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Valency in Karata
- A Preliminary Study -

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Résumé

L'object de cette étude est la valence du Karata, une langue andi de la branche daghestanaise de la famille nakh-daghestanaise ou est-caucasienne. Cette langue marquant les fonctions syntaxiques par des affixes casuelles, les phénomènes relatifs à la rection des verbes se manifestent par des cadres casuelles divers.
Dans un premier temps, nous procédons à l'inventaire des cadres casuels utilisés selon le nombre d'actants requis par le verbe. Le karata est une langue à alignement ergatif et l'objectif est donc en particulier de repérer des cadres non canoniques qui ne contiennent pas d'argument au nominatif. Ils constituent, pour une partie, des indices de la direction de l'évolution de la langue et, pour une autre, des indices révélateurs de son fonctionnement synchronique.

Le karata, comme d'autres langues andi, n'a qu'une seule dérivation affectant la valence des verbes, il s'agit du causatif. On trouve aussi en karata un groupe réduit de verbes pouvant figurer aussi bien dans la construction avec agent que dans celle sans agent, il s'agit des verbes labiles, dont la définition sera discutée afin de mieux capturer ce phénomène en karata, et dans les langues andi en générale. Bien que des contours réguliers émergent, là encore nous présenterons les irrégularités qui sont parfois révélatrices du système de la langue et parfois soulèvent des questions d'ordre plus générale.

Enfin il convient de souligner que cette étude a été réalisée dans des conditions particulières qui ne permettent ni l'exhaustivité ni la certitude des résultats présentés. D'un autre côté, nous avons procédé à l'étude systématique de la moindre phrase de notre corpus et espérons ainsi ne pas trop nous éloigner de la vérité.

Abstract

This study surveys valency in Karata in terms of three main phenomena: case frames, a valency-increasing operation and alternations. Karata is an Andi language of the Daghestanian branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian (~ East-Caucasian) language family. The language marks syntactic roles with case suffixes, order is grammatically irrelevant.

After providing necessary grammatical background, I make an inventory of the case frames found in Karata according to the number of arguments. Karata is an ergative language. The goal is therefore to identify non-canonical case frames, i.e. frames with no nominative argument. These are interesting because on the one hand some indicate how the language has evolved and some reveal how sensitive the language is to certain parameters.

Karata, like other Andi languages, has only one valency-changing derivation, the causative. Karata also has a smaller group of verbs which can feature in both agentive and agentless constructions. I discuss the definition of lability so as to better capture transitivity alternations that are more or less productively related to lability.

This study is based on a closed corpus of written examples. Although every care has been taken in the analysis, the nature of the data at my disposal cannot assure the exhaustivity or veracity of my results.

Foreword

I cannot express enough how grateful I am to Prof. Denis Creissels and Prof. Colette Grinevald.

Denis Creissels not only introduced me to a fascinating language area, but he allowed me more time and counsel than I could have hoped for. I am greatful for his commitment, his readiness to answer my questions and discuss various topics. His cogent and insightful explanations along with his continuing interest in my work on Karata have been incredibly inspiring and decisive. I realise what an honour and a chance working with him has been.

Colette Grinevald has been supportive since I first enquired whether the master's degree in Lyon would be a good match for me. She connected me with Denis Creissels in the first place and over the master's duration she has responded to my enthusiasm for languages in unhoped for ways. She has been an essential support for me.

My thanks also go to the DDL (CNRS) laboratory for affording me the possibility to participate in different conferences.

Committing to the study of languages as a full-time occupation is a luxury which I am lucky enough to have. My family have demonstrated unswerving trust in my endeavours although they may have appeared hazardous at times. I am happy to be able to say that it has not been in vain.

Contents

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Karata and the Karata people.

Karata (*k̄'irīi mac̄'i*, Russian *каратинский язык*) belongs to the Andi sub-branch of the Avaro-Andi branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family (▸ appendix 1).The conventional name *Karata* is Avar. Two dialects are recognised namely the Karata dialect and the Tukita dialect. Phonetic and morphological discrepancies are significant but speakers of both varieties manage to communicate although they seem to prefer using Avar (Magomedobekova 1971: 4).

Karata is spoken in ten villages, eight of which are located in the Akhvakhskij administrative district: Karata, Rachabalda, Arsho, Anchikh, Mashtada, Chabakoro, Ratsitl and Tukita while Nizhnjeje Inkhelo is part of the Botlikhskij district and the village of Sjukh is part of the Khasavjurtovskij district in the lowlands north of Daghestan. The territory inhabited by the Karata is part of a larger homogeneous cultural area (sometimes referred to as Avaria[1]) which is mostly Avar and traditionally associated to the use of Avar as the regional lingua franca (▸ appendix 2).

The Karata are Sunni Muslims. They are indigenous to the region. The first and last census of their population as a distinct people dates back to 1926. The number of Karata was then 5,305 (The Red Book of the Peoples of the Russian Empire). Since then, the Karata are considered to be part of the Avar people and there has been no precise census, only estimations. Magomedova and Khalidova in their 2001 dictionary give the approximate number of 20,000 speakers[2].

1.2. Goals

The goal of this master's thesis is to study the valency of Karata. More exactly, it aims to make a systematic (though necessary preliminary ▸ 3.1.) study of valency phenomena in this language. It also tries to draw parallels with other Andi languages whenever possible.

1.3. Ressources

Concerning Karata there exist one grammatical sketch (Magomedbekova 1971) and one Karata-Russian dictionary (Magomedova & Khalidova 2001) of approximately 8,000 headwords[3]. Similar morphology-oriented sketches exist for Andi languages such as for Akhvakh (Magomedbekova 1967) and Godoberi (Saidova 1973). Dictionaries of the same collection exist for Akhvakh (Magomedova, Adbulaeva

[1] See appendix 2, n°9 of map 1. This term, used by a small group of Daghestanian people, carries pro-independence connotations.

[2] Note that this estimate is most probably very optimistic. In the 2002 census, in which people were free to choose their nationality (as opposed to the Russian citizenship), little more than 6,000 Karata have been counted, yet these figures are even less reliable since many people carried on claiming they were Avar out of habit.

[3] Each headword contains several subentries.

2007) and Chamalal (Magomedova 1999). Two more comprehensive grammars have been published: Godoberi (Kibrik (ed) 1996) and Bagvalal (Kibrik (ed) 2001). More recently, a study of the valency of Akhvakh was carried out as part of the valency project of the MPI-EVA (Creissels 2010).

In addition, I have fruitfully consulted grammars of related Daghestanian languages: A grammar of Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993) and Grammaire de la langue avar (Charachidzé 1981).

Concerning valency, on top of language-particular studies enumerated above, I have mainly used *English verb classes and Alternations: A preliminary investigation* (Levin 1993). Other references for documents I have consulted will be given throughout the text.

2. THE KARATA LANGUAGE

2.1. Grammatical background

2.1.1. Syntax

Karata, like other Daghestanian languages (*a fortiori* Andi languages), has radical P-alignment. This property has consequences for the study of valency.

> 'Si les schémas actanciels sont une composante importante de la caractérisation d'une langue, les structures d'actance, qui sont établies par la confrontation, dans une même langue, des constructions uniactancielle et biactancielle [...] sont assurément de plus de portée.' (Lazard 1994, 27)[4]

Transitive construction :

(1) *den-a* *ce-b-k'eda* *kwarc'e* *ɬ'ame*
1sg-ERG one-N-two handful_of_grass pull_out-PF
I pulled out one two handfuls of grass.
Я нарвала один-два пучка травы.

Intransitive construtions :

(2) *den* *eɬel* *barq̄'ada* *j-el-ã*
1sg today early F-wake_up-PF
I woke up early today.
Я сегодня очень рано проснулась.

In example (1) the agentive participant is coded by the suffixation of a morpheme, the patientive participant is in the quotation form (alias nominative or absolutive form) and it governs the agreement marker prefixed to the verb. In example (2), the

[4] Valency patterns represent a significant part of a language's characteristics, but valency structures, which are are made apparent through the confrontation, in one language, of monovalent and bivalent constructions, are far more telling'. (personal translation)

only participant is in the nominative form and governs the agreement marker on the verb. The unique participant of the intransitive construction has the same coding characteristics as the patientive participant in the transitive construction.

Transitive construction	A	P	AgM_P-VERB
Intransitive construction		S	AgM_S-VERB

Karata has extremely flexible constituent order rendering case marking the only reliable means of identifying syntactic roles. Since order is grammatically irrelevant, valency patterns and alternations are manifested in various case frames.

On the contrary, the internal order of constituents is rigidly of the dependent-head type with. In canonical noun constituents, the head noun is in final position and is infected for number and case. It is also dependent-marking (Nichols 1986).

2.1.2. Nouns

Before turning to how syntactic relationships are marked, a few preliminary remarks are in order.

There are five noun classes in Karata which can roughly be characterised as follows:

sg				**pl**		
Class	Morpheme	Abr		Class	Morpheme	Abr
I	-w-	M	male human	I	-b(aj)-	H^+
II	-j	F	female human			
III	-b	N	remainder (animals, objects)	II	-r(aj)-	nH^+

Table 1. *Agreement markers.*

Noun class is more often than not a covert category, showing itself in agreement. (There are some cases in which class is marked directly on the noun: *jaše* ‘girl’, *waša* ‘boy’, *jacī* ‘sister’, *wacī* ‘brother’.) In prefixal positions (in verbs in particular), plural class markers are always realised as *–b-* and *–r-*. The plural marker *–aj-* is realised when the class markers are in suffixal position. However a difference shows between plural and singular class markers in prefixal position with some verbs (in particular between *b-* N and *b-* H^+. The human-plural class agreement marker *b-* provokes the change of the initial vowel of the stem, same for *–r*. For instance, the verb *bo?ãła* ‘to go’ is part of the group of verbs which have an agreement marker and is also sensitive to the singular/plural distinction (i.e. the first vowel of the stem changes).

(3) *a.* *ho-šu-χa-r* *īwani* *ʕadã-di* *b-a?-ã*
DEM-M_0-CFG_4-ALL much person-PL H^+-go-PF
Many people went to his place.
К нему пришло много людей.

b. *mak’-i* *r-ačw-ãła* *r-a?-ã*
child-PL nH^+-bathe-INF nH^+-go-PF
The children went to bathe.
Дети пошли купаться.

Karata like other Daghestanian languages has a rich case system in addition to a singular-plural number opposition (▸ table 3). As in other Nakh-Daghestanian languages, the overwhelming majority of Karata nouns have a 'dual-base declension' (Harris 2010). The citation form is used as the nominative form. All other cases are marked through the suffixation of a case marker. Some nouns simply attach case inflections to a stem identical to the nominative form but the majority have an oblique stem distinct from the nominative to which cases attach. Some words even have both variants (*ɬ̄ẽj* 'water' for instance).

Oblique formants vary according to the class parameter. Singular nouns referring to a male human always take the oblique formant *-šu-*. Those referring to a female human always take the oblique formant *-ɬ̄i-*. Singular nouns reffering to a non-human usually for the oblique stem by changing the end vowel or adding one, some take the marker *-ɬ̄i-*. In plural, all humans add to the citation form marked for plural the plural human oblique formant *–lo-* (the noun is marked twice for plural). Non-humans are marked by a vowel change or addition. Human oblique formants come most probably from demonstrative pronouns (▸ Harris 2010).

There are six grammatical cases. The nominative case is the citation form, another way of saying this would be to say that the nominative zero morpheme *–Ø* is suffixed directly to the nominal form (as opposed to the oblique form). Other grammatical cases are usually suffixed to the oblique stem. The ergative case is the agent marking case *par excellence* but it conflates another value, that of the instrumental case. Two genitival strategies exist in Karata. One way of encoding the genitive with animate humans is to add one of the agreement markers (AgM) directly to the oblique stem. The class marker used this way indicates the head noun's class. The other way of encoding the genitive is by suffixing the morpheme *-ī(aj)-* to the oblique stem. This morpheme is used with nouns belonging to the third singular and second plural classes (i.e. non-humans).

Note that the real opposition in case marking is not so much between spatial cases and grammatical cases as between the nominative case and the other cases. The nominative case exhibits two properties that are typical of core arguments: non-markedness and verbal indexation. By contrast, the ergative case is marked and not indexed as are all other cases.

Concerning spatial cases, Karata, like other Daghestanian languages, makes use of a bidimensional case system (Creissels In Malchukov & Spencer 2009), i.e. two sets of morphemes are used to specify a spatial relationship:

- there are eight markers specifying the topological parameter, i.e. spatial distinctions of the type encoded in English by prepositions in, under, on, near, ... I will use the cover term *configuration* here (Other terms are used: *localisation* in Russian studies (Testelets 1980, Ganenkov 2005), *orientation* (Comrie & Polinsky 1998).
- another set of three morphemes specifies the trajectory parameter or path, i.e. distinctions of location, destination and source. (Other terms have been used as a

cover term: *direction* (Comrie & Polinsky 1998), *spatial-case meaning* (Testelets 1980), *orientation II* (Meljchuk 1998)), here I will use the term direction after Comrie.

Configuration markers are usually suffixed to the oblique stem of the noun and direction morphemes are obligatorily suffixed to configuration markers.

Structure

(	NOUN(NOM)	+	PL	+	OBL	+	CASE	)

Table 2. *Noun structure*.

Inventories

OBL		**PL**[5]	**GRAM. CASE**	
M	-š̆u-	-bi-/-ibi-/-abi-	NOM	-Ø
F/N	-ɬ̄i-	-di/-idi/-adi-	ERG	-l-
N	-V-	-bdi-/-ibdi-/-abdi	GEN	-ɬ̄(aj)
H^{+}	-lo-	- j/-aj-/-ij-	GEN	-AgM
nH^{+}	-V-	-i-	DAT	-a
		-baj-	COM	-k'el
		-badi-	ESS	-ɬe
		-li-		

SPATIAL CASE			
CFG	+	**DIR**	
1	-č'o-	LOC	-Ø
2	-ʟ'a-	ALL	-r
3	-a-	ABL	-gal
4	-χa-		
5	-q̄-		
6	-i-		
7	-ɬ̄i-		
8	-ɬ̄'i-		

Table 3. *Inventory of nominal formatives*.

Configuration markers (CFG) and direction markers combine almost freely. Karata should have 24 possible combinations (8 CFG x 3 DIR), however there are 'only' 20 attested combinations.

[5] Note that plural formation remains to be investigated. If a word ends in a vowel, the vowel sometimes drops. On the basis of what I have been able to observe in examples, no precise context can be determined as triggering one variant rather than the other. Examples: *šunk'a* 'leg' → *šunk'-ibi*, *gaga* '(fruit) stone' → *gaga-bi*, *k'aze* 'shawl' → *k'az-idi*, *k'unc̄'e* 'cub' → *k'unc̄'-adi*.

	CFG_1	CFG_2	CFG_3	CFG_4	CFG_5	CFG_6	CFG_7	CFG_8
LOC	-č'o-Ø	-ʟ'a-Ø	-a-Ø	/	-q̄-Ø	-i-Ø	-l̄i-Ø	-l̄'i-Ø
ALL	/	-ʟ'a-r	-a-r	-χa-r	/	-i-r	-l̄i-r	-l̄'i-r
ABL	-č'o-gal	-ʟ'a-gal	-a-gal	/	-q̄i-gal	-i-gal	-l̄i-gal	-l̄'i-gal

Table 4. *Possible combinations of spatial case formatives*.

Four restrictions apply to the free combinability of CFG and DIR. CFG_1 and CFG_5 do not have allative form and CFG_4 is only attested in the allative form.

Each configuration marker is used productively to encode more or less precise configurations (Pasquereau 2010). What is of real interest for the present study is that they are also productively used in non-spatial situations to mark arguments.

2.1.3. Verbs

There are two verb classes in Karata: verbs with an agreement prefix and verbs without. The class prefix always agrees with the nominative argument's class.

Verbs in Karata indicate tense, aspect and evidentiality. The verbal system of Karata consists of few simple forms and many analytical (alias periphrastic) (≠ synthetic verb forms (Creissels 2006)) tense/aspect/mood/evidentiality form. There are also deverbal nouns, so-called masdars.

Verbs have a variety of TAM and converbial suffixes, i.e. suffixes which indicate that the verb is subordinated to another clause. Converbs also take part in the formation of analytic verb forms.

There are two general converbs: *-da* present tense and *–ebχwa* past tense although very often, as Magomedbekova notes 'Forms without *–bχwa,* i.e. past tense forms [in –e], may also be used as past converbial forms'[6] (1971: 144). In addition, there is a range of specialised converbs, that is converbs which on top of indicating subordination, convey adverbial/circumstancial meanings of time, manner, ...

Verbs also take part in analytical constructions whereby they combine with an auxiliary (the copula *ida* or the verb *bik'wała* 'to be') to encode further distinctions of time and aspect. There is also a tendency for verbs to feature in constructions where they are accompanied by one of the movement verbs *bo?ãła* 'to go' or *bexwała* 'to come' which then seems to lose its lexical meaning and brings only its aspectual meaning (that is, in these constructions, this verb does not contribute a semantic role).

Note that the distinction finite/non-finite form is an issue in Daghestanian languages (▸ Kalinina & Sumbatova In (Nikolaeva 2007: 183) for a discussion of ways of apprehending this distinction in Nakh-Daghestanian languages). It is all the more an issue for me at this stage since Karata has the capacity of using a non-marked converbial form, therefore similar to the past tense form (segment-wise[7]), in analytic constructions. In other words, some constructions look like the juxtaposition of two verbs marked for tense.

[6] 'В качестве деепричастия прошедшего времени могут быть использованы и формы без *–boχa*, т.е. формы прошедшего времени.'

[7] Accentuation and length may make a difference.

The question of converbs and verb combinability remains to be investigated. Examples in my corpus where not enough to identify the meaning of all converbial endings.

2.2. Characteristics of valency coding

2.2.1. Argument realisation

Spatial cases are piece and parcel of the grammatical case system when used non-spatially: verbs govern frozen combinations of a configuration marker plus a direction marker.

	pre-final element	**final element**
spatial uses	configuration marker	direction marker
non-spatial uses	grammatical case	

Table 5. *Spatial cases Vs grammatical cases*.

Used non-spatially, some cases (CFG-DIR) have typical metaphorical uses. For instance, the configuration marker numbered 1, CFG_1[LOC] *-č'o-*, marks the hittee with verbs of contact by impact (Levin 1993: 148), CFG_5[LOC] *-q̄-* marks the exchanged thing, CFG_4[ALL] *-χar-* marks the experiencer. If the argument-realisation is to some extent semantically motivated, it is nonetheless required by the verb. It actually makes up an argument in favour of the assumption that the behaviour of a verb, is determined by its meaning. (Levin 1993, Levin&Rappaport 2005, Fillmore 1970).

2.2.2. Missing argument

Karata can leave any of its arguments unexpressed trigerring an anaphorical or indefinite interpretation. Because of this and because the radical P-alignment of the language, the only hints of the presence of null arguments are:
- the meaning of the verb (for instance, how many participants does a process like 'eat' require at a conceptual level?)
- the Russian translation
- the class-agreement prefix (for verbs that have it) if the unexpressed argument saturates the nominative slot.

In the following example, the indications of the presence of an agent are the meaning of the verbs, i.e. a donkey cannot load itself, and the form of the Russian verb.

(4) *ʕama haɬ'-ila-l b-ec'-e*
donkey armfulPL_0-ERG N-load-PF
We/They loaded the donkey with armfuls of things.
Осла охапками нагрузили.

We will see (▸ 5.1.2.) that null arguments pose a problem for the identification of P-labile verbs.

2.2.3. Binominative constructions

The case frame <NOM, NOM> can be found in the construction of a verb which usually demands the frame <ERG, NOM>. This happens with analytic verb forms.

The verb *šorała* provides an example of this agreement alternation. The first example below exhibits two core arguments: the walker in the ergative case and the place where the event takes place in the nominative. The second example encodes a similar situation with the same number of participants but the walker is marked by the nominative case. The explanation is that in the second example the argument expressing the walker is part of the valency of *bik'wała* 'to be', which bears the corresponding agreement marker –w-, while the argument encoding the place where the event takes place is treated as the obligatory argument in the valency of *šorała*.

(5) *a.* *iš̌i-l* *ī'wani* *šor-e-šor-e* *ce-b-da* *mak'wa*
1pl(EXCL)-ERG much walk-PF-walk-PF one-N-INT place
We walked in the same place a great deal of time.
По одному и тому же месту мы прогуливались.

b. *taraš̌-ge* *q̄'wat'-aj* *šor-da* *w-uk'-a* *hugu-w*
dog-like street-PL walk-IPF M-be.PF-PF DEM-M
He was walking the streets like a dog.
Он гулял как бродячая собака.

2.2.4. Complement clause

Complement clauses have not been investigated here. I only present verbs which require nominally-headed arguments. The first example a. features the verb *keī'ała* 'to speak, to say' with a nominal complement, b. examplifies the same verb with a complement clause marked by the complementiser *-ī'e*, which is diachronically related to this verb (this example is from a text without translation). The second example exemplifies the use of the complementiser in another context.

(6) *a.* *ãɬer-da* *keī'-ẽ-č'e* *den-a*
word-INT speak-PF-NEF 1sg-ERG
I did not say a word.
Я ни слова не произнес.

b. *in-š̌u-l* *ita-ɬa* *hač'e-ī'e* *keī'-e.*
LOG-M_0-ERG let-INF COP.NEG-COMPL speak-PF
He said that he was not going to let us.

(7) *eɬelaīi* *gah-ała-ī'e* *b-ešd-a* *b-ik'w-a*
tomorrow do-INF-COMPL N-leave-PF.CVB N-be-PF
I have left it to do for tomorrow.
Думала, что сегодня-завтра сделаю.

3. METHODS

3.1. Data

This study is based on the sentences given in the Karata-Russian dictionary (Magomedova & Khalidova 2001). The entries contain a wealth of examples (word groups, phrases, idioms, proverbs and saying) given with their Russian translation.

The sample represents about 200 pages of Karata sentences with their translation. The Russian translations make the corpus reliable insofar as Karata speakers are bilingual in Russian. On the other hand, the sentences are given out of context and given that the language tends to omit arguments that are retrievable from the context, it is sometimes impossible to process examples. Examples for which I did not have enough information to uncover a case frame have been left out. As a consequence, a few verbs which were illustrated by only one or two such examples were left out of this study's scope. Apart from the lack of context, another consequence of working on this type of data is the impossibility to carry out tests with speakers, this is why syntactic considerations have been left aside, in particular Lazard's 'critères seconds'[8] such as anaphora control with reflexive pronouns.

3.2. Methodology

The organisation of my corpus is similar to that of the dictionary, that is, every sentence exemplifying a verb is put into a section (or entry) specific to this particular verb. If a sentence uses two verbs, it appears in both verbs' section.

Each section at a time, I systematically looked at every sentence of my corpus and tried for each to spot the arguments that were part of a given verb's case frame. Some verbs have different meanings which correspond to different case frames (= valency patterns). I checked the dictionary after drawing conclusions from what I had observed in the data.

While a dictionary will go into the details of the different meanings of a verb, I tried to group together several uses provided the meanings were close and the case frames identical.

Given the specificities of the language and my corpus, the major difficulty was to identify P-labile verbs but this will be exposed in details in the section dedicated to this phenomenon (▸ 5.1.2.).

3.3. Definitions and concepts

8 'secondary criteria' (p.tr.)

Lazard defines valency as ‘les faits relatifs aux relations grammaticales qui s’établissent entre le prédicat verbal et les termes nominaux qui en dépendent’[9] (1994: ix).

The difficulty is to define the depency relationship between a verbal predicate and noun phrases. Indeed not all nouns required in the argument structure of a verb are equally dependent on this verb. This shows in particular in the coding of these nouns and on the verb. In 2.1. I have shown that the nominative argument is both unmarked and indexed on the verb (if the verb has a class-agreement prefix) whereas all other cases are marked by the addition of a suffix (which most of the time attaches to an oblique stem to boot) and not indexed on the verb. Thus the nominative case is in a way the only nuclear argument.

In the literature on valency, a primary distinction is made between arguments (or actants) and adjuncts (or satellites), that is between participants that are necessary to the predication and those that are not. But the distinction is far from being that clear.

In a three-level representation of event-coding:

1- The conceptual level is fairly universal; it is at this level that are conceptualised processes, events and what they involve. For instance, the process of cutting requires elements that are cut and elements that carry out this process.

2- At a semantic-pragmatic level, the ‘choice’ of how this event, process is going to be encoded by a given language’s material is carried out. Note that in this representation of mental processing, the semantic level is conceived of as being an interface between the conceptual fairly universal level and the morpho-syntactic level. For instance given the possibilities offered by English, we may infer that the choice of ‘the coding’ of the concept of cutting lies between a noun and a verb. In English, this would be ‘cutting’ (deverbal noun) or ‘cut’ (verb). Making a choice will trigger different coding possibilities for the participants involved. Depending on discursive paremeters (that is speakers’ intentions), the rection of the English verb ‘to cut’ offers several possibilities to encode an agent (subject governing verbal agreement, oblique) and several possibilities to encode an instrument (oblique, subject). These possibilities are linked to language-specific patterns, i.e. in English agent-subject/patient-object/instrument-oblique or instrument-subject/patient-object or patient-object/instrument-oblique or patient-object/agent-oblique. For instance Paducheva (1998), accounts for diathesis possibilities of certains Russian verb classes by distinguishing three communicative ranks: central, peripheral and null.

3- Thus, depending on which communicative rank the speaker attributes to a participant, the latter will receive more or less different coding properties. She gives the examples (translated from Russian) ‘I fill the bath with water/Water fills the bath’. In the first example the agent has the central rank while it has the null rank in the second.

