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INTRODUCTORY


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

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

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

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

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

ABKHAZ VERBS OF LOCAL REFERENCE

1 INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

The above-mentioned stem-type Preverb+R+E occurs only with preverbs P, i.e. the occurrence of E is limited to LR-stems. An LR-stem, then, has the structure P-R(-E).
1.3 The preverbs P have in common that they refer to a location with regard to which a process or state expressed by the root takes place. The P can give the local relation in two ways. Either the P is accompanied by a personal element referring to the "local object", i.e. the entity with regard to which a relative location is specified ("the table me-its-top/bottom-he-puts" = "he puts me on/under the table"), or the P itself specifies the class of the locally related entity ("me-horse-he-puts" = "he puts me on the horse"), see further sect.5.

1.4 An Abkaz LR-verb with local object differs from an English verb plus prepositional phrase on the following points:
(a) The English phrase "he is sitting in the yard" is rendered in Abkhaz by an LR-verb with local object; the English phrase "he is eating in the yard" corresponds to an Abkhaz simple verb plus noun with postposition. In Abkhaz, "the yard" is the complement of the LR-verb "to sit in", whereas with "eating" a local adverbial phrase is used. The difference between the two sentences consists in the fact that the Abkhaz notion "sitting" is readily determined by a location – there is, so to say, an organic connection between the state and the place; the notion "eating", on the other hand, is no more closely connected with a location than it is with a time or circumstance. One can say that the Abkhaz LR-verb corresponding to English "to go into" is halfway between "to go into" and "to enter". In this connection it is significant that many Abkhaz roots found in LR-verbs are restricted to the latter. (b) The interrogative correlate of an Abkhaz LR-verb is always a "who/what"-(and not a "where"-)question; in this respect the LR-verb plus local object resembles an English "prepositional verb" plus complement ("he worked at it" vs. "he went into the house")⁴. An Abkhaz "where"-question combined with an LR-verb would be of the type "where did he put it on the table?" – answer: "in the kitchen, in the yard". In Abkhaz, LR-verbs are easily idiomaticized (e.g. "he put it next to me" → "he charged me with it", see sect. 6), combinations of plain verb plus noun with postposition never are.
(c) The local preverbs in Abkhaz are much more numerous, and semantically much more specific than the English prepositions.

2 INTROVERT AND EXTROVERT FORMS.
2.1 In the LR-verbs as a class there is a distinction between illative or inessive on the one hand and elative or transitive on the other hand. Hence-
forth, these categories will be labeled introvert (inv.) and extrovert (exv.) respectively. The features illative vs. inessive in the inv. category and e\-lative vs. translative in the exv. category are characteristic of individual verbs (with a notable exception in certain derived LR-verbs, see sect. 3.3).

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

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

(2) There are two stem-extensions, viz. -1a "inv." and -aa "exv."

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exv.</td>
<td>Pe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R-aa</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R-aa</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pn</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Inv.</td>
<td>Pi</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>R-1a</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pn</td>
<td>R-1a</td>
<td>R-1a</td>
<td>R-1a</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments to the chart:

(a) The E -aa in III and VI and the E -1a in V directly express the exv. resp. inv. categories, they form, so to say, an IC with the root. On the other hand, the E -1a in II, III and IV is limited to forms with a Pn and is absent in forms with a Pi, so that here the E can be said to form an IC with the Pn.
(b) The Ph's k"- "on, onto/off, over" and x"- "all over" are exceptional in that inv. stems containing these P's lack E -la in the classes II, III, IV.
(c) A small number of exv. stems of class III and VI were encountered without E -aa besides their regular form with -aa, e.g. y-a-ma-z-y'y'(a)-aa-y't, y-a-ma-z-y'y'a-y't "I scraped it off it", y-a-la-px(a)-aa-y't, y-a-la-pxa-y't "it shone through it". Such stems seldom contain a Ph. The cases that were encountered show not only the form Pn-R-aa or Pn-R, but also Pn-R-l(a)-aa and Pn-R-aa-l(a), e.g. y-a-nō-pra-l(a)-aa-y't "it flew from it", y-a-nō-z-b(a)-aa-y't, y-a-nō-z-b(a)-aa-l(a)-y't "I descried it on it", lit. "I saw it from it".
(d) This irregular use of E -la in exv. stems with a Ph is also found with two roots of class VII, viz. -śō tr. "pass, draw through" and -r-śa- tr. "let (water) run through", e.g. s-nāpō a-nō-s-śō-la-y't "I passed my hand over it", a-śō a-n-śa-r-śā-la-y't "I let the water run over it".

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

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

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

3.5 List of the primary root-classes\(^1\,^2\).

Class I: -∅\(^{3,4}\) st. "be in", -la- itr. "go into", -ça- tr. "put into", -gala-\(^{5,7}\) st./itr. "be standing in"/"go and stand into".


Class IV: -ṣa- itr. "fall into"/"fall out of" (ab. small things), -śb-itr. "look into"/"look out of", -γv- itr. "travel into"/"travel out of" (ab. sound), -ga- itr. "be produced into"/"be produced out of" (ab. sound), -zza- itr. "go into"/"go out of" (slowly, clumsily), -ʔʔ-itr. "ooze into"/"ooze out of", -čɛ- a-itr. "shine, sparkle into"/"shine, sparkle out of", -x-xa- itr. "go in full swing into"/"go in full swing out of".

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rest</th>
<th>motion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>st.</td>
<td>itr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ø-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

3.6 The secondary LR-verbs concern all of class III and VII and part of II. Here follow some examples (the reader is reminded that by definition all of the verb-roots can occur as simple verbs): y-c-δ d-ta-3δ3a-γt' "he shivered in his skin"; y-g-δ d-ta-c-δwa-γt' "he wept in his heart"; s-15mha d-ta-qaa-γt' "he shouted into my ear"; a-k-alāp y-tā-s-c-αx-ω-γt' "I hid it in the box"; ān-a-
-trā y-ta-ḵākca-yt" the sword rusted in the sheath"; a-sārk’a d-anā-z-ba-lam-yt" I saw him in the mirror"; a-psā d-a-xā-s-s’-o-yt" I killed him with (lit. on) the bayonet"; w-nac’ā a-da-w-fa-la-wa-yt" it is finger-licking good" (lit. "you eat your finger next to it"); y-xō a-kw-o-r-ps-nō d-a-čō-n" in deep concentration (lit. "having caused his head to die on it") he was busy with it"; a-xōlpā y-ā-kw-ō-1-saw-yt" she sewed it onto her hat"; a-kw’ā s-ča-na-wō-yt" it rained in my face" (cf. a-kw’ā a-w̃-o-yt" it rained", lit. "it made rain") ; a-pśā a-dwō yō-kw-xw desar-yt" the wind played on the field"; a-saw’sā 1-čā-xw desar-yt" the sunlight played on her face"; a-laš’-cara y-ā-la-3w-yt" it disappeared (lit. "got lost") into the darkness"; a-3’ahāa a-kw-ō-sa-r-3w-yt" I spent (lit. "caused to get lost") hard work on it"; s-ỹza d-sō-vē-r-s̃-aa-yt" they killed my friend from next to me"; a-čō sō-čē-r-s̃-aa-yt" they killed the horse from under me"; s-g’āara s-xō-ps-sā-yt" my anger disappeared" (lit. "died out of my head") ; y-npō sā-šā a-ма-з-3w(a)-aa-yt" I washed the blood off his hand"; sā-mč’ sō-1-sā-yt" my strength gave out" (lit. "got lost out of me") ; a-śō y-tū-z-b(a)-aa-yt" I described it in the water" (lit. "I saw it out of the water") ; a-g’āara y-ā-vē-z-b(a)-aa-yt" I described it next to the fence"; a-čē a-xra y-a-č-y-aā-yt" the tree grew out of the rock"; y-xāpōc-k’a y-ō-bēš-s-y-h(a)-aa-yt" he said it through his teeth"

4 LOCAL PREVERB CLASSES.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg. irr.</td>
<td>a- (Č-)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>r- (Č-)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>z- (Č-)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21
4.2 The 3 sg. irr. is not a mere zero-counterpart of 3 pl. r- and relative z-; it plays a role with regard to the stress. Broadly speaking, as to stress the elements making up an Abkhaz word fall into two classes, called D(ominant) and R(cessive) and the stress falls on the first D-element that is followed by an R-element, i.e. on the initial element of the first sequence ...D'R... in the word. The 3 sg. irr. prefix Ø- acts as a D-element. As a result, it attracts the stress when the following P is or begins with an R-element. If the P consists of or begins with a D-element the presence vs. absence of Ø- is not reflected in the place of the stress. The existence of forms with 3 pl. r- or relative z- is then the decisive factor for including the P under type B.

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

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

5 LIST OF PREVERBS. The preverbs are listed below, in the following order:

b p p' v f d t t'u t'w 3 c ç c'w c'v z s z'w 3 ç ç' ç' ç w ç ç' ç' y y' y' y' y' y m n l r a; ø is disregarded for alphabetic purposes. The P's are listed first, thereafter follow the non-local preverbs (see sect. 1.2).

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

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

5.1 bź"(a) - (DD) A "between" (with pl. local object): d-rə-bź'ā-p-w-p' "he is between them"; d-rə-bź'ā-sə-yt' "he passed between them".

B "in (a long and narrow space): a-korpor də-Ō-bź'ā-Ō-w-p' "he is in the corridor"; a-bărđa də-Ō-bź'ā-sə-yt' "he passed over the balcony".

5.2 bna- (DD) C cf. ā-bna "wood", only in: də-bnā-1a-yt' "he fled".

5.3 p- (D) A "in the path of": də-s-pō-1a-yt' "he came to meet me, he
came across me'; a-xō s-gʷašpō a-pō-s-Ḵʷ-ła-yt' "I exposed my breast to the bullet"; a-čadā s-ḵō-s-ca-yt' "I chased away the donkey"; y-a-pō-Ḫ-w-p' "it is normal, it is the rule", lit. "it is in the path of it".

5.4 pōs-ør- (DRI) C cf. a-pōsw "lip", only in: d-pōs-ør-čʷ-č-a-yt' "he smiled" (-čʷ-č-a- "to laugh").

5.5 pn- (DD) A "watching over", only inv.: a-zʷ-kʷa da-r-pən-gəla-w-p' "he looks after the cows"; a-č-šmazayʷa da-pən-t'ā-ła-w-p' "he looks after the patient".

5.6 pər(a)- (DR) A "obstructing": a-kəš a-gʷasʷ y-a-pəra-Ḫ-w-p' "the log is barring the gate-way"; da-s-pəra-gala-yt' "he took up a position obstructing my view"; wa-s-pər-3-aa! "get out of my way!" (-3- "to get lost").

5.7 v(a)- (R) A "next to, along (an object conceived of as horizontally extended)": aânda, a-mšn s-ƛ-va-Ḫ-w-p' "I am next to the fence, at the seashore", a-mšn s-ƛ-va-naqʷ-a-yt' "I walked along the sea"; d-šš-v-sə-yt' "he passed me".

5.8 vč(a)- (RI) A "in (a slit), between/behind (a narrow space)"; a-sär-kʷa, a-nača y-a-vča-Ḫ-w-p' "it is behind the mirror, stuck in the belt"; s-nača š-sʷ y-a-vča-xa-yt' "my hand got caught in the door".

B, only in: ƛ-sʷ vč-rəa-yt' "the door opened a crack".

5.9 d- (R) A "next to, against (an object conceived of as vertically extended)"; a-sʷ, a-tšamc d-ƛ-da-Ḫ-w-p' "he is next to the door, the wall"; d-šš-d-gala-w-p' "he is standing next to me".

B, only in: ƛ-sʷ Øš-da-s-ca-yt' "I closed the door"; ƛ-sʷ Øš-d-šš-ƛ-ła-yt' "I slammed the door".

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

B "in (a hollow space): a-ƛšba, a-dā, a-ƛra y-ƛ-tā-Ḫ-w-p' "it is in the pocket, the vein, the ditch"; a-lyʷa s-čš y-ƛ-tā-bbə-yt' "the smoke billowed out of my mouth".

5.11 təsʷən- (DRI) C etymology unclear, only in: y-təsʷən-t'əa-1a-yt' "they settled down".

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

5.13 dʷaḵə- (DR) C "on the way", cf. a-dʷs "field", only inv.; d-dʷšk-a-Ḫ-w-p' "he is on his way"; d-dʷšk-1a-yt' "he set out".

5.14 dʷəl- (DR) B "outside a building", only exv.: a-yənš s-ƛ-dʷš1-čə-yt' "I went outside the house"; a-yənš d-ƛ-dʷš1-sə-ƛ-čə-yt' "I let him go outside the house".

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5.15 3x-  (DD) B "on the water", cf. a-35 "water": Don y-Ŏ-3ăx-găla-w Rostov "Rostov on Don"; d-Ŏ-3ăx-ća-yyt "he went ashore".

5.16 3aa-  (DR) B "in (a liquid)", 3aa ←-3ăs: a-3ăs, ă-xăs y-Ŏ-3ăa-Ŏ-w-yyt "it is in the water, the milk"; a-3ăs s-Ŏ-3ăa-pśa-ăla-yyt "I looked into the water".

5.17 c-  (R) A "together with" (German "bei", not "mit"), only with roots -Ŏ-, -la-, -ća-: d-să-că-Ŏ-w-yyt "he is with me"; d-să-c-ăla-yyt "he joined me"; d-să-că-r-ća-yyt "they made him join me".

5.18 ckľa-  (RII) A "proximity", only inv.: d-să-ckľa-pśa-yyt "he looked at me closely"; a-kʻćă a-wăc y-ăckľa-ăc-yyt "the hen picked at the manure".

5.19 cr(a)-  (DD) A "caught by (a fire)", "proximity", cr- also serves as the exc. counterpart of c-: a-mca să-cră-Ŏ-w-yyt "I am on fire"; a-mca să-cră-ăc-yyt "I was caught (swiftly) by fire"; d-să-cră-pśa-yyt "he looked at me closely"; d-să-cră-să-yyt "he went away from me".

5.20 č(a)-  (R) A "under": y-să-ća-Ŏ-w-yyt "it is under me"; d-să-ća-pśa-yyt "he looked up at me".

B "under", "in (a low room)": a-yărtă y-Ŏs-ća-Ŏ-w-yyt "it is under the bed"; a-hapă, a-nansă d-Ŏ-că-Ŏ-w-yyt "he is in the cave, the barn".

5.21 cʻ-  (D) B "in (a meteorological phenomenon)": a-kʻă, a-mra, a-pśă d-Ŏ-cʻă-Ŏ-w-yyt "he is in the rain, the sun, the wind"; a-takăr de-Ŏ-cʻă-a-ăla-w-yyt "he is sitting in the heat".

5.22 cʻač(a)-  (DR) B "(hidden) in, under": a-bard, a-xăza y-Ŏ-cʻăa-Ŏ-w-yyt "it is (hidden) in the thicket, under the blanket"; a-lašćara s-Ŏ-cʻăa-căa-w-yyt "I am sitting in the dark".

5.23 cʻar(a)-  (DR) C "the unseen, the hidden": d-cʻăr-ća-yyt "he appeared", lit. "he came out of the unseen"; a-mra cʻăr-qă-cʻăra-ăc-yyt "the sun briefly appeared, then disappeared".

5.24 čʼarn-  (DDD) C "in pickles", cf. a-čʼăr-na "pickle", only in: y-čʼărnă-s-ća-yyt "I pickled it".

5.25 ź-  (R) A "attacking", only in: d-să-źă-ăla-yyt "he attacked me"; a-lā să-źă-ya-ća-yyt "he sicked the dog on me".

5.26 sń-  (D) A "on the body" (ab. clothes), only in comb. with the roots -Ŏ-, -la-, -ća-, -čă-, -x-, cf. 5.27: a-xărăp, a-matșa s-ǝ-sń-Ŏ-w-yyt "I am wearing a shirt, clothes"; a-xărăp s-sń-s-xa-yyt "I took off the shirt".

5.27 sńx(a)-  (DD) A "on the body" (ab. clothes): sń-matșa să-sń-xa-xă-yyt "my clothes got worn on me" (-xa- "to get worn"); s-wăpă să-sń-xă-ćă-r-ăa-yyt "my felt cloak slipped off me" (-ćă-r- "to slip"),
5.28 ępna- (DDD) B "on the bank": a-sōmy'a dọ-₀ ępna-gąla-w-p' "he is standing on the bank of the river".

5.29 ęz'- (DR) C "on horseback", cf. a-čž 'horse': d-čžə-₀-w-p' "he is on horseback"; d-čžə-pa-la-ya't 'he jumped on the horse'; d-čžə-ya-t 'he jumped off the horse'.

5.30 čx'ən- (DDD) A "in close contact": d-sə-čx'ənə-la-ya't 'he sat down touching me'; a-la-k'ə sə-čx'ənə-pa-la-ya't "the dogs jumped all over me".

5.31 čh'a- (DDD) B "at the fire": a-mca, a-xəoostaarə dọ-₀-čh'ə-₀-w-p' 'he is at the fire, the hearth'; a-mca sə-₀-čh'a-t'ə-w-p' "I am sitting at the fire".

5.32 čan- (DD) A, only in: s-g'ə s-čanə-₀-w-p' "I am vigilant"; s-g'ə s-čanə-ça-ya't 'I became vigilant'.

5.33 č'a- (D) A "on, at the face", "on (a height)": a-pačə, a-bzə s-ča-₀-w-p' "I have a beard, a tongue"; a-s'ha, a-marda d-a-ča-₀-w-p' 'he is on the mountain, the slope; d-a-ča-pa-la-ya't 'he jumped and came face to face with me'.

B "on" (e.g. fruit on a tree, button on a coat): a-s'or a-čla-₀-ṭa-₀-w-p' "the fruit hangs on the tree"; a-yə-ño x-s'ə-₀-₀-k'ə-₀-ča-₀-w-p' "the house has three (x- k') doors".

5.34 čač(a)- (DR) A "in the mouth": a-təs'əŋə ga s-ča-s-ka-ya't 'I put the pipe in my mouth' (x- "to take").

5.35 čakw- (DR) A "on the face": a-mcačə w-s-ča-k'ə-h'ə-₀-w-p' "the flame is reflected (lit. sparkling) on my face"; 1-s'ə 1-ča-k'ə-px(a)-aa-ya't "she blushed", lit. "her blood shone from her face".

5.36 s'(a)- (R) A "on the legs" (ab. footwear, trousers): āy-k'əa, a-mąg'-k'ə sə-₀-ḥa-₀-w-p' "I am wearing trousers, boots"; a-mąg'-k'ə a sə-s'ə-₀-ya-ya't "he pulled the boots off his feet".

5.37 s't(a)- (RI) A "in the tracks": də-sə-s'ta-₀-w-p' 'he is following me'; də-sə-s'ta-pa-la-ya't 'he ran after me'.

5.38 s't(a)- (RI) C "on the ground": yə-s'tə-₀-w-p' "it is on the ground"; də-s'tə-pa-ya't 'he jumped from the ground'.

5.39 s'kla- (RII) A "at the heels", only inv.: a-kdə sə-s'kla-ha-ya't 'the log fell at my heels'; a-lə sə-s'kla-ə-ya't 'the dog barked at my heels'.

5.40 s'x(a)- (RI) A "on the legs" (ab. footwear, trousers), cf. 5.36: a-mąg'-k'ə a sə-s'xə-h'ə-ya't "he pulled the boots off my feet (with force)".

5.41 s'xən- (DDD) C, only in: 1-xə-1-čə s'xən-psə-₀-ya't 'her face froze' (ps- "to die").
5.42 ᶠ⁴ac"x- (DDD) C, cf. a-ḅac"ā "toe", only in: d-ḅac"xā-s-la-yr' "he stumbled".
5.43 ᶠ⁴ac"x·n- (DDD) C, same as 5.42.
5.44 ᶠ⁴ak"- (DR) C, cf. a-ṣ'aṣā "foot, leg": ā-mē-ra ᶠ⁴ak"-gala-yr' "the power was established"; s-čō ᶠ⁴ak"-s-k-ya-n "I kept my horse on its feet".
5.45 ᶠ⁴amxəš- (DDD) C, cf. a-ṣ'amxō "knee", only in: d-ḅamxō-gala-w-p' "he is kneeling".
5.55 gar(a) - (DR) C "in the cradle": d-ɡāra-Ø-w-p' "he is in the cradle"; d-ɡār-čō-yr' "he got out of the cradle".
5.56 Kōd- (DR) B "touching a plane": a-tāmc, ā-yādara y-Ø-Kād-Ø-w-p' "it is on the wall, the slope"; a-tāmc d-Ø-Kād-gala-w-p' "he is standing against the wall"; ā-mc a-twān y-Ø-Kād-hāza-la-yr' "the fly crept over the ceiling".
5.57 Ḳ(c)- (DD) B "in (a corner)": a- ḷālk'-ta d-Ø-Kē-Ø-w-p' "he is in the corner"; yā-Ø-Kē-s-čō-yr' "I threw it into the corner".
5.58 Ḳn(a) - (DD) C "on a hook": yā-ḵnā-s-ha-yr' "I hang it up"; yā-ḵnā-s-čō-yr' "I took it off (from a hanging position)"
5.59 Ko1(a) - (DR) B "in (an opening)": ā-s', a-pēnš-ār d-Ø-Kēla-Ø-w-p' "he is in the doorway, at the window"; a-žō a-xōb y-Ø-Kēl-śō-yr' "the water leaked (lit. passed) through the roof".
5.60 Ḳeš-e-r- (DR) C, cf. a-ḳeš-w "lip", only in d-ḳeš-e-r-čō-yr' "he smiled" (-čō-yr' "to laugh")
5.61 gašd- (DR) A "against the breast", cf. a-gaš, only inv.: dā-s-gaš-s-Kō-la-yr' "I held him against my breast", ā-čla s-gaš-dām-ša-la-yr' "I could not span the tree", lit. "the tree did not find room on my breast".
5.62 gašd- (DR) C, only in: d-gašd-s-Kō-la-yr' "I embraced him"
5.63 g-i-ta- (DD) A "on the breast", only in: d-s-gi-ta-s-śō-yr' "he pushed me"
5.64 g'śtōla- (DDR) A "amidst", cf. a-gś-tā "middle", only inv.: s-ṛa-gśtōla-da-r-γaš-yr' "they crowded me", lit. "they pressed me in their middle".
5.65 gašč(a)- (DR) A "on the body": ā-mra s-gašča-pśa-yr' "the sun shone on me"; s-napš-kā s-gašča-s-psa-yr' "I crossed my arms on my breast".
5.66 g'-n- (DD) C "in the mind": ā-zā-kwa gašč-s-Kō-la-yr' "I kept these words in mind"; dā-gašč-s-ya-yr' "I grieved about him".
5.67 gašč(a)- (DR) A "packed in, surrounded by": a-bambā, a-paškā y-a-gśčla-s-Ø-w-p' "it is in the wadding, the papercase"; a-s-kwa yā-r-gśčla-gala-w-p' "it stands amidst the flowers".
5.68 g'al-a- (DR) A, only in: yə-s-g'ala-s-a-ya't "I remembered it".
5.69 g'ar(a)- (DR) C "in the enclosure": a-raxu g'ara-0-w-p' "the cattle is in the enclosure"; a-raxu g'ar-ça-ya't "the cattle went out of the enclosure".4
5.70 k'- (R) A "on": a-xāza sō-k'ar-0-w-p' "the blanket is on me"; a-xāra sō-k'ara-ya't "the stone fell on me"; a-ça s-a-k'-t'a-w-p' "I am sitting on the horse".

B "on": a-stōl, s-g's y-05-k'ar-0-w-p' "it is on the table, my breast"; a-d'ç s-05-k'-xxā-ya't "I ran onto the field".3
5.71 k'-a- (R) A "in the bosom, on the breast": a-çg's sō-k'a-la-ya't "the cat nestled against my breast"; s-xā sō-k'a-sø-r-s'ø-ya't "I bent my head", lit. "I threw my head on my breast".
5.72 yr(a)- (DD) A "in the stomach, in the interior"; "pressing into": y'-sø-yrā-0-w-p' "it is in my stomach"; a-pap'ya y'-a-yrā-0-w-p' "it is in the paper-case"; s'-ap's d-a-yrā-pa-la-ya't "he jumped on my foot"; a-g'až øø-y'rø-ø-ya't "the wheel passed over me".
5.73 x- (D) A "at (home)", "belonging to" (ab. a name): a-y'ñ'a d-a-xō-0-w-p' "he is at home"; a-y'ñ'ø d-a-xō-la-ya't "he went home"; a-x'-øø-bzw'ya l-xō-0-w-p' "she has a fine name". Also in the following incidental cases: wə-y-xō-ø-año-la-ya't "I brought you up together with him"; sō-ç'k'øn-c'ø a də-r-xō-ø-p' a3a-la-ya't "I reckoned him among my children"; s-a-x-y'ñ's a-la-ya't "I was mistaken in it".

B "(not resting) on": a-35, a-la, a-tra y-0-xō-0-w-p' "it is on the water, the eye, the nest"; a-35 də-0-x-ñoq'a-la-ya't "he walked on the water"; a-bøø sō-la y-0-xō-s-xø-ya't "I took the dust from my eye"; a-35 d-ø-xø-ø-ña-la-ya't "he looked onto the water".
5.74 x(a)- (D) A "on the head"; "on (a knob)", "above": a-xalpa, a-kəs̱s̱ s-xə-0-w-p' "I am wearing a hat, a kerchief"; a-k'ac a-d'ş y-a-xā-0-w-p' "the meat is on the spit"; a-k'är ab øø-ma y-a-xā-0-w-p' "the cattle is over the fire"; a-xalpa s-xō-y-p-p-a-ya't "he grabbed the hat off my head".
5.75 xtn- (DDD) A "in return for", only in: maat-x a-xtnø-s-c'α-ya't "I paid one rouble for it", lit. "I put one rouble in return for it".
5.76 xok'- (DR) B "on the edge", only inv.: a-k'arwat d-ø-xkö-t'-v'a-la-w-p' "he is sitting on the edge of the bed"; a-ns'entra d-ø-xkö-g'ala-w-p' "he is standing at the edge of the grave".
5.77 xx- (DD) B "on the nest", only in: a-k'tš a-k'et'çartα y-0-xαx-c'α-λa-ya't "the hen laid eggs on the nest (-c'α- "to lay eggs")
5.78 xøl(a)- (DR) A "rising out of, originating from" (exv.); inv. only in
comb. with -pš-: a-gāʿra s-xōl-ṭayt' "misery was caused by me"; a-hašḵšēn a-hatgān y-a-xōl-y-aa-yt' "grass grew out of the grave"; ancā d-š-xōla-pš-pš-yt' "god watches over me".

