-y Zàire-y (∅-)z-be-yt'
that-one
  'I saw her$_i$ little girl and Zaira$_j$'

Zàira də- z-bà- n lə- mac°àz (∅-)lə- s-te- yt'
     her I see (fin.) her ring it to-her I give (fin.)
  'I saw Zaira$_i$ and gave her$_i$ her$_i$ ring'
BUT
(wəy) lə-mac°àz (∅-)q'a- s-c'à- n
that-one   it (prev.) I make (fin.)

Zàira yə-lə- s-te-yt'
     it to-her
  'I made her$_i$ ring and gave it to Zaira$_j$'

1.5.2.3. between superordinate and subordinate clauses

1.5.2.3.1. in the order superordinate clause-subordinate clause

With the antecedent standing in the superordinate clause, the reference of the appropriate element within the subordinate clause is unmistakeable in being co-referential with the antecedent, e.g.

Zàira s-lə- ħ°e- yt' lə- mat°a (∅-) l-
Z. I her request (fin.) her clothes them she
j°j°a-r+c
wash (purp.)
  'I asked Zaira$_i$ to wash her$_i$ clothes'

Note, however, that the best word-order here is:

Zàira lə-mat°a (∅-)l-j°j°a-r+c s-lə-ħ°e-yt'

a- xàc'a arà d- aa- z-gè- yt' də- s-šə- r+c
the man here him hither I bring (fin.) him I kill (purp.)
  'I brought the man$_i$ here to kill him$_i$'
Once again, however, the best word-order is:

a-xàc'a də-s-šə-r+c arà d-aa-z-gè-yt'

With the antecedent standing in the subordinate clause, the reference of an appropriate element within the superordinate clause may or may not be to this 'antecedent', e.g.
də- s-š- wè- yt', Àxra wac°'ə d- aa- r
him I kill (dyn.) (fin.) A. tomorrow he come if
  'I'll kill him$_{i//j}$, if Axra$_i$ comes tomorrow'
where the best word-order is, however, for the subordinate clause to precede the superordinate, e.g.

Àxra wac°'ə d-aa-r, də-s-š-wè-yt'

1.5.2.3.2. in the order subordinate clause-superordinate clause

With the antecedent standing in the subordinate clause, the reference of the appropriate element within the superordinate clause is unmistakeable in being co-referential with the antecedent, e.g.

Zàira d- aa- r, a- mac°àz (∅-)lə- t
Z. she come if the ring it to-her give
  'If Zaira$_i$ comes, give her$_i$ the ring!'

a- xàc'a d- an- àa, də- z-bè- yt'
the man he when come him I see (fin.)
  'When the man$_i$ came, I saw him$_i$'
Àxra də- z-dər-wa- za+r+g'ə// də- şə- z-dər-
A. him I know (dyn.) although//even-if him how I know
wa- g'ə, a- ħamta (∅-)yə- s-to- m
(dyn.) even (art.) present it to-him I give not
                                  +(dyn.)
  'Although I know Axra$_i$ // However well I know Axra$_i$, I shan't give him$_i$ a present'
If the 'antecedent' stands in the superordinate clause, the reference of an appropriate element within the subordinate clause will normally be assumed not to be this 'antecedent', e.g.
(wəy) lə- mat°a (∅-) l- j°j°a-r+c Zàira s-lə-
that-one her clothes them she wash (purp.) Z. I her
ħ°e- yt'
request (fin.)
  'I requested Zaira$_i$ to wash her$_j$ clothes'

(wəy) d- aa- r, Zàira a- mac°àz (∅-)lə- t
that-one she come if Z. the ring it to-her give
  'If she$_i$ comes, give Zaira$_j$ the ring!'

```
(wəy)     d- an-  àa,  a-  xàc'a də- z-bè yt'
that-one he when come the man    him I see (fin.)
   'When he_i came, I saw the man_j'

(wəy)      də- z-də̀r- wa-     za+r+g'ə // də- ṣə- z-də̀r-
that-one him I know (dyn.) although    him how I know
wa-     g'ə, Àxra a-      ħàmta  (∅-)yə̀-   s-to-    m
(dyn.) even A.   (art.) present it  to-him I give    not
                                               +(dyn.)
```
   'Although I know him_{i//j}, I shan't give Axra_i a present'

where, in the last example, we notice that, even with wəy present in the subordinate clause, the reference of this demonstrative pronoun (together with that of its co-referential pronominal prefix within the verbal complex, də-) may be to the 'antecedent', Axra, in the superordinate clause. Confirmation that, with the antecedent standing in the superordinate clause, the reference of the appropriate element within the subordinate clause need not be to some entity other than the antecedent is shown by the following two examples:-

```
1- x°əč'ə̀ a+k'rə-    1+ q'à-    1- c'a- r+c     Załra
her child  something her+(prev.) she feed (purp.) Z.
s-lə̀- ħ°e-     yt'
I her request (fin.)
```
   'I asked Zaira_i to feed her_i child'

```
də- s-šə̀- r+c      a- xàc'a arà d- aa-   z-gè-   yt'
him I kill (purp.) the man , here him hither I bring (fin.)
```
   'I brought the man_i here to kill him_i'

where one would expect there to be at least a measure of doubt as to the reference of the anaphoric element within the purposive expression.

1.5.2.4. between different subordinate clauses

If the second subordinate clause consists of a purposive expression, then it seems to be irrelevant whether the antecedent stands in this or the first subordinate clause - in either case there is no doubt as to the co-referentiality of the anaphoric element with this antecedent, e.g.

```
Àxra d- an- aa-  làk'',              də- y- šə̀- r+c
A.   he when come (indefinite temporal) him he kill (purp.)
wə- y°ə̀za wə- yə̀- ħ°a
your friend you him request
```
and
```
d-an-aa-làk'', Àxra də-y-šə̀-r+c wə-y°ə̀za wə-yə̀-ħ°a
```
   'When Axra_i comes, ask your friend to kill him_i // When he_i comes, ask your friend to kill Axra_i'

Otherwise, the reference of the anaphoric element will be incontrovertibly the same as the antecedent only if this antecedent stands in the first subordinate clause, e.g.

```
Àxra d- an- aa- làk'',            də- w- bà- r,
A.   he when come (indefinite temporal) him you see if
```

```
a- ħàmta   (∅-)yə-     t
the present it  to-him give
```
   'When Axra_i comes, if you see him_i, give him_i the present'

BUT
```
(wəy)     d- an-aa-làk'', Àxra də-w-bà-r, a-ħàmta (∅-)yə-t
that-one
```
   'When he_i comes, if you see Axra_j, give him_j the present'[1]

1.5.2.5. between different sentences

The antecedent will appear first. For examples of such anaphora see 1.5.1.3.

1.5.3. Are elements located next to complementisers (subordinating conjunctions) subject to the above anaphoric processes?

As subordinating conjunctions do not exist as such (verbal particles perform the role usually fulfilled by independent complementisers), the question does not arise.

1.6. Reflexives

1.6.1. By which of the following means is reflexivity expressed?
1.6.1.3. verbal affix

The reflexive verbal affix is -q(ə)-. This occupies the slot normally taken within the verbal complex by the column I pronominal affix (see 2.1.1.1.1) and must be preceded by that column II possessive prefix (see 2.1.1.1.1) which correlates with the antecedent, e.g.
```
sarà s+      qə̀- s-š-   we-    yt'
I    my+      self I kill (dyn.) (fin.)
   (col.II)
```
   'I kill myself'
```
larà 1+      qə̀- 1- š-we-yt'
she her+     self she
   (col.II)
```
   'She kills herself'

1.6.1.4. other means

The noun a-xə̀ 'head', preceded by the appropriate column II possessive prefix, is also used as a reflexive pronoun, e.g.
```
wə- xə̀       (∅-)wə- bè- yt'
your head/self it  you see (fin.)
```
   'You saw yourself'
```
š°-        xə      // š°ə-      x- k°à   (∅-)
your(pl.) head/self    your(pl.) head(pl.) it//them
ž°-        be- yt'
you(pl.) see (fin.)
```
   'You saw yourselves'
(N.B. that, if the antecedent is plural, a-xə̀ may optionally take the plural-marker -k°a.)

1.6.2. Is the scope of reflexivity restricted to the clause?
Yes, e.g.

```
      ┌─────────────────────────────┐
s- xə          a-      ħàmta   (∅-)à-    s- te-  yt'
my head/self (art.) present it  to-it I  give (fin.)
      'I gave myself a present'
```

BUT
```
sə-yə̀- ħ°e-      yt'     a-ħàmta (∅-)sə̀-   y- ta-  r+c   //
I  him request (fin.)          it  to-me he give (purp.)
(∅-)sə-y-ta-ra+zə̀
          (purposive)
   'I asked him to give me a present'
```

1.6.3. For intra-clause reflexivity where the reflexive element is a verbal affix describe:

1.6.3.1. the possible syntactic functions of the antecedent

1.6.3.1.1. subject only

The antecedent may only function as (transitive) subject, e.g.
```
1+ qə̀-      1-       k°abe-yt'
her+herself she      wash  (fin.)
          (col.III)
   'She washed/bathed'
```

1.6.3.2. the possible syntactic functions of the reflexive marker

1.6.3.2.1. direct object

The verbal affix -q(ə)- may only function as direct object (cf. the last example in section 1.6.3.1.1).

1.6.3.2.3. other possibilities

The one known exception to the rule that -q(ə)- must function only as direct object is its role as subject (without antecedent) in the idiom a-g°-q-a+nə̀-zaa-ra 'to be careful', e.g.
```
      ┌──────────────────────────┐
wə-  g°ə̀   wə+ q-    a+ nə̀-z
your heart your+self it+in (imperative)
   'Be careful!' (lit. 'Let yourself be in your heart!')
```

1.6.5. If the reflexive element is not a verbal affix, can the following relations between antecedent and reflexive exist?

1.6.5.1. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = direct object

The noun a-xə̀ 'head' is indeed found as the reflexive component in this configuration, e.g.
```
a-  sark''a-q'ə̀ s- xə          (∅-)z-be- yt'
the mirror  in  my head/self it  I see (fin.)
   'I saw myself in the mirror'
```
Those verbs incorporating the affix -q(ə)- as the reflexive marker in direct object position may not have this affix replaced by a-xə̀, and those verbs which are used in association with a-xə̀ as direct object reflexive marker may not incorporate the affix -q(ə)- in place of a-xə̀. There appears to be no clear principle determining which verbs are to be construed with -q(ə)- and which with a-xə̀.

1.6.5.2. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of direct object

The reflexive possessive adjective -xa+t°' may be used but is not obligatory, e.g.
```
yə- sàx'a // yə- xà+t°' sàx'a (∅-)yə-be- yt'
his face    his own   face it  he see (fin.)
   'He_i saw his_i // his own face'
```

1.6.5.3. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = indirect object

The reflexive a-xə̀ is obligatory, e.g.
```
      ┌──────────────────────────┐
s- xə          a-      ħàmta   (∅-)à-    s-te  yt'
my head/self (art.) present it  to-it I give (fin.)
   'I gave myself a present'
```

1.6.5.4. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of indirect object

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, e.g.
```
s- la // s- xa+t°' là  à-      fa+t°' (∅-)à-    s-te-
my dog   my own   dog (art.) food   it  to-it I give
yt'
(fin.)
   'I gave my // my own dog some food'
```

1.6.5.7. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = copular complement

The reflexive is not possible in this configuration, e.g.
```
sarà sara s-ò- w+p'
I    I    I be (stative)
   'I am myself'
```

1.6.5.8. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of copular complement

Either the reflexive pronoun or the reflexive possessive adjective is possible in this configuration, e.g.
```
                                ┌──────────────────┐
sara s-ò- w+p'     s- xə          a- r+c'a+y°ə̀ // s- xa+t°'
I    I be (stat.) my head/self its teacher      my own
r+c'a+y°ə̀
teacher
   'I am my own teacher'
```
(N.B. the following example shows that the possibility of using the actual reflexive pronoun here has nothing to do with the fact that the copular complement in the last example is a deverbal noun:-
```
sara s-ò-w+p' s-xə a-  y°ə̀za // s-xa+t°' y°ə̀za
                    its friend          friend
   'I am my own friend')
```
Note that an alternative way of saying 'I am my own teacher' is to use the expression which is literally translateable as 'I am the one who is possessed of myself as a teacher', namely
```
                              ┌───────────────────┐
sara s-ò-w+p' s-xə r+c'a+y°ə̀-s            y- à- mo-
                    (predicative) who it have
w
(non-fin.)
```

In this configuration only the pronoun is possible since it forms one of the arguments of the verb.

1.6.5.9. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = subject-complement

The adverbial form of the expression

s- xə   (∅-)s-t°'ə-w+p'
my head/self it   I own (stat.)
'I am in full possession of my wits' (lit.'I own myself')

is used to produce the sentence

s-xə (∅-)s-t°'ə-nə̀   s-q'a-   lè-   yt'
                (adverb) I (prev.) become (fin.)

'I became myself'

1.6.5.10. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of subject-complement

The reflexive is obligatory, e.g.

l- xə   d-   [a+] abek'ùn-nə   də- q'a-
her head/self she   its master (adv.) she (prev.)
                (col.I)

lè-   yt'
become (fin.)

'She became her own master'

If the ordinary predicative case in -s is used to represent the subject-complement, either the reflexive pronoun or the reflexive possessive adjective may modify it (whereas this latter is impossible if the complement is expressed by the adverbial form that appears in the last example), e.g.

l-xə [a+] abek'ùn-s   // la-xa+t°' abek'ùn-s
     its   (pred.)   (pred.)
də-q'a-lè-yt'

1.6.5.12. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of object-complement

The reflexive is obligatory, e.g.

r-   xə   s-   [a+] abek'ùn-nə   s- q'a-   r-
their head/self me   its master (adv.) me (prev.) they
                (col.I)
c'è- yt'   // rə-   x-   k°à   s-r+   abek'ùn-nə
make (fin.)   their head/self(pl.)   their
s-q'a-r-c'è-yt'

'They made me their own master'

1.6.5.13. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = object of adjective

The reflexive is obligatory, e.g.

à- jγab l- xə   d- [a+]èypsə-w+p'
the girl her head/self she it+like (stat.)
'The girl is like herself'

1.6.5.14. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of such object

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, e.g.

à- jγab l- aħ°šà də- l+ èypsə-w+p'
the girl her sister she her like (stat.)

or   à-jγab lə-xa+t°'è yaħ°šà də-l+èypsə-w+p'
              own   sister
'The girl$_i$ is like her$_i$ // her own sister'

1.6.5.17. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = element in other ad-positional phrase

The reflexive pronoun is obligatory, as in the following benefactive expression:-

yə- x-   a- zə̀ a-   ħàmta   (∅-)àa-   y- x°e-
his head/self it for (art.) present it   (prev. he buy
yt'
(fin.)
'He bought a present for himself'

1.6.5.18. Antecedent = subject : Reflexive = modifier of such element

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, e.g.

yə- y°ə̀za yə- zə̀ // yə- xa+t°' y°ə̀za yə- zə̀ a-ħàmta
his friend him for   his own   friend him for
(∅-)àa-y-x°e-yt'
'He$_i$ bought a present for his$_i$ // his own friend'

1.6.5.19. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = direct object

The reflexive is not possible, e.g.

arə̀y a-   xàc'a y- aħ°šà yarà də- l- bè- yt'
this (art.) man   his sister him him she see (fin.)
'This man's$_i$ sister saw him$_i$.'

1.6.5.20. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of direct object

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, though preferably avoided, e.g.

arə̀y a-xàc'a y-aħ°šà yə- sàx'a // yə- xa+t°' sàx'a
                          his face   his own   face
a- sark''a-q'ə̀ yə-l- bè- yt'
the mirror in it she see (fin.)
'The man's$_i$ sister saw his$_i$ face in the mirror'

1.6.5.21. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = indirect object

The reflexive is not possible, e.g.

arə̀y a-xàc'a y-aħ°šà (yarà) a-   ħàmta   (∅-)yə̀-   l-
                          him   (art.) present it to-him she

te- yt'
give (fin.)
'This man's$_i$ sister gave him$_i$ a present'

1.6.5.22. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of indirect object

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, though preferably avoided, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-aɦ°šà wəy   yə- là // yə- xa+t°' là
                    that-one his dog   his own   dog

à-   fa+t°' (ø-)à-   l- te- yt'
(art.) food   it to-it she give (fin.)
'This man's$_i$ sister gave his$_i$ dog some food'

1.6.5.26. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of copular complement

The reflexive is not possible, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-aɦ°šà yarà də- yə+ r+c'a+y°ə̀-w+p'
                    he   she his+teacher   (stat.)
'This man's$_i$ sister is his$_i$ teacher

1.6.5.28. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of subject-complement

The reflexive is not possible, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-aɦ°šà yarà də- y+ abek'ùn-nə   də-
                    he   she his+master (adv.) she

q'a-   lè-   yt'
(prev.) become (fin.)
'This man's$_i$ sister became his$_i$ master'

1.6.5.30. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of object-complement

The reflexive possessive adjective is optional, e.g.

arəy a-xàc'a y-aɦ°šà yarà y- abek'ùn-s   // yə-
                    he   his master (pred.)   his

xà+t°' abek'ùn-s s- q'a-   l- c'e- yt'
own   me (prev.) she make (fin.)
'This man's$_i$ sister made me his$_i$ master'

1.6.5.31. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = object of adjective

The reflexive is not possible, e.g.
arəy a-xàc'a y-aɦ°šà yarà də- ÿ+ èypsə-w+p'
                    him she him+like (stat.)
'This man's$_i$ sister is like him$_i$'

1.6.5.32. Antecedent = modifier of subject : Reflexive = modifier of such object

The reflexive possessive adjective is possible but superfluous, e.g.
arəy a-xàc'a y-aɦ°šà yarà yə- pɦà   // yə- xa+t°'
                    he   his daughter   his own
pɦà   də- l+ èypsə-w+p'
daughter she her+like (stat.)
'This man's$_i$ sister is like his$_i$ daughter'

1.6.5.73. Antecedent = indirect object : Reflexive = subject

Abkhaz has a class of verbs which are called 'inverted'. These are all stative verbs, and stative verbs are intransitive and, therefore, do not accommodate column III transitive subject-affixes (cf. 2.1.1.1.1). Inverted verbs, having two arguments, are thus traditionally described as possessing a column I subject-affix (i.e. logical direct object) and a column II indirect object affix (i.e. logical subject), e.g.
yə-   sə̀-   mo- w+p'
it   I   have (stat.)
(col.I) (col.II)
'I have it (lit. 'It is possessed to me')
Accordingly it would appear that in a configuration such as
l- xə   (ø)-   l-   taxə̀-w+p'
her head/self it   she   want
          (col.I) (col.II)
'She wants herself'
we have an example of an indirect object antecedent governing a subject reflexive. However, there are grounds for arguing that, despite its formal stativity, a-taxə̀-zaa-ra 'to want' has been re-interpreted as a normal transitive verb, which consequently contains a column I and a column III (not a column II) affix - this suggestion was put forward by Hewitt (1979b) on the grounds that the reciprocal marker for this verb is -ayba- and not -ay-, the former being described as characteristic for transitive reciprocal relationships, the latter for intransitive reciprocal relationships. In this regard it is of interest to note that in the case of another inverted verb à-ma-zaa-ra 'to have', it is the column I affix which controls the introduction of the reflexive element, e.g.

sara s-ò- w+p'   s- xə   zak°'àn-s   y- à-
I   I be (stat.) my head/self law   (pred.) who it
                                                    (col.II)

mo- w
have (non-fin.)
'I am a law unto myself' (lit. 'I am the one who is possessed to myself as a law')
and this is just what one would expect from a normal intransitive verb possessing an indirect object (cf. à-s-ra 'to hit'.
e.g.
s- xə   s-   à-   s- we- yt'
my head/self I   it   hit (dyn.) (fin.)
          (col.I) (col.II)
'I hit myself')

and the reciprocal affix for à-ma-zaa-ra is the typically in-
transitive -ay-, e.g.

```
ḣ- ay-          mò-    w+p'
we each-other have (stat.)
```
'We have each other'
cf. ḣ- ay- s- wè-   yt'
```
we e.o. hit (dyn.) (fin.)
```
'We hit each other'
The inverted verb built on the root -t°'(ə)- 'to belong to/
possess' make take either -ayba- or -ay- as its reciprocal
affix, e.g.
```
ḣ-ayba-t°'ə̀-w+p' / ḣ-ay-t°'ə̀-w+p'
```
'We belong to each other'
It may thus be expected that either of the verb's pronominal
affixes may act as control for the introduction of the reflex-
ive. This expectation is confirmed by the following examples:-

```
s- xə          s-a- t°'ə̀-w+p'
my head/self I it
```
'I belong to myself'
(where the verb is being treated as a simple intransitive and
corresponds to ḣ-ay-t°'ə̀-w+p')
BUT
```
s-xə(∅-)s-t°'ə̀-w+p'
     it
```
where the present author would argue that the verb is being
treated as a (syntactically if not morphologically) normal trans-
itive verb (corresponding to ḣ-ayba-t°'ə̀-w+p'), such that it is
still the actual subject-affix that is controlling the reflex-
ivisation here (as in the case of a-taxə̀-zaa-ra 'to want'
above). Note that this last example has the specialised mean-
ing 'I am in control of my wits'.
(N.B. that all the examples illustrated in section 1.6.5 are
quite natural in Abkhaz)

1.6.6. Can reflexive relations exist within nominalised clauses?

Reflexive relations can exist within nominalised clauses
(i.e. where the verb-form is the masdar/infinitive), e.g.
```
a-      q̇-  š-  rà        (∅-)yə-taxə̀-w+p'
(art.) self kill (masdar) it  he want (stat.)
```
'He wants to kill himself'
```
yə- xə̀        a- ba- rà        (∅-)yə-taxə̀-w+p'
his head/self its see (masd.) it
```
'He wants to see himself'

```
s- xə        a-   ḣàmta  [a-] à-    ta- ra
my head/self (art.) present  its to-it give (masd.)
(∅-)s-taxə̀-w+p'
it  I
```
'I want to give myself a present'
```
wə- xə̀        // wə- xa+t°' xə̀        zak°'àn-s
your head/self    your own   head/self law      (pred.)
à- ma- zaa-      ra        (∅-)bzə̀yo-w+p'
its have (suffix) (masd.) it  good  (stat.)
```
'It is good to be a law unto oneself' (lit. 'it is good
to have yourself as a law')

Where the masdar has been used in such examples as these last
four, one may also employ the purposive in -r+c (cf. 2.1.3.5).
In the following case only the purposive in -r+c is permis-
sible:-

```
r-      xə          s-[a+]abek'ùn-xa-   r+c      // rə-
their head/self I its+master  become (purp.)      their
x-          k°à    s-r+    abek'ùn-xa-r+c (∅-)rə-
head/self (pl.) I their                 it they
taxə̀-n
want (stat. Past)
```
'They wanted me to become their master'

1.6.7. Can reflexive relations exist within ordinary noun-phrases?

For reflexive structures within NPs without overt anteced-
ents, see the following sub-section.

1.6.8. Do reflexive structures occur without overt antecedents?

The reflexive possessive adjective or, in conjunction with
postpositions, the reflexive a-xə̀ may be freely used in ordin-
ary NPs when there is no overt antecedent, e.g.
```
wə- xa+t°' y°nə̀ zeg'ə̀ yə-    r+    èyγ'ə-          w
your own   house all   which them+ better(than) (non-fin.)
n+xà+rto-w+p'
dwelling (stat.)
```
'One's own house is the best place to live'
```
wə- x-        a- zə̀ a-      y°nə̀
your head/self it for (art.) house
```
'one's own house'
(for the use of the 2nd. person masculine singular pronoun as
the non-specific indefinite pronoun, see 2.1.2.1.13.1).
The same applies to nominalisations and non-finite clauses,
where the verbal affix -c̣(ə)- will naturally be used with those
verbs that normally accommodate it. e.g.
```
a-      q̇- š- rà      (∅-)q'a-    la-    jò-        m
(art.) self kill (masd.) it  (prev.) happen (emphatic) not
                                           +(dyn.)
```
'Suicide is forbidden' (lit. 'Killing oneself is
forbidden')
```
wə+ q̇ə- w+ zə̀-        m- šə- r+t°'  eyps wəbas
your+self you+(potential) not kill (purp.) like so
ṣòwro-w+p'
hot  (stat.)
```
'It's too hot to kill oneself//for killing oneself'

1.6.9. Do the reflexive forms have any other uses?

1.6.9.1. e.g. reflexive pronoun as emphatic pronoun?

For the emphatic pronouns, which appear to be derived from
the reflexives based on a-xə̀, see 2.1.2.1.15.

1.6.9.3. others?

The reflexive verbal affix -c̣(ə)- combines with the recipro-
cal affix -ay- to produce what amounts to a compound preverb
-ay+c̣ə- in the verb seen in the following example:-

```
a-    pħ°ə̀zba  d-       1-      èy+c̣ə-r-        bo-    yt'
the girl      he       her     (causative) see (fin.)
              (col.I) (col.II)                 +(dyn.)
```
        'He flirts with the girl' (Džanašia, 1954.352)
(N.B. that, despite the presence of the causative, the verb is intransitive)
Without the indirect object, the reciprocal affix disappears leaving -c̣ə- functioning as a virtual preverb in what is also an intransitive verb despite once again the obvious causative structure, e.g.
        də-c̣ə̀-r-bo-yt'
        'He is flirting' (ibid.)

1.7. Reciprocals

1.7.1. By which of the following means is reciprocality expressed?

1.7.1.3. verbal affix

    Abkhaz has two reciprocal verbal affixes - ay- and ayba-.

1.7.3. For intra-clause reciprocality where the reciprocal element is a verbal affix, describe

1.7.3.1. the possible syntactic functions of the antecedent

    (a) intransitive subject, e.g.
```
        š°-        ey-         sə̀- yt
        you(pl.) e(ach) o(ther) hit (fin.)
        (col.I)
```
        'You hit e.o.'
    (b) transitive subject, where the reciprocal relation is with the indirect object, e.g.
```
        a-   y°ə̀  (∅-)eybà-   ħ-         te- yt'
        the wine it  to-e.o. we(col.III) give (fin.)
```
        'We gave the wine to e.o.'
    (but cf. example (di) below).
    (c) direct object, e.g.
    (ci)
```
        š°-       eyba-bè- yt'
        you(pl.) e.o. see (fin.)
        (col.I)
```
        'You saw e.o.'
    (cii)
```
        š°-      ey(ba)-sə̀-   r-      sə̀- yt'
        you(pl.) e.o.   I      cause hit (fin.)
        (col.I)              (col.III)
```
        'I made you hit e.o.'
    (d) indirect object, e.g.
    (di)
```
        a-  y°ə̀  (∅-)ħ-      àyba-te- yt'
        the wine it  to-us   e.o. give (fin.)
                         (col.II
```
        'We gave the wine to e.o.'
    (dii)
```
        yə-      r-        èyba-lə-    r-     te- yt'
        it       to-them   e.o.   she       cause give (fin.)
        (col.I) (col.II)          (col.III)
```
        'She made them give it to e.o.'
N.B. that this last example presupposes the order of affixes seen in (di); if we try to form a causative based on the

alternative affixal ordering manifested in (b) above, we shall find that the result is judged to be probably unacceptable, e.g.
(diii)
```
*?(∅-)èyba-   d-             lə- r-    te- yt'
      it  to-e.o. them (col.II) she cause give (fin.)
```
        'She made them give it to e.o.'
Similarly
(div)
```
        yə-      š°-        èyba-r-   q'a-    c'o-    yt'
        it       you(pl.) e.o. cause (prev.) do    (fin.)
        (col.I) (col.II)                      +(dyn.)
```
        'You get e.o. to make it'
but not
        *(∅-)eyba-š°ə-r-q'a-c'o-yt'

1.7.3.2. the possible syntactic functions of the reciprocal marker

    (a) transitive subject - this is obligatory where the reciprocal relation holds between subject and direct object; for examples cf. above (ci) and (di).
    (b) indirect object - for examples see above (a) and (b) of 1.7.3.1. Indirect objects are marked in the verbal complex by the column II series of pronominal affixes. These column II affixes are frequently used in close association with preverbs (and determiners) within the verbal complex - in such cases, one may regard the preverb (or determiner) as 'governing' the column II affix. The reciprocal ay- is also found in front of such exponents, e.g.
    (bi)
```
        (∅-)  ey+   k°-       àħ-          x-   we-   yt'
        them e.o.+from-on we(col.III) lift (dyn.) (fin.)
```
        'We lift them$_i$ off e.o.$_i$'
Column II affixes are also associated with relational particles -z(ə)- 'for', -c°(ə)- 'away from', -c(ə)- 'with' etc.. In association with -c(ə)-, the reciprocal ay- has come to be used in the general sense of 'together', and the resulting compound appears even where the literal meaning of 'with e.o.' is hardly applicable, e.g.
    (bii)
```
        d-      ey+c-   r+       eyħà-       w+p'
        (s)he together them+ more-than (stat.)
        (col.I)          (col.II)
```
        '(S)He is taller than them (both) together'
    (biii)
```
        yə-r+  z- ey+cə-  y-         r-   gə̀le- yt'
        it them+for together he(col.III) cause stand (fin.)
```
        'He built it for them both (together)'
If the verb is intransitive, ay- may also stand with either of the other relational particles mentioned above, e.g.
    (biv)
```
        (y-) ey+   c°ə̀- bna-    lo-      yt'
        they e.o.+ from (prev.) steal-away (fin.)
                                          +(dyn.)
```
        'They steal away from e.o.'
    (bv)
```
        (y-) ey+ zə̀- x°mar-we-  yt'
        they e.o.+for play  (dyn.) (fin.)
```
        'They are playing for e.o.'

1.7.3.3. restrictions on any combinations of 1.7.3.1. and 1.7.3.2.

As is clear from 1.7.3.2.(a) above, no reciprocal affix may function as direct object.

1.7.3.3.1. What determines the choice of the use of ay- and ayba-?

Only ayba- may appear where the reciprocal replaces a transitive subject, column III affix; only ay- appears in place of the column II affix representing the indirect object in intransitive verbs. But one cannot conclude that ay- exclusively substitutes for column II affixes, for, as we have already seen (cf. example (b) of 1.7.3.1 above), ayba- is also attested in place of affixes of column II.

Elsewhere (Hewitt, 1979b) we have suggested that originally ayba- was used if, at any stage in the derivation, a transitive subject was involved in the reciprocal relation, as in such causatives as:

(i) ħ-	ayba-p-	š°ə-	r-	q'ò-	yt'
us	e.o. (prev.)	you(pl.)	cause	cut	(fin.)
(col.I)		(col.III)		+(dyn.)	

'You make us cut e.o.'   (← 'We cut e.o.')

ay- would then have been used where no transitive subject was concerned in the reciprocal relation. Where the reciprocal relation obtains between surface subject and indirect object in transitive structures, ayba- may (generally) replace either the column III subject-affix or the column II indirect object affix.

However, there are problems. The example given above under 1.7.3.2.(bi) may also mean 'We$_i$ lift it/them off e.o.$_i$'. But if we note that this latter reading is more properly expressed by the following structure:

(ii) yə-	ħà+	k°ə-	yba-	x-	we-	yt'
it/them	us+	from-on	e.o.	lift	(dyn.)	(fin.)
	(col.II)					

we may tentatively suggest that originally only this latter form, where the indirect object controls the introduction of the reciprocal, could have had the meaning 'We$_i$ lift it/them of e.o.$_i$', and, conversely, that the structure presented in 1.7.3.2.(bi) could only have meant 'We lift them$_i$ off e.o.$_i$'. Subsequently, by analogy with those verbal complexes where the reciprocal (ayba-) stands in place of the indirect object affix for a reciprocal relation contracted between transitive subject and indirect object, the structure in 1.7.3.2.(bi), with ay- standing in place of just such a column II affix, assumed as its secondary reading that sense where the reciprocal relationship is between this indirect object and subject, rather than between indirect object and direct object, which latter relationship rather characterises the structure's primary reading.

One is forced to assume some similar process of analogy to account for the possible use of ayba-, alongside the anticipated ay-, in causatives produced from intransitive verbs, where the relevant relationship is between subject and indirect object (cf. the example under 1.7.3.1.(cii)). One may also note in this regard the non-causative structure

(iii) ħ-	aybè-r-	to-	yt'
us(col.I) e.o.	they(col.III)	give+(dyn.)	(fin.)

which means both 'They$_i$ give us to e.o.$_j$' AND 'They give us$_j$ to e.o.$_i$'; as ay- alone is not admitted here, it certainly seems that the language prefers to avoid altogether uninterrupted sequences of 'col.I affix + ay +col.III affix'.

1.7.4. If the reciprocal element is not a verbal affix, describe its positional possibilities within the clause.

The intra-verbal affixes ay-/ayba- may be reinforced by means of one of two extra-verbal, reduplicated elements - (a) the reduplicated numeral '1' (human or non-human, as the case may be), i.e. à+j°ə-y=à+j°ə-y (human) or à+k'ə-y=à+k'ə-y (non-human), where the repeated -y is the co-ordinating clitic; (b) the reduplicated personal pronoun, i.e. ħarà=ħarà 'we...e.o.', š°arà=š°arà 'you...e.o.', darà=darà 'they...e.o.'. These exponents are no more restricted to any particular place within the clause than would be full NPs fulfilling the same syntactic role. Note that these exponents cannot be used unless either ay- or ayba- appears within the verbal complex (but cf. 1.7.6), e.g.

à+j°ə-y=à+j°ə-y // darà=darà	(∅-)eybè-	r-	ħ°e-yt'
e.o.		it	to-e.o. they say (fin.)

'They said it to each other'

à+k'ə-y=à+k'ə-y // darà=darà	(∅-) ey+	dè-	š°- ħ°al
e.o.		them e.o.+ (prev.) you bind	

'Bind them to each other'

1.7.6. Can reciprocal relations exist within nominalised clauses?

Reciprocal relations may exist within nominalised clauses, the transitive direct object or intransitive subject naturally being represented by a column II (possessive) affix, e.g.

rə-	bzèy-eyba-	ba- ra
their	good mutual	see (masd.)

'their love for e.o.' (cf. a-bzèya-ba-ra 'love')

wərt	r-	èy-	s- ra	s-à+ k°-	š°e-yt'
those	their	e.o.	hit (masd.)	I it+(prev.)	meet (fin.)

'I was in time to catch their hitting e.o.'

wərt	r-	èyba-k'-	ra	(∅-)làk°'- xe-	yt'
those	their	e.o. seize	(masd.)	it legend become	(fin.)

'Their bad treatment of e.o. became a talking-point'

a-	xàc'a yè-	la a-	x°əč'-k°à	r-	èy+ k°-
the man	him by	the child (pl.)		their	e.o.+from-on

x-	ra
lift	(masd.)

'the man's lifting the children off e.o.'

N.B. that in this last example no reciprocal affix need appear in the masdar if we employ the extra-verbal expression for 'off each other' (which, of course, may also be inserted into the phrase as written above), e.g.

...à+j°ə-y=à+j°ə-y // darà=darà	rə-	q'è+n+t°'	rè-	k°-x-ra
e.o.		them from		their

It should be stressed that under no circumstances can the reciprocal affixes be omitted from the non-masdar forms given earlier under 1.7.3.2.(bi) and 1.7.3.3.1.(ii).

1.8. Comparison

1.8.1. By which of the following means is comparison expressed?

1.8.1.2. comparative element associated with the parameter of comparison, and a postposition associated with the noun forming the standard of comparison

The comparative element yaħà (⌐y⌐eyħà) 'more' in association with the parameter of comparison, plus one of the three comparative postpositions (àc'k''əs, àasta, èyħa) 'than' in association with the comparative clause or standard of comparison are used, as illustrated immediately below.

1.8.1.3. a comparative particle associated with the comparative clause or standard of comparison only

If the standard of comparison immediately precedes the parameter of comparison, the element associated with this parameter may be omitted, e.g.
```
a-  xàc'a a-  pħ°əs l-  àc'k''əs//l-àasta//l-èyħa (yaħà//
the man    the woman her than                        more
⌐y⌐eyħà ) lassə̀=lassə̀  də- z-bò-           yt'
          often          him I see+(dyn.) (fin.)
```
'I see the man more often than the woman'
cf. a-xàc'a yaħà// ⌐y⌐eyħà lassə̀=lassə̀ də-z-bò-yt' a-pħ°əs
l-àc'k''əs (etc...)
(In all subsequent examples only the postposition àasta will be given). This 'phrasal' comparative is just as ambiguous as its English counterpart. The ambiguity may be resolved by using the appropriate 'clausal' comparative given below - N.B. that a clausal comparative cannot be extraposed to stand within the introductory clause, as is preferably done for such phrasal remainders as in the first example above:
```
(a)  a-xàc'a yaħà lassə̀=lassə̀ də-z-bò-yt' a-pħ°əs ş+aq'à
                                                    how-much

     (lassə̀=lassə̀ ) də-  z- bò          [a-]àasta
                      her I see (non-fin.)  it than
```
'I see the man more often than I see the woman'
```
(b)  a-xàc'a yaħà lassə̀=lassə̀ də-z-bò-yt' a-pħ°əs wəy
                                                    that-one

     ş+aq'à   (lassə̀=lassə̀) də- l-  bò         [a-]àasta
     how-much                him she see(non-fin.)
```
'I see the man more often than the woman sees him'

1.8.2. What elements in the sentence can be omitted under identity between the comparative clause and the clause to which it is subordinate?

If the main and comparative clauses share a verb, this may be omitted from the comparative clause, e.g.

```
sarà a-     š°q°'-k°à  yaħà à-      ħ°sa- rac°a yə-
I     (art.) book (pl.) more (art.) woman many them
                                                (books)
r+     c°ə̀- z-je-  yt'    a- x'čà ş+aq'a+  y°ə̀
them+  from I steal (fin.) the guard how-many+(hum.)
(women)
(à-   ħ°sa) yə-  r+   c°ə̀- y- ja-    z      r-
(art.) women them them+from he steal (non-fin. them
                                             (women)
àasta// [a-]                        àasta
than    it                          than
            (comparative clause)
```
'I stole books from more women than the guard stole books from'
→ sarà a-x'čà y- àasta a-š°q°⅃k°à yaħà à-ħ°sa-rac°a
                him
yə-r+c°ə̀-z-je-yt'
'I stole books from more women than the guard'
N.B. that an alternative for the last three words of the clausal variant above would be the following, where we have a relative clause (cf. 1.1.2.3.4.2.3):
```
...a-x'čà yə-       z+   c°ə̀- y-ja-z r-    àasta
          them      whom+from          them than
          (books)
```
'I stole books from more women than those from whom the guard stole them' (N.B. that [a-]àasta is not, of course, possible here)
Such alternatives are not presented below, as we judge them to be not the strict Abkhaz equivalent of the construction under review.

As already indicated by the use of brackets above, the element which is obligatorily deleted in the formation of English comparatives (i.e. the 'target' of comparative deletion) may actually be retained (and is preferably so retained) in Abkhaz clausal comparatives. There are no known restrictions on which element may form the target for the formation of a comparative expression in Abkhaz as the selection of examples below clearly demonstrates:
(a) adverbs
```
arə̀y a-     d°ə̀+γba kàrt-  q'a yaħà mač'  lassə̀=lassə̀
this (art.) train   Tbilisi to  more little often
yə-cò-       yt'    eg'ə̀rt r-   àasta // ş+aq'à
it go+(dyn.) (fin.) others them than     how-much

(lassə̀=lassə̀) yə-  cò          [a-]àasta
often          they go(non-fin.) it than
```
'This train goes to Tbilisi less often than the others (go)'
(b) NPs, without restriction on their function in the sentence -
(bi) Subject
```
yaħà yə+rac°a+y°+nə̀ à-      ħ°sa a-     c°'à  (-k°à) (ø-)
more many(hum.)      (art.) women (art.) apple (pl.)  them
r-        fe- yt'    a-     laħa-k°à r-   àasta
they eat (fin.) (art.) fig (pl.) them than
```
'More women ate apples than figs'

or   yaħà yə+rac°a+y°+nə̀ à-ħ°sa a-c°'à(-k°à) (∅-)r-fe-yt'
     a-laħà(-k°à) ş+aq'a+y°ə̀   (à-ħ°sa) yə-   r-   fà-
              how-many(hum.)   them (figs) they eat
     z   r-   àasta // [a-]àasta
     (non-fin.) them than   it than
        'More women ate apples than ate figs' (N.B. that a pref-
        erence was expressed here for the clausal over the
        phrasal structure)
(bii) Comitative
     a- xàc'a yaħà yə+rac°a+y°+nə̀ a-   x°ə̌'-k°à
     the man   more many(hum.)   (art.) child (pl.)
     d- rə̀+ c-   ce-yt'   à- jɣab ş+aq'a+y°ə̀
     he them+with go (fin.) the girl how-many(hum.)
     (a-x°ə̌'-k°à) d- rə̀+ c-   ca-z   r-   àasta //
              she them+with go (non-fin.) them than

     [a-]àasta
      it than
        'The man went with more children than the girl went with'
or
     a-xàc'a à-jɣab l- àasta yaħà yə+rac°a+y°+nə̀ a-x°ə̌'-k°à
                     her than
     d-rə̀+c-ce-yt'
        'The man went with more children than the girl'
     Deletion of NP sub-constituents (i.e. of elements from sub-
  ject- and object-subordinate clauses) is also possible without
  restriction, e.g.
(biii) Indirect object from subject-clause
     a- xàc'a yaħà yə+rac°a+y°+nə̀ a-   x°ə̌'-k°à   (∅-)
     the man   more many(hum.)   (art.) child (pl.) them
     yə-də̀r- we-   yt'   Zaìra ş+aq'a+y°ə̀   (a-x°ə̌'-k°à)
     he know (dyn.) (fin.) Z.   how-many(hum.)
     a-   pàra (∅-)rə̀-   1- ta- r+c   (∅-)a+x°tò-
     (art.) money it to-them she give (purp.) it ?+portion
     w   [a-]àasta
     (non-fin.) it than
        'The man knows more children than it is necessary Zaira
        give money to' (for the dummy-affix a+ see 1.2.1.2.1)
(biv) Subject from an object-subordinate clause
     yaħà yə+rac°a+y°+nə̀ à-   ħ°sa sarà s-r+   à-
     more many(hum.)   (art.) women I   I them+to
     c°ǎ°e-yt'   à- x°əlpaz a- q'ə̀ abərs+q'a+y°ə̀+k'(à-ħ°sa)
     talk   (fin.) the party   it to so-many(hum.)

     (∅-) aa- yt'   ħ°a   Zaìra l- g°ə   y- àa-   na-ga-
     they come (fin.) saying Z.   her heart it (prev.) it bring
     z   [a-]àasta
     (non-fin.) it than
        'I spoke to more women than Zaira thought came to the
        party'
  ('to think' is idiomatically expressed as 'X's heart brings it
  (sc. the object-subordinate clause)'). The object-subordinate
  clause is put into direct speech and is, thus, followed by the
  particle indicating direct speech - ħ°a. Note that, since the
  object-clause is not subordinate from the point of view of
  Abkhaz syntax, we have the typically main-clause correlative
  quantifier abərs+q'a+y°ə̀+k' 'so many (hum.)' and not the sub-
  ordinate relative quantifier ş+aq'a+y°ə̀. Nevertheless, it is

---

possible for this latter subordinate correlative quantifier to
be used in a variant of (biv), which looks suspiciously like a
contamination of the regular construction manifested by (biv)
and the usual formulation for a clausal comparative, e.g.
(bv) yaħà yə+rac°a+y°+nə̀ à-ħ°sa sarà s-r+à-c°ǎ°e-yt'
     à-x°əlpaz a-q'ə̀ ş+aq'a+y°ə̀   (à-ħ°sa) (∅-) aa-
              how-many(hum.)   they come
     z   ħ°a Zaìra 1-g°ə̀ y-àa-na-ga-z [a-]àasta
     (non-fin.)
Here, the particle of direct speech, ħ°a, is retained because
of the construction required by the following idiomatic expres-
sion for 'to think', although this particle no longer follows
the original words thought - the original thought is just the
finite expression contained in (biv) above, i.e. (y-)aa-yt'
not (y-)aa-z.

1.8.3. What elements cannot be omitted under these conditions?

     As we have seen, the quantifier ş+aq'à(+y°ə̀) may not be
omitted from a clausal comparative.
     There is a restriction on the form that a phrasal remainder
may take - namely, it must contain exactly one NP, with the
result that no deletion of the subordinate verb is possible in
the next example:
     a- xàc'a yə- pħà   sənt°'à yaħà lassə̀=lassə̀ də- y-
     the man   his daughter this-year more often   her he
     bò-   n   c'əpx   yə- pà ş+aq'à   (lassə̀=lassə̀)
     see   (fin.) last-year his son how much often
     +(dyn.)
     də- y- bò-   z   [a-]àasta
     him he see   (non-fin.) it than
         +(dyn.)
        'The man saw his daughter more often this year than he
        saw his son last year'
Similarly, the subordinate verb cannot be deleted if this would
leave either an adverb or adjective dependent upon the compara-
tive postposition, e.g.
     a- xàc'a yaħà yə̀+r+ccak'+nə̀ də-c°ǎž°o- yt'   ş+aq'à
     the man   more quickly   he speak (fin.) how-much
                                        +(dyn.)
     də-q°'ə̀ş-   nə   də-c°ǎž°o   [a-]àasta
     he intelligent (adv.) he speak(non-fin.   it than
        'The man speaks more quickly than he speaks
        intelligently'
     a-xàc'a yaħà də-q°'ə̀şə-   w+p'   ş+aq'à   də-pşjò-
              he intelligent (stat.) how-much he handsome
     w   [a-]àasta
     (non-fin.)
        'The man is more intelligent than he is handsome'
     If the comparative is formed on an NP functioning as the ob-
ject of comparison, no element is deletable from the structure,
e.g.
     wəy a-   xàc'a warà d- w+ eyħà-   w+p'   sarà
     that (art.) man   you he you+taller(than) (stat.) me
     ş+aq'à   də-s+ eyħà-   w   [a-]àasta
     how-much he me+taller(than) (non-fin.)
        'That man is more taller than you than he is than me'

Finally, we may note that cases of sub-deletion contain no
deletable element in any case, e.g.
(i) sub-deletion of direct object
    ç̧aanə̀   ħarà yaħà yə+rac°a+y°+nə̀ a-   xàc°a (∅-)
    next-year we   (art.) men   them
    aa-bò-   yt'   š°arà s̩+aq'a+y°ə́   à-   ħ°sa
    we see+(dyn.) (fin.) you   how-many(hum.) (art.) women
    (∅-) ž°- bo   r-   àasta // [a-]àasta
    them you see(non-fin.) them than   it than
        'We will see more men next year than you will see women'
(ii) sub-deletion on adjective-complement
    àyš°a   yaħà y- awə̀- w+p'   a- š° s̩+aq'à
    the-table more it long (stat.) the door how-much
    yə-tbàa-w   [a-]àasta
    it wide (non-fin.) it than
        'The table is longer than the door is wide'

1.8.4. What elements must be omitted under these conditions?

Adjective-targets (together with associated quantifier and
copula) must be deleted, e.g.
    a- c°'à a- ħà [a-]àasta (∅-)èyγ'ə- w+p'
    the apple the pear it than it better (stat.)
    'The apple is better than the pear'
The equivalent full clausal structure (i.e. with non-deleted
adjective) is apparently syntactically as well-formed as the
English 'The apple is better than the pear is good' but just as
unlikely to be heard, e.g.
    ?*a-c°'à (∅-)èyγ'ə-w+p' a-ħà s̩+aq'à yə-bzə̀yo-w
                              it good (non-fin.)
    [a-]àasta
Similarly, one would not hear the equivalent of the English
'The apple is better than the pear is', where the adjective-
complement but not the copula has been deleted, e.g.
    ?*a-c°'à (∅-)èyγ'ə-w+p' a-ħà s̩+aq'à yə̀-q'o-w
                              it be (non-fin.)
    [a-]àasta

1.8.5. Is there a clear difference between the two types of comparative structure?

1.8.5.1. comparative particle plus reduced comparative clause

1.8.5.2. postposition plus standard of comparison

No, for the comparative clause (reduced and unreduced) and
the standard of comparison are both followed by one and the
same set of postpositions. And in both cases this postposition
is preceded by an NP, since the verb of the comparative clause
(unless deleted) must stand in the appropriate non-finite (i.e.
nominalised) form.

1.8.6. How is correlative comparison expressed?

This is expressed by means of 's̩+aq'à + a comparative' in
the subordinate (non-finite) clause, correlating with
'wəbə(r)s+q'à+(y°ə̀+)k' + a comparative' in the main clause -
N.B. wəbàs 'thus', -q'a - ⇐ àq'a+ra 'size, quantity', -y°ə-
'human'-marker, -k' '1', e.g.

    s̩+aq'à   yaħà (∅-)yə-fò   wəbə(r)s+q'à+k' yaħà //
    how-much more it he eat   so-much   more
                      (non-fin.)
    ⌐y'eyħa+nə̀ (∅-)yə̀+ c - lo-   yt'
                 it him+with go+(dyn.) (fin.)
    'The more he eats, the fatter he becomes'

    s̩+aq'à   ⌐y'eyħa+y°+nə̀ à-   ħ°sa (∅-) y°nà-lo
    how-much more(hum.)   (art.) women they into enter(non-
    wəbə(r)s+q'à+k' ⌐y'eyħa+y°+nə̀//wəbə(r)s+q'a+y°ə̀+k'   fin.)
    so-many   more(hum.)   so-many(hum.)
    ⌐y'eyħa+nə̀ à-   ħ°sa (∅-) wə- də̀r- p'
    more   (art.) women them you know (Fut.I)
    'The more women come in, the more women you'll then get
    to know'
N.B. the necessity of having a verb in both clauses of these
correlative comparisons, thereby making the exact equivalent of
such English expressions as 'the hotter, the better' impossible
in Abkhaz.

1.9. Equatives

1.9.1. Equatives are expressed by means of

1.9.1.2. equative element associated with the parameter of equation and a postposition associated with the noun forming the standard of equation

The equative element is wəbə(r)s+q'à+(y°ə̀+)k', and either of
the postpositions àq'a+ra or eyp̧s are used in association with
the standard of equation. If this standard of equation con-
tains a non-finite verb, we shall normally have the quantifier
s̩+aq'à 'how-much' standing as an independent word within the
clause; if the target of the equative structure is an adjective
or adverb, then an alternative construction is possible - the
adverbial particle of manner -s̩(ə)- appears within the verbal
complex (this particle being, of course, the first element of
s̩+aq'à).
Replacing wəbə(r)s+q'à+(y°ə̀+)k' for yaħà (yə+rac°a(+y°)+nə̀)
and eyp̧s//àq'a+ra for àasta//àc'k''əs//èyħa, we can say that
the same structures are attested for equatives as we described
in the previous section (1.8.ff) on comparatives. Only one
sentence requires comment by virtue of its slight divergence
from its corresponding comparative structure, and we propose to
deal with this after presenting one example, with all its alt-
ernatives, to prove how closely parallel are Abkhaz equative
and comparative structures. With the first set of alternatives
given above under 1.8.2 compare the following:
    sarà a-   š°q°'-k°à wəbə(r)s+q'a+y°ə̀+k' à-   ħ°sa
    I   (art.) book (pl.) so-many(hum.)   (art.) women
    yə-   r+   c°ə̀- z-je-   yt'   a- x'čà
    them   them+ from I steal (fin.) the guard
    (books) (women)

ş+aq'a+y°ə̀   (à-ħ°sa) yə-   r+   c°ə̀- y- ja-   z
how-many(hum.)   them them+from he steal (non-fin.)
r-   àq'a+ra//r-eypş//[a-]àq'a+ra//[a-]eypş
them as   as   it as   as
    'I stole books from as many women as the guard stole
    them from'

⇒   sarà a-x'čà y-   àq'a+ra//y- eypş a-š°q°'-k°à
                 him as   him as
  wəbə(r)s+q'a+y°ə̀+k' à-ħ°sa yə-r+c°ə̀-z-je-yt'
    'I stole books from as many women as the guard'
As observed earlier in the case of the corresponding clausal
comparative structure, so the above-clausal equative may be
alternatively expressed by means of a relative participle
(cf. 1.1.2.3.4.2.3), e.g.
    sarà a-š°q°'-k°à wəbə(r)s+q'a+y°ə̀ +k' à-ħ°sa
    yə-r+c°ə̀-z-je-yt' a-x'čà yə-   z+   c°ə̀- y- ja-   z
                       them whom+from he steal (non-fin.)
    r-   àq'a+ra//r-eypş
    them as
    'I stole books from as many people as <u>those</u> from <u>whom</u>
the guard stole them'
    Example 1.8.2.(bi) above shows that, although preference is
given to the clausal comparative, nevertheless a phrasal compa-
rative is possible where the target is an NP subject. It seems
that <u>only</u> the corresponding <u>clausal</u> equative is feasible, which
means that, despite the identity of the two verbs, no deletion
may occur, e.g.
    wəbə(r)s+q'a+y°ə̀+k' (OR wəbə(r)s+q'à+k' yə+rac°a+y°+nə̀)
    so-many(hum.)   so-many   many(hum.)
    à-   ħ°sa a-   c°'à (-k°à) (∅-) r-   fe- yt'
    (art.) women (art.) apple (pl.) them they eat (fin.)
    a-   lahà(-k°à) ş+aq'a+y°ə̀   (à-ħ°sa) yə- r-   fà-
    (art). fig (pl.) how-many(hum.)   them they eat
    z   r-   àq'a+ra//r- eypş//[a-]àq'a+ra//[a-]eypş
    (non-fin.) them as   them   it as   it as
    'As many women ate apples as ate figs'

1.10. Possession

    All types of possession are expressed by means of the stat-
ive verb à-ma-za(a)-ra 'to have'. This verb is 'inverted',
which is to say that the possessor-noun correlates with a
column II affix within the verbal complex, whilst the possessed
noun correlates with a column I affix, e.g.
    y°-nap'ə̀-k' // xarp(ə)-k' // cg°ə-k' (∅-)sə̀-mo-   w+p'
    2 hand 1   shirt   1   cat 1 it I have (stat.)
    'I have 2 hands//one shirt//one cat'
'To belong' is also a stative verb in Abkhaz, <u>a-t°'ə̀-zaa-ra</u>
(N.B. a-t°'ə̀ 'slave, possession'). This too is inverted, e.g.
    arə̀y a-   y°nə̀ //a-   xàrp // a-   cg°ə̀ sarà
    this (art.) house   (art.) shirt   (art.) cat to-me
    yə-s-   t°'ə̀- w+p'
    it to-me belong (stat.)
       'This house//shirt//cat belongs to me' (lit. '... is my
                                                 possession')

    No.

    No.

    No.

    This distinction is quite straightforwardly indicated by the
use of either the Present or the Past tense of the stative verb
concerned.

1.11. Emphasis

    Non-contradictory sentence-emphasis is expressed by means of
strong stress on the verb's main-stressed syllable.
    Contradictory sentential emphasis is achieved in the same
way as contrastive constituent-emphasis - the negative of the
copular root a+k°'(ə)- 'be' is used in association with the
'but' co-ordinator <u>axà</u>; the copula is accompanied by high-
falling intonation, e.g.
    a-   sàb+şa kàrt- q'a s-co-   yt'   (∅-)wə-
    (art.) Saturday Tbilisi to I go+(dyn.) (fin.) it you
    ħ°à-ma? a-sàb+şa kàrt-q'a s-co-yt' [a-]à+k°'ə-m   axà
    say (Qu.)   it be   not but
    a-   y°à+şa Mosk'và-n+t°' s-aa- wè-   yt'
    (art.) Tuesday Moscow from I come (dyn.) (fin.)
       'Did you say, "I'm going to Tbilisi on Saturday"?
       "I am going to Tbilisi on Saturday" is not (sc. what I
       said) but "I'm coming from Moscow on Tuesday".'
(The extent to which sentential word-order is determined by the
requirements of non-contrastive constituent-emphasis must re-
main a subject for future research.)

    NPs may be emphasised without restriction, be they constitu-
ents of main or subordinate clauses, e.g.
    Zòya a- š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)lə-   t.   Zòya l- à+k°'ə-m axà
    Z.   the book   it to-her give   she
    Zamìra
       'Give the book to Zoya. Not to Zoya but to Zamira'
    s- y°ə̀za d- aa- r,   də- s-š- wè-   yt'. w-
    my friend he come if   him I kill (dyn.) (fin.) your
    y°ə̀za y- à+k°'ə-m axà w-   aɣà
    friend he   your enemy

'If my friend comes, I'll kill him. Not your friend
but your enemy'

An additional nuance may be introduced into the contrast by
using in place of à+kᵒ'ə-m axa simply the negated absolutive of
this same copular root which will incorporate the suffix -xə-,
which usually means 'again' (2.1.3.8.5) but which here lends
the note of irony that the NP concerned could possibly be
supposed to have been involved in the action, e.g.

Mùrman a- mšᵒ (∅-)yə-šə̀- yt'.   Mùrman y- a+kᵒ'ə-xə-
M.   the bear it he kill (fin.) M.   (suff.)
m- kᵒ'a(+n)   — Temə̀r (∅-) yə-šə̀-yt'
not (neg.absol.suff.)

'Murman killed the bear. Murman! Ridiculous - Temir
killed it'
N.B. that the copular root (together with any pronominal pre-
fix) may be omitted, leaving merely the contrastive element
xə̀-m-kᵒ'a(+n).

1.11.2.2.1.2. adjective

The contrast may possibly be made on a predicative adjective
(which will, of course, be a stative verb) by repeating the
entire verb before the words [a-]à+kᵒ'ə-m axà and then by stat-
ing the correct stative verb in its full form, e.g.

(?)à- mp'əl (∅-)yᵒèžə-w+p'.   yə-yᵒèžə-w+p'[a-]à+kᵒ'ə-m
the ball it yellow (stat.) it   it
axà yə-q'àpšə-w+p'
it red   (stat.)

'The ball is yellow. (It is) not yellow but (it is)
red'
but the preferred treatment is to avoid the sequence of stativ-
ised adjective plus copular root by dispensing with this latter
and negating the stativised adjective to give:

...yə-yᵒèžə-m   axà yə-q'àpšə-w+p'
it   not   it

Pointing the contrast on an attributive adjective is achieved
straightforwardly, but the adjectives must be endowed with the
definite-generic article, e.g.

à- mp'əl yᵒež (∅-)yə- t. a- yᵒèž [a-]à+kᵒ'ə-m
the ball yellow it to-him give (art.)
axà à-   q'apš
(art.) red

'Give him the yellow ball. Not (the) yellow (one) but
(the) red (one)'

1.11.2.2.1.3. verb

e.g.

Àmra Omàr də- l+ gᵒa- pxò-   yt'.
A.   O.   he her+(prev.) please+(dyn.) (fin.)
də-l+gᵒa-pxò-yt' [a-]à+kᵒ'ə-m axà bzə̀ya də- l- bò-
it   well him she see+(dyn.)
yt'
(fin.)

'Amra likes Omar. Not 'likes' but 'loves'.'

1.11.2.2.1.4. adverb

Simple adverbs may be construed with à+kᵒ'ə-m axà as in:

s- yᵒə̀za yacə̀   d- aa- yt'.   yac(ə̀) [a-]à+kᵒ'ə-m axà
my friend yesterday he come (fin.)
žᵒacə̀
day-before-yesterday

'My friend came yesterday. Not yesterday but the day
before yesterday'
As regards a postpositional phrase, the whole phrase will be
repeated, e.g.

Zòya l- q'ə̀ àamta (∅-)s+ xə̀-   z-ga- r+c s-aa-
Z.   her with time it me+(prev.) I spend (purp.) I come
yt'.   Zòya l-q'ə [a-]à+kᵒ'ə-m axà Zàmira l-q'ə
(fin.)

'I came to spend time at Zoya's. Not at Zoya's but at
Zamira's'

1.11.2.2.2.1. constituents of main clause

Without restriction.

1.11.2.2.2.2. constituents of subordinate clause

Without restriction. Note that in the case of a (genitive)
dependent of a masdar/infinitive, one may either choose to omit
the masdar, e.g.

Omàr yə- š-   rà   (∅-)s-taxə̀-w+p'.   Omàr y- à+kᵒ'ə-m
O.   his kill (masd.) it I want (stat.)   he
axà Gᵒə̀nda
G.

'I want to kill Omar. Not Omar but Gunda'
or, preferably, the masdar will be repeated too, e.g.

... Omàr yə-š-rà [a-]à+kᵒ'ə-m axà Gᵒə̀nda lə- š-rà
it   her

1.11.2.2.2.3. constituents of NP

In the case of a possessor, either the possessor-possessed
complex will be repeated in its entirety, e.g.

ħ- la a+k'r-   a+ q'a-   c'à. ħ-la [a-]à+kᵒ'ə-m axà
our dog something its+(prev.) put
ant r-   tᵒ'ə
those their possession

'Feed our dog. Not our dog but theirs'
or the appropriate possessive pronoun (based on -tᵒ'ə) may be
used in both elements, e.g.

...ħarà ħ- tᵒ'ə   [a-]à+kᵒ'ə-m axà ant r-tᵒ'ə
us   our possession

'... Not ours but theirs'
In the case of a contrast on an adverbial modifier of an NP,
the whole NP will preferably be repeated, e.g.

Očamčə̀ra-n+tᵒ' à- jɣab yə+bzə̀ya+nə də- y- də̀r- we-
O.   from the girl well   her he know (dyn.)
yt'.   Očamčə̀ra-n+tᵒ' à-jɣab l- à+kᵒ'ə-m axà kàrtə- n+tᵒ'
(fin.)   she   Tbilisi from

'He knows the girl from Očamčira well. Not (the girl)
from Očamčira but (the girl) from Tbilisi'

1.11.2.2.2.4. constituents of a co-ordinate construction

Both elements of the co-ordination must be repeated, e.g.

Dawə̀rə-y Omàrə-y yacə̀   y-   aa- yt'.   Dawə̀rə-y
D.   & O.   & yesterday they come (fin.)
Omàrə-y r-   à+k°'ə-m axà G°ə̀nde-y Omàrə-y
        they   G.   & O.   &
    'Daur and Omar came yesterday. Not Daur and Omar but
    Gunda and Omar'

1.11.2.2.2.5. more than one constituent simultaneously

This too is possible - cf. with the example given in 1.11.1
the following:
    a-sàb+ṣa kàrt-q'a də-cò-yt'. a-sàb+ṣa kàrt-q'a
    [a-]à+k°'ə-m axà a-y°à+ṣa àq°'a-q'a
        'He is going to Tbilisi on Saturday. Not to Tbilisi
        on Saturday but to Sukhumi on Tuesday'

1.11.3. How is the focus of a yes-no-question indicated?

See 1.1.1.2.1.3.