What is specifically interesting for Karata is that the verb *χ̄ãɬa* ‘to cut’ encodes both animate agent and inanimate instrument by the same marker *–l-* (▸ 4.5.11.),

9 ‘[…] phenomena having to do with the grammatical relationships that exist between the verbal predicate and the nominal terms which depend on it’

which I call ergative marker in this study but Charachidzé for instance calls ‘l’instrumental’ (1981: 37). Karata seems to conflate the notion of agent and instrument under the marker *–l-* in some cases (▸ 5.1.2.2.3.2.). But with verbs of contact, the instrument is encoded by the nominative case (▸ 4.5.4.). This poses a real problem in my study. In addition, if both agent and instrumental have the same marker *–l-*, on what ground can we say that this morpheme is part of the valency of a verb when used to mark the agent but is an adjunct when it is used to mark an instrument? The concept of homophony may come handy in some clear situations where both agent and instrument are expressed, but in other cases both notions overlap (▸ 5.1.2.2.3.2.).

More generally, concerning the argument/satellite distinction, I have adopted a more descriptive framework. For example, of the following sentences: ‘I cut’, ‘I cut the baguette’ and ‘I cut the baguette with a knife’, only the last two are correctly used for the description of an event (not a regular activity). Therefore it would be correct to some extent to say that ‘I cut the baguette’ is the minimally correct sentence and only ‘I’ and ‘baguette’ qualify as arguments, moreover, the English language treats the instrument here as a satellite. But this approach would fail to account for the fact that at the conceptual level, ‘to cut’ implies a cutting element and although the instrument is not actualised in discourse with the second sentence, the instrumental slot is still ‘there’. In the end the solution I have adopted and applied here is to characterise ‘with a knife’ as an argument encoded as a satellite, or an oblique argument. (▸ table 6).

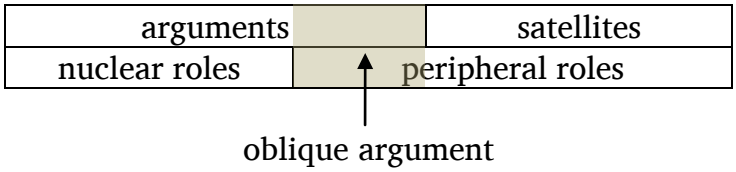


Table 6. *Arguments and satellites’ coding.*

Now this schema posits a clear-cut boundary between arguments and satellites. In reality, I have some difficulty when it comes to positing a boundary between arguments and satellites. For instance the dative case *–a-* conflates the recipient/addressee/beneficiary roles but usually beneficiaries are not arguments, i.e. they are not participants required by the verbs. In terms of prototypicality, we can posit that on the + prototypical argument side are patient and agent and on the + satellite side are circumstancial complements of time and place. Between these extremities, other semantic roles are either encoded as arguments or as satellites.

In the following example, *ɬ̄ẽ̄ī* ‘in the water’ is clearly a satellite.

c. *mak'-i* *[ce-šu-l* *ce-boj* *bacwacw-ā]* *b-oh-oda* *b-ak'w-a*
child-PL [one$_0$-M$_0$-ERG one-H$^+$ sink.ITER-PF.CVB N-play-IPF H$^+$-be-PF
ɬ̄ẽ-ī̄i
water$_0$-CFG$_8$[LOC]
Sinking each other, the children were playing in the water.
Окуная друг друга, дети игрались в воде.

The other difficultly stems from the fact that Karata uses the same verbs to express both motion and movement, the difference being that the latter implies a trajectory, a movement from A in the direction of B (like English but unlike Russian). For instance *k'ãc'āɬa* means 'to jump', and it is used in contexts in which it describes an activity and in other contexts in which it describes the way someone moves somewhere.

(8) a. *q̄'war-o-w-caq̄a* *k'ãc'-e* *ho-w*
sting-PF.PTCP-M-like jump-PF DEM-M
He jumped as if he had been stung.
Он подскочил как ужаленный.

b. *ī̄'erw-a-gal* *keī̄'i-r* *k'ãc'-e* *ho-j*
bridge-CFG$_3$-ABL under-ALL jump-PF DEM-F
She threw herself from the bridge. (lit. She jumped from the bridge to below.)
Она бросилась с моста.

A systematic investigation would be required but on the basis of my observations, the way Karata verbs function recalls the satellite-frame verb notion according to which direction is encoded outside the verb while manner is encoded in the verb. In any case, I have systematically made the distinction between motion verbs and movement verbs in this study. As a consequence motion verbs are classified in the monovalent section whereas movement verbs are classified in the bivalent or trivalent sections depending on the number and the coding of their arguments.

3.4. Specificities of this study

3.4.1. Decisions concerning the analysis

This study has an assumed descriptive bias. This is due to the nature of my data (▸ 3.1.) and to the conditions in which this study has been conducted: being only able to observe, I have preferred to remain as close to the language as I could. My conclusions cannot be a 100% sure given that an ergative argument can be added without modifying the rest of the verb's construction. In other words, some verbs may be exemplified in ergativeless constructions while no restriction whatsoever weighs on the use of an ergative argument. Identifying case frames verbs require boils down to identifying arguments and their realisation, however as I mentioned in 3.3, not being able to clearly distinguish arguments from satellites, I may have sometimes taken into account terms which are in fact satellites.

On the other hand, I have only treated verbs the case frame of which I could prove (in a few cases I will use dubious examples but will signal it).

In Karata, the dative marker and the locative of the configuration marker 3 (CFG_3[LOC] or LOC_3) are identical, *-a-*. The distinction cannot hold, therefore in the rest of this paper I will refer to the syncretic case DAT/LOC_3. In addition, I do not formally distinguish intransitive verbs from extended intransitive verbs and transitive from extended transitive as Aikhenvald (In Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 2) does for instance nor do I distinguish between active and patientive intransitive verb, because this is a semantic question that is not formally marked on verbs.

3.4.2. Topographical decisions

Karata words are given in italics and their translation between quotation marks.

The arrow, →, will be used with some verbs that are used with different case frames. The dictionary sometimes indicates one meaning as primary and the other as derived from it. The arrow simply indicates the meaning 'primary' meaning bound to another case frame. For instance *bibāɬa* 'to shout → to yell at' means that bibāɬa means 'to yell' but used in the case frame in which this notation is given (here <NOM, ALL_4>), it means 'to yell at'.

The sign ~ is used as a symbol for the word 'alternation'. For instance *k̄'wabaɬa* ~ *k̄'obaɬa* means that the form *k̄'wabaɬa* alternates with the form *k̄'obaɬa*.

As far as examples and glosses are concerned, a list of abbreviation is given at the end. Segmentation symbols are used according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules. In addition, note that if a morpheme provokes the lengthening of the stem's end vowel, then I indicate the resulting long vowel to the right of the dash.

Oblique formants which manifest through a vowel change or addition to a nominal stem X are not segmented but indicated in the gloss as X_0. For instance *rišãqer* 'work' has the oblique form *rišãqero* 'work$_0$'.

4. THE VALENCY PATTERNS OF KARATA

4.1. Avalent verbs

I have not found a single avalent verb in my corpus, all verbs have at least one argumental slot.

4.2. Weather verbs

Weather verbs (Levinson 1993: 276) make up a group of verbs which may be interpreted at first sight as implying no participant. Indeed verbs used in meteorological expressions appear more often than not with no arguments, however each of these verbs is found licensing a nominative argument. Meteorological events are expressed either through specialised meteorological verbs or through 'regular' verbs, i.e. verbs whose use is not restricted to the description of the weather. The decision to present this class of verbs in a separate section follows from the fact that their behaviour differs from that of other monovalent verbs with the same case

frame <NOM>: the set of nouns that can fill the nominative slot is extremely limited and a verb for a given meaning can only combine with one or sometimes two nouns, thus bordering on lexicalisation.

'Regular' verbs acquire a meteorological meaning when combined to a noun phrase which, depending on the verb, refers either to the place where the event occurs (*rešin* 'sky', *dunjal* 'world'), or to the event itself (*muču* 'wind', *c̄'aj* 'rain', *šibe* 'dew', *miłe* 'sun', *raχ̄e* 'star', *zare* 'hail', *reła* 'sea' or 'night', *ʁalmisa* 'earthquake', *c̄'waj* 'star', *pire* 'lightning', *ahaj* 'torrid heat', *haj* 'heat', *ʁalaj* 'newly fallen snow', *reʕibo* 'spring', *ričer* 'humidity'). The following verbs combine with these nouns: *ās̄ałała* 'to get warm', *bałała* 'to begin', baʔała 'to arrive', beχ̄wała 'to come', *bigwāła* 'to become burning hot', *biʁała* 'to stop', *boī'ała* 'to become hot', *boχ̄ała* 'to appear', *č'ebała* 'to flow out', *gerała* 'to stir', *halagłała* 'to increase', *herełała* 'to blush', *itała* 'to let', *kūč'kūč'āła* 'to shine', *ī'arāk̄wała* 'to frown → to be overcast', *pirχ̄ała* 'to flame up', *puwała* 'to blow', *q̄'ot'ała* 'to cease', *baī'i q̄'ot'ała* 'to calm down', *surk̄wała* 'to wear off → to abate', *s̄orała* 'to turn → to abate', *šibšikała* 'to cry → to drizzle', *tākāła* 'to abate', *t'amała* 'to throw → to fall' (▸5.1.2.2.3.1.), *t'ijāła* 'to pour', *t'ort'ała* 'to drip', *zaraʁwała* 'to get cold'. Since any noun phrase can be omitted, a verb may appear with a meteorological meaning even if the meteorological term is left unexpressed. Inasmuch as my data is made up of sentences taken out of their context, I am unable to say whether the omission of the specific NP is bound to restrictions.

(9) *c̄'aj bał-ida idja*
rain start-IPF COP
It's raining.
Дождь идет.

(10) *reʕibo baʔ-a*
spring begin-PF
Spring has come.
Весна наступила.

(11) *miłe r-oχ̄-e*
sun nH⁺-appear-PF
The sun rose.
Солнце взошло.

(12) *rešino-ī'i c̄'wa-bdi r-aχ̄-e*
sky_0-CFG_8[LOC] star-PL nH⁺-appear-PF
The stars came out in the sky.
В небе появились звезды.

Karata also has a more limited set of verbs specialised in the expression of meteorological events. As with the non-specialised verbs, a syntactic slot is available for a nominative argument. The nominative slot can be filled with, depending on the verb, a noun referring either to the place where the event takes place (*dunjal* 'world',

rešin ‘sky’) or to meteorological conditions (*ãze* ‘snow’, *reła* ‘night’, *kono* ‘light’, *c̄’aj* ‘rain’, *miłe* ‘sun’). These verbs are:

- *q̄aħłała* ‘to dawn’, *gwãʁała* ‘to light up’ and *ʟ’orčała* ‘to cloud up’ combine with *dunjal* ‘world’.
- *ʁurʁurāła* ‘to thunder’ combines with *rešin* ‘sky’.
- *rek’wała* ‘to fall’ combines with *ãze* ‘snow’.
- *kwãłała* ‘to end’ combines with *reła* ‘night’. > ‘to dawn’
- *sĩdułała* ‘to fade’ combines with *kono* ‘light’. > ‘to get dark’
- *šĭrała* ‘to drizzle’ combines with *c̄’aj* ‘rain’.
- *roχała* ‘to shine’ combines with *miłe* ‘sun’
- *rit’ała* ‘ to clear up’ has not been found with an expressed argument.
- *sĩdułāła* ‘to cause darkness’ requires two arguments: one in the ergative (the natural phenomenon) and one in the nominative (*dunjal* ‘world’). This verb is the causative of *sĩdułała* ‘to fade’ and it seems to be used exclusively to express the climatic condition that causes darkness.

(13) *ãze rek’-uda idja*
snow fall-IPF COP
There is snow.
Снег идет.

(14) *reła kwãł-e*
night end-PF
It dawned.
Рассвело.

(15) *rešin ʁurʁur-e*
sky thunder-PF
There was thunder.
Гром загремел.

(16) *dunjal q̄aħł-ebχwa idja*
world dawn-PF.N.CVB COP
The sun has risen.
Уже рассвело.

(17) *c̄’aj šĭr-da idja*
rain drizzle-IPF COP
It is drizzling.
Дождь моросит.

4.3 Monovalent verbs

4.3.1. The case frame <NOM>

The overwhelming majority of monovalent verbs occur in this case frame.

(18) *ʟ'ale* *χ̄er-e*
foliage fall-PF
The leaves fell.
Листва опала.

(19) *q̄ut'a* *ɬabc'e* *ʕuʕ-ē*
rooster three-times crow-PF
The rooster crew three times.
Петух трижды покукарекал.

4.3.2. The case frame <ERG>

This unusual case frame occurs with seven verbs of my corpus: *bac'ac'āɬa* 'to wet oneself, urinate' *bibāɬa* 'to warble, chirp', *hic'ac'āɬa* 'to boast', *šw̃ãšw̃āɬa* 'to whistle', *kerščẽšaɬa* 'to weave' *x̄warāɬa* 'to walk → to live', *χ̄ã̄ɬa* 'to snore'.

(20) *mak'ej-l* *bac'ac'-ājdja*
child$_0$-ERG wet_os-IPF
The child wets himself.
Ребенок мочится.

(21) *gugu-l* *ɬabc'e* *bib-ē*
cuckoo-ERG three_times shout-PF
The cuckoo sang three times.
Кукушка прокуковала трижды.

(22) *imo-l* *biʟ'e* *χ̄ã-da* *idja*
father$_0$-ERG too_much snore-IPF COP
Father is snoring loudly.
Отец сильно храпит.

In this case frame *x̄warāɬa* means 'to live'. (Interestingly, used in the case frame <NOM>, *x̄warāɬa* is used as a motion verb meaning 'to go, walk, run').

(23) *a.* *biʟ'e* *s̄ajaq̄* *x̄war-e* *ho-šu-l*
too_much dissolutely go-PF DEM-M$_0$-ERG
He led a very dissolute life.
Жил он беспутно.

b. *mik'i* *x̄war-e-č'e* *den*
a_little go-PF-NEG 1sg
I walked quite a bit. (lit. I did not walk a little)
Немало я ходил.

4.3.3. The case frame <DAT>

The only verb found with this case frame is *boī'ała*. This verb used in the regular case frame <NOM> has the meaning 'to heat, become hot'. When used in the case frame <DAT>, it takes on the meaning 'to be in love'.

(24) *a. zajdan boī'-e-č'eda q̄'eč'u t'am-ibīše*
pan heat-PF-SPCVB cake put-PROH
While the pan is not hot, do not put the flatbread.
Пока сковородка не накалилась, лепешку не ложи.

b. ho-šw-a boī'-e idja
DEM-M_0-DAT heat-PF COP
He fell in love.
Он влюбился.

4.3.4. The case frame <LOC_1>

The verb *ħūīsała* 'to itch' has the case frame <LOC_1> where the only argument encodes the place where the event takes place.

(25) *aʔu-č'o hini ħūīs-eda idja*
shoulder-CFG_1[LOC] in[LOC] prick-IPF COP
My shoulder itches.
Под лопаткой колет.

The adverb *hini* is regularly used with an NP marked by CFG_1 to reinforce the meaning of this configuration marker.

4.4. Bivalent verbs

4.4.1. The case frame <ERG, NOM>

This is the commonest frame for bivalent verbs in Karata. It is the case frame found with prototypical transitive verbs, for instance with *biʔwāła* 'to break'. It is also the case frame of causativised <NOM> monovalent verbs (▸ 6.2.).

(26) *den-a urʁēda b-iʔw-ā c'āt'ur*
$1sg_0$-ERG on_purpose N-break-CAUS.PF plate
I broke the plate on purpose.
Я умышленно разбил тарелку.

Note that this verb is a causative form derived from the intransitive verb *biʔwała* 'to break (intr.), to be broken'. Generally speaking, verbs that qualify as highly transitive (i.e. verbs calling for a construction in which the 'activity is "carried over"

or “transferred” from an agent to a patient’ and in which the patient is completely affected (Hopper & Thompson 1980) are derived causative verbs (▸ 6.)

The same case frame is used with a wider circle of verbs which depart from the prototypical notion of transitivity. Lazard gives an explanation of how we can account for the fact that in many languages one pattern is largely used to encode participants in situations which differ in nature.

> ‘En somme on constate que les phrases exprimant une action avec agent et patient, disons pour abréger, les “phrases d’action” servent largement de modèle syntaxique à la construction de phrases exprimant toutes sortes d’autres procès. [...] L’influence de ce modèle couvre donc toujours un champ considérable, quoique d’extension variable.’ (Lazard 1994, 41)[10]

For example, *herc’ała* ‘to pay off’ cannot be characterised as involving a ‘true’ agent (the buyer) and a ‘true’ patient (the thing that is bought).

(27) *imo-b* *q̄’arz* *waša-šu-l* *herc’-e*
father$_0$[GEN]-N debt boy-M$_0$-ERG pay_off-PF
The boy settled his father’s debt.
Сын расплатился с долгом отца.

(28) *den-a* *ručkaj-a* *šaq̄’i* *beh-e*
1sg$_0$-ERG pen$_0$-DAT ink buy-PF
I bought ink for my pen.
Я купил чернила для ручки.

Generally speaking, it should be noted that this case frame bears an active meaning. As we will see later, with verbs appearing in different case frames, the <ERG, NOM> frame brings about a more active meaning. (▸ 6.5.1.1.)

4.4.2. The case frame <NOM, DAT/LOC$_3$>

This case frame is the most widespread after <ERG, NOM>. As already mentioned above, it is sometimes difficult to decide on the status of a dative argument. For instance the verb *č’ūč’ałała* is found in the case frame <NOM> with the meaning ‘to be boring’ and in the case frame <NOM, DAT> with the meaning ‘to find tasteless’. The shift from ‘to be boring’ to ‘to consider tasteless’ is fairly evident and may be attributed to the addition of an experiencer (‘to be boring for someone’). But in the first meaning the nominative argument is an animate while it is inanimate in the latter. This last criterion thus prompts the recognition of the frame <NOM, DAT> for this verb.

[10] ‘In fact we notice that sentences expressing an action with both an agent and a patient, ‘action sentences’, are largely used as syntactic patterns for the composition of sentences expressing any other type of event. [...] The influence of this pattern always covers a significant area, the size of which varies.’

The frame <NOM, DAT> is found with different types of verbs:
- verbs of intellectual activity: *bečečała* 'to forget', *bičǐ'ała* 'to understand', *bi?ała* 'to know'.
- verbs of perception and emotion: *ãɬała* 'to hear', *baq̄'ała* 'to be happy with', *baχiɬɬała* 'to envy', *beᵊceχ̄ała* 'to be happy with', *bežwała* 'to believe', *bižãɬała* ~ *bižarɬała* 'to annoy', *č'obɬała* 'to feel pity for', *č'alʕãɬa* 'to be fed up with', *č'alʕ̃ãɬa* 'to annoy'[11], *č'amuč'āɬa* 'to annoy', *č'amuč'ɬała* 'to annoy', *gurɬāɬa* 'to pity', *ha?ãɬa* 'to see' or 'to experience' depending on the nature of the nominative argument, *ʟ'abałała* 'to want → to love', *q̄'abulɬała* 'to be pleasant → to like', *q̄'orāɬa* 'to want' (▸ 5.2.11. for DAT/LOC$_3$ ~ ALL$_3$), *tamašałała* 'to be astonished', , *χ̄irałała* 'to become expensive → to catch the fancy of', *zaɬmałała* 'to be difficult', *ʕaršała* 'to irritate'.

- with verbs of physical state: *boʟ'āɬa* 'to hurt', *č'ũč'ałała* 'to consider tasteless, dull', *beᵊxwała* 'to come → 'to be affected by or to obtain' (▸ 5.2.8. for DAT/LOC$_3$ ~ ALL$_4$), the interpretation being bound to the meaning of the participant encoded by the nominative, *tãk'ała* 'to hobble because BODY PART is injured', *ɪ̄iq̄oɬała* 'to limp because BODY PART is injured'.

- with verbs describing actions: *begwažała* 'to wind around', *dãdeɬała* 'to meet', *ɬelāɬa* 'to beg', *ka?ałała* 'to solicit somebody' or 'to work diligently on something', *muk'urɬała* 'to admit/accept', *q̄'wāɬa* 'to bewail', *šorała* 'to turn → to backfire', *šorebaīała* 'to surround', *šũšukała* 'to dig out', *χijanałała* 'to betray', *k̄'at'āɬa* 'to stick to', *bik'wała* 'to be → to work in' or 'to be in STATE', *rek'wãɬa* 'to travel by (lit. to sit in)'.

- with verbs expressing how someone performs an act: *bažarāɬa* 'can, manage' (▸ 5.2.12. for DAT/LOC$_3$ ~ ABL$_1$), *bałała* 'to be able to do something'[12], *reʕāɬa* 'to have enough time for', *bisãɬa* 'to find'

- with the verb of attitude: *bašāɬa* 'to take into consideration', *raziɬała* 'to agree with' or 'to be happy with', *riχ̄ãɬa* 'to come to hate (loathe)', *šakɬała* 'to suspect', *waswasała* 'to doubt'.

- and verbs like *baɬ̄ãɬa* 'to look like' and its causative *baɬ̄ãɬa* 'to imitate'[13], *x̄oɬała* 'to be possible → to suit', *bo?ãɬa* 'to go → to be destined for', *bit'eɬała* 'to be straight → to be lucky with/in', *ba?ała* 'to arrive → to receive something' or 'to feel something'.

(29) *ʕãdi-lw-a-da* *j-aš-eda-č'e* *ho-j*
person.PL-H$^{+}_{0}$-DAT-INT F-consider-IPF-NEG DEM-F
She does not take others into consideration.
Она ни с кем не считается, она очень высокомерна.

[11] As the long –a- indicates, *č'alʕãɬa* is the causative of *č'alʕãɬa*. This unusual derivational pattern will be specifically addressed in ▸ 6.5.1.2.
[12] Note that this verb is mostly used to introduce sentencial complements which fill the nominative slot.
[13] For a description of this specific causative pair of verbs ▸ 6.5.1.2.

(30) *q̄'amer* *riχ-amχwa* *idja* *dij-a*
food come_to_hate-PF.N.CVB COP $1sg_0$-DAT
I have come to hate food.
У меня отвращение к пище.

(31) *dij-a* *okol* *boɪ'ā*
$1sg_0$-DAT injection hurt[PF]
The injection hurt (me).
Мне от укола стало больно.

(32) *a.* *waba?* *b-ex̄-u* *duw-a*
epidemic N-come-PF $2sg_0$-DAT
The epidemic stroke him.
букв. Чтоб тебя эпидемия сразила.

b. *ʕerzaʕan* *ʕarse* *b-ex̄-uda* *ho-šw̌-a*
much money N-come-IPF DEM-M_0-DAT
He receives a lot of money.
Он много денег получает.

(33) *mak'-i* *dij-a* *šorebaī-e*
child-PL $1sg_0$-DAT surround-PF
Children surrounded me.
Дети окружили меня.

4.4.3. The case frame <NOM, GEN>

This case frame is productive with *bec'ała* 'to be filled with', *boīała* 'to become', *rešin bex̄wała* 'to turn AGE'[14] and the copula *idja* (present)/ verb *bik'wała* in possessive constructions.

(34) *ĩšdwazda* *rešin* *b-ex̄w-a* *ho-šu̇-b*
fifty year N-come-PF DEM-M_0[GEN]-N
He turned fifty.
Ему исполнилось пятьдесят лет.

(35) *raɪ'aro-ɪ̄* *barta* *b-oī-e* *idja*
$clothes_0$-GEN rag N-become-PF COP
The clothes turned into rags.
Одежда превратилась в старье.

[14] I do not classify this verb in the light verb construction section (▸ 4.6.) because although the nominative term gives the meaning, it can be modified by a dependent.

(36) *cīcī-ī* *bec'-e* *aχe*
flower-GEN be_filled-PF garden
The garden was full of flowers.
Сад наполнился цветками.

(37) *ho-b* *zini* *iši-b* *hač'e*
DEM-N cow $1pl_0$[GEN]-N COP.NEG
This cow is not ours.
Эта корова не наша.

The verb *boīała* is mainly used in the frame <NOM> in which it is most of the time used as an existential verb meaning 'to happen, to result, to appear'.

4.4.4. The case frame <NOM, LOC>

This case frame is found with verbs expressing contact between an entity and another. Although the directionality parameter is fixed, the configuration parameter may change depending on the referent of the argument filling the locative slot. The choice of a configuration marker in this case is bound to the properties of 'the locative element'.

The verbs identified with this case frame are: *beq̄'ešała* 'to hide oneself in/at', *biʁała* 'to stop → to stay', *biχ̄wała* 'to remain', *kec'ała* 'to cling to', *kerχ̄eχ̄ała* 'to cling to the back of', *k'usała* 'to sit down', *q̄'āła* 'to become hard → to be stuck', *rušt'āła* 'to settle down', *torč̌'āła* 'to hit' (the choice of configuration marker depends on the nature of what is hit: an animate, LOC_1, an inanimate, LOC_3), *t'amała* 'to throw → to fall', *t'erała* 'to pierce', *χ̄arała* 'to go up'.

(38) *šakibo* *resīma-īi* *b-iʁ-e* *b-ik'w-a*
bird ledge-CFG_7[LOC] N-stay-PF.CVB N-be-PF
The bird was sitting on the ledge.
Птичка сидела на карнизе.

4.4.5. The case frame <NOM, LOC_1>

This case frame is typically used for events affecting an animate individual (this is one of CFG_1's productive uses) (▸ 4.5.4. too). This case frame is found with the following list of verbs: *baq̄'ała* 'to get along with → to suit', *ħet'āła* 'to manage (intr.) → to get along with', *k̄'wabała* ~ *k̄'obała* 'to hit → to affect', *łebała* 'to fear', *ʕaršała* 'to annoy', *bik'wała* 'to be → to have'.

(39) *a.* *di-č'o* *muču* *k̄'wab-e*
$1sg_0$-CFG_1[LOC] wind hit-PF
I caught a cold. (lit. The wind hit me).
Меня продуло. (букв. Меня ветер ударил.)

b. *roʟ'ar* *k̄'ob-e* *ho-šš̆u-č'o*
illness hit-PF DEM-M_0-CFG_1[LOC]
He became sick. (lit. An illness hit him.)
Его схватила болезнь.