5.79 xir (D) A "all over": a-sāba s-ə-xir-tāṭa-w-p' "dust is powdered all over me"; s-šamšē a-šir-s-ə-r-ṣā-yt' "I let the water run over my foot".

5.80 xir (RI) A "as the name of", cf. ā-xir, only in: N sō-xir-3ə-0-w-p' "my name is N"; N sō-xir-3ə-r-ṣā-yt' "they named me N".

5.81 xin (DD) A "hanging on": ā-max d-a-xin-hā-la-yt' "he went and hung on the branch"; a-ṭe d-a-xin-paṣā-la-yt' "he clung to the tree".

5.82 xweč(a) (DR) C "in hiding": y-xweč-a-la-yt' "it went into hiding"; y-bē d-xweč-k-nə "(talking) softly", lit. "holding his voice in hiding".

5.83 xoč (DR) C "out of its feather, fur", cf. a-xōs "hair", only exp. a-k-ṭe xoč-a-la-xa-yt' "I plucked the hen", lit. "took it out of its feather"; a-lā xoč-a-la-yt' "the dog shed its hair", lit. "went out of its fur".

5.84 xoč (RI) A "in the throat", cf. ā-xoč da "neck": a-bay sō-xoč-1ə-0-w-p' "I have a bone in my throat"; s-aż-a-k-nə sō-xoč-la-xa-yt' "my words stuck in my throat".

5.85 qa (R) C "existence", only in comb. with roots -0-, -la-, -ča-: dī-qa-0-w-p' "he exists", "he is (this or that)"; d-qa-lā-yt' "he came into existence", "he became X"; d-qa-s-ča-yt' "I brought him into existence", "I made him X".

5.86 qa (D) A "off, from", only exv. a-cażara d-a-q-9-ča-yt' "he stopped talking"; a-cażara d-a-q-9-s-xa-yt' "I made him stop talking"; a-lā y-q-9-s-ča-yt' "I chased the dog away from him".

5.87 qa (D) A, only with root -č-: it replaces qa- if the P is preceded by a pers. prefix other than 3sg. irr. a-: a-cażara-k-ə-a ə-r-q-ča-yt' "they stopped the discussions"; d-e-s-q-ča-yt' "he left me alone".

5.88 qan (D) A "tucked behind the belt" (ab. a weapon): a-qāma sə-d-q-nā-9-w-p' "I am wearing a dagger"; a-qāma y-ə-q-nā-9-b(a)-a-1a-yt' "I described a dagger on him".

5.89 ynm (D) B "in a lodging": a-ynm, a-wāda d-ə-y-ynm-9-w-p' "he is in the house, the room"; a-wāda d-ə-y-ynm-se-yt' "he passed through the room".

5.90 yœč-r(a) (DRI) A "under the arm": ayrahara s-yœčra-š-kə-yt' "I took the bundle under my arm"; a-šāxa s-yœčra-s-7a-yt' "I passed the rope under my arm".

5.91 ya- (R) B "along (a road), only exv. ā-my-ə d-9ə-yə-se-yt' "he went along the road"; a-naš-9na-k-ə-ā-my-ə y-9ə-yə-r-9-ə-wa-mə-z-ət' "they did not
allow cars to go along the road".

5.92 m(a)- (R) A "fast to"; "possessed by": y-sā-ma-Ø-w-p' "I have it"; y-sā-ma-y-xo-yt' "he took it from me"; a-mat-a y-a-ma-y-a-yt' "it dried fast to the clothes"; a-mat-a y-a-ma-z-3=a-(a)-aa-yt' "I washed it out of the clothes"; a-ti-a'sā-k a-ma-s-xo-yt' "I took a piece of bread from the loaf".

5.93 m[p=ξ]- (DDR) A, only in a-pa-ra s-mp=x-a-s=a-yt' "I obtained the money".

5.94 m[ξ]c(a)- (DDR) A "in the hand"; "in control": y-s=ξ-μ=x-ca-s-kə-yt' "I took it in my hand"; y-s=ξ-μ=x-ca-s-a-yt' "I lost control of it" (-3- "to get lost").

5.95 m[c]- (RI) A "below in front of": a-s=d ξ sū-mc=ā-Ø-w-p' "the book lies in front of me"; a-cia s-ξ-mc=ā-t'=a-w-p' "I am sitting under the tree".

5.96 m[ξ]a (RII) A, only in y-sā-mξa-s-kə-yt' "I took hold of it".

5.97 m(y)- (RI) A "around the finger, the waist" (ab. a ring, a belt): a-mac=ξ sū-μ=a-Ø-w-p' "I am wearing a belt"; a-mac=ξ Laz-μ=a-s-xo-yt' "I took the ring from her finger".

5.98 m[ξ]-aξ-c(a)- (DDR) A, same as 5.94.

5.99 m-y=a (RI) C, cf. a-my=a, only in d=ξ-my=a-s-xo-yt' "he passed by".

5.100 m-y=aξ (RII) C, only in: ayaxara m-y=aξ-a-ga-yt' "they held the meeting"; ayaxara m-y=aξ-s-o-yt' "the meeting was held".

5.101 m-y=aξ (RII) C, only evx.: a-ξyax my=aξ-a-ga-yt' "they diverted the river"; d=ξ-my=ax-ξ=a-yt' "he lost his way".

5.102 m-y=aξ (RII) C, only in y=ξ-may=ξ-a-ga-yt' "I transported it".

5.103 n- (D) A "on (a page, the skin, a concave surface)": a-s=ξx-

5.104 l(a)- (R) A "in (a mass)"; "among": a-hawa, a-ξ, a-nōs", a-xāx" y-

5.105 l-a-Ø-w-p' "it is in the air, the water, the ground, the stone"; y-sā-la-Ø-

5.106 l-a-Ø-w-p' "it is in me, in my body"; a-w=a d=ξ-la-Ø-w-p' "he is among people"; a-

5.107 l=ξ a-k=[ξ]c y-ξ-l=ξ=a-yt' "fat came out of the meat"; a-ξ̌ata d-ξ-la-la-ya-yt' "he entered the village".

B "in (a two-dimensionally extended space, or material)": a-

5.108 l=ξ=ξn, a-s=ξ y-Ø-la-Ø-w-p' "it is in the grass, the snow (on the ground)"; a-

5.109 l=ξ-la-gξ-la-w-p' "he is standing in the doorway"; a-yat=ξa-d=ξ-la-ya-w-

5.110 l-a-Ø-w-p' "he is lying in the bed"; a-bna d=ξ-la-la-ya-yt' (!) "he went into the wood"
5.105 r-
(R) B "across (a water)", only exv.: a-3ā d-Øs-ra-z-ga-yt' "I took him across the water"; ā-raxw a-3āyas y-Øs-ra-s-ca-yt' "I drove the cattle across the river". 5

5.106 azk'ān-
(RII) A "on the shoulders", cf. ā-z-k'ā "shoulders": only in: y-s-āzk'ā-s-ca-yt' "I put it on my shoulders".

5.107 ay-
(R) A "past", only exv.: d-s-āy-w-se-yt' "he passed me"; az-ā-s-āy-w-s-mo-ż-e-yt' "I did not miss a word", lit. "I did not let a word go past me".

5.108 ah'āta
(RII) A "at the bottom", cf. aḥw "bottom, seat", only inv.: s-s-āp-ā-s-āh'āta-sa-sa-pa-yt' "I crossed my legs under me"; s-y-āh'āta-sa-yt' "I hit him on his bottom".

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

5.109 px-
(DD), only in: d-Øs-pa-s-ca-yt' "I repelled him".

5.110 px-
(always stressed pxā) "back", cf xā-, only in: y-ξ-pxā-s-κa-yt' "I concealed it, held it back".

5.111 κa-
(D), see 3.4: d-κa-pa-yt' "he jumped, took the jump"; d-κa-ż-ča-yt' "he spat"; ā-raxw κa-s-ca-yt' "I drove the cattle"; y-κa-sa-ż-e-yt' "I threw it".

5.112 xa-
(D) "upwards", this preverb is exceptional in that in all recorded cases it is accompanied by E-la (except if the root is -la-): ū-mra xa-la-yt' "the sun rose", lit. "the sun went up"; a-saba xa-t-ā-la-yt' "the sand flew up"; y-βzą xa-cā-la-ne "shouting", lit. "having droven up his voice".

5.113 xā-
(always stressed xā) "back", d-xā-ca-yt' "he receded"; d-xā-pa-yt' "he looked back"; y-xā-s-κa-yt' "I concealed it, held it back".

5.114 ḫara-
(RI), only in s-nap-ā- ḫara-s-κa-yt' "I raised my hands".

5.115 baa-
(RII) "down": d-Øbā-ba-pa-yt' "he jumped down"; d-Øbā-γr-e-yt' "he fell down".

5.116 aytaw-
(RII) "aside, from one place to another": d-aytā-ča-yt' "he moved, he went from one place to another"; d-aytā-pa-yt' "he jumped aside"; y-aytā-ż-ga-yt' "I moved it, I took it from one place to another".

5.117 aw-
(RI) "out, free": d-aw-sā-š-ta-yt' "I set him free" (-št- "to send").
The following preverbs occur in unique stems:

5.118 t-
(D) A: d-a-t-
"I did not consider him worthy of it" (-ba- "to see").

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

5.120 g-
(D) A: y-o-g-a-pa-yt' "it pleased me, I liked it", lit. "it warmed my heart".

5.121 g-
(D) C: y-g-a-ta-yt' "I noticed it (-ta- "to give").

5.122 g-x-
(DDR) C, cf. a-x-
"pain": d-o-g-x-
"I longed for him".

5.123 naq-
(DR) C, cf. -naq-
"to walk": d-naq-
"I maintained him, supported him"; a-ma-
"I drove the car".

Notes: 1) This is an instance of the "empty use" of pers. prefix a- in idiomatic expressions (see sect.8).
2) These are instances of "empty" 0- in idiomatic expressions.
3) The difference between type A and type B of the P's k- and c'(a)- may be described as "effective local" vs. "plain local", compare the following examples: a-wardān d-a-k-
"he is on the cart (and ready for transportation)" vs. a-my-
"he is on the road"; s-s-
"a pedal y-
"I pressed my foot on the pedal (and moved it)" vs. s-nap-
"I pressed my hand on my knee"; a-35 y-
"he poured water on his head (and made it wet)" vs.

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sweet voice", lit. "a sweet voice is on me"; a-xâra sâ-dê-ô-w-p' "I am guilty", lit. "the guilt is besides me"; â-ma3a sô-ca-ô-w-p' "I have a secret", lit. "the secret is under me"; a-x'=cra d-â-la-ô-w-p' "I am lost in thought", lit. "I am in thought"; s-g'â y-â-l-sê-ya'it "it depressed me", lit. "it passed through my heart"; s-g'ô y-ô-tô-xa-ya'it "it grieved me", lit. "it rooted in my heart"; â-x'ê-ta sô-la-3a-ya'it "I endured the cold", lit. "the cold fitted in me"; a-lâf yÔ-lo-s-xo-ya'it "I mocked him", lit. "I took the mocking out of him"; a-mêô y-â-lê-s-xo-ya'it "I made it of wood", lit. "I took it out of wood"; d-sê-da-s-kô-la-ya'it "I received him", lit. "I held him besides me"; âz'â y-â-ca-na-k-wa-zôy? "what does the word mean?", lit. "what does the word hold under it?"; sô-z-nô-ô-w ââmta "the time in which I live".

Often such idiomatic use is characteristic of whole groups of verbs, e.g., with the "semantically neutral" roots (see sect. 3.5 Note 4): a-bê tô-xa s-xa-ô-w-p' "I have a sweet voice"; a-bêô xaa s-xa-la-ya'it "I acquired a sweet voice"; a-bêô%xaa s-xa-s-ca-ya'it "I produced a sweet voice".

7  RECIPROCAL VERBS.

7.1 Preverbs of type A (including those which also have forms of type B, except bê (a-) may be combined with the reciprocal pers. prefix a'y: "each other, one another", e.g. s-rô-la-la-ya'it "I went among them": h-ay-la-la-ya'it "we mingled", lit. "we went among each other"; y-â-kê-s-ca-ya'it "I put it on it": y-ay-k'sô-s-ca-ya'it "I piled them up", lit. "I put them on one another"; s-rô-s-ta-ô-w-p' "I follow them": h-ay-s'tâ-ô-w-p' "we follow one another.

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

7.3 Some of the type A preverbs occur only rarely or not at all with reciprocal ay-. Exx. of rare combinations: d-ay-cra-la-ya'it "he got furious"; d-ay-tra-na-kô-ya'it "he got constipated"; ârbayê ay-x9-la-êô-ya'it "the rooster bristled up its feathers" (-êô- "to swell")

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EMPTY PERS. PREFIXES. We often meet idiomatic expressions (see sect. 6) with an "empty" pers. prefix. This is especially the case with LR-verbs with a type B preverb, while only a few instances of LR-verbs with a type A preverb are found in such phrases. As a rule, LR-verbs found in idiomatic expressions with "empty" pers. prefix can also be used with "full" pers. prefix. In a small number of cases, however, only the "empty" use is found, see e.g. nrs. 3.3, 5.8 and 5.9 in the list. Exx.: ("empty" a-) a-c-k-w a-nō-s-čä-ya-t' "I bred horses", lit. "I put horses on it"; d-ū-1-o-r-xō-ya-t' "they elected him", lit. "they took him out of it"; d-ā-čä-χa-ya-t' "he was defeated", lit. "he remained under it"; ("empty" ō-) so-psō ō-tā-0-w-p' "I am alive", lit. "my soul is in it"; ā-mra ō-ča-s-ča-ya-t' "the sun set", lit. "the sun fell into it"; d-ō-ča-xa-ya-t' "he perished", lit. "he remained in it"; so-bō-s wō-ča-k'-no "(talking softly, lit. "holding my voice under it"; y-ōs-k'-gala-ya-t' "they revolted", lit. "they went and stood onto it"; y-ōs-k'-e-r-xō-ya-t' "they destroyed it", lit. they took it from it"; ā-my-a ōs-1-o-r-xo-ya-t' "they made a road", lit. "they took a road out of it"; y-ō-s-čō-s-xa-ya-t' "I spoiled it", lit. "I took it from between it"; s-ū-kōs-sa-ya-t' "I showed up", lit. "I passed through it".

One can compare this phenomenon with the empty use of the (Abkhaz) subject-prefix and actor-prefix, e.g. a-ča-rā y-ā-k-wa-s-ča-ya-t' "I intended to go", lit. "I held it (unspecified) on going"; d-rō-la-na-ga-la-ya-t' "he found himself among us", lit. "it (unspr.) brought him among us"; a-čsō sō-č-nō-xa-ya-t' "I vomitted the fish", lit. "it (unspr.) took the fish out of my mouth".

SHIFTED LOCUS. Besides the cases where an LR-verb with a type B preverb is used with empty preverbal object, we have LR-verbs where the locus (with regard to which something moves) is not referred to by the pers. prefix accompanying the P, but is itself the (Abkhaz) subject (cf. English "to shake out a blanket, brush off a coat", where it is the dust that is shaken out or brushed off). It is these verbs which typically lack a pers. prefix with the P, though, curiously, the recessive P k'- always has the stress before it, indicating the presence of ō-. Exx.: ā-č-c ca tō-z-3-s-(a)-aa-ya-t' "I washed the dishes", lit. "I washed out the dishes"; a-stōl ōs-k'-e-s-rō-c-k'(a)-aa-ya-t' "I cleared the table", lit. "I cleaned off the table"; a-wāda y-ō-na-r-t'-aā-ya-t' "they filled the room", lit. "they filled out the room"; ā-č-ta ōs-k'-e-r-t'-aa-ya-t' "they filled the yard", lit. "they filled off the yard"; ā-mra y-ø-byā kōd-na-r-s-aa-ya-t' "the sun burned his back", lit. "the sun burned off his back"; ā-cīla č-sa-r-ffā-ya-t' "I trimmed the tree".
As the examples show, LR-verbs with shifted locus are typically exc. Furthermore, roots found in such verbs belong to class III or VI.

10 LEXICAL COMPOUNDS. Certain preverbs which we met as P's occur in stems which are not LR-stems, i.e. they do not have inv. and exc. forms, and the preverb does not allow a "local object"; moreover, many of them allow derivations of LR-stems in the regular way, in which case the P precedes the preverb under discussion. These preverbs undoubtedly go back to P's but have formed a "lexical compound" (LC) with the root. The most frequent examples concern the preverbs p- (such LC's express the notion breaking, tearing etc.), n- and x-. Exx.: ye-p-ẓẉ-ỵt" it tore; it burst"; y-ṣṿḳ y-ča-p-ẓẉ-ỵt" his gun burst in his face"; y-p̣ṣ-ṣq̣a-yaỹt" I cut it"; y-ā-1-p̣ṣ-q̣(a)-aa-yaỹt" I cut it out of it"; da-n-x̣a-yaỹt" he lived"; a-kalak d-ā-la-n-xa-yaỹt" he lived in the town"; d-ṣṣ-da-n-xa-la-yaỹt" he lived next to me"; ye-n-č̣a-yaỹt" they perished"; a-m̀ṣn y-ō-ta-n-č̣a-yaỹt" they perished in the sea"; y-n̄ṣ-x̣o-yaỹt" I spent it"; y-x̣ṣ-ṣ-ṭo-yaỹt" I uncovered it"; y-x̣ṣ-z-ỵa-yaỹt" I covered it"; y-č̣a-s-ḥa-yaỹt" I tied it"; a-lā ā-č̣a y-ā-d-č̣a-s-ḥa-la-yaỹt" I tied the dog to the tree"; y-la-s-č̣a-yaỹt" I sowed it"; y-ḳẉṣ-ṣ-č̣a-yaỹt" I embroidered it".

11 CAUSATIVES. Transitive LR-stems do not occur causativized unless they contain a complex ay-P with lexicalized meaning (see 7.2). In addition, tr. ka-stems (see 3.4) and LC's may be causativized. Exx.: y-ay-1ṣ-s-ḳ-aa-yaỹt" I understood it"; y-1-āy-1-ṣo-r-ḳ-aa-yaỹt" I made her understand it"; y-ḳa-ṣ-psa-yaỹt" I strewed it"; ye-1-ka-so-r-psā-yaỹt" I made her strew it"; y-p̣ṣ-ṣq̣a-yaỹt" I cut it"; ye-1-p̣-so-r-q̣a-yaỹt" I made her cut it".

Two cases were encountered where the causative-marker appears before the preverb, viz.: y-q̣a-ṣ-č̣a-yaỹt" I made it", lit. "I put it into existence"; ye-1-ṣṣ-ṭq̣a-č̣a-yaỹt" I made her make it"; y-la-s-č̣a-yaỹt" I sowed it"; ye-1-ṣṣ-ṭ-la-č̣a-yaỹt" I made her sow it". These cases are quite irregular. The irregularity is compounded by the fact that the first example allows derivations with another P, e.g. y-ō-tā-qa-ṣ-č̣a-yaỹt" I made it in it", lit. "I put it into existence in it". This feature it has in common with the LC's; however, the latter, when causativized, has the causative-marker regularly between preverb and root.

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FOOTNOTES: 1) The infinitive-suffix of dynamic verbs is -ra, of static verbs -zaa-ra.
2) In forms other than the infinitive, these preverbs also occur as perfectivizers, in which case they occupy a different position in the string (between 2 and 3).
3) For an exception see sect. 10.
5) It must be noted in passing that there are cases where it is hard to decide whether or not the root of a primary LR-stem is identical with the root of a simple stem, e.g. -y- 1) "to run" (simple), 2) "travel of sound (LR, IV; counted by us as "exclusive").
6) There are only a few such roots, e.g. -pr- "to fly", -h-aza- "to crawl", -3a- "to swim", -y- "to run", -naq+a- "to walk", -k-"t- "to roll", -k-"aša- "to dance"; also -ca- "to go, to leave", -š-"t- "to send", which, however, allow no derivations.
7) By "element" is meant 1) any syllable C or Ca, 2) any C not followed by a vowel, 3) the 3sg. irr. prefix a-, 4) stem-extension -aa (the latter two are Dominant). Besides the syllables D and R there are elements the stress-status of which cannot be determined (and is for our purposes irrelevant); they are indicated "I" (Indeterminate). These elements are found only after R-syllables, and the prefix Ø- regularly attracts the stress before a sequence RI, as it does before any element R.
8) Among the roots which occur in stems used with "shifted locus" (see sect. 9) there are a number which are also found in LC's with p-, e.g., besides á-ća-r-ffa-ra "to trim" there is a-pə-r-ffa-rá.
CHAPTER II

STRESS IN ABKHAZ

INTRODUCTION*

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

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

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

C-ə... represents either C(ə)+a... or C(a)+ə...
C-a... ,, C(a)+a...
C-aə... ,, C(a)+aə...
C-əə... ,, C(ə)+aa...
C-aa... ,, C(a)+aa...

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

ə... represents either ə+a... or a+ə...
a...,, a+a
aə...,, a+aə
əə...,, ə+aa
aa...,, a+aa

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

*I wish to express my gratitude to Mrs. Z. Khiba and Mrs. E. Kilba, who were my informants during my field work in Tbilisi in 1975-76.
an Abkhaz word will consist of a string of D's and/or R's.

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

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

For elements with indeterminate stress-status see 1.3.

For special phenomena in causative forms see 5.2.2.10.

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-C(ā)}_1 & \quad \text{DD'} & \quad \text{ā-C(a)}_2 & \quad \text{D'R} \\
\text{z-C(ā)}_1 & \quad \text{RD'} & \quad \text{z-C(ā)/zā-C(a)}_2 & \quad \text{R'R'/R'R}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Examples: 1a D "dog", 1a R "eye", a-1ā "the dog", ā-1a "the eye", z-1ā "whose dog", z-1ā/zā-1a "whose eye"; 3ā D "water", 3ā R "flea", a-3ā "the water", ā-3 "the flea", z-3ā "whose water", z-3ā/zā-3 "whose flea".

The D-status of the article a- can be arrived at in another way, too. Since the dictionary-form is diagnostic for the stress-status of the noun C(a) and substantives can be combined with adjectives (in this order) to form compound nouns, we can make compounds D+D and R+D. If the article a- were R, then
we would expect final stress in both *a-DD', *a-RD'; if it were D, we would expect a-DD', a-RD); the second of these possibilities obtains, cf.:

a-y'a DD' "dry"
a-č-a DD' "bread" a-č-a-y'a DD' "dry bread"
ā-x'a D'R "chestnut" ā-x'a-y'a D'RD "dry chestnut"

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

a-C(a) DD' ā-C(a) D'R C(ā)-k C(ā)-k/C(a)-k§

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

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

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

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

after D: D or R
after R: I or DR
after I: I or DR

For monosyllabic elements I see sections 5.2.1.1 and 6.2.1.

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

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

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

2 NOUNS.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C(a)</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-3ö</td>
<td>&quot;water&quot;</td>
<td>á-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-čö</td>
<td>&quot;horse&quot;</td>
<td>á-čw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-γś</td>
<td>&quot;violent&quot;</td>
<td>á-zw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-xśö</td>
<td>&quot;hill&quot;</td>
<td>á-z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-źś</td>
<td>&quot;meat&quot;</td>
<td>á-xw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-xńś</td>
<td>&quot;head&quot;</td>
<td>á-ẓ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-tśś</td>
<td>&quot;slave&quot;</td>
<td>á-sx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Disyllabic nouns.