1.12. Topic

Abkhaz is not one of the so-called 'topic-prominent' langu-
ages and, according to my informant, has no obvious way of
indicating topicality.

1.13. Heavy Shift

No examples have been found.

1.14. Other movement-processes

No data.

1.15. Minor sentence-types

The one discovered instance of a (productive) minor sentence-
type is found most commonly in curses. The verb-form is the
relativised (and thus non-finite) Future II, e.g.
    bar-g'ə̀ sar-g'ə̀ (y-) eyba-m- bà- ṣa
    you &   I   &   whom e.o. not see (Fut.II)
        'You and I who shall not see each other!'
which is said when one is exasperated with someone's (e.g. a
baby's) behaviour. Clearly it is impossible to give these
idioms a translation that is both literal and meaningful. Such
expressions are perhaps most nearly equivalent to wishes, e.g.
    yə-zə- m- fà- ṣa
    it who not eat (Fut.II)
said of someone who will not eat what is placed in front of him
- perhaps 'Well, may he (?)never eat (it)!'.
    yə- q'a-   m- là-   ṣa
    who (prev.) not happen (Fut.II)
        (?)'May he cease to exist!'
    These expressions are, however, not exclusively restricted
to curses, for in reply to the greeting
    mṣə bzə̀ya
    day good   'Good day!'   one will say:
    bzə̀ya-la   y- àa-ba- ṣa
    good (instr.) who we see (Fut.II)
        'whom we shall see well'

2. MORPHOLOGY

2.1. Inflection

2.1.1. Noun-inflection

Noun-inflection is almost non-existent, there being only the
one adverbial/predicative case in -s.
    sarà a- pʰ°ə̀s gajà-s   d-̄ sə-px'ajò-yt'
    I   the woman fool (pred.) her I regard (fin.)
        'I regard the woman as a fool'   +(dyn.
cf. a-gajà 'fool'
A less common (and less acceptable) variant for -s is -nə,
which latter happens also to be the suffix used for the forma-
tion of adverbs and for the formation of past absolutive verbal
forms (cf. 2.1.1.3), e.g.
    a- γ°ə̀   mq'ə-nə̀ // mq'ə-s s- xə   y- a- sə̀-r-
    the plank wood   my head it it I cause
                                              (sc. 'head')
    x°o-   yt'
    help   (fin.)
    +(dyn.)
        'I use the plank for fire-wood'
(N.B. that gaja-nə̀ is, of course, feasible in the first example
above, though gajà-s is to be preferred.)

2.1.1.1. The syntactic and semantic functions of noun-phrases are expressed by

2.1.1.1.1. bound affixes

In the absence of case-marking, the syntactic functions of
the nouns in a sentence are marked by sets of bound affixes
appearing within the verbal complex, as prefixes on postposi-
tions and as possessive prefixes on other nouns (i.e. in the
case of a possessive relationship).
The first set (or column) of these pronominal affixes, which
always occupy the first slot in the pre-radical structure of
the verbal complex, correlates with subjects of intransitive
verbs or direct objects of transitive verbs. These affixes are:

		Singular	Plural
1st. person		s(ə)	h̠(a)
2nd. person {	male	w(ə)	ǯ°(ə)
	female	b(ə)	
3rd. person {	human	d(ə)	y(ə)
	non-human	y(ə)	

(N.B. that if the referent of the affix y(ə)- immediately pre-
cedes the verb, then this affix y(ə)- disappears (cf.3.4.4.1)).
In the 1st. person plural a appears where ə is used in the
other persons, since ə is not possible after h̠.
The second set of affixes correlates with indirect objects.
In the absence of other pre-radical constituents in the verbal
complex, with which we are not at the moment concerned, these
column II affixes follow immediately those of column I. This
second set is:

			Singular	Plural
1st. person			s(ə)	ħ(a)/aħ
2nd. person	{ male		w(ə)	š°(ə)
	female		b(ə)	
3rd. person	{ human	{ male	y(ə)	
		female	l(ə)	r//d(ə)
	non-human		a	

In the 1st. pers. pl. the principles according to which ħa or
aħ is chosen are not clear. Dumézil (1967.18) suggests that
ħa is the form used when stress falls on this syllable. Whilst
it is true that no example of a stressed column II aħ seems
admissible, there are cases of unstressed ħa, e.g.

        a-   p'at'rèt (∅-)ħa+   z-   tə̀-   š°-   x
        (art. picture it us+   for from-in you(pl.) take
            'Take our photo!' (col.II)

It is convenient to note also at this point that, regarding the
same alternation for the 1st. pers. pl. among the column III
affixes, below, both stressed aħ and unstressed ħa are attested
e.g. yə-š°ə+z-   àħ-   c°'o- yt'
      it you+for we   break (fin.)
               (col.III) +(dyn.)
        'We'll break it off for you'
      yə-š°- ħa-   r-   c'ò-   yt'
      it you we   cause learn (fin.)
            (col.III)   +(dyn.)
        'We shall teach you'

In the 3rd. pers. pl. d(ə) results from the dissimilation of
r(ə) if the causative morph r appears within the verbal complex
(cf. 3.4.1.2).

    These column II affixes are also used in association with
various particles within the verbal complex, such as preverbs,
determiners (i.e. nominal elements employed with preverbal fun-
tions) and relational particles (cf. Dumézil, 1967.21-22 for
this terminology) to indicate various oblique nominal functions
(e.g. accompaniment, relationships of advantage and disadvantage,
location etc...). (For preverbs and determiners see the vari-
ous sub-sections of section 2.1.1.5, and for relational part-
icles see 2.1.1.2.5, 2.1.1.4.1, 2.1.1.4.3-4, and 2.1.3.6.1.4-7).

    Outside the verbal complex these column II affixes are also
found in association with postpositions, to which they are
attached as prefixes (cf. 2.1.1.1.4), and they are also pre-
fixed to the possessed noun in a possessive construction (cf.
2.1.1.4.7).

    The third and final set of pronominal affixes correlates
with subjects of transitive verbs. Column III affixes follow
those of column II and, if the verb happens to contain a pre-
verb (many verbal roots obligatorily require the presence of a
particular preverb), they these column III affixes will stand
between preverb and root, and the preverb will follow any col-
umn II affix that may be present. The affixes are:

				Singular	Plural
1st. person				s//z(ə)	ħ(a)/aħ/aa
2nd. person		{ male		w(ə)	š°//ž°(ə)
		female		b(ə)	
3rd. person	{ human	{ male		y(ə)	
		female		l(ə)	r//d(ə)
	non-human			(n)a	

In the 3rd. pers. pl. d(ə) occurs under the same conditions as
described above for this marker in the column II series. For
the 3rd. pers. sg. non-human, na is used if the verb is tri-
personal or contains a preverb (or determiner or relational
particle), otherwise a appears. If the root begins with a
voiced consonant, then the voiced alternatives given above are
used; aa in the 1st. pers. pl. is the reflex of the non-exist-
ent voiced counterparts of ħa/aħ (*ʕa/aʕ).

2.1.1.1.4. postpositions

    Only postpositions exist. They are used to indicate
location (cf. 2.1.1.5) and oblique functions of the noun (cf.
2.1.1.4.1-5.(a)). The appropriate column II affix is attached
as prefix, e.g.
        (sarà) s- q'ə+n+t°'
        I/me   me from
            'from me'
In the case of the prefix being a- (3rd. pers. sg. non-human),
if the noun ends in a consonant, no change occurs, e.g.
        a-   jə̀yas a- q'+nə̀
        the river it at
            'at the river'
But if the noun ends in -a, one of the contiguous a's is lost
(cf. 3.4.3.3), and N + Postposition form a compound, e.g.
        à-   bna- q'+nə (⇐ *a-bna a-q'+nə)
        the wood in
            'in the wood'
If the noun ends in -ə, this is lost, and again a compound is
produced, e.g.
        a-   y°n- a- q'+nə̀ (⇐ *a-y°nə̀ a-q'+nə̀)
        the house it in
            'at home'

2.1.1.1.5. word-order

    Word-order is, in principle, free (see the statistical ana-
lysis for the various combinations of subject, direct object,
indirect object and verb occurring in a total of 1,271 pages of
text made up of three separate works - one by P'ap'askər, one a
collection of folk-tales, the other by Gulia - in Cik'olia,
1973.311-321). However, the basic, unmarked order is S-IO-DO-V.

2.1.1.1.8. combinations of the above

    Some postpositions may stand either outside or within the
verbal complex. Compare the following two pairs of sentences,
where the preferred version is for the postpositional expression
to appear within the verbal complex leaving the associated noun
occupying the indirect object position:

(a) wəy à-   wayº (a-)ħºəzbà-la a- kº'ət'ə̀ (ø-)yə-šə̀-
    that (art.) man the knife with the chicken it he kill
    yt'
    (fin.)
or
(b) wəy à-wayº à-ħºəzba a-kº'ət'ə̀ (ø-)à+ le- y- šə- yt'
                                   it it+with he kill (fin.)
    'That man killed the chicken with the knife'
(c) a- pħºə̀s wəy a-   wayºə̀ yə- zə̀ a- xàrp (ø-) lə-
    the woman that (art.) man   him for the shirt it   she
    jºjºè-yt
    wash (fin.)
or
(d) a-pħºə̀s wəy à-wayº a-xàrp (ø-)yə+ zə̀- lə- jºjºe-yt'
                              it him+for she wash (fin.)
    'The woman washed the shirt for the man'

2.1.1.2. How are the following syntactic functions expressed?

2.1.1.2.1. subject of intransitive verb

Regardless of whether the intransitive subject is agent or not, it is marked simply by means of the appropriate column I pronominal affix within the verbal complex, e.g.
    (sarà) s-ce-yt'
    I   I go (fin.)
    'I go'
    (yarà//larà barà) d-   bə̀-   sə- yt'
    he   she you(f.) he//she you (f.sg.) hit (fin.)
    'He//She hit you'
    (ħarà) ħa-jax-wè-   yt'
    we   we sew (dyn.) (fin.)
    'We are sewing'
    à- jɣab-cºa   (ø-) jso-   yt'
    the girl (pl.) they swim+(dyn.) (fin.)
    'The girls are swimming'

2.1.1.2.2. subject of transitive verb

Regardless of whether the transitive subject is agent or not, it is marked simply by means of the appropriate column III pronominal affix within the verbal complex, e.g.
    (sarà) a- xàrp (ø-) z-jax-wè-   yt'
    I   the shirt it I sew (dyn.) (fin.)
    'I am sewing the shirt'
    (ħarà šºarà) šº-   aa-bò-   yt'
    we   you(pl.) you(pl.) we see+(dyn.) (fin.)
    'We see you'
    (darà warà)   wə-   pə̀-   r-   q'o-   yt'
    they you(m.sg.) you(m.sg.) (prev.) they cut   (fin.)
                                              +(dyn.)
    'They cut you'

2.1.1.2.3. subject of copula-construction

If the complement of the copula (cf. 2.1.1.2.9) is expressed as the root of a stative verb, where the stative-marker (Present -w+p', Past -n) functions as the copula (cf. 2.1.1.2.9.1 for such 'defining' copula-functions), then the subject will be expressed like any normal intransitive subject, i.e. by means of

the appropriate column I pronominal affix, e.g.

    wəy (sarà)   d-   s+ yºə̀zo- w+p'
    that 1st.pers.sg. (s)he my+friend (stat.)
    'That is my friend'
cf. a-yºə̀za 'friend'
    (barà)   bə-   psjò-   w+p'
    you(f.sg.) you(f.sg.) beautiful (stat.)
    'You are beautiful'
The copula à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be, exist' also requires a column I subject-affix, e.g.
    arà sə̀-q'o-w+p'   // də̀-   q'o-w+p'
    here I be (stat.)   (s)he
    'I am here // He/She is here'
However, there are two copula-roots, -a+kº'(ə)- and -a- 'to be', which also combine with the stative-markers but which require their subject-affixes to come from column II (cf. Dumézil's discussion for a possible explanation - 1967.25-26). These roots are associated with the pseudo-cleft construction and also function as the identity- and role-copulas (cf. 2.1.1.2.9.2-3). My own informant uses the latter root only in affirmative expressions, the former only in negative expressions, e.g.
    larà l-   à+kº'ə-m // l-   o- w+p'   yə-z-
    she she   be   not   she be (stat.) it who
        (col.II)   (col.II)
    jaxə̀-z
    sew (non-fin.)
    'She is not the one // is the one who sewed it'

2.1.1.2.4. direct object

The direct object is always marked by the appropriate column I pronominal affix within the verbal complex, e.g.
    (sarà barà)   bzə̀ya bə-   z-bò-   yt'
    I   you(f.sg.) well you(f.sg.) I see+(dyn.) (fin.)
    'I love you'

2.1.1.2.5. indirect object

The indirect object is shown by the appropriate column II affix within the verbal complex, e.g.
    (sarà) a- xºəč'-kºà   a- šºqº'-kºà (ø-) rə̀-
    I   the child (pl.) the book (pl.) them to-them
    s-to-   yt'
    I give   (fin.)
             +(dyn.)
    'I give the books to the children'
    (ħarà) a- šºqº'-kºà ħ- rə̀- px'o- yt'
    we   the book (pl.) we them read (fin.)
                                +(dyn.)
    'We read the books'
Notice that in the verb 'to tell' the column II indirect object affix is followed by the relational particle -a- 'addressing oneself to', e.g.
    s- àš-   cºa   àžºabž (ø-)s+ à- r- ħºe- yt'
    my brother(pl.) the-news it me+to they tell (fin.)
    'My brothers told me the news'

The benefactive relational particle -z(ə)- has already been examined together with the instrumental particle -la- (2.1.1.1.8). The comitative particle -c(ə)' will be found under 2.1.1.4.4. One must also mention here the particles -c°(ə)- 'to the detriment of' and -x'- 'upto', e.g.

> (sarà) a- x°əč'ə̀ a- š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)yə+c°ə̀- z-ge- yt'
> I the child the book it it+from I take (fin.)
>
> 'I took the book away from the child'
> (sarà warà) s-wə+ x'- jò- yt'
> I you(m.sg.) I you+upto reach+(dyn.) (fin.)
> 'I reach you' (from Dumèzil, 1967.23)

2.1.1.2.6. object_of_comparison

This is expressed by means of -eyħa 'than' prefixed with the column II affix appropriate to the noun representing the standard of comparison, which noun, if expressed, will precede the comparative postposition, e.g.

> abrə̀y a- pħ°ə̀s barà b- èyħa də- pҫjò-
> this (art.) woman you(f.sg.) you than she beautiful
> w+p'
> (stat.)
> 'This woman is more beautiful than you'

2.1.1.2.7. object_of_equation

This is expressed by means of -eypҫ 'like, as' prefixed with the column II affix appropriate to the noun representing the standard of equation, which noun, if expressed, will precede the equative postposition, e.g.

> abrə̀y a-pħ°ə̀s barà b-eypҫ də-pҫjò-w+p'
>   like/as
> 'This woman is as beautiful as you'

2.1.1.2.9. complement_of_copular_construction

As already stated in passing (2.1.1.2.3), the complement may become the root of a stative verb, where the stative markers (Present -w+p', Past -n) virtually function as the copula. This is true of nouns (cf. 2.1.1.2.9.1-3), adjectives (cf. 2.1.1.2.6-7), or sequences of the two, e.g.

> abrə̀y də- pħ°əs apҫə̀-w+p'
> this she woman red (stat.)
> 'This is a red woman'
> abrə̀y d- apsə̀+wa xàc'o-w+p'
> this he Abkhazian man (stat.)
> 'This is an Abkhazian man'

N.B. that the sequence of N + Adj or Adj + N may be viewed as the verbal root because the column I, subject-affix precedes the first element of the phrase, although at the same time it is peculiar for even a compound-root to be split into separate words as Abkhaz orthography here demands.

Adverbs will generally only be construed with the copula in a variety of the pseudo-cleft construction, and, as mentioned above (2.1.1.2.3), the root -a- (or -a+k°'(ə)-) is then used for the copula, e.g.

> yə- pҫja- n- ò- w+p' (⇐ *yə-pҫja-nə-a-w+p')
> it beautiful (adverb) be (stat.)
> (col.I)
> yə- sə̀- q'a- c'o- w
> it how (prev.) make (stat.non-fin.)
> (col.I)
> 'It is beautifully made' (lit. = 'It is beautifully how it is made')

However, an expression such as 'He is well' will show the adverb (or simple adjective) construed with à-q'a-zaa-ra, e.g.

> də-bzə̀ya-nə // bzə̀ya də̀-q'o-w+p'
> he good (adv.) good he be (stat.)

N.B. that this last sentence, in either form, may also mean 'He lives well // has a good life'.

2.1.1.2.9.1. defining (sc. copular_complement)

It should be clear from what has already been said that the defining copula is formed by making the complement into the root of a stative verb, e.g.

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

An alternative is to use the verb à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be, exist', in which case the complement will stand apart from the verb and be placed in the predicative case in -s, e.g.

> wəy way°ə̀-s də̀-q'o-w+p'
> that-one man (pred.) he be (stat.)
> 'He is a man'

The alternative form of the predicative case (in final -nə) is not possible here. However, one may express the noun-complement as an adverb by suffixing to the noun -nə and prefixing the appropriate column I affix to give də-way°-nə̀.

2.1.1.2.9.2. identity (sc. copular_complement)

Conversely, the identity-copula is clearly the root -a- (or -a+k°'(ə)-), e.g.

> wəy Àxra y- o- w+p'
> that-one A. he be (stat.)
>   (col.II)
> 'He is Axra'

2.1.1.2.9.3. role (sc. copular_complement)

No distinction need be made between the identity-copula and the role-copula, e.g.

> wəy a- r+ way°ə̀ y- o- w+p'
> that-one (art.) army+man he be (stat.)
>   (col.II)
> 'He is a soldier'

However, an alternative is to use the copula à-q'a-zaa-ra as in (2.1.1.2.9.1), in which case the complement will naturally stand in the predicative case in -s, e.g.

> wəy r+c'a+y°ə̀-s də̀-q'o-w+p'
> that-one teacher (pred.) he be (stat.)
> 'He is a teacher'

Note in this last example the absence of the article a- in comparison with the first alternative presented immediately above. As with the second example in 2.1.1.2.9.1, the noun-

complement may be turned into its adverbial form -
də-r+c'a+y°-nə̀.

2.1.1.2.9.4. other copular verbs

'To become' may be expressed in two ways:

(i) the verbal complement appears to form a complex root
with the actual verbal root -xa- 'to become'; in fact, as the
negative particle in the Aorist stands before -xa-, we must
regard the complement as virtually a complex preverb (cf. 1.4.1
for the placement of the negative particle), e.g.

```
wəy        də- r+c'a+y°- xè-    yt'
that-one he  teacher     become (fin.)
             (complex   (root)
             prev.)
```

'He became a teacher'

(ii) The alternative is to take the root of the verb
á-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be, exist' and use it as a preverb to the root
-la-, which means 'to move into' (cf. 2.1.1.5), so that the re-
sulting verb à-q'a-la-ra quite naturally means 'to move into
existence // become'. The complement of the verb is turned
into an adverb - i.e. a noun will have prefixed to it the
appropriate column I affix and the adverbial -nə will be
attached as suffix, e.g.

```
wəy        də- r+c'a+y°-nə̀    d- q'a+lè-     yt'
that-one he  teacher (adv.)  he become     (fin.)
                                  (prev.+root)
```

'He became a teacher'

(The predicative case in -s//nə may also be used - r+c'a+y°ə̀-s//
r+c'a+y°-nə̀)

2.1.1.2.10. subject-complement

As Abkhaz has no passive voice, 'I was made king' (and simi-
lar expressions) may only be translated either as 'I became
king'

```
sarà s-aħ-    xè-     yt'
I     I king  become  (fin.)
sarà s-aħ-    nə̀   // aħə̀- s      // aħ-   nə̀
I     I king  (adv.)   king (pred.)   king (pred.)
s-q'a+lè-     yt'
I become      (fin.)
   (prev.+root)
```

or as an object-complement 'They made me king', for which see
immediately below.

2.1.1.2.11. object-complement

For the sentence 'They made me king' we again have two
choices:

(i) as main verb we may use à-q'a-c'a-ra 'to make', putting
the complement into the predicative case (in -s or -nə) or by
turning it into an adverb, e.g.

```
sarà aħə̀- s      // aħ-nə̀     // s-aħ-   nə̀      s-q'a-
me   king (pred.)    (pred.)    I king  (adv.) me(prev.)
r-   c'è- yt'
they make (fin.)
```

(ii) alternatively, the complement stands within the verbal
complex as a preverb, and the verbal root will be -t°'(ə)-,

which basically signifies 'to belong', but which must here be
translated as 'to turn into', e.g.

```
sarà s-       aħə̀-   r-    t°'ə-    yt'
me    me      king   they turn-into (fin.)
      (col.I) (prev.)
```

N.B. that the former expression is preferred for 'We made him
king', as the latter choice would give the cacophonous sequence
-aħ-aħ-, e.g.

```
(?*) wəy        d- aħ-  àħ-t°'ə-     yt'
     that-one him king  we turn-into (fin.)
```

In the case of an adjectival object-complement the causative
affix -r- may be used, with the adjective being then turned in-
to the verbal root, e.g. (after Lomtatidze, 1956.198)

```
art  à-         ž°lar  rə̀-  bla-k°a   (ø-) də- r-   laš°-
these (art.) people their eye (pl.) them they cause blind
t',   rə-   g°ə-  g'ə̀ (ø-) xaħ°ə̀-r-    t°'ə-     yt'
(fin.) their heart also it   stone they turn-into (fin.)
```

'This people's eyes they blinded (made blind) and their
heart(s) they turned to stone'

2.1.1.2.12. objects governed by adjectives

The adjectival component will form the root of a stative
verb; a selection of examples follows:

```
wəy       y- ab    də-y-         èypsə-w+p'
that-one his father he him       like (stat.)
                    (col.II)
```

'He is like his father'

```
à- c°'ca jə̀-  la  yə-t°ə̀- w+p'
the glass water with it full (stat.)
```

'The glass is full of water'

```
a- xàc'a a-    š°q°'-k°à̀   d- rə+ z-  q'+ lə̀mħa-w+p'
the man  (art.) book (pl.) he them+for mouth+ear (stat.)
```

'That man is interested in books'

```
a- pħ°ə̀s wərt  d- rə+ q°'- gò-     w+p'
the woman those she them+from carried (stat.)
```

'The woman is separate (carried apart) from them'

```
à- jɣab bzəya+ba+rà-    la d- ey+la- gò-     w+p'
the girl love          by she (prev.)(root) (stat.)
       (= well-seeing)              'crazed'
```

'The girl is mad with (crazed by) love'

```
arəy a-      mq'ə̀ y- à+ l-        xə-  w+p'
this (art.) wood it it+from-within come (stat.)
```

'This is made of (derived from) wood'

or

```
mq'ə̀-la   // a-       mq'- a-     q'ə̀+n+t°'
wood with    (art.) wood it      from
                              (col.II)
yə-q'a-    c'ò- w+p'
it (prev.) made (stat.)
```

As regards the word-order of adjective (stative verb) and
its complement, the order Complement-Adjective is obligatory
unless the complement is a postpositional phrase, in which case
the complement may follow the adjective, e.g.

à-c°'ca   (∅-)t°ə-w+p' jə̀-la
    'The glass is full of water'

2.1.1.3. Apply the questions of 2.1.1.2 to all types of nominalised or non-finite verb

As regards the non-finite verb-forms, we may begin by observing that no transitive subject- (i.e. column III) marker appears in either the present or past 'absolutives', e.g.

    a- kalpàd (∅-) po   (⇐ *pa- wa)   a-
    the sock   it   (pres.absol.)   knit (dyn.) the
    š°q°'ə̀ d- à-   px'o- n
    book   she it   read   (fin.)
                (col.II) +(dyn.)
        '(While) knitting the sock she was reading the book'
cf. yə-l- pò-   yt'
    it she knit   (fin.)
              +(dyn.)
        'She knits it'
    a-kalpàd (∅-) pa- nə̀   də- cè-yt'
            it   knit (past absol.) she go (fin.)
        'Having knitted the sock she went'
It should be noted that, in the first of these two examples, the form (∅-)l-po (i.e. with the column III affix) is, in fact, possible. This has led some commentators to conclude that the transitive subject-affix is sometimes found with the present absolutive (Arstaa et al., 1966.201). But note that (∅-)l-po (⇐ *(yə-)l-pa-wa) is now identical to the non-finite form of the Present tense; might it not, therefore, be the case that, because of the identity of endings (viz. -o ⇐ *-a-wa), the simple non-finite Present is being employed instead of the true present absolutive? Apparent justification for establishing such a non-finite Present, independent of the present absolutive, comes from the fact that in constructions like 'to begin to X', only the non-finite Present (i.e. the form with the transitive subject-affix) is possible as a means of representing the object of the verb 'to begin', e.g.

    a- kalpàd (∅-)l- po   d- à+ la+ge-   yt'
    the sock   it she knit   she it begin   (fin.)
                (Pres.non-fin.)   (prev.+root)
        'She began to knit the sock'
If the present absolutive is negated, then there seems to be a preference for the transitive subject-affix to be employed, viz. (yə-)lə-m-pò, which is once again interpretable as the (negative) non-finite Present, this latter having ousted the true negative absolutive, (yə-)m-pò.

The positive of the past absolutive never contains a column III affix, but such an affix is possible, although its absence is preferred, in the corresponding negative form, e.g.
(a) without = (yə-)   m- pà- k°'a(-n)
                (col.I) not knit (neg.absolutive suffix)
        'without having knitted'
(b) with = (yə-) lə-   m-pà-k°'a(-n)
                    (col.III)
        'without having knitted'

In an attempt to account for the possibility of the appearance here of the column III affix, one may note that the negative non-finite Past will be (yə-)lə-m-pà. Now, if the element -k°'a(-n) is being re-interpreted as an independent exponent, which, in association with the negative of the simple Past, gives the meaning 'without having X-ed', and is thus beginning to lose its force as the negative equivalent of the positive past absolutive formant -nə, which negative absolutive properly prohibits the introduction of a column III affix, then we shall have an explanation for why the insertion of a transitive subject-affix is at least possible in such forms.

The suffix -k°'a(-n) is also found in the negative of the Plu-perfect absolutive, for the positive form of which see section 2.1.3.5.5. In neither the positive nor the negative form is there any change in the verbal complex's affixal structure. An example follows of the negative plu-perfect absolutive, which is seen to be built either on the form ending in -x'a-c or on that ending in -cə-z (cf. 2.1.3.5.2):

    wərt a- kəta+ra[-a- a]x'   yə- m- ca-x'à-   c-
    those the country   it towards they not go (Perf.)(non-fin.)
    k°'a(-n) // yə-m-cà-cə-z-   k°'a(-n)
                        (non-fin.Plu-perf.) (absol.)
    s-rə+ x'- jè-   yt'
    I them+upto catch (fin.)
        'I caught up with them before they had already left for
        the country' (lit.'without them having already left...')
The Abkhaz absolutives are roughly equivalent to English participles, with the present absolutive conveying simultaneity, the past anteriority. There exists a general rule according to which the subject of the absolutive must correlate with the subject of the following main verb, which helps to explain why the transitive subject-affix is properly omitted from the complex of present and past absolutives – the identity of this subject is recoverable from the affixal structure in the complex of the following main verb. Note, however, that this restriction on the identity of subjects may be relaxed for negated absolutives, although this seems possible only when the absolutive is an intransitive verb, in which case a subject-affix (column I) will be present anyway, as in the last example or in the following more common instance of a simple past absolutive (from Arstaa et al., 1966.193):

    sarà sə̀-q'a-m- k°'a,   Rasàc abrà d- àa+y- x'o-
    I   I be not (absol.) R.   here she come (Perf.)
    w-   ma
    (non-fin.) (Qu.)
        'During my absence (me not being here), has Rasac come?'

2.1.1.3.1. 'absolute' construction

Although nothing happens to alter the representation of the verbal arguments in the affixal structure of the verb in the 'absolute' construction (assuming that the absolute construction is being represented by the verb-form known as the Past Indefinite and not by a negated absolutive as in the last example of the previous section), there appears to be a rule according to which, if any argument is common to both Past Indefinite and main verb, and thus not independently expressed

in the main clause as a result of conjunction-reduction, this
<u>must</u> be the subject of both verbs, e.g.

    à- jɣab də- psə̀-n   zeg'ə̀ (∅-) d°ə̀+1-
    the girl she die (fin.Past Ind.) all   they out

    c'ə-yt'   (compound
    go (fin.)   prev.)
    'The girl having died, everyone went out'
BUT a- xàc'a a- pħ°ə̀s də- y- bà- n
    the man   the woman her he see (Past Ind.)
    də-d°ə̀+1-c'ə-yt'
    <u>he</u>
    'The man saw the woman and (*she) went out'
where, in the absence of <u>a-pħ°ə̀s</u> being repeated in the main
clause, <u>də-</u> <u>must</u> be taken as referring to the subject of the
first verb (i.e. <u>a-xàc'a</u>), although, when used by itself,
<u>də-d°ə̀+1-c'ə-yt'</u> may, of course, mean 'She went out'.

2.1.1.3.2. infinitive

    Abkhaz makes no distinction between infinitive, gerund and
nominalisations, all these being represented by the one form -
the infinitive (or 'masdar'), which is produced in its simple
(citation) form by suffixing the abstract-noun formant <u>-ra</u> to
the verbal root and attaching as prefix the article <u>a-</u>. No
column I affix may appear in the masdar; it is replaced by the
corresponding column II (possessive) marker, as in this in-
transitive verb:

    larà l- ca-rà
    she her go (masdar)
    'her going'
The same is true of a column I affix representing a transitive
direct object. At the same time we must note that column III
affixes are also excluded from the masdar; these are substitu-
ted by an extra-verbal instrumental expression, e.g.

    sarà sə̀-la bə-   ba- rà
    I   me by your(col.II) see (masd.)
    'my seeing you' (lit. 'your seeing by me')
    As regards the indirect object, it seems that this may be
retained in the masdar, producing thereby a sequence of two
column II affixes, although the resulting expression is not
natural Abkhaz, e.g.

    (?) darà rə̀- la s-   wə̀-   ta- ra
    they them by my   to-you   give (masd.)
                 (col.II.DO)(col.II.IO)
    'their giving me to you' (lit. 'my giving to you by
    them')
Note, however, that the indirect object of the verb 'to say',
<u>a-ħ°a-rà</u>, may not remain within the masdar (this, no doubt,
being a consequence of the fact that, in the finite forms, the
indirect object is expressed by an association of the relevant
column II affix and the relational particle -a- 'to'), although
the resulting periphrasis is equally unnatural Abkhaz, e.g.

    (?) darà rə̀- la a- də̀r- ra-   k°a   sarà sə-zə̀
    they them by the know (masd.)(pl.) I   me for
    rə-   ħ°a-rà
    their (sc. news) say (masd.)
    'their telling me the news'

cf. yə-s+ à- r-   ħ°o-   yt'
    it me+to they say+(dyn.) (fin.)
    'They tell it to me'

2.1.1.3.5. imperative

    No <u>singular</u> subject-affix is present in the imperative of
transitive verbs, even though such affixes are required in the
corresponding prohibitions, e.g.

    də-   (∅-)   šə̀
    him/her you(sg.) kill
    'Kill him/her' (i.e. 'you sg.')
BUT də-   š°-   šə̀
    him/her you(pl.) kill
    'Kill him/her' (i.e. 'you pl.')
AND də-   bə-   m- šə̀- n
    him/her you(f.sg.) not kill (neg. suffix)
    'Don't kill him/her' (i.e. 'you f.sg.')
AND w-   a+ k°-   c'
    you(m.sg.) it+from-on get-down
    'Get down from it' (i.e. 'you m.sg.')

2.1.1.4. How are the following non-local semantic functions expressed?

2.1.1.4.1. benefactive

1a. sentential adverbial
    The postposition is -zə 'for', or one of its variants (i.e.
-zə+n//-zə+ħ°a(+n)), e.g.

    Àxra yə-   zə̀(+n) // yə- zə̀+ħ°a(+n) yə-q'a-
    A.   him   for   him for   it (prev.)
        (col.II)
    s-c'è-yt'
    I do (fin.)
    'I did it for Axra'
OR, with the intra-verbal relational particle -zə- replacing the
postposition:

    Àxra (∅-)yə+ zə̀- q'a-   s-c'e-yt'
            it him+for (prev.) I do (fin.)
1b. copular complement
    As copular complement the benefactive postposition(s) will
be used in association with the copular root -a- 'to be', e.g.

    arə̀y Àxra yə- zə̀(+n) // yə-zə̀+ħ°a(+n) [a-Ja- w+p'
    this   for him   it be (stat.)
    'This is for Axra'
Henceforth, if the phrase in question may be used as a copular
complement, this fact will be symbolised as [+cop].
1c. NP-attribute
    This is quite straightforward and will be

    Àxra yə- zə̀(+n) // yə-zə̀+ħ°a(+n) a- ħàmta
        him for   the present
    'the present for Axra'
Henceforth, if the phrase in question may be used as NP-attri-
bute, this fact will be symbolised as [+attr.]. Note that in
all such expressions the postpositional phrase preferably,
though not obligatorily, precedes the noun.

2.1.1.4.2. source

The postposition is -q'ə+n+t°' 'from', as in

```
Àxra yə-  q'ə̀+n+t°' yə-s-ahā- yt'
     him  from      it I hear (fin.)
```
'I heard it from Àxra'

Although this phrase is to be characterised as both [+cop] and [+attr.], it should be noted that the preferable copular construction is for the postposition together with its prefix to become the root of a stative verb, as in

```
sarà Àxra yə- q'ə̀+n+t°'ə-w+p'
I         him from          (stat.)
```
'I am from Àxra'

Why there should be this discrepancy between benefactive and ablative copular complements is not clear.

2.1.1.4.3. instrumental

The relevant postposition is -la, e.g.

```
a-   žaȟ°à à- la  // žaȟ°ā-la sə-yə̀-    sə- yt'
(art.) hammer it with       I him      hit (fin.)
                                       (col.II)
```
'I hit him with the/a hammer'

Alternatively, the instrumental relational particle -la- together with its associated column II affix may be incorporated within the verbal complex, in which case there will be no postposition accompanying the relevant noun, e.g.

```
a-      žaȟ°à s-a+ la- yə̀- sə- yt'
(art.) hammer I it+with him hit (fin.)
```
'I hit him with the/a hammer'

As copular complement the instrumental phrase is possible only in the pseudo-cleft construction (e.g. 'It was with the hammer that I hit him'). This restriction applies to many of the following phrases; henceforth, it will be symbolised as [+ps-cl].

The most natural way of conveying an instrumental phrase as NP-attribute is to avoid the attributive construction by paraphrasing as follows:

```
à-  č'k°'ən a- žaȟ°à (∅-)yə̀-    ma-  nə      // (∅-)k'-
the boy    it he     have (absol.)    it hold
                            (col.II)
nə
(absol.)
```
'the boy having // holding the hammer'

And so, we must qualify the instrumental phrase as [-attr.].

2.1.1.4.3a. negative_instrumental

The postposition is -da, as in

```
žaȟ°à- da      sə-yə̀- sə- yt'
hammer without I him hit (fin.)
```
'I hit him without the/a hammer'

The phrase is further characterisable as [+ps-cl], and, at least when construed with the verbal noun (masdar) (for which see 2.1.1.3.2), as [+attr].

2.1.1.4.4. comitative

It is necessary to use the intraverbal relational particle -c- in association with a column II affix, e.g.

```
à-  č'k°'ən sə-yə̀+ c-  ce-yt'
the boy     I him+with go (fin.)
```
'I went with the boy'

The phrase is [+cop]; the particle -c- is used with the copular root -q'a- 'to be', e.g.

```
à-č'k°'ən də-yə̀+ c-   q'o-w+p'
          he him+with be (stat.)
```
'He is with the boy'

Expressions such as 'the boy with the girl' must be conveyed by means of a relativised stative verb (e.g. 'the boy who is/being with the girl'), as in

```
à-  jɣab yə       lə̀+ cə-  w                à- č'k°'ən
the girl he-who her+with (non-fin.stative) the boy
```
'the boy who is with the girl'

Below, wherever such a relativised turn of phrase is necessary as a support for the NP in question, we shall write [+rel].

2.1.1.4.4a. negative_comitative

The postposition is -da, as in

```
à-  č'k°'ən yə̀- da       s-ce-yt'
the boy    him without I go (fin.)
```
'I went without the boy'

The phrase is both [+cop], e.g.

```
à-č'k°'ən yə̀-da də̀-q'o-w+p'
                he be (stat.)
```
'He is without the boy'

and [+attr.].

2.1.1.4.5. circumstance

The postposition is again -la (cf. 3 above), e.g.

```
a-      nap'ə̀ q''aš-k°à  rə̀- la    ak'rə-    y- fè- yt'
(art.) hand  dirty (pl.) them with something he eat (fin.)
```
'He ate with dirty hands'

or, as in the case of the instrumental above, the relational particle -la- may be incorporated within the verb thereby replacing the postposition, e.g.

```
a-nap'à q''aš-k°à ak'rə-rə̀+ le- y- fe-yt'
                   them+with he
```

Such phrases are to be characterised as [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

2.1.1.4.5a. negative_circumstance

The postposition is -da, as in 4a above, e.g.

```
nasə̀p- da       də-n̄-     xò-      yt'
fortune without he (prev.) live+(dyn.) (fin.)
```
'He lives without fortune'

The phrase is [+cop], in which case the entire phrase becomes the root of a stative verb, as in

```
wəy à-      way° də-nasə̀p+ do-      w+p'
that (art.) man  he fortune+without (stat.)
```
'He is without fortune'

It is also [+rel].

2.1.1.4.6. possessive

Be they noun or pronoun, possessives carry no special marker; cf. 2.1.1.4.7.

2.1.1.4.6.3. present_vs_past_possession

This can only be expressed by employing a verbally based periphrasis 'NP which belongs//belonged to X' (cf. 2.1.2.4.11).

2.1.1.4.7. possessed

In a possessive relationship only the possessed noun is marked by having prefixed to it the appropriate column II pronominal affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1); the possessed noun stands after the possessor, e.g.

        sarà sə-y°nə̀
        I   my house
          'my house'
        à- č'k°'ən yə- y°nə̀
        the boy   his house
          'his house'
        à- č'k°'ən-c°a   rə-   y°n- k°à
        the boy   (pl.) their house (pl.)
          'the boys' houses'

2.1.1.4.8. quality

The association of the quality-expression (noun plus instrumental suffix -la) with its head-noun is only possible through the mediation of a relativised copula, e.g.

        g°ə̀- k'- a-   la yə̀-   q'o-w   a-   way°ə̀
        heart one it   with he-who be (non-fin.(art.) man
            (col.II)   stat.)
        'the/a man (who is) of/with honour'
The expression is characterisable as [+cop].

2.1.1.4.8a. negative_quality

This differs from the last example quoted simply by inserting the negative particle into the relativised copula, e.g.

        g°ə̀-k'-a-la yə̀-q'a-m   a-way°ə̀
                        not
        'a man without honour'
This phrase too is naturally [+cop].

2.1.1.4.8b. reference_quality

The masdar of the copular root -q'a- is prefixed with the appropriate possessive affix and is preceded not only by the possessor-noun but also by the relevant quality-expression (noun plus instrumental suffix), e.g.

        a- way°ə̀ g°ə̀- k'- a- la yə̀-   q'a-zaa-   ra
        the man   heart one it with his   be (suffix) (masd.)
                                      (col.II)
        'the honour of the man' (lit. 'the man's being with
        honour')

2.1.1.4.9. quantity

Two constructions are possible: the first involves a relativised form of the verb à-ma-zaa-ra 'to have', so that one is literally saying, for example, 'a ship having 1,000 tons', e.g.

        zək' t'òna à- k'ap'an (ø-)z-   mo- w   à- γba
        1000 ton   the weight it which have (non-fin.   the boat
                                                stat.)
            'the/a boat of   1,000 tons'

The second alternative is to use a similarly relativised form of the verb a-k'ap'àn-ra 'to weigh', so that the equivalent of this in English would be 'a boat weighing 1,000 tons', e.g.

        zək' t'òna (ø-)z-   k'ap'àn-wa   à-γba
                  it which weigh (non-fin.dyn.)
(No such second alternatives exist in the case of the other dimensions, but cf. section 2.1.1.4.23.)
It will be clear from the above that, where English would have a copular construction ('The boat is of 1,000 tons'), Abkhaz will rather say either 'The boat weighs...' or 'The boat has...'.

2.1.1.4.9a. reference_quantity

Abkhaz does not employ the possessive construction; rather it has recourse to an appositional expression whereby the quantitative noun precedes that representing the material quantified. This latter noun includes the definite-generic article a-, e.g.

        k'ı̄la-k'   a-   šakàr
        kilo one (art.) sugar
          'a kilo of sugar'
Such phrases are [+cop].

2.1.1.4.10. material

The head-noun is placed second and does not take the article; the material-noun stands first and does take the article. It may also be suffixed with the element -t°'(ə), which, as a verbal root, signifies 'belonging', e.g.

        a-   k'ərmə̀t'(-t°'ə)   y°nə
        (art.) brick   belonging house
          'a house of brick // brick-house'
As copular complement the suffix -t°'(ə) is mandatory, e.g.

        a- y°nə̀ (ø-)k'ərmə̀t'+t°'ə-w+p'
        the house it of-brick   (stat.)
          'The house is of brick'
We should, however, note two near synonyms: the first is based on a stative form of the verb à-l-x-ra 'to lead out of // derive', where -l- is a preverb meaning 'from in' and -x- the root 'to take (out)'. The material-noun correlates with a column II affix 'governed' by the verbal preverb, e.g.

        arə̀y a-   y°nə̀ a-   k'ərmə̀t' y- à+ l-   xə-   w+p'
        this (art.) house (art.) brick   it it+from derive (stat.)

          'This house is built of (derived from) brick'
The alternative is to produce a similar stative form of the verb à-q'a-c'a-ra 'to make'; in this case the material-noun takes the instrumental suffix -la, e.g.

        arə̀y a-y°nə̀ k'ərmə̀t'-la   yə̀-q'a-   c'ò- w+p'
                                  with it (prev.) make (stat.)
          'This house is made of brick'
Note in passing that the postposition is here attached directly to a consonant-final noun (as is -da in the example presented in 5a above); in other words, it is not prefixed with a column II affix correlating with the noun governed by the postposition —a-k'ərmə̀t' à-la is possible here, though it is not as good as the form quoted. Such direct attachment of the postposition to its noun means that the postposition is virtually functioning

as a case-suffix.

2.1.1.4.10a. negative material

The choice of expressions is: use the postposition -da, once again attached directly to the noun, as in,

```
k'ərmə̀t'-da          y°nə // a-      y°nə̀
brick      without house    (art.)
     'the/a house without brick'
```

However, the preferred alternative is to make the material-noun plus the suffix -t°'(ə) the basis of a stative verb and to use this in its negative relative form, e.g.

```
yə-  k'ərmə̀t'+t°'ə-m    a-     y°nə̀
which of-brick         not (art.) house
     'the/a house (which is) not of brick'
```

This latter construction, being itself based on a copular verb-form, gives the straightforward copular sentence

```
arə̀y a-     y°nə̀ (∅-)k'ərmə̀t' +t°'ə-m
this (art.) house it   of-brick     not
     'This house is not of brick'
```

The former construction incorporating the postposition -da may be construed with the copular root -a- 'to be'. One should also mention the negative stative form based on the verb à-l-x-ra 'to derive', e.g.

```
arə̀y a-y°nə̀ a-      k'ərmə̀t'  y- à+ l-   xə-    m
             (art.) brick     it it+from derive not
```

           'This house is not of (derived from) brick'

2.1.1.4.11. manner

For such expressions Abkhaz prefers to use a verbal construction incorporating the absolutive (either present or past), e.g.

```
yə- mč         zeg'ə̀ (∅-)à-    ta-  nə              //
his strength all   it  to-it give (past absol.)
(∅-)à-to              d- yə-g°əjə̀-yt'
     (pres.absol.) her he kiss  (fin.)
     'He kissed her with verve'
də-š°a- nə̀            // də-š°ò         d-yə-g°əjə̀-yt'
he fear (past absol.)       fear
                            (pres.absol.)
     'He kissed her with fear (fearingly)'
```

Such expressions are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.11a. negative manner

The absolutive described immediately above is simply negated, although there is a preference for the negated past absolutive over that of the present, e.g.

```
yə-mč zeg'ə̀ (∅-)à-m- ta-(ja-)         k°'a(-n)            //
              not    (intensive) (past absol.neg.)
(?)(∅-)à-m-to               d-yə -g°əjə̀-yt'
          give
          (pres.absol.)
     'He kissed her without verve' (lit. 'not giving it all
     his strength')
```

These expressions too are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.12. cause

The postposition -la 'with, by means of' is used, e.g.

```
à-      x°ra- k°a    rə̀-  la y-      àapso-    w
(art.) wound (pl.) them by he-who exhausted (non-fin.stat.)
(a-    way°ə̀)
(art.) man
     '(the/a man) exhausted by his wounds'
```

Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.13. purpose

The same postposition -zə is used as for benefactive phrases, e.g.

```
wəy s- wəs a- zə̀ s- xə    y- a-       sə̀-r-    x°e- yt'
that my work it for my head it it    I  cause help (fin.)
                                    (col.II)
```

           'I used that for my work'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.4.14. function

The predicative case in -s or -nə is used, e.g.

```
a-  labà k''at'-s    // k''at'-nə          s- xə
the stick club   (pred.)        (pred.) my head
y- a- sə̀-r-    x°e- yt'
it it I  cause help (fin.)
     'I used the stick as a club'
```

The phrase is [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.15. reference

Four choices are available: in the first instance we may use the determiner (cf. 2.1.1.5) -x- preceded by the appropriate column II affix, as in

```
àž°abž   ħ- a+     x-    c°àž°e-yt'
the-news we it+    about talk   (fin.)
             (col.II)
```

           'We talked about the news'
Secondly, the determiner -x- 'about' may be replaced by the instrumental relational particla -la-, e.g.

           àž°abž ħ-a+la-c°àž°e-yt'
The third alternative is as follows:

```
àž°abž y- a+ z-  k'-  nə̀              ħa-c°àž°e-yt'
       it it+for hold (past absol.) we talk   (fin.)
```

The second word in the preceding sentence is the past absolutive of a-k'-rà 'to hold, seize' containing the benefactive relational particle -zə-. This form is a semi-fossilised postposition meaning 'about' - 'semi-'fossilised because the column II affix preceding the relational particle changes according to the noun with which it correlates. The form's initial column I affix y- is a dummy-marker found generally in adverb-formations (cf. 2.1.7.1.1).
The fourth alternative is the use of the simple (benefactive) postposition -zə 'for', e.g.

```
    sarà  sə-zə̀  yə-  c°ăž°e-yt'
    me    me for they talk
      'They talked about me' (or 'They talked for me// instead
       of me')
```
The difference between the last three alternatives and the
first is that the first (with the preverb -x-) implies an ex-
tremely detailed and complete discussion (such as one would
have at a seminar or public meeting devoted to a specific
topic), whilst the last three alternatives lack any such nuance.
    Reference-phrases are [+ps-cl]. As NP-attribute only the
absolute of a-k'-rà is possible, e.g.
```
    a-      də̀r- ra-        k°a   avària        y-a+z-k'-nə̀
    (art.) know (abstract) (pl.) the-accident about
      'news about the accident'
```

2.1.1.4.16. essive

The predicative case is used, e.g.
```
    a-      r+   way°ə̀-s      // à-r+way°-nə        Berlin
    (art.) army+man  (pred.)           (pred.) B.
    sə̀-q'a-n
    I   be  (past stat.)
      'I was in Berlin as a soldier'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [-attr].

2.1.1.4.17. translative

Once again the predicative case fulfils this role, e.g.
```
    wəy        eyħabə̀-s       // eyħab-nə̀        d-   à+ l-
    that-one leader (pred.)          (pred.)  him it+from
    aħ-xə-   yt'
    we draw (fin.)
      'We chose him as leader'
```
Such phrases are [+ps-cl]

2.1.1.4.18. part-whole

This is conveyed by a simple genitive (possessive) con-
struction, e.g.
```
    a-   là  a-  xə̀   // a-la-xə̀
    the dog its head
      'the head of the dog'
    à-  c'la à-  k°c°a
    the tree its top
      'the top of the tree'
```
Such phrases are naturally [+cop].

2.1.1.4.19. partitive

2.1.1.4.19.1. partitive numeral

Either of the postpositions -q'ə+n+t°' or -ax'+t°' may be
used, e.g.
```
    à-  č'k°'ən-c°a    r-   q'ə+n+t°' // r-    ax'+t°'
    the boy       (pl.) them from          them from
    y°ə̀-ǰa
    2   (human)
      'two of the boys'
```
Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.19.2. non-partitive numeral

If the quantified noun is human, it will take the nominal
plural-marker and may either precede or follow the numeral,
which will have the appropriate human-marker (cf. 2.1.6.3),
e.g.
```
    y°ə̀-ǰa       à-       č'k°'ən-c°a   (or with the order
     2   (hum.) (art.) boy     (pl.)             reversed)
      'two boys'
```
If the quantified noun is non-human, two alternatives are pos-
sible: the noun, endowed with both the article a- and the
plural-marker, will be followed by the numeral, which will show
the appropriate non-human form (i.e. if between 2 and 10 in-
clusive, it will end in -ba; if over 10, it will have no
special suffix - cf. 2.1.6.3), e.g.
```
    a-      c°'a- k°à   y°ə-bà
    (art.) apple (pl.) 2    (non-hum.)
      'two apples'
```
The alternative is as follows: the noun is used without article
or plural-suffix. If the numeral is between 2 and 10 inclusive,
the bare stem of the numeral (i.e. devoid of any suffix) will
precede the noun, which will have as suffix the numeral -k'
'one'. If the numeral is over 10, the noun will not take the
suffix -k', e.g.
```
    y°ə-c°'à- k'
    2    apple 1
      'two apples'
    ž°è+y+za c°'a
    11      apple
      'eleven apples'
```
Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.19.3. partitive quantifier

The word for 'some' pət+k' (non-human), pət+y°ə̀+k' (human)
is used in association with either of the postpositions
-q'ə+n+t°' or -ax'+t°' 'from', e.g.
```
    à-  č'k°'ən-c°a    r-   q'ə+n+t°' // r-    ax'+t°'
    the boy       (pl.) them from          them from
    pət+y°ə̀+k'
    some(+hum.)
      'some of the boys'
    a-  c°'a- k°à    r-q'ə+n+t°' // r-ax'+t°' pət+k'
    the apple (pl.)                         some (non-hum.)
      'some of the apples'
```
Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.19.4. non-partitive quantifier

If the noun is human, it will take both the article a- and
the plural-marker and will either be preceded or followed by
the word pət+y°ə̀+k' 'some', e.g.
```
    pət+y°ə̀+k'  à-       č'k°'ən-c°a   (or with reverse
    some(+hum.) (art.) boy     (pl.)         word-order)
      'some boys'
```
If the noun is non-human, the best rendering is for pət+k' to
follow the nominal stem (i.e. devoid of both the article a-
and any plural-suffix), e.g.