4.4.6. The case frame <NOM, LOC_5>

The configuration marker CFG_5 *-q̄-* is required by the following verbs: *bek'ā́ła* 'to wait for', *herc'ała* 'to make up for', *urq̄ała* 'to miss someone'.

(40) *waša-šš̆u-q̄* *urq̄-ejχwa* *idja* *den*
boy-M_0-CFG_5[LOC] miss-PF.F.CVB COP 1sg
I miss my son.
Я скучаю по сыну.

4.4.7. The case frame <NOM, LOC_7>

The following verbs are productively found in the indicated meanings when used in this case frame: *bacwā́ła* 'to fill up → to be flooded in', *baʔała* 'to arrive → to bump', *ī'abā́ła* 'to multiply', *tū̃kała* 'to bump against', *raʁā́ła* 'to wage', *bik'wała* 'to be → to wear'.

(41) *q̄'waq̄'ardo-b* *q̄abača-īi* *w-uk'-a* *ho-w*
dry-N tulup-CFG_7[LOC] M-wear-PF DEM-M
He lived poorly. (lit. He wore a dry tulup).
Он жил в бедности (ходил в тулупе низкого качества).

4.4.8. The case frame <NOM, ALL>

This case frame is found with verbs expressing movement, that of a participant to a location. The noun marked by the allative case is part of the argument structure associated to the verb inasmuch a movement (≠motion) requires a direction[15]. The noun referring to the destination is not specififed for configuration and its choice will depend on the nature of the noun's referrent. These verbs are: *baʔała* 'to stay, to arrive', *bek̄wała* 'to wind up', *beī'ã́ła* 'to fit', *čatała* 'to splash', *gočała* 'to move out, to migrate', *k̄orała* 'to slide through', *k̄orkā́ła* 'to crawl', *k'ā̆c'ā́ła* 'to flow', *ɬerała* 'to move (intr.)', *q̄'oq̄'ā́ła* 'to head for', *x̄warā́ła* 'to go (intr.)' (▸ 4.3.2. this verb used in <ERG> means 'to live'), *χ̄arała* 'to climb'.

[15] My point is that movement verbs imply both motion and direction, i.e. a trajectory. A trajectory, a vector, needs two points of reference. Movement verbs have then at least two main strategies to encode a trajectory: specify the destination or specify the origin, the second point of reference being the speaker themselves. I have found some verbs which can express three points of reference (▸ 4.5.1.5.).

(42) *ʕuʕuča-bdi* *nuq̄'ij-a-r* *χ̄ar-e* *idja*
chicken-PL perch$_0$-CFG$_3$-ALL climb-PF.CVB COP
The chickens have climbed on their perches.
Куры сели на насест.

4.4.9. The case frame <NOM, ALL$_3$>

The following verbs require this case frame: *boʔãɬa* 'to go → to go in search of', *baʔaɬa* 'to arrive → to be up to', *čanāɬa* 'to hunt', *keī'āī'aɬa* 'to speak to', *kwat'aɬa* 'to be late for', *q̄'acanāɬa* 'to scold', *q̄'orāɬa* 'to want' (▸ 5.2.11. ALL$_3$ ~ DAT/LOC$_3$), *ʁwāɬa* 'to speak → to scold', *šorāɬa* 'to turn → to start', *χ̄araɬa* 'to go up → to enter (a new period of time)', *ʕedeʕaɬa* 'to hurry for'.

(43) *den* *q̄'acan-e* *ho-ɬ̄ij-a-r*
1sg scold-PF DEM-F$_0$-CFG$_3$-ALL
I scolded her.
Я отругал ее.

4.4.10. The case frame <NOM, ALL$_4$>

Verbs requiring this case frame can be characterised as:
- expressing that someone's attention is directed towards another person (encoded by ALL$_4$): *bek'abeš̆ãɬa* 'to look after', *bek'ãɬa* 'to look at', *bibāɬa* 'to shout → to yell at', *c̄'amc̄'amaɬa* 'to squeal → to yell at',
- expressing that an animate participant is the element targeted by an event they have not planned or wanted: *baʔaɬa* 'to arrive → to receive' (▸ 5.2.8. DAT/LOC$_3$ ~ ALL$_4$), *bex̄waɬa* 'to come → to be affected by', *χ̄araɬa* 'to get ill with'.

(44) *du-b* *pasilka* *b-aʔ-a* *di-χa-r*
2sg$_0$[GEN]-N parcel N-receive-PF 1sg$_0$-CFG$_4$-ALL
I received your parcel.
Я получил от тебя посылку.

4.4.11. The case frame <NOM, ALL$_7$>

The verb *χabaɬa* has two metaphorically-related meanings: 'to impregnate' if the nominative argument is inanimate and 'to be engrossed in' if the nominative argument is animate.

(45) *a.* *ɬ̄ẽj* *[ũšj-a* *keīi-r]* *χab-ilas̄* *hãk'-āɬa* *baɬ-e-č'e*
water earth-CFG$_3$[LOC] in-ALL impregnate-SPCVB dig-INF plant-PF-NEG
As long as the water does not impregnate the earth, we can't plant.
Пока земля водой не пропиталась, копать было невозможно.

b. *rišãq̄ero-ī̄i-r* *hini-r* *χab-oχwa* *idja* *ho-w*
work-CFG$_7$-ALL in-ALL impregnate-PF.M.CVB COP DEM-M
He got absorbed in his work.
Он весь ушел в работу (букв. он пропитался в работе).

4.4.12. The case frame <NOM, ABL>

Quite logically, the verbs using this case frame denote the separation of two entities. The choice of a particular configuration marker depends on the properties of the referrent. These verbs are: *baq̄ãła* 'to end → to escape', *bec̄'ała* 'to ooze', *buč'ãła* 'to go apart from', *č̌'arq̄ała* 'to come off', *č̌'warała* 'to run away from', *č̌'idałała* 'to drift apart from', *ī̄'urała* 'to screw, to twist → to move from (lit. to unscrew oneself from)', *k̄ork̄āła* 'to to steal (intr.) out of', *k'imała* 'to break off (intr.)', *łerała* 'to move (intr.) from', *q̄ušt'ała* 'to slip from', *rušt'ãła* 'to settle down → to alight from', *t'orała* 'to drip'.

(46) *kwadi-gal* *kurušk'a* *q̄ušt'-e* *b-o?-ã*
in_hands-ABL spoon slip-PF N-go-PF
The spoon slipped out of my hands.
Кружка выскользнула из рук.

4.4.13. The case frame <NOM, ABL$_1$>

This case frame has been found with: *bažarāła* 'to cope with' (▸ 5.2.12. for DAT/LOC$_3$ ~ ABL$_1$), *beq̄'ešała* 'to hide from' and *bišãła* 'to defeat'. The argument marked by ABL$_1$ is obligatorily an animate.

(47) *ho-b* *rišãq̄er* *di-č'o-gal* *bažara-jdja-č'e*
DEM-N work 1sg$_0$-CFG$_1$-ABL cope-IPF-NEG
I can't cope with this work.
Мне не под силу эту работу.

The addition to an intransitive verb of a participant encoded by ABL$_1$ has been found in a few examples to encode an 'involuntary agent' (Haspelmath 1993), that is an agent who carries out the action expressed by the verb 'involuntarily, unwittingly, or in a very indirect manner' (▸ 8.2.).

4.4.14. The case frame <NOM, ABL$_3$>

The verbs found with this case frame can be characterised as denoting a state that results from the participant encoded by ABL$_3$. These verbs are:
bec̄eχ̄ała 'to be glad for someone's sake', *bečełała* 'to make a fortune on', *boīała* 'to happen → to originate from', *č'uɦała* 'to be proud of', *č'wabała* 'to fall out' (this verb refers to a property something (hair, peel, ...) has), *ɦikmałała* 'to be surprised by', *minarłała* 'to move away from', *q̄wanała* 'to avoid', *reɬeχ̄ała* 'to laugh → to laugh at',

ʁarała ‘to be sated with’, *ʁirʁičała* ‘to be sick of’, *χ̄arała* ‘to go up → to come out of, to be the result of’.

(48) *imw-a-gal* *q̄wan-erχwa* *r-ak’-uda* *mak’-i*
father$_0$-CFG$_3$-ABL avoid-PF.nH^{+}.CVB nH^{+}-be-IPF child-PL
The children are avoiding their father.
Дети сторонятся отца.

4.4.15. The case frame <NOM, COM>

This case frame has been found with verbs
- which describe a person’s action that entails the participation of another person: *baq̄’ała* ‘to go along with’, *galała* ‘to speak (tr.) → to chit-chat with’, , *x̄warāła* ‘to go → to cohabit’, *χ̄ecała* ‘to pick a fight with’, *ʁwāła* ‘to speak → to converse with’.
-and with verbs expressing a comparison: *baq̄’ała* ‘to match’, *req̄’emɬała* ‘to be at the same level with’.

(49) *q̄’ĩ* *roš-ila-k’el* *req̄’emɬ-e*
wall tree-PL-COM be_at_same_level-PF
The wall was as high as the tree.
Стена поднялась до уровня дерева.

4.4.16. The case frame <NOM, NOM>

This irregular case frame is found with verbs used as copulas: *bik’wała* ‘to be’, *idja* ‘to be’, *bek̄wała* ‘to happen → to turn out to be’, *bisãła* ‘to find → to be revealed as’, *boīała* ‘to happen → to become’.

(50) *di-w* *činiʕal* *w-ok̄-uda* *ho-w*
1sg$_0$[GEN]-M second_cousin M-turn_out-IPF DEM-M
He is my second cousin.
Он доводится мне троюродным братом.

Other verbs may optionally be used in the binominative construction when they are used in the analytical form but then the shift from ergative to nominative is only a syntactic phenomenon that results from the reinterpretation of constituent structure (▸ 2.2.3.).

4.4.17. The case frame <ERG, DAT>

This case frame is used with: *bec’ała* ‘to take revenge on’, *bosāła* ‘to take revenge on’, *č’ŭč’āła* ‘to annoy’ (▸ 6.5.1.1.2. for a discussion of this case frame as the result of causativisation), *elbac̄’ãła* ‘to blame’.

(51) *den-a* *ho-šw-a* *bec'-e*
1sg-ERG DEM-M_0-CFG_3[LOC] avenge-PF
I avenged him.
Я отомстила ему.

4.4.18. The case frame <ERG, LOC_1>

This case frame is found with manner verbs expressing events of contact by impact (Levin 1993: 148): *č'imała* 'to pinch', *q̄'wabāła* 'to spank', *q̄'warała* 'to bite', *ʁabswāła* 'to scratch', *ħawāła* 'to burn (tr.), *tūkāła* 'to jolt someone', *k̄'wabała* ~ *k̄'obała* 'to hit someone' .

(52) *χwaj-ol* *q̄'war-e* *di-č'o*
dog-ERG bite-PF $1sg_0$-CFG_1[LOC]
The dog bit me.
Собака укусила меня.

For *k̄'wabała* ~ *k̄'obała* 'to hit someone', this case frame can be explained by the fact that the verb is used in the regular case frame <NOM, LOC_1> when the participant that 'performs' the action is an inanimate affecting an animate in a negative way (▸ 4.4.5.). With an animate participant, the coding changes to ergative. It is interesting to see how Karata is sensitive to agentivity in this case.

For remarks on the origins of this unusual case frame (▸ 4.5.4.).

4.4.19. The case frame <ERG, ALL_3>

This case frame is used with *elba?āła* 'to warn someone' and *tutaq̄uq̄āła* 'to defame'. These two verbs result from the coalescence of light verb constructions. The origin of this case frame with these verbs will be explained below (▸ 4.6.4.).

(53) *q̄'adaro-b* *hedela* *gē-ī'e* *hani-l-da* *tutaq̄uq̄-ē* *ho-šw-a-r*
bad-N thing do[PF]-QUOT $village_0$-ERG-INT defame-PF DEM-M_0-LOC_3-ALL
Because of his misbehaviour, the village defamed him.
За непристойный поступок все село его оплевало.

4.5. Trivalent verbs

4.5.1. The case frame <ERG, NOM, DAT/LOC_3>

This case frame is used with verbs involving a recipient or an addressee: *basãła* 'to tell, *bek̄ała* 'to give'[16], *herc'ała* 'to avenge somebody of', *ħalalāła* 'to authorise someone to use something', *maɬała* 'to teach', *q̄warała* 'to write → to record something to somebody's name' (with the word for name in the dative, the possessor

[16] Note that this verb is productively used in the expression *jaše kunt'wa jek̄ ała* 'to give a girl to a husband' to mean 'to give a girl in marriage'.

in the genitive), *šušāła* ‘to whisper’, *χāła* ‘to ask’ (▸ 5.2.16. for this verb’s DAT/LOC_3 ~ ABL_1 alternation).

It is also the case frame of causative verbs whose non-derived form is used with the case frame <NOM, DAT/LOC_3> : *bečečāła* ‘to make forget’, *bexwāła* ‘to inspire, (make feel)’, *bič’āła* ‘to explain (make understand)’, *bi?āła* ‘to announce (to make know)’ (DAT/LOC_3 ~ ALL_3 ~ ALL_4 alternation ▸ 5.2.15.), *riχ̄āła* ‘to make someone hate something’.

(54) *hēsol men-a hugu-šw-a b-as-ā-č’-o-b ho-b?*
why 2sg-ERG DEM-M_0-DAT N-tell-PF-NEG-PTCP-N DEM-N
Why didn’ t you tell him that?
Почему ты ему не рассказал?

(55) *mak’-i-lo-l imajilow-a qāšqar b-exw-a-jda*
child-PL-H^{*}_0-ERG father-$mother_0$-DAT mange N-come-CAUS-IPF
Children bring infections to their parents.
Дети обдирают своих родителей (букв. заражают родителей чесоткой или паршой).

4.5.2. The case frame <ERG, NOM, GEN>

This case frame is found with *gahała* ~ *gāła* ‘to do → to make something out of’ (▸ 5.2.17 for discussion), and the causative verb *bec’āła* ‘to fill something with’.

(56) *minaro-b šali-ɬ goh-o-b k’aze idja ho-b*
unusual-N wool-GEN do-PF.PTCP-N dress COP DEM-N
This dress is made of unusual wool.
Этот платок сделан из особой шерсти.

4.5.3. The case frame <ERG, NOM, LOC>

This frame is found with verbs of putting (Levin 1993), that is verbs originally[17] expressing the fact that an object is put into contact with a surface, the surface participant fills the nominative slot. These verbs are: *eī’ała* ‘to sow, plant’, *biqikała* ‘to hold → to fix, attach’, *biłała* ‘to put’, *k’wabała* ~ *k’obała* ‘to hit → to apply something to or to put something to’, *īoīabała* ‘to rub something against’, *qāt’āła* ‘to attach’ (▸ 5.2.9. for LOC ~ ALL alternation), *torč’āła* ‘to throw’, *t’amała* ‘to throw → to put on, to don’ (▸ 5.2.9. for LOC ~ ALL alternation), *ūwāła* ‘to touch with (lit. to press BODY PART on), *šamała* ‘to put on, to don’ and these causative forms: *beq’ešāła* ‘to hide at (tr.)’ *bik’wāła* ‘to hang (to make be)’, *biʁāła* ‘to stop (tr.) → to supply PLACE with, to procure for’, *kec’āła* ‘to attach to’, *kerχ̄āła* ‘to hang to’, *rek’wāła* ‘to have someone travel by TRANSPORTATION (lit. to seat somebody in TRANSPORTATION)’, *t’erāła* ‘to thrust (to make pierce)’.

[17] Verbs tend to develop metaphorical meanings such as *biʁāła* ‘to stop (tr.) → to supply’ which literally could be rendered as ‘to bring something to’.

(57) a. *ɫic’el* *u-miše* *men-a* *ho-š̄u-č’o*
finger touch-N.PROH 2sg-ERG DEM-M_0-CFG_1[LOC]
Don’t you even lay a finger on him. (lit. Don’t you put your finger on him).
Ты его даже пальцем не трогай.

b. *q̄ʾī-ɫi* *rit’uč’* *k̄’ob-e* *idja*
wall-CFG_7[LOC] deer put-PF.CVB COP
Deer have been put on the wall.
На стене коврик с оленями.

It is also found with *boq̄aɫa* ‘to remove → to spend TIME at’.

(58) *ce-b* *čamwarda* *zebu* *b-oq̄-e* *den-a* *hor-do-č’o*
other-N a_few day N-spend-PF 1sg-ERG DEM.PF-H^*-CFG_1[LOC]
I spent a few days at their place.
Я провел у них каких-то несколько дней.

4.5.4. The case frame <ERG, NOM, LOC_1>

This case frame has been found instantiated with: *baχalāɫa* ‘to hit’, *č̄’waraɫa* ‘to hit with (lit. to apply something to somebody)’ and *k̄’wabaɫa / k̄’obaɫa* ‘to hit’.

(59) *den-a* *ho-š̄u-č’o* *ce-b* *hedela* *baχal-ā*
1sg-ERG DEM-M_0-CFG_1[LOC] one-N thing hit-PF
I hit him. (lit. I hit one thing against him).
Я его один раз ударил.

If we compare this case frame with the previous case frame (▸ 4.5.3.), this way of encoding the argument of verbs of hitting Vs the argument of verbs of putting (LOC/LOC_1) reminds the *with/against alternation* that Levin (1993: 148) observed in English for verbs of hitting. It is interesting that Karata marks the similiraty of putting and hitting verbs (i.e. bringing an object into contact with a surface) through the use of the same case frame, namely <ERG, NOM, LOC> and secondarily marks the difference through the use of a specialised configuration marker, CFG_1 *-č’o-*, for hitting verbs. Verbs of puttings encode the surface with different configuration markers that are chosen according to their properties but CFG_1[LOC] adds the impact semantic value.

This example is also very interesting because it brings evidence to how verbs used in the case frame <ERG, LOC_1> (▸ 4.4.18.) are originally derived from ‘regular’ case frames, i.e. case frames comprising a nominative argument. As in many Nakh-Daghestanian languages, with verbs of contact, the nominative (caseless) slot is reserved for the instrumental participant with three-place predicates (▸ Ingush example below (Jakovlev 1940: 43 cited in Nichols 1982: 447)).

(60) *as* *pḥagalna* *tuop* *qüössira*
1sg-ERG rabbit-DAT rifle-NOM throw.PF
I shot at the rabbit with a rifle. (lit. I shot a rifle at the rabbit.)

On the other hand, the example of Karata shows that the nominative argument is sometimes only part of the case frame to answer a syntactic constraint but is semantically empty. Hence the tendency to use this verb leaving out the nominative argument, a tendency which, over time, may become the norm (▸ 4.4.18.)[18].

4.5.5. The case frame <ERG, NOM, ALL>

I have found this case frame for the following verbs and meanings: *beɬaɬa* 'to drive, to take somebody somewhere'[19], *k̄'ãɬa* 'to invite or to summon', *k̄'wabaɬa* ~ *k̄'obaɬa* 'to cover with, to scatter on', *itaɬa* 'to let → to let, allow something go to', *q̄ãt'āɬa* 'to attach' (▸ 5.2.9. for LOC ~ ALL alternation), *t'amaɬa* 'to throw or to postpone' (▸ 5.2.9. for LOC ~ ALL alternation), *t'ijãɬa* 'to pour'.

Causatives found with this frame include verbs which commonly have the case frame <NOM, ALL> in their non-derived forms: *ba?āɬa* 'to send or to spread (lit. to make go)', *bek̄wāɬa* 'to lead somebody to (lit. to make someone end up)', *beī'ãɬa* 'to force, ram something somewhere (lit. to make fit), *gočāɬa* 'to relocate (lit. to make move out)', *k̄orāɬa* 'to force through (lit. to make slide through)', *s̄orāɬa* 'to lay, put (lit. to make be)'. Yet this last verb shows us that one should not systematically expect to logically derive the meaning of a causative form and that lexicalisation is at play once again (▸ 6.1.).

(61) *den-a* *j-a?-a?-a-jda* *j-ik'w* *a* *ho-j* *q̄'aj-ɪ'a-r*
1sg-ERG F-go-go-CAUS-IPF F-be-PF DEM-F home-CFG_2-ALL
I would often send her home.
Я часто отводил ее домой.

4.5.6. The case frame <ERG, NOM, ALL_3>

This case frame is found with : *keī'ãɬa* 'to say', *s̄oraɬa* 'to turn (intr.) → to turn into', *basãɬa* 'to tell', *maɬaɬa* 'to teach → to advise something to or to entrust something to somebody' and three causative verbs: *basãɬa* 'to tell something to', *bi?āɬa* 'to

[18] Readers may object to this last sentence. Indeed I have no indisputable proof bearing out my statement that 'verbs of contact by impact' (Levin 1993: 148) in Karata do not imply, at a semantic level, the presence of an instrument or entity brought into contact with another. However, examples of verbs provided in non-canonical case frames point to this conclusion. What is more, in the related language, Akhvakh, Creissels confirms that speakers frown upon the use of a nominative argument with verbs that are now used in case frames such as <ERG, LOC_1> (p.c.).

[19] The same verb is used to express 'to marry someone' *hark̄'e jeɬaɬa* (lit. to take a wife). In my examples, a vague destination is sometimes encoded by means of a spatial adverb inflected in the allative.

announce (to make known)' (▸ 5.2.15. for ALL4 ~ ALL3 ~ DAT alternation), *kwat'āɬa* 'to hold back (tr.) (to make late)'.

Note that the nominative slot of *basãɬa* 'to tell' is filled by generic words: *hedela* 'thing' and *χ̄abar* 'news' (or a demonstrative pronoun with neutral agreement). This word is then the pivot of many additional information encoded through a series of dependents: relativisation, participle, genitival complement. (▸ 4.5.17.)

(62) *a. č'wač'wardāriq̄ bas-ã̄ b-oī-o-b hedela*
without_a_hitch tell-PF N-happen-PF.PTCP-N thing
He told what happened without a hitch.
О случившемся рассказал без запинки.

b. heč'e-sīgi basã̄ du-b-da hedela
before_all tell-PF $2sg_0$[GEN]-N-INT thing
First off, speak about yourself.
Сперва расскажи о своих делах.

4.5.7. The case frame <ERG, NOM, ALL_4>

This case frame is used with *bek̄aɬa* 'to give' (▸ 5.2.8 for DAT/LOC_3 ~ ALL_4 alternation) and the two causative verbs: *biʔaʔāɬa* 'to announce (to make known)' (▸ 5.2.15. alternance ALL_4 ~ ALL_3 ~ DAT), *q̄waraɬa* 'to write' (▸ 5.2.8. for DAT/LOC_3 ~ ALL_4 alternation).

(63) *hĩšdo<b>ʕagi ʕarse men-a di-χa-r b-ek̄-e-č'e*
any<N> money 2sg-ERG $1sg_0$-CFG_4-ALL N-give-PF-NEG
You did not give me any money.
Никаких денег ты мне не давал.

4.5.8. The case frame <ERG, NOM, ABL>

With this case frame, the following verbs are found: *beq̄'ešaɬa* 'to steal from', *boq̄aɬa* 'to remove, to take', *c'ijãɬa* 'to protect from', *c̄'ĩk̄'āɬa* 'to clean something off', *itaɬa* 'to let → to let, allow to go out of', *jarāɬa* 'to send away', *q̄amaɬa* 'to snatch away from'.

Causative verbs derived of verbs implying a point of origin and non-predictable meanings/case frames: *baq̄ãɬa* 'to save somebody from' or *baq̄ãɬa* 'to coax, trick something from'[20], *č'idāɬa* 'to move away (tr.)', *č'warāɬa* 'to chase away (to make run away)', *k'imāɬa* 'to break something off something', *q̄'ot'āɬa* 'to exclude', *šorāɬa* 'to withdraw'.

[20] The decision to recognise two homonymous verbs *baq̄ãɬa* is based on synchronic considerations. The two uses are related: the causative of 'to escape' → 'to make escape' hence 'X make Y escape from Z' → 'X save Y from Z' on the one hand, and 'X make Y escape from Z' → 'X trick Y from/out of Z'. The difference lies in the nature of the participant in Y and Z positions'.

(64) *a.* *w-učʼ-id-o-w* *guri-gal* *w-aq̄-ā̄* *ho-šš̆u-l* *den*
M-die-IPF-PTCP-M place-ABL M-save- DEM-M_0-ERG 1sg
He saved me from death.
Он спас меня от смерти.

b. *ho-šš̆u-čʼo-gal* *ʕarse* *b-aq̄-ā̄* *ho-šš̆u-l*
DEM-M_0-CFG_1-ABL money N-coax-PF DEM-M_0-ERG
He tricked him into giving money.
Он выманил у него деньги.

(65) *išo-l* *ustulj-a-gal* *riīʼi* *qam-e*
cat-ERG $table_0$-CFG_3-ABL meat snatch_away-PF
The cat snatched the meat from the table.
Кошка со стола мясо унесла.

4.5.9. The case frame <ERG, NOM, ABL_1>

This case frame is used with two causative verbs denoting that a participant is involved in an event against their will (Ganenkov 2005: 210): *beq̄ʼešāła* ‘to hide from (tr.)’, *bałgwāła* ‘to conceal’ and the non-causativised verb *χāła* ‘to ask’ (▸ 5.2.16. alternation ABL_1 ~ DAT).

(66) *išš̆i-l* *b-oī-o-b* *hedela* *bałgw-ā* *ima-j-lo-čʼo-gal*
1pl-ERG N-happen-PF.PTCP-N thing conceal-CAUS.PF father-PL-H^{+}_0-CFG_1-ABL
We concealed what happened from our parents.
Мы утаили от родителей то, что произошло.

4.5.10. The case frame <ERG, NOM, ABL_3>

This case frame is found only with causative verbs: *čʼuħāła* ‘to make someone proud of’, *maħrumāła* ‘to deprive’, *mukʼurāła* ‘to talk someone out of’, *χwasārāła* ‘to save, rescue from’.

(67) *c̄ʼar-d-o-w* *kũtʼw-a-gal* *χwasār-ā* *ho-j* *imo-l*
drink-IPF-PTCP-M $husband_0$-CFG_3-ABL flee-CAUS.PF DEM-F $father_0$-ERG
The father rid her of her drinking husband. (lit. made her flee, escape)
Отец избавил ее от мужа-пяницы.