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

(see chart on the next page)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cə+Ca</th>
<th>Cə+Ca</th>
<th>Ca+Cə</th>
<th>Ca+Ca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>D+D</strong></td>
<td>a-3-γ-.accept</td>
<td>a-3-cā</td>
<td>no exx.</td>
<td>a-ε'-a-γ′-ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-γ′-k 'swift water'</td>
<td>3-cā-k 'hot water'</td>
<td></td>
<td>ɛ'-a-γ′-ā-k 'dry bread'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D+R</strong></td>
<td>a-č̣-z</td>
<td>a-č̣-x′a</td>
<td>a-h′-a-x′</td>
<td>a-h′-a-x′a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>č̣-z-k 'sorrel horse'</td>
<td>č̣-x′a-k 'grey horse'</td>
<td>h′-a-x′-k 'wounded pig'</td>
<td>h′-a-x′a-k 'grey pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R+D</strong></td>
<td>no exx.</td>
<td>a-3-γ′-a</td>
<td>no exx.</td>
<td>a-ε′-a-γ′-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-γ′-a-k 'dry oak'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x′-a-γ′-a-k 'dry chestnut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R+R</strong></td>
<td>a-5′-a-z</td>
<td>a-5′-x′a</td>
<td>a-1-a</td>
<td>a-1-a-x′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5′-z′-k/k</td>
<td>5′-x′a-k/k</td>
<td>1-a</td>
<td>1-a-x′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5′-x′-k</td>
<td>5′-x′-k</td>
<td>1-a</td>
<td>1-a-x′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'old door'</td>
<td>'grey cow'</td>
<td>'wounded eye'</td>
<td>'grey eye'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

(a) def. a-C(a)C(ā), indef. C(a)C(ā)-k
(b) def. a-C(ā)C(a), indef. C(ā)C(a)-k
(c) def. ā-C(a)C(a), indef. C(a)C(ā)-k (with alternative C(a)C(a)-ǩ except in the case CaCa, which allows only CaCā-k)

(see chart on the next page)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CaCa</th>
<th>CoCa</th>
<th>CaCo</th>
<th>CaCa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-cgʷə</td>
<td>a-pšá</td>
<td>a-xamə</td>
<td>a-labá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə</td>
<td>pšá</td>
<td>xamó</td>
<td>labá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;cat&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;wind&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;coat&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;stick&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-təp</td>
<td>a-çəxʷə</td>
<td>a-sʷax</td>
<td>a-dágʷə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ə-p</td>
<td>çəxʷə</td>
<td>sʷax</td>
<td>dágʷə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;place&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;tail&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;foam&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;deaf&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á-me'</td>
<td>á-cha</td>
<td>á-bax</td>
<td>á-ma3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mac' /</td>
<td>chá</td>
<td>baxʷə</td>
<td>ma3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moč'-kə</td>
<td>cha-ka</td>
<td>baxʷ-ko</td>
<td>&quot;secret&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;fly&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;bridge&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;rock&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>def.</th>
<th>indef.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) D+DD a-1a-xʷc'ə</td>
<td>1a-xʷc'ə-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) D+DR a-1a-dəw</td>
<td>1a-dəw-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) D+RI a-lá-yra</td>
<td>lá-yra-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) R+DD á-xʷa-xʷc'ə</td>
<td>xʷa-xʷc'ə-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) R+DR á-xʷa-dəw</td>
<td>xʷa-dəw-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) R+RI á-cʷə-yra</td>
<td>cʷə-yra-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) DD+D a-laba-pə</td>
<td>laba-pə-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) DR+D a-3ára-pə</td>
<td>3ára-pə-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) RI+D á-maxʷ-yʷə</td>
<td>maxʷ-yʷə-ko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(10) DD+R a-la-ba-xʷ-a laba-xʷ-a- k "bent xʷ-a stick laba"
(11) DR+R a-mág"o-zʷ" mag"o-zʷ- k "old zʷ-o boot mag""
(12) RI+R á-chá-zʷ chá-zʷ- k "old zʷ-o bridge cha"

Nouns consisting of two disyllabic nouns:

(13) DD+DD a-y"na-xʷ-čə-á y"na-xʷ-čə-á- k "small xʷ-čə house y"na"
(14) DD+DR a-la-ba-K "ač̌€" laba- k"ač̌€- k "short K "ač̌€" stick laba"
(15) DD+RI a-way"s-las way"s-las- k "quick las man way"s"
(16) DR+DD a-q̌σd-čąya q̌σd-čąya- k "thin čąya beans q̌σd"
(17) DR+DR a-wáda-dów wáda-dów- k "big dów room wada"
(18) DR+RI a-q̌σd-ńa-žə q̌σd-ńa-žə- k "thick žə-ńa beans q̌σd"
(19) RI+DD á-čła-xʷ-čə čła-xʷ-čə- k "small xʷ-čə tree čła"
(20) RI+DR á-čła-dów čła-dów- k "big dów tree čła"
(21) RI+RI á-ǯma-γra ǯma-γra- k "pied γra goat ǯma"

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

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

(a) def. a- - - - , indef. - _ - - k a-pstá pstá- k DDD "ravine"
(b) def. a- - _ - , indef. _ _ _ - k a-psa3 psa3- k DDR "fish"
(c) def. a- - _ - , indef. _ _ _ - k a-bárča bárča-k DRI "balcony"
(d) def. á- - _ _ , indef. - _ _ - k á-3yab 3yab- k RDR "girl"
(e) def. á- - _ _ , indef. - _ _ - k/ á-psta pstá-k/ RII "lead"

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

Note that the dictionary-form fails to disambiguate types (d) and (e). In most cases, ʒašia 1954 quotes examples without def. art. from which the
stress-status can be determined (see also 6.1.1).

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

(a) a- - - - - - - - - - - - - - K' a-χ'-s'c'ba x'-s'c'ba-K' DDDD "sparrow-hawk"
(b) a- - - - - - - - - - - - - - K' a-č'arbo1 č'arbo1-K' DDRR "leech"
(c) a- - - - - - - - - - - - - - K' no exx. DDRI "leech"
(d) a- - - - - - - - - - - - - - K' a-K'-nd'x'-v K'-nd'x'-K' DRRII "corresponding"
(e) á- - - - - - - - - - - - - - K' á-mans'ala mans'ála-K' RIDRI "adroit"
(f) á- - - - - - - - - - - - - - K' á-s'apš'ap apš'ap-K' RDRI "vegetation"
(g) á- - - - - - - - - - - - - - K' á-p'sth'a p'sth'a-K' RIII "cloud"
( ) á-p'sth'a K' p'sth'a-K'

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
C-á... & \rightarrow (C(á)+a...) \\
C-á... & \rightarrow (C(a)+á...) \\
á... & \rightarrow (á+a...) \\
á... & \rightarrow (á+a...) \\
\end{align*}
\]

2.4.1 There is no noun á-n-a.

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

s-aš'-a DD "my brother"

All other nouns exhibit the pattern:

def. áš'-a, indef. as'-š-K' as'-š-K' "cheese"
def. áš'-a, indef. as'-a-K' "song"
The def. forms point to either DR (i.e. ás* → a-ás*, ás"a → a-ás"a) or RI (i.e. ás* → á-as*, ás"a → á-as"a). The indef. forms make clear that we deal here with type RI (as otherwise these forms would have been *ás*-K, *ás"a-K).

2.4.3 Nouns ac(a)c(a). The following types are found:

(a) def. ac(a)c(á), indef. ac(a)c(á)-K s-ah*š-á DDD "sister"
(b) def. ác(a)c(a), indef. ac(á)c(a)-K ábáz abáz-K' RDR "20 copecks"
(c) def. ác(a)c(a), indef. ac(a)c(á)-K apš' apš'-K RI "red"
ac(a)c(a)-Kš apš'-Kš

2.4.4 Nouns ac(a)c(a)c(a). There exists only one type:

def. ác(a)c(a)c(a), indef. ac(a)c(á)c(a)-K ábš'ar abš'-ár-K RIDD "weapon"

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

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

(a) for nouns aa D: def. aá → a-á, indef. aá-K
(b) for nouns aa R: def. áa → á-aa, indef. aá-K/
aa-Kš

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

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

(a) def. a-Caa, indef. Caá-K a-baá báá-K DDD "fortress"
(b) def. a-Caa, indef. Caa-K a-x'áa x'áa-K DR "pain"
(c) def. á-Caa, indef. Caá-K/ á-maa maá-K/ RI "handle"
Caa-Kš Caa-Kš

cf. the three types of nouns Ca(a)c(a) in sect. 2.2.2.
2.5.3 For nouns aC(a) we have the following possibilities for the stress:

(a) def. aac(á) ← a-aac(á), indef. aac(á)-k' aaxó aaxó-k'  DD "threshold"
(b) def. aâC(a) ← a-aâC(a), indef. aâC(a)-k' no exx.
(c) def. áâC(a) ← á-aâC(a), indef. aâC(á)-k/ áas aasó-k/ RI "thicket"
aâC(a)-k5 aas-k5

2.5.4 Examples of longer nouns containing aa:

def. áánda ← a-aánda, indef. áánda-k' DRI "fence"
def. áâpən ← á-aâpən, indef. aâpən-k'/ RII "spring"
aâpən-k5
def. á-c"aaK,  indef. c"aaK6-k'/ RII "wet"
c"aaK6-k6
def. ábəa ← á-ábaa, indef. abəa-k/ RII "lean"
abəa-k5

3 VERBS.

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

DDD'
 a-3-rá "to bake"  D'RD
 a-ž-rá "to dig"  á-3-ra "to get lost"
a-á-rá "to catch"  á-z"-ra "to drink"
a-pa-rá "to pleat"  á-s-ra "to hit"
a-ya-rá "to lie down"  á-pa-ra "to jump"
a-ca-rá "to go"  á-fa-ra "to eat"

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

a-xa-ca-ra DDDD' "to put ca onto xa"
a-xa-la-ra D'D'R "to go la onto"
á-va-ca-ra D'R 'ND "to put next to va"
á-va-la-ra D'R'R "to go next to"

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C0+C0</th>
<th>C0+Ca</th>
<th>Ca+C0</th>
<th>Ca+Ca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D+D</td>
<td>a-pa-č-ra</td>
<td>a-t-sa-ra</td>
<td>a-ta-k-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;to 'break&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to fall out of&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to keep in&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D+R</td>
<td>a-ta-č-ra</td>
<td>a-ta-pa-ra</td>
<td>a-ta-s-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;to go out of&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to jump out of&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to beat into&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R+D</td>
<td>á-ka-kra</td>
<td>á-ka-xa-ra</td>
<td>á-ca-kra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;to point at&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to remain on&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to keep under&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R+R</td>
<td>á-ka-č-ra</td>
<td>á-ka-la-ra</td>
<td>á-la-s-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;to go from&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to go onto&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to beat into&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(see chart on the next page)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CaCa</th>
<th>CaCa</th>
<th>CaCa</th>
<th>CaCa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DD</td>
<td>a-čos-rā &quot;to move&quot;</td>
<td>a-ʒ'gwa-rā &quot;to plug&quot;</td>
<td>no exx.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DR</td>
<td>a-dōr-ra &quot;to know&quot;</td>
<td>a-gōla-ra &quot;to stand up&quot;</td>
<td>a-gʷāq-ra &quot;to grieve&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RI</td>
<td>á-tōy-ra &quot;to send&quot;</td>
<td>á-3sa-ra &quot;to swim&quot;</td>
<td>á-cʷax-ra &quot;to hide&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(1) D+DD a-ta-xx-ra "to run into"
(2) D+DR a-ta-gōla-ra "to go and stand in"
(3) D+RI a-tá-3sa-ra "to swim in"
(4) R+DD á-ča-xx-ra "to run under"
(5) R+DR á-ča-gōla-ra "to go and stand under"
(6) R+RI á-ča-3sa-ra "to swim under"
(7) DD+D a-yʷna-xa-rá "to remain in (a lodging)"
(8) DR+D a-Ka-la-xa-ra "to remain in (an opening)"
(9) RI+D á-š'ta-xa-ra "to remain on the ground"
(10) DD+R a-yʷná-la-ra "to go into (a lodging)"
(11) DR+R a-Ko-la-la-ra "to go into (an opening)"
(12) RI+R á-š'ta-la-ra "to go to the ground"

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

(13) DD+DD a-yʷna-xx-ra "to run into (a lodging)"
(14) DD+DR a-γʾna-γšša-ra "to go and stand in (a lodging)"
(15) DD+RI a-γʾnā-3sša-ra "to swim in (a lodging)"

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

(19) RI+DD á-šʾta-xx-ra "to go swiftly to the ground"
(20) RI+DR á-šʾta-gšša-ra "to go and stand on the ground"
(21) RI+RI á-šʾta-3sša-ra "to swim on the ground"

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

(a) a-psahʾa-rá DDD "to moisten"
(b) a-šššxʾ-ra DDR "to waylay, to watch"
(c) a-gššrʾa-ra DRI "to rejoice"
(d) á-šššx-ra RDR "to borrow"
(e) á-byšša-ra RII "to stagger"

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

(a) no exx. DDUD
(b) a-cššrʾkʾšša-ra DDR "to hop on one leg"
(c) a-gššršša-ra DRII "to stagger"
(d) no exx. DRII
(e) á-ššxʾaršša-ra RIDR "to nestle"
(f) no exx. RDI
(g) á-kʾarššašš-ršša RIII "to work as a farm-hand"

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

ášš-ra ← á-azšš-ra RI "to grow old"
áššsa-ra ← á-asšša-ra RI "to weed"

That these forms are RI rather than DR appears from such forms as d-azšššš-šš "did he grow old?" which represents R-RI'-R (for the affixes, see 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.2.1).
3.5.1 Verbal roots Caa (cf. 2.5.2). Exx.:

(a) a-baa-rá DD "to rot"
(b) a-g"áa-ra DR "to get angry"
(c) á-tan-ra DR "to gather"

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

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

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

4.1 Denominal suffixes: -ra (1) "abstract noun", (2) "place characterized by (vegetation, sand, etc.)"; -t" "pertaining to"; -tra "abode (of animals)" "depository (of objects)"

a-x’e,o DDD' "child" a-x’e,o-rá DDDD' "childhood" -ra D
a-räsá DDD' "hazel-nut" a-rasa-rá DDDD' "place with many hazelnuts" -ra D
a-x’e DDD' "gold" a-x’e-t” DDD’ "golden" -t” D
a-čo DDD' "horse" a-č-trá DDDD' "stable" -tra DDD

4.2 Deverbal suffixes: -y’ "agent"; -t” "gerundive"; -ga "instrument", "time"; -š’a "manner"; -mta "result"; -rta "place"

a-ča-rá DDD' "to learn" a-ča-y’e DDD' "þupil" -y’ D
a-ča-t” DDD’ "what is to be learnt, lesson" -t” D
a-ča-rá DDD' "to hoe" a-ča-ga DD’R "hoe" -ga R
a-h’a-rá DDD' "to say" a-h’a-xa DD’R "(sufficient) time to say" -xa R
a-y’-rá DDD' "to write" a-y’e-š’a DD’R "handwriting" -š’a R
a-y’e-mta DD’RI "letter, article" -mta RI
5.1.1.1 The indef. art. -k is RI, see 1.2.

5.1.1.2 -da privative, -la instrumental, -s transformative. These are all RI, as is shown by the forms with 1a D "dog": lá-da "without a dog", lá-la "with a dog", lá-s "as a dog". With 1a RI "eye" we have lá-da, lá-la, lá-s/la-só, with s̥xa RI "mountain": s̥xá-da, s̥xá-la, s̥xá-s/š̥xa-só.

5.1.1.3-c̱a (pl. rat.), -ḵa (pl. non-rat.). These are D, as is shown by the forms with 2̥o D "slave", 1a D "dog": a-t̥-c̱a "the slaves", a-1a-ḵa "the dogs".

5.1.2 Nominal prefixes.

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

5.1.2.2 Possessive prefixes. With a noun D (e.g. 1a "eye") we have on the one hand só-la, wó-lá "my, your (sg.m.) eye", on the other hand zó-1a/z̥-lá "whose eye". It follows that s-, w- are D, so are the other personal possessive prefixes: b̥- 2sg.f., y̥- 3sg.m., l̥- 3sg.f., ḁ- 3sg irratal., h̥- 1pl., s̥- 2pl., ra- 3pl., the relative possessive prefix z̥- is RI.

5.1.2.3 Prefixed numerals y̥- "two", x̥- "three", etc. These are D, as is shown by the forms with a noun D: y̥-lā-ḵ/ y̥-la-ḵs "two eyes", x̥-lā-ḵ/ x̥-la-ḵs "three eyes", so are the other numerals x̥- "five", f̥- "six", ḁ- "eight", z̥- "nine", z̥a- "ten". As to p̥- "four" and "b̥z̥- "seven", the forms p̥-lā-ḵ/ p̥-la-ḵs, b̥z̥-lā-ḵ/ b̥z̥-la-ḵs show that they are neither DD nor DR, so that they must be RI.

5.1.3 Survey of affixed forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1a D &quot;dog&quot;</th>
<th>1a RI &quot;water&quot;</th>
<th>s̥xa RI &quot;mountain&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lā-ḵ</td>
<td>lā-ḵ/ 1a-ḵs</td>
<td>s̥xá-ḵ/ s̥xa-ḵs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'R</td>
<td>R̥ R̥/ R R̥</td>
<td>R̥ R I̥ R̥ R I̥ R̥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;a dog&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;a water&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;a mountain&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| a-1a       | á-1a           | á-š̥xa              |
| D D'       | D'R            | D'R I               |
| "the dog"  | "the water"    | "the mountain"      |
| s-lā | sō-la | sō-š´xa |
| D D' | D' R | D' R I |
| "my dog" | "my eye" | "my mountain" |

| z-lā | zō-la/ z-lā | zō-š´xa/ zœ-š´xā |
| R D' | R' R / R R' | R' R I / R R I' |
| "whose dog" | "whose eye" | "whose mountains" |

| 1a-kʷá-k' | 1a-kʷá-k' | Š´xa-kʷá-k' |
| D D' R | R D' R | R I D' R |
| "dogs" | "eyes" | "mountains" |

| a-la-kʷá | á-la-kʷa | á-š´xa-kʷa |
| D D D' | D'R D | D'R I D |
| "the dogs" | "the eyes" | "the mountains" |

| s-la-kʷá | sō-la-kʷa | sō-š´xa-kʷa |
| D D D' | D' R D | D' R I D |
| "my dogs" | "my eyes" | "my mountains" |

| z-la-kʷá | zá-la-kʷa/ z-la-kʷá | zá-š´xa-kʷa/ zœ-š´xa-kʷa |
| R D D' | R' R D / R R D' | R' R I D / R R I D' |
| "whose dogs" | "whose eyes" | "whose mountains" |

| yʷ-lá-k' | yʷ-lá-k'/ yʷ-1a-k³ | yʷ-š´xa-k'/ yʷ-š´xa-k³ |
| R D' R | R' R' R / R R R' | R R' R / R R I R' |
| "two dogs" | "two eyes" | "two mountains" |

| á-yʷ-la-k' | á-yʷ-la-k' | á-yʷ-š´xa-k' |
| D'R D R | D'R R R | D'R R I R |
| "the two dogs" | "the two eyes" | "the two mountains" |

| sō-yʷ-la-k' | sō-yʷ-la-k' | sō-š´xa-k' |
| D' R D R | D' R R R | D' R R I R |
| "my two dogs" | "my two eyes" | "my two mountains" |
5.2 Verbal affixes.

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{d-cá-ma} & \text{RD'R} & \text{"did he go?"} & \text{-ma R} \\
\text{y-cá-da} & \text{DD'R} & \text{"who went?"} & \text{-da R} \\
\text{d-ca-smá} & \text{RDD'} & \text{"as if he went"} & \text{-sma D} \\
\text{d-ca-nó} & \text{RDD} & \text{"(he) having gone"} & \text{-n D} \\
\text{d-cá-r} & \text{RD'R} & \text{"if (he) going"} & \text{-r R} \\
\text{d-cá-n} & \text{RD'R} & \text{"he went and"} & \text{-n R} \\
\text{d-cá-n} & \text{RD'R} & \text{"he will go"} & \text{-n R} \\
\text{y-cá-z} & \text{RD'R} & \text{"which went"} & \text{-z R} \\
\text{y-tó-a-w} & \text{DD'R} & \text{"which is sitting"} & \text{-w R} \\
\text{y-tó-a-m} & \text{DD'R} & \text{"which is not sitting"} & \text{-m R} \\
\text{dó-m-cá-y} & \text{RRD'R} & \text{"didn't he go?"} & \text{-y R} \\
\text{dó-m-cá-Ka} & \text{RRD'R} & \text{"(he) not having gone"} & \text{-Ka R} \\
\end{array}
\]

The following suffixes consist of more than one element:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{d-cá-yt} & \text{RD'RI} & \text{"he went"} & \text{-yt R} \\
\text{d-cá-zar} & \text{RD'RI} & \text{"if he went"} & \text{-zar RI} \\
\text{d-tó-a-nacó} & \text{RRDD'} & \text{"as long as he is sitting"} & \text{-nacó DD} \\
\text{d-cá-rc} & \text{RD'RI} & \text{"in order that he go"} & \text{-rc R} \\
\text{d-cá-rç} & \text{RD'RI} & \text{"so that he goes"} & \text{-rc R} \\
\text{d-cá-nda} & \text{RD'RI} & \text{"may he go"} & \text{-nda R} \\
\text{d-c(a)-aat} & \text{RD'RII} & \text{"let him go"} & \text{-aat RII} \\
\text{d-c(a)-aanša} & \text{RD'RII} & \text{"until his going"} & \text{-aanša RII} \\
\text{d-cá-ztg} & \text{RD'RII} & \text{"if he went"} & \text{-ztg RII} \\
\end{array}
\]

53
d-cá-zaayt  RD'RIII "supposing he went"  -zaayt  RIII
d-cá-yé'tay  RD'RIII "since he went"  -yé'tay  RIII
d-ca-cópx'a3a  RDD'RRII "each time when going"  -cópx'a3a  DRII

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

d-ca-wá-ma  RDD'R "is he going?"  -wa  D

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

d-tó-a-w-p'  RD'R? "he is sitting"
dó-c'w-a-w-p'  R'RR? "he is sleeping"

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

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

2) The suffix -yt' can have the variant -t' under certain phonological conditions, see sect. 6.2.1.

3) For d-cá-rc, d-cá-rt' one finds d-ca-racó, d-ca-rafó; besides the first of these also d-ca-razá/ d-cá-r a-zó lit. "if (he) going its-for"; the second undoubtedly goes back to *d-cá-r a-tóólit. "if (he) going its-about". The forms -racó, rafó must be accorded the status DD. After a sequence D'R these retain their final a (see sect. 6)


5.2.1.2 Modal suffixes: -c'w-a- "too, excessively"; -k'a-"plural"; -x- "again";
5.2.1.3 Stem-extensions: -la- "introvert"; -aa- "extrovert":

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

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

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

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-D</td>
<td></td>
<td>-R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D-</td>
<td>R-</td>
<td>D-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-cá-da</td>
<td>s-cá-ma</td>
<td></td>
<td>yó-pa-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D' R</td>
<td>R D' R</td>
<td></td>
<td>D' R R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| "who went?"| "did I go?"|        | "who jumped?"| "did I jump?"
<p>| y-Ká-pa-da| s-Ká-pa-ma| yó-qa-la-da| s-qa-la-ma\textsuperscript{1}|
| D D' R R| R D' R R| D' R R R| R R R R' R |
| &quot;who jumped?&quot;| &quot;did I jump?&quot;| &quot;who became X?&quot;| &quot;did I become X?&quot; |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yə-gəžə-da</th>
<th>s-gəžə-ma</th>
<th>D' R I R</th>
<th>RR I' R</th>
<th>&quot;who turned?&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;did I turn?&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yā-ažə-da</td>
<td>s-ažə-ma</td>
<td>D'RI R</td>
<td>RR I' R</td>
<td>&quot;who grew old?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did I grow old?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yā-ašə-da</td>
<td>s-ašə-ma</td>
<td>D'R I R</td>
<td>RR I' R</td>
<td>&quot;who lazed around?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did I laze around?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yə-šə-ta-la-da</td>
<td>sə-šə-la-ma</td>
<td>D' R I R R</td>
<td>RR I' R R R</td>
<td>&quot;who went to the ground?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did I go to the ground?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wə-p(a)</th>
<th>&quot;jump!&quot;</th>
<th>w-qə-lá</th>
<th>&quot;become X!&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R' R</td>
<td></td>
<td>RR R'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sə-pə-ma</th>
<th>&quot;did I jump?&quot;</th>
<th>s-qə-lá-ma</th>
<th>&quot;did I become X?&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R' R R</td>
<td></td>
<td>RR R' R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sə-pə-xa-ma</th>
<th>&quot;will I jump?&quot;</th>
<th>s-qə-lá-xa-ma</th>
<th>&quot;will I become X again?&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R' R R R</td>
<td></td>
<td>RR R' R R R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

só-pa-wa-ma "do I jump?" s-qá-la-wá-ma "do I become
R' R D R (A) R R R D' R (C) X?"

só-pa-x-wa-ma "do I jump again?" s-qá-lá-x-wa-ma "do I become
R' R D R (B) R R R' R D R (D). X again?"

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-D-</th>
<th>-R-</th>
<th>-D-</th>
<th>-R-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-D-</td>
<td>-R-</td>
<td>-D-</td>
<td>-R-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-a-bá-da</td>
<td>yô-z-ba-da</td>
<td>y-á-fa-da</td>
<td>yô-s-fa-da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D D' R</td>
<td>D' R D R</td>
<td>D D'R R</td>
<td>D' R R R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| "whom did it | "whom did it | "whom did it | "whom did I
see?" | see?" | eat?" | eat?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-D-</th>
<th>-R-</th>
<th>-D-</th>
<th>-R-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y-ka-na-cá-ma</td>
<td>y-ô-t-ná-x-ma</td>
<td>y-ô-s-s-x-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R D D' R</td>
<td>R D' R D R</td>
<td>R D D' R R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| "did it drive | "did it take it | "did I take it
it down?" | out of it?" | out of it?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-D-</th>
<th>-R-</th>
<th>-D-</th>
<th>-R-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d-a-bá-ma</td>
<td>d-a-z-bá-ma</td>
<td>d-á-fa-ma</td>
<td>dô-s-fa-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R D' R R</td>
<td>R R' D R</td>
<td>R' D'R R</td>
<td>R R' R R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| "did it see | "did I see | "did I eat
him?" | him?" | him?"

57
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-</th>
<th>y-qa-na-ca-ma</th>
<th>y-qa-s-ca-ma</th>
<th>no exx.</th>
<th>no exx.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;dit it make it X?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did I make it X?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-</th>
<th>y-a-3axo-ma</th>
<th>y-qa-3axo-ma</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;did it sew it?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did I sew it?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-</th>
<th>y-a-as&quot;a-ma</th>
<th>y-s-as&quot;a-ma</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;did it weed it?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did I weed it?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-</th>
<th>d-aa3a-ma</th>
<th>d-s-aa3a-ma</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;did it bring him up?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did I bring him up?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I-</th>
<th>y-š-ta-na-ca-ma</th>
<th>y-š-ta-s-ca-ma</th>
<th>y-š-t-ña-x-ma</th>
<th>y-š-ta-s-x-ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;did it put it on the ground?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did I put it on the ground?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did it take it from the ground?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did I take it from the ground?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**y-s-fá-ma**  "did I eat it?"

R RR R' R

**y-s-fá-ša-ma**  "will I eat it?"

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

yó-f(a) "eat it!" cf. wó-p(a) "jump!"
R' R

yó-fa-nø "having eaten it" dó-pa-nø "he having jumped"
R' R D

We see that in the absence of an agent-prefix the subject-prefix is stressed, as is the case in forms with an itr. root R, see sect 5.2.2.1. 5.2.2.3 Object-prefixes. With a personal subject-prefix and a root R (e.g. -x‘a- "to help") we have on the one hand d-só-x‘a-ma "did he help me?", d-wó-x‘a-ma "did he help you (sg.m.)?"; on the other hand d-zó-x‘a-da/ do-z-x‘á-da "whom did he help?". From this it follows that s-, w- are D, so are the other personal object-prefixes: b- 2sg.f., y- 3sg.m., l- 3sg.f., a- 3sg.irrat., h- 1pl., s- 2pl., r- 3pl.; the relative object-prefix is R. The object-prefix Ø- 3sg.irrat. requires separate discussion, see sect. 5.2.2.4.