```
c°'a    pət+k'
apple  some(non-hum.)
    'some apples'
```
This latter is also the expression employed for non-countable nouns, e.g.
```
š°     pət+k'
cheese  some(non-hum.)
    'some cheese'
```
Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.19.5. partitive negative quantifier

Where English uses the negative pronoun 'none', Abkhaz says 'even one' followed by a negative verb; and so, the expressions below require the presence of such a negated verb if they are to convey the sense of 'none' in English. The Abkhaz for 'even one' will be a+j°-g'ə, if the associated noun is human, a+k'ə-g'ə, if non-human. These words may be optionally compounded as second element with the expression for 'if not one'. Whether compounded or not, these words will follow either of the postpositions -ax'+t°' or -q'ə+n+t°' 'from', e.g.
```
à-    č'k°'ən-c°a    r-     ax'+t°' // r-    q'ə+n+t°'
the boy     (pl.) them from         them from
(a+j°ə̀-   m-  za+r-)a+j°-    g'ə̀
  one(hum.) not if  one(hum.) even
    'none of the boys'
a-  c°'a- k°à    r-ax'+t°' // r-q'ə+n+t°'
the apple (pl.)
(a+k'ə̀-      m-  za+r-)a+k'ə-    g'ə̀
  one(non-hum.) not if  one(non-hum.) even
    'none of the apples'
```
Such phrases are [-cop].

2.1.1.4.19.6. non-partitive negative quantifier

A choice of constructions is available: the appropriate form for 'even one' (see immediately above) may follow the plural of the noun concerned, e.g.
```
à-      č'k°'ən-c°a   (a+j°ə̀-m-za+r-)a+j°-g'ə̀
(art.) boy     (pl.) even-one
    'no boys'
a-      c°'a- k°à   (a+k'ə̀-m-za+r-)a+k'ə-g'ə̀
(art.) apple (pl.) even-one
    'no apples'
```
An alternative idiom associates the appropriate form for 'even one' with either the simple nominal stem or this stem plus the predicative case in -s together with the root of the verb 'to say' -h°a-, e.g.
```
č'k°'ən(-s)    h°a (a+j°ə̀-m-za+r-)a+j°-g'ə̀
boy     (pred.)    even-one
    'no boys'
c°'a  (-s)    h°a (a+k'ə̀-m-za+r-)a+k'ə-g'ə̀
apple (pred.)    even-one
    'no apples'
```
This latter expression is also used for non-countable nouns, e.g.
```
š°ə   (-s)    h°a (a+k'ə̀-m-za+r-)a+k'ə-g'ə̀
cheese (pred.)   even-one
    'no cheese'
```

However, in the case of non-countable nouns, one may attach the numeral -k', 'one' together with the suffix -g'ə 'even' directly to the simple nominal base, e.g.
```
š°ə̀-k'-g'ə
    'no cheese'
```
Such phrases are [-cop].

2.1.1.4.20. price

This is expressed simply by placing the root of the verb 'to say' -h°a- after the quantified noun representing the price concerned, e.g.
```
y°ə-fùnt  -k' h°a y- aa-     s-x°è-yt'
2   pound 1       it (prev.) I buy (fin.)
    'I bought it for two pounds'
```
Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.21. value

The noun a-psà 'price' is made the base of a stative verb. This is then relativised. The verbal base is preceded by a column II affix in agreement with the noun that represents the value in question; this column II 3rd. pers. affix may be either singular or plural, e.g.
```
x°ə-fùnt- k' y-        a+ psò- w              //
5   pound 1  that-which its+price (stat.non-fin.)
             (sc. table)
yə-         rə+ psò- w              àyš°a
that-which their+price (stat.non-fin.) table
    'a table worth five pounds' (lit. 'a table which is
    five pounds' price')
```
The sentence 'It is worth £5' will simply include the finite form of the stative verb-form seen in the last example, e.g.
```
x°ə-fùnt-k' y-a+psò-w+p'      // yə-rə+psò-w+p'
                                (stat.fin.)
```

2.1.1.4.22. distance

No special indicator is needed, e.g.
```
wəy       sə-yə̀+ šta- n           k'ilomèt'ra-k'
that-one I  his+track (stat.past) kilometer   1
    'I followed him (lit. 'was on his -yə- track -šta-')
    for a kilometer'
```
Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.23. extent

A relative expression involving either the verb à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be' or à-na-ja-ra 'to extend' is used with no additional marker on the extent-noun, e.g.
```
pš-mèt'ra-k' yə̀-  q'o-w        // yə-  na-
4  meter  one which be (non-fin.)  which (prev.)
jò          a-     mašìna
extend+(dyn.) (art.) car
    'the/a car 4 meters long'
```
or, with the noun specifying the exact dimension concerned,
```
z-    òwra   pš-mèt'ra-k' yə̀-q'o-w // yə-na-jò a-mašìna
whose length              it          it
    'the/a car whose length is//extends 4 meters'
```

The sentence 'The car is 4 meters long' will simply be expressed by the finite form of the above-relatives, e.g.

a-mašìna ([a-]àwra) pš-mèt'ra-k' ə̀-q'o-w+p' //
           its length   it   (stat.)
yə-na-jò-yt'
it   (fin.)

2.1.1.4.24. concessive

Abkhaz here employs an idiom which may be translated into English as 'not having made X a pain' = 'despite X'. In other words, the predicative case in -s of a-x'àa 'pain' is used in conjunction with the negative of the past absolutive of à-q'a-c'a-ra 'to make', e.g.

a- k°à̀ x'aa-s   yə-q'a-   m- c'à- k°'a(-n)
the rain pain (pred.) it (prev.) not make (absol.neg.)
d- aa- yt'
he come (fin.)
   'He came despite the rain'
Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.25. inclusion

As a direct equivalent to the English 'including' Abkhaz uses the past absolutive of the verb a-k'-rà 'to hold' incorporating also two preverbs - the orientational preverb -na-, which, in conjunction with the second preverb -la- 'among, in', seems to provide an exact equivalent for English 'therein', e.g.

Axra-g'ə d- na-   rə̀+ la-k'- nə   zeg'ə̀
A.   too him(prev.) them+in hold (absol.) all
   'everyone including Axra'
Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.27. addition

The relational particle of accompaniment -c- 'with', together with its associated column II affix, is made the base of a stative verb 'to be with'. This is then used in its absolutive form, and stative verbs, unlike dynamics, have only the one absolutive in -nə, e.g.

Àxra x-y°ə̄- k' a-   xàc°a (∅-) yə̀+ c-   nə
A.   3 (hum.) 1 (art.) men   they him+with (absol.)
   'three men in addition to Axra' (lit. 'three men being
   with Axra')
Such phrases are [+ps-cl].

2.1.1.4.28. vocative

The vocative particle is o and is not obligatory. The particle precedes its noun as in the example: o Amra 'O Amra!'.

2.1.1.4.29. citation-form

The citation-form of all nouns (including masdars) and adjectives requires the presence of the definite-generic article a-. If the root itself begins with the vowel a (such as an 'mother', ab 'father'), then there can be no overt indication of the presence of the article.

2.1.1.4.30. label-form

No special indicator is employed.

2.1.1.5. How are the following local semantic functions expressed?

By way of a preliminary remark we should note that, in addition to a large number of postpositions, Abkhaz also has at its disposal for the representation of locative expressions a wide variety of directional preverbs, which latter are a characteristic feature of all N.W. Caucasian languages. An admirably detailed study of Abkhaz preverbs was published in 1952 by Ketevan Lomtatidze. Dumézil (1967.21) makes a useful distinction between preverbs proper - these being affixes which are only used within the verbal complex, often but not always with locative functions - and 'determiners', which are nouns (sometimes adjectives) employed as preverbs; all such denominative preverbs will be noted below. The slot for preverbs within the verbal complex is between the pronominal affixes of columns II and III. Preverbs are usually used without need of any extra-verbal support from the postpositions and sometimes 'govern' an indirect object-, column II, affix, sometimes not. A number of preverbs manifest two forms - one ending in -a, the other in zero or schwa; the a-grade is employed in either an essive or allative (illative) sense, whilst the reduced//zero-grade is exclusively endowed with ablative (elative) functions. As a general rule, all preverbs in their essive role may appear as the root of a stative verb (i.e. as the complement of the copula). There are four verbal roots which must be used in company with a preverb, and which provide the means of expressing the following four notions, which are frequently associated with locative expressions:

(i) -la- = 'motion into'
(ii) -c'a- = 'convey into'
(iii) -c'(ə)- = 'motion from // out of'
(iv) -x(ə)- = 'convey out of // from'

It will be obvious from what was said above that the first two of these roots require the a-grade in their preverbs, whilst the last two roots demand the reduced// zero-grade (for details see Lomtatidze, 1952). As we shall see, some preverbs are of extremely limited occurrence.

2.1.1.5.1. general

(a) essive 'at'
The postpositions are a-q'ə̀, which as a noun means 'mouth', a-q'ə̀+n // a-q'+nə̀. These may be used with the copula, e.g.

a- vok'zàl a- q'ə̀(etc.) də-q'o-w+p'
the station it at   he be (stat.)
   'He is at the station'

N.B. that, if a-q'ə̀ is made the root of a stative verb, the meaning is drastically altered to give 'He is engaged on building the station' -

a-vok'zàl d- a+ q'ə̀-w+p'
        he it+in (stat.)

Such phrases cannot stand directly as NP-attributes, requiring the mediation of a relativised copula. We shall continue to signal this fact by writing [+rel].

Note that with some nouns (such as a-d°ə̀ 'field', a-kə̀ta 'village', a-c'ə̀x°a 'end') the adverbial suffix -n(ə) is used

alone in the general sense of 'at', e.g.

    a-   kə̀ta-   n
    the village in
      'in the village'

However, a-d°-nə̀ has the restricted meaning of 'outside', although it is also used to mean 'in the field'.

    (b) allative 'to'
    The postpositions are:
    -q'a 'towards' (for 'house', towns, countries, villages)
    ax' 'towards' (for other nouns)
    -nja//a-q'ə̀+nja 'upto'
    (à-ʂ+q'a is a Bzyp form, equivalent to ax')

Examples for these postpositions are:

    a-   y°nə̀- q'a // àq°'a- q'a s-co-   yt'
    (art.) house to   Sukhumi to I go   (fin.)
                               +(dyn.)
      'I am going home//to Sukhumi
    à- bna- [a-a]x' š°- aa+ là
    the wood it to   you come+(suff.)
      'Come on to the wood!'
    ħa- y°nə̀- nja // a- mʂən a- q'ə̀+nja š°-aa+là
    our house upto   the sea it upto
      'Come upto our house//upto the sea!'

Phrases incorporating these postpositions are both [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

    (c) ablative 'from'
    The choice of postpositions is
    -n+t°'(-əy), a-q'ə̀+n+t°'(-əy), à-x'ə+n+t°'(-əy),
  a-q'ə̀+n+t°'(-əy)

Examples for these postpositions are:

    a-   y°nə̀- n+t°'(-əy)//a-   c'a+ra- q'ə̀+n+t°'(-əy)//
    (art.) house from   (art.) learning from
    a-cə̀+k°'aba+ra-x'ə+n+t°'(-əy)//ày+za+ra-q'ə̀+n+t°'(-əy) d-
    bathing   from   meeting from   he
    aa- yt'
    come (fin.)
      'He came from home//from his lessons//from bathing//
      from the meeting'

Phrases incorporating them are [+ps-cl] and [+attr].

    As for preverbs, we may note -m- in the verb à-m-x-ra 'to take away from'. There is also the preverb -c'- 'from under' used in conjunction with the determiner -mp'ə- (cognate with a-nap'ə̀ 'hand') in a-mp'ə̀+c'-š°a-ra 'to fall from the hand'. Mention should also be made of the relational particle -c°(ə)- 'to the detriment of', which in some instances means little more than 'from', as in a-c°-ca-rà 'to escape/sneak away from'.

    (d) motion past 'past'
    This is only possible if one of the preverbs -v- or -ay°- (where -v- is the zero-grade of the preverb -va- 'by the side of'; see 2.1.1.5.11 below) is used in association with the root -s-, e.g.

    a- vok'zàl d- à+ v//[a]y°-s- we-   yt'
    the station he it (prev.) pass (dyn.) (fin.)
      'He passes/goes by the station'

If we desire simply to say 'He passed by' (i.e. without referring to the object passed), instead of the preverbs given in

the last example we shall have either the preverb -ya- or the determiner -my°a- (⇐ à-my°a 'road'), e.g.

    də̀-ya-sə-yt'// də-my°à-sə-yt'

2.1.1.5.2. proximate

    (a) essive 'near (to)'
    The postposition is (a-z)àayg°a(ra); the analysis of the form without the fossilised, relative affix of column II (-z-) seems to be:

    *a-   aa-   ay-   g°a-   ra
    (art.) (preverb) (reciprocal (?)heart (abstract)

An example of this postposition is:

    ħa- y°nə̀ (a-z)àayg°a(ra) də-n-   xò-   yt'
    our house near   he (prev.) live   (fin.)
                                +(dyn.)
      'He lives near our house'

Note the verb a-zàayg°a-xa-ra 'to approach', where -zaayg°a- acts as the verbal preverb, e.g.

    d- a+   zàayg°a-xe-   yt'
    he it+   near   become (fin.)
      (col.II)
      'He approached it'

The postposition is both [+cop] and [+rel].

    (b) allative 'near'
    The choice of postpositions is:
    àayg°a-nja, a-zàayg°ara-nja, a-zaayg°ara-q'ə̀+nja,
  a-zaayg°ara-q'ə̀+nja

An example for these postpositions is:

    à- bna (a-z)àayg°a(ra)-nja (etc.) yə- nè+y-t'
    the wood to-near   they go (fin.)
      'They went to near the wood'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

    (c) ablative 'from near'
    The choice of postpositions is:
    àayg°an+t°'(-əy), a-zàayg°ara-n+t°'(-əy),
  a-zàayg°ara-q'ə̀+n+t°'(-əy), a-zàayg°ara-q'ə̀+n+t°'(-əy)

An example for these postpositions is:

    a- bàħča (a-z)àayg°ara-q'ə̀+n+t°'(-əy) (etc.)
    the garden from-near
    ħ- d°ə̀+k°-   le-yt'
    we (compound prev.) go (fin.)
      'We set off from near the garden'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

    (d) motion past 'near'
    This is expressed by using one of the essive postpositions in conjunction with the verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra 'to pass', e.g.

    a- vok'zàl [a-]àayg°a d- à+ v//[a]y°-sə- yt'
    the station it near   he it+(prev.) pass (fin.)
      'He passed (near) the station'

2.1.1.5.3. interior

    (a) essive 'in(side)'
    The postposition is a-y°nə̀+c'q'a (cf. a-y°nə̀ 'house'), for which an example would be

a-   x°əč'-k°à   (a-   y°nə̀) a- y°nə̀+c'q'a yə-   x°màr-we-
the child (pl.)   the house it inside   they play (dyn.)
yt'
(fin.)
    'The children are playing inside (the house)'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].
    A variety of preverbs are used with the meaning 'in':
    (i) -la- (for any 'mass'), e.g.
    a- ̄lac'à   (∅-)sə̀+lo-w+p'
    the needle it me+in (stat.)
        'I've had the injection' (lit. 'The needle is in me')
    (ii) -ta- (for any enclosed or delimited area), e.g.
    à- ̄ṣta   s-to-w+p'
    the yard I in (stat.)
        'I'm in the yard'
    (iii) -c'ə//a- (determiner from a-c'ə̀ 'mouth')
    The reduced grade is used as the root of a stative verb in
association with masdars to indicate progressive aspect (cf.
2.1.3.3.2.1.5), e.g.

    à-   px'a-ra   d- a+ c'ə̀-w+p'
    (art.) read (masd.) he it+in (stat.)
        'He is reading' (lit. 'He is in reading')
    The a-grade of this determiner seems rather to mean 'on'
(cf. 2.1.1.5.8a), although one may mention at least one idiom
where the meaning is 'in', e.g.
    až°a ħ°à   à-   m- ba- t°'   (∅-)l+ c'o-
    word saying (art.)not see (gerundive) it her mouth-in
    w+p'
    (stat.)
        'She is a fine/eloquent speaker'
    (iv) -γra- (determiner from a-γrà 'stomach')
    This is used for reference to inside the body (particularly
in the area of the stomach), e.g.

    eylàgežwa (∅-) yə+ γrà-   n   Temə̀r a-   ša-
    mixed-up   it   him+inside (stat.past) T.   (art.) blood
    w-   rà
    make (masd.)
        'Temər had churned up within him (feelings of) revenge'
        (after Lomtatidze, 1952.86)

    a- x°əč'ə̀ d-   lə+ γrò- w+p'
                       he/she her+ inside (stat.)
        'The foetus is in her'
    (v) -k'/g- (+ c'a-) (for corners), e.g.
    a- ̄k°'àk'' ̄də-k' //g+c'a-t°'ò-w+p'
    the corner he in   sit (stat.)
        'He is sitting in the corner'
    (vi) -g°ə+la- (⇐ a-g°ə̀ 'heart' + preverb -la- 'in'), e.g.

    a- bambà   a- a°gbàn y- a+ g°ə̀+lo-w+p'
    the cotton-wool the mattress it it+in   (stat.)
        'The cotton-wool is inside the mattress'

cf. -g°ə+d-, where -d- is explained under 11a below, as in the
verb a-g°ə̀+d-k'ə̀-la-ra 'to embrace, kiss'.
    (vii) -x°+la- (⇐ à-x°da 'neck' + preverb -la- 'in'), e.g.
    yə- nac°à   (∅-)yə̀+ x°+lo-w+p'
    his finger it him+in   (stat.)
        'He's got his finger in his mouth'
(viii) -y°na- (determiner from a-y°nə̀ 'house') (used of houses),
e.g. r-   an   a- y°nə̀ də- y°nà- n
    their mother the house she house (stat.past)
                                      (= in)
        'Their mother was in the house' (from Lomtatidze, 1952.
    86)
    (ix) -k'ə+la- (used for narrow openings), e.g.
    a- ̄ħ°ə̀nap a- k'ə̀lħara yə-k'ə̀+lo-w+p'
    the mouse   its hole   it in   (stat.)
        'The mouse is in its hole'
    (b) allative 'into'
    The postposition remains a-y°nə̀+c'q'a, for which an example
would be
    a- vok'zàl a- y°nə̀+c'q'a də-y°nà-   le-yt'
    the station it to-inside he (prev.) go (fin.)
                                      (= in)
        'He went inside the station'
Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].
    All the preverbs presented above are used with allative
functions in association with appropriate verbal roots.
    (c) elative 'out of'
    The postpositions are:
    -n+t°'(-əy), a-y°nə̀+c'q'a-n+t°'(-əy)
An example for these postpositions is:
    a- k°'alàpə-n+t°'(-əy) (etc.) yə-tə̀-   z-ge- yt'
    the box   from-inside   it (prev.) I take (fin.)
                                      (= from-in)
        'I took it out of the box'
Phrases incorporating the first alternative, -n+t°'(-əy), are
[+cop] and [+attr], whereas those incorporating the latter are
[+ps-cl] and [+attr].
    The most common way of expressing the idea 'out of' is to
use the zero-grade of one of the preverbs set out above. For
the notion 'out (of doors)' note the association -d°ə+l-
(⇐ a-d°ə̀ 'field' + zero-grade of -la- 'in'), e.g.
    a- ̄y°nə̀ də-d°ə̀+l-c'ə-   yt'
    the house he out   go/come (fin.)
        'He went/came out of the house'
Compare with this the following pair of sentences:
    a- y°nə̀ à- ṣta- x'   də-d°ə̀+l-c'ə-yt'
    the house the yard into
        'He went/came out of the house into the yard'
    a- y°nə̀- n+t°'(-əy) à- ṣta də-tà- l-   t'
    the house out-of   the yard he into go/come out (fin.)
        'He went/came out of the house into the yard'
    (d) motion past 'through'
    If the object passed through is a house, we shall have the
preverb -y°nə- associated with the verbal root -s-, e.g.
    a- ̄y°nə̀ də-y°nə̀-   sə- yt'
    the house he (prev.) pass (fin.)
        'He passed through the house'

Otherwise the preverb used will be -l-, zero-grade of -la-,
e.g. a- bnà // à- bna- g°ta d- à+ l- sə- yt'
  the wood the wood centre he it+(prev.) pass (fin.)
    'He passed through the wood // centre of the wood'

2.1.1.5.4. exterior

(a) essive 'outside'
The postposition is à-ntəc', for which an example would be
  a- x°əčə̀-k°à à- ṣta à- ntəc' yə- x°màr-we- yt'
  the child (pl.) the yard it outside they play (dyn.)(fin.)
    'The children are playing outside the yard'
Phrases built on it are [+cop] and [+rel].
(b) allative 'up to'
The postposition is à-ntəc'ə-nja, for which an example would be
  à- ṣta à- ntəc'ə-nja b- ne+y
  the yard it upto(-outside) you go
    'Go upto(-outside) the yard!'
Phrases built on it are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].
(c) ablative 'away from'
The postposition is à-ntəc'ə-n+t°'(-əy), for which an example would be
  à- ṣta à- ntəc'ə-n+t°'(-əy) yə- bžə̀ (∅-)aa- y-
  the yard it from(-outside) his voice it (prev.) he
  r- gè- yt'
  cause hear (fin.)
    'He shouted from outside the yard'
Phrases incorporating it are [+cop] and [+attr].
(d) motion past 'past'
The only possible means of saying this is to use the verb
à-v//[a]y°-s-ra 'to pass'.

2.1.1.5.5. anterior

(a) essive 'in front of'
The choice of postpositions is:
àpx′a (as a noun this means 'front'), a-c'+àpx′a, (rare are a-p+nə̀ and a-c̣+p+nə̀)
Examples of these postpositions are:
  a- y°n- a- c'+àpx′a // a-y°n-[a-]àpx′a də-
  the house it in-front-of it in-front-of he
  t°'ò-w+p'
  sit (stat.)
    'He is sitting in front of the house'
  Àaljga a- p+nə̀ //a- c̣+p+nə̀ də-n- xò- yt'
  A. it in-front-of it he (prev.) live (fin.)
                                              +(dyn.)
    'He lives in front of (i.e. on the bank of) the river Aaljga'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].
The relevant preverbs are: -pə(+ra)- and -pə+n-, e.g.
  də-s+ pə+ra- gə̀lo- w+p' // də-s+pə+n- gə̀lo-w+p'
  he me+in-front stand (stat.) in-front
    'He's standing in front of me'
A special determiner is used for being close in front of an old-fashioned open fireplace, namely -c̣h°a (⇐ a-c̣h°a 'front of the fireplace'), as in a-c̣h°à-la-ra 'to approach the fireplace'.

(b) allative 'in front of'
The choice of postpositions is:
  àpx′a, àpx′a-nja, a-c'+àpx′a-nja, àpx′a-q'a, àpx′a-q'ə-nja, a-c'+àpx′a-q'a, a-c'+àpx′a-q'ə-nja
An example for these postpositions would be:
  a- y°n- [a-]àpx′a (etc.) š°- ne+y
  the house it in-front-of you go
    'Go (upto) in front of the house!'
Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].
An example of the preverb -pə- would be (Dumézil,1975.113):
  sə-w+ pə̀- lo- yt'
  I you+before go (fin.)
                +(dyn.)
    'I'm going to meet you'
(c) ablative 'from in front of'
The choice of postpositions is:
  àpx′a-n+t°'(-əy), a-c'+àpx′a-n+t°'(-əy), àpx′a-q'ə+n+t°'(-əy), a-c'àpx′a-q'ə+n+t°'(-əy)
An example for these postpositions would be:
  à- ṣta [a-]àpx′a-n+t°'(-əy)(etc.) š°- aa+y
  the yard it from-in-front-of you come
    'Come away from in front of the yard!'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].
An example of the zero-grade of the preverb -pə+ra- would be:
  a- š°q°'ə̀ sarà yə-s+ pə̀+r- ga
  the book me it me+from-before take
    'Take the book away from in front of me!'
Note the zero-grade of the determiner in a-c̣h°ə̀-c'-ra 'to go away from the fireplace'.
(d) motion past 'in front of'
This is only possible by using one of the essive postpositions in conjunction with one of the verbs à-v//[a]y°-s-ra or à-ya-s-ra; for passing a fireplace we shall have a-c̣h°ə̀-s-ra. (Before we pass on to the next section we may perhaps pause to mention the preverb -px′a-, which bears an obvious formal resemblance to the postposition àpx′a, which has just been examined. The preverb in question is found with the root -k'- 'to hold' to produce a verb meaning 'to hide', e.g.
  à- x°aax°ət-c°a à- mat°a (∅-) px′à- r- k'ə- yt'
  the merchant (pl.) the goods them (prev.) they hold (fin.)
    'The merchants hid the goods')

2.1.1.5.6. posterior

(a) essive 'behind'
The postposition is à-šta+x′ (cf. à-šta 'track, footprint'),
e.g. a- y°n- à- šta+x′ də-q'o-w+p'
  the house it behind he be (stat.)
    'He is behind the house'
Phrases incorporating it are [+cop] and [+rel].
The corresponding determiner is -šta-, e.g.
  də-sə̀+što- w+p'
  he my+track (stat.)
    'He's looking for me // following me // on my track'
(b) allative 'behind'
The two postpositions are:
  à-šta+x′ and à-šta+x′ə-nja

An example for these two postpositions would be:
```
a-y°n-à-šta+x'(ə-njə) bə- cà
                       you go
```
'Go to//upto behind the house!'
Phrases incorporating them are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

Note the preverb -x'a- in such verbs as a-x'à-ps-ra ' to look back/behind', and a-x'à-ħ°-ra 'to turn round/back'.

(c) ablative 'from behind'
The two postpositions are:
```
à-šta+x'ə-n+t°'(-əy) and à-šta+x'+q'a-n+t°'(-əy)
```
An example for these postpositions would be:
```
a-y°n-à-šta+x'ə-n+t°'(-əy) (etc.) d- aa-      c°ə̀r-
                                  he (prev.) (prev.)

c'ə-      yt'
move-out (fin.)
```
'He suddenly appeared from behind the house'
Phrases built on them are [+cop] and [+attr].

The determiner is, as expected, the zero-grade of the essive-allative -šta-, e.g.
```
yə-sə̀+št-         ga
it me+from-behind take
```
'Take it away from behind me!'

A few verbs have the preverb -x'(ə)-, but, if this is the zero-grade of -x'a- given above, all trace of its primary sense of 'from behind' has become lost, e.g.
```
à-  x°əra a-     iòd   (∅-)a+ x'ə- y- šə-    yt'
the wound (art.) iodine it  it+over he smear (fin.)
```
'He smeared iodine over his wound'

(d) motion past 'behind'
This is signalled by associating either à-šta+x' or à-šta+x' à-la with the verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra 'to pass', e.g.
```
yə̀- šta+x' (à-la) də-yə̀+ v- sə-   yt'   // də-y+ àyo°-
him behind        he him+by pass (fin.)    he him+by

sə-   yt'
pass (fin.)
```
'He passed by behind him'

2.1.1.5.7. superior

(a) essive 'above/over'
The postposition is a-xə̀+x' (cf. a-xə̀ 'head'), for which an example would be:
```
a-  y°nə̀  a- xə̀+x' à-  ž°y°an ə̀- q'o-w+p'
the house it above the sky    it be  (stat.)
```
'The sky is above the house'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

There is also the determiner -xa- (⇐ a-xə̀ ⇐ *a-xa 'head'), as the next example shows:
```
sarà a-  ħàrg'     (∅-)s+ xa-  gə̀lo- w+p'
me   the umbrella it   me+above stand (stat.)
```
'The umbrella stands above me'

(b) allative 'above'
The postposition is a-xə̀+x'(ə-njə), e.g.
```
a-y°nə̀ a- xə̀+x'(ə-njə) yə-prə̀-yt'
       it above  upto  it fly (fin.)
```
'It flew to//upto above the house'
Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

The determiner -xa- is also used with appropriate verbal roots.

(c) ablative 'from above'
The postposition is a-xə̀+x'ə-n+t°'(-əy), e.g.
```
a-y°n-a- xə̀+x'ə-n+t°'(-əy) yə-prə̀-yt'
         it from-above
```
'It flew from above the house'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

An example of the zero-grade of the determiner is:
```
a-  ħàrg'     (∅-)sə+x-      gà
the umbrella it  me+from-above take
```
'Take the umbrella away from above me!'

(d) motion past 'over'
This is expressed by the zero-grade of the determiner -xa- plus the appropriate verbal root, e.g.
```
a-  c'ə̀+s (∅-)s+ xə-  pr+ àa-      yt'
the bird it  me+over fly+(suffix) (fin.)
```
'The bird flies over me'
```
a-  š°q°'ə̀ a-  q°'àrd° y- a+ x-   sə̀-r-   š°tə- yt'
the book   the chair   it it+over I cause (root) (fin.)
                                            =(throw)
```
'I threw the book over the chair'

2.1.1.5.8. superior-contact

(a) essive 'on'
The postposition is à-k°+c°a, e.g.
```
à-  c'la à- k°+c°a də̀-q'o-w+p'
the tree it on       he be (stat.)
```
'He is on top of the tree'
Phrases incorporating it are [+cop] and [+rel].

However, the most usual way of expressing this local relation is to employ a preverb:

(i) -k°(ə)- as in
```
àyš°a      yə̀-k°ə-w+p'
the-table it on (stat.)
```
'It is on the table'

(ii) -n- (of flat, horizontal surfaces) as in
```
a-  sàan  y- a+ nə̀-w+p'
the plate it it+on (stat.)
```
'It is on the plate'

(iii) -xa- (for the head) as in
```
a-  xə̀lpa (∅-)s+ xo-w+p'
the hat   it  me+on (stat.)
```
'I'm wearing my hat'

(iv) -cə+ž°- (for horses - cf. a-cə̀ 'horse') as in
```
a-  cə̀  də-cə̀+ž°ə-   w+p'
the horse he (horse)on (stat.)
```
'He's on the horse'

(v) -d°ə+k°- (lit. = 'field-on'). The original sense has been lost as is clear from:
```
wə̀s-      da=    ħ°ə̀s-da      də-d°ə̀+ k°ə-w+p'
business without (adapted      he field+on (stat.)
                 reduplication)
```
'He aimlessly fritters away his time'
Two further idioms in which this compound preverb occurs are: firstly, if a mother notices that her child has evidently been going around for some while without its shoes (regardless of

whether the child is out of doors or not), she may say

    èymaa-da   də-   d°ə̀+k°ə-w+p'
    shoe without (s)he   (stat.)
       'He/She doesn't have his/her shoes on!'

Secondly, if a mother, for instance, wants one of her children to go and do something for her but the child shows no inclination to break off what he is already doing, then a mother may say by way of an exasperated reproach

    nas   š°ə-d°ə̀+k°ə-z
    then you   (imperative)
       'O.K. - don't trouble yourself!'

  (b) allative 'on(to)'

The postposition is à-k°+c°a-nja, e.g.

    à-c'la à-k°+c°a-nja d- ne+y-t'
                      he go (fin.)
       'He went upto the top of the tree'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

Once again, this notion would most conveniently be expressed by one of the above-preverbs, of which we give here just a single example:

    a-   c̣ə̀   də-c̣ə̀+   ž°- lo-   yt'
    the horse he (horse)onto go   (fin.)
                       +(dyn.)
       'He is mounting the horse'

(Note again the loss of the original meaning of the compound-preverb in the verb:

    də-d°ə̀+k°ə-r-   c'ə- yt'
    him(prev.) they send (fin.)
       'They sent him')

  (c) ablative 'off'

The postposition is à-k°+c°a-n+t'(-əy), e.g.

    à-c'la à-k°+c°a-n+t'(-əy) də-lb+   àa-   yt'
                         he come-down+(suff.) (fin.)
       'He came down from on top of the tree'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

As expected, the preverbs are most commonly used here, although -xa- is the only one that has the a-grade : reduced // zero-grade opposition, e.g.

    a- xə̀lpa (∅-)yə+ xə̀-   x
    the hat   it him+from-on take
       'Take the hat off his head!'

  (d) motion past 'over'

If the postposition à-k°+c°a is used, then it must be accompanied by a preverb in the verbal complex, e.g.

    a- y°n- à- k°+c°a   də-k°-sə- yt'
    the house it on-top-of he on pass (fin.)
       'He went (climbed) over the house'

cf. a- y°n- a- xə̀b də-k°-sə-yt'
    the house its roof
       'He went over the roof of the house' (i.e. where there is no postposition present)

Other examples would be:

    a- mc' a- sàan y- a+ nə- nə̀q°'a-lo-   yt'
    the fly the plate it it+over walk (suffix) (fin.)
                                   +(dyn.)
       'The fly is walking over the plate'

BUT a- mc' a- c̣ə̀   à- bɣa yə-k°-nə̀q°'o-yt'
    the fly the horse its back it on walk   (fin.)
                           +(dyn.)
       'The fly is walking over the horse's back'

and a- c'à wə- xə̀ yə-k°-nə̀q°'o- yt'
    the louse your head it on walk   (fin.)
                       +(dyn.)
       'The louse is walking over your head'

where we see that -k°- is used instead of c̣ə+ž°- and -x- respectively in the last two examples.

2.1.1.5.8a. surface

  (a) essive 'on'

Note the four preverbs:

(i) -ša- (for the feet), e.g.

    àymaa   (∅-) sə̀+šo-w+p'
    shoe(s) them me+on (stat.)
       'I'm wearing shoes'

(ii) -š°(ə)- (for clothes on the body), e.g.

    yə-s+ š°ə-w+p'
    it me+on (stat.)
       'I am wearing it'

(iii) -c̣'a- (cf. 2.1.1.5.3iii) (for objects on the face, this being a determiner from a-c̣'ə̀ 'mouth', and for fruit on the tree), e.g.

    a-   pac'à   (∅-)yə+ c̣'ò-   w+p'
    (art.) moustache it his+face-on (stat.)
       'He has a moustache'

(iv) -cra- (of fire), e.g.

    a- y°nə̀ a- mc (∅-)a+ crò-w+p'
    the house the fire it it+on
       'The house is on fire' (lit. 'The fire is on the house')

  (b) allative 'on(to)'

The same four preverbs as above are used with appropriate roots.

  (c) ablative 'off'

The same preverbs, all in their reduced//zero-grade, are used with appropriate verbal roots, e.g.

    àymaa   (∅-)wə+ š-   x
    shoe(s) it you+from-on take
       'Take off your shoes!'

  (d) motion past 'over, across'

Either the familiar verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra or two additional preverbs may be used:

(i) -r- (used for crossing water or bridges), e.g.

    a- x°əč'ə̀ a- jə̀ // à- cha   də̀- rə- z-ge-   yt'
    the child the water   the bridge him over I carry (fin.)
       'I carried the child over//across the water//bridge'

(ii) -ya- (used for flat objects), e.g.

    à- my°a də̀-ya-   sə-   yt'
    the road he (prev.) cross (fin.)
       'He crossed the road'

2.1.1.5.9. inferior

  (a) essive 'below, under'

The postposition is à-c'a+q'a, e.g.

```
---    w-   èymaa-k°a    a-  k'arwàt à- c'a+q'a yə̀- q'o-w+p'
       your shoe (pl.) the bed      it under    they be (stat.)
         'Your shoes are under the bed'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].
   The relevant preverb is -c'a-, e.g.
```
     a-  š°q°'ə̀ a-  st'òl yə̀-c'o-  w+p'
     the book    the table it under (stat.)
       'The book is under the table'
```
N.B. that, if the object is tall (such as a tree or house) so
that one may be under and alongside it simultaneously, the pre-
verb will be -mc'a-, e.g.
```
     à-  c'la d̄- ā+ mc'a- t°'o-w+p'
     the tree he it+under sit  (stat.)
       'He is sitting under the tree'
```
   (b) allative 'below, under'
   The postposition is à-c'a+q'a-nja, e.g.
```
     a-  x°ə̌'ə̀ a-   k'arwàt à-  c'a+q'a-nja də-h̊°azè-yt'
     the child the bed     it to-under     he crawl (fin.)
       'The child crawled under the bed'
```
Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].
   The sole preverb is again -c'a-.
   (c) ablative 'from under'
   The postposition is à-c'a+q'a-n+t°'(-əy), e.g.
```
     a-  x°ə̌'ə̀ a-  k'arwàt à- c'a+q'a-n+t°'(-əy) də-c°ə̀r-
     the child the bed     it from-under          he (prev.)
     c'ə-      yt'
     come-out (fin.)
       'The child suddenly appeared from under the bed'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].
   The expected preverb is -c'(ə)-.
   (d) motion past 'under'
   This is expressed by the preverb -c'- plus the root -s-, e.g.
```
     a-  x°ə̌'ə̀ àyš°a      də̀-c'-  sə-  yt'
     the baby    the-table he under pass (fin.)
       'The baby passed under the table'
```

2.1.1.5.10. inferior-contact

   As 2.1.1.5.9 above.

2.1.1.5.11. lateral

   (a) essive 'beside'
   The two postpositions are à-vara (as a noun = 'side, flank')
and à-vara-c̣'ə, e.g.
```
     sə̀-vara(-c̣'ə) də-t°'ò-w+p'
     me beside      he sit (stat.)
       'He is sitting beside me'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].
   There are two preverbs: -va- and -d-, which latter is also
used for objects immediately in front of one such that they are
actually in contact with one (cf. below under (12)), e.g.
```
     də-sə̀+va-     t°'o-w+p'   // də-sə+d-    · t°'à+lo-
     he me+beside sit (stat.)               beside     (suffix)
     w+p'
     (stat.)
       'He is sitting beside me'
```

   (b) allative 'beside'
   The choice of postpositions is:
     à-vara-x', à-vara-nja, à-vara-c̣'ə-nja, à-vara-q'ə-nja,
     à-vara-x'ə-nja
An example for these postpositions would be:
```
     sə̀-vara-x'   (etc.) d- aa+sk''è-yt'
     me to-beside         he move      (fin.)
       'He moved toward (beside) me'
```
Phrases incorporating them are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].
   The preverbs are again -va- and -d-.
   (c) ablative 'from beside'
   The choice of postpositions is:
     à-vara-n+t°'(-əy), à-vara-x'-t°, à-vara-x'ə-n+t°'(-əy)
An example for these postpositions would be:
```
     a-  y°nə̀  à- vara-n+t°'(-əy) (etc.) yə-z-bè- yt'
     the house it from-beside            it I see (fin.)
       'I saw it from beside the house'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].
   Of the above-preverbs -va- naturally shows its zero-grade,
e.g.
```
     yə-sə̀+v-          x
     it me+from-beside take
       'Take it from my side!'
```
(yə-sə̀+d-x also has this meaning, but it also means 'Take it
(sc. anything that is touching me) away from me!').
   (d) motion past 'past'
   The postposition à-vara is used in conjunction with the verb
à-v//[a]y°-s-ra.

2.1.1.5.12. lateral-contact

   (a) essive 'on (side of)'
   (i) -d(ə)- is used for objects leaning against a vertical
plane, e.g.
```
     s- nap'ə̀ a-  tjàmc y- a+ də̀- w+p'
     my hand  the wall  it it+on (stat.)
       'My hand/arm is (resting) on/against the wall'
```
   (ii) -k'ə+d(ə)- combines the previous preverb -d(ə)- and the
element -k'ə-; it is used for objects hanging on a wall when
the hook or string by which they are suspended is hidden from
view. Use of the postpositions a-c̣'ə̀//a-q'+nə̀ is optional,
e.g.
```
     a-  sàrk''a a-  tjàmc (a- c̣'ə̀//a- q'+nə̀) yə-k'ə̀+də-w+p'
     the mirror  the wall   it at    it at    it on    (stat.)
       'The mirror is on the wall'
```
Note that with this preverb the mirror need not in fact be
hanging on the wall at all, it could be glued there. Contrast
this and the following preverb.
   (iii) -k'+na- is used for suspending objects in general. When
the object is suspended against a vertical plane, this preverb
will generally be used if the means by which the object is sus-
pended are not hidden. The vertical plane on which the object
is suspended is shown by one of the postpositions a-c̣'ə̀//
a-q'+nə̀, e.g.
```
     à-  c°x'a a-  tjàmc a- c̣'ə̀//a-  q'+nə̀ yə-k'+nà-h̊a-  w+p'
     the horn  the wall  it at    it at   it on   hang (stat.)
       'The (drinking-)horn is hanging on the wall'
```

(iv) -(k'ə+)d-k'+na(-ħa+la-); such a compounding of preverbs may be used (together with the root + suffix -ħa+la-) for any object that is suspended against a vertical plane, regardless of whether or not the means of suspension are apparent. The postpositions a-c'ə//a-q'nə are optional if the element -k'ə- appears, but if this element is absent, then these postposi- tions will not be used, e.g.

```
à-  k''anǰa a-  tjàmc (a- c'ə//a-  q'+nə) yə-k'ə+d-k'+nà-
the doll     the wall   it at   it at     it on
ħa+lo-        w+p'
hang+(suff.) (stat.)
```

or

```
à-k''anǰa a-tjàmc y- à+ d-k'+na-ħa+lo-w+p'
                       it it+on
```

'The doll is hanging on the wall'

(v) -q°'+n(ə)- is used for objects clinging to a vertical plane (such as vines climbing on a tree), and for anything vertically suspended from a person's belt, e.g.

```
a-  jax°à à-  c'la y- a+ q°'+nə-  w+p'
the vine  the tree it it+on/round (stat.)
```

'The vine is on/round the tree'

```
àħ°a       (ø-)yə+ q°'+nə-w+p'
the-sword it  him+on     (stat.)
```

'He is wearing his sword'

(b) allative 'on(to)'
The above-preverbs are used with appropriate verbal roots, e.g.

```
a-  sàrk''a a-  tjàmc (a-c'ə /a- q'+nə) yə-k'ə+d-k'+nà-
the mirror  the wall   it at   it at     it onto
s-ħa+  lo-      yt'
I hang (suffix) (fin.)
       +(dyn.)
```

or

```
a-sàrk''a a-tjàmc y-a+ d-  k'+nà-s-ħa+lo-yt'
                      it+onto
```

'I hang the mirror on the wall'
However, if the verbal root is -c'a-, then the preverb -k'ə+də- reappears, e.g.

```
a-sàrk''a a-tjàmc yə-k'ə+də-s-c'o-    yt'
                  it onto   I put    (fin.)
                                     +(dyn.)
```

'I place the mirror on the wall' (sc. other than by hanging it there)
N.B. the following example:

```
a-  mašìna (ø-)sə+jə+va-         sə- yt'
the car     it me+(compound prev.) hit (fin.)
```

'The car hit me lightly (on the side)', where the ele- ment preceding -va- may be related to a-jàra 'waist'.

(c) ablative 'off'
The above-preverbs are used with appropriate roots; the zero-grade of -k'+na- will, of course, appear here, e.g.

```
à-  c°x'a a-  tjàmc (a- c'ə-n+t°'(-əy) ·//
the horn  the wall   it from-on
a- q'ə-n+t°'(-əy)) yə-k'+nə-  s-x-  we-  yt'
it from-on         it from-on I take (dyn.) (fin.)
```

'I take the horn off the wall'

(N.B. that the (ablative forms of the) postpositions are not essential here as were the non-ablative, essive forms in the corresponding essive structures given above).

(d) motion past 'over, along'
This will be expressed by the preverb -d- plus a suitable root of motion, e.g.

```
a-  mc' a-  tjàmc y- a+ də-  nəq°'a+lo-    yt'
the fly the wall   it it+over walk+  (suff.) (fin.)
                                             +(dyn.)
```

'The fly is walking over/along the wall'

2.1.1.5.13. citerior

(a) essive 'on this side of'
The postposition is aa+rc°, e.g.

```
a-  my°a-dəw [a-]àa+rc°        yə- n-     xò-  yt'
the road big  it on-this-side-of they (prev.) live (fin.)
                                                    +(dyn.)
```

'They live on this side of the main road'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

(b) allative 'to this side of'
The two postpositions are aa+rc°-q'à and aa+rc°ə-nja, e.g.

```
a-  my°a-dəw [a-]àa+rc°-q'a        n-      xa- rà
the road big  it to-this-side-of (prev.) live (masd.)
də-ya-        sə-    yt'
he (prev.)  cross (fin.)
```

'He crossed to this side of the main road to live'

```
a-my°a-dəw [a-]àa+rc°ə-nja š°- aa+sk''à
                                you move
```

'Move upto this side of the main road!'
Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

(c) ablative 'from this side of'
The sole postposition is aa+rc°ə-n+t°'(-əy), e.g.

```
a-  jəyas [a-]àa+rc°ə-n+t°'(-əy) nə+rc°-q'a   də-jsè-
the river  it from-this-side-of  to-that-side he swim
yt'
(fin.)
```

'He swam from this side of the river to that side'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

(d) motion past 'on this side of'
This is expressed by a combination of the postposition aa+rc° and the verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra.

2.1.1.5.14. citerior-contact

(a) essive 'on this side of'
This is expressed by means of the literal equivalent of the English phrase 'on this side of' plus a verb containing the appropriate preverb according to the criteria given above under (12) for lateral-contact, e.g.

```
a-  tjàmc abrà-x'+t°'əy a-     gàn  a- c'ə/a- q'+nə/ax'  /
the wall  this(adj.)   (art.) side it on   it on    it-on
à- la yə-k'ə+də-w+p'/yə-k'+nà-ħa-  w+p' (etc...)
it on it on          it on    hang (stat.)
```

'It is (hanging) on this side of the wall'

(b) allative 'to this side of'
Exactly the same extra-verbal phrases as given above under 'essive' are used together with the appropriate verb selected

from those set out under (12b) above.

(c) ablative 'from this side of'

This is expressed by abrà-x'+t°'əy a-gàn a-c'ə̀-n+t°'(-əy)/ a-q'ə̀-n+t°'(-əy)/ax'ə̀-n+t°'(-əy) 'from this side', plus the appropriate verb from those presented under (12c) above.

(d) motion past 'on this side'

This is achieved by a combination of the phrase abrà-x'+t°'əy a-gàn (a-c'ə̀ etc...) 'on this side' plus the verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra.

2.1.1.5.15. ulterior

(a) essive 'beyond'

The postposition is nə+rc°, e.g.

| a- | jə̀yas | nə+rc° | | yə- | n- | xò- | | yt' |
| the river | on-that-side-of | | they | (prev.) | live | | (fin.) |

+(dyn.)

'They live on that side of/beyond the river'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

(b) allative 'beyond'

The two postpositions are nə̀+rc°-q'a and nə̀+rc°ə-nja, e.g.

a-jə̀yas nə̀+rc°-q'a   n-   xa- rà   də̀-ya-
         to-that-side-of (prev.) live (masd.) he (prev.)
sə-   yt'
cross (fin.)

'He crossed to that side of the river to live'

a-jə̀yas nə̀+rc°ə-nja   yə- na+sk''ə̀-yt'
         upto-that-side-of they move   (fin.)

'They moved off upto that side of the river'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

(c) ablative 'from beyond'

The postposition is nə̀+rc°ən+t°'(-əy),([+cop] and]+attr.])
e.g. a- my°a-də̀w nə̀+rc°ə-n+t°'(-əy) y-   aa- yt'
     the road big from-that-side-of they come (fin.)

'They came from the other side of//beyond the main road'

(d) motion past 'beyond'

This is expressed by a combination of the postposition nə+rc° plus the verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra.

2.1.1.5.16. ulterior-contact

The same situation applies as we described above under (14), with the difference that in place of abrà-x'+t°'əy 'this(adj.)' we shall here have either wəbrà-x'+t°'əy or nàq'-t°'əy 'that (adj.).

2.1.1.5.17. medial

(a) essive 'between (2)'

The postposition is a-bžà+ra, e.g.

y°ə-c'là-k' rə- bžà+ra yə-ʒə̀- w+p'
2   tree I   them between it bury (stat.)

'It is buried between the two trees'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+rel].

The sole preverb is -bža-, e.g.

a- š°q°'ə̀ a- tjàmcə̀-y a- divànə-y yə-rə+ bžà- ħa-
the book the wall & the divan & it them+between fall
yt'
(fin.)   'The book fell between the wall and the divan'

N.B. that the compound preverb -v+c'a-, although meaning 'behind', implies 'in a narrow space between two objects', e.g.

a-š°q°'ə̀ a-divàn y- à+ v+c'a-   ħa- yt'
                it it+behind   fall (fin.)
                    (& between something)

'The book fell behind the divan (sc. between divan and wall)'

(b) allative 'between (2)'

The two postpositions are a-bžà+ra-x' and a-bžà+ra-nja, e.g.

y°ə-c'là-k' rə-bžà+ra-x' (etc.) š°- na+sk''à
2   tree 1   them   you move

'Move to between the two trees'

Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].

The preverbs are the same as under the heading 'essive'.

(c) ablative 'from between (2)'

The choice of postpositions is:

a-bžà+ra-x'-t°', a-bžà+ra-n+t°'(-əy),
a-bžà+ra-c'ə-n+t°'(-əy), a-bžà+ra-q'ə-n+t°'(-əy)

An example for these postpositions would be:

y°ə-c'là-k' rə-bžà+ra-x'-t°' (etc.) y-   aa- c°ə̀r-
                               they (prev.) (prev.)
c'ə-   yt'
come-out (fin.)

'They suddenly appeared from between the two trees'

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

Both preverbs appear in their zero-grades, -bžə- and -v+c'ə-.

(d) motion past 'between (2)'

This will be expressed by combining the preverb -bžə- with the root -s-, e.g.

d- rə+ bžə̀-   s- we-   yt'
he them+between pass (dyn.) (fin.)

'He's walking/passing between them'

of, if the situation is as outlined above, we may have the preverb -v+c'a-, e.g.

y- a+ v+c'a-   nə̀q°'o- yt'
it it+behind   walk   (fin.)
    (& between something) +(dyn.)

'He walks behind it (sc. & between this and something else)'

2.1.1.5.18. medial

(a) essive 'among (3+)'

The postposition is a-y°nə̀+c'q'a (cf. 2.1.1.5.3 for all relevant information about this postposition), e.g.

à- č'k°'ən à- c'la-k°a   rə- y°nə̀+c'q'a də̀-q'a-za+r
the child   the tree (pl.) them among   he be if
(∅-)q'a+là-   p'
it happen   (Fut.I)
    (prev. + root)

'The child may be among the trees'

However, in the following expression a-bžà+ra (cf.2.1.1.5.17) is also admissible

arə̀y àž°abž ħarà ħà-pš-y°ə-   k' ħa-y°nə̀+c'q'a //
this news   us   us 4 (human) 1 us among
ħa-bžà+ra yə-n-   xà-   r- o- w+p'
us among it (prev.) remain if be (stat.)

'Let this news remain amongst//between the four of us!'

The preverb is -la- (once again, cf. 2.1.1.5.3 for all rele-
vant information about this preverb), e.g.
    à- k''anǰa q'əc eg'ərt à-   k''anǰa-k°a yə-rə̀+ lo-
    the doll   new other (art.) toy   (pl.) it them+among
    w+p'
    (stat.)
        'The new doll is amongst the other toys'

2.1.1.5.19. circumferential

(a) essive 'round'
The postposition is à-k°'+ṣa, e.g.
    a- x°əč'-k°à   a- y°n- à- k°'+ṣa yə- x°màr-we-   yt'
    the child (pl.) the house it around they play (dyn.)(fin.)
        'The children are playing around the house'
Phrases incorporating it are [+cop] and [+rel]. One may com-
pare the verbs à-k°'-ṣa-ra 'to go round' and à-k°'ə-r-ṣa-ra 'to
place round', where the element -k°'(ə)- is clearly a preverb,
e.g. a- mǰərxà a-   g°àra (∅-)à+ k°'ə- y- r-   ṣe-   yt'
     the yard   (art.) fence it it+round he cause go(?) (fin.)
        'He placed a fence round the yard'
For an object encircling the human waist there is a special
preverb - mγa-, e.g.
    a-   maq'à (∅-)sə̀+mγo- w+p'
    (art.) belt it me+round (stat.)
        'I am wearing my belt'
(b) allative 'round'
The choice of postpositions is:
    à-k°'+ṣa-q'a, à-k°'+ṣa-x', à-k°'+ṣa-nja
Examples for these postpositions would be:
    a- x°əč'-k°à   a- y°n- à- k°'+ṣa-x' //a-y°n-à-k°'+ṣa-
    the child (pl.) the house it to-around
    q'a x°màr-ra   yə- cè-yt'
    play (masd.) they go (fin.)
        'The children went to play around the house'
    a-x°əč'-k°à à- ṣta à- k°'+ṣa-nja y-   aa- yt'
                 the yard it upto-around they come (fin.)
        'The children came upto around the yard'
Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+rel].
    The preverb -mγa- is naturally used in appropriate contexts,
e.g. a-maq'à (∅-)sə̀+mγa- s-c'o-   yt'
        it me+round I put   (fin.)
                      +(dyn.)
        'I'm putting my belt on'
(c) ablative 'from round'
The choice of postpositions is:
    à-k°'+ṣa-n+t°'(-əy), à-k°'+ṣa-q'ə-n+t°'(-əy),
    à-k°'+ṣa-x'-t°', à-k°'+ṣa-x'ə-n+t°'(-əy),
    à-k°'+ṣa-q'ə-n+t°'(-əy)
An example for these postpositions would be:
    a- x°əč'-k°à a- y°n- à- k°'+ṣa-x'-t°' (etc.) eybà-
    the child (pl.)the house it from-around   each-other
    r-   y°ə-yt'
    cause run (fin.)
        'The children ran off from around the house'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

The preverb, in appropriate contexts, is -mγə-, e.g.
    a-maq'à (∅-)sə̀+mγə-   s-x-   we-   yt'
             it me+from-round I take (dyn.) (fin.)
        'I'm removing my belt'
(d) motion past 'round'
    This is expressed by a combination of the postposition
à-k°'+ṣa and the verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra. But note that, if one
were ever called upon to mention a flea, for example, crawling
round someone's waist, the verb used would be a-k°-nə̀q°'a-ra
'to walk on', where the preverb is -k°- not -mγa-.

2.1.1.5.20. citerior-anterior

(a) essive 'opposite'
The two possible postpositions are a-q'+àpx'a and àpx'a (cf.
above under (5) for the relevant information allative, ablative
and motion-past forms).
    The preverb is -q'a- (for which cf. also 2.1.1.5.3iii, and
2.1.1.5.8aiii), as in a-q'a-t°'a-rà 'to sit opposite'. This
form may also serve in allative expressions, whilst the abla-
tive form will be -q'ə-, as in a-q'ə̀-c'-ra, where the meaning
is, however, rather 'in front of', e.g.
    a- waǰàq'   w- a+ q'ə̀-   c'
    the fireplace you it+from-in-front-of go
        'Move away from in front of the fireplace'

2.1.1.5.21. interior (long object)

(d) motion past 'through, along'
    The form of the expression depends on the object one is
passing through or along, e.g.
    yə- y°nə̀-   s-   we-   yt'
    they house-through pass (dyn.) (fin.)
        'They are passing through/along the house'
    a- t'unèl yə- c'ə- sə- yt'
    the tunnel they under pass (fin.)
        'They passed along/through (lit. under) the tunnel'
    à- ṣta yə- tə̀-sə- yt'
    the yard they in pass (fin.)
        'They passed along/through the (long) yard'

2.1.1.5.22. exterior (long object)

(d) motion past 'past, along'
The verb à-v//[a]y°-s-ra alone is used.

2.1.1.5.23. superior (long object)

(d) motion past 'along, above'
The preverb -x- will be used, as in
    y- a+ x-   pr+ aa-   we-   yt'
    it it+above fly+(suffix) (dyn.) (fin.)
        'It is flying along/above it'

2.1.1.5.24. superior-contact (long object)

(d) motion past 'along (top of)'
The preverb will be -k°-, as in
    ħà-k°-s-   we-   yt'
    we on pass (dyn.) (fin.)
        'We are passing along on top of it'

2.1.1.5.24a. surface (long object)

(d) motion past 'along'
The preverb is -d-, as in
 y- a+ d- nə̀q°'ā-lo-   yt'
 it it+on walk   (suffix) (fin.)
              +(dyn.)
   'It is walking along it'

2.1.1.5.25. inferior (long object)

(d) motion past 'along, under'
The preverb is -c'ə- plus the root -s-, e.g.
 ħà-c'ə- s-   we-   yt'
 we under pass (dyn.) (fin.)
   'We are passing (along) under it'
An alternative would be:
 ħa-tə̀-s-we-yt'
      in
   'We are passing along in it (e.g. tunnel)'

2.1.1.5.26. inferior-contact (long object)

(d) motion past 'along, under'
Once again the verb is à-c'ə-s-ra.
(As examples 21-26 indicate, Abkhaz has no special forms for
designating motion past specifically long objects.)

2.1.1.5.27/28/29. interior/superior/superior-contact respect-ively for long objects at right-angles to their length

(d) motion past 'through(across)/over/over' respectively
In all cases the verb used is ày-y°ə-c°'a-ra, where ay- is
the reciprocal affix, -y°ə- the determiner from the numeral
'two', -c°'a- the root 'to cut' and -ra the masdar-formant,
e.g. (∅-)ey-   y°ə̀-s-c°'o-   yt'
 it (recip.) 2   I cut   (fin.)
              +(dyn.)
   'I cut through/across/over it'

2.1.1.5.29a. surface (long object and at right-angles to length)

(d) motion past 'across'
The preverb -x- combines with the root -s-, e.g.
 à- my°a d-¯a+ xə̀-   sə- yt'
 the road he it+across pass (fin.)
   'He crossed the road'

2.1.1.6. Temporal expressions

2.1.1.6.1. general

2.1.1.6.1.1. time of day

The word for 'hour' is optional; if present, it will precede
the numeral, which itself precedes the postposition -zə, the
col.II affix of which will be 3rd. pers. sg. a- for 'I o'clock'
and 3rd. pers. pl. rə- otherwise, e.g.
 (a-   sàat) bə̄ž+bà   rə- zə̀
 (art.) hour 7   (non-hum.) them for
   'at 7 o'clock'

(a-sàat) a+k'ə̀ a- zə̀ // (a-sàat) a+k'-a-zə̀
         1   it for
   'at 1 o'clock'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.2. period of day

The noun concerned may be used alone or in conjunction with
the postposition -zə, e.g.
 a-   šəbžə̀štax' (a- zə̀)
 (art.) afternoon   it for
   'in the afternoon'
 à-šəž(əmtan) (a-zə̀)
   'in the morning'
 šəbžòn (a-zə̀)
   'at noon' (Note here the total absence of the article a-)
 à-x°əlbəꝗxa(-zə)
   'in the evening'
 (à-)c'xəbžòn (a-zə̀)
   'at midnight'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.3. day of the week

One may use the noun by itself, or the noun plus the post-
position -zə, or the noun plus postposition -ꝗnə 'day-on', for
which latter root one may compare ꝗə̀n+la 'during the day', e.g.
 a-   š°ax'à (-zə̀) // a-š°ax'ā a- ꝗnə̀
 (art.) Monday   for   it day-on
   'on Monday'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.4. month of the year

The postposition -zə follows the noun of the year in ques-
tion, e.g.
 yanàr   a- zə̀
 January it for
   'in January'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.5. year

The noun for 'year' must be used in association with the
postposition -zə, e.g.
 zk'ə- y ž°+š°ə-   y xə-n   y°a+ž°è-y ž°a+f gək°sa-zə̀
 1,000 & 9+ hundred & 3   times 2   10 & 10 6 year   for
   'in 1976'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.6. festivals

The postposition -zə appears with the appropriate noun, e.g.
 k'ə̀rsa-   zə
 Xmas(lit. = December) for
   'at Xmas'
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.1.7. seasons

Each of the four nouns has two forms, one without and one
with the suffix -ra; either form may be used alone or in

conjunction with the postposition -zə, e.g.
```
à-       pxən   (a- zə̀) // à-pxən+ra(-zə)
(art.) summer  it for
   'in summer'
à-jən (a-zə̀) // à-jən+ra (-zə)
   'in winter'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].
(It seems that there is no restriction on the use of any of the above (2.1.1.6.1.1-7) as regards the tense of the associated verb.)

2.1.1.6.2. frequentative

The frequentative expressions differ from their general counterparts above either by the addition to those general temporal expressions of the pre-posed adjective es- 'each, every' or by the addition of the instrumental suffix -la.

2.1.1.6.2.1. time of day
```
es- a-     sàat bəž+bà      rə- zə̀ //
each (art.) hour 7    (non-hum.) them for
a-sàat bəž+bà-la
              (instr.)
   'regularly at 7 o'clock'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.2. period of the day
```
es-šəbžə̀štax' (a-zə̀) // šəbžə̀štax'-la
   afternoon                       (instr.)
   'regularly in the afternoon'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.3. day of the week
```
es-š°ax'à(-zə̀) // š°ax'à-la
   Monday               (instr.
   'on Mondays'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.4. month of the year
```
es-yanàr   (a-zə̀) // yanàr-la
   January              (instr.)
   'regularly in January'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.5. year
```
esə̀-ṣək°sa(-zə) // ṣək°sə̀-la
   year                 (instr.)
   'every year' ('every 1976' would, of course, be
   illogical)
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.6. festivals
```
es-k'ə̀rsa // k'ə̀rsa-la
   Xmas              (instr.)
   'every Xmas'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.2.7. seasons
```
ex-pxnə̀ // es-pxən+rà // pxən-là       // pxən+rà-la
   summer                        (instr.)            (instr.)
   'every summer'
```
Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr].

2.1.1.6.3. punctual-future

Either the postposition -la or the postposition -q'ə+n+t°' is used, e.g.
```
y°ə-sàat-k' rə- la       // rə- q'ə̀+n+t°'
2    hour 1  them (instr.)   them (ablative)
s-xə̀+n-               x°-    we-    yt'
I (compound prev.) return (dyn.) (fin.)
   'I'll be back in two hours'
```
This temporal expression is impossible with the Perfect tense.
Such expressions are [+cop] and [+rel].

2.1.1.6.4. punctual-past

The postposition is -àpx'a, e.g.
```
y°ə-sàat-k' r- àpx'a
2    hour 1  them before(ago)
   'two hours ago'
```
This type of expression is not found with the Present, Future I and II tenses.
Such expressions are [+cop] and [+rel].

2.1.1.6.5. duration

If the period is regarded as one to be completed (i.e. absolute or relative future), there is a distinct preference for the noun expression the duration to be followed by the root of the verb 'to say' -ħ°a-, otherwise this particle is not likely to be used, e.g.
```
y°ə̀-ṣək°sa abrà sə-n-       xò-    yt'
2    year    here I  (prev.) live    (fin.)
                                 +(dyn.)
   'I have been living here for two years'
y°ə̀-ṣək°sa ħ°a        abrà sə-n-xò-yt'
             (?)saying
   'I shall be living here for two years'
y°ə̀-mčəbža ħ°a s-aa-  yt'
2    week        I come (fin.)
   'I came for two weeks'
```
Such phrases are [+cop], in which case ħ°a becomes optional, and [+attr], i.e. when construed with masdars.

2.1.1.6.6. anterior-duration-past

The postposition is -nja, e.g.
```
a-       š°ax'à-nja    // a-š°ax'à-çnə̀-   nja
(art.) Monday until              day-on until
   'until Monday'
```
Such expressions are not found with the Perfect and are suspect with the Plu-perfect. They are to be characterised as [+cop], and [+attr] if construed with masdars.

2.1.1.6.7. anterior-duration-future

As for 2.1.1.6.6.

2.1.1.6.8. posterior-duration-past

Abkhaz seems not to differentiate between this and expressions signifying posterior-duration-future (2.1.1.6.9), the selection of postpositions being: -štax', -nay°s, yə+na+r+k'+nə̀ (which is a fossilised past absolutive of the verbal root -k'- 'to hold'), na+xə̀s, and aa+xə̀s. However, as my informant was most reluctant to accept this last alternative with any verb having future signification, one should perhaps view aa+xə̀s as the most appropriate equivalent for English 'since', e.g.

```
a-      š°ax'à à- štax'          // a- này°s        //
(art.) Monday it since/after      it since/after
na+xə̀s        // yə+na+r+k'+nə̀ // aa+xə̀s
since/after      since/after      since
     'since (after) Monday'
```

2.1.1.6.9. posterior-duration-future

Cf. 2.1.1.6.8.
Such phrases are [+ps-cl] and [+attr] if construed with masdars.

2.1.1.6.10. anterior-general

The Abkhaz equivalent here is 'even before (until)', the postposition being -nja plus the clitic -g'ə 'even', e.g.

```
a-      š°ax'à-nja- g'ə // a-š°ax'a-qnə̀- nja-g'ə
(art.) Monday until even               day-on
     'previous to Monday'
```

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr] when construed with masdars.

2.1.1.6.11. posterior-general

The clitic -g'ə 'even' is added to the forms given above under 2.1.1.6.8, e.g.

```
a-      š°ax'à à- štax'-g'ə // a-này°s-g'ə // na+xə̀s-g'ə //
(art.) Monday it after even
yə+na+r+k'+nə̀-g'ə // aa+xə̀s-g'ə
     'subsequent to Monday'
```

Such phrases are [+cop] and [+attr] if construed with masdars.

2.1.1.6.12. point in period-past

The postposition is -y°nə̀+c'q'a 'within'. As the adjective used for 'last' also means 'final', the following phrases are not restricted to past tenses, e.g.

```
a- c'əx°t°'ant°'əy (a-)  y°ə-sàat-k' rə-  y°nə̀+c'q'a
the last/final       (art.) 2    hour 1   them within
     'within the last/final two hours'
```

Such phrases are [+ps-cl], and [+attr] when construed with masdars.

2.1.1.6.13. point in period-future

The postposition is again -y°nə̀+c'q'a, e.g.

```
y-     àa+y-wa                  y°ə-sàat-k' rə-  y°nə̀+c'q'a
which come (dyn. non-fin.) 2    hour 1   them within
wə- xə+n-               x°ə̀
you (compound prev.) return
     'Return within the next (coming) two hours!'
```

Such phrases are naturally restricted to verbs having (either absolute or relative) future signification. They are to be characterised as [+ps-cl], and [+attr] when construed with masdars.

2.1.1.8.1. Does the language have a number-marking system in nouns?

Yes.

2.1.1.8.1.1. singular-plural

There are two distributive plural-markers — -c°a and -k°a, the former being used only with human nouns, the latter mainly with non-human, e.g.

```
à- jɣab   : à- jɣab-c°a
the girl      the girl (pl.)
a- là     : a- la- k°à
the dog       the dog (pl.)
```

However, a-x°əč'ə̀ 'child' may only take this latter suffix to produce the plural a-x°əč'ə'-k°à. The noun a-pħ°ə̀s 'woman' has an anomalous plural à-ħ°sa, which may nevertheless also accommodate one of the pluralisers given above, but, where this double plural-marking occurs, only -k°a is possible, à-ħ°sa-k°a.

Nouns describing races sometimes allow either pluraliser, even though -c°a is preferred, e.g.

```
à-       gər+wa         :  à-        gər-c°a//-k°a
(art.) Mingrelian          (art.)     (pl.)
a-      š°anə̀+wa        :  a-        š°an-c°a//-k°a
(art.) Svan                (art.)     (pl.)
```

whereas others permit only -c°a, e.g.

```
àps+wa        :  àpsa-c°a (*-k°a)
Abkhazian        (pl.)
```

(N.B. the marker -wa which appears in the singular and collective plural (cf. section 2.1.1.8.4i) forms of the names of some of the races who are neighbours of the Abkhazians.)
For the choice of pluraliser on attributive or predicative adjectives cf. 2.1.4.ff.

2.1.1.8.1.2. Is the marking of number obligatory or optional?

Number-marking is usually obligatory, but observe the following cases where plural nouns are not marked for plurality:
   (i) where an attributive adjective follows its noun, the adjective must be marked for number, whereas the noun need not be (for examples cf. 2.1.4.3.1.1);
   (ii) after ş+aq'à 'how many' the singular is preferred (after wəbə(r)sq'àk' 'so many' either the singular or plural of countable nouns is possible), e.g.

```
ş+aq'à   c°'a        (∅-)wə̀-mo-y ( ⇐*yə-wə- ma-  wə-
how-many apple(sg.)            it you have (stat.)
y)                                        (non-fin.)
(Qu.)
     'How many apples do you have?'
```

But, with the order reversed, the pluraliser is required, e.g.

```
a-      c°'a- k°à  ş+aq'à   (∅-)wə̀-mo-y
(art.) apple (pl.) how-many
     'How many apples do you have?'
```

(iii) The pluraliser is excluded from such quantitative expressions as 'a kilo of X', '3 pounds of X' etc..., e.g.

    x-k'alàt-k' a-   c°'à
    3 basket 1 (art.) apple
        'three baskets of apple(s)'
  (iv) With non-human nouns, where the numeral is attached directly to the nominal root, no pluraliser is possible, e.g.
    x-c°'a-   k'
    3 apple(sg.) 1
        'three apple(s)'
N.B. that, although a-x°əč'ə̀ 'child' takes the pluraliser -k°a, any attributive numeral associated with it manifests the form appropriate to human nouns, with the result that -k°a is obligatory on the noun, e.g.
    x-y°ə   x°əč'-k°à
    3 (human) child (pl.)
or x-y°ə-   k' a-   x°əč'-k°à
    3 (hum.) 1 (art.) child (pl.)
or a-   x°əč'-k°à   x-y°ə-   k'
    (art.) child (pl.) 3 (hum.) 1
        'three children'
    (v) Animate, non-human nouns may stand in the singular, though semantically plural, if a plural affix appears in the verb (and particularly when they are functioning as (transitive) subjects), e.g.
    a-   gəgš°ə̀g   sə-r-   bè- yt'
    the beast(sg.) me they see (fin.)
        'The beasts saw me'
BUT a- pħ°ə̀s   sə-1- bè-yt' (*sə-r-   bè-yt')
    the woman(sg.) me she   they
        'The woman saw me (*The women saw me)'
For 'the women saw me' one may only say:
    à- ħ°sa   sə-r-bè-yt'
    the women(pl.)
    And so we see that, where plural-marking is not obligatory, there has always been some disambiguating factor present. Note, however, the expressions
    c°'à- fa- ra   // laħà-fa-ra // ħà- fa-ra š°- aa-
    apple eat (masd.)   fig   pear   you come
    là
    (suff.)
        'Come and eat apple(s)//fig(s)//pear(s)!'
Here there is no disambiguating factor present; these forms cannot, however, have any other meaning than the one appended above, since only direct-object nouns of non-specific, general application may stand as part of a masdar (as here). Note that in a case like
    a-   c°'à (∅-)1- fò-   ma
    (art.) like it she eat   (Qu.)
            +(dyn.)
the meaning may be either 'Is she eating the apple?' or 'Does she eat apples?' by virtue, no doubt, of the double role of the article (definite-marker and generic-marker - cf. 2.1.1.10), despite the complete absence of (nominal and verbal) plural-markers.

2.1.1.8.4. Is there a distinction between collective and distributive plurals?

    Abkhaz has four types of collective plural formations:-
    (i) -aa, which is used (a) for certain ethnic groups, e.g.
    àps+w-   aa
    the-Abkhazian (coll.pl.)
        'the Abkhazian people' (cf. àps+wa 'the Abkhazian')
    a- š°anə̀+w-aa
    the Svan   (coll.pl.)
        'the Svan people' (cf. a-š°anə̀+wa 'the Svan')
(see 2.1.1.8.1.1 for the distributive plurals);
(b) for the populations of towns, cities, etc..., e.g.
    k°'ətòl-aa
    K°'itol (coll.pl.)
        'the people of K°'itol'
N.B. that in such circumstances -aa is also used in a distributive sense 'so many residents of ...', e.g.
    x-y°ə-   k' k°'ətòl-aa a- mašìna y-   a+ zə- psà- w+p'
    3 (hum.) 1   the bus   they it+for wait (stat.)
        'Three K°'itolians are waiting for the bus'
although the first two words of this sentence may be replaced by
    k°'ətòlə-n+t°' x-y°ə-   k'
        from 3 (hum.) 1
        'Three from K°'itol...'
(c) for all possessors of one surname, either in a universal sense or in the more restricted meaning of all members of a particular family, e.g.
    x'əy(b)aa (⇐ *x'əyba-aa)
        'all the Khibas'
N.B. that, for reference to a small group of the whole Khiba-family, one would rather say à-x'əyb-k°a, as in
    à- x'əyb-k°a   sə-r+ tà-   n
    the   (pl.non-hum.) I them+among (stat.past)
        'I was with the Khibas' (sc. our neighbours, for example)
    (ii) -ar(a), which is used as the collective plural marker for a small group of nouns whose singular ends in -s (this -s being replaced by the collective plural formant in question). Note that a regular distributive plural in -k°a is formed from the collective, although there appears to be no great distinction in meaning between the two plurals. The majority of nouns in this category are names for the young of animals, e.g.
    a-sə̀+s 'lamb' ⇒ a-s-àr(a) 'flock of lambs' ⇒ a-s-àra-k°a
    'lambs'
    à-jə+s 'kid' ⇒ à-j-ar(a) 'kids' ⇒ à-j-ara-k°a 'kids'
    a-c'ə̀+s 'bird' ⇒ a-c'-àr(a) 'birds' ⇒ a-c'-àra-k°a
    'birds'
    a-šə̀+š 'piglet' ⇒ à-š-ar(a) 'piglets' ⇒ à-š-ara-k°a
    'piglets'
    a-k°'č'ə̀+š 'chick' ⇒ a-k°'č'-àr(a) 'chicks' ⇒
    a-k°'č'-àra-k°a 'chicks'
    a-ħ°ə̀+s 'calf' ⇒ a-ħ°-àr(a) 'calves' ⇒ a-ħ°-àra-k°a
    'calves'
    There are five exceptions where a collective plural exists but where the noun does not represent the young of an animal. In the case of à-rpə+s 'teenager' (⇒ à-rp-ar//à-rp-ar-c°a

'teenagers') one may argue that the word represents the young
of the human animal. One might argue along similar lines in
the case of the adjective a-c̨'à 'young, new' (⇒ a-c̨'à-[a]r
'youth' ⇒ a-c̨'à-[a]ra-c°a//k°a 'young men'), although here the
singular is anomalous both in respect of it being an adjective
and by virtue of its lack of final -s. Also lacking -s in the
singular is àž°a 'word', the collective plural of which
(àž°a-[a]r)has the distinct meaning of 'dictionary' (cf.
àž°a-k°a 'words'). This leaves a-na+c°+k''ə+s '(little)
finger' (⇒ a-na+c°+k''-àr(a)//a-na+c°+k''-àra-k°a 'fingers')
and a-ša+c°+k''ə+s '(little) toe' (⇒ a-ša+c°+k''-àr(a)//
a-ša+c°+k''-àra-k°a 'toes'), where -na- derives from a-nap'ə
'hand' and -ša- derives from a-šap'ə 'foot', -c°- comes from
a-c°à 'skin', but the meaning of the remaining element -k''ə-
is uncertain.
    (iii) -ra, which is used for plantations of trees. Here col-
lectives in -ra are contrasted with distributives in -k°a added
directly to the root, e.g.
        a-l 'alder' ⇒ à-l-ra 'alder-plantation' vs à-l-k°a
        'alders'
        a-ɉ 'oak' ⇒ à-ɉ-ra 'oak-plantation' vs à-ɉ-k°a 'oaks'
    N.B. the following example
        à-bna 'wood' ⇒ à-bna-ra 'wooded place' vs à-bna-k°a
        'woods'
    (iv) -raa, which is added to proper-names to produce the mean-
ing 'X and friends/family/the rest', e.g.
        Zaìra-raa
            'Zaira and friends etc...'