4.5.11. The case frame <ERG, NOM, ERG>

This case frame is used with verbs which typically require the use of an instrument in order to have an effect on the patientive participant. In my corpus I have found: *χ̄ā̄ła* ‘to mow’.

(68) *imo-l* *waša-šš̄u-b* *haduʔa* *χ̄ã̄* *besuno-l*
father$_0$-ERG boy-M$_0$[GEN]-N head mow[PF] knife$_0$-ERG
The father shaved his son's head using a knife.
Отец сбрил сыну головы ножом.

Here I consider that the instrument is part of this verb's case frame. Indeed, the action of 'cutting' fundamentally requires an instrument at the conceptual and semantic levels. For this reason, I do not think that with this type of verbs, the instrument should be considered an adjunct or satellite. As to the distinction *oblique vs core argument*, this marker being formally similar to the marker encoding the agent in a prototypical action clause, I have so far no apparent reason to make this kind of distinction here, note the position of this argument though.

4.5.12. The case frame <ERG, NOM, COM>

This case frame is used with *buī'ãɬa* 'to share with'.

(69) *urʁel* *bihaɬ-aɬa* *q̄'ora-jbar* *ilo-k'el* *b-uī'-ã*
soul become_easier-INF want-COND mother$_0$-COM N-share-IMP(tr)
If you want to feel better, share this with your mother. (lit. If (you) want the soul to become easier, share (this) with mother.)
Если хочешь облегчить свою душу, поделись с матерью.

4.4.13. The case frame <ERG, NOM, ESS>

This case frame is found with the verb *bic̄'ãɬa* 'to count → to be considered'.

(70) *q̄očij-a* *rišbat* *ħaram-ɬe* *b-ic̄'-ĩda* *idja*
book$_0$-CFG$_3$[LOC] bribe sin-ESS N-count-IPF COP
In the Coran a bribe is considered a sin.
В коране взятка считается большим грехом.

4.5.14. The case frame <NOM, DAT, ABL>

This case frame is found with *teʔaɬa* 'to obtain'. Note that the participant coded by the ablative can be found with different configuration markers.

(71) *dij-a* *ho-šš̄u-č'o-gal* *q̄'aj-ī* *goro* *teʔ-a-č'e*
1sg$_0$-DAT DEM-M$_0$-CFG$_1$-ABL thing-GEN minimum obtain-PF-NEG
I did not get anything from him.
От него ничего из вещей не получила.

4.5.15. The case frame <NOM, ALL, ABL>

This case is found with movement verbs that are compatible with the expression of both the origin and the destination of the movement. These verbs are: *boʔãɬa* 'to go'

(▸ 5.2.9. for the ALL ~ LOC alternation), *bex̄wała* ‘to come’, *k’ãc’āła* ‘to jump’, *t’arała* ‘to fall’.

(72)

hugi-gal-da	*q̄’aj-ʟ’a-r*	*b-aʔ-ãs̄*	*is̄̌i*
there-ABL-INT	home-CFG$_2$-ALL	H$^+$-go-FUT	1pl

We will go home straightaway from here.
Мы прямо оттуда же пойдем домой.

(73)

ʟ̄’erw-a-gal	*keʟ̄’i-r*	*k’ãc’-e*	*ho-j*
bridge-CFG$_3$-ABL	under-ALL	jump-PF	DEM-F

She threw herself from the bridge. (lit. She jumped from the bridge to below.)
Она бросилась с моста.

In most examples, these verbs only express one spatial argument: origin or destination. Maybe, there is nothing surprising in this, given that to define a trajectory (required with movement verbs as opposed to motion verbs), only two points of reference are needed.

4.5.16. The case frame <ERG, NOM, NOM>

This is the case frame used with *gahała, gāła* ‘to do, to make → to make somebody somebody’. The construction can be schematised as: A make P X (with X = predicative noun). Consider the following example:

(74)

den-a	*ho-w*	*wakil*	*ge-da*	*idja*
1sg-ERG	DEM-M	confidant	do-IPF	COP

I am making him my confidant.
Он будет моим поверенным.

(75)

imo-l	*dij-a*	*hãdar*	*wasigat*	*gē*
father$_0$-ERG	1sg$_0$-DAT	house	heirloom	do-PF

Father bequeathed me the house. (lit. Father made the house an heirloom for me)
Отец мне завещал дом.

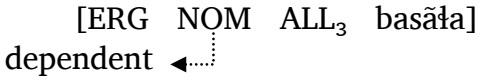
At first sight, this construction *noun + gełała* could be compared to light verb constructions of the type noun = P (▸ 4.6.1.2.) as the meaning comes primarily from the noun. However, in light verb constructions of the type discussed in 4.6., the noun P participates in the predication of the verb, thus yielding a complex predicate which semantically constitutes a unity. In the case of the construction with *gałała* one noun transfers its semantic properties to another.

Therefore, this construction is better analysed as requiring three nominal elements: two participative nouns and one predicative noun. Note the rigid position of the predicative noun: directly preceding the verb. (▸ 5.2.17. for the NOM ~ GEN alternation concerning the patient).

4.5.17. The case frame <ERG, GEN, ALL_3>

This case frame has been found for *basãɬa* ‘to speak about something to’.

This particular case frame can be explained by the fact that the nominative head (*hedela* ‘thing’, *χ̄abar* ‘news’) being semantically trivial and playing only a syntactic role (▸ 4.5.6.) has been left out when the dependent is a genitival complement (ellipsis of a nominal head).



The ellipsis’ being very productive makes for the recognition of this particular case frame. Moreover Creissels (p.c.) tested the possibility of re-establishing the nominative head in this type of sentences (*hedela* ‘thing’, *χ̄abar* ‘news’) with native speakers of Akhvakh and not all speakers accept this reestablishement.

(76) *a.* *k̄’wā-m+swam* *hedela-ɬ̄i-ī* *bas-imīše*
trifles-N thing-N-GEN tell-PROH
Don’t speak about trivial things.
О мелочах не стоит говорить.

(77) *b.* *ho-šu-b* *q̄’adarɬer-o-ī* *bas-amχwa* *pajda* *hač’e*
DEM-M_0[GEN]-N baseness-O-GEN tell-PF.N.CVB use COP.NEG
There’s no point in talking about his baseness.
Говорить о его подлости не стоит, толку нет.

4.5.18. The case frame <ERG, LOC_1, LOC_7>

The verb *pũšāɬa* ‘to pulverise → to hit violently on’ requires this case frame to express (in order) the hitter, the hittee and the part of the body which is precisely hit.

(78) *ho-šu-l* *di-č’o* *baʕilo-īi* *pũš-ā*
DEM-M_0-ERG $1sg_0$-CFG_1[LOC] $face_0$-CFG_7[LOC] pulverise-CAUS.PF
He hit me very hard on the face.
Он сильно ударил меня по лицу.

4.5.19. The case frame <ERG, LOC_3, ALL_4>

This exceptional case frame is used with the verb *k̄’ãɬa* ‘to call’ to mean ‘to give a call to’.

(79) *den-a* *du-χa-r* *k'ãc'e* *k̄'ã* *teleponj-a*
1sg$_0$-ERG 2sg$_0$-CFG$_4$-ALL twice call[PF] phone-LOC$_3$[LOC]
I called you twice.
Я тебе звонил дважды.

4.6. Light verb constructions

Light verbs constructions seem to be widespread in Karata. In principle, the nominal element of a light verb construction should manifest its difference by not behaving like nouns which saturate an argumental slot. However, given the nature of my data, I am not in a position to do these kinds of tests. Identifying light verb constructions in my corpus is therefore subjective but here are some criteria I have used to recognise light verb constructions in Karata:
- a noun appears in one given position with one verb
- this noun cannot be omitted, which in my corpus is easy to spot
- the *noun + verb* compound can be expressed by a single verb in this language or in another language, thus rendering obvious the fact that 'the function of the noun is not to encode a participant in an event encoded by the verb, but rather to contribute to the elaboration of the event itself' (Creissels 2010, 21).

For instance, in the following example, I do not consider *rak'wa hesała* (where *rak'wa* 'heart' = S) to be a light verb construction worthy of being mentioned. The reason for this decision is that this verb is found with almost the same meaning in a case frame where the animate participant is not encoded as an attribute of *rak'wa* but as the nominative NP saturating the valency of *hesała.* My view is that this type of alternation, in which *rak'wa* is very often involved, is of a stylistic nature just as the alternation found in English or in French as illustrates Tolkien's Lord of the Rings' famous line 'I do not deny that my heart has greatly desired to ask what you offer.' instead of '... I have greatly desired ....' (▸ 5.2.11. for DAT ~ ALL$_3$ alternation).

(80) *a.* *q̄'ena-j* *ʕadã-ɬ̄i-ī* *ʕečj-a* *rak'wa* *hes-e*
pregant-F person-F$_0$-GEN apple-DAT heart want-PF
The pregnant woman wanted apples. (lit. the pregnant woman's heart)
Беременной женщине захотелось яблок.

b. *ho-w* *kaʔa-r* *hes-e*
DEM-M on-ALL want-PF
He went for something.
Он пошел на кого-то, на что-то (букв. наверх намеревался).

Noun-verb compounds in Karata do not follow a specific pattern. In fact I have identified a variety of patterns, according to the position the noun occupies, whether this noun is used in other contexts or restricted to light verb constructions, or whether the verb itself is restricted to this constructoin, ... First I will present constructions in which a verb combines with a 'regular' noun (▸ 4.6.1.), then I will deal with constructions in which a verb combines with a noun that is for all other

purposes not used in the language (▸ 4.6.2.) and I will finish with light verb constructions in which the verb does not exist out of its combination with a specific noun (▸ 4.6.3.). The last part is dedicated to cases of light verb constructions which have undergone reduction and now constitute verbs (▸ 4.6.4.).

4.6.1. 'Regular' noun + verb construction

In this section, I will only consider compounds which are made up of a noun and a verb, both elements being otherwise productively used separately as opposed to the following sections which will deal with compounds in which one of the elements does not exist out of the light verb construction.

With this type of light verb constructions, depending on the verb, a noun can fill either the S position of an intransitive verb, the P position of a transitive verb or any other non-core position (noted X). I have not found any compound whose A position was filled by a noun participating in the elaboration of the event.

4.6.1.1. Noun = S

- <nom, LOC>

c'aj kec'ała 'something burns (lit. the fire burn in)

(81) *b-ič̌-o-b* *łudilo-īi* *c'aj* *kec'-ida* *hač'e*
N-wet-PF.PTCP-N wood$_0$-CFG$_7$[LOC] fire burn-IPF COP.NEG
Wet wood does not burn.
Сырые дрова не загораются.

- <nom, ABL$_3$> ~ <nom, GEN>

x̄wãj k̄'wabała/k̄'obała 'to smell (lit. the smell hits from)

Note that this verb is used primarily in the case frame <ERG, NOM, LOC$_1$>.

(82) *iī̄i-b-da* *or?ilo-ī̄* *x̄wãj* *k̄'wab-da-č'e*
1pl-N-REFL excrement$_0$-GEN smell hit-IPF-NEG
One's own excrement does not smell.
Свой кал не пахнет.

- <nom, NOM, DAT>

šužda biʁała 'to bow to' (lit. X stay a bow to)

(83)	*den hor-dow-a*	*šūžda*	*j-iʁ-ała*	*hač’e*
	1sg DEM.PL-H^{+}_{0}-DAT	bow	F-stay-INF	COP.NEG

I will not bow to them.
Я не собираюсь умолять их (букв. отвешивать земной поклон).

Note that this verb is primarily used in the case frame <NOM>. The noun *šūžda* cannot be said to saturate a slot in the valency of the verb. The explanation to the formation of this compound is either to be found diachronically or is a phenomenon akin to that of the delimitative alternation (▸ 5.1.1.2.).

4.6.1.2. Noun = P

The verbs *gahała* ~ *gāła* ‘to do, to make’ and t’amała ‘to throw’ are a major source of light verb constructions. Here, I do not attempt to draw up a full list of possible light verb constructions built with these verbs, the possibilities being virtually boundless from what I have been able to observe, even (as is the case with other verbs, though to a lesser extent) when a specialised verb exists. Instead, I’ll give a list of productive structures.

- <ERG, nom>

awara gahała	‘to break down’ (lit. to do a damage)
x̄ũj t’amała	‘to sow’ (lit. to throw seeds)
itu t’amała	‘to iron’ (lit. to throw the iron)
sorer t’amała	‘to have a walk’ (lit. to throw a stroll)
lale t’amała	‘to thresh wheat’ (lit. to throw wheat)
maχ̄e t’amała	‘to lock up’ (lit. to throw the lock)
c̄’eri t’amała	‘to divorce’ (lit. to throw the name)
rak’wa t’amała	‘to be bored’ (lit. to throw the heart)
hark’a t’amała	‘to worry’ (lit. to throw the eye)
ħox̄el bahała	‘to breathe’ (lit. to take air)

(84)	*iš̆i-b*	*mašino-l*	*awara*	*gē*
	1pl$_0$[GEN]-N	car$_0$-ERG	damage	do[PF]

Our car broke down.
Наша машина сделала аварию.

- <ERG, nom, GEN>

aʁaz gahała	‘to pay attention to’ (lit. to do attention of)
adab gahała	‘to be polite with’
ħurmat gahała	‘to be respectful with’
t’alab gahała	‘to take care of, to watch’ (lit. to do anxiety of)
beq̄’ebit’ur gahała	‘to share’ (lit. to do sharing of)
bak’arar gahała	‘to tidy up’ (lit. to do the tidying-up of)
ǯwab bek̄ała	‘to be responsible for’ (lit. to give responsibility of)

(85) *imajlo-b* *maʕišati-ɬ* *mak'-i-lo-l* *beq̄'ebit'ur* *gē*
parents$_0$[GEN]-N wealth$_0$-GEN child-PL-H$^{+}_0$-ERG sharing do[PF]
The children shared their parents' wealth.
Дети произвели дележ родительского наследства.

<ERG, nom, DAT>

bihałerdi gahała 'to indulge' (lit. to do reliefs for)
biɬ'ełer gahała 'to be mean to' (lit. to do meanness to)
kep bek̄ała 'to enjoy' (lit. to give joy to)
hark'a ʕaršāła 'to put the evil eye on'[21]

(86) *dij-a* *c'aq̄'a* *kep* *bek̄-e* *ho-ɬ̄i-l*
1sg$_0$-DAT very joy give-PF DEM-F$_0$-ERG
She brought me a lot of joy.
Доставила мне большое удовольствие.

- <ERG, nom, ALL$_4$>

gale t'amała 'to make a step to' (lit. to throw a step)

(87) *gale* *t'am-ibīse* *men-a* *hor-do-χa-r*
step throw-PROH 2sg-ERG DEM.PL-H^{+}-CFG$_4$-AKK
Don't you go to their place.
Ни шагу к ним.

4.6.1.3. Noun = X

- <NOM, loc$_5$>

beχ̄elałeriq̄ boʔãła 'to grow, to become taller' (lit. S go in length)

- <NOM, loc$_7$>

χ̄oč'eīi ʁwāła 'to rave on' (lit. S speak in gossip)

_ <NOM, all$_3$>

rak'war bexwała 'to remember' (lit. something comes to the heart)

- <ERG, NOM, all>

[21] Note that this verb is the causative form of *ʕaršała* 'to irritate'. This compound could thus be translated as 'to make the eye irritate somebody'. On the other hand, the examples at my disposal only feature this verb in this construction.

kwadir bahała ‘to subjugate someone’ (lit. A take P in his hands)
heʟ’ir bahała ‘to taste’ (lit. A take P in the mouth)

(88) *w-oc̄-owχwa* *kwadi-r* *w-oh-e* *ho-šu-l* *ho-w*
M-praise-PF.M.CVB in_hand-ALL M-take-PF DEM-M_0-ERG DEM-M
He bought him with praise.
Он лестью купил его.

- <DAT, NOM, loc_6>

maī’uīi haʔãła ‘to dream of’ (lit. to see in slumber)

(89) *dij-a* *maī’u-īi* *malʕũ* *haʔã*
$1sg_0$-DAT slumber-CFG_7[LOC] devil see-PF
I had a nightmare about the devil.
Мне приснился дьявол.

4.6.2. The nominal part is specific to the construction

There exists a fairly large group of predicative expressions which qualifies for the status of light verb construction: one element has the same characteristics as a verb and the other element is not used out of this verb construction. These nouns are found combined with a smaller set of verbs: *gahała* ‘to do’, *boq̄ała* ‘to remove’ and marginally with *bik̄ała* ‘to hold’, *biʁāła* ‘to stop (tr.)’, *basãła* ‘to tell’, *itała* ‘to let’, *k̄’wabała* ~ *k̄’obała* ‘to hit’, *q̄’ała* ‘to be tight’ and *t’amała* ‘to throw’.

4.6.2.1. Noun = S

- <nom, GEN>

reš̄er bik̄ała ‘X’s voice becomes hoarse’

(90) *di-b* *reš̄er + bik̄-e* *idja*
$1sg_0$[GEN]-N become_hoarse-PF.CVB COP
My voice has become hoarse.
Я охрипла.

4.6.2.2. Noun = P

- <ERG, nom>

ħarakat boq̄ała ‘to put efforts’
dadiri gahała ‘to make one’s first steps’ (about a baby)
ʕãq̄i gahała ‘to butt’ (about a goat)
ʕadaq̄ bahała ‘to understand’

- <ERG, nom, DAT>

ʕeʕe gahała ‘to imitate somebody who is crying’

(91) *qa-j, iši-l duw-a-da ʕeʕe gā-so*
cry-IMP $1sg_0$-ERG $2sg_0$-DAT-INT do-FUT
Cry and we will mimic you.
Плачь, и мы будем тебя передразнивать.

- <ERG, nom, NOM>

ʕeleʕele gahała ‘to repel someone’

(92) *he-w-el-šu-l ʕeleʕele ge-da w-uk’-a ho-w*
DEM-M-SELECT-M_0-ERG repulsion do-IPF M-be-PF DEM-M
Everyone repelled him.
Каждый отталкивал его от себя.

4.6.3. The verb is specific to the construction

Another type of light verb construction are combinations of verbs and nouns out of which the verb does not have an existence. I have spotted four such verbs which are tied to different case frames.

- <NOM, loc_1, ABL_3/LOC_3>

rak’wač’o rečā̃ła ‘to regret’ (lit. in the heart regret)

- <nom, GEN>

rak’wa ʁuromāła ‘to feel sick’
rak’wa bekā̃ła ‘to have an emotional shock’

- <nom, LOC>

hedela pilała ‘pimples appear on’ (lit. a thing blisters on)

(93) *mac̄’ilw-a hedela pil-ē*
$tongue_0$-LOC_3 thing blister-PF
A boil popped on your tongue.
На языке выскочил прыщ.

- <ERG, nom, LOC~ALL>

gale/c’ek’a bič’ała ‘to set foot on’

Note that *gale* means ‘step’ and *c’ek’a* ‘foot, leg’ (Russian *нога*). I have four examples illustrating this light verb construction, two exemplifying the use of *gale* and the other two using *c’ek’a*. The Russian translation does not let through any variation in meaning, it is consistently translated as ‘make a step on’ (Russian *ступать ногой*). (▸ 5.2.9. for LOC ~ ALL alternation)

(94) *c’ek’a* *b-ič’-ibīše* *hor-do-χa-r*
foot N-set-PROH DEM.PL-H$^{˙}_{0}$-CFG$_{4}$-ALL
Do not go to their house. (lit. Do not set foot to their’s.)
Ни шагу (букв. ногу не ступай) в их дом.

4.6.4. Coalescence of a noun and a verb

In the presentation of the case frames that are found in Karata, I showed that some of them are unusual. All these deviations have one thing in common: they lack a nominative argument thus yielding unusual valency patterns such as <ERG, DAT>, <ERG, GEN, ALL$_3$>. If we assume that the most likely way such patterns have emerged is through the loss of the nominative argument, then we must seek where and why this argument has ‘disappeared’. I have already shown with basã ła ‘to tell’ for <ERG, GEN, ALL$_3$> (▸ 4.5.17.) how a valency pattern emerges.

Another way is the fusion of a noun to the verb in a light verb construction. For instance, *elba?āła* ‘to warn someone’ is used with the pattern <ERG, ALL$_3$>. It is in fact the combination of *eli* ‘mouth’ and *ba?āła* ‘to lead, to take somewhere’ (Creissels, p.c.). Thus we can reconstruct the former compound **eli ba?āła* ‘to take the mouth’ used in the case frame <ERG, nom, ALL$_3$>.

Another example is *tutaāquāāła* ‘to defame’ (▸ 4.4.19.) used in the case frame <ERG, ALL$_3$>. The first part of the verb is obviously cognate with noun for ‘saliva’ *tutu* but I do not have enough information yet as to the verb it combined with.

(95) *q̄’adaro-b* *hedela* *gē-ī’e* *hani-l-da* *tutaāquq̄-ē* *ho-šw-a-r*
bad-N thing do[PF]-QUOT village$_0$-ERG-INT defame-PF DEM-M$_0$-LOC$_3$-ALL
Because of his misbehaviour, the village defamed him.
За непристойный поступок все село его оплевало.

Another example is the verb *kiloāała* ‘to fertilise’ which can be broken down into *kila* ‘manure’ and *boāała* ‘remove’ (Creissels p.c.), yielding ‘to remove manure’ (in order to take it somewhere).

(96) *mak’-i* *kiloq̄-arχwa* *idja*
child-PL fertilise-PF.nH˙.CVB COP
The children have fertilised.
Дети вывозят навоз (→ туда-сюда ходят, бегают).

5. ALTERNATIONS

Argument-alternations that do not modify the denotational meaning of a verb manifest through case change. Argument alternations as presented in 5.2. probably have pragmatic implications though.

5.1. Transitivity alternations

Karata has radical P-alignment, that is S has the same coding properties as P. In the case of Karata this means that S/P is in the nominative case (or unmarked case) and that it governs agreement with the verb in two ways at most: with the class-agreement prefix, if the verb has one, and with the long form of the generic past converb or with the participial form. Moreover remember that any argument can be omitted, be it nominative, ergative, allative or else and that this omission triggers either an anaphorical interpretation or an indefinite/unspecified interpretation.

Letuchij (2006: 10) explains that two general conceptions of lability have been developed. The 'broad definition' has been developed on the basis of English and other accusative languages. It posits that lability refers to the possibility for a verb to feature in different sentential constructions without marking diathesis changes. (Polinsky 1986: 44). Letuchij goes on to show that other linguists such as Ljutikova separate syntactic lability from semantic lability but that in fact semantics ends up taking too much importance. For instance Ljutikova (2002) only considers labile verbs instantiating the decausative/causative derivation, and sets apart verbs instantiating the causative/reflexive alternation into a category called 'non-marked diathesis'. He finishes this history of lability definitions with the definition given by Dixon and which has been used since then.

According to the accepted definition, lability or ambitransitivity refers to verbs that can feature in both transitive and intransitive constructions without any overt valency-changing morpheme and in which the term in S position in the intransitive construction is the same as (a) the term in A position in the transitive construction (i.e. A-lability) or (b) the same as the term in P position (i.e. P-lability) in the transitive construction. According to this definition almost[22] every verb in Karata is P-labile.

In an ergative language like Karata, A-lability, i.e. the shift from A to S is easily identifiable since not only does the case marker change from ergative *–l-* to nominative but the verb agrees with the S argument. Contrary to accusative languages like French or English, no such shift takes place with P-lability in Karata since S and P are both encoded by the nominative case and both are indexed on the verb.

For a language like Karata in which the omission of an argument triggers an unspecified or anaphorical interpretation, the current definition of lability overlooks a decisive parameter: the status of the non-expressed A (or P) argument of the transitive construction in the intransitive construction. The key particularity of lability is that the non-expressed argument is not implied. This is made obvious with

[22] Except verbs with irregular case frames (i.e. without a nominative NP)

decausative uses of otherwise transitive verbs such as the English verb ‘to break’ in ‘The glass broke’. P-lability can then only be captured if we make the distinction between argument-structure preserving ‘P-lability’ and argument structure modifying P-lability (Creissels 2010b). The non-implication of an argument therefore is the key parameter defining P-lability in Daghestanian languages.

In the first part I will discuss A-labile verbs. In the second part I will present the more complex (for Daghestanian languages) phenomenon of P-lability. This second part is organised in three sub-parts, which reflect three sets of verbs having properties akin to P-lability to different degrees. The first subpart will list the clear instances of P-lability in Karata. The second subpart will present two marginal P-labile verbs: they differ from the ‘regular’ P-labile verbs inasmuch as their transitive use is far less productive than other P-labile verbs and they differ from the third subpart because their participants are not subject to semantic restrictions. The third subpart will then deal with a group of verbs I have identified in Karata which exhibit characteristics typical of P-labile verbs but whose use is bound to heavy semantic restrictions on the nature of the A or S participants involved (for causative and decausative constructions respectively). Finally, in the third part, I will present a third type of lability: S = AP, i.e. the term in S position cumulates the properties of both A and P

Note that a few verbs have several meanings that are bound to the use of distinct case frames which are sometimes linked between each other in different ways (i.e. throuh more than one semantic derivation), hence their appearance in more than one section. For instance *t’amała* ‘to throw’ features in the semantically-restricted-decausative-use section (to throw → to fall ▸ 5.1.2.4.1.) and in the causative/autocausative-alternation section (to throw → to run ▸ 5.1.3.). Likewise *torč’ãła* ‘to throw’ features in the semantically-restricted-decausative-use section (to throw → to affect) and in the causative/autocausative-alternation section (to throw → to fight). For a better overview of the different meanings of a verb, please refer to the glossary.

5.1.1. S = A

Because of the radical P-alignment, A labile verbs should be easy to identify in Karata. The only example which might probably be A-labile is *keχała* ‘to suck’ (▸ 5.1.1.1.).