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

(see next page)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>D</strong></th>
<th><strong>R</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>D-</strong></td>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-sə-fy'ū-da</td>
<td>y-sə-x'ə-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D DD' R</td>
<td>D D' R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;who smelled at me?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;who helped me?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D-</strong></td>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yə-s'nā-ta-da</td>
<td>y-sə-l-ta-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D D' R R</td>
<td>D D' R R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;whom did it give to me?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;whom did she give to me?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D-</strong></td>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yə-s'čā-la-da</td>
<td>yə-sō-va-la-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D D R R</td>
<td>D D' R R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;who came to my face?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;who came next to me?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D-</strong></td>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-sə-px'ä-da</td>
<td>y-sə-š'ta-la-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D' R I R</td>
<td>D D' R I R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;who called me?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;who came after me?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>R</strong></th>
<th><strong>R</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d-sə-fy'ū-ma</td>
<td>d-zə-fy'ū-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R D DD' R</td>
<td>R R DD' R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;did he smell at me?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;at whom did he smell?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-sə-x'ə-ma</td>
<td>d-sə-x'ə-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D' R R</td>
<td>R D' R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;did he help me?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did he help me?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-zə-x'ə-da/</td>
<td>də-z-x'ə-da²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R R' R R</td>
<td>R R R' R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;whom did you help?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;whom did you help?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>yə-s-ná-ta-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;did it give it to me?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>yə-z-ná-ta-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;to whom did it give it?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>y-s-o-l-ta-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;did she give it to me?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>y-z-o-l-ta-da/ R R' R R R/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;to whom did she give it?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-</th>
<th>də-s-čá-la-ma</th>
<th>R D D' R R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;did he come to my face?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>də-z-čá-la-da</td>
<td>R R D' R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;to whose face did he come?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>d-s-o-va-la-ma</td>
<td>R D' R R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;did he come next to me?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>d-z-o-va-la-da³</td>
<td>R R R' R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;next to whom did he come?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-</th>
<th>d-s-o-px-a-ma</th>
<th>R D' R I R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;did he call me?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>d-z-o-px-a-da</td>
<td>R R R I' R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;whom did he call?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-</th>
<th>d-s-o-ʃ-ta-la-ma</th>
<th>R D' R I R R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;did he come after me?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-</td>
<td>d-z-o-ʃ-tá-la-da</td>
<td>R R R I' R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;after whom did he come?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1) The presence of the relative object-prefix excludes that of any D-prefix (rel. subject-prefix, syntactic prefix).
2) də-z-xʷá-da shows the same stress-pattern as d-ạ-a-lá-ma (see 5.2.2.1) or yə-s-fá-ma (see 5.2.2.2); d-z-o-xʷ-a-da has a pattern with always stressed object-prefix. The same goes for y-z-o-l-tá-da/ y-z-o-l-ta-da.
3) In forms where the combination of z+preverb R is followed by a D-element, this element is regularly stressed, e.g.

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

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

If, however, the combination is followed by an R-element, then the stress
is fixed on the preverb, even if there is a D-element further to the right:

\[ \text{yə-z-və-s-x-da} \quad \text{"from next to whom did I take it?"} \]
\[ R \quad R \quad R' \quad R \quad R \]

\[ \text{yə-z-vā-s-cā-da} \quad \text{"next to whom did I put it?"} \]
\[ R \quad R \quad R' \quad R \quad D \quad R \]

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

\[ \text{d-Ø-ča-la-ma} \quad \text{d-ča-la-lā-ma} \]
\[ R \quad D' \quad R \quad R \quad R \quad R' \quad R \]

"did he go under ča it Ø-?"  "did he become X", lit. "did he come into existence?"

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

Note that C(ə)+Ø merges into C5, we write C-Ø- for morphological reasons. There is a difference between, on the one hand, forms like dō-pa-wa-ma R'DRD. "does he jump?" with an irregular stress on the subject-prefix (see 5.2.2.1) and no object-prefix and, on the other hand, d-Ø-r-wa-ma RD'RDR "does he cross r it Ø-?", besides which we have d-rō-r-wa-ma RD'RDR "does he cross them?!", with an object-prefix.

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

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

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

As to ay-, with the relative subject-prefix y- D and a preverb D we have, e.g., y-āy-ča-ha-da "who collided?", lit. "who fell into e.o.'s face?". In view of the rule stated in sect. 1.1, y-āy- results from either yā+ay or y+āy, and since the y in ay is R (see above), we have either DR or RR. With the 3pl.
Subject-prefix y- R we have y-ay-ča-ha-ma "did they collide?". From this it follows that ay- is RR.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D-D</th>
<th>D-R</th>
<th>R-D</th>
<th>R-R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y-ay-ča-ha-da</td>
<td>y-ay-la-la-da¹</td>
<td>y-ay-ča-ha-ma</td>
<td>y-ay-lá-la-ma²</td>
<td>R RR R' R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'RR D R R</td>
<td>&quot;who collided?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;who went among e.o.?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did they collide?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did they go among e.o.?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-ay-šťa-la-da</td>
<td>y-ay-šťa-la-da</td>
<td>y-ay-šťa-la-ma</td>
<td>R RR R I' R R</td>
<td>&quot;did they come after e.o.?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'RR R I R R</td>
<td>&quot;who came after e.o.?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-ay-ba-ha-da</td>
<td>y-ay-ba-fa-da</td>
<td>y-ay-ba-bá-ma</td>
<td>y-ay-bá-fa-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'RR D D R</td>
<td>&quot;who saw e.o.?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;who ate e.o.?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did they see e.o.?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did they eat e.o.?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-Ø-tá-y-ba-ča-ма</td>
<td>y-Ø-tá-y-ba-x-ma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R D' R R D R</td>
<td>&quot;did they put e.o. into it?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did they take e.o. out of it?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1) A preverb C(ə) retains an "irrational" ə in this form, cf. y-ay-da-la-da "who went next to e.o.?". For this ə see 6.1.1.
2) As is the case with the combination z+preverb (see 5.2.2.3), the stress is fixed on the preverb if the preverb is followed immediately by an R-element:

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

y-ay-la-tša-ma "did they sit down among e.o.?"
R RR R' R R

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

y-ay-la-s-ca-ma  "did I put them among e.o."
R RR R'  R  D  R

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

s-če-s-ş-e-ma  "did I kill myself?"
D  D'  R  D  R

a-če-a-ş-e-ma  "did it kill itself?"
D  D  D  D'  R

z-če-z-ş-e-da  "who killed himself?"
R  D'  R  D  R

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D-D</th>
<th>D-R</th>
<th>R-D</th>
<th>R-R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yş-m-ca-da</td>
<td>y-ş-m-pa-da¹</td>
<td>s-ş-m-cá-y</td>
<td>s-ş-m-pa-y²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'  R  D  R</td>
<td>D'  R  R  R</td>
<td>R  R  D  R</td>
<td>R  R  R  R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;who didn’t go?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;who didn’t jump?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;didn’t I go?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;didn’t I jump?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d-á-m-ba-y</th>
<th>d-á-m-fa-y</th>
<th>d-şo-m-bá-y</th>
<th>d-şo-m-fá-y²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R  D' R  D  R</td>
<td>R  D' R  R  R</td>
<td>R  R  D' R  R</td>
<td>R  R  R' R  R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;didn’t it see him?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;didn’t it eat him?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;didn’t I see him?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;didn’t I eat him?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d-só-m-fy'ə-y</th>
<th>d-o-s-mō-x'α-y</th>
<th>d-zə-m-fy'ə-da</th>
<th>d-ə-z-mō-x'α-da/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;didn't he</td>
<td>&quot;at whom</td>
<td>&quot;at whom</td>
<td>&quot;whom didn't</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smell at me?&quot;</td>
<td>didn't help</td>
<td>didn't he</td>
<td>he help?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me?&quot;</td>
<td>smell?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d-Ø-tá-m-xα-y</th>
<th>d-Ø-tá-m-la-y</th>
<th>d-qα-m-čà-k&quot;a</th>
<th>d-qα-m-lα-y²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;didn't he</td>
<td>&quot;didn't he</td>
<td>&quot;not having</td>
<td>&quot;didn't he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remain in it?&quot;</td>
<td>go into it?&quot;</td>
<td>made him X&quot;</td>
<td>become X?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yó-m-g'áž'ə-da</th>
<th>d-o-m-g'áž'ə-y</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;who didn't</td>
<td>&quot;didn't he</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turn?&quot;</td>
<td>turn?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yó-m-az'ə-da</th>
<th>d-m-az'α-y</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;who didn't</td>
<td>&quot;didn't he</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grow old?&quot;</td>
<td>grow old?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yó-m-aaš'α-da</th>
<th>d-m-aaš'α-y</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;who didn't</td>
<td>&quot;didn't he</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laze around?&quot;</td>
<td>laze around?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>y-á-m-3axə-y</th>
<th>y-sə-m-3axə-y</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;didn't it</td>
<td>&quot;didn't I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sew it?&quot;</td>
<td>sew it?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>y-á-m-as'α-y</th>
<th>yə-s-m-as'α-y</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;didn't it</td>
<td>&quot;didn't I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weed it?&quot;</td>
<td>weed it?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes: 1) Note that the exceptions are limited to forms with D-m-R.
2) The cases with R's only show the same stress-pattern as their positive counterparts (see 5.2.2.1-3).

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{d-šō-s-š'-wa} & \text{"how I kill him"} \\
R & D' R D D
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{d-š-a-š'-wā} & \text{"how it kills him"} \\
R & D D D D'
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{d-zō-s-š'-wa} & \text{"why I kill him"} \\
R & D' R D D
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{d-z-a-š'-wā} & \text{"why it kills him"} \\
R & D D D D'
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{s-č-anō-s-š'-wa} & \text{"when I kill myself"} \\
D & D D D' R D D
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{a-č-an-a-š'-wā} & \text{"when it kills itself"} \\
D & D D D D D'
\end{array}
\]
s-č-ax'-á-s-š’-wa  "where I kill myself"
D D DD' R D D

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

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

d-š-ca-wa  "how he goes"  d-š-pá-ca-wa  "how does he go?"
R D D D' R D bā D D

d-an-ca-wā  "when he goes"  d-an-bá-ca-wa  "when does he go?"
R DD D D' R DD bā D D

d-ax'-ca-wā  "where he goes"  d-a-bá-ca-wa  "where does he go?"
R DD D D' R D bā D D

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D-D</th>
<th>D-R</th>
<th>R-D</th>
<th>R-R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d-anš-na-3α</td>
<td>d-an-ná-pa</td>
<td>d-na-š-š-a-ma</td>
<td>d-ná-pa-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R DD' R D</td>
<td>R DD R' R</td>
<td>R R D R' R</td>
<td>R R' R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when he reached (thither)&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;when he jumped (thither)&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did he reach (thither)?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;did he jump (thither)?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y-anó-na-na-q'á</td>
<td>y-anó-na-s-q'á</td>
<td>y-na-na-q'á-ma</td>
<td>y-na-s-q'á-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R DD' R D D</td>
<td>R DD' R D D</td>
<td>R R D D' R</td>
<td>R R R'D' R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when it waved</td>
<td>&quot;when I waved</td>
<td>&quot;did it wave</td>
<td>&quot;did I wave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it (thither)&quot;</td>
<td>it (thither)&quot;</td>
<td>it (thither)?&quot;</td>
<td>it (thither)?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d-anó-n-ka-pa</th>
<th>d-anó-qá-la</th>
<th>d-o-n-ká-pa-ma</th>
<th>d-nó-qá-la-ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R DD' R D R</td>
<td>R DD R' R R</td>
<td>R R D' R R</td>
<td>R R' R R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when he jumped</td>
<td>&quot;when he became</td>
<td>&quot;did he jump</td>
<td>&quot;did he become</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(thither)&quot;</td>
<td>X (thither)&quot;</td>
<td>(thither)?&quot;</td>
<td>X (thither)?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>y-anó-n-ka-s-cá</th>
<th>d-anó-qá-s-cá</th>
<th>y-o-n-ká-s-cá-ma</th>
<th>d-nó-qá-s-cá-ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R DD' R D R D</td>
<td>R DD R' R R D</td>
<td>R R D' R D R</td>
<td>R R' R R R D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when I drove</td>
<td>&quot;when I made</td>
<td>&quot;did I drive</td>
<td>&quot;did I make him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it (thither)&quot;</td>
<td>him X (thither)&quot;</td>
<td>it (thither)?&quot;</td>
<td>X (thither)?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R DD' R D R</td>
<td>R R D' R R</td>
<td>R R' R R R R/</td>
<td>R R R R R R/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when he pulled</td>
<td>&quot;did he pull</td>
<td>&quot;whom did he</td>
<td>&quot;whom did he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me (thither)&quot;</td>
<td>me (thither)?&quot;</td>
<td>help (thither)?&quot;</td>
<td>help (thither)&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R DD' R D R R</td>
<td>R R D' R R R</td>
<td>R R R R R R</td>
<td>R R R R R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when it went un-</td>
<td>&quot;did it go under</td>
<td>&quot;under whom did</td>
<td>&quot;on whose head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>der me (thither)&quot;</td>
<td>me (thither)?&quot;</td>
<td>it go (thither)?&quot;</td>
<td>did it go (thither)?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R DD' R D D R</td>
<td>R R D D' R R</td>
<td>R R D D' R R</td>
<td>R R D D' R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when it went on</td>
<td>&quot;did it go on my</td>
<td>&quot;on whose head</td>
<td>&quot;on whose head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my head (thither)&quot;</td>
<td>head (thither)?&quot;</td>
<td>did it go (thither)?&quot;</td>
<td>did it go (thither)?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

68
d-an-n-á-xa
R DD R'D R R
"when he pulled it (th.)"

y-an-n-á-ča-la
R DD R'D R R
"when it went under it (th.)"

d-anó-n-á-x"a
R DD' R DD R R
"when he sipped it (th.)"

y-anó-n-á-xa-la
R DD' R DD R R
"when it went on its head (th.)"

d-an-nó-∅-r
R DD R'D R R
"when he crossed it (th.)"

y-anó-n-∅-ča-la
R DD R'D R R R
"when it went under it (th.)"

y-anó-n-∅-ta-la
R DD' R DD R R
"when it went into it (th.)"

---

d-ná-xa-ma
R R'D R R R
"did he pull it (th.)?"

y-ná-ča-la-ma
R R'D R R R R
"did it go under it (th.)?"

d-n-a-x"ā-ma
R R D D' R
"did he sip it (th.)?"

y-n-a-xâ-la-ma
R R D D' R R
"did it go on its head (th.)?"

d-nā-∅-r-ma
R R' D R R
"did he cross it (th.)?"

y-nó-∅-ča-la-ma
R R' D R R R
"did it go under it (th.)?"

d attackers-∅-ta-la-ma
R R D D' R R
"did it go into it (th.)?"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>y-anô-n-ay-la-la</th>
<th>y-n-ay-lá-la-ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R DD' R RR R R</td>
<td>R R RR R' R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when they went</td>
<td>&quot;did they go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| among e.o. (th.)"| among e.o. (th.)?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d-anô-na-č'č'a</th>
<th>d-na-č'č'-á-ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R DD' R R I</td>
<td>R R I' R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when he laugh-</td>
<td>&quot;did he laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ed (th.)&quot;</td>
<td>(th.)?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>d-an-nô-š'ta-la</th>
<th>d-nô-š'ta-la-ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R DD R' R I R</td>
<td>R R' R I R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;when he went to</td>
<td>&quot;did he go to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| the ground (th.)"| the ground (th.)?"

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

5.2.2.10 Causatives. The causative element r- takes the stress-status of the (first element of the) root¹ (in stress-notation we write r for the causative element):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-t'wa-rá</th>
<th>a-r-t'wa-rá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;to sit down&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to seat&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D D'</td>
<td>D r D D'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>á-c'wa-ra</th>
<th>á-r-c'wa-ra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;to fall asleep&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to cause to sleep&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D'R D</td>
<td>D'r R D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-h'wa-za-rá</th>
<th>a-r-h'wa-za-rá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;to crawl&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to cause to crawl&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D D D'</td>
<td>D r D D D'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-gôla-ra</th>
<th>a-r-gôla-ra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;to stand up&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to cause to stand up&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D D'R D</td>
<td>D r D'R D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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á-gáž-ra "to turn"  
D'R I D  
á-r-gáž-ra "to cause to turn"  
D'r R I D

a-ta-t'wa-rá "to sit down into"  
D D D D'  
a-ta-r-t'wa-rá "to seat into"  
D D r D D'

a-ká-pa-ra "to jump down"  
D D' R D  
a-ká-r-pa-ra "to cause to jump down"  
D D' r R D

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

dó-r-c'wa-no "having caused him to sleep"  
D' r R D

dó-r-gáž'-no "having caused him to turn"  
D' r R I D

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

da-š'ta-r-t'wa-nó "having seated him on the ground"  
R R I r D D'

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

d-só-r-c'wa-ma "did I cause him to sleep?"  
D D' r R R

d-só-r-gáž'-o-ma "did I cause him to turn?"  
D D' r R I R
d-∅-ta-sə-r-t'ā-ma "did I seat him into it?"
R D D D r D' R

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

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

də-s-mā-r-c"a-y "didn't I cause him to sleep?"
D D D' r R R

də-s-mā-r-g'āz'ə-y "didn't I cause him to turn?"
D D D' r R I R

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

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

Notes: 1) The only exceptions to this rule are roots RI beginning in a, e.g. âz'-ra ← a-az'-ra D'RID "to grow old", caus. a-r-âz'-ra DD'RID "to make old", where the causative prefix is D.
5.2.2.10.1 The root -∅'- R 1) "to throw", 2) "to admit", found only in combination with preverbs, has the same effect as causative verbs on the stress-status of agent-prefixes and negative prefix (this is the only case where the symbol D is used in forms without causative r-):

y-∅-ta-sō-∅'-ma "did I throw it into it?"
R D D D' R R

y-∅-ta-s-mō-∅'-ə-y "didn't I throw it into it?"
R D D D D' R R
6. PHONEMIC PHENOMENA CONNECTED WITH THE STRESS-STATUS OF THE ELEMENTS INVOLVED.

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

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

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

Exx. with nouns:

a-pĥ-əs-ka-yəa "honest k̂ya woman pĥəs"
D D/DD R D R

a-k̂-ac-xə-ga "meat-mincer" (k̂ac "meat", xə "to mince", -ga see 4.2)
D D R DD R

á-bax-ə-qapš̄ "red qapš̄ rock bax-ə"
D'R I R II

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

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

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

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

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

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

d-gola-g"oš'a-ma "did he go and stand, alas?"
R D'R D R R

d-an-bá-Ø-Koła-gola-g"oš'a "when did he go and stand into it, alas?"
R DD bá D D R D R D R

In object-prefix+preverb:

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

In preverb+root:

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

In root+extension:

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

In root+tense-suffix:

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

In root+syntactic suffix:

y-Ø-tá-s-Ko-ma "did I hold it in it?"
R D D' R D R R
In tense-suffix+syntactic suffix:

\[ y\,\emptyset\,\text{-tā-s-}K\text{-rō-}mā \quad "\text{will I hold it in it?}" \]

D'D R D D R

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

Exx. with nouns:

\[ ŋ\,-z\,\emptyset\,\emptyset\,\text{\,"beef", lit. "cow z\,\emptyset\, meat ŋ\,\emptyset\,"} \]

D'R D

\[ ŋ\,-x\,\text{\,"small x\,\emptyset\, chestnut x\,\"} \]

D'R D D

Exx. with verbs:

\[ y\,-\emptyset\,\text{-tā-s-}Kō \quad "\text{when I held it into it}" \]

R DD D' R D

\[ d\,-\emptyset\,Kō\,\text{-lā-}pō \quad "\text{when I looked into it}" \]

R DD D'R DD

In the above forms, the final \(ō\) is easily omitted. Tendencies:

(a) in nominal forms \(ō\) is mostly pronounced, but can be omitted.
(b) in verbal forms the only D-elements \(ō\) that can occur in Auslaut are root-elements, the gerund-suffix -n and \(ō\) in -nac \(ō\) "as long as". In root-elements, \(ō\) is usually omitted, in -n and -nac' it is usually present.

6.2.1 The declarative suffix -yt RI (see 5.2.1.1), when following an (unstressed) recessive element C(ō), has a truncated variant -t'I. Exx.:

\[ d\,-\emptyset\,\text{-tō-}cō\,-y\,t'I / d\,-\emptyset\,\text{-tō-}c'-t'I \quad "\text{he went out of it}" \]

R D D'R RI R D D'R I

\[ y\,-\emptyset\,\text{-tō-s-}xō\,-y\,t'I / y\,-\emptyset\,\text{-tō-s-}x\,-t'I \quad "\text{I took it out of it}" \]

R D D' RR RI R D D' R RI

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d-čá-xo-yr}{}^\prime / \text{d-čá-x-t}{}^\prime & \quad \text{"he went again -x (see 5.2.1.2)"} \\
\text{R D R R I} & \quad \text{R D R I}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d-ø-tá-la-yr}{}^\prime / \text{d-ø-tá-1-t}{}^\prime & \quad \text{"he went into it"} \\
\text{R D D' R R I} & \quad \text{R D D' R I}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d-gol-yr}{}^\prime / \text{d-gól-t}{}^\prime & \quad \text{"he went and stood"} \\
\text{R D' R R I} & \quad \text{R D' R I}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{y-á-dø-s-Kø-la-yr}{}^\prime / \text{y-á-dø-s-Kø-1-t}{}^\prime & \quad \text{"I held it next to it"} \\
\text{R D'R R D R R I} & \quad \text{R D'R R D R I}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d-čá-š-t}{}^\prime & \quad \text{(only possibility)} \quad \text{"he will go"} \\
\text{R D' R I} & \quad \text{R D' R I}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w-ø-tá-1} & \quad \text{"go into it!"} \\
\text{R D D' R} & \quad \text{cf. a-tá-la-ra} \\
\text{w-gól} & \quad \text{"go and stand!"} \\
\text{R D'R} & \quad \text{a-gól-1-ra} \\
\text{y-á-d-Kø-1} & \quad \text{"hold it next to it!"} \\
\text{R D'R D R} & \quad \text{á-d-Kø-la-ra} \\
\text{wó-p} & \quad \text{"jump!"} \\
\text{R' R} & \quad \text{á-pa-ra}
\end{align*}
\]
yô-f "cat it!"
R' R

w-sô-hw "ask me!"
R D'R

y-sô-t "give it to me!"
R D'R

dô-r-cw "cause him to sleep!"
D' r R

The a of Ca D is never dropped, e.g. y-â-kw-ça RD'RD "put it on it!" (vs. w-â-kw-a-1 RD'RR "go onto it!").

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

6.3 In the numerous class of preverbs opposing forms Ca- "introvert" to forms C(a)- "extrovert" (see 1 2.2), the a in Ca is not considered a separate morpheme. The reason is that Ca plays the role of a single element with regard to the stress: Ca- and the corresponding C(a)- always have one and the same stress-status. The same goes, mutatis mutandis, for preverbs C(a)Ca- besides C(a)C(a)-.

7 STRESS-RELATED GRAMMATICAL PHENOMENA.

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

Hewitt 1979:230 concluded that the static verb -tax- DD "to want" yô-s-taxô-w-p' "I want it" is (pseudo-)transitive because its reciprocal form is y-ay-ba-taxô-w-p' (and not *y-ay-taxô-w-p') "they want e.o.". This conclusion, which contradicts all the existing literature on Abkhaz5, can be supported by the stress-status of the prefix, e.g., y-âné-s-taxê-w RDD'RDDR "when I want it": s-, being recessive, is clearly an agent-prefix.

7.2 In some transitive verbs the subject-place may be occupied by a combination of possessive prefix plus â- D "self" (see 5.2.2.6), e.g.,
do-s-s-wá-ya't RRDD'RI "I kill him", s-có-s-s-wá-ya't DD'DDDRI "I kill myself". Reflexivity can also be expressed with the noun s-xó, w-xó "my, your head/self" etc., e.g., do-z-ba-wá-ya't RRDD'RI "I see him", s-xó z-ba-wá-ya't DD'DDDRI "I see myself". The status of s-có as part of the verb and of s-xó as a separate word is correlated with a difference in the distribution of the stress: note the different accentuation in s-có-s-s-wá-ya't vs. s-xó z-ba-wá-ya't.

7.3 Besides á-fa-ra DD'DR "to eat", yo-s-fa-wá-ya't RRRDR'RI "I eat it", Šanašia 1954 lists a verb a-Kró-fa-ra DD'DDRD "to eat (in general)", Kró-s-fa-wá-ya't DD'RDRR'RI "I eat". Other forms are Kr-á-fa-wá-ya't DD'DDRRI "it eats", Kró-f D'D'R "eat!", Kró-fa-no DD'RRI "having eaten". The form Kró-s-fa-wá-ya't suggests that Kró does not occupy the subject-place, but is a separate word: Kró y-fa-wá-ya't, Kr(о) á-fa-wá-ya't, Kr(о) áf, Kr(о) á-fa-no. The infinitive is a-Kró-fa-ra.

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

a-Krótó-z "chicken-meat" cf. a-Krótó DD "chicken"
a-žó D "meat"

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

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

a-bá-ra "dry place" cf. a-bá-rá "to dry"
D D' R

a-yá-s-ra "writing" a-yá-s-rá "to write"
D D' R

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

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

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

PHONOLOGY

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>b, p, p', v, f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>d, t, t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d', t', t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>3, c, c', z, s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3', c', c'', z'', s''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>ʒ, ĉ, ʒ', ʒ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʒ, ĉ, ʒ, ʒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>g', k', γ', x'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g, k, γ, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g', k', γ'', x''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvular</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q', q''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laryngal</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others:</td>
<td>m, n, l, r, y, y'', w.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels:</td>
<td>a, ø.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stress:</td>
<td>' (over a vowel).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks: 1) Adjacent to h we find only a (and never ø); morphophonemically, a sequence ha may represent Ca and Cə, cf. há-la "our eye", h-lá "our dog" (besides só-la "my eye", s-lá "my dog"), where há- clearly takes the place of *há-, and on the other hand a-há "the pear", a-ha-kə́ "the pears", where há represents Ca, as otherwise the plural would have been *a-h-kə́. For ah, cf. da-s-kə́-yə́ "I caught him" vs. da-h-kə́-yə́ "we caught him", where morphopo-
nemically we have đə-h-ķɔ-yt'.