2.1.1.8.7. Do foreign words retain their native number-marking or are they integrated?

    They are integrated.

2.1.1.9. Are nouns divided into classes or genders?

    Yes.

2.1.1.9.2. Characterise the meaning of each class/gender.

    There is a basic division of nouns into the two classes
'human' vs. 'non-human', and within the former class there is a
gender-distinction between 'male' and 'female'.

2.1.1.9.3. Formal class-/gender-marking on elements other than the nouns themselves.

    No formal markers appear on the nouns themselves, so that
gender-/class-distinctions are, to this extent, covert categor-
ies. The class-categorisation of nouns is relevant both to the
choice of nominal pluraliser (cf. 2.1.1.8.1.1) and to the num-
eral system in general (cf. 2.1.6.3.ff), whilst both class- and
gender-distinctions are equally relevant for the pronominal
system (cf. 2.1.2.1.10) and for the three-fold system of pro-
nominal affixes discussed under section (2.1.1.1.1).

2.1.1.10. Is definiteness marked in noun-phrases?

    There is no formal distinction between definiteness and gen-
ericness. This joint category is marked in noun-phrases.

2.1.1.10.1. Formal marking of definite-genericness.

    The definite-generic marker is the article a-, which, being
in part the exponent of genericness, always precedes the root
of nouns and adjectives in their citation-forms. In the se-
quence N+Adj, the article a- is prefixed to the N; for the se-
quence Adj+N, it attaches to the Adj. This article is always
used if a demonstrative adjective is associated with the NP.

2.1.1.10.2. Is the marking of definiteness/genericness in the NP optional or obligatory?

    Generally it is obligatory, although one can find cases when
the article a- is absent:-
    (i) As we see under section (2.1.6.3), if a cardinal is
actually prefixed to the noun, no article will be present, even
though the meaning would warrant it, e.g.
        pš-la- k'
        4 dog 1
        '(the) four dogs'
        pš-y°ə- jɣàb-c°a
        4 (hum.) girl (pl.)
        '(the) four girls'
    (ii) If the NP, as copular complement, becomes the root of a
stative verb (cf. 2.1.1.2.9), then no article is found, e.g.
        Àdg°ər də-č'k°'əna-bzəyo-w+p'
        Adgur he boy   good (stat.)
        'Adgur is a good boy'

2.1.1.10.5. Is definiteness indicated with

2.1.1.10.5.1. proper-names?

    The article is never associated with christian-names, but it
may be attached to surnames if it is clear to which bearer of
the surname in question reference is being made and if the sur-
name is used without any preceding christian-names, although
this association of article with surname is not characteristic
of my informant's speech.

2.1.1.10.5.2. abstract-nouns?

    By virtue of its generic-marking role, the article a- is an
essential component of abstract-nouns.

2.1.1.11. Is indefiniteness marked in noun-phrases?

    Yes.

2.1.1.11.1. How is indefiniteness marked?

    The exponent of indefiniteness is -k' (which also serves as
the numeral 'one'), suffixed to the last element of the NP,
e.g.
        č'k°'ən(a)-k'
        'a boy'
        č'k°'əna-bzəya-k'
        'a good boy'
        c̨- k°a- k'
        horse (pl.)
        'some horses'

č'k°'ə̀n-c°a-   k°a-   k'
      (pl.hum.) (pl.non-hum.)
   'some boys'

2.1.1.11.2. Is the marking of indefiniteness optional or obligatory?

Indefiniteness must be marked unless the verb contains the negative particle, e.g.

pə̀nc'a (∅-)yə̀-ma- m
nose   it he have not
  'He hasn't a nose'

ž°ə (∅-)sə-m- bè- yt'
cow it I not see (fin.)
  'I didn't see a cow // any cows'

But, if the meaning is 'not a single X', then -k' must be used and be followed by the suffix -g'ə 'also, even', e.g.

ž°ə̀-k'-g'ə (∅-)sə-m-bè-yt'
  'I didn't see a single cow // Not one cow did I see'

2.1.1.11.5. Is indefiniteness indicated with

2.1.1.11.5.1. non-singular nouns?

As seen above (2.1.1.11.1), -k' is used with -k°a- for non-human plurals, or with -c°a-k°a- for human plurals, to give the sense of 'some'. Note also the rare use of either of these compound-suffixes in association with a noun preceded by the article a- in the meaning 'one of X', e.g.

a-   q-   k°à- k'
(art.) horse (pl.) 1
  'one of the horses'
a-   č'k°'ə̀n-c°a-k°a-k'
(art.) boy   (pl.) 1
  'one of the boys'

For the use of -k' in association with either overtly or covertly plural nouns construed with cardinals cf. the examples given under section (2.1.6.3).

2.1.1.11.5.2. mass-nouns?

The indefinite article -k' is used with mass-nouns in the sense of 'some X', e.g.

sə̀la- k'   (∅-)s- bə- r-   psàxə- nda
flour some it me you cause borrow (optative)
  'I'd like you to let me borrow some flour'

If the mass-noun is being used as a count-noun, then -k' will have its normal indefinite sense, e.g.

š°ə-   k'   (∅-)sə-   t
cheese a/some it to-me give
  'Give me some cheese // a cheese' (depending on context)

2.1.1.11.6. Are such uses of the indefinite article optional or obligatory?

Two alternative constructions are possible for the association of indefinite article with mass-nouns:
  (i) a more usual way of expressing the idea 'some' with mass-nouns is to use in conjunction with -k' one of the adjectives

a-x°ə̀č'ə̀ 'small', a-màč' 'a little', pət+k' 'little, a few', e.g. š°-x°ə̀č'ə̀-k' // š°-màč'-k' // š°-pət+k' (∅-)sə-t
  'Give me some cheese'

(ii) where the mass-noun is functioning as a count-noun, the following alternative is possible: the noun takes its plural-iser and the indefinite article attaches to rəwa- 'of them', e.g. à- š°-   k°a   rəwà-k'(ə) (∅-)sə-   t
the cheese (pl.)   it to-me give
  'Give me one of the cheeses'

2.1.1.13. Is genericness indicated in noun-phrases?

For questions touching on genericness see above (2.1.1.10) and following sections.

2.1.2. Pronouns

2.1.2.1. Personal pronouns

2.1.2.1.1. Do free pronouns occur?

Free pronouns may optionally be used in all three persons for subject, direct object, indirect object and for the possessor in the genitive construction. In the case of postpositions standing independently of the verbal complex, some require the presence of the free pronoun, others are judged acceptable only when endowed with the column II pronominal prefix, e.g.

sa(rà) sə-zə̀ yə-q'a-   l- c'è-yt'
I   me for it (prev.) she do (fin.)
  'She did it for me'
BUT (sa(rà)) s- àayg°a də-gə̀lo- w+p'
            me near he stand (stat.)
  'He is standing near me'

2.1.2.1.1.3. Do free pronouns occur

2.1.2.1.1.3.1. in non-contrastive non-emphatic contexts generally?

They may do so, e.g.
(sarà) (barà)   (yarà) (∅-)bə̀-   s-te- yt'
I   you(f.sg.) it   it to-you I give (fin.)
  'I gave it to you'

2.1.2.1.1.3.2. in contexts where the referent of the pronoun is emphasised?

Yes, e.g.
ħa(rà) yə-š°-   àħ-te- yt'
we   it to-you(pl.) we give (fin.)
  'We gave it to you'

2.1.2.1.1.3.3. in unemphatic contexts with imperative verbs?

No.

2.1.2.1.1.3.4. with imperative verbs when the referent of the pronoun is emphasised?

Yes, e.g.

ba(rà)   bǝ- cà
you(f.sg.) you go
   'You go!' (sc. and no-one else)

2.1.2.1.1.3.5. in answer to questions of the type 'Who is that?'?

If no verb appears in the answer, the full form of the free pronoun must be used. If the copula is used in the answer, either the full or the reduced form may be chosen.

2.1.2.1.1.3.6. in pseudocleft constructions?

Either the full or the reduced form may be chosen, e.g.
   sa(rà) s-o- w+p'
   I   I be (stat.)
     'I am (sc. the one who...)'

2.1.2.1.1.4. What is the difference between reduced and unreduced pronouns?

Reduced (without -ra) and unreduced pronouns are generally interchangeable regardless of whether the context is emphatic or not; in a string of free pronouns, as given in 2.1.2.1.1.3.1, the full forms are preferred. Neither is there any noticeable difference in supra-segmental structure between emphatic and non-emphatic contexts. My informant does not accept a reduced form for the 3rd. pers. pl. pronoun, allowing only darà (*da).

2.1.2.1.2. What person-distinctions are made in the pronouns?

2.1.2.1.2.1. 1st. v. 2nd. v. 3rd. person?

Yes.

2.1.2.1.3. Is the opposition inclusive v. exclusive relevant?

Such an opposition is relevant to both 1st. and 2nd. pers. pl.

2.1.2.1.3.1. inclusive v. exclusive

The exclusive forms 'we excluding you' and 'you excluding them' contrast with the inclusive 'we including you' and 'you including them' respectively (cf. 2.1.2.1.10), although the strictly inclusive forms may and usually do appear where one would expect the exclusives.

2.1.2.1.4. Are pronouns marked for number?

Yes.

2.1.2.1.4.1. Which number-distinctions occur?

2.1.2.1.4.1.1. singular-plural

Yes, in all three persons.

2.1.2.1.4.2. Is the marking of any number-distinction optional?

No.

2.1.2.1.4.6. Can pronouns be associated in NPs with numerals?

Yes, without limit, e.g.

ħa(rà) y°ǝ-ǰa
we   2   (human)
   'we two'

2.1.2.1.8. Are there gender-/class-distinctions in pronouns?

The 2nd. pers. sg. pronoun distinguishes between a masculine (wa(rà)) and a feminine (ba(rà)) form, the former being also used for addressing non-human objects.
The 3rd. pers. sg. also distinguishes a masculine and non-human form (ya(rà)) from a feminine form (la(rà)).

2.1.2.1.10. List of pronominal forms

		singular	plural	
1st. pers.		sa(rà)	ħa(rà)	: ħart
			(incl. or general)	(excl.)
2nd. pers.	human masc. & non-human	wa(rà)	š°a(rà)	: š°art
			(incl. or general)	(excl.)
	human fem.	ba(rà)		
3rd. pers.	human masc. & non-human	ya(rà)		
			darà	
	human fem.	la(rà)		

N.B. that the demonstratives wǝy/wǝrt are frequently used for the 3rd. person personal pronouns - wǝy for la(rà) and ya(rà), wǝrt for darà.

2.1.2.1.13.1. Are there special non-specific indefinite pronouns?

There are no forms such as English 'one', German 'man'.

2.1.2.1.13.2. Are there forms from the personal system used as non-specific indefinite pronouns?

As in English, the 2nd. pers. pronoun is used - specifically, the 2nd. pers. sg. masculine/non-human form is employed, e.g.
   wǝ   c°à (ø-) wǝ- t°'ǝ-   m- za+r, a- ħak'ǝm y- ax'
   your skin it   you belong-to not if   the doctor him to
   wǝ- cà-r- o- w+p'
   you go if be (stat.)
     'If you get pregnant, you must go to the doctor'

2.1.2.1.13.3. Do any nouns have the function of non-specific indefinite pronouns?

The noun a-way°ǝ 'man, person' may be so used, even as an alternative for the last example where reference is obviously being made to the female of the species, e.g.
   a-   way°ǝ arǝy a-   š°q°'ǝ d- à- px'a-r, a-k'ǝ-r
   (art.) person this (art.) book   he it read if something
   (ø-)ey+lǝ-   y- k'+ aa-   we-   yt'
   it (compound prev.) he learn+(suff.) (dyn.) (fin.)
     'If one reads this book, one will learn something'

a-way°ə̀ yə-c°à (∅-)yə-t°'ə̀-m-za+r, a-ħak'əm y-ax' də-cà-r-
       he   him   he
o-w+p'
   'If one gets pregnant, one must go to the doctor'

2.1.2.1.14. Specific indefinite pronouns

a-j°ə̀
   'someone' (cf. a-j°ə̀-r 'anyone')
a-k'ə̀
   'something' (cf. a-k'ə̀-r 'anything')
ǰowk'ə̀ // šowk'ə̀ 'some(pl.)'

2.1.2.1.15. Are there special emphatic pronouns?

   The emphatic pronouns are produced as follows: prefix the appropriate column II pronominal affix to -xata; the resulting compound may be preceded by either the full or the reduced form of the appropriate personal pronoun with no apparent difference in emphasis, e.g.

		singular		plural
1st. pers.	'I myself'	(sa(rà))	s-xatà	(ħa(rà))//(ħart) ħ-xatà(-k°a)
2nd. pers.	masc.	(wa(rà))	wə-xatà	š°a(rà))//(š°art) š°-xatà(-k°a)
	fem.	(ba(rà))	bə-xatà	
3rd. pers.	masc.	(ya(rà))	yə-xatà	
	fem.	(la(rà))	l-xatà	(darà) r-xatà(-k°a)
	non-human	(ya(rà))	a-xatà	

By suffixing to any of the above -c°'q''a an even more emphatic form ('I myself') is produced, e.g.
(sa(rà)) s-xatà-c°'q''a
By employing a different suffix, -j°+k', we shall obtain forms meaning 'only I myself etc...', e.g.
   (ba(rà)) bə-xatà-j°+k'
      'only you yourself
Either of these suffixes may also be joined to the simple personal pronouns to lend the appropriate emphasis, e.g.
   warà-c°'q''a wə- cà
            you go
   'You go!' (N.B. that this suffix only attaches to the unreduced form of the personal pronoun)
   wa(rà)-j°+k' wə-cà
      'Only you go!' (here the reduced personal pronouns are also permitted)
   Mutually interchangeable but of rare and limited occurrence are cases of the suffix -k' being attached either to the full personal pronoun or to any of the forms in the table above, e.g.
barà-k' // (ba(rà)) bə-xatà-k' s- g°   (∅-)aa-
                         my heart it (prev.)
pə̀-   b-   c°'e- yt'
(prev.) you annoy (fin.)
   'I'm fed up with you'

2.1.2.1.17. Are collocations of pronoun-noun feasible where both have the same reference?

   Yes. Two cases may be distinguished:-
(a) free pronouns in all persons, e.g.
ħa(rà) (š°a(rà), darà) a-   bàħč-   aa-   ja- y°-
we   you   they (art.) garden (prev.) tend (Ag.)
c°a
(pl.)
   'we (you, they) gardeners'
N.B. my informant prefers the unreduced pronominal forms in each case here.
(b) specific indefinite pronouns may only be used in this way if accompanied by a relativised verb, in which case the noun will stand in the predicative case, e.g.
bàħč-aa-ja-y°ə {-s   yə̀- q'o-w   //
              {-nə   who be (stat.non-fin.)
             (pred.)
a-   wə̀s (∅-)zə- w- wà   a-j°ə̀
(art.) job it who do (dyn.non-fin.) someone (a certain)
   'a certain gardener'
N.B. that the phrase 'one gardener' may also be used in the sense of 'a certain gardener', e.g.
   bàħč-aa-ja-j°ə-k'
              1
In the plural, 'certain gardeners' will be
   bàħč-aa-ja-j°ə-c°a   {-s yə̀-q'o-w // yə- q'a-k°ò-
               (pl.) {-nə   who be (pl.)
w   ǰowk'ə̀ // šowk'ə̀
(stat.non-fin.) some(certain)

2.1.2.2. Reflexive pronouns

2.1.2.2.1. Are there special reflexive pronouns or common nouns used as reflexives?

   The common noun a-xə̀ 'head' must be used to convey reflexivity if the reflexive functions as anything other than direct object; and some verbs require a-xə̀ for the direct object position too (such as the common verbs a-ba-rà 'to see', à-ta-ra 'to eat', a-ga-rà 'to convey', àaja-ra 'to rear' cf. 2.1.2.2.3).

2.1.2.2.2. Does the reflexive distinguish

2.1.2.2.2.1. the subcategory of person?

   The common noun a-xə̀ in its role as a reflexive distinguishes the person of the reflexivised nominal, as anticipated, by allowing the appropriate column II affix to replace the article a-, which is included in the citation-form above.

2.1.2.2.2.3. the subcategory of number?

   If the reflexivised nominal is plural, the plural-marker -k°a may be added to a-xə̀, but this is by no means essential.

2.1.2.2.3. Examples of the common noun functioning as reflexive pronoun

```
ħ-   xə    (∅-)ħ- q'aẓè-yt'
our head it   we calm  (fin.)
```
or
```
ħa- x-   k°à   (∅-) ħ-q'aẓè-yt'
our head (pl.) them
  'We restrained ourselves (direct object)'
r-   xə   y-   à- s-  we-   yt'
their head they it hit (dyn.) (fin.)
```
or
```
rə-  x-   k°à   yə-  rə̀-  s-we-yt'
their head (pl.) they them
  'They hit themselves'
```
(N.B. that the verb à-s-ra 'to hit' is intransitive and thus takes an indirect object for the entity being hit.)

2.1.2.2.5. If there is no reflexive pronoun, how is reflexivity expressed?

By far the most common way of expressing reflexivity if the reflexive is the verb's direct object is to use the verbal affix -q̇(ə)-, whose only function is to mark reflexivity; this affix does not of itself alter to indicate the plurality of its referent, and it occupies that slot in the verbal complex otherwise taken by the column I, direct object affix. This reflexive affix must be preceded by the appropriate column II affix to indicate the person of the reflexivised nominal; it is, of course, by means of this column II affix that the plurality of the reflexivised nominal may be marked, e.g.

```
š°ə+     q̇ə̀-  š°-     š-   we-   yt'
your(pl.)self you(pl.) kill (dyn.) (fin.)
(col.II)
  'You kill yourselves'
```

2.1.2.3. Reciprocal pronouns

2.1.2.3.5. If there is no reciprocal pronoun, how is reciprocality expressed?

Abkhaz can mark reciprocality only within the verbal complex (for extra-verbal reinforcements of the intra-verbal affixes about to be described cf. section 1.7.4). Two reciprocal affixes exist: ay- and ayba- (cf. section 1.7 for their distribution). They distinguish no subcategories such as person and number.

2.1.2.3.7. Does the reciprocal pronoun (or affix) have other uses?

There are examples of ay- functioning as a simple preverb; it may stand alone or in association with another preverb, e.g.

```
d- ey-     sə̀-    yt'
he (prev.) quarrel (fin.)
  'He quarrelled'
də-y-         èy-   sə-   yt'
he with-him (prev.) quarrel (fin.)
(col.II)    'He quarrelled with him'
```

```
s̨k'òl- k°a   (∅-) ey+q̇'ə̀-        r-   k'+   aa-
school (pl.) them (compound prev.) they (root) (suffix)
yt'
(fin.)
  'They opened schools' (after Lomtatidze, 1952.114)
```
This same element is also found in nouns which inherently signify a reciprocal relationship, e.g.
```
ày-š-c°a
  'brothers' (cf. s-ašà 'my brother')
```
The second reciprocal, ayba-, appears not to be used as a preverb. It clearly retains its reciprocal signification in the abstract-noun produced from the root -š- 'to kill' which provides Abkhaz with its common noun for 'war', namely àyba-š-ra.

2.1.2.4. Possessive pronouns

2.1.2.4.1. Does the language have special possessive pronouns?

Yes.

2.1.2.4.3. Formation of the possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns are produced by prefixing the appropriate column II affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1) to the root -t°'ə-, which means 'belonging to' (cf. the noun a-t°'ə̀ 'slave'). This compound may then or may not be preceded by either the full or the reduced form of the appropriate personal pronoun, e.g.
```
(sa(rà)) s-t°'ə
  'mine'
```
An alternative is to form a headless relative clause from the stative verb having -t°'ə- as its root in the meaning 'X belongs to Y'; in this case the full form of the relevant personal pronoun must also be used, e.g.
```
sarà yə̀-          s-    t°'ə-  w
     that-which to-me belong (stat.non-fin.)
  'that which belongs to me // mine'
```
As this second expression contains a verbal component, by substituting the past non-finite form we shall obtain the equivalent for 'that which belonged to me // mine [Past]', which is the only way of making tense relevant to the system of possessive pronouns in Abkhaz, e.g.
```
sarà yə̀-s-t°'ə-z
               (past, non-fin.)
```

2.1.2.4.4. Are possessive pronouns marked for case?

The non-verbal type may be marked for the predicative case by taking the case-marker -s, just like any noun, e.g.
```
arə̀y s- t°'ə-        s   yə-sə-px'ajò- yt'
this my (belonging) (pred.) it I regard (fin.)
                                     +(dyn.)
  'I regard this as mine'
```
It will be recalled that the less common morph for the predicative case is -nə; this marker alone may not be suffixed to the possessive pronouns. However, the possessive pronouns may be made the basis of adverbs, which will here function just like the predicative case in the last example, and these are formed by using the suffix -nə in conjunction with the appropriate column I affix, which is prefixed to the relevant possessive,

e.g. arə̀y a-   pħ°ə̀s də-   s+ t°'-   nə̀   d-
        (art.) woman her   my+(belonging (adv.) her
     sə-px'ajò-yt'   (col.I)   (col.I)
          'I consider this woman mine'
   Should the headless relative clause alternative be employed,
then we must insert the adverbial form of the copula whose root
is -a+k°'(ə)-, which will, of course (cf. 2.1.1.2.3), contain
the appropriate column II affix, e.g.
     arə̀y a-pħ°ə̀s sarà yə̀-s-t°'ə-w 1-   a+k°'-nə̀
                                her   be (adv.)
     d-sə-px'ajò-yt'   (col.II)
          'I consider this woman (as being) mine'

2.1.2.4.7. Does the language have reflexive possessive pronouns?
     Yes.

2.1.2.4.7.1. If so, describe them
   Reflexive possessive pronouns are based on that form of the
reflexive pronoun which uses the common noun a-xə̀ 'head'
(⇐ *a-xa, cf. Abaza qa 'head'). The original a-grade of the
noun is preceded by the relevant column II prefix and followed
by the same 'possessive' suffix -t°'ə described immediately
above, e.g.
     yə- xa-   t°'ə̀   (∅-)nè-   y- ge- yt'
     his (head) (belonging) it (prev.) he take (fin.)
          'He took his own away'

2.1.2.4.8. Does the language have reciprocal possessive pronouns?
     Yes.

2.1.2.4.8.1. If so, describe them
   Reciprocal possessive pronouns are expressed by a reduplica-
tion of either the numeral '1' (human or non-human as appro-
priate) or the relevant personal pronoun, e.g.
     wərt à+j°ə- y=à+j°ə-y // darà=darà rə̀- ħ°sa (-k°a)
     those 1(hum.) &   they   their wives (pl.)
     (∅-) rə- šə̀- yt'
     them they kill (fin.)
          'They killed each other's wives'
cf. à+k'ə-   y=à+k'ə-y // darà=darà rə- c'ə̀x°a-k°a
     1(non-hum.) &   they   their tail   (pl.)
          'each other's tails'

2.1.2.4.9. Does the language have emphatic possessive pronouns?
     Yes.

2.1.2.4.9.1. If so, describe them
   Emphatic possessive pronouns combine the emphatic pronouns
of the type (sa(rà)) s-xatà and the possessive pronouns set out
under (2.1.2.4.1), e.g.
     (sa(rà)) s-xatà { s-t°'ə
                     { yə̀-s-t°'ə-w
          'my very own'

2.1.2.4.10. Are there other types of possessive pronoun?
     Yes.

2.1.2.4.10.1. If so, describe
   Expressions of the type 'something/anything of mine(etc...)'
may be derived by suffixing the numeral '1', -k', to the
appropriate possessive pronoun, thus -
     s-t°'ə-k'

2.1.2.4.11. Can the above-forms be used adjectivally?
   Of the above possessive pronouns, those that may be used ad-
jectivally are:
   (i) the verbally based possessive of the type
       sa(rà) yə̀- s-   t°'ə- w   a- pħ°ə̀s
       me   who to-me belong (stat.non-fin.) the woman
          'the woman who belongs to me // my woman'
(cf.2.1.1.4.7, for the normal expression of possession involving
the prefixation of the relevant column II affix onto the
possessed noun.)
   (ii) the reflexive possessive, e.g.
       yə- xa-   t°'ə̀   pħ°əs
       his (head) (belong) woman
          'his own woman' (N.B. the lack of the article on the noun)
   (iii) the verbally based emphatic possessive, e.g.
       (sa(rà)) s-xatà yə̀-s-t°'ə-w a-pħ°ə̀s
          'the woman who belongs to me // my woman'

2.1.2.5. Demonstrative pronouns

2.1.2.5.1. Which of the following parameters are involved in the demonstrative-system?

2.1.2.5.1.1. relative distance from the speaker
   This '1st. person deixis' is used to refer to objects near
the speaker.

2.1.2.5.1.3. relative distance from speaker and hearer
   Two degrees of '3rd. person deixis' may be distinguished:
(a) used for objects visible to both speaker and addressee (cf.
Džanašia, 1954.10). However, this might perhaps better be
described as marking objects not greatly removed from the area
of discourse.
(b) used for objects visible to neither speaker nor hearer; or
perhaps better described as marking objects more remote from
the area of discourse.
(The distinction between these last two forms, it seems, is not
always preserved.)

2.1.2.5.2. Illustrate the demonstrative-system

		singular	plural
1st. pers. deixis		a(b)rə̀y	(ab)àrt
3rd. pers. deixis	{visible -remote	a(b)nə̀y	(ab)ànt
3rd. pers. deixis	{invisible +remote	wəy//wəbrə̀y	wərt//wəbə̀/àrt

2.1.2.5.4. Are demonstrative pronouns marked for number?

As just seen in the table immediately above, the demonstrat-
ives are indeed marked for number.

2.1.2.5.4.1. Is the means of expressing number in the demonstrative the same as that used with the noun?

Plural-marking on the demonstratives is clearly not the same
as that used for nouns.

2.1.2.5.8. Can the above-demonstratives be used adjectivally?

Yes, without any formal alteration - singular forms with
singular nouns, plural forms with plurals.

2.1.2.6. Interrogative pronouns and other question-words

2.1.2.6.1. Does the language have interrogative pronouns?

See section (1.1.1.2) for a full presentation of the facts
relating to question-formation in Abkhaz. The following inter-
rogative pronouns are attested:-

2.1.2.6.1.1.1. general

(i) d-àrban 'who//who is it?'. Note that by replacing the
column I 3rd. pers. sg. human affix d- by any other column I
affix we can produce questions of the form 'Who am I(etc..)?'
for all three persons, singular and plural, except that the
3rd. pers. pl. y-àrba-(kᵒa-)n may refer only to non-human ob-
jects - see (ii) below for the human equivalent.

(ii) də-z+wə̀s+ta//də-z+wə̀s+da//də-z+wə̀s+ta+da 'who//who is
(s)he?'. The plural form will be yə-z+wə̀s+t+cᵒa+da//
yə-z+wə̀s+t+kᵒa+da 'who//who are they(human)?'. As Marr (1926)
observed, the basic form is analysable so:

də-	z+		wə̀s+	da
(s)he	whose		business	who?
(col.I)	(relative for col.II)			(Qu.)

'(S)He, whose business it is, who (is (s)he)?'
The human question-particle may here be devoiced (-da ⇒ -ta),
and to this devoiced form may be added by reduplication this
same human question-particle -da. As in (i) above, any column
I affix with a human referent may stand in place of the də- to
produce questions of the form 'Who am I(etc..)?'.

(iii) it is customary to treat as interrogative pronouns the
forms (yə-)z+a+kᵒ'ə̀+zə/e+y and (yə-)z+a+kᵒ'ə̀+y. However, these
are purely verbal forms meaning 'what is it?' or, with the re-
placement of (yə-) by any other column I affix, 'What am I(you,
he, etc..)?'. This is clear from the fact that any of the pro-
nouns from (i)-(ii) may be used together with rə̀wa 'of these'
in a selective sense, whilst the last two pseudo-pronouns may
not, e.g.

rə̀wa ⎰ d-àrban
    ⎱ də-z+wə̀s+ta+da   yə̀-   w-   taxə-w
    ⎱ *(yə-)z+a+kᵒ'ə̀(+zə̀)+y that-which you want (stat.
'Which of these do you want?'   non-fin.)
These pseudo-pronouns were analysed by Lomtatidze (1942) as
follows: the basic form is:

z+		a+kᵒ'ə̀+y
that-which	be	what?
(rel. of col.II)		(Qu.-particle)

'That which is, what (is it)?'
where -y is the question-particle. The root -a+kᵒ'(ə)- 'to be'
requires a column II affix as subject, whose relative form will
be z-. From a sequence such as

wə-	z+	la-cò	z+a+kᵒ'ə̀+y
you	which+by	go	
		(non-fin.)	

'By what means are you going?'
the first two letters of the second word were associated with
the first word. To the resulting structure was added the part-
icle -y; and the sequence -za+y first gave -ze+y, and then this
latter produced -zə+y, both of which last two forms are cur-
rently in use. The suffixes -ze+y/-zə+y were subsequently re-
interpreted as a variant for the question-particle -y — hence,
from the basic z+a+kᵒ'ə̀+y, we obtain an additional
z+a+kᵒ'ə̀+zə/e+y. The possible addition to these three variants
of column I affixes is due to analogy with the other, true
interrogative pronouns, for, as we have remarked, the root
-a+kᵒ'(ə)- does not accommodate a column I affix at all.

The plural forms of the pseudo-pronouns will be
(yə-)z+a+kᵒ'-kᵒò-y // (yə-)z+a+kᵒ'-kᵒò-w+zə/e+y

Of all the above-interrogatives only the pseudo-pronouns
admit the predicative case-marker -s, e.g.

z+a+kᵒ'ə̀-s	s- wə- px'ajò-y
what	(pred.) me you regard what(Qu.)

'As what do you consider me?'
(N.B. the single appearance of the question-particle at the end
of the entire complex). An alternative would be to turn the
predicative question into an adverb by prefixing a column I
affix and suffixing the adverbial formant -nə in place of -s,
e.g.

sə-	a+a+kᵒ'ə-nə̀	s-wə-px'ajò-y
(1st.pers.sg.)	(adv.)	

2.1.2.6.2. List all other question-words

yə-zbàn 'why?' (yə- is the 3rd. pers. sg. non-human
column I affix)
y-a-bà 'where//whither?' (⇐ *y-ax'-ba, where -ax'- = 'to')
y-a-bà-n+t° 'whence?'
y-a-bà-nja 'up to where?'
y-an-bà 'when?'
y-an-bà-nja 'up to when?'
z+aq'à//ş+aq'à 'how many?'
(N.B. that the associated verb must contain the question-
particle, since these words are relatives rather than true
interrogatives (Lomtatidze, 1942.977-78). This may be seen
in such forms as:

yə-z+	aq'arò-y	yə-ş+	aq'arò-	⎰ y
it of-what+	size (Qu.)	how		⎱ zə/e+y
(rel. of col.II)		(rel.of		
'Of what size is it?')		manner)		

z-⎫
s̄-⎭ aq'a-n+t°' 'how often?' (these too require the
                         question-particle in the following verb)

y-⎫
d-⎬ a-ba-t°'ə̀+yə-w 'being -w from -t°'ə̀+yə- 'where?'
etc.⎭

y-⎫
d-⎬ an-ba-t°'ə̀+yə-w 'belong to what time?'
etc.⎭

yə-⎫
də-⎬ z+a+k°'ə̀+yə-w 'being -w from -t°'ə̀+yə- where?'
etc.⎭

(cf. yə(etc..)-z-   eyps+rò-   w-   ze+y
          to-what   similarity (stat.)   what
          (rel. of col.II)   (non-fin.)
    'what sort?')

yə-⎫
də-⎬ z+t°'ə̀-da 'whose?' (lit. 'who
etc.⎭

2.1.2.7. Relative pronouns and other relative words

2.1.2.7.1. Does the language have special relative pronouns?

No - for the relative clause forming strategy cf. section
(1.1.2.3).

2.1.2.7.3. Do the words for 'place' and 'time' take relative pronouns, or relative words corresponding to 'where' and 'when'?

A temporal relative clause is formed in the same way as a
temporal subordinate clause, i.e. by inserting the particle
-an(ə)- after the column I affix of the appropriate non-finite
verbal form in question, e.g.

Meràb à- kalak' (∅-)anə- nè-   y- žə   (-z)
M.   the town   it when (prev.) he leave (Past, non-fin.)
x°àsa- n
Friday (stat.past)
    'Friday was when Merab left the town'

For the relative of a general locative, -ax'(ə)- will be used
in place of -an(ə)-, e.g.

sarà yə-z-bò-   yt'   Meràb d- ax'ə- n-
I   it I see   (fin.)   he where (prev.)
      +(dyn.)
xò   a- y°nè
live   the house
(Pres.non-fin.)
    'I see the house where Merab lives'

The notion of 'whither' is expressed by the particle
-ax'ə+nja-, that of 'whence' by -ax'ə+n+t°'-.

2.1.3. Verb-morphology

2.1.3.1. Voice

2.1.3.1.1. Passive

Abkhaz has no passive voice. Dynamic passives are expressed
by means of an active verb with a 3rd. pers. pl. subject
(agent), e.g.

a- y°nè (∅-)də- r-   gè̀lo- yt'
the house it   they cause stand (fin.)
                                +(dyn.)
    'The house is being built' (lit. 'They are building
    (making to stand) the house')

As Lomtatidze (1956.208) observes, it is possible to produce an
artificial dynamic passive by suffixing the copular root -xa-
'to become' to the base of the verbal complex to be passivised;
the agent is expressed by a postpositional phrase, the post-
position being the instrumental -la 'by (means of)'. Such
artificial passives are virtually unknown in the spoken langu-
age, though Lomtatidze notes that they are more widespread in
Abaza; they are really restricted to literary attempts at
faithfully representing in Abkhaz the passive structures of
some other language - hence all thirteen of Lomtatidze's
examples are drawn from the (Bzyp) Abkhaz translation from
Russian of the Gospels. Below are given two of these examples
together with their more normal Abkhaz versions:

zeg'è yə-   də-   r-   c'a- xò-   yt'
all   it   them   cause learn become (fin.)
      (col.I) (IO coll.II)   +(dyn.)
a-   nc°à yè- la
(art.) God him by
    'All will be taught by God'

cf. zeg'è a-   c'a+ra= də̀r+ra   (∅-)rə- w-   we-
          (art.) learning knowledge it   they receive (dyn.)
yt'   a-nc°à yè-la // yə- q'ə̀+n+t°'
(fin.)   him from
    'All will receive instruction by // from God'
    (John:6.45)

or
sarà bzə̀ya sə-z- bò,   wəy s- ab   yè- la bzə̀ya
me   well me who see   he my father him by well
                      (non-fin.)
də-   ba- xò-   yt'
he(?him) see become   (fin.)
                      +(dyn.)
    'He who loves me will be loved by my father'

cf. sarà bzə̀ya sə-z-bò, s- ab-   g'è bzə̀ya də- y- bà-
                        my father too well   him he see
s̄+   t'
(Fut.II) (fin.)
    'Whoever loves me, my father also will love him'
    (John:14.21)

2.1.3.1.1.4.2. Is there a distinction between dynamic and static passives?

As we have just discovered, there is no true dynamic passive
in Abkhaz. However, it is possible to form static passives by
making the base of the transitive verb concerned the root of a
stative verb (i.e. by adding to the transitive base the stative
markers -w+p' in the present, -n in the past). No column III,
transitive subject-affix is permitted within such verbal comp-
lexes; if the agent is present in the sentence, it is expressed
either as above by the postpositional phrase including the post-

position -la 'by', or by the postpositional phrase including
the postposition -q'ə+n+t°'//-q'+nə+t°' 'from', e.g.
    a- pàra- k°a a- k'olənxàra a-q'+nə̀+t°'
    the money (pl.) the collective it from
    yə-là- to- w+p'
    it to-her give (stat.)
      'The money is (in a state of having been) given to her
      by the collective' (after Lomtatidze, 1956.202)
Note that causative verbs may also stand in these (subjectless)
static passive structures, e.g. (ibid.)
    (sarà sə̀-la) yə- də̀- r- q'a- c'o-w+p'
    me me by it them cause (prev.) do (stat.)
             (col.I)(IO col.II)
      'They are in a state of having been made to do it
      (by me)'
cf. yə- d- sə̀- r- q'a- c'o- yt'
    it them I cause (prev.) do (fin.)
    (col.I)(col.II)(col.III) +(dyn.)
      'I get them to do it'

2.1.3.1.2. Means of decreasing the valency of a verb

2.1.3.1.2.1. formation of an intransitive from a transitive by not specifying the subject

    This is possible in some cases, e.g. (after Lomtatidze, 1956.199)
    də- z- bəl- wè- yt'
    him I burn (dyn.) (fin.)
    (col.I)(col.III)
      'I burn him'
vs.
    də- bəl-wè-yt'
    he
    (col.I)
      'He is burning'
    yə- pə̀- s- qə- yt'
    it (prev.) I break (fin.)
    (col.I) (col.III)
      'I broke it'
vs.
    yə- p-qə̀-yt'
    it
    (col.I)
      'It broke'

2.1.3.1.2.2. formation of an intransitive from a transitive by not specifying the direct object

    This too is feasible with certain verbs, e.g.
    yə- z- jax-wè- yt'
    it I sew (dyn.) (fin.)
    (col.I)(col.III)
      'I am sewing it
vs.
    s- jax-wè-yt'
    I
    (col.I)
      'I am sewing'

    yə- zə- y°- wè- yt'
    it I write (dyn.) (fin.)
    (col.I)(col.III)
      'I am writing it'
vs.
    sə- y°-wè-yt'
    I
    (col.I)
      'I am writing'
See also section (2.1.3.8.7).

2.1.3.1.2.3. formation of a reciprocal intransitive verb by expressing both subject and direct object as subject

    This is not possible - for reciprocals see section (1.8).

2.1.3.1.2.4. other means of decreasing the valency of a verb

    Upon the introduction into a transitive verbal complex of
either the potential exponent -z(ə)- or the exponent -amxa-,
which indicates the unwillingness of the subject, the subject
of the verb is spontaneously demoted to become the (oblique)
object 'governed' by whichever of the above-exponents happens
to be present and is thus represented in the verbal complex by
a column II affix. As is clearly demonstrated by the first
pair of examples, the sequence of affixes 'col.II + -z(ə)-//
-amxa-' precedes any column II, indirect object affix already
present in the complex, e.g.
    yə- s- nà- to- yt'
    it to-me it give (fin.)
    (col.I)(col.II)(col.III) +(dyn.)
      'It gives it to me'
vs.
    y- a+ z- sə̀- to- m
    it it+ (pot.) to-me give not
    (col.I)(col.II) (col.II) +(dyn.)
      'It can't give it to me'
    One might argue (Hewitt, 1979b, note 23) that we have here
an instance of spontaneous subject-demotion (i.e. demotion not
conditional upon the raising to subject-position of the direct
object), for it is possible to use the reflexive affix in place
of the column I affix within such complexes, and we saw above
(cf. 1.6.ff) that this affix cannot function as anything other
than direct object, e.g.

yə+	q-	s+	àmxa-	yə-	r-	š-
his+	self	I+	unwillingly	him	cause	kill
(col.II)		(col.II)		(col.II)		
we-	yt'					
(dyn.)	(fin.)					

      'I unwillingly make him kill himself'
No subject-demotion occurs if the verb into which either of the
above-mentioned exponents is introduced is intransitive. This
can be demonstrated if we choose a verb-form containing one of
the conjunctional affixes which precede any column II affix
present in the complex whilst following any affix from column
I, e.g.

```
   sə-        ṣ̌ə-   zə̀-     m-    co          (∅-)l-   də̀r- we-
   I          that (pot.) not  go               it  she know (dyn.)
   (col.I)                     (non-fin.)
   yt'
   (fin.)
     'She knows that I can't go'
```

2.1.3.1.3. Does the language have means of increasing the valency of a verb?

Yes.

2.1.3.1.3.1.1. How is an intransitive verb made causative?

An intransitive verb is made causative by the insertion of the causative formant -r- into the verbal complex immediately before the root, e.g.

```
   d-         gə̀lo-  yt'
   he         stand   (fin.)
   (col.I) +(dyn.)
     'He is standing up'
⇒ də-        sə-      r-      gə̀lo-yt'
   him        I        cause
   (col.I)(col.III)
     'I stand him up'
```

From this example we observe that the embedded intransitive subject becomes matrix direct object.

N.B. that in the case of intransitive verbs of motion formed by means of an association between a directional preverb and either the root -la- 'to move towards' or the root -c'(ə)- 'to move from/out of', the corresponding 'causatives' will be produced simply by replacing -la- or -c'(ə)- with the roots -c'a- or -x(ə)- respectively (cf. 2.1.1.5), e.g.

```
   (a-   qə̀)   də-qə̀+    ž°-   le-  yt'
             the horse he horse+onto move (fin.)
     'He mounted (the horse)'
⇒ də- qə̀+   ž°ə- s-c'e-yt'
   him horse+onto I put (fin.)
     'I put him on the horse//I helped/forced him to mount'
   də-qə̀+   ž°-      c'ə- yt'
   he horse+from-on move (fin.)
     'He dismounted'
⇒ də- qə̀+   ž°ə-     s-xə-    yt'
   him horse+from-on I remove (fin.)
     'I took him off the horse//I helped/forced him to dismount'
```

2.1.3.1.3.1.2. How is a transitive verb made causative?

Transitive verbs similarly produce their causatives by accommodating the causative formant -r- before the root; if the complex happens to contain a preverb, then there is no way of predicting whether the causative-formant will stand immediately before the root (although this is its place in the majority of such verbs) or immediately before the preverb - N.B. that, if the causative -r- precedes the preverb, no other element will separate this preverb from the root (i.e. the column III affix and the negative, where appropriate, will precede the causative formant), even though in the corresponding non-causative verb, both the column III affix and the negative (where appropriate)

will split this same preverb and root, e.g.

```
   yə-q'a-      s-         c'è-yt'
   it (prev.) I           do  (fin.)
               (col.III)
     'I did it'
⇒ yə-b-        sə̀-        r-    q'a-    c'e-yt'
   it you       I          cause (prev.) do  (fin.)
   (col.II)(col.III)
     'I made you do it'
   yə-q'a-sə-m-  c'è-yt'
                 not
     'I didn't do it'
⇒ yə-b-        s-         mə̀- r-   q'a-    c'e-yt'
   you          I          not cause (prev.) do  (fin.)
   (col.II)(col.III)
     'I didn't make you do it'
```

On the other hand, the causative morph separates preverb from root in

```
   a-       pə-        r-    q'a-rà
   (art.)  (prev.) cause cut (masd.)
     'to make cut'
```

which comes from a-p-q'a-rà 'to cut'.

The examples given above show that the embedded transitive subject becomes matrix indirect object.

2.1.3.1.3.1.3. How is a di-transitive verb made causative?

Abkhaz, unlike Abaza (Lomtatidze, 1945, 90-91), avoids 4-person verbs, and so causatives of di-transitives are produced periphrastically - the embedded verb takes the form of the purposive (traditionally 'purpose-conditional') in -r+t°', the matrix verb is à-q'a-c'a-ra 'to make'. The purposive in -r+t°' is traditionally stated to be derived from the conditional mood in -r by the addition of the suffix -t°' (Aristava et al., 1968.124); in section 2.1.3.5 we suggest that the base-form rather be regarded as the non-finite Future I. The matrix-verb may be either simple or may itself be made causative by the normal insertion of -r-, e.g.

```
   d-        bə̀-        l-       ta-  r+t°'
   him       to-you     she      give (purp.)
   (col.I)(col.II)(col.III)
   (∅-)q'a-      s-         c'ò-   yt'    //
   it (prev.) I            make   (fin.)
               (col.III) +(dyn.)
   (∅-)l-        sə̀-        r-    q'a-c'o-yt'
   it her        I          cause
   (col.II)(col.III)
     'I make her give him to you'
```

2.1.3.1.3.2. Is there any formal difference depending on the agentivity or otherwise of the causee?

No.

2.1.3.1.3.3. Is it possible for the causee to be omitted?

No.

2.1.3.1.4. Are there special reflexive or reciprocal verb-forms? Do these have any other uses?

For the special reflexive affix in the verbal complex see section (2.1.2.2.5); such verb-forms have no other uses. We should, however, note the anomalous verb à-qə+r+ba-ra 'to behave affectedly', where both the reflexive particle -qə+ and the causative formant +r+ have become part of a compound root in association with the true verbal root +ba- 'to see'; this compounding of the root is clearly shown by the place of the negative particle in the Aorist, e.g.

    də- m- qə+r+bè-yt'
    she not   (fin.)
      'She did not behave affectedly'

This intransitive verb may also accommodate an indirect object, column II affix, in which case the meaning becomes 'to flirt// try to ingratiate oneself with' and the reciprocal exponent ay- also becomes part of the compound root, e.g.

    də-1- m- èy+qə+r+be-yt'
    he her not flirt   (fin.)
      'He did not flirt with her'

For the reciprocal affixes see section (2.1.2.3.5); for other, non-reciprocal uses of the reciprocal affix ay- see section (2.1.2.3.7).

2.1.3.2. Tense

2.1.3.2.1. Which of the following tenses are formally distinguished?

2.1.3.2.1.2. present

The Present may be used in a universal sense ('The earth moves round the sun') and, as a past historic, to refer to past events. In the case of dynamic verbs, the Present also functions as the definite future ('X will certainly do Y').

For stative verbs the Present is formed by adding the finite marker -w+p' to the root, e.g.

    s-t°'o- w+p'
    I stand (stat.)
      'I am standing'
cf. the root -t°'a-.

    yə- s- taxə̀-w+p'
    it   I   want (stat.)
    (col.I)(col.II)
      'I want it'
cf. the root -tax(ə)-.

For non-stative (dynamic) verbs the finite formant -(y)t' follows the dynamic marker -wa-, which itself follows the root, e.g.

    yə- z- bò-yt' (⇐ *-ba- wa- yt')
    it   I   see (dyn.) (fin.)
    (col.I)(col.III)
      'I see it'
where the root is -ba-.

    də- s-š̌- wè- yt'
    him I kill (dyn.) (fin.)
      'I kill him'   where the root is -š̌(ə)-.

2.1.3.2.1.3. past

Stative verbs have a single past tense marked by -n attached to the root, e.g.

    s-t°'a-n
    'I stood/was standing'
    yə-s-taxə̀-n
    'I wanted it'

Dynamic verbs, on the other hand, have two (absolute) past tenses - (a) the Imperfect, (b) the Simple Past (Aorist); for the Perfect see below under section (2.1.3.3.1.1).
(a) Imperfect: this combines past tense and imperfective aspect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.2). It is formed by replacing the finite marker -(y)t' of the Present with the finite marker -n, e.g.

    yə-z-bò-n (⇐ *ba-wa-n)
    'I was seeing it'
    də-s-š̌-wà-n
    'I was killing him'

The Imperfect is also used with gnomic functions in certain aphorisms, e.g. (adapted from Čkadua, 1970.133)

an	lə- pʰà	d- 1+ a- bzò-	n,
the-mother	her daughter	she her+to give-advice	(fin.)
		+(dyn.)	
a- pʰà	a-	mc' (∅-)lə- px'ajò- n	
the daughter (art.)	fly it	she count	(fin.)

    'The mother gives (was giving) her daughter advice, and the daughter counts (was counting) flies'

The Imperfect is also used, devoid of any imperfective aspectual sense, in the apodosis of unreal conditional sentences, e.g. (ibid.131)

b- ca-r,	də- b- bò-	n
you go if	him you see	(fin.)
	+(dyn.)	

    'If you had gone, you would have seen him'
(cf. also 2.1.3.2.1.4.3)
(b) Simple Past (Aorist): this combines past tense and perfective aspect. It is formed by placing the finite marker -(y)t' immediately after the verbal root, e.g.

    yə-z-bè-yt'
    'I saw it'
    də-s-š̌ə̀-yt'
    'I killed him'

In addition to being used in straightforward narrative contexts to describe (recent or remote) past events, viewed as simple, completed actions, this tense has a variety of other functions:-
(i) an event about to occur in the immediate future may be expressed as though it were already accomplished, e.g.

    b- ab də-cè-yt'
    your father he go (fin.)
      'Your father is (on the point of) going' (lit. 'Your father went')

(ii) It appears in expressions of greeting, in wishes, oaths and curses, e.g. (ibid. 135)

    wa bzə̀ya (∅-)wə- bè- yt'
    you something-good it you see (fin.)
      'Greetings'

š°ə- c'x   (∅-)aa-   bzə̀ya-xe-   yt'
your night it (prev.) good become (fin.)
    'May your night be peaceful'
(cf. the subjunctive (∅-)aa-bzəya-x-àa+yt', which is also
possible here)
    dàara   wə- žò-   w+p',   Čə̀yx'a, warà wə- m- (p)sə̀-
    very-much you cheat (stat.) Chixa   you you not die
    yt',   dàara
    (fin.) very-much
      'You're utterly cheated, Chixa, I assure you (lit. you
      didn't die), utterly!'
    y-   àa-ba- x'o-   w   a+k'
    that-which we see (Perfect) (non-fin.) anything
    ə̀- q'a-ja-   m,   a-   f   (∅-)à- s-   t'
    it be (emphatic) not (art.) lightning it it strike (fin.)
      'What we've already seen is nothing at all, damn it
      (lit. lightning struck it)!'
  (iii) Accompanied by the particle indicating a direct quote,
ħ°a, an Aorist has concessive force, e.g.
    à- kalak' [a-] ax' wac°ə̀   s-ce-yt'   ħ°a,
    the town   it to tomorrow I go (fin.) (?saying)
    a+k'ə+g'ə̀   (∅-)àa-   s-x°o-   m
    anything-at-all it (prev.) I buy   not
                              +(dyn.)
      'Although I shall go to town tomorrow, I shan't buy
      anything at all'
  (iv) To indicate a nuance of unhappiness, tenderness, dis-
pleasure or indignation, the (vocative) noun used in addressing
the hearer may have suffixed to it the root -xa- 'become',
which is itself put into the Aorist-form, e.g. (adapted from
ibid. 136)
    yə-ş+pò-w- ħ°o,   Aħmàt-xe-   yt'
    it how you say   A.   become (fin.)
              (non-fin.)
      'What on earth are you saying, Ahmet?!'
  (v) The Aorist is also found in proverbs, where it is en-
dowed with gnomic functions, e.g. (ibid.)
    à-   jma (∅-)z+ c°ə̀- jə- z,   à- mş- g'ə
    (art.) goat it whom+from lose (non-fin.) the day too
    (∅-)yə+ c°ə̀- j-   t'
    it him+from lose (fin.)
      'He who loses (lost) a goat, loses (lost) the day too'

2.1.3.2.1.3.2. Are there also relative past tenses?

    Yes (cf. 2.1.3.5.2 for the non-finite counterparts of the
tenses set out immediately below).

2.1.3.2.1.3.2.1. Past Indefinite

    This combines the same tense and aspectual characteristics
as the Aorist, but it differs from this latter by incorporating
within its meaning the notion of the co-ordinating conjunction
'and'. This obviously requires that the Past Indefinite always
be followed by another (usually Aorist) verb to complete the
sense of the sentence.
    This tense is produced by suffixing the finite marker -n
directly to the root, e.g.

    yə-z-bà-n
      'I saw it and...'
    də-s-šə̀-n
      'I killed him and...'
    The first example-sentence below shows that there is no ab-
solute requirement that the subjects of the Past Indefinite and
its following verb be identical, e.g. (adapted from ibid. 139)

    yə- d°ə̀+k°ə-   1- c'a- n   rə- y°nə̀-q'a yə-
    them (compound prev.) she send (fin.) their home to they
    cè-yt'
    go (fin.)
      'She sent them home and they went'
However, if we look at the following sentence -
    a- xàc'a a- pħ°ə̀s də- y- bà- n   də-d°ə̀+k°-le-yt'
    the man   the woman her he see (fin.) ? out   go (fin.)
the meaning of the first part is quite clear; it is 'the man
saw the woman and...'. The question is then - as the column I,
subject-affix də- of the second verb may theoretically refer to
either a male or female 3rd. person entity, is the sentence
ambiguous between the readings (i) 'The man saw the woman and
(he) went out', and (ii) 'The man saw the woman and she went
out'? The answer is that only reading (i) is permissible.
This demonstrates that the subjects of the Past Indefinite and
the following verb will be treated as identical, unless the
affixal structure of the verbs concerned is such as to make
this reading absolutely impossible, as in the case of the first
sentence above.

2.1.3.2.1.3.2.2. Plu-perfect

    This tense is used, as its name suggests, to indicate that
some past action preceded some other past event. The Plu-
perfect is formed by suffixing the finite marker -n to the
Perfect-suffix -x'a- (cf. 2.1.3.3.1.1), e.g. (ibid. 144)
    warà wə- y-   àanja- g'ə wə- gàra
    you you be-born before even your cradle
    (∅-)q'a-   ħ- c'a- x'à-   n
    it (prev.) we make (Perf.) (fin.)
      'Even before you were born, we had made your cradle'
    The Plu-perfect is also used as one of the means to express
the idea 'X almost happened' - this being a not unnatural dev-
elopment from the basic meaning of this tense, e.g. (ibid. 146)
    yaxà   sə-ps- x'à-   n
    last-night I die (Perf.) (fin.)
      'Last night I almost died'
A similar emphatic role of the Plu-perfect is its role in the
apodosis of unreal conditions in the past, e.g. (adapted from
ibid. 147)
    warà wə̀- q'a-m- za+r, s-k'à- ħa x'a-   n
    you you be not if   I down fall (Perf.) (fin.)
which may perhaps best be translated by the idiomatic English -
    'Had you not been (here), I was as good as flat on
    my face'.

2.1.3.2.1.3.2.3. Future-in-the-past

As we have already seen (2.1.3.2.1.3a), the Imperfect tense
may function as a future-in-the-past in the apodoses of past
unreal conditional sentences. For a similar use of the two
Conditional tenses see section (2.1.3.2.1.4.3).

2.1.3.2.1.4. future

If one wishes to form a future for a stative verb, one has
first to add to the root the element -zaa-, to which is then
added the typically Present tense ending for dynamic verbs,
-we-yt', e.g.
        də-t°'à-zaa+we+yt'
        he sit
        'He will be sitting'
Also possible is the addition of the (dynamic) Future II ending
-ṣ+t , e.g.
        yə-sə̀-ma-   zaa+ṣ+t'
        it I   have
        'I'll probably have'
(Note the nuance 'probably' associated with this particular
suffix.) Addition of the Future I exponent -p' is rare in the
sense of providing a stative verb with a future tense, since
the compound exponent -zaa+p' is used as one of the markers of
the inferential mood (cf. 2.1.3.4.9).

It is traditionally stated that Abkhaz has the following two
dynamic futures: (a) the Definite Future, formed by suffixing
-p' to the verbal root; (b) the Indefinite Future, formed by
suffixing the compound exponent -ṣ+t' (⇐ *-ṣa+t') to the
verbal root; the terms Definite and Indefinite were first used
by Uslar (1887.35). However, my informant uses the ordinary
Present tense to describe actions which will definitely occur
in the future. For this reason we shall not use the terms
Definite and Indefinite Futures but shall rather call the form
in -p' Future I, and that in -ṣ+t' Future II. Their meanings,
being predominantly modal, will be listed in the following sub-
section.

2.1.3.2.1.4.1. Modal values of the future tenses

(a) Future I
    (i) The clearest modal value of this form is seen when the
subject is 1st. person plural. The Future I then expresses an
exhortation 'let us...!', e.g.
        ħa-cà-p'
        we go (Fut.I)
        'Let's go!'
With such exhortations one may optionally use the imperative of
the verb àa+y-ra 'to come', e.g.
        š°-   aa+y // w/b-   aa+y ħa-cà-p'
        you(pl.) come   you(m./f.sg.) come
        'Come on, let's go!'
Suffixation of the element -yš lends a nuance of reluctance to
the exhortation, e.g.
        Nèli-raa   rə-   q'ə̀+nja ħa-cà-p'ə-yš a+j°ə̀+r d- aa-
        Neli (pl.) them to   anyone he come
        x'à-   za+r (∅-)aa-bà- p'
        (Perf.) if   it we see (Fut.I)

'O well then let's go to Neli and company and see if
anyone has come yet!'
    (ii) The general sense of the Future I is rather difficult to
capture; perhaps it may best be described as representing a
future action which is dependent on some other action or event
- upon a condition either stated or tacitly assumed. One may,
therefore, assume that the meaning 'Well, such being the case,
...' is part of the signification of this particular tense, e.g.
        àymaa-k°a   (∅-) àa-   s-x°a-p'
        shoe (pl.) them (prev.) I buy
        'Well, in that case (sc. something like - if you really
        want me to), I shall buy some shoes'
        à-   kalak' [a-] ax' də-cà-r, àymaa-k°a (∅-)àa-y- x°a-p'
        (art.) town   it to he go if   he
        'If he goes to town, (then, there's a good chance that)
        he'll buy some shoes'
But note that only by using the Present tense here
((∅-)àa-y-x°o-yt') is it possible to show the certainty of the
fulfilment of the act of buying.
    (iii) A use related to this last is the following: the subject
is 1st. person singular, and the form in -p', although expres-
sing the intention of the speaker to do something, nevertheless
seeks the approval, or at least the attention, of those present
for the action being suggested, e.g.
        s- an-   də̀w 1- q'ə̀+nja s-ca-p'
        my mother big her to   I go
        'I'll go to grandmother's (sc. if that's alright by
        you//what do you think?)'
The addition of -yš once again adds a note of reluctance on the
part of the speaker.
    (iv) with a 2nd. person subject the form in -p' may express a
mild imperative or entreaty, e.g.
        waxà   arà bə̀- q'a-z,   wac°'ə̀ bə- cà-p'
        tonight here you be (stat.imper.) tomorrow you go
        'Stay here tonight - (you can) go tomorrow!'
With a 3rd. person subject, we have -
        Meràb d- aa- p', nas ħa-cò-   yt'
        M.   he come   then we go   (fin.)
                                         +(dyn.)
        'Let Merab come, then we'll go!'
(N.B. the Present tense in the second clause here.)
(b) Future II
    (i) This tense has the nuance 'probably, possibly', e.g.
        à-kalak' [a-]ax' də-cà-r, àymaa-k°a (∅-)àa-y-x°a-ṣ+t'
        'If he goes to town, he'll probably buy some shoes'
Compare this sentence with the almost identical one above where
the final verb was àa-y-x°a-p', and note that there is appar-
ently a greater likelihood of the subject actually buying his
shoes when the form of the main verb is Future II.
    (ii) With a 1st. person singular subject, the Future II ex-
presses a sudden impulse on the part of the subject, e.g.
        s-an-də̀w 1-q'ə̀+nja s-ca-ṣ+t'
        'I think I'll be off to grandmother's!'

2.1.3.2.1.4.3. relative futures

The two futures just described each have a past counterpart, which we shall call Conditional I and II respectively (N.B. that these tenses are to be kept quite distinct from the Conditional mood, which is dealt with in section 2.1.3.4.2). The former is produced by removing the element -p', which signals both finiteness and futurity in the Future I, and by adding to the (restored) future marker -rə- the finite ending -n; the Conditional II is produced by adding this same finite marker to the characteristic suffix of the Future II, namely -ṣa- (note the restoration of the -a-, which is absent in the finite Future II). The two conditionals are to be distinguished according to the same principles we attempted to explain above when discussing the two futures. The conditionals are used in the apodoses of unreal conditional sentences where English distinguishes a non-progressive (future/present) and a progressive conditional ('He would do it//would be doing it') plus a similar pair for the past ('He would have done it//would have been doing it'). Just as the Present may be opposed to the two so-called future tenses by virtue of indicating an action which will definitely occur, so the Imperfect (cf. 2.1.3.2.1.3a) may similarly be opposed to either of the conditionals when they stand in the apodosis of an unreal conditional sentence, e.g.

```
ħ-    y°ə̀za  wac°'ə̀   d- aa-  wà-    z+t+g'ə, a-        wàps
our friend tomorrow he come (dyn.) if      (art.) Ossetic
bə̀zš°a   d- a+ la-   c°àž°a-rə-   n         //
language he it+about talk   (Fut.I) (fin.)
                             (Conditional I)
d-a+la-c°àž°a-ṣa-      n      // d-a+la-c°àž°o- n
        (Fut.II) (fin.)          talk       (fin.)
        (Conditional II)         +(dyn.)
                                 (Imperfect)
    'If our friend were to come
    tomorrow, he would talk aboutOssetic'
```

By substituting for the second and third words above the words

```
abrà waž°ə̀ də̀-q'a-z+t+g'ə
here now   he be  if
```

we shall obtain the sentence 'If our friend were now here, he would be talking about Ossetic'. By replacing waž°ə̀ 'now' with yacə̀ 'yesterday', we obtain 'If he had been here yesterday, he would have been talking about Ossetic'. As an example of the non-progressive meaning of these same three forms, we may quote

```
wəy    yacə̀      də- z-bà-za+r // də-z-bà-z+t+g'ə,
that-one yesterday her I see if               if
yə-b+ à- s-ħ°a-rə-     n        //
it you+to I say (Fut.I) (fin.)
               (Conditional I)
yə-b+à-s-ħ°a-ṣa-     n      // yə-b+à-s-ħ°o-       n
        (Fut.II) (fin.)      //           say      (fin.)
        (Conditional II)                  +(dyn.)
                                          (Imperfect)
    'If I had seen her yesterday, I would have told you'
```

Both conditionals are used with certain secondary meanings, and in such cases there is virtually no difference in meaning between them.