Two other verbs are more problematic: *šorašorała* ‘to turn → to have a walk’ because the term in P position is not a patient (▸ 5.1.1.2.) and *č’alāła* ‘to read, to study’ (▸ paragraph below).

Used transitively *č’alāła* means ‘to read’. In an intransitive construction, it has the meaning ‘to study’ (the activity of being busy studying, Russian *заниматься*). Can ‘to study’ be brought down to ‘to read unspecified things’? Creissels faces the same conundrum in Akhvakh with *žoruа*. After discussion, it appears better to recognise two homonymous verbs in spite of the fact that the historical relationship is obvious:

č'alāła 'to read' <ERG, NOM> and *č'alāła* 'to study' <NOM>. Besides, 'to study, learn (tr.)' is expressed by another verb, *ruhūłała*.

- *č'alāła* 'to read' <ERG, NOM>

(97) *zebw-a* *den-a* *q̄oča* *č'al-e*
day_0-CFG_3[LOC] $1sg_0$-ERG book read-PF
I read this book in one day.
За день я прочитал книгу.

- *č'alāła* 'to study (intr.)' <NOM>

(98) *išǐ* *lampila-q̄* *č'al-e*
1pl lamp-CFG_5[LOC] study-PF
We studied/worked near the lamp.
Мы учились при керосиновой лампе.

In Mandinka, the verb *karaŋ* is used transitively in both meanings i. 'to read' and ii. 'to learn' (Creissels 2011:49). However, its use ii. 'to learn' is the object of syntactic restrictions which do not affect other transitive verbs (among which is ii. 'to read'), in particular:
- *karaŋ* ii. 'to learn' is causativised through the addition of the suffix *-ndi*, a suffix which is mostly used to causativise intransitive constructions.
- the causativised form of *karaŋ* ii. can equally be used in two constructions: either the oblique position is filled by the noun referring to what is taught, either the oblique position is saturated by the causee, i.e. the participant who is taught. This alternative construction is exceptional among causative verbs in Mandinka.
- *karaŋ* ii. 'to learn' does not undergo the active/passive alternation as other verbs do in Mandinka. Transitive verbs may be used intransitively (with S = P) with a passive meaning (i.e. an agent is implied but not expressed). When used intransitively *karaŋ* ii. 'to learn' means 'to be learned' and S = A.

As noted by Creissels, what is interesting is that in two languages in which 'to study' and 'to learn' are expressed by the same verb, these languages distinguish both meanings by somewhat decreasing the transitivity of this verb when it means 'to learn'. A possible explanation is that with 'to read' the object is a concrete delimited object whereas the object of 'to study' is abstract.

(99) *a.* *kambaan-óo* *ye* *batáay-oo* *karaŋ*
boy-DEF PF.POS letter-DEF read
The boy read a letter.

b. *ñiŋ́* *kew-ó* *karan-ta* *báake*
DEM man-DEF learn-PF.POS very
This man is a very learned person.

5.1.1.1. The unspecified object alternation

According to the criteria exposed above, I have found only one potential A-labile verb in my corpus: the verb *keχała* 'to suck'.

(100) *a.* *mak'e* *keχ-idja* *idja*
boy suck-IPF COP
The baby boy is sucking.
Ребенок сосет грудь.

b. *idja-jgil* *hurab-da,* *hač'e-jgil* *ɬic'el* *keχ-idja*
COP-SPCVB smell-IPF COP.NEG-SPCVB finger suck-IPF
When there is, he wastes, when there is not he sucks his finger.
Когда есть веет, когда нет – палец сосет. (о расточительном человеке)

The first example illustrates *keχała* in an analytic verb form, which may trigger the binominative construction (▸ 2.2.3.). I have no other proof that in Karata *keχała* can be used in a one-slot construction in which S is indeed coded by the nominative. The decision to mention this verb is only based on comparative evidence. This verb is A-labile in Godoberi (*baʔaχa*) (Kibrik 1996: 116) and in Bagvalal (*s'uni*) (Ljutikova In Kibrik 2001: 383).

5.1.1.2. The delimitative alternation

An interesting verb is *šorała* which means 'to turn, to rotate, to walk' in the case frame <NOM>. In the case frame <ERG, NOM>, this verb means 'to walk in, on'. The participant in the A/S slot is the walker and the participant in the P slot refers to the place where the event of walking takes place.

(101) *a.* *hac'a-c'e šor-e* *mašina* *χur-i-gal*
ten-times turn-PF car field$_0$-CFG$_6$-ABL
The car turned ten times in the field.
Машина сделала десять рейсов в поле (букв. десять раз обернулась).

b. *iši-l* *ī'wani* *šorešor-e* *ce-b-da* *mak'wa*
1pl(EXCL)-ERG much turn~ITER~-PF one-N-INT place
We used to walk a lot in this place.
По одному и тому же месту мы прогуливались.

The term 'delimitative alternation' comes from Creissels' study of Manding languages' valency system (Bambara (2007: 21) and Mandinka (2010: 7)). The following examples are from the Bambara language. The first example illustrates the verb in the intransitive one-slot construction and the second example illustrates the same verb in a transitive construction used to spatially (or temporally) mark the limits of the event.

(102) *a.* *kɔ̀nɔ* *pán-na*
bird-DEF jump-PF.POS
The bird flew away

b. *à* *yé* *dúkɛnɛ* *pán*
2s PF.POS yard.DEF jump
He flew through the yard.

5.1.2. S = P

5.1.2.1. Introduction

5.1.2.1.1. Preliminary remarks

P-labile verbs in Karata are verbs which can be used in both agentive and agentless constructions. Consequently they are very tricky to identify in Karata because of the language's radical P alignment (▸ 2.3.) and capacity to omit any argument triggering either an anaphorical or unspecified interpretation. Given that I could not make test with speakers when examining the sentences at my disposal, the following criteria helped with their identification:
- the dictionary (does the article dedicated to a verb register both transitive and intransitive uses?)
- the Russian translation (is the verb used in an impersonal form or imply an agent?)
- the conceptualisation of the event itself (i.e. can the event denoted by the verb be conceptualised as caused by an agent?)
- the stability of the meaning i.e. the meaning of the verb must remain in the intransitive and in the transitive constructions.

None of these criteria taken alone yields perfectly sure results though since they are all to some extent subjective.

For example, consider the two instances of the verbs *beq̄'ešała* 'to hide oneself' <NOM> or 'to steal' <ERG, NOM> below. The key question here is to decide whether 'S is hidden' can, via the addition of an agent, take on the meaning 'A steal P', i.e. 'A make S/P be hidden'. The meaning 'to steal' can quite easily be explained historically as deriving from 'to make something be hidden' but the semantic shift that has occurred has obliterated the semantic link: there is something more to 'to steal' than 'to make hide'. Taking into consideration that the corresponding causative form *beq̄'ešāła* only has the meaning 'to hide (tr.)' (▸ 6.2. for causativisation of an intransitive verb), I have come to the conclusion that we deal with two homonymous verbs:
- *beq̄'ešała* 'to hide (intr.)' <NOM> → *beq̄'ešāła* 'to hide (tr.) <ERG, NOM>

(103) *a.* *ho-w* *di-č'o-gal* *w-oq̄'eš̌-e* *w-uk'-a*
DEM-M $1sg_0$-CFG_1-ABL M-hide-PF M-be-PF
He used to hide from me.
Он прятался от меня.

b. *χwaj-l* *raī'e* *taɬdi* *b-eq̄'eš̌-a-jdja*
dog-ERG bone far_away N-hide-CAUS-IPF
The dog hides his bone far away. (lit. the dog makes his bone hide)
Собака свою кость зарывает подальше, в недоступном месте.

- *beq̄'ešɬa* 'to steal something' <ERG, NOM>

(104) *mak'-i-lo-l* *aχi-ī'i-gal* *ʕeče* *b-eq̄'eš̌-e*
child-PF-H^{*}_0-ERG $garden_0$-CFG_8-ABL apple N-steal-PF
The children stole apples from the garden.
Дети своровали яблоки из сада.

Another problem which will be dealt with in the following section (▸ 5.1.2.2.3.) is the syncretism of the ergative and instrumental cases, which are coded by the same marker *–l-*. I have gathered all the verbs that (a) are marginally used with an ergative argument in their non-derived form and (b) meet the criteria listed above but (c) have a non-canonical agent.

5.1.2.1.2. Tests used for lability in Daghestanian languages

A few tests have been proposed (Haspelmath 1993, Kibrik 1996 & 2001) to distinguish true agentless situations from agent omission with an indefinite/anaphoric meaning.

The first test is based on a morphological difference between transitive and intransitive verbs in the imperative mood ('the morphological test' (Kibrik 1996: 110, Kibrik 2001: 379). Karata happens to encode this difference: *-a-* is suffixed to the transitive stem whereas *–i-* is suffixed to the intransitive stem in order to make an imperative form. Thus even though no core argument is expressed with *bahaɬa* 'to take', no doubt remains as to whether it implies a P argument (rather than S).

(105) *ɬãda-χ̄il-a-gal* *bah-a*
close-PROX-CFG_3-ABL take-IMP(tr)
Take (it) from the closest spot.
Бери с ближней стороны.

(106) *miɬila-ī'i-gal* *χidi* *j-eʔ-ĩ*
sun_0-CFG_8-ABL away F-go-IMP(intr)
Go away from the sun.
Уходи ис-под солнца.

The second test that has been proposed is the insertion of the reflexive pronoun, *žebda* (in Karata), 'the syntactic test' (Kibrik 1996: 111 & 2001: 380). In intransitive constructions the use of the reflexive pronoun will either have the effect of reinforcing that S acts independently 'by itself' (if S's nature predisposes it to exert control) or it will have the effect of putting the emphasis on S. A transitive construction which resembles a P-labile verb will only have its P argument expressed, hence the ambiguity. When the reflexive pronoun is inserted though, the only meaning possible is the emphasis on P, because the one argument exerting control is A in a transitive construction (example 109).

Finally, another test has been proposed by Haspelmath for Lezgian (1993: 291), 'the argument from the involuntary agent construction' also called 'the semantic test' (Kibrik 1996: 111). He argues that with labile verbs used intransitively, the ergative agent of the corresponding transitive construction, can only be encoded as an involuntary agent, that is marked by the ablative of CFG_1 in Karata (▸ 8.2.). The idea is that with intransitive verbs, the involuntary agent is the only agent-like referent possible in the construction. An involuntary agent cannot be added to a transitive construction.

5.1.2.2. The causative/decausative alternation

5.1.2.2.1. Productive causative/decausative alternation

These are the P-labile verbs involved in the causative/decausative alternation that I have found: *bajbixāła* 'to begin', *beč'ãła* 'to wither', *bełãła* 'to cook'[23], *bit'ebiχ̄ała* ~ *bit'ebišełała* 'to settle, to fix up', *bučãła* ~ *bučãčurała* 'to wash', *c̄'ic̄'āła* 'to prick', *pãk'āła* 'to light up', *q̄'warq̄'warāła* 'to emit a sound'[24], *q̄'āła* 'to tighten'. The dictionary does not give a derived causative form for these verbs. Note that this list is not exhaustive, it only gives the verbs for which I have some certainty. Below is a list of illustrative examples: a. is the causative use of the verb and b. its decausative use.

(107) *a.* *har-gal* *bajbix̄-ā* *iši-l* *iši-b-da* *šapar*
there-ABL begin-PF 1pl-ERG 1pl[GEN]-N-INT trip
We started our trip from there.
Отсюда начали мы путешествие.

[23] The strongest argument for the recognition of this verb as labile is that the dictionary (Magomedova 2001: 56) very clearly indicates two uses for this verb: 1. to be cooking 2. to prepare (1. вариться 2. варить).

[24] This verb is the combination of the ideophone *q̄'warq̄'ari* 'rustling, rumbling' and an unknown light verb. Its causative like form is due to morpho-phonological change.

b. ce-b ãɬerw-a-gal bajbix̄-ā iš̌i-b daʕba
one-N word$_0$-CFG$_3$-ABL begin-PF 1pl[GEN]-N argument
Our argument started from one word.
С одного слова началась наша ссора.

(108) *a. čerχ̄e b-eč’-amχwa idja q̄’ar-e-r-i-l*
body N-wither-PF.N.CVB COP boil-PF-MSD-OBL-ERG
The body withered because of the heat. (lit. The fact that it is boiling has withered the body.)
От жары тело истомилось.

b. osq̄el-di r-eč’-ãχwa idja
cucumber-PL nHˀ-wither-PF.CVB COP
The cucumbers have withered.
Огурцы завяли

(109) *a. c̄’ulaɦale beɬ-ãɬa*
beans cook-INF
To cook beans.
Варить фасоль.

b. x̄ag-i q̄’olo beɬ-ĩdja idja
sauce_pan-CFG$_6$[LOC] potato cook-IPF COP
Potatoes are cooking in the sauce pan.
В кастрюле варится картошка.

(110) *a. ĩ-šu-l-da b-it’abiš-a ho-šu-l ho-b hedela*
REFL-M$_0$-ERG-INT N-settle-PF DEM-M$_0$-ERG DEM-N thing
He solved the problem by himself.
Он сам уладил это дело.

b. že-b-eda b-it’abišeɬ-e ho-b hedela
REFL-N-INT N-settle-PF DEM-N thing
This problem solved itself.
Это дело само собой уладилось.

(111) *a. mak’e b-uč-ãɬa*
child N-bathe-INF
To wash a child.
Искупать ребёнка.

b. mak’-i reɬa-ī̃i b-ač-ũda idja
child-PL sea-CFG$_7$[LOC] Hˀ-bathe-IPF COP
The children are bathing in the sea.
Дети купаются в море

(112) a. *waša-šu-l* *č’ič’-eda* *idja*
boy-M_0-ERG pinch-IPF COP
The boy pinches (people), is a pincher.
Мальчик щипается.

b. *rak’wa* *č’ič’-eda idja*
heart pinch-IPF COP
My heart hurts.
В сердце колет.

(113) a. *paruz* *pãk’-āła*
cigarette light_up-INF
To light up a cigarette.
Зажечь папиросу, прикурить.

b. *c’aj* *pãk’-ē*
fire light_up-PF
The fire started
Вспыхнул пожар.

(114) a. *ƛẽj-l* *bak’wal* *q̄’war~q̄’war-ā*
water-ERG stomach emit_sound~ITER-PF
The water made my stomach rumble.
От воды в животе заурчало.

b. *b-eq̄’u-b* *q̄oča* *q̄’war~q̄’war-da* *b-ik’w-a*
N-dry-N skin emit_sound-ITER~-IPF N-be-PF
The dry skin would crackle.
Пересохшая шкура шуршала.

(115) a. *ce+mik’i* *q̄’wat’e* *q̄’-ā*
a_little saddle_girth tighten-IMP(tr)
Stop fooling around. (lit. Tighten the saddle-girth a little)
Уймись, остепенись / уйми кого-л. (букв. чуть-чуть подпруги натяни)

b. *c’ek’wa-ldi* *q̄’a-rχwa* *idja*
shoe-PL tighten-PF.nH^{+}.CVB COP
The shoes are too tight. (lit. have tightened)
Обувь жмет.

5.1.2.2.2. Marginal transitive use of two movement verbs

I want to present here two verbs that have marginal transitive uses but no semantic restriction on the nature of the term that can be added as an agent. There verbs are two generic movement verbs of Karata, *boʔāła* ‘to go’ and *bex̄wała* ‘to come’.

- *boʔãɬa* in its transitive (=agentive) use is found in less than 4% of the examples I have (ration: 6/164).

(116) *a.* *har-gal* *χidi* *b-aʔ-ãɬa* *idja* *iš̌i*
there-ABL away H˚-go-INF COP 1pl
We should go away from here.
Мы уедем отсюда.

b. *ho-š̌u-l* *di-b* *ʕama* *b-oʔ-ã*
DEM-M_0-ERG $1sg_0$[GEN]-N donkey N-go-PF
He took my donkey away.
Он увел моего осла.

The five other examples of this use do not display strong restrictions on either A or P. The A slot is found filled by animates (human & animal: *q̄arč̌iʁ* 'a hawk') and even an inanimate (*ẽχ̄e* 'a torrent'). The P slot is filled with animates (animal: *ʕama* 'a donkey', *ʕuʕuča* 'a hen', *ɬeder* 'a calf') and with inanimates (*ǯanaza* 'a deceased person', *q̄oča* 'a book', *q̄aj* 'things'). From so few examples, we might only infer that the P slot could be reserved for non-human participants[25].

- *beχ̄waɬa* in its transitive use is found in less than 2% of the examples of my corpus instancing this verb (ration: 3/191).

(117) *a.* *ho-w* *wac̄o-k'el* *w-oχ̄-a*
DEM-M $brother_0$-COM M-come-PF
He came with his brother.
Он пришел с братом.

b. *ɬ'wani-gwal* *hedela* *b-eχ̄w-a* *hugu-š̌u-l*
much-even thing N-come-PF DEM-M_0-ERG
He even brought a lot of things.
Он превез много вещей.

The A position of the other two examples is occupied by an animate or an inanimate (*poloχ̄* 'a clover'). In P position are found only inanimates (*c̄ic̄i* 'flowers', *hedela* 'thing', *š̌iw* 'milk').

5.1.2.2.3. Semantically restricted causative/decausative alternation

In this section, I want to set apart a type of verbs which only partly fit the definition of P-labile verbs because one of their two possible uses (transitive or agentless) is severely restricted to a special type of participant in A or S position respectively.

[25] The deceased person is indexed on the verb with the neutral class marker, *-b-*.

A verb often has different meanings that may be bound to different constructions. For instance *bac̄wāɬa* has the following meanings: a. to fill up b. to be flooded c. to sink (tr.) d. to cover.

(118) *a. gãda bacw-āɬa*
hole fill_up-INF
To fill up a hole.
Заделать яму.

b. č'irq̄'aj hane ɬ̄ẽ-ī̃i bacw-ā
Chirkai village $water_0$-CFG_7[LOC] flood-PF
The village of Chirkai flooded. (lit. was closed up in water)
Село Чиркей затоплено водой.

c. mak'-i [ce-šu̇-l ce-boj bacwacw-ā] b-oh-oda b-ak'w-a
child-PL [one_0-M_0-ERG one-H˙ sink.ITER-PF.CVB N-play-IPF H˙-be-PF
ɬ̄ẽ-ī̃i
$water_0$-CFG_8[LOC]
Sinking each other, the children were playing in the water.
Окуная друг друга, дети игрались в воде.

d. niχe bacw-ā
breast cover-IMP(tr)
Cover your breast.
Прикрой грудь.

Constructions a, c and d are transitive whereas b is intransitive. Moreover a and b are related semantically: we can roughly paraphrase b. as 'The village of Chirkaï is filled/filled', the difference being that a involves an agent whereas b does not.

This verb's being use in both agentive and agentless constructions has to do with the causative/decausative alternation but it is hardly conceivable to ass an agent in b.

As Creissels observed, I think that lability in Karata is not a uniquely syntactic operation but is lexical by nature, i.e. a spontaneous event interpretation can be given to a participant only if this participant can be conceived of as performing this event 'by itself', thus making the syntactic possibilities of a verb dependent on the nature of the lexical item. The same applies for the agentive interpretation: can the S participant be conceived of as undergoing the same event but caused by another participant? My view is that lability in Karata should be conceived of as a scale according to which verbs are ranked. '[...] the spontaneous event interpretation of verbs otherwise compatible with ergative NPs is often bound to semantic restrictions that preclude the correspondences one could expect from typical P-labile verbs.' (Creissels 2010: 30).

5.1.2.2.3.1. Semantically restricted decausative use

The verbs belonging to this subsection are: *bacwāła* ‘to fill up → to flood’, *bac’ała* ‘to join → to heal’, *k̄’wabała* ~ *k̄’obała* ‘to hit → to affect’, *t’amała* ‘to put → to fall’, *torč̌’ãła* ‘to throw → to fall’. They can be used with a decausative meaning, i.e. in agentless construction, only if a noun presents the required lexical characteristics to fill the S slot of the verb. These lexical characteristics are verb-specific, this is why I will present them one after the other.

torč̌’ãła is used in transitive constructions with the meaning ‘to throw something against something’ <ERG, NOM, LOC>. When used in agentless constructions, it bears the meaning ‘to fall on, to hit’ in which S is either a meteorological event (*muču* ‘the wind’, *pire* ‘lightning’) or an illness (*oħo* ‘coughing fit’).

(119) *a.* *mak’-i-lo-l* *hĩgwaro-īi* *ãča* *torč̌’ẽ*
child-PL-H^{+}-ERG window$_0$-CFG$_7$[LOC] stone throw-PF
The children threw a stone against the window.
Дети кинули камень в окно.

b. *di-č’o* *ãča* *torč̌’-ẽ*
1sg$_0$-CFG$_1$[LOC] stone throw-PF
A stone struck me.
В меня попал камень.

c. *oħo* *torč̌’-ẽ* *di-č’o*
cough throw-PF 1sg$_0$-CFG$_1$[LOC]
I had a coughing fit.
На меня напал кашель.

d. *rošilw-a* *pire* *torč̌’-ẽ*
tree$_0$-CFG$_3$[LOC] lightning throw-PF
A lightning struck the tree.
В дерево ударила молния.

This thought-provoking series of examples shows that the presence of an agent at a semantic level is bound to the nature of the element that can potentially be thought to occupy the S slot of the intransitive verb. Indeed, a. is clearly transitive with a human agent. On the other hand, c. and d. are clearly intransitive decausatives as the insertion of an agent is barely conceivable. Example b. brings to the fore an ambiguous case. While a stone is generally an object at the mercy of an agent, in this case the Russian translation clearly does not allow for the presence of an agent and implies that the stone ended up in contact with the human being by itself. The sentence came without any context, but we can imagine for instance a stone tumbling down a mountain.

bacwāła means ‘to fill up’ <ERG, NOM>. It may be understood as an event taking place spontaneously if the event denoted by the verb cannot be conceived of as

affecting a location (in S/P position) under the control of someone. In the second example, a man could not possibly flood a city in water.

(120) *a. gãda bacw-āɬa*
hole fill_up-INF
To fill up a hole.
Заделать яму.

b. č'irq̄'aj hane ɬ̄ẽ-ī̃i bacw-ā
Chirkai village $water_0$-CFG_7[LOC] flood-PF
The village of Chirkai flooded. (lit. was closed up in water)
Село Чиркей затоплено водой.

bac'aɬa 'to join, to add' <ERG, NOM> implies no agent when the noun in S position is a body part, thus taking on the meaning 'to skin over, to heal (lit. to become joined)' <NOM>.

(121) *a. iš̌i-l karu b-ac'-e*
$1sg_0$-ERG rope N-unite-PF
We made the rope longer (by uniting several of them).
Мы прирастили веревку.

b. karkal b-ac'-e
skull N-unite-PF
The skull healed. (lit. united)
Темя заросло.

k̄'wabaɬa ~ *k̄'obaɬa* is used in the case frame <ERG, LOC_1> with the meaning 'to hit someone'. As we saw above (▸ 4.5.4.) this verb most likely functioned in the case frame <ERG, NOM, LOC_1>.

(122) *a. heɬal men-a ha-š̌u-č'o k'wab-o-b*
why 2sg-ERG DEM-M_0-CFG_1[LOC] hit-PF.PTCP-N
Why did you hit him ?
Зачем ты его ударил?

We can safely enough reconstruct the original literal meaning as 'Why did you apply something to him?' which yielded the following decausative meaning, 'to be applied to, to affect', bound to semantic restrictions on the nature of S. *k̄'wabaɬa* ~ *k̄'obaɬa* is found in agentless constructions when the S term refers to bodily sensations or meteorological events.

b. di-č'o muču k̄'wab-e
1sg$_0$-CFG$_1$[LOC] wind hit-PF
I caught a cold. (lit. the wind applied to me)
Меня продуло (букв. меня ветер ударил).

t'amała 'to put' is generally used with the meaning 'to put something' in the case frame <ERG, NOM, LOC >. It is also used in the case frame <NOM, LOC> with the meaning 'to fall' when S refers to a weather phenomenon.

(123) *a. sulaɪ'-ač'e b-ak'w-ała, hark'-ab-ā pardaw t'am-a*
be_shy-SPCVB H*-be-INF eye-PL-CFG$_3$[LOC] veil throw-IMP(tr)
(Ironic) If you are ashamed, put a veil on your eye.
(ирон.) Если тебе стыдно, то надень покрывало на глаза.

b. χ̄aran-i šibe t'am-ebχwa idja
field-CFG$_6$[LOC] dew throw-PF.N.CVB COP
The field was wet with dew. (lit. In the field, dew has fallen/has been thrown.)
На лугу осела роса.

The point here is that these verbs clearly exhibit properties of P-lability but it shows that P-lability cannot be defined only syntactically and that the possibility to use a verb in one or the other construction is bound to the very nature of the noun in S/P position.

5.1.2.2.3.2. Semantically restricted causative use of intransitive verbs or instrumental use of the ergative marker?

I will now present the characteristics of a set of verbs which are for the most part used intransitively but are marginally found with an ergative argument, that is an argument marked by *–l-*. Not only are these apparently-transitive uses very marginal, but the ergative argument in these constructions cannot be described in terms of the typical characteristics that are associated with the agent participant. Moreover all these verbs have causative derived forms.

My point is that there are clear cases in Karata in which the ergative marker is used as the intrument marker, this is for instance obvious in the case frame <ERG, NOM, ERG> (▸ 4.5.11) where the case frame contains the two prototypical arguments of the transitive predication: ergative/agent argument and nominative/patient argument, plus an argument that encodes the instrument that is implied by the event encoded by the verb. Thus, if the ergative marker *–l-* is productively used to encode the instrument, we cannot rule out that it may also be used with this value in minimal predications, which makes it hard to distinguish between purely intransitive constructions containing an instrument on the one hand and P-labile verbs used transitively. This ambiguity is made obvious when the verb has a derived causative form.

Another word of caution which argues in favour of isolating this section from the rest of the P-labile verbs is that the past tense form of the verb *itała* (used also as a causative auxiliary (▸ 6.6.)), *itja*, is phonetically very close to the copula, *idja*, (used in the formation of composed tenses). Although I have tried to be very rigorous in copying the examples from the dictionary, errors in the transcription are a possibility.