2) The vowel a occurs long: aa, with three possibilities for the stress: aa, āa, aa. Historically, aa is the reflex of *ă, the voiced counterpart of h; aa, āa and aa parallel resp. (a)há, āh(a) and (a)h(a).

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

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

i, u stand for y, w and øy, øw and yo, wo.
Ců (where C is a velar or uvular) stands for C° and C"o.

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

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

2.3 In the absence of ə, a ə is present under the stress. Exx.: a-tá-pa-ra "to jump out of", d-rů-so-yt' "he beat them", a-cg"ó "cat", tóp-k' "a place".

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

yə-∅-tá-s-ķɔ-ma "did I hold it in it?"
R D D' R D R
2.5.1 There remain those instances of ṣ which result from the comparative sonority of resonants, or break up consonant sequences. (We consider stressed ṣ as well as nonautomatic ṣ to limit such sequences, i.e. in CṢC we have two sequences CC which may or may not give rise to ṣ's between them, in CṢCCC we have a final sequence CCC, etc.)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ṣan. 1954</th>
<th>Bgažba 1964</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-ṣ'olatra</td>
<td>a-ṣ'olatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-ḍ'ac'ôra</td>
<td>a-ḍ'ac'ôra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á-ṣy</td>
<td>a-ṣy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-rpha</td>
<td>a-rpha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-ṣmáh'a</td>
<td>a-ṣmáh'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á-lt'oz'ya'a</td>
<td>a-lt'oz'ya'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á-x'má3y</td>
<td>a-x'má3y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-Kôlrêm'h'ara</td>
<td>a-Kôlrêm'h'ara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

A resonant not bordering on a vowel will always have a ṣ adjacent to it or be pronounced syllabic: ≠ RĆ=[RC], CR≠=[ÇR/ÇR], CRC=[ÇRÇ] except that CRR≠=[ÇRÇR]. Exx.: mṭak [mṭak] "a present", ázhôn [aţzhôn, aţn] "the winter", abônh'á [abonh'á] "the wild pig", aţnoy [aţnîy] "and the winter".
Elsewhere, œ tends to remain absent from two-consonant sequences, e.g., acgʷo "the cat", ázna "full", ámta "the present", ámla "the hunger", ámarya "easy". In three-consonant sequences œ, if it appears, will be found between the first and second consonant, e.g., acográfkʷá "the cats", agʷ-abaqčʷá "the chest", agʷogʷsʷg "the beast"; but often in comparable sequences no œ is written, e.g., apšcʷá "the corpses". In four-consonant sequences œ may appear between the first and second or the second and third consonant, e.g., apšsʷtrókʷ "(kind of) porridge", dopšxʷáytʷ "he has died", ábyačʷra "to scratch", axbókřá "to deviate"; but again, one finds without œ apšthʷa "the cloud", áxʷšʷćba "the hawk" (examples from Jánašia 1954).

The word-end counts as a consonant, e.g., ábać "the tongue", ámōg "the thorn" (besides abz, amy); no œ in apšs "the maize", aqʷšənš "the reedstem", art "these". With three consonants in final position we have on the one hand, e.g., dotómozt 'he was not in it', álaxʷosʷsʷ "unfortunate", and on the other hand, e.g., yotámčoz "which had not been in it", yosócmaz "which was not with me"; no œ in apxt "mangy".

Voiced consonants sooner give rise to œ than voiceless ones, cf., e.g., d(ə)cáytʾ "he went" vs. scáytʾ "I went", áb(ə)z "the tongue" vs. apš "the maize", cf. also, among the examples above, acográfkʷá, agʷ-abaqčʷá but apšcʷá. Especially voiced fricatives come close to the resonants in their behaviour, cf. yotámčoz above parallel to RCRʰ, yasócmaz CRRʰ, dotómozt RRCʰ.

3. PRONUNCIATION OF œ, œ
3.1 Pronunciation of /Cay, Caw/.
3.1.1 /Cay, Caw/ are [Cay, Caw] if y, w are stressed, i.e. Cay(á), Caw(á):
   tawád-kʷ "a prince", y-avó-w-pʰ "it is long", a-çáwólə "deep", náwór-kʷ "a ghost", d-ə-ťa-yá-ma "did he lie down in it?'", y-ə-ta-wó-ʔə-yəʔ "you threw it into it", y-ə-ta-yó-ʔə-yəʔ "he threw it into it".
3.1.2 /Cay, Caw/ are [Cey, Caw] if Ca is stressed, i.e. Cay(a), Caw(a):
   a-báya "rich", y-ə-tá-w "which is in it", s-cá-yəʷ "I went", d-ná-y-aanʔa "until he comes", y-ə-tá-w-ča-yəʔ "you put it into it", y-ə-tá-y-ča-yəʔ "he put it into it".
3.1.3 If y, w belong to an element D in a second sequence DR (see II 6.1.1) i.e. with "secondary stress" Cay(á), Caw(á), we have [Cay, Caw]:
   á-tawád 'the prince', á-náwör "the ghost", d-əsə-və-yá-ma "did he lie down next to me?'", y-əsə-və-wó-ʔə-yəʔ "you threw it next to me", y-əsə-və-yó-ʔə-yəʔ "he threw it next to me".
3.1.4 If Ca carries secondary stress, i.e. in the cases Cay(a), Caw(a), we
have [Cey, Cow]:

a-phəsō-bāya "the rich woman", d-sō-c-nà-y-aanā "until he comes with me", y-an-bā-ō-tā-w-ća "when did you put it into it?", y-an-bā-ō-tā-y-ća "when did he put it into it?".

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

yō-ća-w "which exists", dō-ća-w-p fr "he exists", dō-pa-yć "he jumped".

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

y-na-w-a-na-ḥa-yć "it told it to you", y-na-y-a-na-ḥa-yć "it told it to him", y-ō-ta-wa-r-ćō-yć "you blew it into it", y-ō-ta-yō-r-ćō-yć "he blew it into it"

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

hā-yaš "our squirrel", hā-wa "our kin", d-kā-ha-yć "he fell", y-ha-w-p Fr "it is a pear", y-baā-yć "it rotted", y-cāa-w-p Fr "it is ice"

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


One also hears [dō-coć, dō-pōć], i.e. /d-ca-wa-t’, dō-pa-wa-t/, cf. the alternatives -yć, -ć in d-ō-tō-co-yć, d-ō-tō-ć-yć (see II 6.2.1)

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

d-kā-ha-wa-m "he does not fall", y-baā-wā-m "it does not rot", d-kā-ha-wa-yć "he falls", y-baā-wā-yć "it rots".

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

ā-γ-rā "to be born", ā-w-rā "to do", a-ya-rā "to lie down", a-yā "burden", ā-wa "kin".

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

a-wasā "sheep", a-wayśō "man", a-yōsā "cock's comb", a-wōs "case", a-yāsā "truth", a-wāpā "felt cloak", ā-whyś "behind", ā-yaś "squirrel".
Exx. of aY(a):
ğyө ← ł-ay- "each other", ąw ← ł-aw "long".
Exx. of aY(a)C(a):
ğyx̀a ← ł-ayxa "iron", ąyba ← ł-ayba "orphan".

3.3 Pronunciation of /ya, wa/.

3.3.1 Under stress we have [ya, wa], e.g.:
y-ąb, w-ąb "his, your (m.) father", a-yąsa "truth", a-wąpa "felt cloak".

3.3.2 Unstressed we have [yɛ, wɛ], e.g.:
a-ya-rą "to lie down", a-walór "barrel", yacak "yesterday", waz-ę "now", ą-yah-ąa "wine-press", ą-wadayw "difficult".

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

3.3.3 The sequence ...Ya... is pronounced [Yah] if a is stressed, also in ...YaC, otherwise [yɛh, woh] (i.e. if a is unstressed and h is followed by V), e.g. wàha [a] "more, else", ya-h-kę-ỳt [a] "we caught it", yahà [ɛ] "more (comparative)".

3.4 Pronunciation of CəY.

3.4.1 /CəyV", "CəywV/ are pronounced [ɔy, w], [ɔ] slightly coloured by following resonant: sɔyęsa "my truth", sɔwąpa "my felt cloak". Between resonants, [ɔ] is coloured by the first one: wu-yęsa, yi-wąpa.

3.4.2 In the cases CŞY, CəyC ęy, ęw are pronounced [iy, uw]. Exx.:
a-3ę-ł "and the water", wóy "this", a-dów "big", y-twów-p "it is full", só-wa "my kin", yó-wa "his kin", só-ya "my star", wóy-acawa "your star", a-bóya "good", a-kówa "turtoise", ą-3ę-ł "and the flea", y-ą-twów-p "it is on it", wo-ł-bó-łt "he saw you", yo-w-bó-łt "you saw him", a-lów "millstone", a-şómęy "sort of millet".

4 Merging.

4.1 In general, 2 adjacent y's or w's do not merge:
y-ąśrx "his wheat", y-yąrtta "his bed", yś-yaś "his squirrel", y-ųś-łl "they were born", y-ųś-łt "they lay down", w-wóś "your work", w-wąpa "your felt cloak", wó-wa "your kin", yo-wów-łt "you did it", w-wątŁ-łt "you ironed", a łwów-rą "to howl", y-łóww-p "it is big", y-üstüw-p "it is long".

4.2 However, 2 y's merge if (1) the first y- is the subject-prefix (whether personal "it", "they" or relative 'which') and the second y- is the object- or agent-prefix and (2) the first y- is not stressed. These conditions are fulfilled in the following cases:
(y-)y-bo-łt "he saw it, them" (but yś-y-ba-z "which he saw"), (y-)yısı-łt "it, they hit him", (y-)yısı-la-łt "it, they went next to him", (y-)y-ča-la-łt.
"it, they went to his face", (y-)yē-s-ta-yt' "I gave it, them to him".

4.3 The object-prefix y- and the agent-prefix y- do not merge:
   d-yē-y-ta-yt' "he gave him to him", (y-)yē-y-ta-yt' "he gave it, them to him",
   d-ē-y-ē-r-bū-yt' "he showed him to him", (y-ē-)y-ē-r-bū-yt' "he showed it, them to him".

4.4 For d-nā-y-t' — d-nā-ē-yt', see II 6.2.1

4.5 Two w's merge if the first one ends the root and the second one is w in
   -wa Sit./Progr.:
   yē-z-w-(w)ā-yt' "I do it", yē-w-w-(w)ā-yt' "you (sg.m.) do it".

FOOTNOTES: 1) See Allen 1965.

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

3) Occasionally one finds graphic variants with and without ə, where no pho-
netic difference is possible, e.g., afəyʷ-rə/afyʷrə [afūra] "to smell at".
1 INTRODUCTION.

1.1 Abkhaz verb-forms can contain a large number of elements, which occur in a definite order as shown in the ordered list below¹. They fall into a lexical and a grammatical group. The lexical elements fall into stem-elements (St) and ad hoc elements, called markers (Ma); the grammatical elements into pronominal prefixes (Pr), tense-suffixes (Te), clausal affixes (Cl) and the negative affix (Ne). In the list, stem-elements are underlined and markers doubly underlined; where an Abkhaz morpheme is given, it is the only member of its class.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>Subject prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cl</td>
<td>Conjunctival prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cl</td>
<td>Interrogative prefix ba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>Marker-object prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>Prefixed marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>Causee prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>(Indirect or preverbal) object prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>St</td>
<td>Preverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>St</td>
<td>Fused particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>St</td>
<td>Copulative/factivive complement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>Agent prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ne</td>
<td>Negative prefix m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>St</td>
<td>Causative prefix r-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>St</td>
<td>Root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>St</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>Suffix marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Te</td>
<td>Tense A-suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ne</td>
<td>Negative suffix -m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Te</td>
<td>Tense B-suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Cl</td>
<td>Ending</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2 Pronominal prefixes.

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

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

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

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

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

(c) object prefix, indicating the Abkhaz object (corresponding to English indirect or prepositional object). The Abkhaz object prefix may be:
   (ca) indirect-object prefix,
   (cb) preverbal-object prefix (in comb. with a preverb),
   (cc) marker-object prefix (in comb. with a prefixed marker).

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

   Outside the verb, the object prefix may be:
   (cd) postpositional-object prefix (in comb. with a postposition),
   (ce) possessive prefix (in comb. with a noun).

   We will speak of postpositional object and possessor.

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

1.3 Object-rection.

1.3.1 A preverb may or may not be combined with preverbal-object prefixes. In this respect, three types must be distinguished: type A must be combined with an object prefix, type B may be combined with one, type C cannot be combined with an object prefix. Moreover, type A takes prefixes of any person, whereas type B allows only 3sg.irrat., 3pl. and the relative prefix; the 3sg.irrat. object-prefix for type A is a-, for type B Ø-. In the following chart the 1sg. represents all object prefixes other than 3sg.irrat., 3pl. and the relative:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.irr.</td>
<td>a- (Ø-)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>r- (r-)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative</td>
<td>z- (z-)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1.3.2 The prefixed markers fall in two groups, viz. one that must and one that cannot be combined with object prefixes; hence they correspond to type A and C of the preceding section. Two markers allow forms of A as well as C (in transitive resp. intransitive verbs, see sect. 6.2.3).

1.4 Degrees of Cohesion: preverb vs. prefixed marker.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d}^1 \text{-s}^5 \text{a}^7 \text{-x}^8 \text{-s}^9 \text{a}^{14} \text{-y}^t^{20} \\
\text{a} \text{-k}^\text{alap} \text{y}^1 \text{-Ø}^7 \text{-t}^8 \text{-s}^11 \text{-c}^14 \text{-y}^t^{20}
\end{align*}
\]

"he looked pša at xwa me"

"I put çà it into ta the box k-alap"

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d}^1 \text{-s}^4 \text{c}^5 \text{-c}^14 \text{-y}^t^p
\text{y}^8 \text{-l}^4 \text{-ç}^5 \text{-ç}^8 \text{-a}^11 \text{-ç}^14 \text{-y}^t^{20}
\end{align*}
\]

"he left çà together with ç me"

"I did çà-çà it for ç her"

1.4.2 Many roots occur only in complex stems preverb-root, e.g. the root la "go" is found only with the preverbs k" "on", ta "in", çà "under", etc.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{y}^1 \text{-s}^5 \text{-k}^8 \text{-n}^a \text{-c}^11 \text{-c}^14 \text{-y}^t^{20}
\text{y}^1 \text{-s}^4 \text{-ç}^5 \text{-a}^11 \text{-b}^a \text{-c}^14 \text{-y}^t^{20}
\end{align*}
\]

"it put çà it on k" me"

"it saw ba it together with ç me"

1.5 "Linkage".

1.5.1 In the English sentence "the man went into the house", the prepositional phrase "into the house" locates the subject "the man"; in "the man put the book on the table", the phrase "on the table" locates the direct object.
"the book". On the other hand, the sentences "the man slept in the barn", "the man ate an apple in the barn" may be paraphrased as "the man slept and it happened in the barn", "the man ate an apple and it happened in the barn".

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

\[
a-\text{cg}^{\text{a}} - \text{a-x5b} \ y^{1} - \text{of}^{\text{a}} - k^{\text{a}} - z^{11} - b(a)^{14} - a^\text{a}^{15} - y^{\text{t}}^{20} \nnu
\text{cf. a-x5b} \ a-\text{cs} \ a-\text{cg}^{\text{a}} \ \emptyset^{1} - z^{11} - b^{\text{a}}^{14} - y^{\text{t}}^{20} \nnu
\text{a-mx5} \ a-w8s \ \emptyset^{1} - \text{of}^{\text{a}} - t^{\text{a}}^{8} - z^{11} - w^{\text{a}}^{14} - y^{\text{t}}^{20} \nnu
\text{cf. a-mx5} \ a-\text{cs} \ a-w8s \ \emptyset^{1} - z^{11} - w^{\text{a}}^{14} - y^{\text{t}}^{20} \nnu
\text{a-\text{ss}} \ d^{1} - \text{of}^{\text{a}} - 3\text{aa}^{8} - \text{psa}^{14} - \text{la}^{15} - y^{\text{t}}^{20} \nnu
\text{a-\text{cs}} \ d^{1} - \text{of}^{\text{a}} - k^{\text{a}}^{8} - t^{\text{a}}^{14} - y^{\text{t}}^{20} \nnu
\text{a-w\text{ada} d}^{\text{a}}^{1} - \text{of}^{\text{a}} - y^{\text{na}}^{8} - \text{la}^{14} - y^{\text{t}}^{20} \nnu
\]

"I saw b(a)-aa the cat cg\text{a} (which was) on k\text{a} the roof x\text{ab}"
"I, being on \text{e} the roof x\text{ab}, saw ba the cat cg\text{a}"
"I did \text{w} work \text{a} (i.e. worked) in \text{ta the field m\text{e}a (i.e. cultivated)"
"I, being in \text{e} the field m\text{e}a, did \text{w} work \text{a} (i.e. worked)"
"he died psa-la in 3aa the water 3a (i.e. he drowned)"
"he sat t\text{a} on k\text{a} the horse \text{e}"
"he went la into y\text{na} the room \text{wada}"

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

\[
a-\text{cg}^{\text{a}} \ \emptyset^{1} - \text{sa}^{\text{a}} - t^{\text{a}}^{8} - s^{11} - c^{\text{a}}^{14} - y^{\text{t}}^{20} \nnu
\text{a-way}^{\text{a}} \ d^{1} - \text{na}^{8} - s^{11} - \text{sa}^{14} - y^{\text{t}}^{20} \nnu
\]

"I put \text{ca the cat cg\text{a} on the ground \text{sa} ta"
"I sent \text{sa} ta the man way\text{e} thither na"

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

\[
a-\text{z}^{\text{a}} \ a-\text{h\text{w}azba} \ y^{1} - a^{4} - l^{a} - 5 - s^{11} - \text{sa}^{14} - y^{\text{t}}^{20} \nnu
\text{a-\text{ss}1a (a-)aac\text{a}} \ y^{1} - l^{a}^{4} - z^{5} - \text{of}^{7} - t^{\text{a}}^{8} - \nnu
\]

"I killed \text{sa} the cow z\text{a} with l\text{a} the knife h\text{w}azba"
"I put \text{ca the flour \text{sa} into ta}

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{x-s\text{\`a}\text{t-K r\text{\`a}-la a-s\text{"q}\text{\`a} d}^1\text{-}\text{\`a}\text{-}7-}} \\
\text{\textit{p\text{\`a}x-a\text{-}14-yt\text{-}20}} \\
\text{\textit{ar\text{\`a} y a-q\text{\`a}n3} \text{a} d}^1\text{-ca\text{-}14-yt\text{-}20} \\
\text{\textit{lara a-\text{\`a}x\text{-}14-yt\text{-}20}} \\
\text{\textit{sara s-\text{\`a}x\text{-}14-yt\text{-}20}} \\
\text{\textit{a-t\text{\`a}n a-q\text{\`a}n3} \text{a} d}^1\text{-y\text{\`a}n3\text{a} \text{-} 14-yt\text{-}20}
\end{align*}
\]

"he read \textit{px\text{\`a}} the book \textit{s\text{"q}\text{\`a} in laa three x hours saat"}
"because of \textit{q\text{\`a}n3} \text{a} he left \textit{ca}"
"he went \textit{ca to ax\text{-}14 her lara}"
"he came \text{a}a\text{-}y to \text{\`a}x\text{-}14 me sara"
"he reached \text{\`a} to \textit{y\text{\`a}n3a the ceiling twan}"

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{y}^1\text{-na}\text{-}8-na\text{\`a}11-\text{\`a}14-yt\text{-}20} \\
\text{\textit{vs.} y}^1\text{-na}5-\text{\`a}11-\text{\`a}14-yt\text{-}20 \\
\text{d}^1\text{-aa}8\text{-}na\text{\`a}11-\text{\`a}14-yt\text{-}20 \\
\text{\textit{vs.} d}^1\text{-aa}5-\text{\`a}11-\text{\`a}14-yt\text{-}20 \\
\end{align*}
\]

"it took \textit{ga it thither na}"
"it hid \textit{\text{\`a}xa\text{-}a it thither na}"
"it brought \textit{ga him hither aa}" 
"it made \text{\`a} him laugh \textit{\text{\`a}\text{\`a} a hither a}" 
"I drove \textit{ca it thither na}"
"\text{\textit{he came y hither aa}}"
1.7 In the following sections we treat successively the stems (sect. 2), the
pronominal prefixes (3), the tense-suffixes and clausal affixes (4), the
negative affix (5) and the markers (6). We conclude with a section on
clitics (7).

2 STEMS.
2.1 Introduction.
2.1.1 Stems are (a) plain, (b) causative or (γ) copulative/factitive stems.
2.1.2 Plain stems.
2.1.2.1 Plain stems consist of a root alone (R, slotnumber 14, see 1.1), of a
combination of preverb (P,8)+R, or of a combination of P+R+extension (E,15)
(stems R+E, without P, do not occur), e.g. ba "to see" (R), ta-ca "to put
into" (P+R), ta-ga-la "to bring into" (P+R+E).

In addition, a (small) number of stems consist of a fused particle (F,9)
plus root forming a semantic unit. Such a semantic unit may occur in combina-
tion with a P (and an E): F+R, P+F+R+(E); these stems are dealt with in I 10.
2.1.2.2 On the basis of their combinatory possibilities, to be dealt with in
detail below, the preverbs fall into four classes, called (a) relational, (b)
local, (c) directional and a restgroup, labeled (d) unique. Stem-type P+R+E
(as well as P+F+R+E) occurs only with local preverbs.
2.1.2.3 Stems can be divided into the following categories:
(1) the intransitive vs. transitive category; the latter requires an a-
gent prefix (A, slot-number 11).
(2) the static vs. dynamic category, distinguished by a different tense
system (see sect. 4).
(3) the requirement vs. non-requirement of an object prefix (see 1.3).
2.1.2.4 Survey of the stems (P+R(+E).

(see next pages)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STIM</th>
<th>Dyn.intr.</th>
<th>Dyn.tr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>C d-tʰa-wā-yt</td>
<td>də-z-ba-wā-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;he sits down&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;I see him&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B d-∅s-r-wa-yt</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;he crosses it&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A d-sā-s-wa-yt</td>
<td>yə-∅s-s-ta-wa-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;he beats me&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;I give it to her&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P rel.+R</td>
<td>A y-s-∅y-s-wa-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y-1-∅-s-h-wa-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;it barks at me&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I say it to her&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P loc.+R(+E)</td>
<td>C da-∅ta-tʰa-wā-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yə-∅ta-sā-∅-wa-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;he sits down on the ground&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I throw it to the ground&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B d-∅-ta-tʰa-wā-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y-∅-ta-sā-∅-wa-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;he sits down in it&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I throw it in it&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A d-∅-va-tʰa-wa-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y-∅-va-sə-∅-wa-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;he sits next to it&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I throw it next to it&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P dir.+R</td>
<td>C d-aā-y-wa-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y-aa-z-ga-wā-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;he comes hither&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I bring it hither&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P uniq.+R</td>
<td>C de-pxa-∅a-wā-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y-g∅a-s-ta-wa-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;he is ashamed&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I notice it&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A y∅-s-gʷa-pxa-wā-yt</td>
<td>y∅-1-∅∅∅-z-ga-wa-yt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;it pleases me&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;I blame it on her&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEM</td>
<td>St.intr.</td>
<td>St.tr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| R      | C  \( d\cdot t^\wedge a\cdot w\cdot p' \)  \\
|        | "he is sitting"               | \( ya\cdot s\cdot k\bar{a}\cdot w\cdot p' \)  \\
|        | "I am holding it"             |                            |
|        | B  \(-\)                        | \(-\)                       |
|        | A  \( do\cdot s\cdot \bar{\bar{c}}\cdot w\cdot p' \)  \\
|        | "he is busy with me"          |                            |
|        | \(-\)  \(-\)                    | \(-\)                       |
| P rel.+R | A  \( y\cdot sa\cdot z\cdot t^\wedge a\cdot w\cdot p' \)  \\
|        | "it costs me"                  | \(-\)                       |
|        | \(-\)  \(-\)                    | \(-\)                       |
|        | C  \( do\cdot s\cdot \bar{\bar{c}}\cdot a\cdot t^\wedge a\cdot w\cdot p' \)  \\
|        | "he is sitting on the ground"  | \(-\)                       |
|        | \(-\)  \(-\)                    | \(-\)                       |
| P loc.+R(+E) | B  \( d\cdot \emptyset\cdot ta\cdot t^\wedge a\cdot w\cdot p' \)  \\
|        | "he is sitting in it"          | \(-\)                       |
|        | A  \( d\cdot \bar{\bar{a}}\cdot va\cdot t^\wedge a\cdot w\cdot p' \)  \\
|        | "he is sitting next to it"     | \(-\)                       |
|        | \(-\)  \(-\)                    | \(-\)                       |
| P dir.+R | C  \(-\)                        | \(-\)                       |
|        | \(-\)  \(-\)                    | \(-\)                       |
|        | \(-\)  \(-\)                    | \(-\)                       |
| P uniq.+R | A  \(-\)                        | \(-\)                       |
|        | \(-\)  \(-\)                    | \(-\)                       |
2.1.3 Causative stems and copulative/factitive stems.
2.1.3.1 Causative stems contain the causative prefix r- (slot-number 13).
Cop./fact. stems contain one of the following roots: Ǿ St.intr. "be", zaa Dyn. intr. "be", xa Dyn.intr. "become", ḥ产能. Dyn.tr. "make, turn into", ṣ’a Dyn.tr. "find".
2.1.3.2 Scheme of the possible formations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8)</th>
<th>(9)</th>
<th>(10)</th>
<th>(13)</th>
<th>(14)</th>
<th>(15)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>(F)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>R  (E)</td>
<td>plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>(F)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Ṣ   R  (E)</td>
<td>causative (of plain stem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Ṕ   Nₐ</td>
<td>,   ,</td>
<td>(of adjective)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>(F)</td>
<td>Ṣ(S)(E)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Ǿ, xa</td>
<td>copulative (passive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Ṕ</td>
<td>Ǿ, xa</td>
<td>,   ,</td>
<td>(of noun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(P)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Ṕ</td>
<td>ṣ   ṝ</td>
<td>,   ,</td>
<td>factitive (of substantive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 The plain stem.
2.2.1 Simple stems not requiring an object prefix.
2.2.1.1 Examples:

d-ca-wā-ya’ “he is going” Dyn.intr.
da-z-ba-wā-ya’ “I see him” Dyn.tr.
d-t’a-w-p’ “he is sitting” St.intr.
y-o-s-ko-w-p’ “I am holding it” St.tr.