(i) Both conditionals are found where English would have either a Simple Past or Perfect in association with the words

'no doubt', e.g. (after Čkadua, 1970.176)

```
yə̀-           q'a-  la-   z              ...
that-which (prev.) happen (non-fin.)
(ø-)š°- aħa- rə̀-     n     // (ø-)š°-aħà-ṣa-       n
it  you hear (Fut.I) (fin.)              (Fut.II) (fin.)
    'You (have) no doubt heard what happened'
```

(ii) They may be used, as in English also, to represent repeated and contrasted past actions in expressions like the following (N.B. the optional presence of the iterative suffix -la-)

```
z+nə as             (ø-)yə-ħ°a-(la-)   rə̀-      n      //
now like-this it  he say (iter.) (Fut.I) (fin.)
(ø-)yə-ħ°à-(là-)ṣa-      n,      daʠa+ z+nə̀ ans
                 (Fut.II) (fin.)  other time like-that
(ø-)yə-ħ°a-(la-)rə̀-n // (ø-)yə-ħ°à-(là-)ṣa-n
    'Now he would say it like this, now he would say it
    like that'
```

The Imperfect may also be used here, with or without the iterative -la-.

(iii) The conditionals are used to indicate a wavering on the part of the subject as to what he should do, e.g. (ibid.)

```
s-cà-ṣa-      n      // s-ca-rə̀-      n    Temə̀r y- ax'
I go (Fut.II) (fin.)             (Fut.I) (fin.) T.    him to
    'Perhaps I should go to Temer's'
```

2.1.3.2.2. Do the same tense-distinctions obtain in all moods and non-finite forms?

The infinitive/verbal noun (masdar) is tenseless. The present absolutive functions as an English present participle and indicates that an action is contemporaneous with another (cf. 2.1.1.3). The past absolutive in -nə shows that one action precedes another, just like the English perfect participle, and is used in association with any of the tenses, being thus a relative past tense (i.e. relative to the tense of whatever verb it is accompanying).

The remaining non-finite forms, which take the place of finite tenses in subordinate clause constructions, have the same tense-specifications as their finite counterparts. The non-finite Past Indefinite is virtually synonymous with the non-finite Aorist, despite a clear functional distinction between their finite forms, e.g.

```
a- xàc'a a-  pħ°əs də- y- šə̀- yt'  (*də-y-šə̀-n)
the man  the woman her he kill (fin.)      (non-fin.
                                  (Aorist)       P.Ind.)
    'The man killed the woman'
```

With the Past Indefinite here, the sentence would be incomplete 'The man killed the woman and...'. Therefore, the Past Indefinite is starred for equivalence with the finite Aorist. However, when the non-finite form is required, as in the following relative structure, either form is possible, with preference being shown for that of the Past Indefinite –

```
a-pħ°əs də- z-  šə̀                (-z)        a-xác'a
        her who kill              (non-fin.P.Ind.)
                 (non-fin.Aor.)
    'the man who killed the woman...'
```

2.1.3.2.3. To what extent are the tenses absolute, to what extent relative?

2.1.3.2.3.1. with respect to mood

The indicative mood is as outlined above (2.1.3.2) - for a table of finite indicative forms see section (2.1.3.4.1). The imperative is conveyed by the pure verbal root and refers, naturally, to the (present-) future. Moods formed by the attachment of special modal suffixes to the appropriate non-finite tense-forms may retain the tense-signification of their non-finite base-form (cf. the inferential described in 2.1.3.4.9) or may not - the addition of the conditional marker -r to the non-finite Aorist (i.e. to the pure root of dynamic verbs) produces a form that most commonly has future temporal reference, although it may also represent an unreal condition in past time and even an indefinite temporal clause in past time (cf. 2.1.3.4.2a). The details of the temporal reference of the individual modal formations is given where the moods themselves are described in detail (cf. 2.1.3.4).

2.1.3.2.3.2. with respect to finiteness

The situation is as given above (2.1.3.2) and in the section dealing with the modal formations (2.1.3.4).

2.1.3.2.3.3. with respect to subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses are basically represented by non-finite verb-forms - the conditional mood (i.e. the form taken by the verb in the protases of conditional sentences) is produced by attaching the suffix -r to certain non-finite forms (cf. 2.1.3.4.2, where any changes to the temporal reference of the non-finite bases is described in detail; and for the 'purposive', which is traditionally described as being formed from the conditional in -r(a), see section 2.1.3.5, where we argue that the base-form should rather be regarded as the non-finite Future I). Each indicative tense has its own non-finite member, whose temporal reference reflects that of the corresponding member. However, we saw in section 1.1.1.1 that in speech-reporting, if the introductory verb is in the past tense and the indirect mode of reporting is used, the tense of the non-finite, subordinate verb may remain that which was employed in the actual words spoken. In this case, then, we have an instance of each tense being used relatively to that of the introductory verb.

2.1.3.3. Aspect

2.1.3.3.1. Perfect aspect

2.1.3.3.1.1. Is there a perfect aspect and how is it formed?

The Perfect is formed by suffixing to the root (of dynamic verbs) the element -x′a-.

2.1.3.3.1.2. In which tenses does this form exist?

This form exists in (i) the Present Perfect, formed by adding to the element -x′a- the finite marker -yt', e.g.

```
yə-q'a        s-c'a-x′è-       yt'
it (prev.) I do     (Perf.) (fin.)
   'I have already done it'
```

and (ii) the Plu-perfect, formed, as seen above (cf. 2.1.3.2.1.3.2) by adding the finite-marker -n to the element -x′a-.

2.1.3.3.1.3. If there is a perfect aspect, what does it indicate?

2.1.3.3.1.3.2. a situation that has held at least once in the period leading up to the present

This is entirely consistent with the Perfect's basic role of marking an action that has 'already' occurred, e.g.

```
London bə-  ca-x′ò-     w-           ma     z+nə̀+k'ə+r
L.      you go (Perf.) (non-fin.) (Qu.) ever
   'Have you ever been to London?'
```

As stative verbs have no Perfect, the question 'Have you ever been in London?' would be expressed by the simple past of the copula, e.g.

```
London bə̀-q'a-z-       ma z+nə̀+k'ə+r
              be (non-fin.)
```

2.1.3.3.1.4. Are there similarities between the expression of perfect aspect and recent past tense?

No.

2.1.3.3.2. Aspect as different ways of viewing the situation

2.1.3.3.2.1. Which of the following are formally marked?

2.1.3.3.2.1.4. continuous aspect

As a special stative paradigm exists, it may be said that continuous aspect (non-habitual imperfective aspect) is always formally marked in the present by the finite suffix -w+p', in the past by -n (recall that for dynamic verbs suffixation of the finite-marker -n directly onto the root produces the Past Indefinite). However, the verb 'to know' a-də̀r-ra is formally dynamic (non-stative) in Abkhaz; but observe that when used in the Aorist, Past Indefinite, Perfect and Plu-perfect (tenses which are inherently perfective), the verb rather means 'to realise'.

2.1.3.3.2.1.5. progressive aspect

In the past tense dynamic verbs always indicate this aspect by adding the finite suffix -n to their dynamic marker -wa-, this combination producing the (progressive) Imperfect tense.

The Present is not specifically progressive in meaning, although it may be used to describe a present progressive action. One can, however, make the progressive nature of the action formally explicit by using the denominative postposition -q'ə 'in' (cf. a-q'ə̀ 'mouth') as the root of a stative verb (copular complement) in association with the masdar of the verb whose progressivity is being described, e.g.

```
a-         x°màr-ra        d- a+ q'ə̀-w+p'
(art.) play   (masd.) he it+in  (stat.pres.)
   'He is playing'
```

This same expression may also be employed for a past progressive action, in which case the main verb will be d-a+c̨'ə-n. For the future one may either put the stative verb just mentioned into its future form (d-a+c̨'ə-zaa+p' or d-a+c̨'ə-zaa-we-yt') or one may use the suffix -la- (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.8) placed immediately after the root of the Present tense, e.g.

    də-x°màr-lo-yt' ⇐ *də-x°mar-la-   wa-   yt'
                   he play (suff.) (dyn.) (fin.)
    'He will be playing'

2.1.3.3.2.1.6. ingressive aspect

The iterative suffix -la- in association with the Imperative and Future I may indicate the start of the action concerned, e.g. (Čkadua, 1970.276)

    š°- ca-là,   s-š°ə+x'-   jò-   yt'
    you go (suff.) I you+(prev.) catch-up (fin.)
      'You set off and go, I'll catch you up'
    px'a- q'à ħ- ca-là-   p'
    front to we go (suff.) (Fut.I)
      'Let's start to go forward'

2.1.3.3.2.1.7. terminative aspect

2.1.3.3.2.1.7.1. Is there a special form indicating the completion of another situation prior to the situation being described?

The Past Indefinite is a past perfective form which indicates the completion of one past action prior to the commencement of another. It thus cannot alone form a complete statement and is usually followed by an Aorist verb - 'X did Y and (+ Aorist)', cf. 2.1.3.2.1.3.2.1. The past absolutive in -nə (cf. 2.1.1.3) similarly indicates the completion of one action prior to the commencement of another but, being equivalent to the English perfect participle, is freely used in association with any tense of verb.

2.1.3.3.2.1.8. iterative aspect

This is optionally expressed by means of the suffix -la-, which is placed directly after the root. This suffix is not possible if the verb is in one of the inherently perfective tenses (Aorist, Past Indefinite, Perfect, Plu-perfect), nor is it found in association with stative verbs, e.g.

    a-   şk'òlə-n+t°' a-   y°nə- q'a s-cà-cəpx'aja à-
    (art.) school from (art.) house to I go every-time (art.)
    mp'əl s-à- s- wa-   n   // s-à-s-lo-   n
    ball I it hit (dyn.) (fin.)   (iter.+dyn.) (fin.)
                    (Imperf.)
      'Every time I got home from school, I used to play ball'
    In association with a future tense -la- may have an iterative sense, e.g. (ibid.274)

    arəy àq'ara àwə+ra (∅-)à-   wə- m- ta- n ———— à-
    this much   height it to-it you not give (prohib.) (art.)
    ž°lar yə-r- ba- là-   p'
    people it they see (iter.) (Fut.I)
      'Don't give it (sc. a chimney) so much height ...
      people will see it (sc. every time they pass by)'

However, it often functions simply as a progressive marker (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.5), e.g. (adapted from ibid.)

    warà wə- cà - sarà wə- mat°a-   k°a   (∅-) sə-r-   ba-
    you you go I   your clothing (pl.) them I cause dry
    là-   p'   // (∅-)sə-r-ba-là-ş+   t'
    (progr.) (Fut.I)   (Fut.II) (fin.)
      'You go, (while) I'll be drying your clothes'
(also possible here, of course, would be any of the three future progressive forms given earlier under 2.1.3.3.2.1.5).

2.1.3.3.2.1.13. other aspects

The non-human nominal plural-marker -k°a also has a role to play which is similar to that of the iterative suffix just examined. It too may be slotted into the verbal complex immediately after the root and shows that the verbal action has been accomplished 'several times'. Unlike -la-, it is not excluded from use in the Aorist, Past Indefinite, Perfect and Plu-perfect tenses; indeed, my informant feels that it is most naturally associated with the Perfect, e.g.

    yə-z-ba- k°a-   x'è-   yt'
    it I see (suff.) (Perf.) (fin.)
      'I have already seen it several times'
(cf. 2.1.3.6.4 for the use of -k°a- in this same position as a reinforcement for the plurality of any of the personal pronominal prefixes).

2.1.3.3.2.2.1. What possibilities are there for combining different aspectual values?

Apart from the combination of -k°a- with the Perfect just described, the only possible combination of aspectual values seems to be that of progressive and iterative, e.g.

    wəy də-y°nà-   la- cəpx'aja y- an   a- gazèt
    he he house-into enter every-time his mother the paper
    d- à- px'a-lo-   n
    she it read (iter.+dyn.) (fin.)
      'Every time he entered the house, his mother would be
      reading the paper'
Nevertheless, the simple (progressive) Imperfect is apparently preferred here (d-à-px'o-n).

2.1.3.3.2.2.2. Are there any restrictions on the combination of different aspectual values with the various

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.2. tenses?

The iterative exponent -la- is never associated with either tense of stative verbs (continuous aspect) or with the inherently perfective tenses of the dynamic verbs (Aorist, Past Indefinite, Perfect, Plu-perfect).

2.1.3.3.2.2.2.3. moods?

The iterative suffix -la- is not compatible with debitive expressions formed on the nouns a-x°tà//a-k°nagà 'portion, lot' cf. 2.1.3.4.6b) or with that formed on the noun a-wàl 'obligation' (cf. 2.1.3.4.6c). Some doubt was expressed as to the combinability of this iterative -la- with the verb expressing potentiality, à-l-şa-ra 'to be able' (cf. 2.1.3.4.7).

The overt expression for progressive aspect involving the
verb a-c̣'ə̀-zaa-ra 'to be in' (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.5) does not com-
bine with either of the debitive expresions based on the nouns
a-x°tà//a-k°nagà 'portion, lot' and a-wàl 'obligation'. Neither
is it found with à-l-ṣa-ra 'to be able', with monitory expres-
sions incorporating the verb a-g°-c̣-a-nə̀-zaa-ra (cf.2.1.3.4.11),
or with -amxa-, the prefix marking the subject's unwilling in-
volvement in the verbal action (cf. 2.1.3.4.15).

2.1.3.3.2.2.4. non-finite forms?

The iterative suffix -la- is never found in the masdar
(infinitive).

2.1.3.4. Mood

2.1.3.4.1. indicative

This mood exists, but it is not marked by any single expon-
ent whose sole function is to convey 'indicativeness'. For
example, the finite marker -(y)t' is found in the following
indicative tenses:-

Present	s-co-yt'	'I go'
Aorist	s-ce-yt'	'I went'
Future II	s-ca-ṣ+t'	'I may go'
Perfect	s-ca-x'e-yt'	'I have already gone'

but this same exponent is also found in the subjunctive
-(z-)aa+yt'. Similarly, the finite marker -n appears in the
following indicative tenses:

Imperfect	s-co-n	'I was going//would (have) go(ne)'
Past Indefinite	s-ca-n	'I went and ...'
Conditional I	s-ca-rə̀-n	'I would (have) go(ne)'
Conditional II	s-cà-ṣa-n	'I would probably (have) go(ne)'
Plu-perfect	s-ca-x'à-n	'I had already gone'

but the inferential -zaa+rə+n and negative imperatives (prohib-
itions) also end in -n. The marker -p' of the Future I is a
portmanteau morph combining representation of the morphemes
'finiteness' and 'futurity', but it is also associated with the
inferential exponent -zaa+p'.

2.1.3.4.2. conditional

(a) the fundamental marker on the verb in the protasis of a
conditional sentence is -r 'if'. In this its simplest form it
is suffixed to the non-finite form of the Aorist (i.e. to the
simple root of dynamic verbs). The resulting form represents a
real condition in future time, e.g.

    wəy   də- z-bà- r, yə̀+r+las+nə s-aa- we- yt'
    that-one her I see if quickly I come (dyn.) (fin.)
        'If I see her, I'll come quickly'
However, if the form of the apodosis is such as to require that
the protasis be interpreted as representing an unreal condition
in past time, forms in -r may indeed bear this meaning, e.g.
(Čkadua, 1970.157)

    a-   wèxa sə-n-   xà- r, (∅-)ey+lə̀-   s-k'+ aa-
    the night I (prev.) stay if it (compound I (root+suff.)
    wa- n   prev.)
    (dyn.) (fin.)

'If I had stayed the night, I would have realised it'
Such a form may also represent what amounts to an indefinite
temporal clause in past time, e.g. (ibid.)

    a-   là d- a+ c°-š°ò-   mə+z+t',   a-   y°ə̀
    (art.) dog he it+of afraid (neg. Imperf.) (art.) man
                        +(dyn.)
    y+a+šə̀+w də- y- bà- r, a-   y°   də̀-c'a- lo-
    drunk   him he see if (art.) moth//mite he under go
    n   +(dyn.)
    (fin.)
        'He was afraid of dogs, (but) whenever (if ever) he saw
        a drunk, he used to crawl under a moth//mite' (i.e. he
        used to shrink away in dread)
(b) One may note the conditional -r plus the clitic -g'ə
'and, also' being attached to the non-finite form of the Future
II to produce the following indirect question

    wac°'ə̀ àq°'a- q'a s-ca-r, wəy   də- z-bà- ṣa-
    tomorrow Sukhumi to I go if that-one her I see (Fut.II)
    r+ g'ə   (∅-)z-   də̀r- wa-   da
    if+indeed it he-who know (dyn.) who?
        'If I go to Sukhumi tomorrow, who knows if I'll see her?'
(for the formation of indirect questions see section 1.1.2.2.4)
(ci) If the conditional exponent is suffixed to any non-
finite form other than that of the Aorist, then, instead of -r
alone, we have forms ending in -za-r. It seems best to analyse
these as being simply the conditional -r added to the (original)
non-finite forms of the Imperfect, Past Indefinite, Conditional
I and II, and Plu-perfect (cf. Lomtatidze, 1954.269-70) – the
present-day non-finite forms of these tenses end in -z, not
*-za. From what has been said above (2.1.3.2.1.3), it will be
obvious that -za+r can be the only marker of conditionals for
stative verbs, and it derives from the suffixation of -r to the
non-finite past tense of the stative verb in question. However,
stative verbs in -za+r may actually have present temporal ref-
erence, e.g. (Čkadua, 1970.159)

    b- ca, (∅-)b- taxə̀-za+r
    you go it you want if
        'Go, if you want to!'
But they may also refer to the past as in (ibid. 160):-
    Frància a- zə̀+ħ°a+n (∅-)c°g'à-m- za+r bzə̀ya (∅-)q'a-
    France it for   it bad   not if good   it (prev.)
    rə- m- c'a-jè-   yt'
    they not do (emphatic) (fin.)
        'What they did for France, if it was not bad, was not
        good'
In the case of dynamic verbs, forms ending in -za+r placed
immediately after the root are derived from the non-finite form
of the Past Indefinite (i.e. by the addition of -r to the non-
finite Past Indefinite, which ends with -z(a) following the
root). Such forms appear in real, past conditions, e.g.
(adapted from ibid. 161)

    barà· a-   c'a- rà   bzə̀ya-nə   b- à+ 1- ga-
    you   (art.) learn (masd.) good   (adv.) you it+from (root)
                                            finish

za+r, harà y- aĥ+ g°a- pxò-   yt'
if   we   it our+heart warm+(dyn.) (fin.)
     'If you graduated with distinction, we are pleased'
Such forms may even have future temporal reference, as the next
sentence illustrates:
     wəy   də- z-bà- za+r, yə̀+r+las+nə s-aa- wè-   yt'
     that-one her I see if   quickly   I come (dyn.) (fin.)
          'If I see her, I'll come quickly'
   Such forms are also used, without any conditional force, as
virtual equivalents for the Past Indefinite 'he did it and
...', e.g. (ibid. 162)
     a-   y°n- a+ ꝗ'ə̀ d- nè+y-za+r, pĥ°əzba-k' a- y°nə̀-
     (art.) house it+into he go if   girl   one the house
     ž° d- ṣə- y°nà- z   (∅-)yə-bè- yt'
     old she that be-in (non-fin.) it he see (fin.)
          'He arrived home and saw that a girl was in the old
          house'
These forms in -za+r may also represent an unreal, past condi-
tion, e.g.
     wəy   yacè̀   də- z-bà- za+r, yə-b+ à- s-ĥ°o-
     that-one yesterday her I see if   it you+to I tell
     n   +(dyn.)
     (fin.)
          'If I had seen her yesterday, I'd have told you'
   (cii) forms in -za+r deriving from the non-finite Imperfect
will show the dynamic element -wa- immediately after the root.
Such forms have both present and future temporal reference in
real conditional sentences, e.g. (ibid, 163)
     y-   ax'ə- n-   xò   (∅-)b- də̀r- wa-   za+r,
     they where (prev.) live+(dyn.) it you know (dyn.) if
     à-   zamana
     (art.) fine
          'If you know where they live, fine!'
     wəy   də- z-bò-   za+r, d- aa- r+c
     that-one her I see+(dyn.) if   she come (purposive)
     yə-1+ à- s-ĥ°o-   yt'
     it her+to I tell+(dyn.) (fin.)
          'If I see her, I'll tell her to come'
This form also appears in unreal, past conditions, e.g. (ibid.
164-65)
     barà b-   an   až°a-k°a yə-   s+ à- 1- ĥ°a-z
     you your mother word (pl.) which me+to she say (non-fin.)
     (∅-) b- də̀r- wa-   za+r, ... (∅-)s+ à- b- ĥ°a-rə-
     them you know (dyn.) if   ... it me+to you say (Fut.I)
     n
     (fin.)
          'If you had known what words your mother said to me,
          you'd have said to me...'
Rarely such forms are used to represent the repetition of real
conditions in the past (Čkadua, 1970.165). e.g.
     abràx' wəy   d- aa- wà-   za+r, yə- z+xa+rà
     hither that-one he come (dyn.) if   his fill
     (∅-)yə-fà- r+c   d- aa- wà-   n
     it he eat (purp.) he come (dyn.) (fin.)
          'If he used to come here, he used to come to eat his fill'

   (ciii) Forms in -za+r immediately preceded by the Perfect
exponent -x'a- may either express real, perfect conditions,
e.g. (ibid. 165)
     wəy a-   š°q°'ə̀ sar-g'ə̀ yə-z-ba- x'è-   yt' — bar-
     that (art.) book   I   too it I see (Perf.) (fin.) you
     g'ə̀ yə-b- ba- x'à-   za+r eyĥa-g'ə̀ (∅-)èyɣ'ə- w+p'
     too it you see (Perf.) if   more even it better (stat.)
          'I too have already seen that book - if you also have
     already already seen it, so much the better'
or unreal, past (perfect) conditions, e.g.
     wəy   də- z-ba- x'à-   za+r, barà yə-b+ à- s-ĥ°o-
     that-one her I see (Perf.) if   you it you+to I tell
     n   +(dyn.)
     (fin.)
          'If I had (already) seen her, I'd have told you'
   (civ) Forms where -za+r is preceded by the Future I marker,
-rə-, have a forceful, threatening nuance; the associated apo-
dosis is usually characterised by a verb in the subjunctive
(ibid. 166), e.g.
     abrə̀y a+k'ə̀   (∅-)a+ xə-   b- ĥ°[a]+aa-   rə̀-
     this anything it it+about you say+ (suffix) (Fut.I)
     za+r, sə-ps- rà   (∅-)bə- b[a]-àa+yt'
     if   my die (masd.) it you see (subjunctive)
          'If you say anything about this, so let it pass that
          you witness my death!'
   (cv) The element -za+r is apparently rarely found preceded
by the Future II exponent -ṣa- (ibid. 166); the temporal refer-
ence of such forms is future, and they seem to be restricted to
indirect questions; N.B. the optional addition of the clitic
-g'ə 'also, even', e.g.
     wa-[a]x' bə- cà-ṣa-   za+r(-g'ə) (∅-)s+ a- ĥ°
     thither you go (Fut.II) if   it me+to tell
          'Tell me if you'll go there'
   (d) Another conditional suffix is -t+g'ə, which appears to
be made up from the clitic -g'ə 'also, even' plus some other
element. This compound exponent may be attached to the non-
finite forms of the Past Indefinite, Imperfect or Plu-perfect
tenses.
   (di) With the Past Indefinite the suffix may be used in un-
real, past conditions, e.g.
     wəy   yacè̀   də- z-bà- z-   t+g'ə,
     that-one yesterday her I see (non-fin.) if
     yə-b+ à- s-ĥ°o-   n
     it you+to I tell   (fin.)
                          +(dyn.)
          'If I'd seen her yesterday, I'd have told you'
Alternatively, the resulting form may appear in the protases of
real, past conditions, e.g.
     wəy a-   xàc'a də- b- bà- z-   t+g'ə,
     that (art.) man   him you see (non-fin.) if
     yə-z- s+ à- bə- m- ĥ°e- y
     it why me+to you not tell (Qu.)
          'If you saw that man, why didn't you tell me?'
   (dii) The compound formant -t+g'ə added to the non-finite
Imperfect may convey a repeated, unreal, past or present condi-
tion, e.g.

lassè=lassè sə-r+c'a+y°è d- aa- wà-   z-   t+g'ə,
often   my teacher she come (dyn.) (non-fin.) if
Anglèz bèzš°a èɣ'-nə   yə-s-c'ò-   n
English language better(adv.) it I learn   (fin.)
                                     +(dyn.)
   'If my teacher had come//came (more) often, I'd (have)
   learn(ed) English better'
Alternatively, it may indicate a real, past condition of imper-
fective aspect, e.g. (ibid.167)
sarà sə-pħà   wə- 1- èylaħa-wa-   z-   t+g'ə,
I   my daughter you her like   (dyn.) (non-fin.) if
yə-z- s+ ò- w- m- ħ°a- zə-   y   wəbrèy warà
it why me+to you not tell (non-fin.) (Qu.) it   you
   'If you liked my daughter, why didn't you tell me?'
With reference to the present-future, such forms are found in
unreal conditions, e.g.
wac°'è   Lòndon-q'a ħ- cò-   z-   t+g'ə, ħ-
tomorrow London to we go+(dyn.) (non-fin.) if   our
y°èza də- ħa-pȿ+   aa-   wà-   n
friend him we look-for+(suffix) (dyn.) (fin.)
   'If we were to go to London tomorrow, we'd look for our
   friend'
waž°è Lòndon-q'a ħ- cò-   z-   t+g'ə, à-
now   London to we go+(dyn.) (non-fin.) if   (art.)
x'ta ħ- a- k'- wà-   n
cold us it seize (dyn.) (fin.)
   'If we were travelling to London at this moment, we'd
   freeze!'
(diii) When -t+g'ə is suffixed to the Plu-perfect non-finite
form, the resulting complex may be used only for real, plu-
perfect conditions, e.g.
wəy   wa-[a]x' də-ca-x'à-   z-   t+g'ə,
that-one there he go   (Perf.) (non-fin.) if
yə-z- s+ à- bə- m- ħ°e- y
it why me+to you not tell (Qu.)
   'If he had already gone there, why didn't you tell me?'
(div) The complex produced by suffixing -t+g'ə to the non-
finite past tense form of stative verbs may be used in the pro-
tases of unreal conditions relating to past, present or future
time, e.g.
ħ- y°èza yacè   // waž°è // wac°'è abrà
our friend yesterday   now   tomorrow here
dè-q'a-z-   t+g'ə, a- wàps bèzš°a d- a+ la-
he be   (non-fin.) if   the Ossetic language he it+about
c°àž°o-   n
talk+(dyn.) (fin.)
   'If our friend had been here yesterday//were here now//
   tomorrow, he would (have)be(en) talking about the
   Ossetic language'
Alternatively, this form may appear in real, past conditions,
e.g. (ibid. 168)
wə- xa- zè a-   wès yə- wə- r-   wè- r+c   (ø-)
your head for (art.) work him you cause work (purp.) it
wə- taxè-z-   t+g'ə, sarà yə-s+ ò- w- ħ°a- nda
you want (non-fin.) if   me   it me+to you tell (optat-
                                                  ive)

   'If you wanted to make him work for you, would that you
   had told me!'

2.1.3.4.3. imperative

2.1.3.4.3.1. In which persons and numbers does the imperative have special forms?

The imperative exists only in the second person (for 3rd.
person imperatives cf. 2.1.3.4.16) and, for dynamic verbs, con-
sists of the bare verbal stem (i.e. devoid of suffixes), which
is identical with the non-finite Aorist (at least, as regards
the post-radical structure of the complex). In the case of in-
transitive verbs, the subject-affix is always present in the
pre-radical verbal structure, e.g.
š°-   t°'a
you(pl.) sit
   'Sit down!'
b-   sə-s
you(f.sg.) me hit
   'Hit me!'
If the verb is transitive, then the subject-affix is present
only if the subject is 2nd person plural, e.g.
yə-q'a-   š°-   c'à
it (prev.) you(pl.) do
   'Do it!'
BUT yə-q'a-c'à
   'Do it!' (i.e. you m.//f.sg.)
N.B. that some verbal roots ending in -a lose this vowel in the
imperative, e.g.
yə-f
it eat
   'Eat it!' (cf. à-fa-ra 'to eat')
Prohibitions have the negative particle -m(ə)- placed before
the root (or before the causative exponent, if present) and
also require a word-final -n after the root; the subject-affix
is always present, e.g.
š°ə-m-t°'à-n
   'Don't sit down!' (i.e. you pl.)
yə-q'a-bə-   m-c'à-n
       you(f.sg.)
   'Don't do it!' (i.e. you f.sg.)
də- s- pə-   w-   mə- r-   q'à-n
him me (prev.) you(m.sg.) not cause cut (suff.)
   'Don't make me cut him!' (i.e. you m.sg.)
The imperative of stative verbs, on the other hand, has a -z
appearing immediately after the root (in other words, from the
point of view of the post-radical structure of the complex,
there is complete identity between the imperative and the non-
finite past tense), e.g.
wa   bè-   q'a-z
there you(f.sg.) be
   'Stay there!'
The negative is not used in association with stative imperat-
ives - one must employ the negative of the first type of
'debitive' example discussed below in section 2.1.3.4.6, namely

arà   bə-   q'a-m-   za+r-ò-   w+p'
here you   be not if   be (stat.)
    'Do not be here!' (lit. = 'You must not be here')

2.1.3.4.4. optative (cf. also 2.1.3.4.16)

This mood is marked by the suffix -nda(z). With stative
verbs, this formant is attached to the simple verbal root and
has present temporal reference, e.g. (ibid. 178)
    tàca   bzə̀ya-k' d- bə̀- ma-   nda(z)
    daughter-in-law good one her you have
    'Would that you had a good daughter-in-law!'
When this formant is attached to the bare stem of dynamic
verbs (i.e. to the non-finite Aorist), the temporal reference
is either future, e.g. (ibid.)
    sarà arə̀y à-   mčəbž̌ (∅-)sə̀- z-ga-   z
    I   this (art.) week it how I bear (non-fin.)
    (∅-)b- də̀rə- nda(z)
    it you learn
    'Would that you may learn how I endured this week!'
or past, e.g.
    arə̀y yacə̀   yə-s+ à- b- ħ°a- nda(z)
    this yesterday it me+to you tell
    'Would that you had told me this yesterday!'
If -nda(z) is attached to the non-finite present of dynamic
verbs, the temporal reference may be future, present or (pro-
gressive) past, e.g. (ibid.)

    ħ- rə+ la-   m- š°ò-   nda(z) a-   gəgš°ə́g
    we them+among not fall+(dyn.)
    'May we not fall among the beasts!'
    yə- sə̀- q'a   la-   k°a- z   (∅-) ž̌°- də̀r-
    they how (prev.) happen (pl.)(non-fin.) it   you know
    wa-   nda(z)
    (dyn.)
    'Would that you knew how these things happened!'
    arə̀y a-   š°q°°ə̀ yacə̀   b- à- px'o-   nda(z)
    this (art.) book   yesterday you it read+(dyn.)
    'Would that you had been reading this book yesterday!'
Not surprisingly, such optatives easily come to function in
the protases of conditional sentences with the sense of English
'if only!', e.g. (ibid. 179)
    abrà-[a]x' s- àayg°ara-[a]x' w- àa+y-wa-   nda(z),
    hither   me near   to you come (dyn.)
    wə- pə̀nc'a (∅-)ta+pə̀-   s-c°'a- rə-   n
    your nose   it (preverbs) I break (Fut.I) (fin.)
    'If only you would come over here near me, I'd break
     your nose!'
The suffix -nda(z) may also be attached to the non-finite
Perfect, e.g.
    s- taa+c°à (∅-) z-ba- x'à-   nda(z)
    my parents them I see (Perf.)
    'If only   } I had seen my parents!'
    'Would that
In association with the element eg'à 'however much', -nda(z)
usually has suffixed to it the clitic -g'ə 'also, even', and
there is no longer any nuance of 'optativeness' left. In such

---

constructions the temporal reference must be the past, e.g.
    eg'à   də- z-bò-   nda(z)+g'ə
    however-much her I see+(dyn.)
    s- g°ə̀   y- à- x°o-   n
    my heart it it please+(dyn.) (fin.)

    'However much I saw her, my heart used to rejoice'
    eg'à d- a+ z-   x°ə̀cə-nda(z)+g'ə, aħ   y- àž°a
         he it+about think   the-king his word
    y-   a+ zə̀-   y- x°əc- rə-   z
    that-which it+about he think (Fut.I) (non-fin.)
    (∅-)yə +zə̀-   m- də̀r- t
    it he +(potential) not know (fin.)
    'No matter how much he thought about it, he didn't know
     what he was to make of the king's statement' (ibid.180)
    eg'à də- z-ba- x'à-   nda(z)+g'ə də-sə̀- q'a-c
    him I see (Perf.)   he how be (Perf.non-
    də̀-q'a-n   fin.)
    he be (fin.)
    'However often I've seen him, he's remained unchanged'
If we require such a construction to have present or future
temporal reference, then, instead of the optative suffix, we
must use the appropriate form of the conditional mood, e.g.
    eg'à də- z-bò-   za+r+g'ə, s- g°ə   y- à-
         her I see+(dyn.) if   my heart it it
    x°o-   yt'
    please+(dyn.) (fin.)
    'However often I see her, my heart rejoices'
    eg'à də-z-bà-r+ g'ə, s-g°ə y-à-x°o-yt'
            if
    'However much I see her, my heart will rejoice'
    Just as what is essentially the optative mood may be used as
a 'semi-'conditional with the meaning 'if only', so by suffix-
ing -awaz to a true conditional (in -r alone or in -za+r) we
shall have another means of expressing the idea of regret in-
herent in the phrase 'if only'. The suffix -awaz may be
derived from the form
    y-   a- w-   àa-   zə+y
    that-which it does (suffix) (Qu.)
    'What will happen?'
Examples:-
    yax'à d- aa-   r- a+w+à+z
    today he come if
    'If only he were coming today (sc. and not some other
     time)!'
    waž̌°ə̀-c°'q''a də- c°à- za+r-a+w+a+z
    now   exactly she sleep if
    'If only she were sleeping right now!'
    abrə̀y a-   k'inò (∅-)z-ba- x'à-   za+r-a+w+a+z
    this (art.) film it I see (Perf.) if
    'If only I had seen this film already!'

2.1.3.4.5. intentional

As we have already seen (2.1.3.2.1.2), the Present indicat-
ive is used to mark an action that the subject definitely
intends to occur in the future. However, another expression

with the specific meaning 'X intends to ...' also exists - it consists of the purposive (cf. 2.1.3.5) in either -nə or -c̄ plus the copula a-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be', e.g.

    s-ca-ra+nə̀ // s-ca-r+c sə̀-q'o-w+p'
    I go   I be (stat.)
    'I intend to go'

2.1.3.4.6. debitive

(a) The verb expressing the action to be carried out stands in the conditional mood, most commonly in -r alone. This is then followed either by the present of the copular root -a- 'to be' or by the corresponding past form of the copular root -a+k°'ə-, e.g.

    s-cà-r- o-w+p' (⇐ *a-   a- w+p')
    I go   it   be (stat.)
                                 (coll.II)
    'I must go' (of which the negative form would be sə-m-càr-o-w+p')

    s-ca-r-à+k°'ə-n (⇐ *a-   a+k°'ə-n)
                       it   be   (stat.)
                                    (col.II)
    'I had to go // should have gone' (of which the negative form will either be sə-m-cà-r-à+k°'ə-n or s-ca-r-à+k°'ə-mə-z+t')

With stative verbs, of course, only the conditional in -za+r is possible, e.g. (Čkadua, 1970.194)

    à-   ħ°sa rac°à (∅-) wə̀- ma- za+r-o-w+p'
    (art.) women many   them you have if
    'You ought to have many women

In place of the two copular roots just illustrated one may also use either à+k°'ə-xa-ra 'to come into being//become', e.g. (ibid. 195)

    wəbrà-[a]x' də-cà-r, də- y- bà- r   (∅-)à+k°'ə-
    there to   he go if him he see (condit.)   it be
    xo-   n
    become   (fin.)
    +(dyn.)
    'If he had come, he would have had to have seen him'

(of which the negative form would be də-y-bà-r à+k°'ə-xo-mə-z+t') or a-taxə̀-zaa-ra 'to want'. This verb is 'inverted', which is to say simply that in Abkhaz the verb is intransitive, with the result that the object desired is marked by a column I affix, the person desiring by a column II affix. In the construction being examined here the 3rd. person singular non-human column I affix correlating with the clause represented by the conditional verb is absent as its referent immediately precedes it; this leaves the one column II 3rd. person singular non-human affix acting as a 'dummy' indirect object marker (cf. Georgian unda 'he/she/it wants it // it is necessary'), e.g.

    s-ca-r (∅-)   a-   taxə̀-w+p'
           it   it
           (col.I)(col.II)
    'I must go' (of which the negative form would be a-taxə̀-m)

---

    s-ca-r (∅-)a-taxə̀-n
    'I should have gone // had to go'

(of which the negative form would be a-taxə̀-mə-z+t')
The conditional mood may be replaced by the masdar containing the appropriate column II, possessive prefix, which in the present example would be s-ca-rà.

(b) Either of the two nouns meaning 'portion, lot' may be used as the root of a stative verb in another analytic expression of obligation; the nouns are a-k°nagà and a-x°tà. If the masdar is employed to represent the verb whose action is necessary, then two variants are possible: (i) the nominal root of the stative verb will be preceded by the appropriate column II possessive prefix, and the masdar will begin with the definite-generic article a-, e.g.

    a-   ca-rā   (∅-)sə+x°tò-w+p'   //
    (art.) go (masd.) it my lot (stat.)
    (∅-)sə+k°nagò-w+p'
    'It is necessary that I go'

(of which the negative forms would be sə+x°tà-m // sə+k°nagà-m)

    a-ca-rà (∅-)sə+x°tà-n // (∅-)sə+k°nagà-n
    'It was necessary that I go' (or 'I should have gone')

(of which the negative forms would be sə+x°tà-mə-z+t' // sə+k°nagà-mə-z+t')

(ii) alternatively, the masdar will begin with the appropriate column II, possessive prefix, whilst the finite verb contains the same 'dummy' column II 3rd. person singular non-human affix described in the last section in the case of a-taxə̀-zaa-ra, e.g.

    s-ca-rà (∅-)a+x°tò-w+p' // (∅-)a+k°nagò-w+p'
    'It is necessary that I go'

(of which the negative forms would be a+x°tà-m // a+k°nagà-m)
If, on the other hand, the conditional in -r represents the subordinate verb, then this conditional will show in its pre-radical structure an affix correlating with the subject, and the nominal root of the stative verb will be preceded by the 3rd. person singular non-human column II 'dummy'-affix a-, e.g.

    s-ca-r (∅-)a+x°tò-w+p' // (∅-)a+k°nagò-w+p'
    'It is necessary that I go'

(of which the negative forms would be a+x°tà-m // a+k°nagà-m)

    s-ca-r (∅-)a+x°tà-n // (∅-)a+k°nagà-n
    'It was necessary that I go // I should have gone'

(of which the negative forms would be a+x°tà-mə-z+t' // a+k°nagà-mə-z+t')

(c) The noun a-wàl 'obligation' (cf. Georgian vali 'obligation') may also be used as the root of a stative verb and be preceded by the infinitive (masdar), e.g.

    a-ca-rà (∅-)s+wàlə-w+p'
    'I am obliged to go'

(of which the negative form would be s+wàlə-m)

    a-ca-rà (∅-)s+wàlə-n
    'I was obliged to go'

(of which the negative form would be s+wàlə-mə-z+t')
My informant expressed a strong reluctance to accept the suggested variant whereby the masdar would contain the appropriate possessive prefix whilst the nominal root of the stative verb would be preceded by the 'dummy'-affix a-.

2.1.3.4.6.1. Is any distinction made between moral and physical obligation?

No.

2.1.3.4.6.2. Are different degrees of obligation distinguished?

Of the three types of debitive expression (a) seems to have the greatest degree of obligation associated with it. And (c) seems stronger than (b).

2.1.3.4.7. potential

In a simple affirmative statement that the ability to do something exists the verb à-l-ṣa-ra 'to be able' is used in association with the masdar of the verb whose action is possible, e.g.

```
a-        ca-rà    // à-       q'a-     c'a-ra
(art.) go (masd.)    its       (prev.) do  (masd.)
                   (col.II)

(∅-)   sə̀-       l-       ṣo-         yt'
it     to-me     (prev.)  be possible (fin.)
(col.I)(col.II)           +(dyn.)
```
'I can go // do it'

If the verb is negated, then we have a choice of constructions:
(a) the verb à-l-ṣa-ra may incorporate the negative particle, e.g.

```
a-ca-rà // à-q'a-c'a-ra (∅-)sə̀-l-ṣo-m
                                      not
```
'I can't go // do it' (sc. either because I'm too busy or because I am physically incapable)
(b) alternatively, the potential marker -z(ə)-, which is homonymous with the benefactive relational particle (cf.2.1.1.4.1), will simply appear within the pre-radical complex of the verb whose action is being described as impossible. When this potential marker is inserted into the complex of an intransitive verb, nothing happens to the personal pronominal affixes of the complex, e.g.

```
sə̀-       z-       cò-       m
I         (pot.)   go        not
(col.I)            +(dyn.)
```
'I can't go' (sc. because I don't want to)

```
cf. sə̀-      ṣə-    zə̀-    m-  co      (∅-)l-  də̀r- we-
    I         that   (pot.) not go      it    she know (dyn.)
    (col.I)                             (non-fin.)
    yt'
    (fin.)
```
'She knows that I can't go'

However, when it is inserted into a transitive complex, the following change occurs - the verb's subject may no longer be represented by the usual column III affix; instead, it is represented by a column II affix, which is, in effect, 'governed' by the potential marker, for no other element may intervene between these two elements, e.g.

```
yə-sə+       zə̀-    q'a-    c'o-     m
it I+        (pot.) (prev.) do       not
(col.II)                             +(dyn.)
```
'I can't do it'

```
cf.  yə-ṣ-      sə+zə̀-q'a-m-  c'o       (∅-)l-də̀r-we-yt'
         that               not do
                            +(dyn.)
```
'She knows that I can't do it'

The potential -z(ə)- may be used with non-negative verbs in:-
(i) conditions, e.g.

```
àq°'a-    q'a sə-z-      cà-r, sə-y°ə̀z-  c°a
Sukhumi to  I   (pot.)   go if my friend (pl.) them
(∅-) z-bo-       yt'
them I see       (fin.)
     +(dyn.)
```
'If I can go to Sukhumi, I'll see my friends'
(N.B. that this condition implies that I have it within my own power to go or not, whereas the alternative a-ca-rà (∅-)sə-l-ṣa-r, as in the case of the negative examples given above, rather suggests physical ability; this same dichotomy is also valid for the other examples below);
(ii) questions, e.g.

```
wac°'ə̀    àq°'a-q'a bə-  z-      ca-rə̀-    {w
tomorrow            you (pot.) go (Fut.I)  {ma
                                            (Qu.)
```
'Will you be able to go to Sukhumi tomorrow?'
(iii) wishes, e.g.

```
a-        ṣk'òl  a- c̣'ə̀ a+k'ə̀      (∅-)sə+z-    c'à-
(art.) school it in  something it   I+ (pot.) learn
nda(z)        ħ°a     d- à+ šta-  n
(optative) saying he its+track (fin.)
```
'It was his desire to learn something at school' (lit. = '"If only I could learn something at school!" (was the desire) he pursued')
(N.B. that the potential -z(ə)- is always used when the verb a-də̀r-ra 'to know' is negated.)

2.1.3.4.8. degree of certainty

(a) simple statement: the copular is used, as in:-
```
a-        y°nə̀  də̀-q'o-w+p'
(art.) house he be  (stat.)
```
'He is at home'
(b) obligation-statement: the construction is that described under 2.1.3.4.6a, e.g.
```
a-y°nə̀ də-q'a-za+r-ò-w+p'
```
'He must be at home'
(c) contingent: the conditional mood is used together with the auxiliary verb à-q'a-la-ra 'to happen', which may be either Present or Future I indicative, cf. section 2.1.3.4.14, e.g.
```
a-y°nə̀ də̀-q'a-za+r (∅-)q'a     là-     p'      //
                   if   it (prev.) happen (Fut.I)
(∅-)q'a-lò-     yt'
happen  (fin.)
        +(dyn.)
```
'He may be at home'
(d) assumption: here Abkhaz employs one of its many idioms - a finite verb is used for the action being assumed; this is followed by the particle indicating a direct quotation ħ°a, which in turn is followed by the copula à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be', which contains the column I affix appropriate to the person making the assumption, e.g.

a-y°nə̀ də̀-q'o-w+p' ħ°a   sə̀-q'o-w+p'
                    saying I be (stat.)
                           (= I think)
        'I think that he is at home'
A variant for this last example seems to involve a contamina-
tion of the last two structures, such that the conditional mood
of (c) combines with the idiomatic expression 'to think' found
in (d), e.g.
        a-y°nə̀ də̀-q'a-za+r ħ°a sə̀-q'o-w+p'
                    if
        'I think he's at home'

2.1.3.4.9. authority_for_assertion

Abkhaz is able to indicate that an assertion is made as a
result of inference or hear-say by means of the following dev-
ice - the complex exponent -zaa+p' is suffixed to the non-
finite forms of the following tenses: Perfect, Aorist, Future
II, and Present. An example based on the Perfect would be
        də- r- š- x'à-   zaa+p'
        him they kill (Perf.)
        'Apparently they have already killed him'
On the other hand, the complex exponent -zaa+rə+n is suffixed
to the non-finite forms of the Imperfect, Past Indefinite,
Conditional II, and Plu-perfect, and, as a result of the collo-
cation of the final -z of these non-finites with the initial
z- of the suffix concerned, one -z- disappears, as illustrated
in this example of the Plu-perfect
        də-r-š-x'à-zaa+rə+n
        'Apparently they had already killed him'
All tenses thus have a corresponding inferential mood with the
exception of the Future I and Conditional I (see Hewitt, 1979
for a discussion).
    In the case of stative verbs, -zaa+p' is attached to the
bare stem, e.g.
        də-štà-zaa+p'
        he lie
        'He is lying down apparently'
There is no way of deciding whether the suffix -zaa+rə+n is
similarly attached to the bare stem or to the non-finite past,
which subsequently loses a -z-, just like the corresponding
dynamic verbs described above - the result is the same, viz.
        də-štà-zaa+rə+n
        'Apparently he was lying down'

2.1.3.4.10. hortatory

For exhortations (1st. person imperatives) see 2.1.3.2.1.4.
lai.

2.1.3.4.11. monitory

The idiomatic expression a-g°-q-a-nə̀-zaa-ra, which literally
means 'the-self-to-be-in-the-heart (i.e. centre of intelli-
gence)', is used in the subjunctive in conjunction with either
a negative subjunctive (for a general warning) or with a pro-
hibition (for a more immediate warning) representing the action
being warned against, e.g.

wə- g°ə̀ wə+ q- a- nə̀-z(aa+yt')
your heart your+self it in (subjunctive)
wə- k'a- m- ħ[a]- àa+yt' // wə-k'à-m-ħa-n
you down not fall (subj.   (prohibition
    (prev.)   suffix)
    'Be careful you don't fall down!'

2.1.3.4.14. contingent

The verb à-q'a-la-ra 'to happen' is used in association with
the appropriate conditional mood (in -r alone for a simple ac-
tion; in -(wa-)za+r for a progressive action). Note that the
Future I and the Present of the main verb are interchangeable
if the temporal reference is future or present, e.g.
    wac°'ə̀   a-   k°à (∅-)a- wə̀- r   (∅-)q'a-
    tomorrow (art.) rain it it make (condit.) it (prev.)
    là-   p'   // (∅-)q'a-lò-   yt'
    happen (fin.)   happen+(dyn.) (fin.)
    'It may rain tomorrow'
    d- à- px'o- za+r   (∅-)a'q-là-p'// (∅-)q'a-lò-yt'
    he it read   (condit.)
        +(dyn.)
    'He may be reading'
    a-   y°nə̀ də̀-q'a-za+r   (∅-)q'a-là-p'//
    (art.) house he be (condit.)
    (∅-)q'a-lò-yt'
    'He may be at home'
If the temporal reference of the sentence is past, then either
the Imperfect or Conditional I tenses of the main verb are
possible, e.g.
    yacə̀   a- p'rofèsor d- aa- r   (∅-)q'a-la-
    yesterday the professor he come (condit.)
    rə̀-n   // (∅-)q'a-lò-n,   yə- y°ə̀za abrà də-sə̀-
    (Cond.I)   (Imperf.) his friend here he that
    q'a-z   (∅-)yə-dər- wa-   z-   t+g'ə
    be (non-fin.)   he know (dyn.) (non-fin.) if
    'The professor might have come yesterday, if he had
        known that his friend was here'
    An alternative construction is for à-l-sa-ra 'to be possible'
to be used impersonally, i.e. with a dummy, 3rd. person singu-
lar non-human column II affix standing in place of the personal
affix indicating the person possessing the ability concerned;
this verb will then be preceded by either a conditional mood or
the masdar (plus appropriate possessive prefix) of the verb
whose action is being stated to be possible, e.g.

s-ca-r   // s- ca-rà   (∅-)à- l-   so-
I go (condit.)   my go (masd.) it it (prev.) be-possible
yt'   +(dyn.)
(fin.)
    'There is a possibility that I shall go // I may go'

2.1.3.4.15. unwillingness

A special affix is inserted into the pre-radical verbal com-
plex to show that the subject is acting unwillingnely; it is
-amxa-, and it has the same effect on transitive verbs as does

the potential affix -z(ə)- (cf. 2.1.3.4.7), namely the expected column III, transitive subject-affix is replaced by the corresponding column II affix, which becomes 'governed' by the affix -amxa-, e.g.

```
s-ȧmxa-co-      yt'
I       go      (fin.)
                +(dyn.)
```
'I am going unwillingly'
```
yə-ş-   s+ȧmxa-  q'a-    c'o        (∅-)l-  dər- we-
it that I        (prev.) do         it   she know (dyn.)
yt'     (col.II)          (non-fin.)
(fin.)
```
'She knows that I am doing it unwillingly'

Both the potential and unwillingness markers may stand in the same complex, e.g.
```
yə+ q-   y+ ȧmxa-sə+zə-    r-   š-   wa-    m
his+self him      I+ (pot.) cause kill (dyn.) not
```
'I can't make him kill himself unwillingly'

(where -amxa- is construed with the subject of the embedded verb).

2.1.3.4.16. subjunctive

The characteristic suffix for this mood is the compound exponent -aa+yt'. In the case of stative verbs, the suffix is added to the non-finite past tense form, which ends in -z; however, the subjunctive suffix may be entirely omitted such that this non-finite past tense form in -z becomes endowed with subjunctive functions. For dynamic verbs, the suffix is added to the non-finite Aorist (i.e. to the simple stem) to produce a form having future temporal reference - if the verbal root ends in -a, this will fall before the aa- of the suffix. The suffix is also attached to (a) the non-finite Past Indefinite (in -z) for past temporal reference, (b) the non-finite Imperfect (in -wa-z) for present temporal reference, and (c) the non-finite Plu-perfect (in -x'a-z) for perfect temporal reference. In each of these last three cases (i.e. where the base-form ends in -z) the subjunctive suffix may be omitted leaving the simple non-finite forms themselves endowed with subjunctive functions.

The subjunctive is used for (i) 3rd. person imperatives, e.g. (Čkadua, 1970.187)
```
à-    rax°-   g'ə ... a-  tə̀p  a- q'ə̀ yə̀-q'a-z
the cattle also      its place it in  it be  (non-fin)
(-aa+yt')
(subj.)
```
'Let the cattle also be in its place!'
```
yə-l-   g[a]-àa+yt'
it she take (subj.)
```
'Let her take it!'

(ii) for wishes in all three persons, e.g. (ibid.)
```
sə-ps-  àa+yt'
I  die
```
'May I die!'
```
bzə̀ya         (∅-)wə- b[a]-àa+yt'
good(thing) it  you see
```
'Greetings!' (lit. 'May you see something good!')

```
a-      nc°à wə- y- m-  š-   àa+yt'
(art.) God  you he not kill
```
'May God not kill you!'
```
rax°   (∅-) sə̀-ma-  z             (-àa+yt')
cattle them I   have (non-fin.)
```
'May I possess cattle!'

(iii) when -aa+yt' is attached to forms ending in -z, i.e. where it is possible for the entire suffix to be omitted (in the case of stative verbs, since this suffix always attaches to the same form and this ends in -z, there is here no formal difference), the meaning is slightly different, being rather 'let it be so that...//so be it then that...', e.g.
```
wəy  wə-  g°ə̀la     şaq'à də-bə̀yo-w-          ze+y!
that your neighbour how   he rich (non-fin.) (exclamation)
a-       y°n-  k°à    x-pa,          à-     rax°=à-š°ax°
(art.) house (pl.) 3 (non-human) (art.) livestock
rac°a+nə̀ (∅-) yə̀-mo-  w+p'.    (∅-) yə̀-ma-  z
many       them he have (stat.) them he have (non-fin.)
(-àa+yt'), sarà a+k'ə + g'ə̀ (∅-) sə̀-ma-  m,  axà yaħà
subj.)     I      anything even it   I   have not but  more
nasə̀p      (∅-)sə̀-mo-  w+p'
happiness it   I   have (stat.)
```
'"How rich that neighbour of yours is! He has three houses and many animals."
"Let him have them! (What of it that he has them?!).
I have nothing but yet have greater happiness."'
```
yə-sə+z-  q'ə̀-    l-  t-   wa-    z           (-àa+yt'),
it me+for (prev.) she shout (dyn.) (non-fin.) (subj.)
wəy      l-  àxa          (∅-)sə̀-ma-  m
that-one her time(for) it   I   have not
```
'So she's shouting for me - let her, I don't have time for her!'
```
yə-l-  gà-   z           (-aa+yt') — wə̀s+g'ə̀ yə-ga-
it she take (non-fin.) (subj.)       anyway   it take
t°'ə̀-       n
(gerundive) (fin.)
```
'She took it - so what? it was to be taken in any case!'
```
də- l-  ga- x'à-   z           (-aa+yt'), sa s-rə-
him she take (Perf.) (non-fin.) (subj.)         I them
x'-      jò-      yt'
(prev.) overtake (fin.)
                  +(dyn.)
```
'So she's taken him already - it doesn't matter, I'll catch them up' (ibid.)

2.1.3.5. Finite and non-finite forms

Abkhaz has a non-finite formation which is here called 'purposive' but which is traditionally termed the 'purpose-conditional mood' (Georgian = mizan-p'irobiti k'ilo; Russian = uslovno-celevoe naklonenie), which is generally described as being formed by means of the suffixation of one of the three exponents -c, -nə, -t°' to the conditional mood in -r alone (see Aristava et al., 1968.124). The work just quoted also states another generally accepted view to the effect that: 'In the Abkhaz literary language there also exists an analytic means of representing the purpose-conditional. In such cases

the postposition -zə "for" is attached to the masdar.' If such forms in -zə are examined, it will be seen that, when formed on transitive verbs, they contain both the column III, subject-affix and the column I, direct-object affix, e.g.

    yə-q'a-   s- c'a-ra-zə̀ (⇐ *-ra-a- zə)
    it (prev.) I do   it for
      '... that I do it'

But it is known from section 2.1.1.3.2 that the masdar may not contain any column III or column I affixes. It is clear also from the form just given that -zə is attached to a base ending in -ra, just as does the masdar too.   On the other hand, there actually exists a form that ends in -ra and contains column I and column III affixes - this is the non-finite Future I, and, since clauses expressing purpose have a temporal reference which is future (i.e. relative to the temporal reference of their introductory verbs), there is clearly an argument in favour of analysing such formations as being based not on the masdar but on the non-finite Future I. Now let us turn to the purposives proper. Formations in -nə are always attached to bases ending in -ra; where the formant is -t°', whilst forms in -r+t°' are now the most common, parallel formations in -ra+t°'ə are not unknown; formations in -c always end in -r+c. Given the precisely parallel formations of forms in -zə and those in -nə, plus the possibility of attaching -t°'ə to a base ending in -ra suggests to the present author that we are here dealing with a unified phenomenon, and that all four formations ultimately derive from the non-finite Future I - the present-day compound suffixes -r+c and -r+t°' will result from the loss of interconsonantal -a- (loss of the vowel a is not unknown in Abkhaz generally - witness such imperative formations as yə-f 'Eat it!' ⇐ à-fa-ra 'to eat' - and is very frequent in the Bzyp dialect, whereas the proponents of regarding the base-form here as being the conditional mood in -r would either have to propose an unusual rule of a-insertion or to assume that an older form of the conditional suffix was actually -ra in order to account for forms in -ra+nə and -ra+t°'ə). What has been said so far about the morphology of the purposives is true only for those derived from dynamic verbs; purposives built on stative verbs show the element -zaa- before the usual purposive-endings (i.e. those endings that are characteristic of the purposive in dynamic verbs), e.g.

      də-štà-zaa-r+t°' // də-štà-zaa-ra+t°'ə
      də-štà-zaa-r+c
      də-štà-zaa-ra+nə
      də-štà-zaa-ra+zə

where -šta- is the root 'to lie (down)'. Such forms will be based on the non-finite Future ending in -zaa-ra, which derives from the (admittedly rare) stative Future formation in -zaa-p'.

   As regards the function of these purposives, it is by no means clear that the three formations in -c, -nə and -t°' should all be described by one single term -. whilst the first two formations (plus that ending in -zə) certainly serve to illustrate a purpose, e.g.

      də- s-š-   ra+zə̀ // də-s-šə̀-r+c s-aa- yt'
      him I kill   I come (fin.)
        'I came in order to kill him'

      də- r- š-   ra+nə̀ // də-r-šə̀-r+c (∅-)rə- jbə̀- yt'
      him they kill   it they decide (fin.)
        'They decided to kill him'

the remaining formation in -t°', in addition to its function in the periphrastic construction employed when a di-transitive verb is made causative (2.1.3.1.3.1.3), also appears in consecutive clauses, e.g.

      wəbàs (∅-)yə̀+ cə- w+p'   à-   y°- ra
      so   it him+with (stat.) (art.) run (masd.)
          (= he-is-fat)
      (∅-)yə̀-lə-   m- sa- r+t°' eyps
      it he (prev.) not can   as
        'He is so fat that he can't run'

and in such potential expressions as:

      s-ca-r+t°' // s-ca-ra+t°'ə̀ sə̀-q'o-w+p'
      I go   I be (stat.)
        'I am ready go to//can go'

Perhaps, therefore, this last formation could more justifiably be styled the 'potential-consecutive'.

   Also, in addition to possessing the archetypal non-finite form, the verbal noun (masdar//infinitive), which for dynamic verbs ends in -ra (à-q'a-c'a-ra 'to do, make'), and for stative verbs in -zaa+ra (à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be'), together with a past absolutive in -nə (equivalent in meaning to an English perfect participle) and (in the case of dynamic verbs only) a present absolutive, which is formally identical to the non-finite Present and is equivalent in meaning to an English present participle (cf. 2.1.1.3), Abkhaz makes a most important distinction between finite and non-finite forms of each main indicative tense. The function of the non-finite forms is, by incorporating a variety of affixes, to represent the entire range of subordinate constructions - cf. the section on syntax to discover which affixes combine with the non-finite forms to produce the various subordinate structures; the non-finite forms presented below are those used for the representation of Abkhaz relative clauses (see 1.1.2.3).

2.1.3.5.2. Finite and non-finite tense-forms

   There are 10 dynamic tense-forms in Abkhaz, which may be set out in two groups, thus:-

I

Present:	s-co-⌐y⌐t' (⇐ *s-ca-wa-⌐y⌐t') 'I go'
Aorist:	s-ce-yt' (⇐ *s-ca-yt') 'I went'
Future I:	s-ca-p' 'I shall go then'
Future II:	s-ca-s+t' 'I shall probably go'
Perfect:	s-ca-x'è-yt' (⇐ *s-ca-x'a-yt') 'I have already gone'

II

Imperfect:	s-co-n (⇐ *s-ca-wa-n) 'I was going'
[Past Indefinite	s-ca-n 'I went and ...']
Conditional I:	s-ca-rè-n 'I should go them'
Conditional II:	s-cà-sa-n 'I should probably go'
Plu-perfect	s-ca-x'à-n 'I had already gone'

From this we see that the finite marker of the second group is -n, which is simply replaced by -z to produce the corresponding non-finite forms set out below (in the case of the second variant for the non-finite Plu-perfect the final -z is added to a

base-form which does not appear in any corresponding finite
form; this base-form is discussed later in this section):-

Imperfect: yə-cò-z (⇐ *yə-ca-wa-z) '(he) who was going'
Past Indefinite: yə-cà-z '(he) who went'
Conditional I: yə-ca-rə̀-z '(he) who would go then'
Conditional II: yə-cà-ṣa-z '(he) who would probably go'
Plu-perfect: yə-ca-x'à-z//yə-cà-cə-z '(he) who had already
                            gone//(he) who had already gone several times'

The finite forms of the first group show the finite marker
-⌐y't', with the exception of the Future I, whose final -p'
combines the functions of indicating both futurity and finite-
ness. When transformed into their non-finite counterparts, the
finite marker -⌐y't' simply disappears - in the case of the
Future II, the final -a is then restored to the characteristic
morph of this tense to produce final -ṣa, whilst for the Future
I, -p' disappears and the underlying morph characteristic of
this tense (-ra) is restored (N.B. that -rə- in the Conditional
I is derived from this -ra-):-

Present: yə-cò (⇐ *yə-ca-wa) '(he) who goes'
Aorist: yə-cà '(he) who went'
Future I: yə-ca-rà '(he) who will go then'
Future II: yə-cà-ṣa '(he) who will probably go'
Perfect: yə-ca-x'ò-w (⇐ *yə-ca-x'a-w) '(he) who has
                                     already gone'

A few additional remarks about certain of the non-finite
forms are in order. Whilst the finite Past Indefinite may not
be used unless followed by (usually) an Aorist finite form by
virtue of its meaning ('X did Y and ...') and is thus not a
true 'finite' form at all, it is convenient to treat it tog-
ether with the regular finite forms for two reasons - (a) form-
ally it ends in the marker characteristic of the second group
of tenses (-n); (b) it behaves like a true finite form in pos-
sessing a corresponding non-finite structure (see the list
above). Now, regarding this non-finite Past Indefinite, as is
clear from the gloss appended to it above, it does not require
the presence of any following non-finite verb to complete the
sense of the subordinate clause in which it stands; indeed,
there is virtually no difference between the Aorist and Past
Indefinite non-finite forms. Of the non-finite Aorist Čkadua
(1970.215) states that 'it is predominantly found with the
temporal adverbial element -an- and very rarely with the other
adverbial affixes and with the relative-pronominal prefixes',
whereas her comment on the non-finite Past Indefinite is that
'it differs from the Aorist in that essentially it is found
with the relative-pronominal prefixes or with the adverbial
elements of place -ax'-... or manner -ṣ- ... [or cause -z- —
B.G.H.] and very rarely with the adverbial element of time
-an-' (ibid. 216) - see the relevant examples in 1.1.2.4.2.