Here is the list of verbs which exhibit P-lability properties and have a causative derived form:

non-derived	**causativised**
- *beq̄'wała* 'to dry out'	→ *beq̄'wāła*
- *berq̄ała* 'to drag'	→ *berq̄āła*
- *bič'ała* 'to die, to be spoilt'	→ *bič'āła*
- *gergečała* 'to shake'	→ *gergečāła*
- *harhačała* 'to shake'	→ *harhačāła*
- *ħawała* 'to burn'	→ *ħawāła* (▸ 6.5.2.)
- *q̄'wačq̄̃ałała* 'to get dirty'	→ *q̄'wač'q̄̃āła*
- *rek'wała* 'to light up, to kindle'	→ *rek'wāła*

Here the intriguing fact is that, on the one hand, the non-derived form can be used both with and without an ergatively-marked noun, and on the other hand, the same form can undergo causativisation with the effect of creating an ergative slot. What's more, no obvious difference in the 'semantic parameters' (Dixon In Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 62) of the causer and those of the A/instrument of the non-derived construction surfaces in my corpus. Two analyses are possible:

(a) the non-derived form is P-labile. Its intransitive use can undergo causativisation.

non-derived form		**derived form**
Ynom V	⟶	Xerg Ynom V-CAUS
Xerg Ynom V		

Table 7. *Causativisation of P-labile verbs.*

(b) the fact that an ergative argument is added to the basic intransitive construction of the non-derived form is not specific to this particular verb, but is an instance of the intrument-marking use of the ergative marker. Therefore the causativisation of the verb entails that the instrument fills the newly-created ergative slot and becomes more agentive.

In the following example, a. instantiates the intransitive use of the verb, b. the addition of an ergative argument without any overt valency-changing derivational morpheme on the verb, and c. is an example of the use of the corresponding causative form. Note that in b. and in c. the argument marked by the ergative case is a natural force.

(124) *a.* *roš-badi* *gergeč-a* *idja*
tree-PL shake-PF.CVB COP
The trees swung.
Деревья качаются.

b. *ʁalmisa-l* *hãdar* *gergeč-a* *idja*
earthquake-ERG house shake-PF.CVB COP
The house shook because of the earthquake. / The earthquake shook the house.
От землетрясения дом стал содрогаться

c. *mučᵘ-la-l* *roša* *gergeč-a-jdja* *idja*
wind-OBL-ERG tree shake-CAUS-IPF COP
The wind is shaking the tree.
Ветер качает дерево.

The following verb *ħawała* ‘to burn, to sting’ is illustrated by a set of examples which have very close meanings. Example a. is a regular intransitive construction. Examples b. and c. show the same verb used in a construction featuring an ergative argument, but in b. the patient is omitted (triggering the indefinite interpretation) and in c. the patient is expressed. Finally d. is an example of the use of this verb’s synthetic causative form (▸ 6.6.2 for this verb’s analytic causative form).

(125) *a.* *q̄’ardo-b* *ɬ̄ēj* *b-aʔ-abχwa* *di-r* *reʟ’a* *ħaw-e*
hot-N water N-receive-PF.N.CVB 1sg[GEN]-nH˙ hands burn-PF
My hands were burnt under the hot water. (lit. having received hot water)
Рука обожглось горячей водой.

b. *mič̌’i-l* *ħaw-da*
nettle-ERG burn-IPF
Nettle stings. / One can be stung by nettle.
Крапивой можно обжечься.

c. *mič̌’i-l* *reʟ’a* *ħaw-a*
nettle-ERG hands burn-PF
Nettle stung my hand.
Крапива обожгла мне руку.

d. *mič̌’i-l* *ħaw-ājda*
nettle-ERG burn-CAUS.IPF
Nettle stings. (lit. makes burn)
Крапива обжигает.

I do not have a solution at this point (i.e. instrumental or P-lability).The fact that Karata makes no formal distinction between the coding of instruments/forces and agents brings me to ponder over the difference between what can be qualified as an agent and what can be qualified as an instrument and a force by extension. Fillmore (1971: 376) defines the agent as ‘the instigator of the event’ and the instrument as ‘the stimulus or immediate physical cause of an event’. In this respect, *nettle* and *wind* can be characterised as instruments. As Levin & Rappaport put it (2005: 39) ‘the problem appears to be determining the right “grain-size” to use in the definition of semantic roles’. In other words, is the distinction ‘instigator’ Vs ‘physical cause’

base on the animacy parameter relevant? As far as morphological marking is concerned, Karata does not distinguish instruments, forces and agents. Charachidzé (1981) even refers to the ergative as the instrumental for all its uses throughout his grammar of Avar, making a distinction between the 'instrumental with an agentive value' and the 'instrumental in general'[26]. In the end, the question remains the same: does Karata make distinctions between agent and instrument (at the syntactic level for instance)?

5.1.2.3. The causative/facilitative alternation

In this part I want to bring to attention two verbs, *roš̃ãła* 'to open' and *kerš̃ãła* 'to close'. The intransitive agentless use of these verbs does not trigger a decausative interpretation (spontaneous event interpretation) but implies a possibility, a capacity to do something, namely, to open or to close. In French for instance *La porte s'ouvre* 'The door opens' does not mean so much that the door is in the process of opening as that the door can be opened, that it offers this possibility.

(126) *a. hugu-šu-l hīc̄'u roš̆-ẽ dij-a*
DEM-M_0-ERG door open-PF $1sg_0$-DAT
He opened the door for me.
Он помог мне открыть дверь.

b. ha-b hīc̄'u roš̆-īda hač'e
DEM-N door open-IPF COP.NEG
The door does not open/ The door can't be opened.
Дверь не отпирается.

5.1.2.4. Conclusion for S = P ambitransitive verbs

I have shown that there exists a set of verbs in Karata which have more or less straightforwar P-labile characteristics. Verbs undergoing the causative/facilitative alternation are clearly P-labile. Verbs undergoing the causative/decausative alternation can be placed on a P-lability scace. At the top is a set of verbs which are used with or without an agent without restriction (▸ 5.1.2.2.1.). Following on the scale, are two movement verbs which can be used transitively without semantic restriction (or only on the P participant) but seem to be rarely used transitively. Finally, a group of verbs exhibit P-lability properties but cannot be described as taking part in an alternation as one or the other use is bound to the nature of the participant.

The crux of the problem is making the distinction between the use of the ergative marker to mark the agent participant and its use to mark an instrument.

This part has brought revealing insight into the ways of lability. It shows that P-lability cannot be defined only syntactically and that the possibility to use a verb in

[26] 'l'instrumental au sens large' ≠ 'l'instrumental en valeur d'agentif'. (1981: 158)

one or the other construction is bound to the very nature of the noun in S/P position. Therefore I think that Karata and Andi languages make up a strong argument in favour of a definition of lability which takes into account that an event inherently differs as to whether it may be conceptualised as taking place spontaneously (expressed by an argument in S/P position) or whether it has to happen spontaneously. Thus the syntactic possibility of the verb must be licensed by the properties of the noun is S/P position. For example, a verb such as *bac'aɬa* 'to join' may be characterised as used in both transitive and intransitive constructions. Given the traditional understanding of lability, this verb may be recognised as labile. However, this fails to account for the fact that this verb's intransitive use is limited to S nouns such as *karkal* 'skull' which have the possibility of performing the verb's event spontaneously. By contrast, *karu* 'rope' cannot perform this event 'on its own'.

Finally concerning the agent/instrument syncretic marker in Avar, Charachidzé writes

> 'Outre les critères sémantiques proprements dits et les repères situationnels, la distinction se fonde sur l'appartenance des lexèmes ainsi fléchis à telle ou telle classe nominale. L'intelligibilité du message s'établit en prenant en compte la hiérarchie des classes à partir des grandes dichotomies conceptuelles [...] : humain ≠ non humain, vivant ≠ non vivant, non vivant agissant ≠ non vivant inerte : [...] 'le voisin laboura le champ avec un boeuf'; [...] 'le boeuf rapporta le blé avec une voiture'. Dans les énoncés suivants, le nom à l'instr. marque le second actant (agent) – et non le circonstant (moyen, instrument) -, bien qu'il relève de la classe des non vivants : [...] 'quelle arme t'a blessé?' [...]' (1981: 159)[27].

I agree that the distinction agent/instrument can only be described as dependent on the nature of the participants. However it seems to me that characterising the agent as an argument and the instrument as a satellite is too radical. Maybe the right conclusion to the problem of the distinction is to conclude that Karata and Avar do not make a distinction between agent and instrument at a semantic level and have only one semantic role 'process realiser' and there can be one, two or more 'process realisers'.

5.1.3. S= A & P

The causative/autocausative alternation is found for *bak'arāɬa* 'to gather (tr.) → to gather (intr.)', *torč'āɬa* 'to throw' → *torč'āɬa* 'to fight' and *t'amaɬa* 'to throw → to run' (reflexive meaning). In the intransitive construction, their unique argument has

[27] Notwithstanding semantic criteria and situational hints, the distinction is based on the noun class to which inflected nouns belong. The comprehension of the message is made possible through considering the hierarchy of classes based on conceptual dichotomy [...] : human ≠ non-human, living ≠ non-living, acting non-living ≠ inert non-living: [...] 'the neighbour ploughed the field with an ox'; [...] 'the ox brought the wheat with a cart'. In the following examples, the noun in the instrumental case encodes the second argument (agent) – and not the adjunct (instrument) -, even though it belongs to the non-living class: [...] 'what weapon harmed you?' [...]'.

properties characteristic of both A and P. This unique argument thus has to concentrate properties of both A (initiator of the action) and P (moveable entity), this is why S is saturated by a noun referring to a multitude of animates, that is self-propelled elements (initiator and moved at the same time) gifted with will (initiator).

The verb *t'amała* is used mostly in the case frame <ERG, NOM, ALL> with the meaning 'to throw something to' but it is also used in the case frame <NOM> meaning 'to run'.

(127) *a.* *ahã-da* *bał-ila* *χ̄ĩk'aj* *x̄ag-i-r* *t'am-a*
boil-IPF begin-SPCVB khinkal sauce_pan-CFG$_6$-ALL throw-IMP(tr)
When the water starts boiling, throw the khinkal into the sauce pan.
Как закипит (вода), опусти в котёл хинкал.

b. *ʕama* *b-iš-inaš̄* *x̄wane* *t'ã-da-č'e*
donkey N-win-SPCVB horse throw-IPF-NEG
As long as the donkey wins, the horse does not run. (lit. does not throw (himself))
Нечему слабому с сильным тягаться (букв. пока ишак вйиграет, конь не бежит).

Likewise *bak'arāɬa* 'to gather' is used both transitively and intransitively. In the intransitive construction, the sole argument of the construction is in plural and is both the initiator of the action (agent) and the one who undergoes its effects (patient).

(128) *a.* *gidabajda* *ʕadã-di* *bak'ar-ā*
all person-PL gather-IMP(tr)
Gather all the people.
Собери всех людей.

b. *bajdãɪ'a* *ʕãd-i* *bak'ar-abχwa* *idja*
square-CFG$_2$[LOC] person-PL gather-PF.N.CVB COP
People have gathered in the square.
На площади народ собрался.

The verb *torč̌'ãɬa*[28] 'to throw' is used intransitively with the meaning 'to fight', the subject or S term then assumes both A and P roles.

28 Note that *torč̌ãɬa* has four different meanings with different case frames. The basic meaning is 'to throw'. This is why *torč̌ãɬa* features not only in the causative/autocausative alternation but also in the restricted intransitive use sub-part (▸ 5.1.2.2.3.1.).

(129) *a.* *mak'-i-lo-l* *hĩgwaro-īi* *ãča* *torč̌'-ẽ*
child-PL-H˙-ERG window-CFG$_7$[LOC] stone throw-PF
Children threw a stone at the window.
Дети кинули камень в окно.

b. *mak'-i* *torč̌'-ẽ* *b-ak'w-a*
child-PL throw-PF H˙-be-PF
The children were fighting.
Дети дрались.

The only example I have with the meaning 'to fight' is an analytic form. If I only had this example it would be possible to interpret it as the binominative construction with the omission of the object, that is 'the children throw (things)' but two other hints incite me to mention this verb here. First, the dictionary clearly separates two uses of *torč̌'ãɬa*: an intransitive one and a transitive one. Secondly, I have found this verb causativised in this meaning, yielding 'to have, make someone fight' and the intrepretation 'to make someone throw something' is not possible because the causer is an animal (▸ 6.3.3.).

5.2. Argument alternation

5.2.1. <Xerg, Ynom> ~ <Xerg, Yloc$_1$>

This alternation is found with the causative *ħawāɬa* 'to burn'.

(130) *a.* *mič̌'i-l* *reʟ'a* *ħaw-ā*
nettle-ERG hand burn-CAUS.PF
Nettle stung my hand.
Крапива обожгла мне руку.

b. *peči-l* *ħaw-ā* *di-č'o*
stove-ERG burn-CAUS.PF 1sg$_0$-CFG$_1$[LOC]
The stove burnt me.
Печь обожгла меня.

The difference in marking the target of the event denoted by the verb may be imputed to the nature of the target itself: animate Vs inanimate.

5.2.2. <Xerg, Ynom> ~ <Xloc$_5$, Ynom>

This alternation is found with *boʔãɬa* 'to go'. As was noted above (▸ 5.1.2.2.2.), this verb can be used in a transitive construction through the addition of an agent encoded by the ergative case and take on the meaning 'to take away'. I showed (▸ 5.1.2.2.3.) that with some verbs the status of the participant encoded by *–l-*, i.e. the ergative/instrumental marker, is not clear. The use of CFG$_5$[LOC] in example b is perfectly motivated as this case is used to mark a diffuse orienter. Although the

ergative is not used with the same noun, the possibility of having either a grammatical case or a spatial case in the same slot is interesting.

(131) *a.* *łeder* *ẽχ̄a-l* *b-o?-ã*
calf torrent$_0$-ERG N-go-PF
The torrent carried away the calf away.
Теленка унесло селевым потоком.

b. *mučᵘ-la-q̄* *b-o?-ã* *k'aze*
wind-O-CFG$_5$[LOC] N-go-PF shawl
The wind carried her shawl away.
Платок унесло ветром.

5.2.3. <Xnom, Ygen> ~ <Xnom, Yloc$_1$>

This alternation is found with the copula *idʲa* (present) and its verbal counterpart *bik'wała*.

(132) *a.* *ĩ-šᵘ̆~ĩ-šᵘ̆-b* *ʕamal* *b-ik'-uda* *hek'wa-šᵘ̆-b*
REFL-M$_0$[GEN]~REFL-M$_0$[GEN]-N character N-be-IPF person-M$_0$[GEN]-N
Each man has his own character.
У каждого человека свой характер.

b. *šajaq̄o-w* *hek'wa-šᵘ̆-č'o* *haɬ̄'udal* *q̄'amer* *kwadi* *b-ik'-uda*
depraved-M person-M$_0$-CFG$_1$[LOC] seven dish in_hand N-be-IPF
The depraved man is capable of anything. (lit. the depraved man has seven dishes in the hand)
Человек на все дела способен. (букв. развратник семь кушаний в руке имеет)

5.2.4. <Xnom, Ydat/loc$_3$> ~ <Xerg, Ynom>

This alternation concerns the verb *rek'wãła* 'to sit in, travel by' and more precisely the term coding the location.

(133) *a.* *mak'i* *mašinaj-a* *rek'w-ã*
child-PL car$_0$-CFG$_3$[LOC] sit-PF
The children sat in the car.
Дети сели в машину.

b. *ɬ̄'wani* *mašɬ̃-di* *rek'~ɬ̃k'-uda* *ho-šᵘ̆-l*
much car-PL sit~sit-IPF DEM-M$_0$-ERG
He often travels by car. (lit. He often sits in cars.)
Он часто ездит на машинах.

These examples would suggest that the alternation is linked to the non-iterative/iterative distinction, but nothing similar has been observed with other verbs.

5.2.5. <Xnom, Ydat/loc$_3$> ~ <Xnom, Ynom>

This alternation has been found only with *rek'wãła* 'to sit in, to travel by'.

(134) *a.* *mak'-i* *mašinaj-a* *r-ek'w-ã*
child-PL car$_0$-CFG$_3$[LOC] sit_PF
The children sat in the car.
Дети сели в машину.

b. *den* *x̄wane* *rek'w-ãχwa* *w-ox̄-a*
1sg horse travel-PF.CVB M-come-PF
I came on horse. (lit. sitting on a horse)
Я приехал на коне.

5.2.6. <Xnom, Ydat/loc$_3$> ~ <Xnom, Yloc$_1$>

With this alternation, I have found *baq̄'ała* 'to suit' and *ʕaršǎła* 'to annoy'.

(135) *a.* *harge-s̄* *hawa* *dij-a* *baq̄'-idja* *idja*
here-ADJZ climate 1sg$_0$-DAT suit-IPF COP
The local climate suits me.
Здешний климат мне подходит.

b. *di-č'o* *hã-īi-s̄* *hawa* *baq̄'-idja*
1sg$_0$-CFG$_1$[LOC] village$_0$-CFG$_7$[LOC]-ADJZ climate suit-IPF
The moutain climate suits me.
Мне подходит горный климат.

5.2.7. <Xnom, Ydat/loc$_3$> ~ <Xnom, Yall$_4$> and <Xerg, Ynom, Zdat/loc$_3$> ~ <Xerg, Ynom, Zall$_4$>

This alternation happens with *ba?ała* 'to receive', *bek̄ała* 'to give' and *bex̄wała* 'to come → to be affected' for the intransitive constructions and with *q̄warała* 'to write to' for the transitive construction.

(136) *a.* *ce-b~ce-b* *ʕeče* *b-a?-a* *iš̌j-a*
one-N~one-N apple N-receive-PF 1pl(EXC)$_0$-DAT
We got one apple each.
нам досталось по одному яблоку.

b. *du-b* *pasilka* *b-aʔ-a* *di-χa-r*
$2sg_0$[GEN]-N parcel N-receive-PF $1sg_0$-CFG_4-ALL
I received your parcel.
Я получил от тебя посылку.

5.2.8. <Xnom, Yloc> ~ <Xnom, Yall> and <Xerg, Ynom, Zloc> ~ <Xerg, Ynom, Zall>

This alternation affects the localising argument or ground with movement verbs. In my corpus it has been found with *bexwała* 'to come', *gale/c'ek'a bičĭ'ała* 'to set foot on', *boīała* 'to walk to', *qãt'āła* 'to add, to attach' and *t'amała* 'to throw'.

(137) *a.* *sulaɪ'-ač'e* *b-ak'w-ała,* *hark'-ab-ā* *pardaw* *t'am-a*
be_shy-SPCVB H^{ι}-be-INF eye-PL-CFG_3[LOC] veil throw-IMP(tr)
(Ironic) If you are ashamed, put a veil on your eye.
(ирон.) Если тебе стыдно, то надень покрывало на глаза.

b. *ahã-da* *bał-ila* *χ̄ĩk'a-j* *x̄ag-i-r* *t'ama*
boil-IPF start-SPCVB khinkal-PL sauce_pan-CFG_6-ALL throw-IMP(tr)
When the water starts boiling, throw the khinkals into the saucepan.
Как закипит (вода), опусти в котёл хинкал.

The locative case implies that the object is put into contact with a surface (▸ 4.5.3. for the frame <ERG, NOM, LOC>) whereas the allative merely implies that the object 'goes towards' the surface, a difference which can be rendered by opposing the verbs 'to put' and 'to throw' in English. Therefore in the first example, what is described is the action of putting a veil on someone's eyes by bringing it with the hand until it reaches contact. In the second example, it is understandable that the object 'the khinkals' will not be brought into the sauce pan by the hand until they reach contact with the boiling sauce pan. In Akhvakh the same alternation exists 'Consequently, it can be assumed that the choice of the locative indicates that the orienter [ground] is not conceptualised as the goal of a movement, but rather as the place where a contact occurs.' (Creissels 2010: 37). In Godoberi (Kibrik (ed) 1996: 89), Fedovora clearly identifies two values for the non-marked directionality marker: locative and lative (on top of three other markers having respectively the following values: allative, elative and translative). The distinction lative/allative captures the phenomenon above described. Testelets defines the two values as follows (p.tr.): 'Lative and elative respectively point to the end point and start point of the movement [...] allative does not point to the end point, but to the spatial area, which specifies the direction of the movement, thus not implying that this area will obligatorily be reached'[29] (1980: 6).

[29] 'Латив и элатив указывают соответственно конечную и начальную точку движения [...] аллатив указывает не конечную точку, а лишь локализационную область, которая задает направление движения, причем не содержит указания на обязательное достижение этой локализационной области.'

5.2.9. <Xnom, Ycom> ~ <XYnom>

The verbs for which I have proof of this alternation are *χ̄ecała* 'to fight' and *ʁwāła* 'to speak'. This alternation concerns verbs expressing an interaction between at least two participants, which are coded by the nominative and comitative cases. The other possible coding is to conflate these two participants together under a plural label, a pronoun or a noun, and leave unexpressed the comitative slot. In this new construction, the only slot combines both agent and patient roles.

(138) *a.* *ho-w* *di-k'el* *χ̄ec-eda* *idja*
DEM-M $1sg_0$-COM fight-IPF COP
He is fighting with me.
Он затевает ссору со мной.

b. *mak'-i* *ĩ-do-ī̄i-da* *baī̄'i* *χ̄ec-eda* *b-ak'-uda*
child-PL REFL-$H^{+}{}_0CFG_7$[LOC]-INT between fight-IPF H^{+}-be.PF-IPF
The children would fight (between themselves).
Дети меж собой часто затевают драки.

(139) *hedi-ī̄jagal-idwarda* *ho-w* *di-k'el* *ʁo-da* *hač'e*
for_some_reason DEM-M $1sg_0$-COM speak-IPF COP.NEG
For some reason he is not talking to me.
Почему-то он со мной не разговаривает.

ho-baj *ʁo-da* *hač'e*
DEM-H^{+} speak-IPF COP.NEG
They are not speaking to each other.
Они не разговаривают (между собой).

It would seem that reciprocity can be expressed by either the omission of the comitative argument alone or combined with the use of the reflexive-intensive pronoun combined to the postposition *baī̄'i* 'between'.

5.2.10. <Xdat/loc_3, Ynom> ~ <$Xall_3$, Ynom>

This alternation is found with *q̄'orāła* 'to want'.

(140) *a.* *dij-a* *ho-šu̇-b* *becēr* *q̄'or-ā-č'e*
$1sg_0$-DAT DEM-M_0[GEN]-N praise want-PF-NEG
I don't want his praise.
Мне его хвала не нужна.

b. duw-ā-r mik'i hedela-l q̄'ora-s̄ ?
2sg$_0$-CFG$_3$-ALL small thing-ADD want-FUT
(Ironic) What do you want, jam on it ? (lit. And what little thing will you want?)
Мало ли чего ты пожелаешь ?

The following remark is not directly related to the topic of valency but this example brings up an interesting observation. The syncretism of the dative and locative meanings, by means of the marker *–a-* here, is not typologically common. If anything, one would expect a syncretism of the dative with the allative meaning. Creissels (p.c.) makes an appealing suggestion to explain the development of this syncretism. The marker –a- probably had, at some point in time, the three following meanings: dative, locative and allative before developping a separate marker for the allative meaning. In any case, whatever the origin of the syncretism, this verb's marking the experiencer with either the dative/LOC$_3$ or the ALL$_3$ points not only to this marker (-a-)'s bleached spatial meaning but also to a certain affinity between the dative and the allative meanings.

5.2.11. <Xdat/loc$_3$, Ynom> ~ <Xabl$_1$, Ynom>

This alternation is found with *bažarāɬa* 'to cope with, to manage'.

(141) *ho-šu-č'o-gal (//ho-šuw-a) gida-b-da bažara-jdja*
DEM-M$_0$-CFG$_1$-ABL DEM-M$_0$-DAT all-N-INT manage-IPF
He copes with anything.
Он справляется с любым делом.

5.2.12. <Xabl$_3$, Ynom> ~ <Xdat/loc$_3$, Ynom>

This alternation occurs with the light verb compound *rak'wač'o reč̄ā̄ɬa* 'to regret' (▸ 4.6.3.).

(142) *a. zini be-rj-a-gal-da rak'wa-č'o reč̆-ẽ den*
cow buy-MSD$_0$-CFG$_3$-ABL-INT heart-CFG$_1$[LOC] regret-PF 1sg
I regret buying the cow.
Я сожалею о покупке коровы.

b. goh-o-b hedela-ɬ̆j-a heral rak'wa-č'o reč̆-ẽ-č'e
do-PF.PTCP-N thing-N$_0$-DAT again heart-CFG$_1$[LOC] regret-PF-NEG
I did not regret what happened.
Еще ни разу не сожалела о содеянном.

5.2.13. <Xerg, Ynom, Zdat/loc$_3$> ~ <Xerg, Ynom, Zall$_3$>

This alternation has been found with *basāɬa* 'to tell' where Z encodes the addressee.

(143) *a.* *urq̄u-b* *salam* *bas-ã̄* *ho-šw̌-a*
hearty-N hello tell-IMP(tr) DEM-M_0-DAT
Say hello to him.
Передай ему пламенный привет.

b. *duw-a-r-č’e* *bas-ã̄-č’e* *den-a* *hob* *hedela*
$2sg_0$-CFG_3-ALL-EXCEPT tell-IMP(tr)-NEG $1sg_0$-ERG DEM-N thing
I did not tell this thing to anyone except you.
Никому другому, кроме тебя *я* об этом не говорил.

5.2.14. <Xerg, Ynom, Zdat/loc_3> ~ <Xerg, Ynom, $Zall_3$> ~ <Xerg, Ynom, $Zall_4$>

This alternation is found with *bi?āɬa* ‘to announce (lit. make know)’.