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

d-t’a-w-p’ “he is sitting”      d-t’a-wā-ya’ “he sits down”
d-gōla-w-p’ “he is standing”   d-gōla-wa-ya’ “he stands up”
d-y’a-w-p’ “he is lying”        d-y’a-wā-ya’ “he lies down”
d-o-c’a-w-p’ “he is sleeping”   d-o-c’a-wa-ya’ “he falls asleep”
da-pś-s-w-p’ “he is dead”       da-pś-wa-ya’ “he dies”
da-pś-s-w-p’ “he is waiting”    da-pś-wā-ya’ “he is waiting”
y-t’a-s-w-p’ “it is full”       y-o-t’a-wa-ya’ “it is filled”
y-tacw-s-w-p’ “it is empty”     y-tacw-wa-ya’ “it gets empty”

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2.2.1.3 The St.tr. stems are the following:

\[ \text{ya-s-} \text{ka-w-p}^2 \quad "I am holding it" \]
\[ \text{ya-s-} \text{tax-w-p}^3 \quad "I want it" \]
\[ \text{ya-s-} \text{taw-w-p}^4 \quad "I own it" \]

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

2.2.1.4 A number of stems occur both as Dyn.intr. and as Dyn.tr. They can be divided into two groups; the largest group comprises stems whose subject in the intr. use is identical with the agent in the tr. use, e.g. \[ \text{s-pa-wā-yt} \] "I knit!", \[ \text{ya-s-pa-wā-yt} \] "I knit it". Besides, there is a small group where the subject in the intr. use is identical with the subject in the tr. use, e.g. \[ \text{y-bal-wā-yt} \] "it burns", \[ \text{ya-z-bal-wā-yt} \] "I burn it".

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

2.2.2 Simple stems requiring an object prefix.

2.2.2.1 Examples:

\[ \text{d-rā-} \text{ra-wa-yt} \quad "he crosses them (viz. waters)" \quad \text{Dyn.intr.} \]
\[ \text{d-Øσ-} \text{ra-wa-yt} \quad "he crosses it" \quad \text{Dyn.intr.} \]
\[ \text{d-sə-xa-wa-yt} \quad "he helps me" \quad \text{Dyn.intr.} \]
\[ \text{y-sə-lta-wa-yt} \quad "she gives it to me" \quad \text{Dyn.tr.} \]
\[ \text{də-s-} \text{ka-w-p} \quad "he is busy with me" \quad \text{St.intr.} \]

2.2.2.2 The stem \[ \text{ra} \] is the only instance of a stem of type B; the element \[ \text{ra} \] is also found as a local preverb, see I 5.105.

2.2.2.3 List of the Dyn.intr. stems:

\[ \text{d-a-pə-wā-yt} \quad "he looks at it" \]
\[ \text{d-sə-pra-wa-yt} \quad "he calls me", also "to read" \]
\[ \text{d-a-fay-wā-yt} \quad "he smells at it" \]
da-s-\textsuperscript{t}aa-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he visits me"
d-\textsuperscript{a}-t-h\textsuperscript{wa}-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he blows at it"
y-s\textsuperscript{3}-cha-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "it bites me"
d-s\textsuperscript{3}-s-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he beats me"
d-s\textsuperscript{5}-\textsuperscript{g}cola-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he gets used to me"
d-a-g\textsuperscript{3}-wā-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he kisses it"
d-s\textsuperscript{5}-g\textsuperscript{w}a-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he pushes me"
d-s\textsuperscript{5}-xa-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he pulls me"
y-s\textsuperscript{5}-x\textsuperscript{w}-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "it hurts, happens to me"
d-s\textsuperscript{5}-x\textsuperscript{a}-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he helps me"
da-x\textsuperscript{a}-wā-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he sips it"
d-s\textsuperscript{5}-h\textsuperscript{a}-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he asks, begs me"
da-s-ya\textsuperscript{a}y-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he overpowers me"

Notes: 1) The stems p\textsuperscript{s}, cha, h\textsuperscript{a} occur also without object prefix; d-a-p\textsuperscript{s}-wā-\textsuperscript{yt}' is used only in the phrase a-\textsuperscript{y}y\textsuperscript{a}s\textsuperscript{ā}d\textsuperscript{a} d-a-p\textsuperscript{s}-wā-\textsuperscript{yt}' "he looks at the shoulder-blade (in fortune-telling)".
2) The stem g\textsuperscript{w} also occurs as Dyn.tr..

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

y-s\textsuperscript{5}-1-ta-wa-\textsuperscript{yt}' "she gives it to me"

2.2.2.5 List of the St.intr. stems:

d-o-s-tā-w-p\textsuperscript{yt}' "he stays with me"
da-s-c\textsuperscript{m}my\textsuperscript{o}-w-p\textsuperscript{yt}' "he is hateful to me"
da-s-\textsuperscript{g}3-w-\textsuperscript{p}' "he is busy with me"
d-s\textsuperscript{5}-\textsuperscript{g}cola-w-p\textsuperscript{yt}' "he is used to me"
y-s\textsuperscript{5}-g\textsuperscript{3}-w-p\textsuperscript{yt}' "I lack it", lit. "it is lacked by me"
d-s\textsuperscript{5}-k\textsuperscript{e}yta-w-p\textsuperscript{yt}' "he is entitled to me"
y-s\textsuperscript{5}-mat\textsuperscript{a}-w-p\textsuperscript{yt}' "it is of help to me"
y-s-\textsuperscript{at}3a-w-p\textsuperscript{yt}' "it suits me"

Notes: 1) Cf. taa in 2.2.2.3.
2) The elements c\textsuperscript{m}my, g also occur as a copulative complement, see 2.3.2.
3) Cf. \textsuperscript{g}cola in 2.2.2.3.
2.2.3 Stems containing a relational preverb.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
d-s-\tilde{a}-c^a\text{a}-p\tilde{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he speaks to me"} \\
y-s-\tilde{a}-\text{h}a-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"she says it to me"} \\
y-s-o-z-\tilde{t}-\tilde{t}-\tilde{a}-\text{w}-\text{p} & \quad \text{"it costs me", lit. "it is sitting for me"}
\end{align*}
\]

Dyn.intr. Dyn.tr. St.intr.

2.2.3.2 List of the relational Dyn.intr. stems:

\[
\begin{align*}
d-s-\tilde{s}-x\tilde{a}-p\tilde{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he looks at me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{s}-x\tilde{a}-\tilde{c}-\tilde{c}-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he smiles at me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{b}a\tilde{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he struggles with me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-b\tilde{a}-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he advises me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{p}\tilde{a}-\text{za}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he leads me"} \\
y-s-\tilde{a}-\text{h}a-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"it falls to my share, I have (time)"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{cl}a\text{b}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he competes with me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-c\tilde{h}a-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he scolds me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-c^a\text{a}-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he speaks to me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\tilde{s}-\text{a}h\tilde{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he beseeches me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{x}\tilde{a}\text{txa}-\tilde{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he whispers to me"} \\
y-s-\tilde{a}-\text{ha}\text{w}a-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"I hear it", lit. "it is audible to me"} \\
y-s-\tilde{a}-\text{w}-\text{(w)}a-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"I get it"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{mak}ar-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he threatens me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{l}a\tilde{c}^a\text{q}a\text{e}-a-\text{wa}-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he winks at me"}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{px}\tilde{a}-\text{h}a-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he dreams of me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{p}\tilde{a}-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he quarrels with me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\tilde{a}-\text{r}\tilde{e}c\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he hunts me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{c}r\tilde{a}-\text{h}a-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he pays court to me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\tilde{a}-\text{h}a-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he looks after me"} \\
y-s-\tilde{a}-\tilde{s}-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"it barks at me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{g}\tilde{a}-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he spares me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{g}\text{a}h\tilde{a}-\text{r}y-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he takes pleasure in me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{a}n\text{a}-\text{a}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he competes with me"} \\
d-s-\tilde{a}-\text{y}\tilde{a}-\text{e}\tilde{c}-wa-\text{y}t' & \quad \text{"he robs me"}
\end{align*}
\]
d-s-āy-xs-wa-yt' "he shoots at me"
d-s-āy-xarx'aw-a-wa-yt' "he bows at me"
d-o-s-zə-pś-wā-yt' "he is waiting for me"
y-sə-z-t'a-wā-yt' "it costs me"
d-o-s-zē-3aʒ'or-ya-wa-yt' "he listens to me"
d-sə-z-ćaa-wā-yt' "he asks me"
d-sə-z-g'əs'-wā-yt' "he yearns for me"
d-sə-z-g'āq'-wa-a-wa-yt' "he needs me"
d-sə-z-g'āa-wa-yt' "he gets angry with me"
y-sə-z-xa-wā-yt' "it is enough for me"
y-sə-z-ha-wā-yt' "I grow"
d-o-s-z-āss-wa-yt' "he complains about me"
y-s-c'ō-3-wa-yt' "I lose it", lit. "it is lost on me"
d-sə-c'-s-a-wa-yt' "he is afraid of me"
d-sə-c'-g'əš-wa-yt' "he gets furious with me"
d-a-c'-āas'aw-a-wa-yt' "he is lazy about (doing s.th.)"

2.2.3.3 List of the relational Dyn.tr. stems:

y-s-ā-1-h'aw-a-wa-yt' "she says it to me"
y-s-āy-1ə-rxa-wa-yt' "she turns it to me"
y-o-s-zō-1ə-cha-wa-yt' "she reports it to me"
y-o-s-zō-1-k'-wa-a-wa-yt' "she intends it for me"
b-o-y-s-zō-s-h'aw-a-wa-yt' "I ask you to marry him"
d-o-s-c'ōs-1ə-x'č'-a-wa-yt' "she protects him against me"
y-o-s-c'ōs-1ə-ga-wa-yt' "she takes it away from me"

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

d-sə-pśō-w-p' "he is waiting for me"
y-sə-z-t'a-w-p' "it costs me"
y-sə-z-xā-w-p' "it is enough for me"
2.2.4 The stems of local reference are treated in I.

2.2.5 Directional stems.

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

\[\begin{align*}
d\text{-}aa\text{-}3a\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"he reaches hither"} \\
y\text{-}na\text{-}s\text{-}ca\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"I drive them (viz. cattle) thither"}
\end{align*}\]

Dyn.intr.  Dyn.tr.

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

\[\begin{align*}
d\text{-}na\text{-}pš\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"he looks thither"} \\
d\text{-}na\text{-}3a\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"he reaches thither"} \\
d\text{-}na\text{-}sk\text{-}a\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"he moves a little thither"} \\
y\text{-}na\text{-}y\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"it (viz. sound) travels thither"} \\
d\text{-}na\text{-}h\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"he turns thither"} \\
d\text{-}nā\text{-}y\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"he goes thither"} \\
d\text{-}nā\text{-}1e\text{-}px\text{-}a\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"she calls him thither"} \\
y\text{-}na\text{-}1\text{-}ca\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"she drives them (viz. cattle) thither"} \\
y\text{-}na\text{-}1\text{-}o\text{-}cha\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"she reports it thither"} \\
d\text{-}na\text{-}1\text{-}ṣ\text{-}t\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"she sends him thither"} \\
d\text{-}na\text{-}1\text{-}ga\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"she takes him thither"} \\
1\text{-}čō\text{-}nā\text{-}1\text{-}xa\text{-}wā\text{-}yt' & \quad \text{"she sets out thither", lit. "she pulls her face thither"}
\end{align*}\]

Notes: 1) The roots y", h", ca, cha are found only with the preverbs aa-
and na-.
2) With the verb s-čō-aa-s-xa-wā-yt' etc., the subject-slot is occupied by a
possessive prefix plus čō "face".

2.2.5.3 The roots of directional stems do not necessarily occur also in sim-
ple or LR-stems; there are four theoretical possibilities, for all of which
instances exist:
2.2.5.3 A small number of roots are combined with just one of the directional preverbs. They are the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
y-y\text{-}a\text{-}t\text{-}w\text{-}a\text{-}y\text{t} & \quad \text{"it opens"} \\
d-l\text{-}a\text{-}t\text{-}w\text{-}a\text{-}y\text{t} & \quad \text{"he bends"} \\
y-na-s\text{-}s\text{-}a\text{-}g\text{a\text{-}}w\text{-}a\text{-}y\text{t} & \quad \text{"I finish it"} \\
y-a\text{-}a\text{-}s\text{-}x\text{-}a\text{-}w\text{-}a\text{-}y\text{t} & \quad \text{"I buy it"} \\
y-a\text{-}a\text{-}s\text{-}r\text{-}x\text{-}a\text{-}w\text{-}a\text{-}y\text{t} & \quad \text{"I reap it"}
\end{align*}
\]

2.2.5.4 The directional preverbs may be combined with the element sk\text{-}a (cf. root sk\text{-}a above) to form the complex preverbs aask\text{-}a\text{-}, nask\text{-}a\text{-}, y\text{y}usk\text{-}a\text{-}, lask\text{-}a "a little hither, thither, upwards, downwards". These complex preverbs are found only with the roots ga "take, bring" and px\text{-}a "call", e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
y-y\text{y}usk\text{-}a\text{-}z\text{-}ga\text{-}w\text{-}a\text{-}y\text{t} & \quad \text{"I take, bring it a little upwards"} \\
d-aask\text{-}a\text{-}s\text{-}a\text{-}px\text{-}a\text{-}w\text{-}a\text{-}y\text{t} & \quad \text{"I call him nearer"}
\end{align*}
\]

2.2.5.5 The stem y\text{y}a\text{-}xa "to raise, to lift", lit. "to pull upwards" takes an object prefix:

\[
\begin{align*}
s-s\text{-}e\text{-}m\text{-}k\text{-}a & s\text{-}r\text{-}y\text{y}a\text{-}x\text{-}a\text{-}w\text{-}a\text{-}y\text{t} \quad \text{"I lift my eyebrows"} \\
s-x\text{S} & s\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}y\text{y}a\text{-}x\text{-}a\text{-}w\text{-}a\text{-}y\text{t} \quad \text{"I raise my head"}
\end{align*}
\]

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

5.124 pxa\text{-} (RI) C, cf? a-pxa "warm": da-pxa-s\text{-}a\text{-}y\text{t} \quad \text{"he felt ashamed"}.
5.125 ana\text{-} (RI) A: y-s\text{-}ana-xa-yt \quad \text{"I was forgiven"}, y-s\text{-}ana-l\text{-}e\text{-}z\text{-}o\text{-}y\text{t} \quad \text{"she forgave me"}.

2.3 The causative stem. Causative stems are formed with the prefix r- (slot-number 13). The causative expresses causation or permission ("make", 103
2.3.1 The following plain stems cannot be causativized:

1. static stems,
2. dyn.tr. stems requiring an object prefix,
3. dyn.tr. LR-stems in general.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>Dyn.intr.</th>
<th>Dyn.tr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>C d-sə-r-tʼa-wā-ystʼ &quot;I seat him&quot;</td>
<td>də-1-sə-r-ba-wā-ystʼ &quot;I make her see him&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A d-a-sə-r-xa-wa-ytʼ &quot;I make him pull it&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P rel.+R</td>
<td>A y-1ə-cʼ-sə-r-3-wa-ytʼ &quot;I make her lose it&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P loc.+R(+E)</td>
<td>C de-š-ta-sə-r-tʼa-wā-ystʼ &quot;I seat him on the ground&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B d-Ø-ta-sə-r-tʼa-wa-ytʼ &quot;I seat him in it&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A d-á-va-sə-r-tʼa-wa-ytʼ &quot;I seat him next to it&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P dir.+R</td>
<td>C d-aa-sə-r-pš-wa-ytʼ &quot;I make him look hither&quot;</td>
<td>y-1-aa-sə-r-ga-wa-ytʼ &quot;I make her bring it hither&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P uniq.+R</td>
<td>C d-sə-r-pxa-ša-wa-ytʼ &quot;I make him ashamed&quot;</td>
<td>yə-1-gša-sə-r-ta-wa-ytʼ &quot;I make her notice it&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A yə-1-gʼa-sə-r-pxa-wă-ystʼ &quot;I cause it to please her&quot;</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Remarks: 1) Of course, not all stems that may be causativized according to the survey above, have been recorded as such.

2) Dyn.tr. ḳa-stems (see I 3.4) and fused stems (or "lexical compounds", see I 10) may be causativized, e.g. yə-1-ḱa-sə-r- ṁsə-wā-γt' "I cause her to throw it"; yə-1-p-sə-r- ṃdə-wā-γt' "I cause her to break it".

3) Dyn.tr. LR-stems may be causativized if they contain a complex ay-P loc. (with lexicalized meaning, see I 7.2), e.g. y-1-āy-1-sə-r- ḳ̣-aa-wā-γt' "I make her understand it".

4) The stem ṃdə- ṁcə (yə-1-sə-r- ṃdə-wā-γt' "I cause her to make it") is irregular since a) it is the causative of a dyn.tr. LR-stem and b) the preverb ḳ̣- has become part of the root.

5) The causative of ṁpxə-stå "to be ashamed" is ṃ}pxə̣-a; here too, the preverb ṁpxa- has become part of the root.

6) The causative of the dyn.intr. stem a-ḥa "to hear" (see 2.2.3.2) is ṃ-ha: yə-1-sə-r- ḳ̣-aa-wā-γt' "I make her hear it", i.e. the preverb a- is dropped and the stem is simple (requiring an object prefix).

7) The causative of the dyn.intr. stem a-3a "to have (time)" (see 2.2.3.2) is a-r-3a: y-1-ā-s-r- ṃdə-wā-γt' "I give her (time)" with twice a, the first one being a preverb, the second one being part of the root.

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

y-ū-sə-r- ṃdō-wa-γt' "I enlarge it, I make it big", cf. a-ṁdō "big, large"
y-ū-sə-r- ṃx̌-a- ṃdō-wa-γt' "I make it short", cf. a- ṃx̌-a- "short"
y-ū-sə-r- ṃdō-γt' "I make it red", cf. a-ṁdō-γt' "red"

2.4 The copulative/factitive stem.

2.4.1 The copulative/factitive stems contain one of the following roots: ø St.intr. "be", ṃzaa Dyn.intr. "be", ṃxa Dyn.intr. "become", ṃw Dyn.tr. "make, turn into" and ṃḳa Dyn.tr. "find". Root ṃzaa, instead of ø, is used in verb- forms with dynamic endings (such as, e.g., ṃlaḳ "wh-ever", see 4.4.6).

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

d-wayne-ø-ø-w-p' "he is a man", cf. a-wayne-ø "man"
d-wayne-ø-ø-w-p' "he is good", cf. a-wayne-ø "good"
d-wayne-ø-ø-w-p' "he is a good man"
d-meye-ø-ø-w-p' "he is weak", cf. a-meye-ø-da "weak, strength-less"
2.4.3 The complement may take an object (viz. possessive) prefix, e.g.:

\[ \text{do-}s\text{-pā}^{10}\text{-Ø-w-p}' \]
"he is a son of mine", cf. a-pā "son"

\[ \text{do-}s\text{-y}'\text{ṣa-xa-wa-yt}' \]
"he becomes a friend of mine", cf. a-y'sa "friend"

\[ \text{do-}s\text{-tū-s-tū-wa-yt}' \]
"I make him my slave", cf. a-tū "slave"

2.4.4 The complement may be one of the four comparatives that exist in Abkhaz, viz. ayha "bigger, more", ayca "smaller, less", ayya "better", ayc'a "worse". The comparatives may take as object prefix only 3sg.irr., 3pl. or the relative prefix, i.e. they are of type B³; forms with 3pl. have a superlative meaning. Exx.:

\[ \text{arşy wōy y-Ø-ayha-Ø-w-p}' \]
"this arşy is bigger, more than that wōy" 

\[ \text{y-r-ayca-Ø-w a-labā} \]
"the smallest stick", lit. "the stick laba which is smaller than them"

\[ \text{d-Ø-ayy-xa-wa-yt}' \]
"he recovers", lit. "he becomes better"

\[ \text{y-Ø-ayca-s-tū-wa-yt}' \]
"I make it worse"

2.4.5 The copulative/factitive stem may contain one of the following preverbs: \( _-\), c\( ^-\), ma\( ^-\), k\( ^-\), e.g.:

\[ \text{do-}s\text{-c-Ø-xara-Ø-w-p}' \]
"he is far away from me", cf. a-xara "away"

\[ \text{ā-mag\( ^-\)Ø-so-z-bṣyā-Ø-w-p}' \]
"the boot mag\( ^-\) fits me", lit. "is good for me"

\[ \text{d-ā-kw-šahate-Ø-w-p}' \]
"he agrees with it", cf. a-šahate "witness"

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

\[ \text{Ø-a}3\text{-Ø-m-zar a}3\text{-Ø-m-ba-wā-yt}' \]
"I don't see anybody at all", lit. if it isn't anybody, I don't see anybody"

\[ \text{Ø-}3\text{-ara-Ø-m-zar 3-ara-d-so-m-ba-wā-yt}' \]
"I don't see him anywhere at all", lit. "if it isn't anywhere, I don't see him anywhere"
mšā-k' y-ā-da-∅-m-zar-g'ə "if only for one day", lit. "even if it isn't except one day"

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

s-āb ∅-y-ākʷ-∅-w-p' "it is my father"
lărā ∅-1-ākʷ-∅-w-p' "it is her"
sărā ∅-s-ākʷ-xa-wa-yt' "it appears to be me"
yarā d-z-akʷ-5-∅-w-zay "who is he?"

In the present tense we find, besides akʷ-∅, the variant a-∅:

yarā ∅-y-ā-∅-w-p' "it is him"
lărā ∅-1-ā-∅-w-ma "is it her?"

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

d-rōcha-s-ʃ-a-wa-yt' "I pity him", cf. a-rōcha "pitiful"
y-1ækʷ-ə-ʃ-a-wa-yt' "I marvel at it", cf. a-1ækʷ "fairy-tale"

The complements ʃ- and ʃ-a occur only as such:

yə-w-ʃ-ʃ-s-ʃ-a-wa-yt' "I am grateful to you for it"
da-ʃ-ʃ-s-ʃ-a-wa-yt' "I am astonished at him"

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

d-cā-z ∅-ʃ-ʃ-s-ʃ-a-wa-yt' "I think he has gone"

For the form d-cā-z, see 4.4.4.8.

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

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

d-ɓā-Ø-w-p'  "he has been seen", lit. "he is seen"
y-sā-ta-Ø-w-p'  "it has been given to me"
y-sa-r-bā-Ø-w-p'  "it has been shown to me"
y-Ø-tā-Ø-la-Ø-w-p'  "it has been thrown into it"

d-ɓa-xa-wā-ye'  "he is seen", lit. "he becomes seen"
y-sā-ta-xa-wa-ye'  "it is given to me"
y-sa-r-ɓa-xa-wā-ye'  "it is shown to me"
y-Ø-tā-Ø-la-xa-wa-ye'  "it is thrown into it"

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

3  PRONOMINAL PREFIXES.
3.1 Chart of the personal prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>subject (1)</th>
<th>object (4,7)</th>
<th>in causative verb-forms: causee (6)</th>
<th>agent (11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>s-/z-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.m.</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>w-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f-</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>b-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.m.</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f-</td>
<td>1-</td>
<td>1-</td>
<td>1-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irr.</td>
<td>y-/Ø-</td>
<td>a-/Ø-</td>
<td>(n)a-</td>
<td>(n)a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl.</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td>h-/aa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl.</td>
<td>s&quot;-</td>
<td>s&quot;-</td>
<td>s&quot;-</td>
<td>s&quot;-/z&quot;-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl.</td>
<td>y-/Ø-</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>r-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks: 1) C stands for C and Cə; h stands for h and ha (the only possible vowel adjacent to h is a, see III 1).
2) The prefixes of column 1 are recessive, those of column 2 and 3 are domi-
nant, the prefixes of column 4 are recessive, except 3sg.irr. (n)a- (see II 5. 2.2).

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo-} & \text{-pa-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad & \text{"I knit it"} \\
\text{yo-} & \text{-ba-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad & \text{"I see it"} \\
\text{yo-} & \text{-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad & \text{"I do it"} \\
\text{yo-} & \text{-y}w- \text{-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad & \text{"I write it"} \\
\text{yo-} & \text{-lagwa-} \text{-y}t' \quad & \text{"I grind it"} \\
\text{yo-} & \text{-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad & \text{"I wash it"} \\
\text{y-sa-} & \text{-sa-wa-} \text{-y}t'
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yo-} & \text{-na-ta} \text{-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad & \text{"it gives it to me"} \\
\text{ya-} & \text{-na-ca} \text{-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad & \text{"it drives it hither"} \\
y- & \text{-la} \text{-na-ca} \text{-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad & \text{"it puts it into it"} \\
y- & \text{-la} \text{-na-xa} \text{-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad & \text{"it takes it out of it"} \\
y- & \text{-sa-na} \text{-ba} \text{-wa-} \text{-y}t'
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
a- & \text{lā a-cgweep} \quad \phi-\text{a-ba} \text{-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad "\text{the dog la sees the cat cgweep}"
\text{a-lā a-cgweep} \quad y-a-ba \text{-wa-} \text{-y}t' \quad "\text{the cat sees the dog}"
\end{align*}
\]

Furthermore, if the stem allows only 3sg.irrat. subject prefix, the latter
is usually Ø- (these cases all concern "empty use" of the subject prefix, see the next section).