An alternative, though little used form of the non-finite
Perfect is yə-ca-x'à. A special non-finite form that is gener-
ally assigned to the Perfect paradigm exists to indicate that
the activity concerned has already been in progress for some
time or has already occurred several times; this is produced by
attaching -c directly to the verbal root, e.g.

yə-   cò-   da — yə-   cà-c
he-who go   who?   he-who go
       +(dyn.)

'Who is going? He who has already gone several times'
(see also the pair of examples presented in 1.4.1); for the
negative non-finite Perfect only this latter form may be used
(yə̀-m-ca-c 'he who has not already gone'). Note also that,
when this base is used for the alternative non-finite Plu-
perfect (yə-cà-cə-z), the same nuance attaches to it as to the
corresponding non-finite Perfect in -c.

An alternative form for the non-finite Future I is often
given as ending in -la+k'' (//-la+g'). However, when this form
is used with future signification, we seem to have a (relative)
Future Perfect rather than a simple Future, e.g.

d- an- ca-là+k'' yə-b+ à- s-ħ°o-   yt'
he when go   it you+to I say   (fin.)
                           +(dyn.)

'When he goes (i.e. will have gone), I will tell you'
cf. d-an-ca-rà   (∅-)sə+z-   də̀r- wa-   m
      (non-fin. Fut.I) it I+ (pot.) know (dyn.) not

'I don't know when he'll go'
That forms in -ra are not restricted to indirect questions is
shown by the following

wac°'ə̀   yə- ca-rà   à- č'k°'ən də- sə+z-   də̀r-
tomorrow who go (Fut.I) the boy   him I+(pot.) know
wa-   m
(dyn.) not

'I don't know the boy who will go tomorrow'
However, forms in -la+k'', or, more usually, -la+k'+g'ə,
where -g'ə is the clitic 'also, even', (N.B. the non-palatalis-
ation of the -k'-), are most commonly used to mark indefinite
subordinate clauses, regardless of the tense of the main verb,
e.g.

d- an- aa- là+k''(//-k'+g'ə) sə-y+ à-
he when come (indefinite)   I him+to
c°až°a-lo-   n
talk   (iter.+dyn.) (fin.)

'Whenever he came, I used to talk to him'
This fact rather casts doubt on the ascription of forms in
-la+k'' exclusively to the Future I paradigm.

As regards the stative verbs, there is naturally a pair of
finite and non-finite forms for each of the two basic tenses of
Present and Past, as here illustrated by the copula
à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be':-
Present finite = də̀-q'o-w+p' (⇐ *də-q'a-w+p') 'he is'
Present non-finite = yə̀-q'o-w (⇐ *yə-q'a-w) '(he) who is'
Past finite = də̀-q'a-n 'he was'
Past non-finite = yə̀-q'a-z '(he) who was'

From this we see that the non-finite Present is produced by
simply dropping the final +p' of the corresponding finite form,
whereas the Past behaves like all dynamic verbs of the second
group of tenses, which end in -n and simply replace this by -z
to produce the non-finite counterpart. In addition, there
exists a non-finite (and non-finite only) Perfect formed by
attaching -c directly to the root, e.g.
Perfect finite = no form

Perfect non-finite = yə̀-q'a-c '(he) who has already been'
(the negative of this form will be yə̀-q'a-mə-c).

The derived tenses of stative verbs, produced by the inser-
tion of the suffix -zaa-, form their non-finite forms entirely
regularly, as illustrated by the following three Futures of
à-q'a-zaa-ra 'to be':-
Future (corresponding formally to a dynamic Present):
finite = də̀-q'a-zaa-we-yt' 'He will be' (negative =
də̀-q'a-zaa-wa-m)
non-finite = yə̀-q'a-zaa-wa '(he) who will be'
(N.B. that the negative this time will be yə̀-q'a-m-zaa-wa,
with the negative -m- following the root, whereas in the paral-
lel dynamic formation this particle must stand before the root,
as in yə̀-m-co, which derives from *yə-m-ca-wa '(he) who is not
going').
Future I:
finite = də̀-q'a-zaa-p' (negative = də̀-q'a-zaa-rə-m)
non-finite = yə̀-q'a-zaa-ra (negative = yə̀-q'a-m-zaa-ra)
Future II:
finite = də̀-q'a-zaa-ṣ+t' (negative = də̀-q'a-zaa-ṣa-m)
non-finite = yə̀-q'a-zaa-ṣa (negative = yə̀-q'a-m-zaa-ṣa)

2.1.3.5.3. Finite and non-finite aspect-forms

All the aspects discussed in 2.1.3.3 have corresponding non-
finite forms (in the sense of the specifically Abkhaz opposi-
tion of finite v. non-finite forms as just examined in the pre-
ceding section) formed in the regular way (cf. 2.1.3.5.2) with
the exception of the terminative aspect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.7),
which is represented by the finite Past Indefinite, for the
corresponding non-finite form is virtually equivalent to the
non-finite Aorist (cf. 2.1.3.5.2).

The masdar may not contain any aspect-marking affixes. The
purposives may contain the iterative suffix -la-, as is clear
from the following

```
a-        ṣk'òl  [a-] ax'  d-   a-  gə-     m-  xà-
(art.)    school  it to she it (prev.) not be-late-for
k°'a         də-  ca-là-    r+c    // də-ca-la-ra+zə̀   //
(absol.neg.) she go (iter.) (purp.)            (purp.)
də-ca-la-ra+nə̀  // də-ca-là-r+t°'    (∅-)l+  à-  s-ħ°e-
   (purp.)         (purp.)           her+to I say
yt'
(fin.)
```
        'I told her to go regularly to school without being
        late'

The only absolutive (cf. 2.1.1.3 and 2.1.3.5) possessed by
stative verbs, which is produced by adding the suffix -nə to
the root of the verb, naturally conveys the same continuous
aspect that is inherent in the meaning of all stative verbs
(cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.4), e.g.
```
à-  my°a d- a- nə-nə̀         d- àa+y-we-    yt'
the road he it on (absol.)  he come (dyn.) (fin.)
```
        'He is coming along the road' (lit. 'being on the road')
For dynamic verbs the present absolutive, which differs from
the non-finite Present in that, if the verb is transitive, there
will be no column III, subject-affix present (cf. 2.1.1.3), is
used to indicate that one action is contemporaneous with an-
other and thus marks progressive aspect, e.g.

```
a+k'rə̀-     fo        də-t°'ò-w+p'
something    eat       he sit  (stat.)
            +(dyn.)
```
        'He is sitting eating'
The past absolutive, on the other hand, which is formed by ad-
ding the suffix -nə to the verbal root and which, if transitive,
similarly lacks the column III, subject-affix (cf. 2.1.1.3), in-
dicates that one action is completed before another begins and
thus conveys terminative aspect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.7.1); this
absolutive is equivalent in meaning to the English perfect par-
ticiple and is construed with any tense of main verb, e.g.
```
a+k'rə̀-    fa- nə        də-d°ə̀+l-    c'-we-   yt'
something eat (absol.)  he (preverbs) go (dyn.) (fin.)
```
        'Having eaten, he will go out'
The absolutives may not incorporate the iterative suffix -la-
nor the suffix -k°a-, which is similar in meaning to the iter-
ative suffix (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.13). For the formation and func-
tion of two other non-finite forms in -nə see below (2.1.3.5.5).

Non-finite Perfects and Plu-perfects characterised by the
element -c(ə) provide an aspectual nuance not associated with
their finite counterparts - that of indicating that an action
begun some time before is still in progress at the time of the
events being described (cf. the discussion in 2.1.3.5.2). Such
forms sometimes rather seem to suggest that the action is one
that has been accomplished several times (cf. the example given
in 2.1.3.5.2). It will be recalled that Abkhaz has another
device for indicating this, namely the post-radical suffix
-k°a-, which my informant particularly associates with the Per-
fect (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.13). It should not be assumed that non-
finite (Plu-)Perfects in -c(ə) are to be regarded therefore as
the non-finite counterparts of these finite forms, for finites
containing the suffix -k°a- possess entirely regular non-finite
formations. Thus the difference between the following pair of
sentences -
```
y-     àa-ba- c a-  k'inò  (∅-)q'à-    lo-    yt'
which we see   the film it   (prev.) happen (fin.)
```
vs.
```
y-     àa-ba- k°a-x'o-   w       a-k'inò (∅-)q'à-lo-yt'
which we see     (Perf.) (non-fin.)
```
        'The film we've already seen several times is going to
        be on'
is that the first alternative (with -c) suggests that each sep-
arate instance of our seeing the film is part of one whole pro-
cess or 'chain of events' (to use the description of Aristava
et al., 1968. 109) - thus 'the film which we have been seeing
regularly ...', whereas the second variant implies no more than
is stated in the first translation appended to the examples
above, namely that we have seen the film several times. This
allows us to conclude that the essential role of forms in -c(ə)
is to mark an action begun prior to, but still in progress at,
the time of the events being described (past or present) how-
ever loosely interpreted this action or process may be.

2.1.3.5.4. Finite and non-finite modal forms

As the majority of the moods (other than the indicative) are
formed by means of the suffixation of special markers to the
various non-finite forms, it is natural that such moods will

not have non-finite forms themselves. However, regular non-
finite forms, produced in the normal way, are readily available
where the mood in question is produced by means of prefixation
(e.g. the potential formed by insertion of -z(ə)-, cf.
2.1.3.4.7; and 'unwillingness' formed by insertion of -amxa-,
cf. 2.1.3.4.15) or by association of either the masdar or the
conditional mood of the basic verb with some auxiliary such as
in the case of (a) debitive, where there may be an association
of conditional mood in -r with the auxiliary a-taxə̀-zaa-ra 'to
want', cf. 2.1.3.4.6; if the auxiliary is rather the straight-
forward copula, then only the root -a+k°'(ə)- seems possible as
the basis for building the necessary non-finite form, whereas
the copular root -a- is rather used for the finite Present, cf.
2.1.3.4.6; alternatively, either the masdar or the conditional
mood in -r may be associated with stative verbs built on the
nouns a-x°tà//a-k°nagà 'portion, lot' and a-wàl 'obligation',
cf. 2.1.3.4.6b/c; (b) potential, where the construction is that
of masdar plus auxiliary à-l-ṣa-ra 'to be able', cf. 2.1.3.4.7;
(c) contingent, where there will be an association of condi-
tional mood with à-q'a-la-ra 'to happen', or either the masdar
or the conditional mood will be used in conjunction with
à-l-ṣa-ra 'to be able', cf. 2.1.3.4.14.
   Examples of constructions (a)-(c) are set out below:-
(a) debitive
   (i) yə-q'a-   s-c'à-r   (∅-)z-   taxə̀- w
       it (prev.) I do (condit.) it which (must) (non-fin.)
       a- wə̀s
       the job
          'the job that I must do...'
(for the replacement of the dummy-affix a- of the finite
(∅-)a-taxə̀-w+p' by the relative affix z- agreeing with the
head-noun see the discussion in 1.1.2.3.7)
   (ii) s-ca-r   ax'-   [a]-à+k°'ə-w   à- kalak'
        I go (condit.) where it be   (non-fin.) the town
           'the town where I must go ...'
Note that, where the head-noun is an argument of the subordin-
ate verb, this construction involving the copula plus condi-
tional mood is avoided altogether in favour of the non-finite
Future II, e.g.
       yə̀-   q'a-   s-c'a-ṣa   a- wə̀s
       which (prev.) I do (Fut.II) the job
          'the job I must do ...'
  (iii) yə-q'a-s-c'à-r   (∅-)zə-   x°tò-w   //
                         (condit.) it whose lot (non-fin.)
        (∅-)zə-k°nagò-w // (∅-)z-wàlə-w a-wə̀s
           'the job I must//am obliged to do ...'
   (iv) s- ca-rà   (∅-)ax'- a- x°tò-w (etc..) à-kalak'
        my go (masd.) it where it
           'the town where I must go ...'
(b) potential
     s-ca-rà (∅-)ax'- à- l-   ṣo   à-kalak'
             it where it (prev.) be-possible
                                  (non-fin.)
        'the town where I can go ...'

(c) contingent
   (i) arə̀y (∅-)q'a-   z- c'à-r   (∅-)q'a-   lò
       this it (prev.) who do (condit.) it (prev.) happen
                                                    (non-fin.)
       a- xàc'a
       the man
          'the man who may do this ...'
  (ii) yə-q'a-s-c'à-r (∅-)zə-   l-   ṣò   a-wə̀s
       it   I   it which (prev.) be-possible
                                                (non-fin.)
          'the job which I may do ...'
 (iii) s-ca-rà   (∅-)ax'- à- l-   ṣo   à-kalak'
       (masd.) it where it (prev.) be-possible
                                                (non-fin.)
          'the town where I may go ...'

2.1.3.5.5. Supplement on non-finite forms

   Perhaps an analogy with the formal difference between the
Past Indefinite (-Root+n) and the past absolutive (-Root+nə),
two other tenses ending in -n (namely, the Imperfect and the
Plu-perfect) form the basis for other non-finite verbal forms
in -nə. The derivative from the Plu-perfect is used either
alone or in association with the postposition eypṣ 'like, as'
(or with àamta+zə 'at the time', or with eypṣ àamta+zə to-
gether) to give the equivalent of English 'when X had (just)
happened', e.g.
   wərt (∅-) ca-x'à-   nə {eypṣ / eypṣ àamta+zə / àamta+zə} s-aa- yt'
   they they go (Perf.)   I come (fin.)
      'I came at the moment when they had just gone'
cf. wərt (∅-) ca-x'à-n
      'They had gone'
   The form in -nə derived from the Imperfect functions as the
marker of a direct object subordinate clause, e.g.
   d- aa- wa- nə (∅-) yə-ħ°è-yt'
   he come (dyn.)   it he say (fin.)
      'He said that he would come'
cf. d-aa-wà-n
      'He was coming'
(N.B. that also possible here would be either the Present or
Imperfect non-finite forms containing the complementiser-prefix
-ṣ- 'that' - də-ṣ-aa-wà//də-ṣ-aa-wà-z respectively.)

   àq°'a- q'a də-co-   nə (∅-)z-be- yt'
   Sukhumi to he go   it I see (fin.)
           +(dyn.)
      'I saw that he was going to Sukhumi'
(N.B. that also possible here is the non-finite Imperfect con-
taining the complementiser-prefix -ṣ- — də-ṣ-cò-z.)
Observe that a variant of this last example exists where the
subject of the subordinate verb appears as direct object to the
main verb, e.g.
   àq°'a-q'a də-co-nə̀ // də-ṣ-cò-z də- z-bè-yt'
                                    him
which may be translated 'I saw him going to Sukhumi'.
cf. also
   àq°'a-q'a də-co-nə̀ // də-ṣ-cò-z // d-an- cò-z sə̀-y+
                                      when   I him+

```
k°-        š°e- yt'
(prev.) meet (fin.)
```
   'I met him going (when going) to Sukhumi'
However, such forms in -nə based on the Imperfect are not al-
ways possible where English employs such gerunds, e.g.
```
də-d°ə̀+l-      c'-wa-    nə // də-s-    d°ə̀+l-c'-wa (-z)
he (preverbs) go (dyn.)        that
(∅-)s-aħà- yt'
it  I hear (fin.)
```
   'I heard that he was going out'
but, if the meaning is 'I heard him going out', we may only
have
```
də-s-d°ə̀+l-c'-wa-z (∅-)s-aħà-yt'
```
The following example is, however, quite ungrammatical:
```
*də-d°ə̀+l-c'-wa-nə də-s-aħà-yt'
```
   Wherever the form in -nə derived from the Imperfect has
appeared above, it has been possible to substitute for it the
non-finite Imperfect containing the complementiser-prefix
-s(ə)-. However, there is another context in which this form
in -nə appears where its variants are rather either the finite
Present plus the particle marking a direct quote, ħ°a, or the
non-finite Present containing the complementiser-prefix -s(ə)-
- that context is the indirect question, e.g.
```
àq°'a-q'a də-co-nə̀  (ħ°a)  (∅-)bə- də̀r- wa-    ma
                saying it  you know (dyn.) (Qu.)
```
   'Do you know whether he is going to Sukhumi?'
(N.B. the optional presence here of the particle ħ°a which
perhaps arises as the result of a contamination with the first
of the variants, which are: də-cò-yt' ħ°a and də-s-cò; where
this latter form is used, the sentence may mean 'Do you know
that he is going to Sukhumi?'.)

2.1.3.6. Person/number/etc. (cf. 2.1.2.1)

2.1.3.6.1. The following (a) must (b) may be coded within the verb

2.1.3.6.1.1. subject

   Subjects must be coded by means of the appropriate pronomin-
al affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1) in all complexes with the exception of
(a) 2nd. person singular subjects of the (positive) imperative
of transitive verbs (cf. 2.1.3.4.3.1); (b) all transitive sub-
jects of the present and past absolutives (cf. 2.1.1.3) - in
both these exceptional cases the transitive subjects in ques-
tion are not coded within the verbal complex, e.g.
```
s-ce-yt'
I go (fin.)
'I went'
yə-z-bè- yt'
it I see (fin.)
'I saw it'
yə-q'a -      (∅-) c'à
it (prev.)        do
'Do it!' (sc. you sg.)
cf. yə-q'a-š°-    c'à
        you(pl.)
'Do it!' (i.e. you pl.)
```

```
arə̀y (∅-)q'a-c'a-nə̀      də-d°ə̀+l-     c'ə-yt'
this it         (absol. he (compound  go  (fin.)
                 past)         prev.)
```
   'Having done this he went out'
cf. a- gazèt d- à- px'a-nə   də-d°ə̀+l-c'ə-yt'
    the paper he it read (absol.Past)
   'Having read the paper he went out'
(where à-px'a-ra 'to read' is intransitive)
```
a-  kalpàd (∅-) (∅-)po   a-  š°q°'ə̀ d- à- px'o-   n
the sock   it          knit the book  she it read   (fin.)
                   (absol.present)        +(dyn.)
```
   '(While) knitting the sock she was reading the book'
cf. a-gazèt d-à-px'o   də-t°'à-n
          (absol.present) he sit (past stat.)
   'He was sitting reading the paper'
   Should the column I subject-affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1) be y(ə)-,
if it is immediately preceded by its referent, it will dis-
appear, e.g.
```
yə- cè-yt'    darà vs. darà (∅-)ce-yt'
they go (fin.) they
```
   'They went'

2.1.3.6.1.2. direct object

   This must be coded within the verbal complex by means of the
appropriate column I affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1). Once again, if the
affix happens to be y(ə)- and is immediately preceded by its
referent, it will disappear, e.g.
```
yə-z-bè- yt'    a-  š°q°'ə̀ vs.  a-š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)z-be-yt'
it I see (fin.) the book
```
   'I saw the book'

2.1.3.6.1.3. indirect object

   This must be coded within the verbal complex by means of the
appropriate column II affix (cf. 2.1.1.1.1), e.g.
```
yə-sə̀-   t
it to-me give
```
   'Give it to me!'

2.1.3.6.1.4. benefactive

   Such phrases are optionally but perhaps preferably marked
within the complex (cf. 2.1.1.4.1). Under relativisation on
the benefactive noun, marking within the complex becomes oblig-
atory (cf. 1.1.2.3.7).

2.1.3.6.1.5. instrumental

   This too is optionally but perhaps preferably marked within
the complex (cf. 2.1.1.4.3). Under relativisation on the inst-
rumental noun, verbal marking becomes obligatory (cf. 1.1.2.3.7).

2.1.3.6.1.6. comitative

   This is obligatorily marked within the complex (cf.
2.1.1.4.4), e.g.
```
də-sə̀+c-    aa-  yt'
he met+with come (fin.)
```
   'He came with me'

2.1.3.6.1.7. disadvantage ('dativus incommodus')

This is obligatorily marked within the verbal complex by means of the relational particle -c°(ə)- preceded by the appropriate column II affix, e.g.

```
yə-s+ c°ə̀- l-   ge-  yt'
it me+from she take (fin.)
   'She took it away from me'
```

2.1.3.6.1.8. subject-matter

This is optionally marked within the verbal complex. If marking does occur within the complex, it is achieved by means of the determiner -x(ə)- 'about' preceded by the appropriate column II affix, e.g.

```
wəy  a-      wə̀s       y-   a+ x-    c°až°e-yt'
that (art.) business they it+about talk   (fin.)
   'They talked about that affair'
```

Alternatively, a pseudo-postposition is used which in reality is the past absolutive in -nə of the verb a-k'-rà 'to seize, hold' containing the benefactive relational particle -z- 'for' preceded by the column II affix which correlates with the entity representing the subject-matter, which affix is in turn preceded by a dummy, 3rd. person singular non-human direct object affix y-, e.g.

```
wəy a-wə̀s y+ a+ z+  k'+  nə̀        yə-  c°až°e-yt'
            it it for hold (absol.) they talk   (fin.)
   'They talked about that affair'
```

Under relativisation on the subject-matter noun the first alternative is preferred, although the second is not impossible, e.g.

```
yə-  zə+   x-     c°až°o- z           a-wə̀s
they which+about talk    (non-fin.)
              +(dyn.)
yə+zə+   z+k'+nə̀ yə-  c°až°o-z a-wə̀s
   which          they
   'The affair which they were talking about ...'
```

(cf. also section 2.1.1.4.15)

2.1.3.6.1.9. locative

For details of locative expressions see 2.1.1.5. If the locative is represented by a preverb rather than by a postposition, then it should be noted that some preverbs must be preceded by a column II pronominal affix correlating with the noun representing the location concerned, whilst others cannot be used in association with such an affix - N.B. the following pair of sentences where the use or non-use of this pronominal affix with one and the same preverb is apparently determined solely by the difference in the noun representing the direct object:-

```
a- xaℏ°    à-  šaq'a  yə̀-k°ə-y- c'e-yt'
the stone the pillar it on  he put (fin.)   .
   'He put the stone on the pillar
```

vs.

```
a- xaℏ°c°'àℏ° à-  šaq'a  y- à+ k°ə-y- c'e-yt'
the beam        the pillar it it+on  he put (fin.)
   'He put the beam on the pillar'
```

The use vs. non-use of column II pronominal affixes with preverbs in Abkhaz requires further investigation.

2.1.3.6.1.10. object_of_comparison

This is not normally marked within the verbal complex, but, for the expression 'bigger/taller than X', the comparative postposition eyℏà 'than' may be used as the root of a stative verb as an equivalent all by itself for the whole expression 'bigger/taller than'; in this case the object of comparison is optionally marked in the complex, e.g.

```
a-  pℏ°ə̀s a-  xàc'a d-  y+ eyℏà-w+p'
the woman the man    she him than (stat.)
```

or

```
a-pℏ°ə̀s a-xàc'à y-  àc'k''əs d-  eyℏà-w+p'
                    him than     she
   'The woman is bigger/taller than the man'
```

2.1.3.6.2. For_each_of_2.1.3.6.1.1-10_, how_is_agreement marked?

2.1.3.6.2.1. marker_on_the_verb

The three relevant sets of pronominal affixes are set out in section 2.1.1.1.1. Transitive direct objects and intransitive subjects correlate with column I affixes, transitive subjects with column III affixes, indirect objects plus all other types of NP listed under 2.1.3.6.1.4-10 with column II affixes. In addition to the relational particles/determiners governing these column II affixes in examples 2.1.3.6.4-8 the following two cases should be noted: the indirect object affix for the verb a-ℏ°a-rà 'to say' is followed by the particle -a- 'to', e.g.

```
yə-s+ à- l-  ℏ°e-yt'
it me+to she say (fin.)
   'She said it to me'
```

and secondly note the particle -x'ə- in the following example:-

```
yə-  s+ x'ə̀- m-  pșə-   yt'
they me+after not follow (fin.)
   'They did not follow me'
```

2.1.3.6.3. If_not_all_members_of_each_class_2.1.3.6.1.1-10_are coded_in_the_verb,_what_are_the_conditioning_factors_determining_this?

2.1.3.6.3.1. word-order

For instances of the column I affix y(ə)- disappearing if immediately preceded by its referent-noun cf. above under 2.1.3.6.1.1-2.

2.1.3.6.4. What_features_of_the_noun-phrase_are_coded_in_the verb?

An examination of the three sets of pronominal affixes given in section 2.1.1.1.1 reveals the extent to which features of the NP may be coded in the verb. All three persons, singular and plural, are distinguished - the possibility of opposing an inclusive to an exclusive form in the personal pronouns of the 1st. and 2nd. persons plural is not possible within the verbal

complex. For the 2nd. person singular, female humans are distinguished from male humans, the form for which latter also serves to indicate non-human addressees. For the 3rd. person singular, there is a general distinction between human and non-human, and, in the case of transitive subjects and indirect objects (and for column II affixes generally), the human class is further divided into male and female. In addition to the above-features, the plurality of any of the pre-radical affixes may be re-inforced by placing after the root the essentially non-human pluraliser -k°a-, e.g.

à- č'k°'ən-c°a   ā- mp'əl à- s- ra   yə- ca-k°è-
the boy   (pl.) the ball its hit (masd.) they go (pl.)
yt'
(fin.)
'The boys went to play ball'

wəy   a- xàc°a à-   x°ṣa (∅-)rə̀-   y- ta-
that-one the men (art.) butter it to-them he give
k°e- yt'
(pl.) (fin.)
'He gave butter to the men'

s-rə̀+ c-   ca-k°e-   yt'
I them+with go (pl.) (fin.)
'I went with them'

This use of the suffix -k°a- is most common with relativised verb-forms, where, of course, the relative affix cannot itself indicate the plurality (or the person) of the head-noun (cf. 1.1.2.3.4.2.3).

2.1.3.6.6. Is agreement the same for all verb-forms?

Yes; agreement is always marked by the three sets of pronominal affixes set out in section 2.1.1.1.1. For the formal changes affecting these affixes under relativisation, see section 1.2.3.4.2.3.

2.1.3.6.8. Are there special reflexive forms of the verb?

For reflexive verb-forms (i.e. those containing the reflexive particle -c(ə)-) see section 1.6.

2.1.3.6.9. Are there special reciprocal forms of the verb?

Reciprocal verb-forms (i.e. those incorporating the reciprocal affixes ay-, ayba-) are described in section 1.7.

2.1.3.6.10. Is there any distinction made according to the orientation of the verbal action?

It is usually stated that the distribution of the four orientational preverbs -aa- [a:], -na-, -y°a-, -la-, is as follows:

2.1.3.6.10.1. action towards the speaker -aa-

2.1.3.6.10.2. action towards the hearer -na-

2.1.3.6.10.7. action 'upwards' -y°a-

2.1.3.6.10.8. action 'downwards' -la-

This is a satisfactory characterisation of the last two preverbs, but the function of the first two is more complex than

this traditional explanation suggests. Before addressing the problem of the precise meaning of -aa- and -na-, a few general points may be made which are relevant to all four of these orientational preverbs.

Their positioning within the verbal complex varies upon the structure of the complex with which they are used. If the complex does not contain a locational preverb (or determiner), then the orientational preverb may occupy the position normally taken by these other elements, i.e. the slot immediately in front of the column III, transitive subject affix (this is the position they occupy with the root -ga- 'to carry', with which the functions of -aa- and -na- will be illustrated below) - cf. Šaduri (1975.115). If a locational preverb is present in the complex, and if the complex also contains one of the 'relational particles' (e.g. -z(ə)- 'for', -la- 'by', -c(ə)- 'with', etc. - see Dumézil, 1967.22-23) together with its associated column II affix, then the orientational preverb will precede the column II affix just mentioned; the orientational preverb may also occupy this slot even where no locational preverb is present in the complex. All of these three postpositions are now illustrated:-

(a) yə-b+   z- aa-   z-gè- yt'
it you+   for hither I bring (fin.)
(col.II)
'I brought it for//to you'

(b) y- aa-   sə+   z- tə̀-   l- te- yt'
it hither me+   for from-in she take (fin.)
(col.II)
'She brought//took it out for me'

(c) y- aa-   sə+   zə̀-   m- k'ə- yt'
it hither me+   (pot.) not hold (fin.)
(col.II)
'I couldn't get hold of it'

All four orientational preverbs (particularly the first two) are often endowed with non-orientational functions. The precise nuance each lends to the overall meaning of the verbal complex depends on the root with which the preverb is associated - Arstaa et al. (1966.181ff.) list as the range of possible nuances for -aa-:- 'slowly', 'with difficulty', 'from time to time', 'slightly', intensive-marker, durativity-marker, suddenness-marker. An example of -aa- marking durativity or 'slowness' would be

d- aa-k°ə-   psə̀čha-yt'
he   (prev.) sigh   (fin.)
'He sighed slowly'

The second preverb -na- (with -nə- being its variant in ablative/elative contexts - cf. 2.1.1.5) may imply instantaneous or inchoative actions or may express scorn on the part of the speaker. The remaining two preverbs, -y°a- (ablative/elative -y°ə-) and -la- (ablative/elative -lə-), may also represent the sudden nature of the action; one example for this nuance of 'suddenness' expressible by any of these last three preverbs would be

à-   bna   d - {lə̀- / y°ə̀- / nə̀-}   l-   q'e-   yt'
the wood he   from-in emerge (fin.)
'He <u>suddenly</u> emerged from the wood'

N.B. the following close parallelism with English - if I nudge someone sitting next to me (in the theatre, for example) and request them to move down the row of seats, I can say 'Move <u>up</u>!', 'Move <u>down</u>!' or 'Move <u>along</u>!'; Abkhaz has exactly the same choice of expressions, e.g.

bə- y°a-sk''à // bə-la- sk''à // bə-na-   sk''à
you up move   down   along

Each of the above-preverbs combines with an element +y to produce the roots for the following four verbs of motion: àaˋ+yˈ-ra 'to come', a-nè+y-ra 'to go', a-y°è+y-ra 'to go// come up', a-lè+y-ra 'to go//come down'.

Perhaps we should also mention in this section (as does Dumézil, 1967.22) the preverb -k'a-, which seems only to be used in the orientational sense of 'down', as in

yə-k'a- sə̀-ž̌-   we-   yt'
it down I throw (dyn.) (fin.)
'I throw it down//I drop it'

s-k'à- ħa- we-   yt'
I down fall (dyn.)   yt'
'I am falling'

And it seems more fitting to include with the orientational preverbs the element -x'a- (given above under 2.1.1.5.6b as a locational/directional preverb meaning 'behind'), e.g. a-x'à-pṣ-ra 'to look behind', a-x'à-ħ°-ra 'to turn round'.

This leaves us with the problem of determining the precise orientational values of -aa- and -na-. The crucial parameters seem to be (a) the persons (i.e. 1st., 2nd. or 3rd.) involved in the verbal action, and (b) the location of the speaker at the time of speaking relative to his position at the time of the action. First it may be stated that -aa- always implies motion either directly towards the speaker or to a location in his vicinity, e.g.

(i) yə-ħa+z- aa-l- gè-   yt'
it us+for   she bring (fin.)
'She brought it to us (e.g. of a waitress bringing food)' (sc. to the spot where we now are)

(ii) yə-sə+z- aa-b- gè-yt'
me+for   you
'You brought it to me' (sc. to the spot where we now are)

(iii) yə-b+ z-aa-z-gè-yt'
you   I
'I brought it to you' (sc. to the spot where we now are)

(iv) (∅-)yə+ z-aa-b- gè-yt'
it him   you
'You brought it to him' (sc. that he is in my presence)

(v) (∅-)yə+z-aa-l- gè-yt'
she
'She brought it to him' (sc. that he is in my presence)

(vi) (∅-) yə+z-aa-z-gè-yt'
I
'I brought it to him' (sc. that he is in my presence)

The above-examples are quite clear, but the additional specification of the location concerned, which is the information enclosed in the brackets, raises the question as to what will happen if the above-statements are made when the interlocutors are no longer at the same location where the actual events took place. In such circumstances, the speaker may choose to ignore the actual difference in location and speak as if he were actually present at the scene of action, in which case the forms set out above will be used. Alternatively, he may decide to make explicit the fact that the action took place elsewhere by choosing the preverb -na- in place of -aa- above, e.g.

(ia) yə-ħa+z-nà-l-ge-yt'
(iia) yə-sə+z-nà-b-ge-yt'
(iiia) yə-b+z-nà-z-ge-yt'
(iva) (∅-)yə+z-nà-b-ge-yt'
(va) (∅-)yə+z-nà-l-ge-yt'
(via) (∅-)yə+z-nà-z-ge-yt'

This clearly shows the inappropriateness of interpreting -na- as a marker of motion towards the hearer. Under what circumstances, then, apart from the above, is -na- employed in an orientational sense? It is not essential that the speaker or hearer have any connection whatsoever with the action - for example, if I say to a friend here in England that President Carter took a letter to President Brezhnev in Moscow, I can say (∅-)yə+z-nè-y-ge-yt' 'He (-y-) took it to him', even though I do here have the option of omitting all orientational preverbs and saying simply (∅-)yə+zə̀-y-ge-yt'. Note that by omitting the preverbs from examples (i) and (ia) above, the resulting yə-ħa+zə̀-l-ge-yt' means 'She <u>took</u> it <u>for</u> us'. This suggests that, if the interlocutors are mentioned in the verbal complex, (i.e. if they are involved in the action), the presence of -na- requires that the orientation is towards a point at which the speaker is not at the moment of speaking - cf. the two imperatives

yə-ħa+z- aa-gà
it us+for   bring
'Bring it to us!' (sc. where I am at the moment)

vs. yə-ħa+z-nà-g
'Bring it to us!' (sc. at some location other than where I now am)

Other contexts deliberately chosen to illustrate the nuances of these two preverbs were the following: imagine that, while I was out, someone brought my wife a letter; if, on my return, I say to her 'He brought you a letter', I must use -aa- since the action was to the spot where I now am - hence yə-b+z-aa-y-gè-yt'. On the other hand, if I say the same sentence (i.e. English sentence) to my wife in reference to an incident that took place when she was at some other location where I was (and am) not, I must say yə-b+z-nè-y-ge-yt'. Imagine now that we sent a parcel via some third party to someone in Abkhazia; if we subsequently visit Abkhazia and I say, in the absence of the individual to whom the present was delivered, 'He brought it for us', I must use -na- — hence yə-ħa+z-nè-y-ge-yt'. On the other hand, if I say the same English sentence in the presence of the recipient, then the Abkhaz equivalent must contain -aa- — yə-ħa+zə-1+z-aa-y-gè-yt' 'He brought it to her (-1+z-) on our

behalf (-ħa+zə-)'. The selection of examples presented above
demonstrates the subtle interplay between the parameters in-
volved in determining the choice of the preverbs -aa- and -na-.

One further pair of examples may be described since the fac-
tors involved affect not merely the choice of preverbs but also
the syntax of the sentence. Imagine that, during the course of
a telephone-conversation or in a letter, I say 'I shall bring
it to you'; in the Abkhaz version -na- must be used -
yə-bə+z-nà-z-go-yt'. If subsequently I visit the person who
was the hearer//addressee above and say 'I said that I would
bring it to you', Abkhaz allows me to choose either direct or
indirect modes of speech (cf. 1.1.1.1). If the indirect mode
is chosen, it should be possible for me to use either the tense
of direct speech ('semi-'indirect speech) or, because the verb
of saying is in the past tense, the equivalent past tense form
(fully indirect speech), e.g.

    yə-ṣə- b+z-aa-z-gò   (ħ°a) (∅-)s-ħ°e-yt'
        that   (Pres.non-fin.) saying it I say (fin.)

or yə-ṣə-b+z-aa-z-gò-z   (∅-)s-ħ°e-yt'
              (Imperf.non-fin.)

We note the presence of -aa-, which is possible because I, the
speaker, am now in the presence of the hearer; note also that,
although the particle ħ°a is optional in the first alternative,
there is a slight preference to omit it. However, as the ori-
ginal sentence spoken contained the preverb -na- obligatorily,
it might be expected that an alternative with -na- would be
possible here. If -na- is used, only the 'semi-'indirect mode
is allowed, and the particle ħ°a appears to be no longer
omissible, e.g.

    yə-ṣ-bə+z-nà-z-go ħ°a (∅-)s-ħ°e-yt'

The problems here are the virtually obligatory use of ħ°a and
the inadmissibility of the fully indirect mode. To take the
latter point first, it may be said that adaptation of both the
person and the tense of the verb in the quotation to bring
these features into conformity with the verb introducing the
quotation renders the quotation fully subordinate to the intro-
ductory verb and thus requires that the orientation-system of
the subordinate verb conform to that which is applicable to the
introductory verb; as the speaker is present at the location to
which he has delivered the object in question, this would nec-
essitate the use of -aa-, as in the example given earlier. As
to the requirement that ħ°a be associated with the 'semi-'in-
direct mode, we may perhaps argue thus: what may be termed
'semi-'indirect may equally well be styled 'semi-'direct. The
particle ħ°a is most usually associated with direct speech, and
its use (normally optional) with 'semi-'indirect speech might
well result from a contamination between the direct and indir-
ect modes. However, its unchallengeable links with the direct
mode seem to provide just the factor which allows the orienta-
tional system required when the words were originally uttered
to be retained in this particular representation of these
words - simply, without ħ°a, the verb containing the complement-
iser-particle -ṣ- would be subject to the orientational system
of its introductory verb, and this would demand the replacement
of -na- by -aa-.

2.1.3.6.12.1. Does optional/obligatory incorporation of the following elements occur?

2.1.3.6.12.1.2. intransitive noun subject

2.1.3.6.12.1.3. noun direct object

Both these categories are treated together for, as the col-
umn I, 3rd. person pronominal affix y(ə)- disappears from the
verbal complex if immediately preceded by its referent, one
could argue that this be interpreted as an instance of the ob-
ligatory incorporation of the intransitive subject or transit-
ive direct object concerned. Abkhaz orthographic practice does
not, however, permit such elements to be written as part of
their verbal complexes.

An interesting case of incorporation is seen in the choice
of expressions available for representing the notion of 'sing-
ing'; Abkhaz employs the periphrasis 'to say the song', as in

    larà à- š°a (∅-)l- ħ°e-yt'
    she the song it she say (fin.)
       'She sang'

Alternatively, the nominal root -š°a may be incorporated into
the verb, which thus becomes intransitive, e.g.

    larà də- š°a+ħ°è-   yt'
    she she sing   (fin.)
        (compound root)

That we here have a compound root is shown by the placing of
the negative affix in this Aorist verb - də-m-š°a+ħ°è-yt' 'She
did not sing', for, were the element -š°a- anything other than
part of the root, the negative affix -m- would stand before
-ħ°e-. Only one other example of this type seems to be poss-
ible in the modern language, and this too involves the root
-ħ°a-, but, as is clear from the placement of the negative in
the intransitive variant, the incorporated element -c°g'a-
'something bad' does not become part of the verbal root -
à-c°g'a (∅-)lə-m-ħ°è-yt' // də-c°g'a-m-ħ°è-yt' 'She did not
gossip in a nasty way'.

The noun representing the direct object is incorporated into
the infinitive (masdar) of certain common expressions, e.g.

    a-   wə̀sə-   w- ra
    (art.) business do (masd.)
      'to work'
(cf. a-wə-rà 'to do')
    a-   nap'ə̀-j°j°a-ra
    (art.) hand wash (masd.)
      'to wash one's hands'
(cf. à-j°j°a-ra 'to wash')

2.1.3.6.12.1.5. other nominal elements

In section 2.1.1.5, where examples may be found, we met a
number of nominal elements that function as preverbs - forms
which Dumézil (1967.21) calls 'determiners'.

Examples of the incorporation of nominal elements function-
ing as subject- and object-complements may be found described
in sections 2.1.1.2.10 and 2.1.1.2.11 respectively.

2.1.3.6.12.1.6. adjectives

For the incorporation of adjectives (or even of adjectives plus accompanying nouns) when copular complements, cf. 1.2.1.1.4.2.1b-c.

2.1.3.6.12.1.7. adverbs

For the incorporation of adverbs as copular complements in pseudo-cleft structures, cf. 1.2.1.1.3.1-2.

2.1.3.6.12.1.8. postpositions

As illustrated in section 2.1.2.4.1 and 2.1.1.4.3 respectively, the benefactive and instrumental postpositions may optionally (though perhaps preferably) be incorporated into the pre-radical structure of the verbal complex. As the examples cited earlier show, if the postposition is incorporated, there will also appear preceding it within the complex a column II affix correlating with the noun governed by the postposition, this noun being left standing in the sentence with neither case-marker nor independent postposition to indicate its function, which is thus only marked within the verbal complex.

2.1.3.7. In a string of verbs, is there any change or loss of any features normally marked on the verb?

Should the tense concerned be future, then all verbs other than the last one in the sequence will stand in the past absolutive, which ends in -nə and is equivalent in meaning to the English perfect participle. This past absolutive does not permit any column III, transitive subject-affix in its pre-radical structure, e.g.

```
a-    xàc'a də-y°nà-    la-   nə,        yə- p'àlt'a (∅-)yə+
the man    he (prev.) enter (absol.) his coat     it   him+
š°ə̀-x-    nə,        yə- q'ə̀= yə- nap'ə̀ (∅-)j°j°a-nə̀
off take (absol.) his face his hand   it  wash  (absol.)
àyš°a      də-na-   xa-   t°'a-nə̀,       a+k'rə̀-   fa-
the-table he (prev.) at       sit (absol.) something eat
                                 (prev.)
ra        d- à+ la-  ga-   ş+       t'
(masd.) he it+into (root) (Fut.II) (fin.)
             "begin"
```

'The man will enter the house, take off his coat, wash his hands and face, sit down at the table and begin to eat'

On the other hand, if the tense of the final verb is Perfect, Plu-perfect, Present, Imperfect (rarely) and, most commonly of all, Aorist, one has a choice of using either the past absolutive or the Past Indefinite tense, which means 'X did Y and...' - the Past Indefinite differs from the past absolutive in two ways: it ends in -n (not -nə) and permits a column III, transitive subject affix in its pre-radical structure, e.g.

```
a-xàc'a də-y°nà-la-n, yə-p'àlt'a (∅-)yə+š°ə̀-y- xə-n //
                                                 he
(∅-)yə+š°ə̀-x-nə,         yə-q'ə̀=yə-nap'ə̀ (∅-)j°j°a-nə̀,
      (past absol.)                                  (past
àyš°a də-na-xa-t°'à-n, a+k'rə̀-fa-ra  d-à+la-ge-yt' absl.)
```

'The man entered the house, took off his coat, washed his hands and face, sat down at the table and began to eat'

The first sentential example given in section 2.1.3.2.1.3.2 shows that the Past Indefinite may be used when there is non-identity of subjects between itself and the following verb. In that example one could not use the past absolutive in place of the Past Indefinite, for the absence of an overt transitive subject-affix in the past absolutive means that it will only be used if it shares a subject with the following verb.

Should the verbal actions be simultaneous rather than sequential, then the non-final verbs will stand in the present absolutive, which, like its past counterpart, does not admit a column III, transitive subject-affix (cf. 2.1.1.3), e.g.

```
a-    š°q°'ə̀ d-      à-    px'o          (a+)k'rə- y-
      he      it     read         something he
              (col.I) (col.II) (pres.absol.)
fò-    yt'
eat    (fin.)
+(dyn.)
```

'He is reading the book and eating'

2.1.3.8. Other intra-verbal elements

A number of intra-verbal affixes have not yet been specifically described in detail; this gap will now be filled.

2.1.3.8.1. -c°'q''a-

This suffix, which stands immediately after the verbal root, means 'really, indeed', e.g.

```
wəy        àq°'a-   q'a də-cà-c°'q''o-yt'
that-one Sukhumi to   he go indeed   (fin.)
                                  +(dyn.)
```

'He is really going to Sukhumi'

2.1.3.8.2. -c°a-

This suffix, which also stands immediately after the verbal root, is formally identical with the nominal pluraliser for human nouns. Its verbal function is to indicate that the verbal action is carried out 'to excess', e.g.

```
àq°'a-   q'a də-ca-c°ò-          n
Sukhumi to   he go too-much (fin.)
                          +(dyn.)
```

'He used to go too often to Sukhumi'

```
a-    x°əč̌'ə̀ a+k'rə-    l-   f-   c°è-      yt'
the child something she eat too-much (fin.)
```

'The child ate too much

2.1.3.8.3. -ja-

This suffix stands immediately after the verbal root and intensifies the meaning of the verb, e.g.

```
wəy        a-  pàra- k°a   (∅-)yə-ga-  jè-        yt'
that-one the money (pl.) it  he take (emphatic) (fin.)
```

'He took the money right away' (i.e. and he won't return it)

This suffix is very frequently used in association with the negative affix and, although glossed as emphatic, really adds

no greater force to the negation than that which is already in-
herent in the negative affix itself, e.g.

    wəy a-pàra-k°a (ø-)yə-m- ga-jè-   yt' //
                          not   (emphatic)
    (ø-)yə-m-gè-yt'
      'He did not take the money'

2.1.3.8.4. -g°əša-

Placed immediately after the root this suffix characterises
the subject of the verb as being wretched or unfortunate to
have suffered, or to have to suffer, the verbal action, e.g.

    àq°'a- q'a s-ca-g°əša-p'
    Sukhumi to I go   (Fut.I, fin.)
      'I'll be off to Sukhumi then, poor me' (sc. because I
      just don't want to go)
    a- cg°ə (ø-)s-š- g°əše-yt'
    the cat it I kill   (fin.)
      'Poor old me, I've killed the cat!'
(N.B. that this sentence cannot have the meaning *'Poor old
cat, I've killed it!')

2.1.3.8.5. -x-

This suffix means 'again' and stands immediately after the
root, e.g.

    wəy   yax'à àq°'a- q'a də-cà-x (ə- y)t'
    that-one today Sukhumi to he go again (fin.)
      'He went to Sukhumi again today'

2.1.3.8.6. -ayta-

This prefix stands immediately after the column I pronominal
prefix within the verbal complex. In meaning it exactly paral-
lels the suffix -x(ə)- described immediately above; indeed, the
two elements -ayta- and -x(ə)- may appear in the same complex,
e.g. d- eytà- ce-yt'   // d-eytà-ca-x-t'
    he again go (fin.)
      'He went again'

2.1.3.8.7. (a+)k'r(ə)-

A few verbs, which are usually fully transitive, when used
' intransitively ' take this 'dummy-'prefix in place of their
normal column I pronominal prefix. The two most common and
straightforward of such verbs appear in the following examples:

    (a+)k'rə-y- fò-   yt'
       he eat   (fin.)
       +(dyn.)
    'He's eating'
    (a+)k'rə-l- ž°- wè- yt'
       she drink (dyn.) (fin.)
    'She's drinking'
Although elsewhere in this work we have glossed this element as
'something', the sentences given above do not mean 'He is eat-
ing something' or 'She is drinking something'; the Abkhaz
equivalents of these would be
    a+k'ə   (ø-)y- fò-yt'
    something it he
and

---

    a+k'ə (ø-)l- ž°-wè-yt'
          she
respectively.
(See also section 2.1.3.1.2.2.)

2.1.3.8.8. eg'(ə)-

In cases where English has the word 'nothing' functioning as
intransitive subject or transitive direct object, the prefix
eg'(ə)- 'anything' will occupy the slot normally taken by the
column I pronominal affix within the Abkhaz verbal complex; the
complex must also contain the negative particle, e.g.

    eg'-   aa- wà-   m
    anything come (dyn.) not
      'Nothing is coming'
    àyš°a   y- a+ xa-t°'à-z   à- sas- c°a
    the-table who it+at sit (non-fin.) the guest (pl.)
    eg'ə-   r- fò-   mə- z+t'
    anything they eat   not (Imperf.)
             +(dyn.)
    'The guests sitting at the table were eating nothing'
It may be noted that Abkhaz orthographic practice permits this
element eg'(ə)- either to be written as an independent word or
as part of the verbal complex, as it is written here.

2.1.3.8.9. -aa- and -la-

It is convenient to treat these two suffixes together.
Should either of them co-occur with any of the suffixes desc-
ribed in the preceding paragraphs of section 2.1.3.8 as appear-
ing immediately after the verbal root, then, since both -aa-
and -la- are utterly inseparable from the verbal root, it
follows that the suffixes examined in the preceding paragraphs
will stand after the pair of elements about to be discussed.

Both these suffixes are usually associated only with verbs
possessing a directional preverb (although they never co-occur
with the four roots -la- 'to move to', -c'(ə)- 'to move from',
-c'a- 'to put into//onto', -x(ə)- 'to take out of//off' -
Lomtatidze, 1952.120), the difference being that, where such an
opposition exists, -la- is used where the preverb is in its a-
grade, -aa- where the preverb has its zero-grade. In other
words, the suffix -la- re-inforces the illative/allative force
inherent in the a-grade of directional preverbs, whilst the
suffix -aa- re-inforces the ablative//elative force of the
reduced-//zero-grade of those preverbs. We, therefore, see why
these suffixes are incompatible with the four roots listed in
brackets above, for these roots (cf. 2.1.1.5) do themselves re-
inforce these very notions (in addition to conveying the lexi-
cal meanings of 'motion into//out of' and 'placing into//out
of').

A list of verbs containing these two suffixes may be located
on pp.112-119 of Lomtatidze's detailed study of Abkhaz preverbs
(1952). Only one of her examples will now be quoted for each
of the suffixes in question, e.g.

    a- bèsta   (ø-)aa-   y°nà-   l- ga- la- n
    the maize-porridge it hither (prev.) she carry into (fin.)
      'She brought the maize-porridge into the house and ...'

cf. a-bə̀sta (∅-)y°nà-l-ga-la-n
     'She <u>took</u> the maize-porridge into the house and ...'
(where the <u>ori</u>entational preverb -<u>aa</u>- is absent)

   ┌─────────────┐
    wəbrə̀y y- à+ lə-   r- c°c°[a]-aa- we-   yt'
    that   it it+from-in they draw   from (dyn.) (fin.)
    a-   c'ə̀yaa-k°a   rə̀-   fa+t°'
    (art.) plant (pl.) their food
    'From that (sc. soil) plants draw their food'
cf. b- ša   (∅-)aa   bə̀+ l-   sə-c°c°[a]-aa- yt'
    your blood it (hither) you+from-in I draw   from (fin.)
    'I draw out your blood'
This last pair of examples demonstrates that the suffix -<u>aa</u>- is
functionally independent of its homonymous orientational <u>pre</u>-
verb (for which cf. 2.1.3.6.10).
(N.B. that the root -<u>gə</u>la- 'to stand' is diachronically to be
analysed as consisting of a root -<u>gə</u>- plus the suffix -<u>la</u>-,
although this particular root -<u>gə</u>- is no longer independently
attested.)

2.1.4. adjectives

As a general rule, adjectives follow their nouns; exceptions
are (i) those indicating nationality; (ii) pronominal adject-
ives (e.g. 'other') - N.B. that <u>rac°à</u> 'many', though normally
placed after its noun, may be pre-posed, in which case it is
adverbialised to give the form <u>yə+rac°a(+y°)+nə̀</u> (cf.
2.1.4.3.1.1); (iii) adjectives <u>in -t°'ə</u> (cf. 2.2.3.1) signify-
ing source-material (e.g. <u>a-mɑ̨'-t°'ə̀</u> 'made from wood'); (iv)
ordinals.

2.1.4.1. Is there any distinction between attributive and predicative adjectives?

The only difference is that the latter become stative verbal
bases (cf. 1.2.1.1.2.2).

2.1.4.3.1. Do (a) attributive (b) predicative adjectives agree with nouns in terms of the following categories?

2.1.4.3.1.1. number

(a) Attributive adjectives:
Where the numeral '1' is involved (and this is also the in-
definite marker), only the last element of the NP carries this
numeral, e.g.
    la bzə̀ya-k'
    dog good 1
      'one//a good dog'
    jγab bzə̀ya-k'
    girl
      'one//a good girl'
    kə̀rt+wa jγab-k'
    Georgian girl 1
      'one//a Georgian girl'
In the plural, the last element of the NP must carry the
plural-marker, whilst the first <u>may</u> do so. Note that, for human
nouns, the adjective, if following the noun, may take <u>either</u>
the human <u>or</u> the non-human plural-marker, e.g.

a-   la (-k°a) bzə̀ya-k°a
(art.) dog (pl.)   (pl.)
 '(the) good dogs'
à-   jγab (-c°a)   bzə̀ya-c°a   // -k°a
(art.) girl (pl.human)   (pl.hum.)   (pl.non-hum.)
 '(the) good girls'
(N.B. that, if the plural-marker is absent on the human noun,
then there is a distinct preference for the adjective to be
endowed with the human pluraliser -<u>c°a</u>)
à-   kərt+wa jγàb-c°a
(art.) Georgian   (pl.)
or   à-kərt-c°a   jγàb-c°a
    (pl.)   (pl.)
 '(the) Georgian girls'
In expressions like '<u>such a</u> (Adj + N)' the normally post-
posed adjective stands <u>before</u> its noun and, at the same time,
is turned into an adverb by accommodating the adverbial suffix
-<u>nə</u> and the appropriate column I pronominal affix, e.g.

  ┌──────────────┐
  abàs yə-bzə̀ya-nə   la- k' (∅-)sə-m- bà- c-   t'
  such it good (adv.) dog 1 it I not see (Perf.) (fin.)
   'I haven't seen such a good dog'

  ┌──────────┐
  abàs də- bzə̀ya-nə jγab-k' d- sə-m-bà-c-t'
      she   girl 1 her
   'I haven't seen such a good girl'
As examples of <u>rac°a</u> 'many' we may quote:-
  a-   c°ərtà rac°a
  (art.) bed
   'many beds' (N.B. the absence of any plural-marker on the
                          noun)
cf.   ┌──────────────────────────┐
  yaħà yə+   rac°a+nə̀   a-   c°ərta-k°à
  more (col.I)   (adv.) (art.)   (pl.)
   'more beds' (N.B. that the noun must now be marked for
                           plurality)
In expressions like '<u>such a</u> (Adj + N)' the adverbialised
adjective may itself be <u>pluralised</u> if it is associated with a
plural noun; where the associated noun is of the human class,
the pluralised adverbial may nevertheless accommodate only the
non-human pluraliser -<u>k°a</u>, e.g.

  ┌────────────────┐
  abàs yə-bzə̀ya (-k°a)-nə a-   la-k°à (∅-) sə-m-bà-c-t'
            (pl.)   (art.)   them
   'I haven't seen such good dogs'

  ┌────────────────┬────────┐
  abàs yə-bzə̀ya(-k°a)-nə à-   jγab-c°a (∅-)sə-m-bà-c-t'
             (art.)   (pl.)
   'I haven't seen such good girls'
The patterns for number-concord are not radically affected
by the presence of actual numerals, except that a pre-posed
non-human noun is preferred if it is <u>without</u> its own plural-
exponent, and, where the numeral does <u>not stand</u> as an independ-
ent word, no pluraliser is possible at all, e.g.
  pš-la bzə̀ya-k'
  4 dog good 1
or

```
      a-      la bzɜ̀ya-k°a    pš-ba
      (art.)          (pl.) 4 (non-hum.)
and
      (?) a-la-k°a    bzɜ̀ya-k°a pš-ba
              (pl.)
      '4 good dogs'
cf. pš-kɜ̀rt+wa  la- k'
    4  Georgian dog 1
      '4 Georgian dogs' (with a pre-posed adjective)
and for a human noun
      pš-y°ə-   k' à-      jɣab (-c°a) bzɜ̀ya-k°a//-c°a
      4  (hum.) 1 (art.) girl (pl.)   good  (pl.)
or
      à-jɣab(-c°a) bzɜ̀ya-k°a//-c°a pš-y°ə-k'
      '4 good girls'
```

(My informant hesitates in accepting this last phrase if plural-markers are absent altogether, e.g.

```
      (?*) pš-y°ə-k' à-jɣab bzɜ̀ya)
```

and for a human noun with pre-posed adjective

```
      pš-kɜ̀rt+wa  jɣab-k'
      4  Georgian girl 1
or
      pš-y°ə-   k' a-      kɜ̀rt(+wa) jɣàb-c°a
      4  (hum.) 1 (art.)              (pl.)
and
      a-kɜ̀rt(+wa) jɣàb-c°a pš-y°ə-k'
      '4 Georgian girls'
```

(b) Predicative adjectives:

(i) Adjectives which are post-posed when used attributively:-

If the noun (copular subject) carries its own plural-marker, the predicative adjective, now functioning as the base of a stative verb, may or may not take the plural-marker; if, however, the noun is not overtly marked for plurality, the predicative adjective must be, e.g.

```
      art  a-      la- k°à    (∅-) bzɜ̀yo-w+p'    //
      these (art.) dog (pl.) they good   (stat.)
      (∅-)bzɜ̀ya-k°o-  w+p'
              (pl.)
or
      art la (∅-)bzɜ̀ya-k°o-w+p'
      'These dogs are good'
      art  à-      jɣab-c°a    (∅-) bzɜ̀yo-w+p'    //
      these (art.) girl (pl.) they good   (stat.)
      (∅-)bzɜ̀ya-k°o-  w+p' // (?) (∅-)bzɜ̀ya-c°o-      w+p'
              (pl.)                     (hum.pl.)
or
      art jɣab (∅-)bzɜ̀ya-k°o-w+p'
      'These girls are good'
```

(where we note a general preference for -k°a- in the verb)

(ii) Adjectives which are pre-posed when used attributively:-

As an example of the predicative use of an adjective which precedes its noun when used attributively we have

```
      art  à-      jɣab-c°a    (∅-) kɜ̀rt-   k°o-  w+p'    //
      these (art.) girl (pl.) they Georgian (pl.) (stat.)
      (∅-)kɜ̀rt-c°o-  w+p' // (?) (∅-)kɜ̀rt+wo-w+p'
              (pl.)
but not
      *art jɣab (∅-)kɜ̀rt-k°o-w+p' // (∅-)kɜ̀rt-c°o-w+p'
      'These girls are Georgian'
```

```
      art a-      š°q°'-k°ɜ̀    (∅-) kɜ̀rt+wo- w+p'    //
          (art.) book  (pl.) they Georgian (stat.)
      *(∅-)kɜ̀rt-k°o-w+p'
but not
      *art š°q°'ɜ̀ (∅-)kɜ̀rt-k°o-w+p'
      'These books are Georgian'
```

where we note firstly that the option of leaving the subject unmarked for plurality no longer obtains; the pluraliser preferably accompanies the predicative adjective if the subject is human, even though this subject itself will be marked for plurality; the plural-marker will only appear in the verb if the subject is human.

2.1.4.3.1.3. gender/class

As we have just seen, when the adjective agrees with its noun in respect of plural-marking, there is a general tendency for the non-human pluraliser -k°a- to be preferred, even when the adjective is in agreement with a human noun - in the case of a pre-posed adverbialised adjective, -k°a- seems obligatory. In this connection we should perhaps recall that, when used within the post-radical structure of verbal complexes, the human pluraliser has a second, somewhat different function to play, namely that of indicating the verbal action to have been carried to excess (cf. 2.1.3.8.2), although one might argue that this is not the sole determining factor in the preference here manifested for -k°a-, as -k°a- also has another role to play when following the root in the verbal complex (cf. 2.1.3.3.2.1.13).

For the different forms taken by cardinals depending on whether the noun is human or non-human, see 2.1.6.3.

Although the adjective rac°à 'many' need not agree with human nouns, e.g.

```
      à-      jɣab rac°à
      (art.) girl many
      'many girls
```

it may accommodate the human affix -y°-, but, if it does, it must take the form of an adverb, e.g.

```
      yə-      rac°a+y°+   nɜ̀     à-      jɣab-c°a
      (col.I)          (hum.) (adv.) (art.)       (pl.)
or
      à-jɣab-c°a (∅-)rac°a+y°+nɜ̀
      'many girls'
```

2.1.4.3.1.5. definiteness/indefiniteness

As a general rule, adjectives do not agree with their nouns in respect of definiteness(-genericness), e.g.

```
      a-      la bzɜ̀ya
      the//a dog good
      'the//a good dog'
      à-jɣab bzɜ̀ya
      'the//a good girl'
```

If the adjective precedes the noun, the adjective will carry the definite(-generic) marker for the whole NP, e.g.

```
      à        kɜ̀rt+wa  jɣab
      (art.) Georgian
      'the//a Georgian girl'
```

As we see, the article, which, it should be stressed, marks both definiteness <u>and</u> genericness, attaches to whichever element (adjective or noun) comes first in the NP. Absence of agreement in respect of definiteness(-genericness) also applies to predicative adjectives, e.g.

    arə̀y a-   là   (∅-)bzə̀yo-w+p'
      (art.) dog it   good (stat.
      'This dog is good'
    arə̀y à-jɣab də- bzə̀yo-w+p'
                      she
      'This girl is good'
    arə̀y à-jɣab də-kə̀rt+wo-w+p'
                    Georgian
      'This girl is Georgian'

We should, however, note that, if the adjective ends in the suffix -t°'ə+y (cf. 2.2.3.1), both adjective <u>and</u> following noun will have the article, e.g.

    à-   y°+ba-t°'ə+y a-   x°ə̀č'ə̀
    (art.) 2   (art.) child
      'The second child'

The indefinite article -k' attaches to the last word in the NP, be this the noun or the adjective - see examples under 2.1.4.3.1.1.

2.1.4.3.2. Does agreement depend on

2.1.4.3.2.1. relative position of noun and adjective?

Number-agreement, as evidenced here, is essential for the order N-Adj (unless a cardinal is present and does not stand as an independent word, e.g.

    pš-la   bzə̀ya-k'
    4   dog good 1
      '4 good dogs'

N.B. that <u>pš-la bzə̀ya-k°a-k'</u> = 'some 4 good dogs'; see 2.1.6.6 for the suffix -<u>k°a-k'</u> 'some'), optional for the order Adj-N (once again, non-independence of a cardinal results in the omission of the pluraliser, as in <u>pš-kə̀rt+wa la-k'</u> '4 Georgian dogs', for its presence again gives the meaning 'some 4 Georgian dogs' - <u>pš-kə̀rt+wa la-k°a-k'</u>).