(144) *a.* *ima* *w-ox̄-a-w* *b-i?-ā* *q̄izamw-a*
father M-come-PF.PTCP-M N-know-CAUS.IMP $family_0$-DAT
Tell the family that father has come.
Сообщи семье о приезде отца.

b. *den-a* *b-i?-ā* *ho-šw̌-a-r* *ɩ’ek’u* *zini* *χur-i-r*
1sg-ERG N-know-CAUS.PF DEM-M_0-CFG_3-ALL henceforth cow $field_0$-CFG_6-ALL
it-ibar *dena* *ho-b* *ħox̄-āɬa* *hač’e-ī’e*
let-COND 1sg-ERG DEM-N endure-INF COP.NEG-QUOT
I warned you that from now on I won’t endure it if you let the cow go to the field.
Я предупредил его, что не потерплю, чтоб корова впредь забралась в посевы.

c. *ʕã̄-di-lo-χa-r* *b-i?~a?-āɬa* *j-e?-ã̄* *den*
person-PL-$H^{\uparrow}_0$-CFG_4-ALL N-know~know-CAUS.INF F-go-PF 1sg
I went to announce it to one and all.
Я пошла всех оповещать.

5.2.15. <Xerg, Ynom, Zdat/loc_3> ~ <Xerg, Ynom, $Zabl_1$>

This alternation is found with *χāɬa* ‘to ask’. The DAT/LOC_3 ~ ABL_1 alternation concerns the term expressing the addressee/source of information.

(145) *a.* *den-a* *χa-da* *idja* *duw-a*
$1sg_0$-ERG ask-IPF COP $2sg_0$-DAT
I am asking you.
Я прошу тебя.

b. *dij-a* *gij-ẽ-č'e* *ho-šŭ-č'o-gal* *χ-āła*
1sg$_0$-DAT can-PF-NEG DEM-M$_0$-CFG$_1$-ABL ask-INF
I could not ask him.
Я не посмел у него попросить.

5.2.16. <Xerg, Ynom, Znom> ~ <Xerg, Ygen, Znom>

As I observed in 4.5.16. *gałała* is used in trivalent constructions in which it introduces three nominal elements: two participants and one predicative noun. The agentive participant, 'the maker', is coded by the ergative case and the predicative noun is coded invariably by the nominative case. In the following examples, the patientive participant apparently has the possibility to be encoded by either the nominative case or the genitive case.

(146) *a.* *den-a* *du-b* *ʕadam* *gē*
1sg-ERG 2sg$_0$[GEN]-N person do.PF
I raised you. (lit. I made a person of you.)
Я тебя воспитала (букв. я из тебя человека сделала).

b. *den-a* *ho-w* *wakil* *ge-da* *idja*
1sg-ERG DEM-M confidant do-IPF COP
I am making him my confidant.
Он будет моим поверенным.

In the section dedicated to <ERG, NOM, GEN> (▸ 4.5.2.) I said that *gałała* means 'to make something out of something'. The thing is that the case frame with the genitive case really is used with a meaning implying a major transformation, wherein the genitive argument is the source and the nominative the result. In the construction with two nominatives, what is primary is a transfer of properties so that the transformation reading is only a collateral consequence of this transfer. As instantiated with the two examples above, there are contexts which make both constructions synonymous. However, in light of each construction's other uses, it is necessary to keep the distinction: transformation verb (▸ 4.5.2.) Vs predicate-introducing verb (▸ 4.5.16.).

6. CAUSATIVE DERIVATION

6.1. Introduction

Karata has one valency-increasing derivational process. The causative is productively formed via suffixation of the morpheme *–a-* directly to the verb stem. This morpheme is often realised fused to the morpheme in the next verbal slot, i.e. time, mood, participial or converbial morpheme, thus yielding diverse morpho-phonological phenomena (lenghtening, assimilation, devocalisation). A group of causativised verbs (43 verbs in my corpus) exhibit a morphologically irregular relation between the non-causative verb and its causative peer: a reduction of the

derived form in which the normally expected intervocalic *-ɬ-* of the stem is apparently dropped when the causative morpheme is added (▸ example 3). All these verbs are derived from adjectives or nouns (▸6.6.). and this is in fact a case of one-base derivation with two different morphemes.

[(AgM-) STEM + CAUS + TAM (+AgM)]

Example 1. *ʁãq̄'aɬa* 'to choke'

stem: ʁãq̄'-
CAUS + INF: ʁãq̄' + *a* + aɬa → *ʁãq̄'āɬa* 'to strangle'
CAUS + IPF: ʁãq̄' + *a* + ida → *ʁãq̄'eda* 'strangle'

Example 2. *baʔaɬa* 'to arrive'

stem: -aʔ-
CAUS + IPF: b + aʔ + *a* + ida → *baʔajda* 'spread'

Example 3. *bišeɬaɬa* 'to thicken'

Non-causative form	Causative form
bišeɬaɬa 'to become thick' →	*bišāɬa* 'to make thicker' (▸6.7. for explanation)

The effect of the causative is more often than not (▸ 6.5. for exceptions) to create an ergative slot which is to be filled by a new participant assuming the role of an agent causing the action expressed by the verb.

A word of caution: while the addition of the causative derivational suffix provokes the lengthening of the vowel in V_1 position of the infinitive suffix, causative forms should not be confused with forms whose V_1 infinitive position is long as a result of the reduction of ancient light verb constructions composed of a noun and an ancient verb 'to do' (▸ 4.6.4. for hints of this process) or as a result of the adaptation of a loan verb from Avar. Loan verbs from Avar have been borrowed in Karata in the masdar form.

Interestingly, the radical of the verb 'to do' in Avar is *ha-*. A possible scenario is that the Avar verb is a reflex of an ancient verb 'to do' which has survived in Avar but not in Karata (and other Andi languages) except in the form of a grammaticalised causative suffix (Creissels p.c.). While the same morpheme is most probably involved in these three processes (loan verb adaptation, light verb construction and causative formation), it remains productive nowadays only for the formation of causative verbs and causative from adjectives (but not for the formation of light verb construction or loan verb adaptation).

6.2. Causative from strictly intransitive verbs

The effect of the causative derivation on the valency of an intransitive verb can be schematised as follows:

Non-derived		**Causativised**
Ynom V	⟶	Xerg, Ynom V-CAUS

Table 8. *Causative from intransitive verbs*.

The causative derivation straightforwardly licenses the addition of an agent to the intransitive construction. Causative derivation seems to be very productive with all intransitive verbs (▸ 6.3. for transitive verbs). Some verbs are given without causative equivalents and I do not know whether this reflects the current state of the language or whether it is that the form has been forgotten.

In the following example, *biʔwała* is an intransitive only. Its unique participant S is always patientive. To add an agent, it has to undergo causative derivation.

(147) *a.* *c'elt'a* *b-iʔ-u*
plate N-break-PF
The plate broke.
Тарелка разбилась.

b. *den-a* *urʁēda* *b-iʔw-ā* *c'ãt'ur*
1sg-ERG on_purpose N-break-CAUS.PF plate
I broke the plate on purpose.
Я умышленно разбил тарелку.

In the following example *gočałała* 'to migrate' is an intransitive agentive verb. Its causativisation entails the addition of an ergative slot which is saturated by an agent who causes the event expressed by the verb to happen.

(148) *a.* *išǐ* *gorodj-a-r* *goč-e*
1pl $town_0$-CFG_3-ALL migrate-PF
We moved to town.
Мы пересилились.

b. *hane* *c'ah-o-baj* *ʕã-di* *ɬaraʕɬerj-a-r* *goč-ā*
village burn-PF.PTCP-H^* person-PL $plain_0$-CFG_3-ALL migrate-CAUS.PF
They relocated to the plains the people whose village had burnt.
Погорельцев переселили на равнинные земли.

With mental activity verb, that is verbs whose animate participant is coded by the DAT/LOC_3 case (typically a siege or experiencer), the causative derivation entails a change in valency and in semantics which is for most verbs quite logical (addition of another participant (a causer) coded by the ergative case) (▸ 6.5.1.1. & ▸ 6.5.1.2. for exceptions). Thus *bečečała* <NOM, DAT> 'to forget' yields *bečečāła* 'to make forget' <ERG, NOM, DAT>, *bič'ała* 'to understand' yields *bič'āła* 'to make

understand, to explain', *bi?ała* 'to know' yields *bi?āła* 'to make know, to announce', ...

(149) *a.* *dij-a* *χ̄eχ̄a* *b-ečeč-ida* *hedela*
1sg$_0$-DAT fast N-forget-IPF thing
I quickly forget things.
Я быстро забываю что-л.

b. *w-už-u-w* *mak'wa* *b-ečeč-āš* *den-a* *duw-a*
M-grow_up-PF.PTCP-M place N-forget-CAUS.FUT 1sg-ERG 2sg$_0$-DAT
I make you forget where you grew up.
Я заставлю тебя забыть где родился.

Similarly, with verbs of perception and emotion, the causative derivation adds an agent/causer: *ãłała* 'to hear' yields *ãłāła* 'to make hear, announce', *riχãła* 'to hate' yields *riχ̄ãła* 'to make somebody hate', ...

(150) *a.* *dij-a* *łeb-ała* *b-exw-a*
1sg$_0$-DAT fear-INF N-come-PF
I was overwhelmed with fear (lit. Fear came to me).
Меня обуял страх.

b. *den-a* *c'aj* *b-exw-āš* *hugu-šw-a*
1sg-ERG heat N-come-CAUS.FUT DEM-M$_0$-DAT
I will make him feel hot (lit. I will make the heat come to him).
Я задам ему жару.

We will see (▸ 6.5.) that a few verbs (independently of any particular semantic class) undergo non-typical changes under causativisation.

6.3. Causatives from strictly transitive verbs

Magomedbekova's grammar sketch of Karata states that both intransitive and transitive verbs can undergo the causative derivation (1971: 140). She gives lists of derived forms. For instance, she writes that the causativised past form of *boq̄'ała* 'to cut' <ERG, NOM> is *boq̄'ā* '(he) made cut'[30], implying that a causer makes a causee cut something.

In Karata, I have found about 120 non-derived transitive verbs (without counting ambitransitive verbs). Among this number, (a) the majority do not have a derived causative forms (i.e. the dictionary does not mention it), and (b) a dozen have a morphological causative derived form.

Among group (b), (i) some verbs, such as *biłała* 'to put' <ERG, NOM>, have undergone lexicalisation and the semantic link between the non-derived and the

[30] *boq̄'ā* 'заставил отрезать'

derived forms has been completely obliterated: *biɬāɬa* means ‘to separate’ or ‘to dilute’ (in the same case frame). I count them as two separate verbs and their synchronic relationship will not be dealt with here[31]. Other verbs (ii) do not receive an additional participant (typically a causer) and do not change case frame, the action of the causative is to intensify the event denoted by the verb, e.g. *č̌’warała* ‘→ *č̌’warāɬa* ‘to hit’ (▸ 6.5.1.2.). Others (iii) do receive an ergative slot licensing an additional participant, a causer, as is normally expected from the causative derivation (▸ paragraph below).

Transitive verbs with a morphological causative equivalent which have a predictable (causative) semantic value are few and far between[32]:
-*c̄’arała* ‘to drink’ → *c̄’arāɬa* ‘to make drink’
- *q̄’amała* ‘to eat’ → *q̄’amāɬa* ‘to feed’

Generally speaking, my corpus gives relatively few examples for causativised forms. It is also quite telling that Magomedbekova does not provide any sentence example in the part of her grammar that is dedicated to causatives while the other sections all contain illustrative sentences.

(151) *a.* *lazatj-a* *k’wark’wark’war* *beɬ-a* *c̄’ar-da* *ho-šu-l* *ɬ̄ẽj*
pleasure$_0$-DAT sing-PF.CVB drink-IPF DEM-M$_0$-ERG water
He drinks water with pleasure and doing noise. (lit. singing kwarkwarkwar)
Он очень аппетитно с шумом пьет воду.

b. *men-a* *ho-w* *c̄’ar-a-biše*
2sg-ERG DEM-M drink-CAUS-PROH
Don’t make him drink.
Ты его не спаивай.

(152) *a.* *ʁãdo-l* *barkana* *q̄’ã-da*
crow$_0$-ERG carrion eat-IPF
The crow eats carrion.
Ворона питается падалью.

b. *boʟ’ido-w* *hek’wa-šw-a* *karši* *q̄’am-āɬa*
ill-M person-M$_0$-DAT gruel eat-CAUS.INF
To feed gruel to the sick.
Накормить больного кашей.

[31] Although they are useful sometimes to illustrate how causativisation influences lexicalisation (▸ 6.4.1.3.1. on ablative loss).
[32] Also attested in the dictionary with a regular causative meaning are the following verbs but no example illustrates them:
k’arała ‘to vomit’ → *k’arāɬa* ‘to make vomit’
ɪ̄’amała ‘to tear’ → *ɪ̄’amāɬa* ‘to overstrain’

However note how none of these verbs express their implied three participants. Moreover, the case-marking pattern is not what we would expect from an Andi language (see paragraph below). With *c̄'arāɬa* 'to make drink', the causer is encoded by the ergative case as expected but the causee is in the nominative case. With *q̄'amāɬa* 'to feed' the causee is in the dative case while the object slot remains saturated by the patient participant of the non-derived verb.

		Agent	
	Causer	**Causee**	**Patient**
c̄'araɬa 'to drink'	-	ERG	NOM
c̄'arāɬa 'to make drink'	ERG	NOM	?
q̄'amaɬa	-	ERG	NOM
q̄'amāɬa 'to make eat'	ERG?	DAT	NOM

Table 9. *Causative from transitive verbs*.

A question mark stands for an argument that is implied but not expressed, therefore we have no proof as to its coding, although in the case of *q̄'amāɬa* 'to make eat' we can assume with some certainty that the case would be the ergative. Although it is dangerous to try to draw conclusions on so few examples, it is interesting to note that *q̄'amāɬa* 'to make eat' implies three participants and encodes the causee, the drinker, by the dative case, i.e. an oblique case , while c̄'arāɬa 'to make drink' encodes the causee by the nominative case.

In Godoberi (Kibrik 1996: 121) the causative morpheme is *–ali-*. Causatives can be derived from both intransitive and transitive verbs. When a transitive verb undergoes causativisation, the causee (former ergative argument) is encoded with *-č'u-* (a cognate morpheme of LOC_1 in Karata) and the causer with the ergative marker *–di-*.

V		**V + CAUS**
		causer: ERG –di-
agent: ERG	⟶	causee : LOC -č'u-
patient: NOM	⟶	patient: NOM

Table 10. *Causative derivation of transitive verbs in Godoberi.* (Kibrik 2001: 391)

(153) *a.* *waš-u-di* *izu* *r-ali*
son-OBL-ERG clothes nH˙-put_on.PF
The son put on the clothes.

b. *il-u-di* *waš-u-č'u* *izu* *r-al-ali*
mother-OBL-ERG son-OBL-CONT clothes nH˙-put_on-CAUS.PF
The mother had her son put on clothes.

In Akhvakh, Creissels (2011) has identified only three transitive verbs which can undergo the causative derivation with a coding strategy similar to Godoberi's

(*baqurшa* ‘to suck’, *c̄’arurшa* ‘to drink’ and *q̄’ōnшa* ‘to eat’)[33]. He also notes that the analytical strategy (i.e. the use of an auxiliary verb) is restricted to intransitive verbs.

In Bagvalal, Ljutikova (Kibrik 2001) explains that causatives from transitive verbs are now productively formed through the addition of an auxiliary verb (▸ 6.5.). ‘Members of the older generation recognise such constructions when they are presented to them but they never produce them themselves. The youth consider the sentences with these constructions as ungrammatical. In any case, the analytical causative is preferred.’[34] (390).

6.4. Causative from labile verbs

6.3.1. Causative from A-labile verbs

6.4.1.1. Causative from verbs used in the unspecified object alternation[35]

Concerning the only potential A-labile verb undergoing the unspecified object alternation, the causative might be derived from the intransitive use as well as from the transitive use. Examples a. and b. illustrate both intransitive and transitive uses of the non-derived form. Example c. illustrates the use of the derived causative form.

(154) *a.* *mak’e* *keχ-idja* *idja*
boy suck-IPF COP
The baby boy is sucking.
Ребенок сосет грудь.

b. *idja-jgil* *hurab-da,* *hač’e-jgil* *ɬic’el* *keχ-idja*
COP-SPCVB smell-IPF COP.NEG-SPCVB finger suck-IPF
When there is, he wastes, when there is not he sucks his finger.
Когда есть веет, когда нет – палец сосет. (о расточительном человеке)

c. *mak’e* *keχ̄-āɬa*
child suck-CAUS.IPF
Кормить ребенка.
To feed a child

In example a. the agent is in the nominative case while in example b. the nominative slot is saturated by a patientive participant *ɬic’el* ‘finger’, the agent saturating the ergative slot being omitted. In example c. the causee (the one who

[33] Karata has the same three verbs, ‘to suck’ will be presented in the section dedicated to A-labile verbs (▸ 6.4.1.1.).

[34] Представители старшего покаления признают подобную форму при предъявлении, но никогда не порождают самостоятельно. Молодежь же воспринимает предложения с такими каузативами как неграмматичные. Во всех случаях предпочтителен аналитический каузатив.’

[35] Note that I am well aware that this example is not convincing. Again, I only include on the basis of comparative evidence.

sucks) is in the nominative slot of the derived verb, the ergative slot is reserved for the causer.

		Causer	Agent Causee	Patient
tr	*keχała* ‘to suck’	-	ERG	NOM
intr	*keχała* ‘to suck (intr)’	-	NOM	-
CAUS	*keχāła* ‘to have suck	ERG	NOM	?

Table 11. *Causative from A-labile verb (unspecified object alternation)*.

6.4.1.2. Causative from verbs used in the delimitative alternation

This section concerns the only verb used in this alternation for which I have examples: *sorała* <ERG, NOM> ‘to walk in’. When causativised, a causer is added, the agent of the non-causative construction fills the slot assigned to the causee and the spatial argument (nominative argument of the non-causative construction) is assigned to a slot marked by the locative case.

(155) *a.* *iš̌i-l* *ī’wani* *sore~sor-e* *ce-b-da* *mak’wa*
1pl(EXCL)-ERG much walk~ITER-PF one-N-INT place
We used to walk a lot in this place.
По одному и тому же месту мы прогуливались.

b. *baq̄’ā̃ī* *den-a* *mak’-i* *aχi-ī’i* *ī’wani* *sor-ā-jda*
in_evening 1sg-ERG child-PL garden$_0$-CFG$_8$[LOC] much walk-CAUS-IPF
In the evening I take the children for a long walk.
Под вечер детей в саду я долго прогуливаю

The causativisation of this verb is comparable to that of strictly transitive verbs in that there is a ‘rightward’ shift of argumental slots (and cases) (▸ table 12) but note how the nominative argument used in the transitive construction of *sorała* takes a marking more suited to its semantic role in the causative construction.

	Causer	Agent Causee	Patient
sorała ‘to walk’		ERG	NOM
sorāła ‘to take for a walk’	ERG	NOM	LOC

Table 12. *Causative from A-labile verb (delimitative alternation)*.

6.4.2. Causative from P-labile verbs

6.4.2.1. The causative/decausative alternation

6.4.2.1.1. Causative from verbs productively used in the causative/decausative alternation.

The dictionary does not indicate a causative form for these verbs.

bajbix̄āła	‘to begin’
beč’ãła	‘to wither’
beɬãła	‘to cook’
bit’ebiχ̄ała ~ bit’ebišeɬała	‘to settle’
bučãła ~ bučãčurała	‘to wash’
c̄’ic̄’āła	‘to prick’
pãk’āła	‘to light up’
q̄’warq̄’warāła	‘to emit a sound’
q̄’āła	‘to tighten’

6.4.2.1.2. Causative from verbs whose use in the causative/decausative alternation is semantically restricted.

6.4.2.1.2.1. Causative from semantically-restricted decausative construction

Only one verb in this set has a derived causative form based on its decausative use: *t’amaɬa* ‘to throw → to fall’ → *t’amāɬa* ‘to make fall’. This causative derivation is regular inasmuch as it licenses the introduction of a causer.

(156) *a.* *χ̄aran-i* *šibe t’am-ebχwa* *idja*
field-CFG$_6$[LOC] dew fall-PF.N.CVB COP
The field was wet with dew.
На лугу осела роса.

b. *x̄wani-l* *t’am-ā* *den*
horse$_0$-ERG fall-CAUS.PF 1sg
The horse made me fall.
Лошадь сбросила меня.

	Non-derived form	**Causative form**
tr	*bacwāɬa* ‘to fill up’	-
intr	*bacwāɬa* ‘to flood’	-
tr	*bac’aɬa* ‘to join	-
intr	*bac’aɬa* ‘to heal’	-
tr	k̄’wabaɬa ~ k̄’obaɬa ‘to hit’	-
intr	*k̄’wabaɬa ~ k̄’obaɬa* ‘to affect’	-
tr	*torč̌’ãɬa* ‘to throw’	-
intr	*torč̌’ãɬa* ‘to fall’	-

tr	*t'amała* 'to put'	-
intr	*t'amała* 'to fall'	*t'amāła* 'to make fall'

Table 13. *Causative from semantically-restricted decausative use.*

6.4.2.1.2.2. Causative from semantically-restricted transitive use or from intransitive construction + instrument ?

I have shown (▸ 5.1.2.2.3.2.) that a set of verbs, having both non-derived and derived forms, accept in their non-derived form's case frame an argument marked by the ergative case. Does this make the verb transitive or is it still intransitive with the addition of an instrument? I am not in a position to decide which is the right solution. Should these verbs turn out to be regular intransitive verbs to which is added an instrument, then their causativisation may be considered 'regular', i.e. adding an ergative slot to a minimal intransitive construction (▸ 6.2). Should they be considered P-labile verbs, their causativisation would have to be described as intensifying the process of the verb (▸ 6.5.).

At any rate, as far as the formation of the causative is concerned, this question does not make much difference: these verbs's causatives are formed from their respective decausative or instransitive use, that is verbs used in the <N, E> construction, since the causative does not introduce a third participant with these verbs (I do not have examples of the type X make Y dry Z).

Non-derived form (decausative/intransitive)	**Causative form**
beq'wała 'to dry out'	*beq'wāła* 'to dry'
berqała 'to drag'	*berqāła* 'to drag'
bič'ała 'to die, to spoil'	*bič'āła* 'to kill, to spoil'
gergečała 'to shake'	*gergečāła* 'to shake'
harhačała 'to shake'	*harhačāła* 'to shake'
ħawała 'to burn'	*ħawāła* 'to burn'[36]
q'wačãłała 'to get/make dirty'	*q'wač'ãła* 'to dirty'
rek'wała 'to light up, to kindle'	*rek'wāła* 'to light'

6.4.2.1.3. Causative from marginally-transitively-used verbs.

The verbs *boʔãła* 'to go' and *bexwała* 'to come' do not have derived causatives from their marginal transitive uses.

	Non-derived form	**Causative form**
intr	*boʔãła* 'to go'	*boʔãła* 'to make go away'
tr	*boʔãła* ' to take away'	-

[36] In addition this verb is used in the analytical causative construction (▸ 6.5.).

intr	*bexʷwała* ‘to come’	*bexʷwāła* ‘to provoke, to make come’
tr	*bexʷwała* ‘to bring’	-

Table 14. *Causative from marginally-transitively used verbs*.

6.4.2.2. Causative from verbs used in the causative/facilitative alternation

The two verbs prone to this alternation: *rošãła* ‘to open’ and *kerščãła* ‘to close’ do not have derived causative forms.

6.4.3. Causative from verbs used in the causative/autocausative alternation (S = AP)

Only *torčʼãła* ‘to throw → to fight’ in this type of intransitive use undergoes causativisation: *torčʼãła* ‘to have someone fight’.

	Non-derived form	**Causative form**
tr	*bakʼarāła* ‘to gather’	-
intr	*bakʼarāła* ‘to gather up’	-
tr	*tʼamała* ‘to throw	-
intr	*tʼamała* ‘to run’	-
tr	*torčʼãła* ‘to throw	-
intr	*torčʼãła* ‘to fight’	*torčʼãła* ‘to make fight’

Table 15. *Causative from S = AP verbs.*

(157) *a. makʼ-i torčʼ-ẽ b-akʼw-a*
child-PL fight-PF.CVB Hˈ-be-PF
The children used to fight.
Дети дрались.

b. χwa-di torčʼ-ãła
dog_0-PL fight-CAUS.INF
To organise a dog fight. (lit. to make dogs fight.)
Устраивать собачий бой

6.4.4. Recapitulation

From what I have exposed in detail above, it is possible to generalise the behaviour of ambitransitive verbs under causativisation with respects to strictly intransitive and strictly transitive verbs.

Derivation based on intransitive construction
- strictly intransitive verbs
- semantically restricted uses (S = P)

- autocausatives (S = AP)

	Causer	**S/P/AP**	**E**
non-derived verb	-	NOM	OBL
causativised verb	ERG	NOM	OBL

Table 16. *Causative from intransitive construction*.

Derivation based on transitive construction
- strictly transitive verbs
- verb used in the delimitative construction (S = A)

What seems to happen in the very small set of examples I have for derived transitive constructions is that the causativised verbs favours a two-place valency pattern in which the causer is marked by the ergative case and the other argument by the nominative case. If a third participant is expressed then it is not clear which one (A or P of the non-derived construction) will saturate the nominative slot and which one will be coded by an oblique case (▸ 6.3. *q̄'amała* 'to eat' → *q̄'amāła* 'to make eat')

	Causer	**S/A**	**P**	
non-derived verb	-	ERG	NOM	
causativised verb	ERG	[NOM]		*two partipants*
	ERG	[NOM OBL]		*three participants*

Table 17. *Possible explanation for causative from transitive constructions*.

As a final remark I would like to point out that Charachidzé notes for Avar that labile verbs (which are numerous in this language) can undergo two types of causativisation, one from their intransitive construction and the other from their transitive construction which he calls respectively 'causative' and 'factitive' (Charachidzé 1981: 151). For the much smaller set of labile verbs that Karata has, this possibility does not show in my data.