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

Ø-pxโน-Ø-w-p' (also y-)  "it is summer"
Ø-aapenra-xa-wā-yt' (also y-)  "it becomes spring"
sarā  Ø-s-ākʷ-e-Ø-w-p'  "it is me"
sarā  Ø-sə-z-ha-wā-yt' (also y-)  "I grow", lit. "it grows for me"

For exx. with object prefix, see I 8.

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

a-kʷə  Ø-a-w-wā-yt  "it rains", lit. "it makes rain kʷə"
a-kʷə  Ø-s-cdc-na-w-(w)ų-yt'  "it rains in my face"

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

s-čə-s-kʷaba-wa-yt'  "I wash myself"
a-āj  y-č-ą-y-ta-wa-yt'  "he drowns himself", lit. "he gives himself to the water ąj"
s-čə-y-tvə-s-tʷ-s-wa-yt'  "I submit to him", lit. "I make myself his slave"
1ə-č-Ø-ta-Iŋ-č-wa-yt'  "she throws herself into it"
se-č-ə-sə-r-ps-wa-yt'  "I pretend to be dead", lit. "I cause myself die"
ā-mla  s-č-a-se-r-ga-wa-yt'  "I starve", lit. "I let the hunger mla take me"
a-sárkʷə  s-č-a-nə-z-ba-la-wa-yt'  "I see myself in the mirror sárkʷə"
3.3.2 For the rest, reflexivity is expressed by phrases involving the noun x̂e lit. "head", here "self", or is not expressed at all. Exx. with x̂e:

s-x̂e  ō-z-ba-wā-yt  "I see myself"
1-x̂e  ō-1-d̓ər-wa-yt'  "she knows herself"
̌ y-x̂e  ō-s-yə-r-š̓-wā-yt'  "he causes me to kill him"

1-x̂e  y-á-də-1-č̓a-wa-yt'  "she charges herself with it", lit. "she puts it next to herself"
̌ y-x̂e  ātəw  ō-á-kə-y-č̓a-wa-yt'  "he respects himself", lit. "he puts respect ātəw on himself"
̌ s-x̂e  y-a-sə-r-x̂a-wa-yt'  "I make use of it", lit. "I cause it to be of help to me"

s-x̂e  s-á-s-wa-yt'  "I beat myself"
1-x̂e  d-ə-z-g̓əa-wa-yt'  "she is angry with herself"

3.3.3 Exx. where the reflexive relation is not expressed:

(á-)ayk'ə  ō-15-šə-a-1-čə-wa-yt'  "she dresses her(self or another) in the trousers", lit. "she puts the trousers ayk'ə on her"
̌ y-15-1-ə-r-šə-wa-yt'  "she causes her(self) to be able to it"

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

sʷ-ay-ba-ba-wā-yt'  "you see e.o."
as-ə y-ōl-rə-y-ba-ga-wa-yt'  "they take e.o. across the water 3ə"
h-šə-y-ba-čə-wa-yt'  "we throw e.o. down"
y-ay-bə-r-čə-wa-ya-yt'  "they make e.o. laugh"
ā-myəa y-a-nə-y-ba-r-3ə-la-wa-m  "the road is thronged with people", lit. "they cause e.o. not to find room on the road myəa"
ā-hatər ə-s̚-9-kə-y-ba-ča-wa-yt'  "you respect e.o.", lit. "you put respect hatər on e.o."

a-ŋama-kə ə-rə-la-y-ba-ha-wa-yt'  "they thrust the daggers ŋama into e.o."

y-s̚-9-y-ba-r-ba-wa-yt'  "you make e.o. see it"

y-dō-ya-ba-r-ha-wa-yt'  "they give e.o. a chance to say it"

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

s̚-ay-s-wā-yt'  "you beat e.o."

y-ay-la-tə-wa-wa-yt'  "they sit down between themselves"

y-ay-la-s-ča-wa-yt'  "I mix them up"

y-ay-la-sə-r-ča-wa-wa-yt'  "I make them sit down between themselves"

y-ay-z-ɡ̣a-a-wa-ya-yt'  "they are angry with e.o."

y-ay-nasəp-ɡa-wa-ya-yt'  "they make e.o. happy" (a-nasəp 'happiness')

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

y-ay-cā-a-wa-ya-yt'  "they talk to e.o.", cf.: y-ay-cā-a-wa-ya-yt'  "he talks to me" (see 2.2.3.2)

d-s-9-cə-a-wa-ya-yt'  "he talks to me"

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

y-ay-bō-s̚-hə-wa-wa-ya-yt'  "you say it to e.o.", cf.:

y-s̚-9-l-ha-wa-wa-ya-yt'  "she says it to me" (see 2.2.3.3)

y-ay-b-ə-d-r-a3a-wa-wa-ya-yt'  "they give e.o. (time)", cf.:

y-s̚-9-l-r-a3a-wa-wa-ya-yt'  "she gives me (time)" (see 2.3.2 Remark 7)

y-ay-bō-s-s-ta-wa-wa-ya-yt'  "I assemble it", lit. "I give them to e.o.", cf.:

y-s̚-9-l-ta-wa-ya-yt'  "she gives it to me" (see 2.2.2.4)

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

s̚-ay-ba-sə-r-ba-wa-ya-yt'  "I show you to e.o."

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

- s-č-āy-la-s-ha-wa-yt’ "I dress myself", cf.:
- d-ay-lā-s-ha-wa-yt’ "I dress him"
- s-č-āy-ba-s-ta-wa-yt’ "I equip myself", cf.:
- d-ay-bā-s-ta-wa-yt’ "I equip him"
- y-ay-lās-y-ba-k’-aa-wa-yt’ "they understand e.o.", cf.:
- y-ay-lās-k’-aa-wa-yt’ "I understand them"
- y-ay-dās-y-ba-r-pa-la-wa-yt’ "they cause e.o. to die next to e.o.", cf.:
- y-ay-dās-r-pa-la-wa-yt’ "I cause them to die next to e.o."

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

- r-č-āy-ba-s-ā-r-k’-wa-yt’ "they unite", lit. "they cause themselves to hold e.o.", cf.:  
- y-ay-ba-s-ā-r-k’-wa-yt’ "I cause them to hold e.o."

3.6 The relative prefix.

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

- y-t’-ā-w "the one that is sitting"
- y-ca-wā "the one that is going"
- y-ā-s-pa-wa "the one that I am knitting"
- y-ā-z-pa-wā "the one that is knitting it"
- y-ā-z-tā-s-ca-wa: "into which I put it"
- y-ā-z-ār-ba-wā "to which I show it"
- y-āy-ba-ba-wa "the ones that see e.o."
- y-āy-lā-s-ca-wa "the ones I mix up"
- z-čā-z-ā-wa "the one that kills him-, her, itself"
- y-ā-z-xā-z-ca-wa "the one that puts it on his, her, its (own) head"

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

\[ \text{z-pā d-ca-wā} \] "the one whose son is going"

\[ \text{z-pā d-o-1-ba-wā} \] "the one whose son she sees"

\[ \text{z-pā d-o-z-ba-wā} \]
1) "the one that sees his, her (own) son"
2) "the one whose son I see"

\[ \text{z-cā s-a-k’-t’-a-w} \] "the one whose horse I am sitting on"

\[ \text{z-cā y-a-k’-t’-a-w} \]
1) "the one that is sitting on his, her (own) horse"
2) "the one whose horse they are sitting on"

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

\[ \text{a-nčō ō-z-o-n-ō-nō} \] "the cart wardan that is standing with wood on it"

\[ \text{y-gśla-w a-wardōn} \] lit. "wood mča being on which"

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

\[ \text{yś-1-y’a-z s-a-px-a-wa-yt’} \] "I am reading what she has written"

\[ \text{yś-z-y’s-z d-o-z-ba-wa-yt’} \] "I see the one who has written it"

\[ \text{yś-z-y’s-z d-o-z-dōr-wa-yt’} \] "I know the one who has written it"

\[ \text{yś-1-y’a-z a-s’-q’-k’a} \] "the books that she has written"

\[ \text{a-s’-q’-k’a yś-1-y’a-z} \] "the books, which she has written"

\[ \text{warā y-ca-wā} \] "you, who are going!"

4. TENSE-SUFFIXES AND CLAUSAL AFFIXES.

4.1. Introduction.

4.1.1. There are two kinds of tense-suffixes, called the tense A-suffixes (slot-number 17) and the tense B-suffixes (slot-number 19). The five tense A-suffixes, which can only be combined with a dynamic stem, give the general tense-plan, e.g. -wa "Situational/Progressive", -x’a "Perfect". The two tense B-suffixes, which are combined with a static stem or with a tense A-suffix, express present resp. past.
4.1.2 As regards their combinability with tense-suffixes, four types of endings (slot-number 20) must be distinguished:

(1) ending A immediately follows a static stem,
(2) ending B is combined with a tense B-suffix,
(3) ending C is combined with a tense A-suffix and
(4) ending D immediately follows a dynamic stem.

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

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

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

4.2 Chart of the tense-suffixes and clausal affixes.

(see next pages)
## STATIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conj. prefix</th>
<th>&quot;when&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;where&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;how, that&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;why&quot;</th>
<th>-ba- &quot;?&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interr. prefix</td>
<td>aw-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## STATIC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>or</th>
<th>-wa</th>
<th>Sit./Progr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>Aorist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ṣa</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-r(a)</td>
<td>Volitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-x&quot;a, -c</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## DYNAMIC

(Refl. prefix y-, z-)

Conj. prefix (see above)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-z</th>
<th>imperative</th>
<th>Ending A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| -(y)t, -p | declarative |
| -ma, -w | interrogative |
| -ṣa | "as if" |

| -da | "who?" |
| -z(a)y, -y, -z | "what?" |

Tense B: \{ -Ø, -w present \}

| -z | past |

| -zar, -ztg\-\text{ء} | conditional II |
| -zaayt | subjunctive II |
| -nda(z) | optative |
| -n(ə), -Ø | gerund |
| -nac(ə) | "as long as" |
| -y\text{ذ}-\text{تاي} | "since" |
| -zaap, -zaaron | inferential (present,past) |

| -r | conditional I |
| -rc, -race | "in order to" |
| -rtw, -rat\-\text{ء} | "such that" |
| -aayt | subjunctive I |
| -Ø | imperative |
| -aan3a | "until" |
| -cəpx\-\text{ء}a3a | "every time" |

| -lak\-\text{ء}(-g\-\text{ء}) | "wh-ever" |

Ending C

Ending D'

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

\[ d \text{-}t\acute{w}a \text{-}n \quad \text{"he was sitting"} \]
\[ d \text{-}ca-wa \text{-}n \quad \text{"he was going"} \]

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

\[ d \text{-}ca-p' \quad \text{"he will go"} \]

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

\[ d \text{-}ø-t\acute{a}-\acute{a}-ø-yt'/d \text{-}ø-t\acute{a}-\acute{a}-ø-ø-t' \quad \text{"he went out of it"} \]
\[ d \text{-}ø-t\acute{a}-l\acute{a}-ø-yt'/d \text{-}ø-t\acute{a}-l\acute{a}-ø-ø-t' \quad \text{"he went into it"} \]
\[ d \text{-}ca-s-ø-t' \quad \text{"he will go"} \]

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

\[ d \text{-}ca-ra-ø-s\acute{a} \quad \text{"as if he will go"} \]
\[ d \text{-}ca-ra-ø-ma \quad \text{"will he go?"} \]
\[ d \text{-}an-ca-r\acute{a}-ø \quad \text{"when he will go"} \]

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

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

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
y-rā-wā-da-z & \quad "\text{who was sitting?}" \\
y-ca-wā-da-z & \quad "\text{who was going?}" \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

4.3 Use and meaning of the tenses.

4.3.1 The tense A-suffixes. The Static and the Sit./Progr. -wa express a state or action that is (a) progressive, (b) habitual or (c) future (with the connotation "certainty"). The Aorist -∅ expresses a completed action in the past. The Future -s(a) expresses an action in the future. The Volitive expresses an action in the future (with the connotation "intention"). The Perfect expresses an action that has taken place before.

4.3.2 The tense B-suffixes. The suffixes -∅, -w express present, the suffix -z expresses past. As in many other languages, the combination of future and past elements may yield the meaning: unreal.

4.3.3 Combinations of tense A- and tense B-suffixes:

\[
\begin{align*}
d-rā-w-p' & \quad (a) \quad "\text{he is sitting}" \\
& \quad (b) \quad "\text{he is (always) sitting}" \\
& \quad (c) \quad "\text{he is sitting, he will (certainly) be sitting}" \\
d-rā-n & \quad (a) \quad "\text{he was sitting}" \\
& \quad (b) \quad "\text{he used to sit}" \\
& \quad (c) \quad "(then) he would (certainly) be sitting/ have been sitting" \\
\end{align*}
\]

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d-ca-wā-∅-yt'  (a) "he is going"
               (b) "he (always) goes"
               (c) "he is going, he will (certainly) go"

  d-ca-wā-n  (a) "he was going"
               (b) "he used to go"
               (c) "(then) he would (certainly) go/ have gone"

  d-ca-∅-∅-yt'  "he left/ has left"
  d-ca-∅-n    "he left/ has left and then"
  d-ca-s-∅-t'  "he will go"
  d-ca-ša-n    "(then) he would go/ have gone"
  d-ca-∅-p    "he will (intends to) go"
  d-ca-rā-n    "(then) he would (intended to) go/ have gone"
  d-ca-x'ā-∅-yt'  "he has (already) gone"
  d-ca-x'ā-n  "he had (already) gone"

Note: 1) The Aorist past has the same meaning as the Aorist present; it
       is used if followed by another declarative, e.g.:

       d-aā-γ-n  y-s-ā-1-h=a-∅-∅-yt'  "she came and told it to me"

4.4  Use and meaning of the clausal affixes.
4.4.1  The declarative ending is used for statements, e.g.:

       d-t'ā-w-p'  "he is sitting."

4.4.2.1 The ending -ma expresses a neutral yes-no question, e.g.:

       d-t'ā-w-ma   "is he sitting?"
       d-ca-wā-z-ma   "was he going?"

4.4.2.2 The ending -w expresses an alternative or indirect question, e.g.:

       d-ca-wā-∅-w     "is he going or not?"
       d-ca-rā-∅-w     "will he go or not?"
       d-ca-wā-∅-w  ∅-w-dōr-wa-∅-ma   "do you know whether he is going?"

4.4.2.3 The prefix aw- expresses a rhetorical question (Russian razve); it
is usually accompanied by the suffixed marker -ʁaₐₓ, see 6.3.2.

d-aʁw-ʁ̱a-xə-w  "is he sitting?" (implication: "you know he isn’t")
d-aʁ-wa-rₐ-aₐₓ  "was he going?"

4.4.3.1 The ending -da expresses a who-question, e.g.:

y-ʁʁ̱a-y-ʁ-rₐ-aₐₓ  "who is sitting?", lit. "who is the one that is sitting?"
y-ʁ-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-aₐₓ  "whom did I see?"
y-ʁ-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-aₐₓ  "who saw it?"
y-ʁ-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-aₐₓ  "on whose head do I put it?"
y-ʁ-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-aₐₓ  "to whom do I show it?"
y-ʁ-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-aₐₓ  "which people see e.o.?"
z-ʁ-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-aₐₓ  "who kills him-, herself?"
y-ʁ-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-aₐₓ  "who puts it on his, her head?"
z-ʁ-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-aₐₓ  "whose son is going?"
z-ʁ-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-aₐₓ  "whose horse am I sitting on?"

4.4.3.2 The ending -z(a)y, -y, -z expresses a what-question, e.g.:

y-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-ʁ₀-aₐₓ  "what is going?"
y-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-ʁ₀-aₐₓ  "what did I see?"
y-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-ʁ₀-aₐₓ  "what saw it?"
y-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-ʁ₀-aₐₓ  "what helps me?"
s-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-ʁ₀-aₐₓ  "into what (lodging) will I enter?"

4.4.4 Conjunctional forms.

4.4.4.1 There are the following conjunctional prefixes: an- "when", ax- "where, whither", ax- aₐₓ-aₐₓ "up to where, up to when", ax- aₐₓ-aₐₓ "from where", s- "as, while, that", z- "why".

4.4.4.2 Exx. with an-:

yarₐₐ x-aₐₓ-wa-d-ʁ₀-aₐₓ  sarₐₐ s-aₐₓ-aₐₓ  "when he left, I stayed"

y-ʁ₀-aₐₓ-wa-d-ʁ₀-aₐₓ  "I know when he will go"
d-aₐₓ-aₐₓ  "the day he left"
it occurs that he leaves"

"where he went, I went too"
"I know where he will go"
"the place where he was born"

Conjunctival forms with $ax^-$ are often subordinated to emotive verbs, e.g.:

"it pleases me that he is leaving"
"I get angry at his leaving"
"I envy him for leaving"

"up to where he goes"
"as long as he exists"

"he went to where he came from"
"I know where he came from"

"as you see, he has gone"
"I know that he will leave"
"I have acted as you told me"

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da-ṣ-ca-wā-z  sə-y-bā-∅-∅-yt'  "while he was going, he saw me"

Conjunctival forms with ṣ- are often subordinated to verba sentiendi et declarandi, e.g.:

da-ṣ-ca-∅-∅-yt'  "I noticed that he had gone"
da-ṣ-ca-rā-∅  ∅-s-hwa-wā-∅-yt'  "I say that he will go"

4.4.4.7 Exx. with z-:

da-z-ca-wā-∅  ∅-z-dār-wa-∅-yt'  "I know why he is going"
arēy  a-zā  ∅-(ā-)a-∅-w-∅  "it is because of this that he goes"
da-z-ca-wā-∅

4.4.4.8 Forms with a zero conjunctival prefix occur only subordinated to the verb 3-ṣa "to think that" (see 2.4.8), e.g.:

d-∅-ca-∅-∅-yt'  ∅-3-s-3-∅-a-∅-∅-yt'  "I thought he had gone"

4.4.5 Adverbial questions.
4.4.5.1 Adverbial questions are formed by adding to the conjunctival prefixes (except z- "why") the element -ba, -pa; before this element ax"- appears as a-: a-ba-. The prefix z- takes the ending -zay, lit. "what is it why?".

In addition, there are questions with the complex ar-ba-n- "which?" (where ar- can be identified with the deictic root ar in arēy "this", ar-ā "here", etc.), and with a-ba-tēy- "what kind of?", lit. "of where?". Such questions occur only with copulative/factitive stems.

4.4.5.2 Exx. with an-ba-:

d-an-bā-ca-wa-∅  "when does he go?"
yn-an-bā-sē-ma-∅-z  "when did I have it?"

4.4.5.3 Exx. with a-ba-:

d-a-bā-ca-wa-∅  "where does he go?"
y-a-bā-sē-ma-∅-w  "where do I have it?"
4.4.5.4 Ex. with a-ba-n3a-:

d-a-bā-n3a-ca-wa-∅   "up to where does he go?"

4.4.5.5 Ex. with a-ba-ntw-:

d-a-bā-ntw-aa-y-wa-∅  "where does he come from?"

4.4.5.6 Exx. with s-pa-:

yɔ-ṣ-pa-z-w-(w)a-∅   "how will I do it?"
we-ṣ-pa-da-∅-w  "how are you?"

4.4.5.7 Exx. with z-...-zay:

də-z-ca-wa-∅-zay  "why does he go?"
d-z-a-∅-zay-w  "why is he busy with it?"

4.4.5.8 Exx. with ar-ba-n-:

y-ār-ba-n-wada-∅-w   "Which room is it?"
y-ār-ba-n-aa-ta-∅-w  "What time is it?", lit. "Which hour is it?"

4.4.5.9 Ex. with a-ba-twɔy-:

d-a-ba-twɔy-ca-da-∅-w  "What kind of an ass a-çada he is!"

4.4.6 The combination of a relative or conjunctonal prefix with the ending -lak (-g'∅) expresses "whoever, whatever, whenever, etc."., e.g.:

y-ca-lak(-g'∅)   "whoever, whatever (is, etc.) going"
d-an-ca-lak(-g'∅)  "whenever he (is, etc.) going"
d-ax'-ca-lak(-g'∅)  "wherever he (is, etc.) going"
y-sɔ-ma-zaa-lak(-g'∅)  "whoever, whatever I have, had"
d-z-ak'-ɔ-zaa-lak(-g'∅)  "whoever he is, was"
d-ax'-ɔ-zaa-lak(-g'∅)  "wherever he is, was"
4.4.7 The stem ak⁵-∅ / ak⁵-zaa "to be identical to" (see 2.4.7) may be used in so-called "cleft sentences", e.g.:

warā  ṇ-w-āk⁵-∅-w-ṕ  yṣ-qa-z-
-ça-∅-z
yax-ā  ʊ-(ā-)-ak⁵-∅-w-ṕ  d-an-
-ça-wā-∅

"it is you that did it"
"it is today that he is leaving"

The same stem may be used in adverbial questions and in -lak⁵-forms; note the irregularity -ba+ak⁵— ∴bə-k⁵-. Exx.:

y-an-bā-ak⁵-∅-w  "when is it?"
y-a-bā-ak⁵-∅-w  "where is it?"
y-ṣ-pā-ak⁵-∅-w  "how is it?"

y-an-āk⁵-zaa-lak⁵(-g⁵-∅)  "whenever it is, was"
y-ax-āk⁵-zaa-lak⁵(-g⁵-∅)  "wherever it is, was"
y-ṣ-āk⁵-zaa-lak⁵(-g⁵-∅)  "however it is, was"

4.4.8 The root ∅ / zaa may be used without copulative/factivive complement in forms with the complex prefixes ar-ba-n- "which?", z-ba-n- "why?" (the tense B-suffix may be -∅ or -w):

s-ār-ba-n-∅(-w)  "who am I?"
d-ār-ba-n-∅(-w)  "who is he, she?"
y-ār-ba-n-∅(-w)  "what is it, who are they?"
y-ṣz-bā-n-∅  "why is it?"

d-ār-ba-n-zaa-lak⁵(-g⁵-∅)  "whoever he, she is"
y-ār-ba-n-zaa-lak⁵(-g⁵-∅)  "whatever it is, whoever they are"

4.4.9 Conditional I and II.
4.4.9.1 The conditional I -r expresses a timeless condition, e.g.:

d-cā-r  "if he leaving"

The conditional II expresses a state of affairs, e.g.:
4.4.9.2 With the conditional I the opposition real vs. unreal is expressed in the apodosis: the present of the Sit./Progr., Future and Volitive gives the real condition, the past the unreal condition, e.g.:

\[ d-c\text{ā}-r \ s-\text{āā}-y-wa-\text{ā}-y't \quad \text{"if he leaves, I will come"} \]
\[ d-c\text{ā}-r \ s-\text{āā}-y-wa-n \quad \text{"if he left, I would come"} \]

The verb-form in the apodosis is not necessarily declarative, it may also be the imperative, subjunctive I or optative, e.g.:

\[ d-c\text{ā}-r \ w-\text{āā}-y-\text{Ø} \quad \text{"if he leaves, come!"} \]

4.4.9.3 The conditional I can function as the subordinate of an (auxiliary) verb. Exx.:

\[ d-c\text{ā}-r \ Ø-\text{qā}-1a-wa-\text{ā}-y't \quad \text{"perhaps he is leaving"} \]
\[ d-c\text{ā}-r \ Ø-\text{qā}-1\text{ā}-p' \quad \text{"he will probably leave"} \]
\[ d-c\text{ā}-r \ 0-s-\text{taxā}-w-p' \quad \text{"I want him to leave"} \]
\[ d-c\text{ā}-r \ 0-z-d\text{ā}r-wa-0-da \quad \text{"who knows, he may be leaving"} \]

4.4.10 The ending -rc, -race expresses the content of a plan, intention, wish, e.g.:

\[ d-c\text{ā}-rc \quad \text{"for him to leave"} \]
\[ y\text{ē}-z-b\text{ā}-rc \ s-\text{qā}-0-w-p' \quad \text{"I am to see it"} \]
\[ s-c\text{ā}-rc \ 0-s-\text{ā}-1-\text{h}a-0-y't' \quad \text{"she told me to leave"} \]

4.4.11 The ending -rtw, -ratw expresses quality, e.g.:

\[ d-c\text{ā}-rtw \quad \text{"such that he (is, was) leaving"} \]
\[ y\text{ē}-z-b\text{ā}-rtw \ y\text{ē}-\text{qā}-0-w-p' \quad \text{"it is such that I (am) seeing it", i.e. "it is visible to me"} \]
4.4.12 Subjunctive I and II. The subjunctive I expresses a command (with
the 3rd person) or permission, e.g.:

\[\underline{d-c(a)}-aa-yt'\] "let him leave"
\[s-c(a)-aa-yt'\] "let me leave"

The subjunctive II expresses an assumption, e.g.:

\[\underline{d-ca-wa-zaayt'}\] "let it be the case, let us assume that he is, was going"
\[d-ca-Ø-zaayt'\] "let us assume that he left"

4.4.13 The imperative expresses a command (with the 2nd person), e.g.:

\[w-ca-Ø\] "(you, 2sg.m.) go!"
\[b-ca-Ø\] "(you, 2sg.f.) go!"
\[s'w-ca-Ø\] "(you, 2pl.) go!"
\[w-tz-a-Ø\] "(you, 2sg.m.) remain seated!"

The agent prefix 2sg.m./f. (but not 2pl.) is absent in the imperative,
e.g.:

\[y-ga-Ø\] "take it!"
\[y-o-z-w-ga-Ø\] "(you, 2pl.) take it!"