2.1.4.3.2.2. whether or not the noun is overtly expressed?

If an adjective is substantivised (i.e. if the noun to which it is attribute is not expressed overtly), then, if plural, it must be marked for plurality, e.g.

    a- bzə̀ya-k°a   (∅-) sə-   t
    the good (pl.) them to-me give
      'Give me the good ones!'

Where we have a predicative adjective without an overtly expressed subject-noun, then we have the choice of inserting the pluraliser into the stative verbal complex, if the column I subject-affix clearly shows the plurality of the subject, e.g.

    ħa-bzə̀ya-k°o- w+p'   // ħa-bzə̀yo-w+p'
    we good (pl.)(stat.)
      'We are good'

Since the 3rd. person singular non-human column I affix is identical to the 3rd. person plural column I affix, yə-, in this case the pluraliser will normally be present for plural sub-

jects, unless it is clear from the context that the reference is to a plural entity, e.g.

    yə-bzə̀yo-w+p'
      'It is (?they are) good'
    yə-bzə̀ya-k°o-w+p'
      'They are good'

(Note that <u>yə-bzə̀ya-c°o-w+p'</u> is only admissible in the meaning 'It is/They are <u>too</u> good' - for this use of the suffix -<u>c°a-</u> see 2.1.3.8.2).

2.1.4.3.3. How is agreement affected by

2.1.4.3.3.2. agreement with co-ordinated nouns not belonging to the same class?

In Abkhaz the problem does not arise as the adjective is repeated with each element co-ordinated, e.g.

    a-   la bzə̀ya-k°e- y à-   jɣab-c°a bzə̀ya-k°e-
    (art.) dog good (pl.) and (art.) girl (pl.) good (pl.)
    y
    and
      'good dogs and (good) girls'

cf. a-la bzə̀ya-k°e-y à-jɣab-c°e-y
      '[good dogs] and girls'

    à-   kərt+wa la- k°e- y à-kərt+wa jɣab-c°e- y
    (art.) Georgian dog (pl.) and   girl (pl.) and
      'Georgian dogs and (Georgian) girls'

cf. à-kərt+wa la-k°e-y à-jɣab-c°e-y
      '[Georgian dogs] and girls'

2.1.4.4. How are the various types of comparison expressed?

2.1.4.4.1. equality

The postpositions, of which either may be chosen, are -eyps 'like, as' and -aq'ara 'to such and such an extent', e.g.

    a- pħ°ə̀s a- xàc'a y-   eyps // y-àq'ara
    the woman the man him   as
                    (col.II)
    də- ħarak'ə̀-w+p'
    she tall   (stat.)
      'The woman is as tall as the man'

N.B. that this particular equative comparison may be made by omitting the actual adjective for 'tall', -ħarak'ə-, and replacing it with the second of the above-postpositions together with its associated column II affix, e.g.

    a-pħ°ə̀s a-xàc'a də- y+ àq'aro-   w+p'
                   she him+as-big-as

This possibility exists because of the indication of size inherent in the meaning of -aq'ara. That this postposition is not restricted to this particular equative comparison is shown by the sentence

    a-pħ°ə̀s a-xàc'a y-àq'ara də- pṣjò-   w+p'
                      she beautiful
      'The woman is as beautiful as the man'

2.1.4.4.2. comparative

There are three comparative postpositions, namely -aasta, -eyħa, and -ac'k´'əs 'than'. If the standard of comparison

immediately precedes the parameter of comparison, then the comparative element yaħà (or ⌐y¯eyħà) 'more' is normally omitted, e.g.

    a-pħ°әs a-xàc'a y- àasta // y-àc'k''әs // y-èyħa dә-
                   him than

ħarak'ә-w+p'
    'The woman is taller than the man'

Once again, this particular comparison of size may be made by omitting the adjective -ħarak'ә- and substituting for it the postposition -eyħa together with its associated column II prefix, e.g.

    a-pħ°әs a-xàc'a d- y+ eyħà-   w+p'
                 she him+more (sc. tall)-than (stat.)

Another alternative for this particular comparison is to replace the adjective -ħarak'ә- with the postposition -eyħa minus its column II prefix; the sentence must now contain one of the postpositions -aasta or -ac'k''әs in the normal way, e.g.

    a-pħ°әs a-xàc'a y-àasta//y-àc'k''әs d- eyħà-   w+p'
                          she more(sc.tall)

2.1.4.4.3. superlative

2.1.4.4.3.1. compared to other entities

Essentially the same construction is used as that just described in section 2.1.4.4.2, the difference being that the standard of comparison is represented by the word zeg'(ә) 'all' e.g.

    yarà zeg' r-   èyħa//r-àasta//r-àc'k''әs dә-ħarak'ә-w+p'
    he   all   them than   he

or
    yarà zeg'ә d- r+ eyħà-w+p'
             he them

or
    yarà zeg' r-àasta//r-àc'k''әs d- eyħà-w+p'
                           he

    'He is the tallest' (lit. 'taller than all')

2.1.4.4.3.2. compared to itself at other points/times

The same superlative expression as that just described in section 2.1.4.4.3.1 is used inside a pseudo-cleft construction such as the following

    a- jәyas zeg' r-   èyħa//r-àasta//r-àc'k''әs y- ax'ә-
    the river all   them than   it where

tbaa-w   abrò-w+p' (⇐ *abra-a- w+p')
wide (non-fin.)   here be (stat.)
    'The river is widest here' (lit. 'This is where the
    river is widest (wider than all)')

Note that the most precise literal English translation here suggests that the Abkhaz might rather mean 'Here is where the river is wider than all other rivers'; this is not so, for the actual Abkhaz equivalent for this would be

    abrò-w+p' arәy a-   jәyas eg'èrt a-   jәyas-k°a
             this (art.)   other (art.) river (pl.)
    r- àasta // r-èyħa//r-àc'k''әs y- ax'ә- tbaa-w
    them than   it where wide (non-fin.)
    'Here is where this river is wider than other rivers'

2.1.4.5. How are various degrees of a quality expressed?

2.1.4.5.1. in large measure

The adverb is dàara 'very', e.g.
    a- pħ°әs dàara dә- ħarak'ә-w+p'
    the woman very she tall   (stat.)
    'The woman is very tall'
(see also section 2.2.3.3.2.)
In attributive position (and the same applies to the examples given in sections 2.1.4.5.2-4), the relativised form of the stative verb found when the adjective is acting as predicate must be employed, e.g.
    dàara yә- ħarak'ә-w   a- pħ°әs
    very who tall   (stat.non-fin.) the woman
    'the very tall woman'

2.1.4.5.2. in superabundance

The suffix -c°a- (cf. 2.1.3.8.2) is attached directly to the verbal root (i.e. to the adjective which forms the base of the stative verb), from which it follows that a verb-form must be present before this affix (and thus this expression) may be used, e.g.
    a-pħ°әs dә-ħarak'-c°ò-w+p'
    'The woman is too tall'
When construed with quantifiers, this element may be attached to the quantifier-root, the resulting compound then being turned into its adverbial form, e.g.
    yә-   rac°a-c°a-nә   a-   š°q°'-k°à   (ø-) sә-
    (col.I)   many too (adv.) (art.) book (pl.) them to-me
    (non-hum.)
    y- te- yt'   // a-š°q°'-k°à (ø-)sә-y-ta- c°e-   yt'
    he give (fin.)   give (suff.) (fin.)
    'He gave me too many books'
cf. a-š°q°'ә-rac°a // yә-rac°a-nә a-š°q°'-k°à
    'many books'
(Because of the cacophonous sequence -c°a-c°a- in the form above, an alternative expression is possible, namely that based on the adjective a-mxc° 'superfluous' - yә-mcәx°-c°a-nә a-š°q°'-k°à 'too many books')
    yә-mač'- c°a-nә a-   š°
         little too   (art.) cheese
    'too little cheese'
cf. mač'-k' a-š°
        one
    'a little cheese'

2.1.4.5.3. in small measure

The adverb is ak'әr 'somewhat', e.g.
    a-pħ°әs ak'әr dә-ħarak'ә-w+p'
    'The woman is rather tall'

2.1.4.5.4. to a satisfactory degree

Here we have a choice of two Abkhaz idioms: the first is based on the expression

```
xar           (ø-)à- ma-  m
trouble(?) it   it have not
```
which is used as the answer 'It's o.k.' in response to the
question 'How is it?' The typically negative absolutive ending
-k°'a(-n) is added to give the expression seen in
```
    a-pɦ°əs xar (ø-)à-ma-m-k°'a(-n) də-ɦarak'ə̀-w+p'
```
'The woman is tall enough'
The second alternative would give
```
    a-pɦ°əs yə+s+àa+na+ga+ra də-ɦarak'ə̀-w+p'
```
where the second constituent may easily be analysed, although
it is nevertheless not clear from the analysis why this form
should provide the meaning required of it in this context: the
analysis is - yə- is the column I, 3rd. person singular non-
human affix here representing the direct object of the verb;
-s- is the manner-adverbial particle 'how'; -aa- is the orient-
ational preverb 'hither'; -na- is the column III, 3rd. person
singular non-human subject-affix used in place of -a- if the
verb is tri-personal or, as here, contains a preverb; -ga- is
the root 'to carry'; -ra is the characteristic ending of the
non-finite Future I tense.

2.1.4.6. With predicative adjectives, are the categories that characterise the verbal morphology of the language

2.1.4.6.1. expressed in the adjective-morphology?

As already described (cf. 1.2.1.1.4.2.1 and 2.1.1.2.9),
predicative adjectives become the root of stative verbs, i.e.
they have prefixed to them the column I, intransitive subject
affix correlating with the copular subject, whilst the stative
verbal exponents (-w+p' for the present, -n for the past) will
be attached as suffixes, e.g.
```
    barà bə-    psjò-     w+p'
    you  you    beautiful (stat.)
         (col.I)
      'You are beautiful'
    barà bə-psjà-n
                  (stat.past)
      'You were beautiful'
```

2.1.5. Postpositions

2.1.5.1. Postpositions not already mentioned in 2.1.1

2.1.5.1.1. -aq'ara 'to such and such an extent'
```
    sarà s- àq'ara    d- awə̀-w+p'
    I    me as-much-as he big (stat.)
      'He is as big as me'
```

2.1.5.1.2. -eyps 'like, as'
```
    sarà s- eyps yə-q'e-    y- c'è-yt'
    I    me like it (prev.) he do (fin.)
      'He did it like me'
```

2.1.5.1.3. -aa+n 'at the time of'
```
    a+k'rə̀-   fa- ra       aa+n ( ⇐ *a-  aa+n)
    something eat (masd.)              its time-at
      'at the time of eating'
```

2.1.5.1.4. 'conjunctional postpositions'

A number of elements may be suffixed directly to non-finite
verbal forms, and, to this extent, they may be regarded as semi-
postpositions, although, since they function as conjunctions in
a language like English, let us provisionally call them
'conjunctional postpositions'.

2.1.5.1.4.1. -cəpx'aja 'every time that'

This is only found attached to the non-finite Aorist (i.e.
it is attached directly to the root of dynamic verbs) and is
used in all cases regardless of the tense of the following
verb, e.g.
```
    də- z-bà- cəpx'aja a-      š°q°'ə̀ (ø-)yə-    s-ta  lo-
    him I see           (art.) book    it  to-him I give (iter.)
                                                      +(dyn.)
    yt'    // (ø-)yə̀-s-ta-lo-n     // (ø-)yə̀-s-ta-la-
    (fin.)                (fin.)                (iter.)
    s+      t'
    (Fut.II) (fin.)
      'Every time I see him, I regularly give him a book//
       Every time I saw him, I regularly gave him a book//
       Every time I see him, I'll give him a book'
       (respectively)
```

2.1.5.1.4.2. -yžtey 'since (the time that)'

This is found suffixed to the non-finite forms of the
following tenses:-
(a) Present, e.g.
```
    wəy  (ø-)1-   ɦ°ò-     yžtey y°ə̀-mčəbža (ø-) c'- we-
    that it  she say       w     week       they pass (dyn.)
    yt'            +(dyn.)
    (fin.)
```
'Two weeks have passed since she has been saying that'
A stative example would be
```
    wəy        abrà də-t°'ò-wə-      yžtey y°ə-sàat-k'
    that-one here he sit (non-fin.)        2     hour 1
    (ø-)c'-we-yt'
```
'Two hours have passed since he has been sitting here'
(b) Aorist, e.g.
```
    wəy (ø-)1-ɦ°è-yžtey y°ə̀-mčəbža (ø-)c'ə-yt'
```
'Two weeks have passed since she said that'
(c) Perfect, e.g.
```
    wərt rə-   y°nə̀ a-  r-    gə̀la- ra      y-   a+
    those their house its cause stand (masd.) they it+
    1-   ga-   x'è-yžtey ak'ə̀r     (ø-)c'- we-   yt'
    from (root) (Perf.)  some-time it  pass (dyn.) (fin.)
    (= finish)
```
'Some time has passed since they have already finished
       building their house'
(d) Imperfect, e.g.
```
    abrà yə-  n-     xò-   zə-       yžtey ak'ə̀r (ø-)c'-
    here they (prev.) live (non-fin.)
    we-yt'            +(dyn.)
```
'Some time has passed since they were living here'

(e) Past Indefinite, e.g.

```
wəy        də- z-bà- zə-        yžtey a+k'+g'ə́
that-one him I see (non-fin.)        one  even
(∅-)c'-wa-m
           not
```
   'Not long has passed since I saw him'
N.B. that here again we have a clear demonstration of the virt-
ual synonymy of the Aorist and Past Indefinite non-finite forms.
   The element -yžtey may also be used with non-finite, past
forms of stative verbs, which are formally identical to the
Past Indefinite of dynamic verbs (both forms end in -z attached
to the root). However, in the case of non-finite, past forms
of stative verbs, one has the option of retaining or omitting
the final non-finite marker -z, e.g.

```
abrà də-q'a-zə-        yx̄tey // də̀-q'e-yžtey a+k'+g'ə́
here he be (non-fin.)
(∅-)c'-wa-m
```
   'Not long has passed since he was here'
(f) Plu-perfect, e.g.

```
wəy        də- z-ba- x'à-   zə-        yžtey y°ə̀-sək°sa
that-one him I see (Perf.) (non-fin.)        2   year
(∅-) c'- x'a-      n
they pass (Perf.) (fin.)
```
   'Two years had passed since I had seen him'

2.1.5.1.4.3. -nac'ə 'while'

   For dynamic verbs, this is used only with the non-finite
Present, irrespective of the tense of the following verb, e.g.

```
wəy à-      way° sə-y+ à- c°až°o-nac'ə, a+j°+g'ə́  sarà
that (art.) man  I  him+to talk            one   even I
                             +(dyn.)
s- ax' də-m-  nè̀+y-       aa+yt'
me to  he not go-thither (subjunctive)
```
   'While I am talking to that man, no-one is to enter
   my room!'

```
wəy à-way° sə-y+à-c°až°o-nac'ə, a+j°+g'ə́ də-y°nà-  m-
                                        he (prev.) not
le- yt'
enter (fin.)
```
   'While I was talking to that man, no-one came in'
   When -nac'ə is used in association with stative verbs, it is
attached directly to the root - in other words, neither the
present nor the past non-finite markers (-w and -z respectively)
are retained, e.g.

```
abrà də̀-q'a-nac'ə, a+j°+g'ə́ sarà s-ax' də-m-nè̀+y-aa+yt'
```
   'While he is here, no-one is to enter my room!'

```
abrà də̀-q'a-nac'ə, a+j°+g'ə́ də-y°nà-m-le-yt'
```
   'While he was here, no-one came in'

2.1.5.1.4.4. -š°a 'as if, as though, supposedly'

   This suffix may be used in association with any of ·the non-
finite verbal forms, e.g.

```
zeg'ə́        (∅-)ey+lə̀-        y- k'+    aa-
everything it (compound prev.) he (root)+(suffix)
                                   understand
z-           š°a də-t°'à-n
(non-fin.)      he sit  (fin.)
```

'He was sitting as though he understood everything!'
```
zeg'ə́ (∅-)ey+lə̀-y-k'+aa-wa-            š°a də-t°'ò-
w+p'                    (non-fin.Pres.)
(stat.Pres.)
```
   'He is sitting as though he understands everything'
```
də-č̌+ma+za+y°ə̀-z-        š°a də-q'a-n
                (non-fin.)   he be  (fin.)
```
   'It was (lit. he was) as though he was ill'
   Note the use of this suffix in the role of complementiser if
the clause it governs represents an untruth, e.g.
```
a-      sk'òl [a-] ax' də-cò-      z-          š°a
                         go         (non-fin.)
                         +(dyn.)
(∅-)ħ°a-nə̀        a- k'inò [a-]ax' də-cè-yt'
it  say (absol.) the cinema it  to  he go (fin.)
```
   'Having said that he was going to school, he went to
   the cinema'
This suffix may also be attached to nouns, e.g.
```
a+k'rə̀+fa+r+ta-c'ə fa+t°'ə̀-š°a      a+k'
stolovaja      in food   as/like something
(∅-)ħa-fə̀- yt'
it  we eat (fin.)
```
   'In the stolovaja we ate something resembling food'

2.1.5.1.4.5. -aa+nja 'until, before'

   This is used only with the non-finite Aorist of dynamic
verbs, regardless of the tense of the verb in the main clause,
e.g.
```
wəy        də- z-b[a]-àa+nja, a- x°əš°+t°'ə̀+r+ta
that-one him I see              the hospital
də- tə̀-    r-  ge- yt'
him from-in they take (fin.)
```
   'They took him out of the hospital before I saw him'
```
s-àa+y-aa+nja arà  d- aa-      n-     xò-   yt'
I come             here he (prev.) (prev.) stay (fin.)
                                                +(dyn.)
```
   'He will stay here till I come'

2.1.5.1.4.6. -aħa 'any more than, let alone'

   This element may be used with four verb-forms: the non-fin-
ite Present, the conditional mood in -r, the conditional mood
in za+r (i.e. when this conditional suffix is directly preceded
by the verbal root), and the conditional mood in -x'a-za-r, e.g.
```
à- mza- [a- a]x' s-ca-r-       aħa à-  ps-     š°a-
the moon  it to  I go (condit.)     the Abkhaz language
g'ə (∅-)sə+z-    c'ò-   m
even it  I+(pot.) learn  not
                  +(dyn.)
```
   'I can't learn Abkhaz any more than fly to the moon!'
```
à-mza-[a-a]x' s-cà-za+r-       aħa à-ps-š°a-g'ə
                    (condit.)
(∅-)sə+zə̀-m- c'e-yt'
             not
```
   'I couldn't learn Abkhaz any more than fly to the moon'
```
à-mza-[a-a]x' s-ca-x'à-    za+r-       aħa à-ps-š°a-g'ə
                  (Perf.) (condit.)
```

(∅-)sə+zə̀-m-   c'a-c-   t'
            not   (Perf.) (fin.)
    'I haven't been able to learn Abkhaz any more than fly
    to the moon'

a- psə̀ d- wə+ zə̀-   bza- t°'ə-wa-   [a]ħa
the dead him you+(pot.) good make (non-fin.)
yə̀-   q'a-   la-   z
that-which (prev.) happen (non-fin.)
(∅-)wə+ z-   x+nə-   r-   ħ°- wà-   m
it you+(pot.) (preverbs) cause turn (dyn.)   not
    'You can't overturn what has taken place any more than
    you can raise the dead'
    (example provided by Miss Inga Šaduri)

2.1.5.3. Do postpositions combine with the personal pronouns they govern to form series of personal forms?

Regardless of whether they combine with pronouns or nouns, the majority of postpositions require as a prefix that column II pronominal affix which is appropriate to the word they are governing (cf. the examples given in section 2.1.1.5.ff). Those postpositions not requiring a pronominal prefix are directly suffixed to their nouns, pronouns or, in the case of the 'conjunctional postpositions' just examined, non-finite verb-forms.

2.1.6. Numerals/quantifiers

2.1.6.1. Numerals used in counting

    a+k'ə̀ '1'
    y°-ba '2'
    x-pa '3'
    pš-ba '4'
    x°-ba '5'
    f-ba '6'
    bəž-bà '7'
    aa-bà '8'
    ž°-ba '9'
    ž°a-bà '10'
    ž°è-y-za '11' (lit. '10-&-1', where -y- is the conjoining
clitic 'and', and -za is a remnant of the proto-North West
Caucasian word for '1' now replaced in Abkhaz by a+k'ə̀)
    ž°à-y°a (lit. '10-2') '12'
    ž°à-xa '13'
    ž°ə-pš '14'
    ž°ə-x° // ž°a-x° [ʒʷɔ-χʷ] '15'
    ž°a-f // ž°ə-f '16'
    ž°ə-bž '17'
    ž°-aa '18'
    ze-y-ž° [sic] '19' (lit. '10-&-9')
    y°a-ž°à '20' (lit. '2-10')
    y°a-ž°ə̀-y a+k'ə̀'21' (lit. '20-&-1')
    y°a-ž°ə̀-y y°-ba '22'
    y°a-ž°ə̀-y ž°a-bà '30' (lit. '20-&-10')
    y°a-ž°ə̀-y ž°e-y-za '31'
    y°ə-n y°a-ž°à '40' (lit. '2-times -n 2-10')

    y°ə-n y°a-ž°ə̀-y a+k'ə̀ '41'
    y°ə-n y°a-ž°ə̀-y ž°a-bà '50' (the form š°ə-bzà-k' '100-
half-one' is not now used)
    y°ə-n y°a-ž°ə̀-y ž°è-y-za '51'
    xə-n y°a-ž°à '60'
    xə-n y°a-ž°ə̀-y ž°a-bà '70'
    pšə-n y°a-ž°à '80'
    pšə-n y°a-ž°ə̀-y ž°a-bà '90'
    š°-k'ə '100' (lit. '100-1')
    š°ə-y a+k'ə̀ '101' (lit. 100-& 1')
    y°ə-š° '200'
    xə-š° '300'
    bəž-š°ə̀ '700'
    aa-š°ə̀ '800'
    ž°ə-š°ə̀ '900'
    zk'ə '1,000'
    y°-nə zk' '2,000'
    x-nə zk' '3,000'
    ž°a-nə̀ zk' '10,000'
    milliòn-k' '1,000,000'
And so, the co-ordinating clitic -y 'and' will be suffixed to each unit (millions, thousands, hundreds, multiples of '10') save the last in all compound numerals (by which is to be understood compounds from '21' onwards – the appearance of -y- in the Abkhaz forms for '11' and '19' is clearly exceptional from a synchronic, if not from a diachronic, point of view), e.g.
    milliòn-k'ə-y xə-š°ə-y y°ə̀-n   y°a-ž°ə-y ž°a-y°a-nə̀
    million 1   & 3 100 & 2   times 2 10 & 10 2   times
    zk'ə-y y°ə̀-š°ə-y y°a-ž°ə̀-y x°-ba
    1000 & 2   100 & 2   10 & 5
        '1,352,225'
cf. milliòn-k'ə-y xə-š°ə-y y°ə̀-n y°a-ž°ə-y ž°a-y°a-nə̀ zk'ə-y
     y°ə̀-š°ə-y y°a-ž°à
        '1,352,220'
cf. milliòn-k'ə-y xə-š°ə-y y°ə̀-n y°a-ž°ə-y ž°a-y°a-nə̀ zk'ə-y
     y°ə-š°
        '1,352,200'
etc...
Fractions:
    à-bza '½'; alternatively the more colloquial expression
    y°ə̀-ǰara   yə-ṣa-   nə̀   x°ətà- k'
    2   times (of division) it split (absol.) portion 1
is used.
    '¼' will be either
    (a-)   pš-ba r-   a+k'
    (art.) 4   their 1
or the colloquial expression parallel to that given above for
'½' pšə̀-ǰara yə-ṣa-nə̀ x°ətà-k'
    Multiples of fractions are uncommon (being mainly confined
to mathematics' lessons) and modelled on Russian, e.g.
    x-pa à-   ž°a-ba-t°'ə+y
    3   (art.) 10   (ordinal)
        'three-tenths'
Similarly, combinations of whole numbers and fractions are rare, e.g.

y°-be-y bẓa-k'ə̀-y
2   & ½ 1   &
  '2½'
pš-be-y x-pa r-   à+k'ə-y
4   & 3   their 1   &
  '4 and one-third'
f-be-y x-pa à-   pš-ba-t°'ə[+y]-y
6   & 3   (art.) 4   (ord.)   &
  '6¾'
bəž-bè-y bəž-bà àa-ba-t°'ə[+y]-y
7   & 7   8   (ord.)   &
  '7⅞'

2.1.6.3. Are distinct numerals used for counting different kinds of objects?

The numerals listed under 2.1.6.1 are used for abstract counting or counting of non-human objects; if the objects to be counted are human, then from '3' onwards -ba (-pa in the case of '3' itself) is replaced by the suffix -y°ə(-k'), where -y°ə is clearly related to the agentive derivational affix -y°ə (cf. 2.2.1.2.3) and -k' is the numeral '1' - from '11' onwards, where no -ba occurs, -y°ə(-k') is simply added to the form as given in the list in section 2.1.6.1. This leaves the first two numerals, which have the following special forms:-
  a+j°ə̀ '1'
  y°ə̀-ǰa(-y°ə(-k')) '2'
A selection of other examples would be:-
  x-y°ə(-k') '3'
  pš-y°ə(-k') '4'
  ž°è-y-za-y°ə(-k') '11'
  y°a-ž°ə̀-y a+j°ə̀ '21'
  š°-y°ə(-k') '101'
  š°ə-y y°ə̀-ǰa(-y°ə(-k')) '102'

If cardinals are used as nominal attributes, then the appropriate forms must be chosen in accordance with the human vs. non-human categorisation of the noun. Once the appropriate cardinal-form has been selected, the following basic types of Adj-N sequences may occur:-
(i) non-human nouns
(a) where the numeral follows its noun, the numeral will take the suffix -ba (i.e. for numerals '2'-'10'), and the noun will have both the article (a-) and the plural-marker, e.g.
  a-   la- k°a pš-bà
  (art.) dog (pl.) 4
    '(the) 4 dogs'
If the numeral is one which does not accommodate the suffix -ba, its noun may drop the article and its plural-marker, e.g. (Arstaa et al., 1966.70)
  wasà š°-k'
  sheep 100
    '100 sheep'
(b) if the numeral precedes its noun, the suffix -ba disappears, and the noun (or NP) will end with the numeral '1' (-k'); should the article (a-) and the plural-marker be absent, the phrase will be an equivalent for the first example above, e.g.

pš-la- k'
4 dog 1
  '(the) 4 dogs'
On the other hand, if the plural-marker is used, the phrase will assume a greater nuance of indefiniteness, e.g.
  pš-la- k°à-k'
    'some//any 4 dogs'
With no plural-marker but with the article (a-) preceding the entire complex, the NP will become definite, e.g.
  à-pš-la-k'
    'the (group of) 4 dogs (sc. that we have been discussing)'
Dumézil (1967.16) observes that, in the case of compound numerals, two more variants are possible; one of his examples shows a pre-posed numeral not requiring the suffix -k' at the end of the complex -
  ž°è-y-za qə
  11   horse
    '11 horses'
He also notes the following
  qə̀   y°a-ž°a
  horse 20
    '20 horses'
(ii) human nouns
Human nouns require their plural-markers in all cases (unless an attributive adjective follows, which itself carries the pluraliser for the whole NP). Our first example is of a noun prefixed with the article (a-); the numeral may either precede or follow the noun, will be endowed with the human affix -y°ə, and may or may not end with the numeral '1', e.g.
  pš-y°ə(-k') à-   jɣab-c°a
        (art.) girl (pl.)
or
  à-jɣab-c°a pš-y°ə(-k')
    '(the) 4 girls'
Where the numeral is pre-posed and lacks the numeral '1', the noun may drop its article, e.g.
  pš-y°ə jɣàb-c°a
    '(the) 4 girls'
By attaching to this last form the compound-suffix -k°a-k', the expression for 'some//any 4 girls' is produced, e.g.
  pš-y°ə jɣàb-c°a-k°a-k'
To make the NP absolutely definite, the numeral, ending in -k', will itself be endowed with the article; it may then either precede or follow its noun, which also possesses the article, e.g.
  à-   pš-y°ə-k' à-   jɣab-c°a
  (art.)   (art.)
or
  à-jɣab-c°a à-pš-y°ə-k'
    'the (group of) 4 girls (sc. that we have been discussing)'
cf. also
  à-pš-y°ə jɣab-c°a (where the noun does not, in fact, take the article)

2.1.6.4. Ordinals

These are of rather recent formation in Abkhaz - hence Dumézil's statement (1967.16) that ordinals do not exist in Turkish Abkhaz. They are produced by attaching the suffix -tᵒ'ə+y to the non-human forms of the cardinals - in other words, there is no distinction between human and non-human ordinals. There are four variants for '1st.', e.g.

à+k'-tᵒ'ə+y // (r-) àpx'a   yə-   gə̀lo-
                          them in-front-of he-who stand

w-   // àpx'a-tᵒ'ə+y
(non-fin.stat.)
  '1st.'
à-   yᵒ-ba-tᵒ'ə+y
(art.) 2
  '2nd.'
à-x-pa-tᵒ'ə+y '3rd.'
à-ž°a-ba-tᵒ'ə+y '10th.'
a-ž°ə̀-y-za-tᵒ'ə+y '11th.'
à-yᵒa-ž°ə-y-ž°a-ba-tᵒ'ə+y '30th.'
à-š°-k'-tᵒ'ə+y '100th.'
à-bəž-š°-k'-tᵒ'ə+y '700th.'

N.B. that ordinals represent one of the classes of adjectives which, when used attributively, precede their nouns (cf.2.1.4).

2.1.6.5. What other derivatives of numerals exist and how are they formed?

2.1.6.5.1. multiplicatives

Apart from the individual formation for 'once', multiplicatives are produced by suffixing -n+tᵒ' usually to the appropriate numerical base (i.e. to avoid the numeral devoid of human or non-human suffixes), e.g.

z+nə(-k') 'once' (where z- is again a remnant of the proto-NWC numeral for '1')
yᵒə-n+tᵒ' 'twice'
xə-n tᵒ' 'thrice'
yᵒa-ž°ə̀-y ž°a(-bà)-n+tᵒ' 'thirty times'

N.B. the rare occurrence of old forms in -na only (-na ⇒ -nə ⇒ -n, which latter two forms we have already met, glossed as 'times', in the list of numerals in section 2.1.6.1), e.g.

a-yᵒə̀-na 'twice'

2.1.6.5.2. distributives

These are produced by reduplicating the appropriate human or non-human cardinal, e.g.

a+k'à=[a+]k'a   :   a+jᵒà=[a+]jᵒa
  'one each'
yᵒ-bà=yᵒ-ba   :   yᵒə̀-ǰa=yᵒə̀-ǰa
  'two each'
x-pà=x-pa   :   xə-yᵒə̀=xə-yᵒə(-k')
  'three each'

By adding the instrumental postposition to the above, the corresponding adverbials are produced, e.g.

yᵒ-ba=yᵒ-bà-la   :   yᵒə-ǰa=yᵒə̀-ǰa-la
  'in two's'

2.1.6.5.3. approximatives

The element -q'a is suffixed to the appropriate human or non-human cardinal. This -q'a derives from -àq'ara 'as big as', and this full form must be used when the cardinal is '1'; it may also be used as just such an independent postposition with the other cardinals, e.g.

a+k' [a-] àq'ara   : a+jᵒ y- àq'ara//1-
  1   it as-big-as   his   her
  'one or so'   àq'ara
yᵒ-ba-q'à//yᵒ-ba r-   àq'ara : yᵒə̀-ǰa-q'a//yᵒə̀-ǰa r-
  'two or so'   their   àq'ara
x-pa-q'à//x-pa r-àq'ara   : x-yᵒə̀-k'-q'a//x-yᵒə-k'
  'three or so'   r-àq'ara

2.1.6.5.4. completives

The clitic -g'ə 'also, even' is suffixed to the appropriate human or non-human cardinal preceded by the article (a-), e.g.

à-yᵒ-ba-g'ə   :   a-yᵒə̀-ǰa-g'ə
  'both'
à-x-pa-g'ə   :   à-x-yᵒə-k'-g'ə
  'all three'

Note that, if the article (a-) is absent, the meaning is rather 'even two', 'even three' etc..., e.g.

x-pa-g'ə̀   :   x-yᵒə̀-k'-g'ə
  'even three'
pš-ba-g'ə̀   :   pš-yᵒə̀-k'-g'ə
  'even four'

2.1.6.6. Quantifiers

mač'-k' (non-human)   : màč'-yᵒə-k' (human)
  'little, a few'
pət-k' (non-human)   : pət-yᵒə̀-k' (human)
  'several'
-k°a-k' (non-human)   : -c°a-k°a-k' (human)
  'some'
zeg'ə̀ (or, more rarely, yə-s(ə̀-n)-èyba-k'ə-w 'all
  'all'   together')
cəpx'aja//dowsə̀//es-
  'each, every'
à-yᵒ-ba-g'ə (non-human): a-yᵒə̀-ǰa-g'ə (human)
  'both'
eg'ə(plural = eg'ə̀rt) // (d)aqa-k'ə̀ (non-human) :
  'other'   (d)aqa-jᵒə̀ (human)
a+k'ə̀-m-za+r-a+k'(-g'ə) (non-human) : a+jᵒə̀-m-za+r-a+k'
  'no, nothing/no-one'   (-g'ə) (human)
a+k'ə̀-r (non-human)   : a+jᵒə̀-r (human)
  'any, anything/anyone'

2.1.6.6.1. Quantifier-compounds

See immediately above for 'nothing', 'no-one', 'anyone', 'anything'.

ǰar-g'ə̀ (s-co-m)
  '(I am going) nowhere'
(N.B. the obligatory negative -m in the associated verb)

ǰar-à+k'ə-r
   'anywhere'
y-an-à+k°'-z-aa-lak''(-g'ə)//a-xàan(-g'ə)(sə̀-q'a-mə-z+t')
   '(I was here) never' (N.B. again the negative -m- in
              the verb)
z-nə̀-k'ə-r//z+nə̀-m-za+r-z+nə
   'ever' (used with both future and past tenses)
cf. məş-k'ə̀-z+nə
   'ever' (used only with a future tense)
d(etc..)-àrban-z-aa-lak''(-g'ə)//də(etc..)-z-wə̀s-ta-z-aa-
lak''(-g'ə)
   'whoever' (whichever column I affix is appropriate may
be used in place of initial d-, hence '(etc..)')
   y-àrban-z-aa-lak''(-g'ə)
    'whatever'
   y-an-à+k°'ə-z-aa-lak''(-g'ə)   (N.B. that wherever the
    'whenever'   clitic g'ə is added to
   y-ax'-à+k°'ə-z-aa-lak''(-g'ə)   -lak'', -k'' loses its
    'wherever'   palatalisation)
   yə-ş-à+k°'ə-z-aa-lak''(-g'ə)
    'however'
   yə-z-à+k°'ə-z-aa-lak''(-g'ə)
    'for whatever reason'

2.1.7. Adverbs

2.1.7.1. How are various kinds of comparison expressed?

2.1.7.1.1. equality

   For the basic construction see 2.1.4.4.1, e.g.
     a- xàc'a y- eypş//y- àq'ara   wəbàs d-   las-
     the man him like him as-much-as so   she   quick
     nə̀   də- cè-yt'   a- pħ°ə̀s   (col.I)
     (adverb) she go (fin.) the woman
     'The woman went as quickly as the man'
From this we see that the typical adverbial suffix is -nə; pre-
ceding the lexical morpheme the adverb accommodates the column
I pronominal affix correlating with the sentential subject (d-).
This may be replaced by the neutral, 3rd. person singular, col-
umn I non-human affix yə-, giving yə-las-nə̀; alternatively,
this same affix may be used, but separating it from the adverb's
lexical morpheme there will be the causative formant -r- —
yə̀-r-las-nə.
   If a full clausal comparison is required, this will be ex-
pressed by the appropriate non-finite verb-form containing the
manner-particle -ş-; in this case, only the postposition -eypş
is possible, e.g.
     a-xàc'a də-ş- cò   [a-] eypş wəbàs d-las-nə̀//
       he how go   it   like
             (non-fin.Pres.)
     yə-las-nə̀//yə̀-r-las-nə də-cè-yt' a-pħ°ə̀s
     'The woman went as quickly as the man goes'

2.1.7.1.2. comparative

   For the basic construction see 2.1.4.4.2, e.g.
     a-pħ°ə̀s a-xàc'a y- eyħà   d-las-nə̀//yə-las-nə̀//
                  him more(than)
     yə̀-r-las-nə də-cè-yt'

     'The woman went more quickly than the man'
In place of y-eyħà one may have any of the following variants:-
   y- àasta//y- àc'k''əs (yaħà//eyħà)
   him than   him than   more
   Should the full clausal comparison be required, once again
the appropriate non-finite form containing the particle -ş-
will be used, e.g.
     a-pħ°ə̀s a-xàc'a də-ş- cà (-z)   [a-] àasta
               he how go (non-fin.) it   than
     (yaħà//eyħà) (etc..) d-las-nə̀ (etc..) də-cè-yt'
     more
     'The women went as quickly as the man went'

2.1.7.1.3. superlative

   For the basic construction see 2.1.4.4.3, e.g.
     a-pħ°ə̀s zeg' r-   èyħa   d-las-nə̀//yə-las-nə̀//
               all them more(than)
     yə̀-r-las-nə də-cè-yt'
     'The woman went most quickly (of all)'
The variants for r-èyħa are:-
   r-   àasta//r-   àc'k''əs (yaħà//eħyà)
   them than   them than   more

2.1.7.2. How are various degrees of a quality expressed?

2.1.7.2.1. in large measure

   Cf. 2.1.4.5.1, e.g.
     dàara yə̀-r-las-nə//yə-las-nə̀//d-las-nə̀ (etc..)
     very quickly
     'very quickly'
Whichever column I affix is appropriate to the sentential sub-
ject may be used — hence '(etc..)' is written above. In place
of dàara 'very' one may place the verbal emphatic suffix after
the adverb's lexical morpheme, e.g.
     yə̀-r-las-ja-   nə//yə-las-ja-nə̀//d-las-ja-nə̀ (etc..)
        (emphatic)
     'very quickly'

2.1.7.2.2. superabundance

   Cf. 2.1.4.5.2, e.g.
     yə̀-r-las-c°a-nə//yə-las-c°a-nə̀//d-las-c°a-nə̀ (etc..)
     'too quickly'

2.1.7.2.3. in small measure

   Cf. 2.1.4.5.3, e.g.
     ak'ə̀r yə̀-r-las-nə//yə-las-nə̀//d-las-nə̀ (etc..)
     'rather quickly'

2.1.7.2.4. to a satisfactory degree

   Cf. 2.1.4.5.4, e.g.
     xar (∅-)à-ma-m-k°'a(-n) yə̀-r-las-nə//yə-las-nə̀//
     d-las-nə̀ (etc..)
     'quickly enough'

2.1.8. Clitics

2.1.8.1. What kind of clitic-elements occur in the language?

Affixation (prefixation and suffixation) is clearly such a widespread and integral feature of Abkhaz morphology, particularly as regards the structure of the verbal complex, that, by treating all such affixes as clitics, one would virtually have to recapitulate the entire section on morphology if one were to treat them again under the present heading. This we shall refrain from doing and mention only (a) the co-ordinating particle -y, which is suffixed to each noun or pronoun being co-ordinated, e.g.

```
s- ànə-   y s- àbə-   y
my mother & my father &
   'my mother and father'
barè-y sarè-y
you  & I    &
   'you and I'
```

(b) the connective -g'ə 'also, and', which, in addition to being attached to nouns and pronouns, may also connect subordinate verb-forms, e.g.

```
sar-g'ə s-co-     yt'
I    too I go     (fin.)
         +(dyn.)
   'I too am going'
```

```
də-ca-nə         a+j°-   g'ə də- š-   nə        d- an-
he go (absol.)  someone and him kill (absol.) he when
àa              zeg'ə   yə-ǰà-     r-   še-
come(non-fin.) everyone it (prev.) they view-with-surprise
yt'
(fin.)
```

or

```
də-ca-nə a+j° də-šə-n-        g'ə d-an-àa zeg'ə yə-ǰà-r-
                 (absol.) and
še-yt'
   'When he came after having gone and killed someone,
   everyone was surprised'
```

2.2. Derivational morphology

2.2.1.1. nouns from nouns

2.2.1.1.1. -r+ta

This suffix indicates the place where something is found; it is more common with verbal bases (cf. 2.2.1.2.1), e.g.

```
a-y°na- (r+)tà
   house
   'household'
a-ǰək°rèy-r+ta
   maize
   'maize-field'
a-bambà- r+ta
   cotton
   'cotton-field'
```

2.2.1.1.2. -ta

This suffix too indicates location and is very common in topographical terms, e.g.

```
a-g°-   tà
   heart
   'middle'
a-g°àra-ta
   fence
   'fenced area, yard'
Bzèp-ta
Bzyp
   'the area belonging to the Bzyp Abkhazians'
```

2.2.1.1.3. -tra

This suffix also indicates location; it is particularly common as a means of designating the home of animals, e.g.

```
à-ž°- tra
   cow
   'cow-shed'
a-ҫ-    trà
   horse
   'stable'
```

2.2.1.1.4. -ra

This is the formant for abstract-nouns and is very common, e.g.

```
à-č'k°'ən-ra
   child
   'childhood, youth'
a-gəzmàl-ra
   devil
   'devilishness'
```

2.2.1.1.5. -c

This is used to designate a single entity for objects normally thought of in groups, e.g.

```
a-x°ə- c
   hair
   'a single hair'
à-šxə-c
   bee
   'a single bee'
```

2.2.1.1.6. -ša

This is a rare suffix indicating a characteristic, e.g.

```
a-way°ə-ša
   man
   'humaneness//humanity'
a-xàc'a-ša
   man
   'manliness'
```

2.2.1.1.7. -(a)γ'

This suffix marks the male of certain animals, e.g.

```
à-c° -aγ'
   cow    'bull'
```

a-tə̀(+γ´)
 ram
 'ram'

2.2.1.1.8. -c'əs

This is used to represent the young of certain animals, e.g.
 a-ç-   c'əs
  horse
  'foal'

2.2.1.1.9. -s

This suffix appears in the singular of certain nouns (particularly those representing the young of animals) which have a collective plural in -ar(a) (cf. 2.1.1.8.4.ii), this pluraliser -ar(a) replacing the -s of the singular, e.g.
 a-ħ°ə̀+s
  'calf' (cf. a-ħ°-àr 'herd of calves')
 à-jə+s
  'kid' (cf. à-j-ar 'flock of kids')

2.2.1.2. nouns from verbs

2.2.1.2.1. -r+ta

This suffix indicates the location of an activity (cf. 2.2.1.1.1), e.g.
 à-jaxə-r+ta
  sew
  'sewing-room'
 à-px´a-r+ta
  read
  'reading-room'
 a-x°àrx´ə-r+ta
  saw
  'saw-mill'
This suffix is used extensively.

2.2.1.2.2. -(r+)s+ta

This compound-suffix indicates the spot where an action has already occurred, e.g.
 a-jaxə̀-r+s+ta
  sew
  'seam'
 a-š°àx-s+ta
  ?
  'scar'

2.2.1.2.3. -y°(ə)

This is a very common agent-suffix, e.g.
 a-c'a-   y°ə̀
  learn
  'pupil'
 a-r-   c'a- y°ə̀
  cause learn
  'teacher'
 a-n-   xa- y°ə̀
  (prev.) live
  'peasant'

2.2.1.2.4. -ra

This abstract-noun formant (cf. 2.2.1.1.4) is the means whereby the masdar (or infinitive) is formed, e.g.
 a-š-   rà
  kill
  'killing, to kill'
 a-ba- rà
  see
  'seeing, to see'

2.2.1.2.5. -ga

This is a very common suffix marking the instrument of the verbal action, e.g.
 a-çà- ga
  hoe
  'hoe'
 a-ʐə̀- ga
  dig
  'spade'

2.2.1.2.6. -mta

Forms in -mta represent the result of the verbal action, e.g.
 a-y°ə̀- mta
  write
  'written work, writings'
 a-ħ°à-mta
  say
  'statement'
Such forms also function as adjectives, in which function they are virtual equivalents for relative clauses, e.g.
 1- šə̀- mta a- k°'t'ə̀ (∅-)s-fe- yt'
 her kill   the chicken it I eat (fin.)
  'I ate the chicken killed by her'
cf. yə̀-   1- šə̀- z   a-k°'t'ə̀ (∅-)s-fe-yt'
 which she kill (non-fin.)
  'I ate the chicken killed by her'

2.2.1.2.7. -mta (⇐ aamta 'time')

This suffix marks the time of a verbal action and is used only to indicate momentary actions, e.g.
 1- šə̀- mta s-à+ k°-   š°e-   yt'
 her kill   I it+(prev.) attend (fin.)
  'I attended the moment of her killing'

2.2.1.2.8. -ša

This suffix indicates the characteristics of an action (cf. 2.2.1.1.6), e.g.
 a-ħ°à-ša
  say
  'manner of speaking'
 à-q'a+z-ša
  be
  'character'

2.2.1.2.9. -t°'(ə)

This suffix strictly speaking, forms the gerundive (verbal adjective) (cf. 2.2.3.2) '(that) which is to be done'. However, in the absence of an overtly expressed noun, forms in -t°'(ə) are used substantivally, e.g.

    a-fa- t°'
      eat
      'food'
    a-ž°- t°'
      drink
      'drink'
    a-y°- t°'ə
      write
      'something to write'

2.2.1.2.2. To what extent is the syntax of deverbal nouns similar to that of sentences, and to what extent like that of non-derived nouns?

With the exception of masdars, the syntax of all deverbal nouns is the same as that of non-derived nouns. In the case of masdars, what in the finite verb-forms would have been represented by a column I pronominal affix (i.e. intransitive subjects and transitive direct objects) will be represented by a column II affix functioning as a possessive marker, and so, to this extent, masdars behave like non-derived nouns, e.g.

    sarà s-   àa+y-ra
    I   my   come (masd.)
          (col.II)
       'my coming'
cf. s-   àa+y-we- yt'
    I   come (dyn.) (fin.)
    (col.I)
       'I am coming'
    sarà sè-la lə-   š- rà
    I   me by her   kill (masd.)
                (col.II)
       'my killing of her' (lit. 'her killing by me')
cf. də- s-š-   wè-   yt'
    her I kill (dyn.) (fin.)
    (col.I)
       'I am killing her'
This last pair of examples shows that, also like non-derived nouns, masdars do not normally permit the inclusion of any column III, transitive subject-affix - there are a few exceptions where the column III affix has become fossilised, as in the expression for 'to think', namely

    ┌──────────────────────┐
    a-   g° [a-] àa-   na-   ga-   ra
    (art.) heart (art.) (prev.) it   bring (masd.)
                            (col.III)
However, the masdars of di-transitive verbs, such as à-ta-ra 'to give', allow the insertion of a column II, indirect object affix after a possessive column II affix, such as those described above, e.g.

    barà bè- la sə-   yè-   ta- ra
    you you by my   to-him give (masd.)
                 (col.II)(col.II)
       'your giving of me to him'
    sarà sè-la lə-   yè-   ta-ra
    I   me by her   to-him
                 (col.II)(col.II)
       'my giving of her to him'

2.2.1.3. nouns from adjectives

The abstract-noun formant -ra is freely used with adjectives to produce the corresponding abstract-noun, e.g.

    à-pʂja-ra
      'beauty'
cf. à-pʂja
      'beautiful'
    a-bèya-ra
      'richness'
cf. a-bèya
      'rich'

2.2.1.3.1. To what extent is the syntax of de-adjectival nouns similar to that of a sentence, and to what extent like that of a non-derived noun?

The syntax of de-adjectival nouns exactly parallels that of non-derived nouns.

2.2.1.5. nouns from any other category

2.2.1.5.1. -ra

The abstract-noun formant may be added to a sequence of 'noun + postposition -da "without"' to produce the corresponding abstract-noun, e.g.

    à-my°a-da-   ra
      road without
      'the state of roadlessness'
    a-xʂèy°-da-   ra
      brain without
      'lack of intelligence'

2.2.1.5.2. -ra

This same abstract-noun formant -ra, when added to the postposition -eypʂ 'like', produces the noun meaning 'similarity', namely àypʂ-ra.

2.2.2.1. verbs from nouns

An example of a noun forming the root of a stative verb, where the noun is functioning as subject-complement, is given under section 1.2.1.1.4.2.1.

For a noun being incorporated into the verbal complex as subject-complement of the copular root -xa- 'to become' see sections 2.1.1.2.9.4i and 2.1.1.2.10.

For a noun being incorporated into the verbal complex as object-complement of the root -t°'(ə)- 'to become' see section 2.1.1.2.11ii.

2.2.2.2. verbs from verbs

For the formation of artificial dynamic passives by means of the copular root -xa- 'to become' see section 2.1.3.11.

For the formation of stative passives see 2.1.3.1.1.4.2.

For details of the morphological causative-formation see section 2.1.3.1.3.1.1-2.

2.2.2.3. verbs from adjectives

For adjectives forming the roots of stative verbs see section 1.2.1.1.4.2.1b.

Adjectives may also be incorporated into the verbal complex as subject-complements of the copular root -xa- 'to become', e.g.

```
ħa-bèya-xe-     yt'
we rich become (fin.)
   'We became rich'
cf.  a-bèya
       'rich'
```

Two expressions are possible for the incorporation into the verbal complex of adjectives as object-complements:

(i) the verbal root is -t°'(ə) 'to turn into//make', e.g.

```
yə-  bèya-š°- t°'ə-yt'
them rich you make (fin.)
   'You made them rich'
```

(ii) the adjective itself becomes the verbal root and is preceded by the causative formant -r-, e.g.

```
yə-  š°ə-r-    bèye-yt'
them you cause rich (fin.)
   'You made them rich'
```

2.2.2.4. verbs from adverbs

An example of an adverb amalgamating with the copular root -a- 'to be' in the pseudo-cleft construction may be found in section 1.2.1.1.3.1-2ii.

2.2.2.5. verbs from any other category

As is clear from the examples presented in sections 2.1.1.2.3 and 2.1.1.2.9, both a noun prefixed with a column II possessive affix and a sequence of 'noun + adjective' may also stand as the root of stative verbs in their role as NP subject-complements.

2.2.3.1. adjectives from nouns

The suffix -t°'(ə)//-t°'ə+y is freely used to derive denominative adjectives, e.g.

```
a-    x'-  t°'ə mac°àz
(art.) gold      ring
   'golden ring'
cf.  a-x'ə
       'gold'
à-    x°əlbəqxa-t°'ə+y a-     psà
(art.) evening         (art.) wind
   'evening wind'
cf.  à-x°əlbəqxa
       'evening'
```

The suffix -t°'ə+y is used with nouns expressing time and, as we have seen (cf. 2.1.6.4), is the formant of ordinal numerals. Note that the accompanying noun does not show the article after -t°'(ə), whereas it does after -t°'ə+y.

2.2.3.2. adjectives from verbs

As mentioned above (cf. 2.2.1.2.9), gerundives (verbal adjectives) are formed by means of the suffix -t°'ə, e.g.

```
a-     š°q°'ə yo-    t°'à (ø-)sə̀-mo-  w+p'
(art.) letter write      it  I  have (stat.)
   'I have a letter to write' (lit. 'a to-be-written-
   letter')
```

2.2.3.3. adjectives from adjectives

2.2.3.3.1. -c°ə-

As will be clear from a perusal of the examples given in section 5.1.2, attachment of the prefix -c°ə- to a colour-adjective indicates possession of the colour in question only to a moderate degree, e.g.

```
a-      c°ə̀-q'apš
(art.)      red
   'reddish'
cf.  à-q'apš
       'red'
```

2.2.3.3.2. -ja

The suffix -ja intensifies the meaning of an adjective (just as it is used as a post-radical verbal suffix with the same emphatic nuance - cf. above section 2.1.3.8.3), e.g.

```
à-       q'apš-ja
(art.) red
   'very red'
cf.  à-q'apš
       'red'
     à-ħarak'ə-ja
     tall
       'very tall'
cf.  à-ħarak'ə
     tall
```

Recall that in section 2.1.4.5.1 we had the example

```
a-  pħ°ə̀s dàara də- ħarak'ə̀-w+p'
the woman very  she tall    (stat.)
   'The woman is very tall'
```

This sentence has an exact parallel in the following

```
a-pħ°ə̀s də-ħarak'ə-jò-w+p'
```

2.2.3.3.3. -q'àg'ara(-ja)

This suffix, with the variant -ħaħara(-ja), is used with colour-adjectives to intensify the basic meaning, e.g.

```
àyac°'-q'àq'ara(-ja)
green
   'very green'
cf.  àyac°'a
       'green'
```

à-   q'apš-ħàħara(-ja)
(art.) red
      'very red'
Note yet another variant for this last colour-term, namely
      a-q'apš-k°'àk°'ara(-ja)
          'very red'

2.2.3.3.4. -wark'aley

This suffix is found with the one colour-term à-q'apš 'red' to signify 'brilliantly red', e.g.
      à-q'apš-wàrk'aley

2.2.3.3.5. -g'antaley

This intensifying suffix is found only with the colour-term a-y°èž 'yellow' e.g.
      a-y°èž-q'antaley

2.2.3.3.6. -samsal

This intensifying suffix is found only with the colour-term àyk°ac°'a 'black', e.g.
      àyk°ac°'a-samsal
          'very black'

2.2.3.3.7. -c°a-

This suffix indicates that the quality expressed by the adjective is possessed to an excessive degree (cf. the use of this suffix with the same meaning in the post-radical structure of verbal complexes - section 2.1.3.8.2), e.g.
      à-   ħarak'-c°a
      (art.) tall
          'too tall'
cf. à-ħarak'ə
          'tall'
Note that this suffix is most commonly attested when its associated adjective is incorporated into the verbal complex as subject- or object-complement.

2.2.3.4. adjectives from adverbs

The suffix -t°'ə+y may be attached to adverbs of place to produce the corresponding adjectives, e.g.
      wà-   t°'ə+y a-   wàa
      there   (art.) people
          'people from there'
cf. wa
          'there'

2.2.3.5. adjectives from any other category

The suffix -t°'ə+y may be added to temporal expressions (formed by means of a postposition) to give the corresponding adjective, e.g.
      bəž-sàat-k'-rə-   z-   t°'ə+y a-   wəròk'-k°a
      7   hour 1   them for   (art.) lesson
          '7 o'clock lessons'
cf. bəž sàat-k' rə-zə
          'at 7 o'clock'

2.2.4.1. adverbs from nouns

2.2.4.1.1. -la

This instrumental postposition appears with certain nouns (minus the article a-) to produce adverbs such as
      maja- là
      secret
          'secretly'
cf. à-   maja
     (art.)
          'secret'
     xè- la
     head
          'head-first'
cf. a-xè
          'head'

2.2.4.1.2. -nə

For a-d°è 'field' plus the adverbial formant -nə in the sense of 'outside' - or 'in the field' -(i.e. a-d°-nè, or, with the addition of the postposition -q'a 'to', a-d°-nè-q'a) see section 2.1.1.5.1.
      For -nə used with nouns as a variant for the marker -s of the predicative case see 2.1.1.

2.2.4.1.3. -xa

The copular root -xa- 'to become' seems to be the element that is met as a suffix on some nouns to produce what amounts to a derived adverb, as in the following
      gan-xà
          'apart'
cf. a-   gàn
     (art.) side
          'side'
     a- mašìna (∅-)   eydàra-xa   y- aa- yt'
     the truck   it   load   become it come (fin.)
                              (col.I)
          'The truck came loaded'
cf. àydara
          '(the) load'

2.2.4.1.4. -ħ°a

The particle used to indicate direct speech, ħ°a, is used to form a few adverbs, e.g.
      à-   c'ək''-ħ°a də-xèsə- yt'
      (art.)   he shoot (fin.)
          'He shot loudly'
cf. à-c'ək''
          '(gun's) report'
     à-c'ək''-ħ°a d- ey+m-   sè-   yt'
                       he (compound prev.) sneeze (fin.)
          'He sneezed loudly'
This ħ°a is fossilised on certain elements which have no independent existence, e.g.
      a-   šžè-ħ°a
      (art.)   'steadily, calmly'

cf. pšàa-la
    'steadily, quietly'

2.2.4.1.5. -c'as

The nominal base seen in the noun a-c'às 'manner, character' may be suffixed to a noun to produce an adverb meaning 'after the manner of', e.g.
    way°-c'às yə-q'e-   y- c'è-yt'
    man   it (prev.) he do (fin.)
        'He did it well' (lit. 'like a man')

2.2.4.1.6. reduplication

Note the uncommon reduplication of the nominal base seen in a-x°ə+c 'single -c hair -x°ə' to give the adverb x°ə+c=x°ə+c 'in detail'.

2.2.4.2. adverbs_from_verbs

2.2.4.2.1. -ṣak°

This suffix is found with a few intransitive verbal bases in the sense of 'in such-and-such a manner', e.g.
    x°màr-ṣak°
    play
        'in a playful manner'
cf. à-x°mar-ra
        'to play'
    pàg'a-ṣak°
    boast
        'in a boastful manner'
cf. a-pàg'a-ra
        'to boast'

2.2.4.2.2. -nə

The past absolute form (cf. 2.1.1.3) of certain verbs is sometimes found in a purely adverbial role, e.g.
    wəbrèy y-a+x-q''a-nè
    that
        'for that reason, thus'
where the verb a-x-q''a-rà means 'to fall over//on'. In this regard, it may be emphasised that the past absolute ends in -nə, which also happens to be the most common adverbial suffix.

2.2.4.3. adverbs_from_adjectives

2.2.4.3.1. -la

This instrumental suffix is attested with some adjectives as an adverbial formant, e.g.
    baapsè-la
        'extremely'
cf. a-   baapsè
    (art.)
        'bad, evil'

2.2.4.3.2. -nə

The most common adverb-forming suffix is -nə. Adverbs in -nə must contain a column I pronominal prefix. In all cases this may be, and usually is, yə-, the 3rd. person singular non-

human affix. However, this may be replaced by the affix appropriate to the verb's subject, as may here be seen -

    sarà yə-las- nè   // s-   las-nè s-nèq°'o- yt'
    I   quick (adv.)   I   I walk   (fin.)
                      (col.I)   +(dyn.)
        'I walk quickly'
cf. à-   las
    (art.)
        'quick'

    larà yə-pṣja-   nè // də-   pṣja-nè à-   š°a
    she   beautiful   she   (art.) song
                      (col.I)

    (∅-)l-   ħ°o-   yt'
    it she   say   (fin.)
        (col.III) +(dyn.)
        'She sings beautifully'
cf. à-pṣja
        'beautiful'

An alternative formation for adverbs with the suffix -nə is for the causative formant -r- to stand before the adjectival base; in this case only the column I prefix yə- is possible, e.g.
    yè-r-las-nə s-nèq°'o-yt'
        'I walk quickly'
    yè-r-pṣja-nə à-š°a (∅-)l-ħ°o-yt'
        'She sings beautifully'

2.2.4.3.3. zero

An uncommon form for de-adjectival adverbs is for the pure adjectival base to be used without any addition of prefixes or suffixes. This type of adverb is quite common in expressions of an exclamatory nature, such as -
    rac°à pṣja   à-   š°a (∅-)l- ħ°o-yt'
    how   beautifully (art.) song it she say (fin.)
        'How beautifully she sings!'

2.2.4.3.4. reduplication

Some adjectives may reduplicate to produce an adverb conveying that the action occurs over a period, possibly at intervals, e.g.
    x°əč'è=x°əč'è(-la)
        'little by little, gradually'

2.2.4.3.5. -xa

The copular root -xa- 'to become' is used with some adjectival bases in the following kind of adverbial usage -
    à-   ħ°əzba ccəš°
    the knife   sharp
        'the sharp knife'
⇒ à-ħ°əzba ccəš°-xa (∅-)yə-xè-   yt'
                            it he sharpen (fin.)
        'He sharpened the knife sharp'

2.2.4.3.6. distributives

For the distributives derived from cardinals see section 2.1.6.5.2.

2.2.4.4. adverbs from adverbs

Some adverbs may reduplicate after the fashion of the adjectives described in section 2.2.4.3.4, e.g.

      waž°ə̀=waž°ə də-c°àž°o- n
                  he talk   (fin.)
                            +(dyn.)
         'He was forever talking'
cf. waž°ə̀
       'now'
     na+q'=na+q'
       'in the future'
cf. na+q'
       'thither'
which is made up of the orientational preverb -na- 'thither' and the postposition -q'(a) 'to'.

2.2.6.1. Complex postpositions

2.2.6.1.1. two postpositions

See the sub-sections of section 2.1.1.5. passim, particularly the allative and ablative postpositions, for examples of compounding in postpositions. Complex postpositions (such as English 'from behind', as in examples like 'from 10 yards behind the car') are not found.

2.2.6.1.2. nominal formations

For examples of compound postpositions built on a nominal base see the various sub-sections of section 2.1.1.5, where instances such as àpx'a-q'a 'towards the front (of)' from àpx'a 'front' may be found.

2.2.6.2. Simple derived postpositions

2.2.6.2.1. denominal

For denominal postpositions (such as àpx'a 'the front' and 'in front of'; a-q'ə̀ 'the mouth' and 'in') see the various sub-sections of section 2.1.1.5.