4.4.14 The optative endings -nda and -ndaz express a (real resp. irreal)
wish, e.g.:

\[d-ca-Ø-nda\] "if only he left"
\[d-ca-Ø-ndaz\] "if only he had left"

4.4.15 The gerund.
4.4.15.1 The two gerund endings -n(e) and -Ø are found with static stems and
with the Sit./Progr., Aorist and Volitive.
4.4.15.2 The static gerund in -n(e) expresses a state simultaneous with the
main action, e.g.:

\[d-t'w-a-nØ\] "he, (while) sitting"
4.4.15.3 The static gerund in -∅ is rare; it expresses manner, e.g.:

\[ a-\text{ahkan} \quad d-\text{äh-kan} -\text{∅} \]  
"he, on horseback"

4.4.15.4 The Sit./Progr. gerund in -nə is rare; it can be rendered with "just", e.g.:

\[ d-\text{ca-wa-nə} \quad \text{ē-mra \ ∅-γwā-γ-wa-nə} \]  
"he, just leaving"  
"at sunrise", lit. "the sun just rising"

4.4.15.5 The Sit./Progr. gerund in -∅ expresses an action simultaneous with the main action, e.g.:

\[ d-\text{ca-wā-∅} \]  
"he, (while) going"

4.4.15.6 The Aorist gerund in -nə expresses an action prior to the main action, e.g.:

\[ d-\text{ca-∅-nə} \]  
"he, having gone"

4.4.15.7 The Aorist gerund in -∅ expresses manner, e.g.:

\[ y-s\text{āx-xa-∅-∅} \]  
"as foam", lit. "it, having become foam"

4.4.15.8 The Volitive gerund in -nə or, rarely, -∅ is found only with the stem da-∅, e.g.:

\[ d-\text{ca-ra-nə} \  dā-\text{ā-∅-w-p}} \]  
"he will surely go"

4.4.15.9 Gerunds may occur in combination with (auxiliary) verbs. Exx.:

\[ d-t\text{ānā} \  dā-\text{ā-∅-w-p}} \]  
"he is seated"  
\[ dā-pē-wā-∅ \  d-\text{ā-∅-∅-yr}} \]  
"he started looking"  
\[ dā-pē-wā-∅ \  d-\text{ā-∅-∅-yr}} \]  
"I made him look"  
\[ dā-pē-wā-∅ \  d-\text{ā-∅-∅-yr}} \]  
"he began to look"
4.4.15.10 As a rule, the agent prefix is absent in a gerund, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
d-\text{ba}-\text{wā}-\emptyset & \quad \text{"seeing him"} \\
\text{d}-\text{ba}-\emptyset-n\emptyset & \quad \text{"having seen him"} \\
y-\text{nāpā} \emptyset-y-g^\emptyset \text{cā}-\text{psa}-\emptyset-\emptyset & \quad \text{"with his arms crossed on his breast"}
\end{align*}
\]

However, the agent prefix is maintained in the combinations mentioned in the preceding section, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
d-\text{z}-\text{dōr}-\text{wa}-\emptyset & \quad s-\text{dā}-\text{lā}-\emptyset-\emptyset-\text{yt}' \quad \text{"I got to know him"} \\
y-\text{a}-\text{ya}-\text{wā}-\emptyset & \quad s-\text{ā}-\text{lā}-\text{ga}-\emptyset-\emptyset-\text{yt}' \quad \text{"I began to write it"} \\
y\text{a}-\text{l}-\text{ga}-\text{wa}-n\emptyset & \quad d-\text{z}-\text{bā}-\emptyset-\emptyset-\text{yt}' \quad \text{"I saw her taking it"}
\end{align*}
\]

Also, the agent prefix ay-ba- "each other" is maintained, as is 3sg.irr. (n)a- in fixed expressions, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
y-\text{ay-ba-ba}-\emptyset-n\emptyset & \quad \text{"they, having seen e.o."} \\
a-\text{ya}^\emptyset & \quad d-\text{a}-\text{ga}-\emptyset-\emptyset-n\emptyset \quad \text{"the wine having taken him", i.e. "drunk"}
\end{align*}
\]

4.4.16 Exx. with the ending -s\text{va} "as if":

\[
\begin{align*}
d-\text{t-}\text{ā}-\text{w}-\text{s\text{va}} & \quad \text{"as if he were sitting"} \\
d-\text{a-}\text{č}-\text{z-}\text{s\text{va}} & \quad \text{"as if he were busy with it"} \\
d-\text{cā}-\text{wa}-\emptyset-\text{s\text{va}} & \quad \text{"as if he were going"}
\end{align*}
\]

4.4.17 The ending -\text{nač(ə)} "as long as" is limited to the Static and the Sit./Progr., e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
d-\text{t-}\text{a}-\text{nač}^\emptyset & \quad \text{"as long as he is, was sitting"} \\
d-\text{cā}-\text{wa}-\text{nač}^\emptyset & \quad \text{"as long as he is, was going"}
\end{align*}
\]

4.4.18 The ending -\text{yē察} "since" is found with Static, Sit./Progr. and Aorist. The translation "since" is appropriate for Aorist forms, in the others the reference is to the duration of the state. Exx.:
"since he left"

"he has been sitting for a long time", lit.

"since he is sitting much akər time aamta passes"

"he has been going for a long time"

4.4.19  Exx. with the ending -aan3a "until":

d-c(ā)-aan3a  "until his going"
d-y-āan3a   "until he was born"

4.4.20  Ex. with -cəpx¬a3a "every time":

d-cā-cəpx¬a3a  "every time he goes"

4.4.21  The inferential present and past. The inferential expresses that a statement is made on the basis not of direct observation but of indirect evidence, including hearsay. Exx.:

"apparently, he is sitting"

"apparently, he is going"

"apparently, he was going"

"apparently, he has gone"

4.4.22  One type of form is not represented in the chart of 4.2, viz. the static stem preceded by a conjunctional prefix and followed by the tense A-suffix -c. Such a form is always combined with the declarative of the same static stem, e.g.:

"he is sitting as before"

"he was still the same"

"he was still standing in the same place"

5  NEGATION.

5.1  The negative element -m is prefixed in part of the forms, suffixed in others. The following rule holds: in static verbs -m is always suffixed,
in dynamic verbs m- is prefixed, except in the declarative form of the Sit./
Progr., Volitive and Future (in the last case optionally). If suffixed, -m
occupies slot-number 18. If prefixed, m-, as a rule, occupies slot-number 12.
In certain cases, however, m- precedes the preverb rather than the root.

In the first place, this is the case with intr. stems with the relational
preverbs a-, ay- (see 2.2.3.2):

\[
\begin{align*}
yə-s-m-ā-3a-∅-∅-yt' & \quad \text{"I didn't get (time)"} \\
daə-s-m-ā-c“az”a-∅-∅-yt' & \quad \text{"he didn't talk to me"} \\
daə-s-m-āy-g“ory”a-∅-∅-yt' & \quad \text{"he didn't take pleasure in me"} \\
yə-s-m-āy-śə-∅-∅-yt' & \quad \text{"it didn't bark at me"}
\end{align*}
\]

The reciprocal forms of these verbs (see 3.4.2) have m- preceding the re-
ciprocal prefix, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
h-m-ay-c“āz”a-∅-∅-yt' & \quad \text{"we didn't talk to e.o."}
\end{align*}
\]

In the second place, intr. stems with a directional preverb usually have
m- preceding that preverb, although it may also come between the preverb and
the root. With the root y the negative prefix always precedes the preverb.

Exx.:

\[
\begin{align*}
d-m-aa-pšō-∅-∅-yt' & \quad \text{"he didn't look hither"} \\
d-aa-m-pšō-∅-∅-yt' & \quad \text{"he didn't reach hither"} \\
d-m-aa-3a-∅-∅-yt' & \quad \text{"he didn't come"} \\
d-aa-m-3a-∅-∅-yt' & \quad \text{"he didn't come"}
\end{align*}
\]

5.2 The negative differs from the positive on the following points:

(1) The amalgam morpheme -n is replaced by (original) -z-t', regardless of
whether -m- is pre- or suffixed:

\[
\begin{align*}
d-č“rə-mə-z-t' & \quad \text{"he wasn't sitting"} \\
d-ca-wā-mə-z-t' & \quad \text{"he wasn't going"} \\
da-∅-∅-z-t' & \quad \text{"he didn't go and"} \\
d-ca-rə-mə-z-t' & \quad \text{"he wouldn't go"}
\end{align*}
\]

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"he wouldn't go"
"he hadn't yet gone"

(2) The ending -(y)t/-y is dropped in the present of the Static and Sit./Progr., and in the Future in case -m is suffixed:

"he isn't sitting"
"he isn't going"
"he will not go"

The negative of the Volitive present is -ra-m-∅:

"he will not go"

In the cases where m- is prefixed, we have:

"he didn’t go"
"he will not go"
"he hasn’t yet gone"

(3) The ending for the negative yes-no question is -y, e.g.:

"isn't he sitting?"
"isn't he going?"
"wasn't he going?"

(4) The ending -n(∅) is replaced by -k^a or, rarely, -k^a-na, e.g.:

"he, not being seated"
"he, not having gone"

(5) The ending for the negative imperative is -n, e.g.:

"don't go!"
The agent prefix 2sg.m./f. is present (cf. 4.4.13), e.g.:

\[ y-\omega-m-ga-n \]  "don't take it!"

6 MARKERS.
6.1 There are prefixed markers (slot-number 5) and suffixed markers (slot-number 16).
6.2 Prefixed markers.
6.2.1 Most of the prefixed markers are formally identical with preverbs. One can distinguish the following groups: (a) relational, (b) potential and obligatory, (c) directional and (d) ayta- "again".
6.2.2 The relational markers.
6.2.2.1 They are the following: \( c = \) "together with", \( la = \) "with, by way of", \( z = \) "for, in favour of", \( cx = \) "against, detrimental to" (all of type A).
6.2.2.2 Exx. with \( c = \) "together with"

\[
\begin{align*}
& y-15-c-o-s-fa-wa-\emptyset-yt' \\
& s-15-c-ca-wa-\emptyset-yt' \\
& a-maca s-15-c-a-s-wa-\emptyset-yt' \\
& s-15-c-o-\emptyset-y-na-la-wa-\emptyset-yt'
\end{align*}
\]

"I eat it together with her"  
"I go together with her"  
"I play cards with her", lit. "I beat the cards maca with her"  
"I go into (a lodging) with her"

The marker \( c = \) is often preceded by the reciprocal prefix: ay-\( c = \) "together":

\[
\begin{align*}
& y-ay-c-o-r-fa-wa-\emptyset-yt' \\
& h-ay-c-ca-wa-\emptyset-yt'
\end{align*}
\]

"we eat it together"  
"we leave together"

6.2.2.3 Exx. with \( la = \) "with":

\[
\begin{align*}
& d-\emptyset-la-s-o-x-e-a-wa-\emptyset-yt' \\
& d-\emptyset-la-s-k-wa-\emptyset-yt' \\
& s-\emptyset-la-y-e-wa-\emptyset-yt'
\end{align*}
\]

"I protect him with it"  
"I catch him with it"  
"I write with it"

The marker \( la = \) is exceptional in that, although it is of type A, it has not been found with 1st or 2nd person.

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6.2.2.4 Exx. with ꞌ"] "for":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yə-1-ẓā-qa-s-ẓa-wā-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"I do it for her"} \\
\text{yə-1-ẓā-āa-z-ga-wā-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"I bring it to her"} \\
\text{s-1ə-ẓa-ca-wā-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"I go for her"} \\
\text{sə-1-ẓā-px_ a-wa-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"I read it to her"}
\end{align*}
\]

6.2.2.5 Exx. with ꞌ"] "against":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{y-lo-ẓ-a-kā-ha-wa-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"she drops it (ab. large things)"} \\
\text{y-lo-ẓ-a-kā-s_ a-wā-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"she drops it (ab. small things)"} \\
\text{s-1ə-ẓ-ca-wā-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"I escape her"} \\
\text{s-1ə-ẓ-o-tā-c_ wa-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"I go out of it, escaping her"}
\end{align*}
\]

6.2.3 The potential and obligatory marker.

6.2.3.1 The potential marker is ꞌ"] "possible for", the obligatory marker is ꞌ"] ꞌ"] "unavoidable for". With dyn.tr. stems the marker is preceded by an object prefix indicating the agent of the basic verb, whilst the agent prefix is absent. With dyn.intr. stems the marker stands alone. Exx.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d-ə-ẓ-ba-wā-m-∅} & \quad \text{"I cannot see him"} \\
\text{də-ẓ-ca-wā-m-∅} & \quad \text{"he cannot go"} \\
\text{də-ẓ-lə-xa-wa-m-∅} & \quad \text{"he cannot help her"} \\
\text{y-ə-ẓ-o-ta-ča-wa-m-∅} & \quad \text{"I cannot put it into it"} \\
\text{də-ẓ-o-tā-la-wa-m-∅} & \quad \text{"he cannot go into it"} \\
\text{d-s- ꞌ"] ꞌ"]-ba-wa-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"I must see him"} \\
\text{d- ꞌ"] ꞌ"]-ca-wa-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"he must go"} \\
\text{d- ꞌ"] ꞌ"]-lo-xa-wa-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"he must help her"} \\
\text{y-s- ꞌ"] ꞌ"]-ta-ča-wa-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"I must put it into it"} \\
\text{d- ꞌ"] ꞌ"]-tā-la-wa-∅-yt} & \quad \text{"he must go into it"}
\end{align*}
\]

6.2.3.2 The potential is excluded in the positive declarative forms and in general mostly occurs in negative forms; the obligatory is excluded in the negative declarative forms and mostly occurs in positive forms.

6.2.4 The directional markers.

6.2.4.1 They are the following: ꞌ"] ꞌ"] ꞌ"] "hither", ꞌ"] ꞌ"] "thither", ꞌ"] ꞌ"] ꞌ"] "up-
wards", $l(a)$- "downwards". The variants $n^{-}, y^{-}, l^{-}$ are used before object prefix 3sg.irrat. a- or $O^{-}$, and before preverbs of type C, i.e. in those contexts where $n=\text{ etc.}$ would obscure the distinction a+preverb vs. $(\emptyset)$preverb:

- $\text{d-}\overline{n-}\text{ka-}\overline{a-ha-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-yt'$ "he fell down (thither)"
- $\text{d-}\overline{n-}\emptyset-\text{ta-}\overline{a-ha-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-yt'$ "he fell into it (th.)"
- $\text{d-}\overline{n-}\emptyset\overline{\delta-}\text{k}\overline{w-}\overline{ha-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-yt'$ "he fell onto it (th.)"
- $\text{d-}\overline{g-}\overline{a-}\text{k}\overline{w-}\overline{ha-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-yt'$ "he fell onto it (th.)"
- $\text{d-}\overline{n-}\emptyset\overline{\delta-}\text{ra-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-yt'$ "he crossed it (th.)"
- $\text{d-}\overline{n-}\emptyset\overline{\delta-}\text{sa-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-yt'$ "he beat it (th.)"

6.2.4.2 The directional markers are labeled as such because of their formal identity with the directional preverbs; as markers, their main function is to express the punctual character of an action. They are found mostly in Aorist forms. The punctual function is most clear in combination with stems indicating a prolonged action; in such cases the marker adds an inchoative or momentaneous element, e.g.:

- $\text{d-}\overline{aa-}\text{c}\overline{\delta-}\text{awa-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-yt'$ "he burst out crying"
- $\text{d-}\overline{na-}\text{c}\overline{\delta-}\text{awa-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-yt'$ "he cried a little while"

6.2.4.3 With Sit./Progr. forms (see 4.3) the punctual character of the markers excludes the meaning "progressive", leaving as only possibility habitual (or future) action, e.g.:

- $\text{d-}\overline{aa-}\emptyset-\text{ta-}\overline{p}\overline{\delta-}\text{wa-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-yt'$ "he always casts a glance into it (hither)"
- $\text{d-}\overline{aa-}\emptyset-\text{ta-}\overline{p}\overline{\delta-}\text{wa-}\emptyset$ "he used to cast a glance into it (h.)"
- $\text{d-}\overline{aa-}\emptyset-\text{ta-}\overline{p}\overline{\delta-}\text{wa-}\text{ma-}\emptyset$ "he does not cast a single glance into it (h.)"
- $\text{d-}\overline{aa-}\emptyset-\text{ta-}\overline{p}\overline{\delta-}\text{wa-}\text{ma-}\emptyset-\text{z}-t'$ "he did not cast a single glance into it (h.)"

6.2.4.4 The directional markers cannot be combined with the following stems:

(1) static stems, except in certain fixed cases, e.g.:

- $\text{y-}\overline{aa-}\text{g}\overline{a-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-w$ "whatever there is"
- $\text{y-}\overline{aa-}\text{w-}\text{tax}\overline{\delta-}\emptyset-w$ "whatever you want"
- $\text{s-}\overline{na-}\text{z-}\overline{\delta-}\overline{\emptyset-}\emptyset-w$ "including me", lit. "among which I am"
(2) directional stems,
(3) dynamic simple stems denoting a productive activity, such as 3ax "to sew", γγ′ "to write",
(4) some other dynamic simple stems, such as pš "to die", γ "to be born", ca "to go".

6.2.5 Exx. with ayta- "again, once more":

\[\text{d-ayta-cā-Ø-Ø-yt'}\] "he went once more"
\[\text{d-ayta-Ø-ta-pš-wā-yt'}\] "he is looking into it again"
\[\text{d-ayta-(ā)-px-ä-Ø-Ø-yt'}\] "he read it again"

6.2.6 The verb-form may contain more than one prefixed marker. The relative order is as follows: (a) ayta-, (b) directional marker, (c) potential/obligative, (d) relational. Exx.:

\[\text{d-ayta-ŋ-ā-la-la-Ø-Ø-yt'}\] "he went into it again (thither)"
\[\text{y-aa-s-z-ay-la-m-k-aa-Ø-Ø-yt'}\] "I could not understand it"
\[\text{yē-s-z-ā-la-naq'-ga-wa-mē-z-t'}\] "I could not support them with it"

6.3 Suffixixed markers.

6.3.1 They are the following: -x "again, once more", -cwä "too (much), excessively", -k-ä "plural", -la (1) "iterative", (2) "adhortative", -sä "really, for good, (not) at all", -g-æš-a "alas", -æ'-a "just, exactly".

6.3.2 Exx. with -x:

\[\text{d-cā-x-Ø-Ø-t'}\] "he went once more"
\[\text{d-ayta-cā-x-Ø-Ø-t'}\] 

In questions, -x adds a certain emphasis (see also 4.4.2.3):

\[\text{y-a-xō-γ-h'(a)-aa-x-wa-Ø-zay}\] "what does he say about it, then?"
\[\text{w-a-bā-dā-Ø-z -- a-bā-x-xē-z}\] "where were you?" - - "(you ask me) where I was?"

6.3.3 Exx. with -cwä:

\[\text{do-ccak'-cwä-wā-Ø-yt'}\] "he hurries too much"
yē-bē'-5 ŵ-mō-r-dōw-ç'ā-ţ-ō-k'wā "in a quiet voice", lit. "not having enlarged his voice too much"

6.3.4 The marker -k'wā may pluralize a pronominal prefix (in particular a relative prefix) and also a conjunctival prefix, e.g.:

s'w-ţwā-k'wā-ţ "(you pl.) sit down!"
yō-z-ba-k'wā-wa-ţ "the things I see"
sō-z-ç'k'ā-w "the things I am busy with"
y-şś-ţa-la-k'wā-wa-ţ "the ways it happens"
d-ax'-kāl-s-k'wā-wa-ţ "the places where he turns up"

6.3.5 In iterative use -la is restricted to the Sit./Progr. and the Future. Exx.:

yasś-mša de-z-ba-la-wā-ţ-ys "I see him every day"
yē-x-sś-x-la-wa-ţ "as it always happens to me"

In adhortative use -la is restricted to the imperative, Volitive and subjunctive I. Exx.:

w-ca-la-ţ "(come on) go!"
wō-xmār-la-ţ "(come on) play!"
wō-m-cā-la-n "(come on) don't go!"
y-ţa-w-cā-la-p "(come on) you will do it!"
d-cā-ţa-ţ-aa-ys "(come on) let him go!"

6.3.6 Exx. with -3a:

d-cā-3a-wā-ţ-ys "he leaves wā-ţ-ys-ya for good"
dō-m-cā-3a-ţ-ys-ya "he did not go at all"

6.3.7 Exx. with -g'ēś-a:

d-cā-g'ēś-a-wa-ţ-ys "he leaves, alas"
d-zō-r-c'ōw-g'ēś-a-wa-ţ-zay "what makes you cry, alas?"
The element -g̃aš̄-a is a borrowing from Circassian.

6.3.8 Exx. with -q̃eš̄-a:

d-ax'-cā-(@-q̃eš̄)-a-wa-∅      "where exactly he is going"
da-pš̄a-∅-q̃eš̄-a-w-ma        "is she that beautiful?"

7 CLITICS.

7.1 The following clitics exist: -ay "is it not" (tag-question), -š-
"really?, I wonder", -y, -yš', -yš'-t "just".

7.2 The clitic -ay can be used with declarative forms. Exx.:

d-cā-∅-∅-y't-ay             "he went, didn't he?"
de-m-cā-∅-∅-y't-ay           "he didn't go, did he?"
y-sš-∅-w-∅-p'-ay             "I have it, haven't I?"

7.3 The clitic -š can be used with questions. Exx.:

d-cā-∅-∅-ma-š'                "did he really go?"
y-cā-∅-∅-da-š'               "who went, I wonder?"
d-a-bā-cā-∅-∅-š'              "where did he go, I wonder?"

7.4 The clitics -y, -yš', -yš'-t can be used with the imperative, Volitive
and subjunctive I. Exx.:

w-cā-∅-yš'                  "just go!"
w-ca-∅-∅-yš'                "just (come on and) go!"
h-cā-p∅-∅-yš'               "just let's go!"
d-c(ā)-aay∅-∅-yš'           "just let him go!"

FOOTNOTES: 1) For the deviations from this order, see 4.2 Remark 9 and 5.1.
2) Other "comparatives" are formed analytically by means of yahā, e.g.:

yahā  d∅-y-wa∅-∅-w-p'        "he is stronger"
yahā  y-xa∅-∅-w-p'           "it is sweeter"
3) The postpositions ack’s/ack’es and aasta (both of type A) have the meaning "compared with, than"; if they are used, yahā can be omitted, e.g.:

sara s-ack’es de-y”y”a-Ø-w-p’ "he is stronger than I"
ā-cxa (ā-)ack’es y-xaā-Ø-w-p’ "it is sweeter than honey"
sara s-ack’es d-Ø-aycā-Ø-w-p’ "he is smaller than I"

4) In addition, with stems denoting a motion the markers express direction. In many cases, however, the reason for choosing one particular marker, rather than another, is unclear.
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1. De opvatting dat in het Abchazisch de prefixen n(ə)-, y(w(ə)-, l(ə)- de varianten zijn van resp. na- "thither", y"a- "upwards", la- "downwards" in ablatieve/elatieve werkwoorden is onjuist.


2. Het beschrijven van een Abchazisch complex prefix als een combinatie van twee prefixen betekent het verwarren van analyse met etymologie.


3. De opvatting dat in het Abchazisch "(the suffix) -la- is used where the preverb is in its a-grade, -aa- where the preverb has its zero-grade" is niet correct. Hetzelfde geldt voor de stelling dat -la-, -aa- alleen optreden bij die wortels die ook zelfstandig (d.w.z. zonder preverb) kunnen voorkomen.

1 B.G. Hewitt: op. cit.: 221.
2 S.K. Aristava et al.: op. cit.: 158.

4. De opvatting dat er in het Abchazisch een morfeem a "prefix van de oblique relatie" bestaat is aanwezigbaar.


5. De stelling dat in het Abchazisch "the complement may become the root of a stative verb, where the stative markers (Present -w+ , Past -n) virtually function as the copula" is onhoudbaar.

1 B.G. Hewitt: op. cit.: 106.

6. De Abchazische uitgang -zar "conditional II" wordt ten onrechte beschreven als een combinatie van het tijd-suffix -z- "past" en de uitgang -r "conditional I".

7. Het introduceren van de begrippen "preverben-stammen" (preverby-osnovy) en "wortels-suffixen" (korni-suffiksy) maakt de beschrijving van het Abchazi- sche werkwoord onnodig gecompliceerd.

Š.K. Aristava et al.: op. cit.: 150.


9. Aan de beweerde genetische verwantschap tussen (NW., NO., of Z.) Kaukasische talen en het Baskisch ontbreekt een wetenschappelijke basis.

10. De aanwezigheid van Kaukasisch sprekende groepen in Turkije (met uitzonder- ing van het Qubyk) wordt onvoldoende uitgebreid voor linguistisch onderzoek.

11. De opzet van de Lingua Descriptive.Studies kan weliswaar zijn nut hebben bij de vergelijking van overeenkomstige verschijnselen in verschillende talen, maar is slecht geschikt voor grammaticale beschrijvingen.

12. De syntactische rol die voorzetsels spelen in een taal wordt in het algemeen te weinig onderkend.

13. De in de A.N.S. gegeven beschrijving van de volgorde van SVO in het Neder- lands is nodeloos ingewikkeld.

Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst, Groningen-Leuven, 1984: 917 e.v.

14. De uitspraak dat "een grammatica wordt uitgevonden, niet ontdekt" lijkt weliswaar bevestigd te worden door veel taalkundige activiteit, maar is in tegenspraak met het empirisch karakter van deze wetenschap.


Stellingen behorende bij het proefschrift:
SAMENVATTING

Het Abchazisch is een der NW. Kaukasische talen.

In deze studies staat het Abchazische werkwoord centraal. Terwijl de overige woordsoorten betrekkelijk eenvoudig zijn, vertoont het werkwoord een hoge mate van complexiteit. Deze studies trachten tesamen een volledige beschrijving te geven van de structuur van het Abchazische werkwoord.

Om tot zo’n beschrijving te komen, was het allereerst nodig om een gedetailleerde studie te maken van de locale prefixen, niet alleen vanwege hun grote aantal, maar ook vanwege hun ruime gebruik. Deze prefixen worden behandeld in hoofdstuk I.

Bij de beschrijving van de locale prefixen ontstaan bepaalde problemen betreffende het accent. Aangezien een beschrijving van het Abchazische accent nog nooit gegeven is, wordt dit onderwerp uitputtend behandeld in hoofdstuk II.

De behandeling van het accent leidt, op zijn beurt, tot enkele fonologische kwesties. Hoewel de Abchazische fonologie meerdere malen is beschreven (Uslar, Dumézil, Lomtatidze), zijn sommige detailproblemen niet aan bod gekomen. In hoofdstuk III wordt getracht deze leemtes op te vullen.

Het laatste hoofdstuk geeft een volledige beschrijving van het Abchazische werkwoord. Alle categorieën van affixe (behalve die welke behandeld zijn in I) worden opgesomd, hun combinatoire mogelijkheden worden gegeven én een beknopte beschrijving van de betekenis der vormen.
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