2.2.6.3. Compound morphology

Compounding is such an integral, all-pervasive feature of word-formation for all the N.W. Caucasian languages that an analysis of the principles involved would be an undertaking of too vast a scope to be attempted here. However, one may follow Aristava et al. (1968.45-46) in mentioning the following seven types of compound:-

(a) compound of two nouns where the first acts as determiner, as in a-ž°-ž̀ə̀ 'beef', which is made up of a-ž° 'cow' and a-ž̀ə̀ 'meat';

(b) compound consisting of noun plus adjective, as a-way°-àpš 'red-head', which is made up of a-way°ə̀ 'person' and -apš from à-q'apš 'red';

(c) compound of two nouns joined by the co-ordinating particle -y- 'and', as in a-čə̀-y-ǰə̀k'a 'food prepared for a guest', which is made up of a-čà 'bread' and a-ǰə̀k'a 'salt' plus -y- 'and';

(d) compound of a cardinal numeral and noun, as in a-y°ə̀-maa 'type of harp', which consists of -y°ə- from y°-ba '2' and à-maa 'handle';

(e) compound of two nouns and a verb, as in a-ps-x°-rà 'meal made for a dead person either 40 days or 1 year after death has occurred', which consists of a-psə̀ 'dead person', a-x°ə̀ 'portion' and the 'root + ra' of the verb a-w-rà 'to make' (the root -w- having been lost because of the preceding labialised fricative -x°-). Another example would be: a-bz-k'ata-ħa 'spider's web', which consists of a-bz 'tongue', à-k'ata 'net' and the root of the verb a-ħa-rà 'to weave' - hence 'woven by the tongue';

(f) compound of noun and verb, as in a-mra-gə̀la-ra 'east', which is made up of à-mra 'sun' and a-gə̀la-ra 'to stand up, rise';

(g) compound consisting of three nominal bases and one verbal base, as in a-ma-š-x°ə̀-l+c' 'elbow', which is made up of -ma- from a-ᵐ/nap'ə̀ 'hand', à-š+x°a 'heel', which itself consists of -š- from a-šap'ə̀ 'foot' and à-x°a 'arc', and the 'preverb plus root' of the verb à-l-c'-ra 'to come out of'.

3. PHONOLOGY

3.1 Phonological units (segmental)

3.1.1. What are the distinctive segments?

Consonants and vowels

3.1.2. The elements are as follows

3.1.2.1. non-syllabics

3.1.2.1.1. plosives and affricates

1. Labio-labial voiced pulmonic plosive, b.
2. Labio-labial voiceless pulmonic plosive, p; phonetically aspirated.
3. Labio-labial voiceless ejective plosive, p'.
4. Apico-alveolar voiced pulmonic plosive, d.
5. Apico-alveolar voiceless pulmonic plosive, t; phonetically aspirated.
6. Apico-alveolar voiceless ejective plosive, t'.
7. Apico-alveolar voiced pulmonic plosive labialised, dʷ; phonetically, labialisation takes the form of complete labio-labial closure (together with definite lip-protrusion), the labial and alveolar closures being released simultaneously, with the labial release being characterised by a trill. Elsewhere, this is symbolised as d°.
8. Apico-alveolar voiceless pulmonic plosive labialised, tʷ; labialisation is as (7) above. Elsewhere symbolised as t°.
9. Apico-alveolar voiceless ejective plosive labialised, tʷ'; labialisation is as (7) above. Elsewhere symbolised as t°'.
10. Lamino-alveolar voiced pulmonic affricate, dz. Elsewhere symbolised as j.
11. Lamino-alveolar voiceless pulmonic affricate, ts; phonetically aspirated. Elsewhere symbolised as c.
12. Lamino-alveolar voiceless ejective affricate, ts'. Elsewhere symbolised as c'.
13. Dorso-post-alveolar voiced pulmonic affricate labialised, dʒʷ; the active articulator for this series is the right side of the dorsum. Labialisation for this and the following two phonemes is phonetically as follows: the upper lip plays no active role in the articulation – the sides of the lower lip (especially the right side) are drawn up into contact with the upper teeth, while the centre of the lower lip protrudes somewhat and is slightly rounded, giving this type of labialisation rather a labio-dental flavour. Elsewhere symbolised as j°.
14. Dorso-post-alveolar voiceless pulmonic affricate labialised, tɕʷ; phonetically aspirated. Elsewhere symbolised as c°.
15. Dorso-post-alveolar voiceless ejective affricate labialised, tɕʷ'. Elsewhere symbolised as c°'.
16. Lamino-post-alveolar voiced pulmonic affricate, dʒ. Elsewhere symbolised as ǰ.
17. Lamino-post-alveolar voiceless pulmonic affricate, tʃ; phonetically aspirated. Elsewhere symbolised as č.
18. Lamino-post-alveolar voiceless ejective affricate, tʃ'. Elsewhere symbolised as č'.
19. Apico-palatal voiced pulmonic affricate, dʐ; there is retroflexion of the tongue-tip and the lips are sufficiently wide apart in this and the following two phonemes for the upper and lower teeth to be visible, and there is a pronounced rounding of the lower lip, which entails a slight rounding of the upper lip too. Elsewhere symbolised as j.
20. Apico-palatal voiceless pulmonic affricate, tʂ. Elsewhere symbolised as c.
21. Apico-palatal voiceless ejective affricate, tʂ'. Elsewhere symbolised as c'.
22. Dorso-velar voiced pulmonic plosive, ɟ. Elsewhere symbolised as g.
23. Dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic plosive, k.
24. Dorso-velar voiceless ejective plosive, k'.
25. Fronted dorso-velar voiced pulmonic plosive, ɟ. Elsewhere symbolised as g'.
26. Fronted dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic plosive, ʞ. Elsewhere symbolised as k'.
27. Fronted dorso-velar voiceless ejective plosive, ʞ'. Elsewhere symbolised as k''.
28. Dorso-velar voiced pulmonic plosive labialised, ɟʷ. Elsewhere symbolised as g°. Labialisation for this and the following two phonemes is as follows: the lips adopt the position for a slackly articulated labio-labial semi-vowel, w, which is to say that they are very close together with no noticeable rounding.
29. Dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic plosive labialised, kʷ. Elsewhere symbolised as k°.
30. Dorso-velar voiceless ejective plosive labialised, kʷ'. Elsewhere symbolised as k°'.
31. Dorso-uvular voiceless ejective plosive, q', sometimes realised as a glottal stop between vowels or word-initially if also pre-vocalic.
32. Dorso-uvular voiceless ejective plosive palatalised ɋ'. Elsewhere symbolised as q''. Colarusso (1974) introduces the feature [advanced tongue-root] to account for the fact that palatalised uvulars in Abkhaz and its sister-language Ubykh are not realised as simple velars, as Chomsky and Halle (1968) would claim.
33. Dorso-uvular voiceless ejective plosive labialised, qʷ'. Elsewhere symbolised as q°'. This time lip-rounding and protrusion is more evident than in the case of the velar series.

3.1.2.1.2. fricatives

1. Labio-dental voiced pulmonic fricative, v.
2. Labio-dental voiceless pulmonic fricative, f.
[3. Labio-dental voiceless ejective fricative, f'. This rare phoneme is only found in one word, and even then only in the speech of some speakers, a-f'à 'thin', which is pronounced a-p'à by the majority of speakers.]
4. Lamino-alveolar voiced pulmonic fricative, z.
5. Lamino-alveolar voiceless pulmonic fricative, s.
6. Lamino-post-alveolar voiced pulmonic fricative, ʒ. Elsewhere symbolised as ž.
7. Lamino-post-alveolar voiceless pulmonic fricative, ʃ. Elsewhere symbolised as š.
8. Apico-palatal voiced pulmonic fricative, ʐ (with retroflexion of tongue-tip).

9. Apico-palatal voiceless pulmonic fricative, ʂ (with retro-
flexion of tongue-tip).
10. Lamino-post-alveolar voiced pulmonic fricative labialised,
ʒʷ. Elsewhere symbolised as ž°. In this and the following
phoneme the labialisation parallels that described for the
velar series.
11. Lamino-post-alveolar voiceless pulmonic fricative labial-
ised, ʃʷ. Elsewhere symbolised as š°.
12. Dorso-velar voiced pulmonic fricative, ɣ. This and the
following phoneme may be realised phonetically as dorso-velar
or dorso-uvular depending on the phonetic environment.
13. Dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic fricative, x.
14. Fronted dorso-velar voiced pulmonic fricative ɣ̇. Elsewhere
symbolised as ɣ'.
15. Fronted dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic fricative ẋ. Else-
where symbolised as x'.
16. Backed dorso-velar voiced pulmonic fricative labialised,
ɣʷ. Elsewhere symbolised as ɣ°.
17. Backed dorso-velar voiceless pulmonic fricative labialised,
xʷ. Elsewhere symbolised as x°.
18. Radico-pharyngeal voiceless pulmonic fricative, ħ.
19. Radico-pharyngeal voiced pulmonic fricative labialised, ʕʷ.
Labialisation in this and the following phoneme is of the
labio-palatal approximant variety, ɥ. Not all speakers have
the pharyngeal fricative component; often there is just a
strong constriction of the pharynx, and Catford's informants
(1972) produced no pharyngeal component at all. Elsewhere
symbolised as ɣ°.
20. Radico-pharyngeal voiceless pulmonic fricative labialised,
ħʷ. Elsewhere symbolised as ħ°.

3.1.2.1.3. nasals

1. Labio-labial voiced pulmonic nasal, m.
2. Apico-alveolar voiced pulmonic nasal, n.

3.1.2.1.4. liquids

1. Apico-alveolar lateral approximant, l, which is devoid of
vowel-colouring.

3.1.2.1.5. semi-vowels

1. Labio-labial voiced frictionless continuant, w.
   N.B. the rule
   /ə/ + /w/ → [u:]
   wəy   də-way°-u:+p' (←/də-way°ə-w+p'/)
   that   he man   (stat.)
     'That is a man'
   cf. a-wayºə 'man/person'
2. Dorso-palatal voiced frictionless continuant, j. Elsewhere
symbolised as y.
   N.B. the rule
   /ə/ + /j/ → [i:]
   s- àn-   i: a- wayº-ì: (←/s-anə-y a-wayºə-y/)
   my mother and the man and
     'my mother and the man'

3.1.2.1.6. others

1. Apico-alveolar roll, r.

3.1.2.2. syllabics

3.1.2.2.1. vowels

1. Close vowel, ə. The precise realisation of this and the
following phoneme depends greatly on their phonetic context.
We have already seen that the sequence /ə/ + /j/ yields [i:].
In reverse the result is
    /j/ + /ə/ → [ʲi]
    e.g. [ʲitabu:p'] 'thank you'
Similarly,
    /w/ + /ə/ → [ʷu]
    e.g. [ʷurt] 'those'
The close vowel is also realised as [u] when preceded by lab-
ialised velars and uvulars (after the labialised pharyngeal the
colouring is rather [œ]), as in a-gºə̀ [-'gʷu] 'heart', a-qºə̀d
[-'qʷ'ud] 'bean', with which we may compare the sequence in
a-pħºə̀s 'woman', viz. [-'pħºœs]. After palatalised consonants
the close vowel is frequently realised as a high central vowel
[ɨ], as in à-x'əmjɣ [-ẋɨmdzɣ̌] 'shame', with which, however, we
should compare a-x'ə̀ 'gold', where the realisation is that of a
normal central vowel [-'ẋə]. Note that the placement of the
accent is irrelevant, for the [ɨ]-colouring is found also when
ə is stressed, as in a-x'ə̀šaʂ [-'ẋɨʃaʂ] 'white-footed (horse)'.
This same colouring is also heard sometimes after lamino-post-
alveolars, as in a-ĵə̀k'a [-'dʒɨk'a] 'salt' and in a-ĵə̀mšə̀
[-dʒɨm'ʃə] 'onion'. Elsewhere the close vowel will be realised
as a central vowel [ə], which will be rounded [ɵ] in the envir-
onment of labial or labialised consonants (sc. other than those
labialised velars and uvulars specifically mentioned above) and
slightly backed and raised after plain uvulars, as in a-q'ərq'ə̀
[-q'ɯr'q'ɯ] 'throat'. The close vowel is never found after ħ.
N.B. that not all scholars agree that ə is to be assigned
phonemic status in Abkhaz: see Allen (1965) and cf. Section
3.4.4.2.
2. Open vowel, a.
    Unless preceded by another a or ħ, the following change
occurs
    /a/ → [e:]/ —{ʲ
                  ç}
    e.g. s-ce-yt'   (←*s-ca-yt')
         I go (fin.)
           'I went'
    eypʂ (←*aypʂ) 'like, as'
    zeg'ə̀ (← *zag'ə) 'all'
BUT àyba-   š-   ra   (← *a-   ayba-š-ra)
    each-other kill (abstract)   (art.)
      'war'
    ħ-   ayba-   š-   wè-   yt'   (← *-wa-yt')
    1st.pl. each-other kill (dyn.) (fin.)
    (D.O.)   (S.)
      'We are killing each other'
Similarly, unless preceded by ħ, the following change occurs:
    /a/ → [o:]/ —w

e.g. də-y- àq'aro- w+p' (←*-àq'ara-w+p')
     he him as-big-as (stat.)
        'He is as tall as him'
BUT d- y- eyħà-w+p'
     he him more (stat.)
        'He is taller than him'
N.B. that the sequence /-a-wa-/, where /-a-/ belongs to a ver-
bal root and /-wa-/ represents the dynamic marker in the
Present and Imperfect tenses, gives [-o-]:
     s-co-ýt' (←*s-ca-wa- ´ýt')
                    I go (dyn.) (fin.)
     'I go'
     s-co-n (←*s-ca-wa-n)
                    (Imperf.fin.)
        'I was going'
When following the semi-vowel w, a may be realised as [ɔ], as
in waz°à 'now', which has the two realisations [wa'ʒʷθ] and
[ʷɔ'ʒʷθ], or də-s-š-wà-n 'I was killing him', which may be
either [-'wæn] or [-'wɔn]. After labialised velars and uvulars
unstressed a is often realised as [ɔ], as in bə-k°'aʃà
[-kʷ'ɔ//a'ʃæ] 'dance!'. After other labialised affricates and
fricatives unstressed a may sometimes be heard as nothing more
than a centralised vowel [ə], as in a-š°artlèy [-ʃʷər'tlei]
'rag', à-c°ama [-tɕʷa//(ə)ma] '(stomach-)worm', àž°abž
[-ʒʷa//əbʒ] 'story'. Indeed, in closed syllables generally even
a stressed a may have this [ə]-colouring, as in abàs [a'ba//əs]
'so, like this' (Lomtatidze, 1977.25). We should note here the
word for '15', which apparently may have either the close or
open vowel phoneme - ž°ə-x° // ž°a-x°, the phonetic realisation
of which two variants will be [ʒʷθxʷ] and [ʒʷɔxʷ] respectively;
the pronunciation *[ʒʷaxʷ] is impossible, cf. ž°a-ba [ʒʷæ'bæ]
'10', which contrasts with ž°-ba [ʒʷbæ] '9'.
And so we see that, whilst in absolute terms it is not the case
that every phonetic realisation of a will necessarily be more
open than some realisation of ə, nevertheless in any given con-
text the realisation of a will be characterised by a greater
degree of aperture than that of ə. In other words, cases of
phonetic overlapping exist but never in the same environment -
at least if this is likely to lead to confusion (N.B. that
there is no word *abəs with which the pronunciation [a'bəs] of
abàs could be confused).

3.2.   Phonotactics

3.2.1. Does the language admit

3.2.1.1. word-final consonants?

    Yes

3.2.1.1.1. restrictions

No examples of word-final t° and j° are known, and the follow-
ing are very rare word-finally - d°, ꝗ, g, k, g°, ɣ°.

3.2.1.2. initial consonants?

    Yes, without restriction.

3.2.2.1. Does the language admit

3.2.2.1.1. word-initial consonant-clusters?

    Yes.

3.2.2.1.2. word-final consonant-clusters?

    Yes.

3.2.2.1.3. word-medial consonant-clusters?

    Yes.

3.2.2.2. Describe the possible clusters

A description of all possible consonant-complexes and their
assignment to word-initial, word-final and word-medial posi-
tions represents an investigation of too vast a scope for in-
clusion in this monograph.
By far the most frequent complexes are those consisting of
two consonants, for a so-called 'two-consonant' rule exists
(cf. Allen, 1956.142) whereby, counting from the end of the
word, or from any vocalic articulation bearing main or second-
ary stress, there will appear a vocalic transition (ə) between
the second and third consonantal articulations (wording adapted
from Allen, op.cit.), e.g.
     wə- z-bò- mə- z+ t'
     you I see not (non-fin. (fin.)
        +(dyn.)
     'I used not to see you'
However, this rule is by no means without exception, as the
following examples indicate: a-pṣ-rà 'to behold',
a-c̨+p+nə̀+ħ°a 'reproach', and, from Lomtatidze (1977.239),
à-psth°a 'rain-cloud', a-x'šcbà (variant = a-x'šəjba - B.G.H.)
'hawk', à-lt°'ž°y°a 'collar-bone'.

3.2.3. Does the language admit

3.2.3.1. word-final vowels?

    Yes, both vowels may stand word-finally.

3.2.3.2. word-initial vowels?

    Yes.

3.2.3.2.1. restrictions

Word-initial ə- is exceedingly rare. As we know (cf.
2.1.1.1.1), if the column I verbal affix yə- is immediately
preceded by its referent, then it disappears. But, if this
affix carries the word-stress, then only the semi-vowel dis-
appears, leaving a word-initial ə- (cf. Lomtatidze, 1977.38)
e.g.
     y-   àħ-fa-ṣa   ə̀- q'o-w-   ma
     which we eat (Fut.II.non-fin.) it be (non-fin.) (Qu.)
        'Is there anything for us to eat?'

3.2.3.3. sequences of (syllabic) vowels

Whether or not one admits such sequences depends on what
level of analysis one approaches the question. From a purely
phonetic point of view, the word for 'lake' does indeed contain
a sequence of syllabic vowels, viz. [a-'dziːa]. However, what

is phonetically [i:], from a phonological viewpoint, is a sequence of /əy/.

If stress falls on -aa-, one sometimes hears a sequence of stressed, half-long ['a˙] followed by short [a], as in [a-'ts'a˙a-ra] 'to freeze', rather than long [a:], as in [a-'ts'a:ra] 'salted food'.

3.2.4. Does the structure of lexical morphemes correspond with the possibilities for word-structure?

Very few nominal roots begin with the vowel a- (none begins with ə-) e.g. an 'mother' → s-an 'my mother'; ab 'father' → s-ab 'my father'; àž°a 'word' → b-àž°a 'your word'; aħ 'prince' → l-ah 'her prince'; aħ° 'bottom' → y-aħ° 'his bottom' etc...

Almost without exception, verbal roots will be either C(ə) or Ca in structure; in modern Abkhaz the root 'to hear' is, however, the vowel-initial -aha-, as may be observed from the position of the negative particle in

    yə-   w-   ħ°a-z   (∅-)s-m- aħà- yt'
    which you say (non-fin.) it I not hear (fin.)
       'I did not hear what you said' (Džanašia, 1954.60)

Verbal roots may begin with a two-consonant complex (e.g. à-t'la-ra 'to come undone'), but three-consonant complexes are rare (e.g. à-pssa-ra 'to sweep'). No example of a non-denominative verbal root ending with a consonant-complex is available. Whilst nominal roots are more tolerant of medial and final complexes (e.g. a-cəpxà 'key', à-cəpx' 'splash/spark'), it must be acknowledged that most complexes in the language arise as a result of compounding and affixation. And so, we conclude that there is only a partial correspondence between word-structure and the structure of lexical morphemes.

3.2.5.1. How are medial units or clusters assigned to syllables?

Whilst the actual rules have yet to be formulated, it seems that medial clusters are assigned to syllables partly on the basis of morphological structure, partly on the basis of which produces more natural sub-clusters, e.g. the root -ps- 'die' together closes the first syllable of the infinitive a-ps//-rà, whereas the sequence of preverb and root -v-s- 'pass by' are assigned to different syllables in the corresponding infinitive à-v//-s-ra, where -s-r- is felt to be a more natural complex than -v-s-. In the case of à-t'//la-ra 'to come undone', although there is no morphological boundary within the radical cluster -t'l-, nevertheless -t'- is assigned to the first syllable, -l- to the second, undoubtedly because -t'l- is regarded as a marginal cluster. Similarly, in the noun a-m//c'ə '(fire-)wood', there is no boundary between the consonants, although they belong to different syllables - but notice that in mc'ə-k' 'one piece of wood' there is no alternative to placing them in the same syllable. On the other hand, all three consonants of the root -pssa- 'to sweep' are assigned to the second syllable in the corresponding infinitive - à//-pssa-ra.

3.2.5.2. What is the canonical syllable-type?

CV, with VC and CVC being common too (e.g. sa 'I', ab 'father', s-ab 'my father' respectively)

3.3. Suprasegmentals

3.3.1. Are there distinctive degrees of length in

3.3.1.1. vowels?

A distinctive opposition exists only in the case of a : ā (here written aa, in conformity with the orthographic conventions of Abkhaz). In the majority of cases aa is the reflex of *ʕa/aʕ, following the loss of the voiced pharyngeal fricative in Abkhaz - this can be shown by a comparison of Abkhaz and Abaza forms, for the fricative is preserved in Abaza. Some cases of aa derive from ħa/aħ, e.g. (Lomtatidze, 1977.26).

    a-k'əlaara (variant = a-k'əlħara) 'hole'
    a-taa+c°à (Bzyp form = a-taħ+c°à) 'parents/family'

Under stress, aa may be heard as a sequence of 2 short a's. However, the straightforward collocation of 2 a's never results in compensatory lengthening (e.g. [ab] 'the father' ⇐ */a-ab/). However, loss of intervocalic -q'- may result in the lengthening of the resulting adjacent a's in the spoken language - e.g. (ibid.27) wəbràa ⇐ wəbràq'a 'just there'. In borrowings particularly, loss of an intervocalic consonant may result in lengthening of the resulting adjoining a's - e.g. (ibid.) a-màat ⇐ manati (Old Georgian) 'rouble'. Although, on occasions, Abkhaz has aa where this is not warranted by the structure of the word being borrowed - e.g. (ibid.28) a-q°'aràan 'crow' ⇐ Georgian q'orani 'raven'.

3.3.2.1. Does stress play any role?

Stress does have a certain word-distinguishing role in modern Abkhaz - 185 minimal pairs may be found listed in Gulia (1939.97-106), whose third example is:

    à-rac°a 'plurality' : a-ràc°a 'coal' : a-rac°à 'bark from a walnut-tree'

3.3.2.2. What are the phonetic correlates of stress?

The nucleus of the stressed syllable is pronounced with greater intensity than is the case with unstressed nuclei. The main-stressed nucleus of a word is also characterised by falling pitch when pronounced in isolation.

3.3.2.3. Is there a distinction between different levels of stress?

Polysyllabic compounds may have one or more secondarily stressed nuclei which differ from the main-stressed nucleus both with regard to the degree of intensification of their stress and insofar as only the main-stressed nucleus is accompanied by falling pitch when pronounced in isolation.

3.3.2.4. Is the position of stress constant?

No.

3.3.2.5. Is the position of stress forecastable solely in terms of the phonotactic structure of the word?

No.

3.3.4.1. Major types of intonation-pattern having syntactic or semantic function.

1. statement:
   Low-falling pitch characterises the last main-stressed syllable - this syllable will normally be part of the verb given an SOV word-order. Subordinate clauses usually precede the main clause and are characterised by a rising pitch on their last main-stressed syllable. In cases where this ordering of the clauses is reversed, or if a vocative element should follow the main clause, the main clause will have a high fall on its last main-stressed syllable, and any subsequent tone-group will have a low fall on its last main-stressed syllable. Examples of the above would be:

a- xàc'a a- pʰ°ə̀s yacə̀   a- p'àrk' a- ɋ'ə̀ də- y-
the man   the woman yesterday the park   it in her he

bè- yt'
see (fin.)
   'The man saw the woman in the park yesterday'

a- pʰ°ə̀s d- an- aa- làk'',   də- b+ z- aa-
the woman she when come (non-fin.) her you+for hither

z-gò-   yt'
I bring (fin.)
  +(dyn.)
   'When the woman comes, I'll bring her to you'
a-pʰ°ə̀s də-b+z-aa-z-gò-yt', d-an-aa-làk''
   'Ill bring the woman to you, when she comes'
which sentence, it must be stated, represents a word-order which is unnatural in Abkhaz.

wac°'ə̀ yə-bə̀-   s-to-   yt',   sə̀-č'ən
tomorrow it to-you I give   (fin.) my child
                    +(dyn.)
   'I'll give it to you tomorrow, my child'
However, two cases were noted where the main verb, preceding
(a) a clausal remainder from a comparative construction, and
(b) an indirect question, was given a rising pitch, whilst the final main-stressed element of the following tone-groups received the normal sentence-final falling pitch, e.g.

Meràb yaħà lassə̀=lassə̀ də- z-bò-   yt'   Zaìra ṣaq'à
      more often   him I see   (fin.)   how-much
                                     +(dyn.)
də- z-bò   àasta
her I see(non-fin.)
   'I see Merab more often than I see Zaira'
abərž°ə̀ yə-b+ à- s-ħ°a-r+c   (∅-)s-taxə̀-w+p'
now   it you+to I say (purp.)it I want (stat.)
a- sàat ṣaq'à   r- zə də- z-bà- z
the hour how-many them for him I see (non-fin.)
   'I want to tell you now at what time I saw him'

2. 'Yes-no'- and 'Wh'- questions:
   These are characterised by having a high-fall on the last main-stressed syllable (at least in my informant's idiolect), e.g.

b- an   arà də- q'o-w-   ma
your mother here she be (non-fin.) (Qu.)
   'Is your mother here?'
b- an   d- a+ ba-   q'o-w
your mother she where+(Qu.) be (non-fin.)
   'Where is your mother?'

3. imperative:
   As with simple statements, imperatives have a low-fall on their last main-stressed syllable, e.g.

bə- cà
you go
   'Go!'
Should the imperative have suffixed either of the particles of politeness, -y // -yš, then the intonation-pattern alters slightly so that these particles are characterised by a low-rising pitch following the normal falling intonation on the last main-stressed syllable, e.g.

bə̀- y- x°a+pṣə-y   = ['bi·χʷ∧pṣi·]
you him look-at
   'Well, look at him!'

3.3.4.2. In normal intonation, where does the intonation-peak come?

In normal (non-contrastive, non-emphatic) intonation, the intonation-peak (information-centre) seems to coincide with the last main-stressed syllable of the tone-group (i.e. that syllable which carries the pitch).

3.3.4.3. Does the language make use of emphatic intonation?

See section 1.11.1.

3.3.4.4. Does the language make use of contrastive stress?

See section 1.11.1.

3.4. Morphophonology (segmental)

3.4.1.1. Assimilatory processes (cf. Lomtatidze, 1977.232-233)

Isolated examples in individual compounds may be illustrated:
bə- ş+pà-q'o-w   ⇐ *bə-ş+ ba-   q'a-w
you how? be (non-fin.)   how+(Qu.)
   'How are you?'
where we have progressive devoicing of -b-. Regressive voicing occurs in a-pʰ°ə̀z+ba ⇐ *a-pʰ°ə̀s+ba 'girl'. However, the only general rule of assimilation concerns the voicing of column III, transitive subject-affixes when they appear before a root beginning with a voiced consonant. This process does not apply in the case of column I, intransitive subject-affixes in the same position, e.g.
yə-z-jàx-we-   yt'
it I sew (dyn.) (fin.)
   'I sew it'

BUT   s-jàx-we-yt'
      I
        'I sew'
      y-aa-jàx-we-yt' (-aa- ⇐ *aʕ ⇐ *aħ)
        we
        'We sew it'
BUT   ħa-jàx-we-yt'
      we
        'We sew'
      yə-ž°- jàx-we-yt'
        you
        'You sew it'
BUT   š°- jàx-we-yt'
      you
        'You sew'
This voicing-assimilation seems optional if the negative part-
icle intervenes between column III affix and root, e.g.
      yə- z//sə-m- y°ə̀- yt'
      it I   not write (fin.) 'I did not write it'
BUT   sə-   m-y°ə̀-yt'
      (col.I)
        'I did not write'
An isolated case of remote assimilation would be a-c°arda-γ°ə̀
'seat built along a wall to be converted into a bed' ⇐
a-c°artà 'bed/linen' (lit. 'sleep+place') + a-γ°ə̀ 'plank'.

3.4.1.2. Dissimilatory processes

Once again isolated instances may be given of which the
clearest (from a synchronic point of view) is perhaps ze-y-ž°
'19' ⇐ *ž°a-y-ž° '10-+-9' (Lomtatidze, 1977.235). However, the
only productive case of dissimilation concerns the change of
the 3rd. pers. pl. column III affix -r- to -d- if it is fol-
lowed by the causative morph -r-, e.g.
      yə-r-də-r-bò-yt' ⇐ *yə-r-   rə- r-   ba- wa- yt'
                          it to-them they cause see (dyn.)(fin.)
        'They show it to them'
That this is a true morpho-phonemic rule is demonstrated by the
acceptability of forms like
      yə-rə̀-   r-   to-   yt'
      it to-them they give   (fin.)
                             +(dyn.)
        'They give it to them'
The change of -r- to -d- occurs even if the two relevant ex-
ponents are separated by the negative particle:
      yə-r-də-mə- r-bè-yt'
            not
        'They did not show it to them'

3.4.2. Metathesis-processes (cf. Lomtatidze, 1977.237)

Only isolated examples exist, e.g. dəry°àg' or dəy°ràg'
'again'; də-jəry°ə̀-yt' or də-jəy°rə̀-yt' 'he listened'; a-klapàd
or a-kalpàd 'sock'; a-pərγə̀ (⇐ Svan γərp) 'red-hot coal'. Cf.
also the alternation of ħa and aħ for the 1st. person plural
pronominal affixes of columns II and III (see 2.1.1.1.1).

3.4.3. Coalescence-processes

1. As pointed out above (3.1.2.2.1.2), the final -a of a dyna-
mic verbal root (or of any of the suffixes that may stand bet-
ween root and dynamic marker) coalesces with the dynamic marker
-wa- in the two tenses where -wa- appears (Present and Imperf-
ect) to give [o], unless the radical vowel -a is preceded by
-ħ-, e.g.
      s-co- ⌐y⌐t' ⇐ *s-ca-wa-   ⌐y⌐t'
                  I go (dyn.) (fin.)
        'I go'
      də-x°màr-lo -   ⌐y⌐t'
      he play (iterative+dyn.) (fin.)
        'He will be playing'
BUT   bə- k'à- ħa- we-   yt'
      you down fall(dyn.)(fin.)
        'You will fall down'
The sequence -awa- is not otherwise treated in any special way,
cf. a-wasà 'sheep'.
2. A sequence of two yə- pronominal affixes within a verbal
complex coalesces to yield just one, e.g.
      yə̀-l-to-yt' ⇐ *yə-   yə-   l-   ta- wa- yt'
                      it   to-him she   give (dyn.)(fin.)
                      (col.I)(col.II)(col.III)
        'She gives it to him'
cf. what happens to a sequence of three such affixes:
      yə̀-y-to-yt' ⇐ *yə-yə-   y- ta-wa-yt'
                      it to-him he
        'He gives it to him'
N.B. that, if the first yə- in a sequence of two yə-affixes is
the relative affix for column I (cf. 1.1.2.3.4.2.3), then there
is no coalescence, e.g.
      yə̀-   y- ħ°a-z
      that-which he say (non-fin.)
        'that which he said'
However, if this relative affix appears in a sequence of three
yə-affixes, one of these affixes does disappear, e.g.
      yə̀-y-ta-z (⇐ yə-   yə-   y- ta- z)
                    that-which to-him he give (non-fin.)
        'that which he gave to him'
3. As noted above (3.3.1.1), a sequence of two (or more) a's is
coalesced into a single short [ă], e.g. an ⇐ *a-an 'the mother'.
In speech, such coalescences are common even across word-
boundaries, e.g. darànca ⇐ darà (ø-)an-ca 'they (they-) when-
came' = 'when they came' (Lomtatidze, 1977.113), as are those
between other combinations of vowels, e.g. apèyc'ba ⇐ a-pà
eyc'bà 'the-boy younger' = 'the younger boy' (ibid.). However,
coalescence of two a's across a word-boundary is obligatory in
the case of a singular inanimate noun with a word-final -a pre-
ceding a postposition which (2.1.1.1.4) begins with the column
II, 3rd. pers. sg. pronominal affix a-, e.g. a-la-zə̀ 'for the
dog' ⇐ *a-là a-zə̀ 'the-dog it-for'.
4. The final -z of those non-finite verbal forms which end in
-z coalesces with the initial z- of the inferential suffix
-zaa+rə+n e.g.

də-cò-zaa+rə+n ⇐ də-ca-wa-   z-   zaa+rə+n
                    he go (dyn.)(non-fin.)
    'He was apparently going'
A similar coalescence occurs in the case of this same final -z
and the initial z- of the non-human question-suffix, if this
suffix follows rather than precedes the non-finite -z, e.g.
    yə̀-q'a-zə+y ⇐ *yə-   q'a-z-   zə+y
                    which he (non-fin.)(non-hum.Qu.)
    'What was it?'
N.B. that my informant here prefers the form
    yə̀-q'a-zə-z
  Two adjacent z's do not otherwise coalesce, e.g.
    sə-z+   zə̀-q'a-   b- c'a- da   = [sə'z:əq'æbts'ædæ]
    me whom+for (prev.) you make (Qu.)
    'For whom did you make me?'

3.4.4.1. Deletion-processes

1. As mentioned earlier (cf. 2.1.1.1.4), if the referent of the
column I 3rd. pers. affix yə- (non-human singular or 3rd. pers.
plural) immediately precedes it in the sentence, then the affix
is deleted from the verbal complex (if this yə- is stressed,
only y- deletes, cf.3.2.3.2.1), e.g.
    a- là (∅-)ce-yt'
    the dog it go (fin.)
    'The dog went'
    a- xàc°a (∅-) ce-yt'
    the men   they
    'The men went'
    a- š°q°'ə̀ (∅-)sə-   t
    the book   it to-me give
    'Give me the book'
2. Some verbal roots ending in -a lose this -a in the imperat-
ive, e.g.
    à-fa-ra 'eat' ⇒ yə-f
                    it eat
    'Eat it!' (yə̀-fa is rare)
BUT in the plural we have yə-š°-fà.
    à-ta-ra 'give ⇒ yə-sə̀- t
                    it to-me give
    'Give it to me'
(yə-sə̀-ta is heard but is not used by my informant).
cf. the plural yə-sə̀-š°-t(a).
    àa-ga-ra 'bring' ⇒ yə-sə+z- àa-   g
                    it me+for hither bring
    'Bring it to me' (if the object is quite close)
BUT yə-sə̀+z-aa-gà, if the object is some distance away.
    b-   èymaa-k°a   (∅-) bə̀+ ša-   c'a
    your shoe (pl.) them your+foot-onto put
    'Put your shoes on!'
(with which we may compare the typically Bzyp form (∅-)bə̀+ša-c').
3. The final -z of the non-finite past forms of stative verbs
is obligatorily deleted when the 'semi-'postposition -nac'ə
'while' is suffixed to it (cf. 2.1.5.1.4.3); this deletion is
optional in the case of the attachment of the 'semi-'postposi-
tion -yžtey 'since' to these same stative forms (cf.
2.1.5.1.4.2.(v)).

3.4.4.2. Insertion-processes

Although the general question of schwa-insertion represents
one of the most fundamental problems in Abkhaz, one rule gov-
erning the insertion of schwa is as follows:

$$\emptyset \Rightarrow \partial/C\_\{{}^{y}_{w}\} \text{ (C) } \#$$

e.g. [a'ri: də-'s+ an-   u:+p'] ⇐ /də-s+anə-w+p'/ ⇐
    this she my+mother (stat.)
*/də-s+an-w+p'/
    'This is my mother'
    [yə- 's+an-u:] ⇐ /yə-s+anə-w/ ⇐ */ yə-s+an-w/
    who   (non-fin.)
    'she who is my mother'
    ['s-an-i: 's-ab-i:] ⇐ /s-anə-y s-abə-y/ ⇐ */s-an-y
    s-ab-y/
    'my mother and my father'

3.4.5. Reduplication (cf. Arstaa et al. 1966.243ff.)

1. The consonant of a verbal root is sometimes doubled to in-
tensify the meaning, e.g.
    a-ħ°a-rà 'to say' ⇒ à-ħ°ħ°a-ra 'to cry'
    a-r-   c°'-rà 'to sour' ⇒ a-r-c°'c°'-rà 'to oversour'
    (causative)
    à-xa-ra 'to pull' ⇒ à-r-xxa-ra 'to pull tight' (N.B. the
appearance of the causative -r-).
However, reduplication of the radical element more often indi-
cates that the verbal action either applies to a number of ob-
jects or has the effect of reducing a particular object to many
pieces, e.g.
    a-x-   ž°a-rà 'to rip off' (e.g. the head of a sweet-corn)
    (prev.)
    ⇒ a-xə-ž°ž°a-rà 'to rip off' (many such heads)
    a-x-rà 'to chop' ⇒ a-xx-rà 'to chop into many pieces'
    a-p-   q'a-rà 'to cut' ⇒ a-pə- q'q'a-rà 'to cut into
    (prev.)
many pieces'
    a-p-   c°'a-rà 'to break' (of sticks, toys etc.) ⇒
    (prev.)
    a-pə-c°'c°'a-rà 'to break into many pieces'
    a-x-   sa-rà 'to cut' (of hair) ⇒ a-xə-ssa-rà 'to cut'
    (prev.)
(of nails)
    a-p-   ž°a-rà 'to tear' ⇒ a-pə-ž°ž°a-rà 'to tear to
    (prev.)
pieces'
    a-ša-rà 'to split' (of wood) ⇒ a-šša-rà 'to split into
pieces'
With a verb like à-j°j°a-ra 'to wash', one cannot point to a
non-reduplicated source, for the verb a-j°a-rà means 'to vomit'.
Although there are two homonymous verbs a-r-š°a-rà (a) 'to
frighten', (b) 'to make pay', neither is apparently related to
the reduplicated form a-r-š°š°a-rà 'to beat, shake'.
2. Reduplication of more than a single consonant is found in a
few cases where the corresponding non-reduplicated form is not
attested, e.g.

à-x´+š°aš°a 'cold' (cf. a-x´ 'cold')
a- jə̀   (∅-) cah̃°cah̃°ə-w+p'
the water it   very-hot (stat.)
   'The water is very hot' (cf. a-j cà 'hot water')
a-jə̀ k'ey=k'ey
   'shimmering water'
3. A few words, descriptive of sounds, contain a reduplicated
consonant, e.g. a-g°g°àh̃°a, which is used of the noise made by
a large number of people together, or for the noise made by a
huge volume of water crashing over a waterfall (recall the root
-h̃°a- 'to say').
4. A few words, descriptive of types of motion, contain a re-
duplicated segment, e.g.
   də-çə+   r+   pà= çə+r+po   d- aa- yt'
   he horse (caus.) jump   jump   he come (fin.)
                              (present
                              absolutive)
      'He's coming with a prancing horse'
(N.B. that, despite the patent etymology given in the gloss,
the word rather implies the sort of graceful, prancing move-
ments a horse may produce in a dressage-exercise.)
   à- c'la (∅-)k°ac=k°acò-   yt'
   the tree it   sway-from-side-to-side (fin.)
                  +(dyn.)
      'The tree is swaying from side to side'
5. A number of examples exist where one consonant is altered in
the reduplicated portion; such words have a variety of different
functions, e.g.
   də- k´'aç'ə̀ =maç'-we-   yt'
   she waddle(?)   (dyn.) (fin.)
      'She's waddling' (used to describe a plump, elderly
person's gait'.
   àyac°'a-k°a   (∅-) k°'alə̀=k°'ajo- yt'
   star   (pl.) they twinkle+(dyn.) (fin.)
      'The stars are twinkling'
   də-xràa=jraa-we-   yt'
   he idle   (dyn.) (fin.)
      'He's idling away his time'
6. Reduplicated imperatives with a somewhat illogical opposi-
tion between 2nd. and 1st. person are met in certain expres-
sions, e.g.
   wə̀- tə- y= sə̀-tə-y (∅-) ey-   štò- w+p'
   you give and me   they each-other's track (stat.)
                              (col.II)
      '"Give you" and "Give me" follow each other' (proverb)
   w- à- xa= s-à-xa h̃°a   a-   wə̀sə-   w- ra
   you it pull I   saying (art.) business do (masd.)
   y-   à+ la- ge- yt'
   they it+into carry (fin.)
            `begin´
      'They began to work enthusiastically'
   wə- nè+y=s-nè+y (∅-)rə- h̃°à-n   a-   nap'ə̀-j°j°a-ra
   you go   I   it they say (fin.)(art.)hand wash (masd)
   y-à+la-ge-yt'
      'They began to wash each telling the other to go first'

N.B. that the reduplicated Past Indefinite wə-h̃°a-n=s-h̃°à-n of
the verb a-h̃°a-rà 'to say' with a similar alternation of 2nd.
and 1st. pers. subjects is used as the simple noun 'rumour,
gossip'.
7. If one requires two opposite orientational preverbs in the
one verbal form ('to look hither and thither' for example),
then the verbal root will be reduplicated to accommodate the
extra preverb, e.g.
   à-   na-   pş̌= àa-   pş̌-ra
   (art.) thither look hither   (masd.)
8. A number of adverbs may be found resulting from the redupli-
cation of adverbial, adjectival or even nominal bases; in some
cases the instrumental suffix -la is obligatory, in some op-
tional, and elsewhere impossible, e.g.
   yah̃à=yah̃à 'more and more' ⟸ yah̃a 'more'
   jarà=jarà 'here and there' ⟸ jarà 'somewhere'
   x°əč' =x°əč'ə̀
   x°əč'ə̀ =x°əč'ə-la }'little by little' ⟸ a-x°əč'ə̀ 'small'
   x°ə+c=x°ə̀+c 'in detail' ⟸ a-x°ə̀+c 'single +c hair -x°ə+'

3.5. Morphophonology (supra-segmental)

3.5.1.1. Is stress constant under morphological processes and compounding?

   No.

3.5.1.2. Processes which inspire change in stress-assignment

   The rules governing stress-assignment in Abkhaz, particular-
ly for verbal complexes, have yet to be worked out; see
Lomtatidze, 1977.99-100. This is not to say that certain gene-
ral features cannot be pointed out, such as the following clas-
sificatory scheme, which exactly mirrors that established for
Abaza by Genko (1955.62ff., cf. Allen's review: 1960.217):-
   Independently stressed words:
   (a) words with fixed stress
   (b) words with movable stress
Type (a) may be sub-divided into
      (i) nominal bases of one closed syllable, e.g. a-wə̀s 'job'
: a-wə̀s-k°a 'jobs' : a-wə̀s-k°a-g´ə 'jobs also'
      (ii) nominal bases of more than one syllable with non-final
stress, e.g. a-nxàrta 'place to live' : a-nxàrta-k°a 'places to
live' : a-nxàrta-k°a-g´ə 'places to live also'
And type (b) may be sub-divided into
      (i) words with 'progressive' movements of stress, e.g.
la-k' 'one dog' : a-là 'the dog' : a-la-k°à 'the dogs' :
a-la-k°a-g´ə 'the dogs too'; the root -y°- 'to write' ⟹
yə-zə-y°-we-yt' 'I write it'
      (ii) words with 'regressive' stress, e.g. c'la-k' 'one
tree' : à-c'la 'the tree' : à-c'la-k°a-g´ə 'the trees too'; the
root -y°- 'to run' ⟹ sə̀-y°-we-yt' 'I run'.
But the difficulties attending any attempt to establish a comp-
rehensive set of rules will become clear from a perusal of just
the following six complexes based on the root -fa- 'to eat'
(examples from Lomtatidze, 1977.100):

yə-l-fè-yt'   :   yə-š°-fà
  'She ate it   'Eat it (sc. you pl.)!'
à-fa-ra   :   y-à-fe-yt'
  'to eat'   'It ate it'
àyba-fa-ra
  'to eat each other'
eybà-fe-yt'
  'They ate each other'

5. LEXICON

5.1. Structured semantic fields

5.1.1. kinship-terminology

5.1.1.1. by blood

1. 'mother' an
2. 'father' ab
3. 'brother' àyaša
4. 'sister' àyaħ°ša
5. 'son' a-pà
6. 'daughter' a-pħà
7. 'aunt'
7a. 'father's sister' àbyaħ°šà
7b. 'mother's sister' ànlaħ°šà
8. 'uncle'
8a. 'father's brother' àbyašà
8b. 'mother's brother' ànša
9. 'grandchild' a-mòta (borrowing from Mingrelian)
    Native Abkhaz terms are:
9a. 'sons's son' a-peypà
9b. 'daughter's son' a-pħalpà
9c. 'son's daughter' a-peypħà
9d. 'daughter's daughter' a-pħalpħà
10. 'nephew'
10a. 'brother's son' àyašeypà
10b. 'sister's son' àyaħ°ša(l)pa
11. 'niece'
11a. 'brother's daughter' àyašeypħa
11b. 'sister's daughter' àyaħ°ša(l)pħa
12. 'grandfather' abdə̀w
13. 'grandmother' andə̀w
14. 'great-grandfather'
14a. 'grandfather's father' abdə̀w yab
14b. 'grandmother's father' andə̀w lab
15. 'great-grandmother'
15a. 'grandfather's mother' abdə̀w yan
15b. 'grandmother's mother' andə̀w lan
16. 'cousin'
16a. 'father's brother's son' abyašeypà
16b. 'sister's brother's son' anšeypà
16c. 'father's brother's daughter' abyašeypħà
16d. 'sister's brother's daughter' anšeypħà
16e. 'father's sister's son' abyaħ°šapà
16f. 'father's sister's daughter' abyaħ°šapħà
16g. 'mother's sister's son' anlaħ°šapà
16h. 'mother's sister's daughter' anlaħ°šapħà

5.1.1.2. by partial blood

1. 'half-brother' àyašapsa
2. 'half-sister' àyaħ°šapsa

5.1.1.3. by marriage

1. 'husband' a-xàc'a // à-pš°ma (= 'host')
2. 'wife' a-pħ°ə̀s

3. 'mother-in-law' ànx°a
4. 'father-in-law' àbx°a
5. 'uncle'
5a. 'father's sister's husband' àbyaħ°šà lxàc'a
5b. 'mother's sister's husband' ànlaħ°ša lxàc'a
6. 'aunt'
6a. 'father's brother's wife' àbyašeypħ°əs
6b. 'mother's brother's wife' ànšeypħ°əs
7. 'sister-in-law'
7a. 'spouse's sister' ànx°əpħa
7b. 'husband's brother's wife' àcala
7c. 'brother's wife' a-tàca
8. 'daughter-in-law' a-tàca
9. 'brother-in-law'
9a. 'spouse's brother' àbx°ənda
9b. 'wife's sister's husband' à-maħ°əla
9c. 'sister's husband' à-maħ°
10. 'son-in-law' à-maħ°
11. 'in-laws'
11a. 'spouses' mothers for each other' à-xla (cf. Džanašia, 1954.416)
11b. (from husband's viewpoint only) àbx°araa (There is no comparable term for wife's in-laws)

5.1.1.4. by adoption

1. 'adopted son' yə̀raajaz a-pà (= 'the son whom they reared')
2. 'adopted daughter' yə̀raajaz a-pħà
3. 'adoptive father' a-pà // a-pħà dəzaajàz ab (= 'the father who raised the son // daughter')
4. 'adoptive mother' a-pà // a-pħà dəzaajàz an

5.1.1.5. by fostering

1. 'foster-mother' ànajjey
2. 'foster-father' àbajjey
3. 'foster-child' àajamta

5.1.1.6. by affiliation

1. 'step-mother' ànpsa
2. 'step-father' àbəpsa
3. 'step-son' a-papsà
4. 'step-daughter' a-pħapsà
5. 'step-brother' àyašapsa
6. 'step-sister' àyaħ°šapsa

N.B. that the element ay- which appears word-initially in a number of the preceding kinship-terms is the reciprocal-marker. This element is an essential component of the citation-form of all those terms where it appears above. However, should the relevant terms be construed with a possessive prefix, the reciprocal element disappears, e.g. àyaša 'brother' BUT s-ašà 'my brother'.

5.1.2. colour-terminology

1. 'red' à-q'apš
2. 'orange' a-p'at'ərkal-pṣt°'àla (= 'orange-colour')
3. 'yellow' a-y°èž
4. 'green' àyac°'a // a-ħaskʷ°ə̀n-pṣt°'àla (= 'grass-colour')

5. 'blue' (navy) àyac°'a
6. 'indigo' (?) àyac°'a-eyk°àra (= 'dark-blue'), which seems to be the nearest equivalent.
7. 'violet' a-d°ək'rən-pṣt°'əla (= 'violet-colour')
8. 'light-blue' ž°y°an-pṣt°'àla (= 'sky-colour')
9. 'white' à-ṣk°'ak°'a
10. 'black' àyk°ac°'a
11. 'grey' à-x°a-pṣt°'ala (= 'ash-colour')
12. 'brown' a-k'aħ°a-pṣt°'ə̀ (= 'coffee-colour')
13. 'pink' a-g'əl-pṣt°'àla (= 'rose-colour')
14. 'purple' a-q'apš-ħàħara (= 'strong-red') // a-q'apš-eyk°àra (= 'dark-red')
15. 'reddish' a-c°ə̀-q'apš
16. 'yellowish' a-c°-y°èž
17. 'whitish' a-c°ə̀-ṣk°'ak°'a
18. 'greenish / bluish' a-c°ə̀-yac°'a
19. 'blackish' a-c°ə̀-yk°ac°'a

5.1.3. body-parts

1. 'hair' a-xc°ə̀
2. 'head' a-xə̀
3. 'ear' a-lə̀mħa
4. 'eye' à-la
5. 'nose' a-pə̀nc'a
6. 'mouth' a-ç'ə̀
7. 'eyelash' a-lapə̀ǰ
8. 'eyebrow' à-ǰəmš
9. 'eyelid' à-lac°a
10. 'forehead' à-lax'
11. 'cheek' a-jàmy°a
12. 'chin' a-clamħ°à
13. 'jaw'   "
14. 'lip' a-k'ə̀š°
15. 'tongue' a-bz
16. 'tooth' a-xapə̀c
17. 'moustache' a-pac'à
18. 'beard' a-ʐàk''a
19. 'neck' à-x°da
20. 'throat' a-q'ərq'ə̀
21. 'body' a-c°eyžə̀
22. 'chest' a-g°əṣpə̀
23. 'breast' a-k'ə̀k'a
24. 'nipple' a-k'ə̀k'mac°
25. 'arm' a-max°àr
26. 'armpit' a-y°ə̀c'ra
27. 'elbow' a-məšx°ə̀lc'
28. 'shoulder' à-ž°y°a
29. 'forearm' ——
30. 'wrist' a-nap'àx°da
31. 'hand' a-nap'ə̀
32. 'palm' a-nap'sərg°ə̀c'a
33. 'finger' a-nac°à
34. 'thumb' a-nac°adə̀w
35. 'nail' a-nap'xə̀c
36. 'rib' a-vacq''àra
37. 'heart' a-g°ə̀

38. 'lung' a-rpħà
39. 'kidney' a-č'àč'a
40. 'liver' a-g°ac°à
41. 'stomach' à-mg°a
42. 'navel' a-č'ap'àn
43. 'penis' a-γə̀
44. 'pudenda' a-g'
45. 'uterus' a-mg°artà
46. 'testicle' a-q°'altàs
47. 'leg' a-šap'ə̀
48. 'hip' a-g°əčàmaxə
49. 'thigh' a-wàt°a
50. 'knee' a-šamxə̀
51. 'shin' a-šarg°àc°-bay°də̀w
52. 'calf' a-šərg°àc°
53. 'ankle' a-šap'àx°da
54. 'foot' a-šap'ə̀
55. 'toe' a-šac°à
56. 'big-toe' a-šac°adəw
57. 'bottom' a-wə̀ħ° // aħ°
58. 'back' à-bγa
59. 'spine' à-bγabay°
60. 'shoulder-blade' a-ž°əy°š°àq''a
61. 'skin' a-c°à
62. 'heel' à-šx°a
63. 'brain' a-xs̩ə̀y°bay°(ə) // a-xbəy°las̩à
64. 'skull' a-xs̩ə̀y°bay°(ə)
65. 'bone' à-bay°
66. 'collar-bone' à-lt°'z°y°a

5.1.4. cooking-terminology

1. 'cook' a-k'rə-w-rà (transitive - for the dummy-object affix -k'rə- cf. 2.1.3.8.7)
2. 'fry' a-ǰ-rà (transitive or intransitive by omission of subject)
3. 'boil' (of water) a-s̩-rà (intransitive)
4. 'begin to boil' ày+la-s̩-ra (intransitive)
5. 'boil' (of potatoes etc.) a-ž°-rà (transitive or intransitive)
6. 'simmer' a-x°atà=x°atàħ°a a-s̩-rà (intransitive)
7. 'boil' (strongly of water) a-g°aràħ°a a-s̩-rà (intransitive)
8. 'bake/roast/toast/grill' a-ǰ-rà (transitive or intransitive)
9. 'fillet/bone' à-bay° à-l-x-ra
10. 'cut meat into portions' a-k°àc ày+q'ə-x-ra
11. 'beat an egg' a-k°'t'àγ' a-y°-rà
12. 'stir' à-c'-š-ra // ày+lə-r-x-ra (transitive)

5.1.5. weekdays

1. 'Sunday' a-mc̩ə̀s̩a
2. 'Monday' a-š°ax'à
3. 'Tuesday' a-y°às̩a
4. 'Wednesday' à-xas̩a
5. 'Thursday' a-pšàs̩a
6. 'Friday' a-x°às̩a
7. 'Saturday' a-sàbs̩a

5.1.6. months of the year

		Bzyp dialect	(Abžui dialect)
1.	'January'	x'ačx°àmamzə	(yanàr)
2.	'February'	yaš°argə̀lamz	(perwàl)
3.	'March'	x°až°k'ə̀ramz	(mart')
4.	'April'	ms̩apə̀mz	(arp'ìl)
5.	'May'	k'fat	(mes)
6.	'June'	k°'ə̀rk°'(a)x°əč'ə	(yəwanòba ⇐ Mingrelian)
7.	'July'	k°'ə̀rk°'(a)dəw	(k°'ə̀rk°'a)
8.	'August'	nànħ°(a)mz	(nànħ°a)
9.	'September'	rapərbàagamzə	(c°əbbrà / c°əbbə̀n)
10.	'October'	x°k'arčaràmz	(a-bc'arà)
11.	'November'	p̄xənx°əč'ə̀	(g'arg°àba)
12.	'December'	mzəy°rə̀	(k'ə̀rsa)

5.1.7. compass-points

1. 'north' à-y°ada
2. 'south' à-lada
3. 'east' a-mra-gə̀lara (= 'sun-rising')
4. 'west' a-mra-taš°àra (= 'sun-setting')

5.2. Basic vocabulary

1. 'all' zeg'ə̀
2. 'and' -y ... -y //-g'ə (= 'also')
3. 'animal' a-pst°'ə̀
4. 'ashes' à-ccəš°
5. 'at' a-c̩'ə̀ // a-q'nə̀
6. 'back' (of body) à-bγa
7. 'bad' à-c°g'a
8. 'bark' a-s̩-rà
9. 'because' yəzbànzar // yəzbàn àk°'zar
10. 'belly' à-mg°a
11. 'big' a-də̀w
12. 'bird' a-c'ə̀s
13. 'bite' à-cħa-ra
14. 'black' àyk°ac°'a
15. 'blood' à-šà
16. 'blow' à-s-ra (sc. of the wind)
17. 'bone' à-bay° (à-bəy°)
18. 'breast' a-k'ə̀k'a; of women only = a-g°ə̀ħ°pə̀//a-g°əpħ°ə̀
19. 'breathe' a-psə̀p a-la-ga=y°à-ga-ra
20. 'burn' à-bəl-ra (transitive or intransitive)
21. 'child' a-x°əč'ə̀
22. 'claw' a-šap'xə̀c
23. 'cloud' à-pta
24. 'cold' à-x'š°aš°a
25. 'come' àa+y-ra
26. 'count' à-px'aja-ra
27. 'cut' a-p-q'a-rà (transitive or intransitive)
28. 'day' a-ms̩
29. 'die' a-ps-rà
30. 'dig' à-z̩-ra
31. 'dirty' à-q''aš
32. 'dog' a-là
33. 'drink' à-ž°-ra

34. 'dry' a-y°à
35. 'dull' a-š°šə̀
36. 'dust' a-sàba
37. 'ear' a-lə̀mħa
38. 'earth' a-nə̀š°
39. 'eat' à-fa-ra
40. 'egg' a-k°'t'àγ'
41. 'eye' à-la
42. 'fall' a-k'à-ħa-ra
43. 'far' à-xara
44. 'fat/grease' a-ṣṣà
45. 'father' ab
46. 'fear' a-š°a-rà (verb); a-š°àra (noun)
47. 'feather' a-x°ə̀
48. 'few' pətk'
49. 'fight' ày-s-ra (literally = 'to hit one another')
50. 'fire' à-mca
51. 'fish' a-psə̀j
52. 'five' x°ba
53. 'float' a-jə̀ a-xə̀-zaa-ra
54. 'flow' a-lè+y-ra
55. 'flower' a-š°t
56. 'fly' a-mc'
57. 'fog' à-naq°'
58. 'foot' a-šap'ə̀
59. 'four' pšba
60. 'freeze' a-c'àa-ra (intransitive)
61. 'fruit' a-š°ə̀r
62. 'full' à-t°rà
63. 'give' à-ta-ra
64. 'good' a-bzə̀ya
65. 'grass' a-šàc // a-ħask''ə̀n
66. 'green' àyac°'a
67. 'guts' a-rħ°aràx
68. 'hair' a-xc°ə̀ // a-xax°ə̀
69. 'hand' a-nap'ə̀
70. 'he' yarà
71. 'head' a-xə̀
72. 'hear' aħa-ra
73. 'heart' a-g°ə̀
74. 'heavy' à-x'anta
75. 'here' a(b)rà
76. 'hit' à-s-ra
77. 'hold/take' a-k'-rà
78. 'horn' a-t°'ə̀y°a
79. 'how' yə̀ṣpà
80. 'hung' à-š°araca-ra
81. 'husband' a-xàc'a // à-pš°ma (= 'host')
82. 'I' sarà
83. 'ice' a-c'àa
84. 'if' -r // -za+r
85. 'in' a-y°nə̀c'q'a
86. 'kill' a-š-rà
87. 'knee' a-šamxə̀
88. 'know' a-də̀r-ra
89. 'lake' a-jə̀ya

90. 'laugh' à-čč-ra
91. 'leaf' a-bγ'ə̀(c)
92. 'leftside' àrmarax' // arə̀marax'
93. 'leg' a-šap'ə̀
94. 'lie' a-štà-la-ra // a-ya-rà (i.e. 'lie down')
95. 'live' a-n-xa-rà
96. 'liver' a-g°ac°'à
97. 'long' aw
98. 'louse' a-c'à
99. 'man/male' a-xàc'a
100. 'many' à-rac°a
101. 'meat' a-k°àc
102. 'moon' à-mza
103. 'mother' an
104. 'mountain' à-šxa
105. 'mouth' a-q'ə̀ (cf. 5)
106. 'name' a-x'j
107. 'narrow' a-tš°à
108. 'near' aayg°à
109. 'neck' à-x°da
110. 'new' a-q'ə̀c
111. 'night' a-c'x
112. 'nose' a-pə̀nc'a
113. 'not' -m(-)
114. 'old' až°
115. 'one' a-k'ə̀
116. 'other' daqak'ə̀
117. 'person' a-way°ə̀
118. 'play' à-x°mar-ra
119. 'pull' à-xa-ra
120. 'push' a-nà-xa-ra
121. 'rain' a-k°à
122. 'red' à-q'apš
123. 'right' ayə̀ṣa
124. 'rightside' àrγ'arax' // arə̀γ'arax'
125. 'river' a-jə̀yas
126. 'road' à-my°a
127. 'root' à-šata
128. 'rope' a-ṣàxa
129. 'rotten' a-bàa
130. 'round' à-g'až // à-g'ež
131. 'rub' ày-x'-š-ra
132. 'salt' a-ÿə̀k'a(-xəṣ)
133. 'sand' à-psləmj
134. 'say' a-ħ°a-rà
135. 'scratch; a-bγ-rà
136. 'sea' a-mṣə̀n
137. 'see' a-ba-rà
138. 'seed' à-ž°la
139. 'sew' à-jax-ra (transitive or intransitive)
140. 'sharp' à-c'ar
141. 'short' a-k''àq'
142. 'sing' à-š°a a-ħ°a-rà (literally = 'to say a song')
143. 'sit' a-t°'a-rà
144. 'skin' a-c°à
145. 'sky' à-ž°y°an

146. 'sleep' à-c°(-ra)
147. 'small' a-x°əč'ə̀
148. 'smell' a-fγ°ə̀ (noun)
149. 'smoke' à-lγ°a
150. 'smooth' a-marmalt'àš
151. 'snake' à-mat
152. 'snow' a-sə̀
153. 'some' -(c°a)k°ak'
154. 'spit' a-k'à-žc°a-ra
155. 'split' ày-q°'ə-r-pa-ra (transitive)
156. 'squeeze' ày+ma-r-γ°γ°a-ra
157. 'stab' à-la-c'a-ra
158. 'stand' a-gə̀la-ra
159. 'star' àyac°'a
160. 'stick' a-labà
161. 'stone' a-xàħ°
162. 'straight' ayàṣa
163. 'suck' a-c°a-rà
164. 'sun' à-mra
165. 'swell' a-č-rà
166. 'swim' à-jsa-ra
167. 'tail' a-c'ə̀x°a
168. 'that' a(b)nèy // wəy/wəbrə̀y
169. 'there' a(b)nà // wa/wəbrà
170. 'they' darà
171. 'thick' à-š°pa
172. 'thin' a-p'à (rarely = a-f'à)
173. 'think' a-g° àa-na-ga-ra
174. 'this' a(b)rə̀y
175. 'thou' warà(masculine) // barà(feminine)
176. 'three' xpa
177. 'throw' à-r-š°-ra
178. 'tie' a-ɋ'a-ħ°a-rà
179. 'tongue' a-bz
180. 'tooth' a-xapə̀c
181. 'tree' à-c'la
182. 'turn' a-x'à-ħ°-ra (intransitive)
183. 'two' y°ba
184. 'vomit' a-j°a-rà
185. 'walk' a-nə̀q°'a-ra (intransitive)
186. 'warm' a-pxà
187. 'wash' à-j°j°a-ra (transitive)
188. 'water' a-jə̀
189. 'we' ħarà
190. 'wet' à-c°aak' // à-baaja
191. 'what' zak°'ə̀y // zak°'ə̀zey
192. 'when' yanbà
193. 'where' yabà
194. 'white' à-ṣk°'ak°'a
195. 'who' dàrban
196. 'wide' à-tbaa
197. 'wife' a-pħ°ə̀s
198. 'wind' a-pṣà
199. 'wing' a-mc°'ə̀ž°y°a
200. 'wipe' a-rə̀-ck''a-ra
201. 'with' -la(by means of) // -c- (verbal affix of accompani-
ment)

202. 'woman' a-pħ°ə̀s
203. 'woods' à-bnak°a
204. 'worm' à-x°a(c)
205. 'ye' š°arà
206. 'year' à-ṣək°s
207. 'yellow' a-y°èž

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