6.5. The causative derivation as a mainly lexical operation

6.5.1. Causative derivation without valency increase

6.5.1.1. Causativisation entails the intensification of the process and the agentivisation of a participant.

6.5.1.1.1. <Xdat, Ynom> → <Xerg, Ynom>

This type of derivation is found with:
- *bisãła* 'to find' → *bisā̃ła* 'to procure'
- *ha?ãła* 'to see' → *ha?ā̃ła* 'to show'
- *tamašałała* 'to surprise' → *tamašāła* 'to astonish'.

Under the causative derivation, no new participant is entailed but the event expressed by the verb is intensified and the participant encoded by the dative (the finder, the viewer, ...) becomes a really active participant now encoded by the ergative marker.

(158) *den* *tamašał-ida* *idja* *ho-šu-b* *ī'warełerj-a*
1sg surprise.ITER-IPF COP DEM-M_0[GEN]-N courage$_0$-DAT
I am surprise at his courage. (lit. Your courage surprises me.)
Я удивляюсь его отваге.

b. *tamaš-ā-jdja* *idja* *men-a* *iši*
surprise-CAUS-IPF COP 2sg-ERG $1pl_0$
You astonish us.
Ты нас удивляешь.

(159) *a.* *dij-a* *ʕarse* *b-isj-ã* *miq̄'-i*
$1sg_0$-DAT money N-find-PF road-CFG_6[LOC]
I found money on the road.
Я нашел деньги на дороге.

b. *den-a* *b-is-ãs̄* *duw-a* *hošdo-b* *gordi* [37]
1sg-ERG N-find-CAUS.FUT $2sg_0$-DAT such-N dress
I'll find you a dress.
Я раздобуду для тебя такое платье.

6.5.1.1.2. <Xnom, Ydat> → <Xerg, Ydat>

The verb *č'ũč'ałała* 'to be dull, drab' is causativised as *č'ũč'ãła* 'to annoy'. The nominative slot in the non-derived construction becomes the ergative slot in the valency of the derived form. Here again, the event becomes more intense (to be dull → to annoy).

[37] At first sight one may object that the causative construction is regular in that it licenses an ergative argument which provokes the action of the verb *'I make you find a dress' with the original finder as the causee. However, it seems to me that in this example, the participant marked with the dative case is better analysed as a beneficiary. If we have a look at other examples featuring the causative *bisãła*, we notice that (a) the participant encoded by the ergative marker is the direct finder and that (b) a third participant (a causee) is not implied.

c. kũt'o-l b-is-ā-m q̄'am-ała
$husband_0$-ERG N-find-CAUS.PF.PTCP-N eat-INF
To spend away what the husband procures.
Муж добывает, а она проедает.

d. łajʟ'a ho-w q̄'aj-ʟ'a w-us-ĩč'e
in_afternoon DEM-M house-CFG_2[LOC] M-find-CAUS.FUT.NEG
You won't find him at home during the day.
Днем его дома не застанешь.

(160) *dij-a* *q̄’amer* *č’ūč’aɬ-e* *idja*
1sg$_0$-DAT food be_dull-PF COP
The food is insipid to me.
Мне еда кажется безвкусной.

ī’wani *b-axw̄-abχwa* *hor-do-l* *dij-a* *č’ūč’-ājda*
much H$^{\uparrow}$-come-PF.H$^{\uparrow}$.CVB DEM.PL-H$^{\uparrow}_0$-ERG 1sg$_0$-DAT be_dull-CAUS.IPF
Their frequent visits annoy me. (lit.They, having come a lot, make (it) dull for me)
Их частые визиты надоедают мне.

6.5.1.1.3. <Xloc$_1$, Ynom> → <Xerg, Ynom>

This frame shift occurs when *ɬebaɬa* ‘to fear’ is causativised into *ɬebāɬa* ‘to scare’. The stimulus of fear in the intransitive construction becomes a causer of fear in the causative construction whereas the undergoer remains in the nominative form.

(161) *a.* *den* *du-č’o* *ɬeb-da-č’e*
1sg 2sg$_0$-CFG$_1$[LOC] fear-IPF-NEG
I don’t fear you.
Я не боюсь тебя.

b. *den-a* *ho-w* *ɬeb-ā*
1sg-ERG DEM-M fear-CAUS.PF
I scared him.
Я его напугал.

6.5.1.1.4. <Xnom, Yloc$_7$> → <Xerg, Yloc$_1$>

This change in case frame is found with the derivation *tūkaɬa* ‘to bump’ → *tūkāɬa* ‘to give a nudge’. Here again the causative derivation provokes the shift NOM → ERG correlated to the intensification of the process denoted by the verb and the agentivisation of the nominative argument.

Interestingly, Levin (1993: 148) recognises four subclasses to the class of verbs of contact by impact (Hit, Swat, Spank and non-agentive verbs of contact by impact). According to the distinctions she found for English, *tūkaɬa* <NOM, LOC$_7$> can be characterised as a non-agentive verb of contact by impact. She describes this class of English verbs as follows: ‘These verbs describe instances of non-agentive contact by impact. They are used intransitively, taking as complement a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition against [...]’ (1993: 153). When used in the case frame <ERG, LOC$_1$>, *tūkaɬa* is better characterised as belonging to the Hit-verbs subclass, that is ‘[...] moving one entity in order to bring it into contact with another entity, [...] not necessarily entail[ing] that this contact has any effect on the second entity’ (1993: 150). Verbs such as ‘to hit, to bang, to bump’ are part of both categories in English. Karata sets them apart through the causative derivation.

(162) *a.* *peči-ɪ̄i* *tũk-ē* *den*
stove-CFG$_7$[LOC] bump-PF 1sg
I hit myself against the stove.
Я ударился об печь.

b. *ho-šu-l* *di-č'o* *tũk-ā*
DEM-M$_0$-ERG 1sg$_0$-CFG$_1$[LOC] bump-CAUS.PF
He gave me a push.
Он меня толкнул.

6.5.1.2. Causativisation provokes the intensification of the process but the case frame remains the same.

Causativisation triggers the intensification of the process encoded by the verb but it does not trigger any change whatsoever in the case frame <NOM, DAT>. The following verb undergo this derivational process:

non-causative	**derived causative form**
baɬ̄ãɬa 'to resemble'	*baɬ̄ɬ̃ãɬa* 'to imitate'
č'alʕãɬa 'to annoy'	*č'alʕɬ̃ãɬa* 'to exasperate'
č'amuč'ɬaɬa 'to irritate'	*č'amuč'ãɬa* 'to pester'

(163) *a.* *du-raj* *iha-di* *č'alʕ-ã* *dij-a*
2sg$_0$-nH* crowd-PL annoy-PF 1sg$_0$-DAT
I'm fed up with all your friends (lit. Your crowds are annoying to me).
Мне надоели толпы твоих друзей.

b. *č'alʕ-ā-miše* *mẽ-da* *ʕã-di-lw-a*
annoy-CAUS-PROH 2sg-INT person-PL-H$^*_0$-DAT
Don't you annoy people.
Не докучай людям.

6.5.1.3. The causative derivation provokes the loss of the ablative argument

6.5.1.3.1. Loss of the ablative argument

The following verbs in their non-derived forms demand the case frame <Xnom, Yabl>. Once causativised, they demand <Xerg, Ynom>.

non-causative		**derived causative**
buč'ãɬa 'to go apart from'	→	*buč'ɬ̃ãɬa* 'to open'
č̌'arq̄aɬa 'to jump from'	→	*č̌'arq̄ãɬa* 'to trip (a button) (lit. to make jump)'
č̌'idaɬaɬa 'to drift away from'	→	*č̌'idãɬa* 'to hold something away'

minarłała ‘to break off’ → *minarāła* ‘to distinguish’[38]

(164) *ʕagarłer* *č’idaɬ-e* *idja* *iši-č’o-gal*
kin drift_away-PF.CVB COP 1pl(EXCL)-CFG_1-ABL
Our kin has drifted away from us.
Родня отдалилась от нас.

b. *men-a* *čid-ā* *ho-baj*
2sg-ERG drift_away-CAUS.IMP(tr) DEM-$H^{↑}$
Stand away from them (lit. You make them drift away).
Ты держись от них подальше.

(165) *a.* *šorerij-a-r* *b-aʔ-ala* *ho-w* *iši-k’el-a-gal* *minarɬ-e*
turn-CFG_3-ALL $H^{↑}$-go-SPCVB DEM-M 1pl-COM-CFG_3-ABL break_off-PF
When we came round the bend he left us.
У поворота он от нас отделился.

b. *ilaī’er-ɬi-l* *kũt’a-harḵ’e* *minar-ā*
mother_in_law-F_0-ERG husband-wife break_off-CAUS.PF
The mother in law divorced the couple. (lit. made the husband and wife break up)
Свекровь развела супругов.

Note that this part does not mean to establish this phenomenon as productive of the language, but as an indicator of the influence of the causative on lexicalisation. The example of the shift from ‘to jump from’ to ‘to trip (a button)’ is quite telling in this regard, since at the beginning the literal meaning certainly was ‘to make a button jump’, then ‘to press a button’ and finally ‘to switch on, turn on’.

6.5.1.3.2. Replacement of the ablative by the allative argument

Under causativisation, we could expect the verb *t’orała* ‘to drip from’ <NOM, ABL> to yield a verb meaning something like ‘to make drip from, to drop from’. However the examples featuring this verb, *t’orāła* ‘to spill, to drop’, do not seem to imply a source, they actually all feature an allative argument.

(166) *a.* *miʕar-i-gal* *heri* *t’or-e*
nose-CFG_6-ABL blood drip-PF
Blood dripped from the nose.
Из носа капнула кровь.

[38] Note that all of these examples are more or less lexicalised, although it is still possible to find the explanation for the divergence of meanings. I have included them here because this pattern (loss of ablative) is found in several examples.

b. *hardir* *t'or-ā-č'eda* *t'ij-ẽ* *ho-šš̆u-l* *čiraq̄w-a-r* *narte*
here.ALL drip-CAUS-SPCVB pour-PF DEM-M_0-ERG $lamp_0$-CFG_3-ALL kerosene
Without spilling a single drop, he poured the kerosene into the lamp. (lit. without making (it) drip there)
Не пролив ни капли, он слил в лампу керосин.

6.5.2. Valency increases irregularly

6.5.2.1. <Xnom> → <Xdat, Ynom>

This shift is found with *boʟ'ała* 'to hurt (intr.)' → *boʟ'āła* 'to hurt (tr.)'. Take a look at the following examples: a. and b. examplify the non-derived verb whereas c. and d. illustrate the use of the derived verb.

(167) *a.* *ho-w* *boʟ'-a*
DEM-M hurt-PF
He fell ill.
Он заболел.

b. *di-b* *q̄'wãq̄'warēše* *boʟ'-idja* *idja*
$1sg_0$[GEN]-N throat hurt-IPF COP
My throat hurts.
У меня горло болит.

c. *dij-a* *okol* *boʟ'-ā*
$1sg_0$-DAT injection hurt-CAUS.PF
The injection hurt me.
Мне от укола стало больно.

d. *dij-a* *boʟ'-ā*
$1sg_0$-DAT hurt-CAUS.PF
I'm ill.
Мне больно.

The experiencer encoded in the nominative case in the intransitive construction (a. and b.) is encoded in the dative case in the causative construction whereas the nominative slot is filled by a noun representing the source.

6.5.2.2. <Xnom> → <Xerg, Ynom>

This case shift concerns *galała* 'to speak'. The derivation may look normal at first sight, but it is not for two reasons: (a) the newly-created ergative slot is filled by the same participant which, with the non-derived verb, is encoded by the nominative case and (b) the semantics of the verb changes in a non-predictable way; *galāła* means 'to deceive somebody'.

(168) *a.* *q̄it'a-ʔogal* *gal-e-č'e* *ho-w*
boulder-like speak-PF-NEG DEM-M
He was as silent as the grave (lit. He did not speak like a boulder).
Он молчал словно каменная глыба.

b *den-a* *ilja* *gal-ā*
1sg-ERG mother speak-CAUS.PF
I deceived mother.
Я обманула маму.

On the other hand, a derivation taking the verb for ‘to speak’ as a basis and yielding ‘to deceive’ is not that surprising and recalls such verbs as English ‘to talk into’.

6.6. The causative auxiliary

As explained in 6.3, I have found only two examples illustrating the kind of synthetic causative construction of which Godoberi makes a productive use (possibly three if *keχ̄āɬa* ‘to make suck, to feed’ is derived from a transitive construction ▸ 6.4.1.1.). Like other Andi languages, Karata possesses a verb *itaɬa* ‘to let’ which also serves as a causative auxiliary[39]. However compared to the extent of my data, examples featuring this construction are few and far between.

I have two examples showing a transitive verb used in this construction. With intransitive verbs, I have a little more examples.

6.6.1. Causative with transitive constructions

I have found two verbs used in the analytical causative construction: *c̄’alaɬa* ‘to read’ and *s̄is̄iraɬa* ‘to hurry, precipitate’, both with the case frame <ERG, NOM>. The first example shows *c̄’alaɬa* used in the non-derived construction and in the causative construction.

(169) *a.* *zebw-a* *den-a* *q̄oča* *c̄’al-e*
day$_0$-CFG$_3$[LOC] 1sg-ERG book read-PF
I read the book in one day.
За день я прочитал книгу.

b. *kawka-dor* *itj-a,* *hera* *alɦam* *c̄’al-da-l* *itj-a*
pray-? let-PF now prayer read-IPF-ADD let-IMP
You won’t boil a stubborn man in a cauldron, nor will you pound him in a mortar. (lit. They forced (us) to pray, make read a prayer.)
Упрямого человека и в котле не уваришь, и в ступе не утолчешь. (букв. Начать намаз-то принудили, попробуй заставить читать молитву.)

The second example illustrates the use of *s̄is̄iraɬa* in both constructions.

(170) *a.* *ho-ɬi-l* *s̄is̄ir-da* *ariq̄* *t’ob-as* *ho-b* *hedela*
DEM-F$_0$-ERG hasten_errands-IPF at_length carry_out-SPCVB DEM-N thing
She’ll be done in the blink of an eye. (lit. She hastens this errand doing it completely)
Она вмиг исполнит это поручение.

[39] I’ll refer to this construction as the analytical causative construction (as opposed to the synthetic derived one).

b. den-a men šišir-da it-aš
1sg-ERG 2sg hasten_errands-IPF let-FUT
I will make you do something in a flash.
Я заставлю тебя мигом что-л делать

It is quite surprising to find so few examples of the use of *itała* to causativise transitive verbs given that the morphological derivation is not productive with these verbs. Moreover, in the two examples provided in my corpus, only two participants (maximum) are expressed:
- with *č'alała*, only the patient is expressed and is encoded like the object (nominative case) of a bivalent verb.
- with *šiširała*, the causer is encoded like the subject and the causee like the object.
In short, the new participant the causer is encoded in the ergative case and the causee and patient are encoded in the nominative case (▸ table 18).

V		**V + itała**
		causer: ERG –l-
agent: ERG	⟶	causee : NOM –Ø-
patient: NOM	⟶	patient: NOM –Ø-

Table 18. *Case shift with analytical causativisation.*

On a comparative note, Godoberi (Kibrik 1996) does not make use of a causative auxiliary but its causative derivation is very productive with transitive verbs. Bagvalal (Kibrik 2001) makes extensive use of the causative auxiliary *bešta*. Akhvakh's causative auxiliary, *bit'uruɬa*, can only form causatives from intransitive verbs and has thus no 'conventionalised way of expressing causation with transitive verbs' (Creissels 2010: 47).

6.6.2. Causative with intransitive constructions

The causative auxiliary *itała* is used to causativise intransitive verbs as well. I have found analytical constructions with intransitive verbs for which a synthetic causative form is indicated and with intransitive verbs for which the dictionary gives no corresponding morphological causative form.

For instance the dictionary does not give a causative form for *ʁwāła* 'to speak'.

(171) *a. ho-baj ʁo-da hač'e*
DEM-H˙ speak-IPF COP.NEG
They are not speaking to each other.
Они не разговаривают (между собой).

b. den ʁo-da it-ibiše
1sg speak-IPF let-PROH
Don't drive me crazy. (lit. Don't make me speak)
не выводи меня из себя (букв. не заставляй меня говорить)

In the section on possible P-labile verbs possessing a derived causative peer (5.1.2.2.3.2.), I discussed the verb *ħawała* ‘to burn’ and I showed that its non-derived form could be used in both intransitive and transitive constructions. I also showed that it could undergo the synthetic causativisation process (or morphological causative). Below, I illustrate the use of the same verb in the analytical causative construction. Example a. shows the intransitive use of *ħawała*, b. the synthetic causative construction and c. the analytical construction.

(172) *a.* *q̄’ardo-b* *ɬ̄ēj* *b-aʔ-abχwa* *di-r* *reʟ’a* *ħaw-e*
hot-N water N-receive-PF.N.CVB 1sg[GEN]-nH˙ hands burn-PF
My hands burnt under the hot water. (lit. having received hot water)
Рука обожглось горячей водой.

b. *miČ’i-l* *reʟ’a* *ħaw-ā*
nettle-ERG hands burn-CAUS.PF
Nettle stung my hands.
Крапива обожгла мне руку.

c. *k’ãča-l* *di-raj* *hark’a-j* *ħaw-da* *itj-a*
onion-ERG $1sg_0$[GEN]-nH˙ eye-PL burn-IPF let-PF
Onion makes my eyes cry.
От лука у меня глаза слезятся.

6.7. Causative from adjectives and nouns

As a foreword, I should say that many adjectives in Karata look like past/present participles, i.e. forms derived from verbs (with the suffix –o- and a class marker). What is more, it sometimes happens that a verb has a cognate noun. In that case it is difficult to decide whether the verb derives from the noun or the adjective or whether the adjective derives from the verb. For instance, the dictionary gives *ĩʒitɬała* ‘to abase oneself’, *ĩʒit* ‘a base person’ and *ĩʒitob* ‘base’.

Because not all verbs are given with cognate adjectives or cognate nouns, in this presentation, I have arbitrarily decided that whenever a verb had a cognate adjective, it was derived from it. When it does not have an adjective but it has a cognate noun, I considered they were derived from it (▸ 6.7.2.).

Nouns and adjectives may be derived into intransitive verbs on the one hand and into transitive verbs on the other hand. Magomedbekova (1971: 118) mentions two formatives *-ɬ̄-* and *-χ̄-*.

6.7.1. Causatives from adjectives

6.7.1.1. The -ɬ̄- formative

As mentionned in this part's introduction (▸6.1.), forty three verbs in my corpus clearly derive from adjectives (i.e. I have proof the adjectives still exist). Other pairs of verbs do have a similar morphological relationship but I have not found any cognate adjectives.

For instance *q̄ajl̄* 'blue' yields *q̄ajl̄eɬaɬa* 'to become blue' and the causative *q̄ajl̄āɬa* 'to make blue'. To derive the intransitive verb, the verbalising morpheme -ɬ- is added to the stem followed by the TAM formative. Note that -l̄- and -ɬ- being too close phonetically (they are both laterals), a vowel in inserted. The transitive verb is derived through the addition of the causative morpheme –a- to the stem followed by the infinitive suffix[40].

ADJ →	STEM	+ VBZ + INF	'non-causative verbalising derivation'
→	STEM	+ CAUS + INF	'causative verbalising derivation'

Example 1: *q̄ajl̄* 'blue'

q̄ajl̄ → q̄ajl̄ + ɬ + aɬa → *q̄ajl̄eɬaɬa* 'non-causative verbalising derivation'
→ q̄ajl̄ + a + aɬa → *q̄ajl̄āɬa* 'causative verbalising derivation'

(173) *a. sūk'-ibdi q̄ajl̄-eɬ-e*
lip$_0$-PL blue-VBZ-PF
My lips went blue.
Губы посинели.

b. ho-šu-l di-b baʕa q̄ajl̄-ā
DEM-M$_0$-ERG 1sg$_0$[GEN]-N face blue-CAUS.PF
He bruised my face. (lit. He made my face turn blue).
Он мне поставил синяк.

On a historical note, *-ɬ-* is a morpheme present in many Daghestanian languages. It is commonly recognised as being a reflex of an old verb meaning 'to become'. Bokarev (1959: 278) notes the presence of the same *-ɬ-* in Tsezic languages for the formation of intransitive verbs from adjectives.

6.7.1.2. The -χ̄- formative

[40] Synchronically, several explanations are possible to account for the formation of the causative form. The explanation I provide has the inconvenient of positing a single stem for two different derivations, whereas with other verbs, the causative is derived from the non-causative verb. (After all we have seen that some non-causative iterative forms have undergone a reduction of their ending (drop of *-ɬ-*) in specific phonological contexts.) The fact that the verbalising morpheme *-ɬ-* does not appear in the causative form of adjectives could be explained in terms of a reduction if we posited that the latter was derived from the non-causative form. But the solution exposed here seems much simpler to account for the formation of verbs from adjectives in a synchronic perspective. In addition the hypothesis of the causative being formed directly by suffixing –a- to the stem would support the hypothesis of the origin of –a- from an old verb 'to do' (▸ 6.1.).

This formative is far less used than -ɬ-. In fact, I have found only one instance of its use to derive a verb from an adjective in all my corpus. This suffix is added to the adjectival stem, then follows the infinitive, TAM suffix. The dictionary does not indicate a derived causative form for this verb.

ADJ → STEM + VBZ + TAM ‘non-causative verbalising derivation’

Example 1: *reɬ̄bab* ‘barren’
reɬ̄bab → reɬ̄ba + χ̄ + ała → *reɬ̄baχ̄wała* ‘to become barren’
This verb does not have a causative form.

(174) *riha* *reɬ̄ba-χ̄-u*
ewe barren-VBZ-PF
The ewe became barren.
Овца яловела.

This morpheme is cognate with the verb *biχ̄wała* ‘to stay’.

6.7.2. Causatives from nouns

The -χ̄- derivational morpheme seems to be more productive with nouns.

The derivational suffix is added to the noun directly[41], then the TAM suffix is added. Causativisation is achieved through the addition of the derivational morpheme *–a-* right after the verbalising suffix.

NOUN → STEM + VBZ + TAM ‘non-causative verbalising derivation’
→ STEM + VBZ + CAUS + TAM ‘causative verbalising derivation’

Example 1: *reɬe* ‘laughter’
reɬe → reɬe + χ̄ + ała → *reɬeχ̄ała* ‘to laugh’
→ reɬe + χ̄ + a + ała → *reɬeχ̄āła* ‘to make laugh’

Another instance is the noun *ʁizi* ‘dirt’ which yields *ʁiziχ̄wała* ‘to get dirty’ and the causative *ʁiziχ̄wāła* ‘to make dirty’.

(175) *a.* *ʁardi-s̄* *t’ās̄a* *barq̄’ada* *ʁizi-χ̄-u*
on_ground-ADJZ carpet fast dirt-VBZ-PF
The carpet on the ground quickly gets dirty. (lit. becomes like dirt)
На полу ковер быстро запачкался.

[41] I have not found the context in which the vowel holds on, and the one in which the vowel drops. I could only observe what happens at the segmental level. It may have to do with accentuation.

b. peči-ī curi-l tastar ʁizi-χ̄-wā
stove-GEN smoke$_0$-ERG curtain dirt-VBZ-CAUS.PF
The smoke of the stove makes the curtain dirty. (lit. makes like dirt)
Дым от печки загрязнил занавески.

7. VALENCY PATTERNS BOUND TO THE PRESENCE OF AN ADVERB

7.1. Introduction

Karata makes use of a large inventory of adverbs (mostly spatial). Spatial adverbs can be used as (a) postpositions heading NPs, (b) modifier of the clause and (c) combine with verbs in the same way preverbs do in Russian or postpositions in English.

These adverbs-adpositions inflect for direction (e.g. *kaʔa / kaʔa-r / kaʔa-gal*). When used with a nominal dependent, the latter inflects for both configuration and direction (▸ table 19 for a list of spatial adpositions with their possible rections). As table 19 shows, there is some free variation in the choice of a configuration marker for a given adposition. For instance *keīi* 'in' has been found governing an NP marked by CFG$_7$ *-īi-*, CFG$_1$ *-č'o-* or CFG$_3$ *-a-* without any difference in the denotational meaning. As far as the directionality parameter is concerned, there are two coding alternatives for the dependent NP: it either agrees with the directionality value marked on the postposition or take the default locative marker – Ø.

- kaʔa	(above) 'on'		
- hini	(inside) 'in' [hollow space]	CFG$_6$ –i-	
- keīi	(inside) 'in' [substance]		
- baĪ'i	(in) 'between'	CFG$_7$ -īi-	
- keĪ'i	(beneath) 'under'	CFG$_8$ -Ī'i-	CFG$_1$ -č'o- / CFG$_3$ –a-
- šigi	'in front' (of)		
- χigi	'behind'		
- χigi-šigi	'around'		

Table 19. *List of adpositions with their possible rections.*

(176) *[hor-do-č'o baī'i-gal] č̌'arq̄-ē ho-j*
DEM.PL-H$^{\uparrow}_0$-CFG$_1$[LOC] between-ABL struggle-PF DEM-F
She struggled out from between them.
Она выбилась из их строя !

(177) *sulaɪ'ar hač'e [herk'ō-no-īi-r baĪ'i-r] b-ax̄-uda mak'-i*
shame COP.NEG adult-H$^{\uparrow}_0$-CFG$_7$-ALL between-ALL H$^{\uparrow}$-come-IPF enfant-PL
Shameless children meddle in adults' business. (lit. come between adults)
Дети без стеснения вмешиваются в дела взрослых.

Just like configuration markers, postpositions have non-spatial meanings which are very productive and 'combine' with many verbs.

(178) *ʁawʁwa-da* *χirχir* *b-aʔ-ã*
partridge-PL after H$^{\text{ˤ}}$-go-PF
They went for partridge.
Пошли за куропатками.

On the other hand there are cases where an adverb is used with a verb and the overall meaning cannot be worked out from the productive uses of the adverb and from the verb's meaning. In part 8.2, I list a few case frames which are governed by a lexicalised *adverb*+*verb* compound, that is, cases where the addition of the adverb triggers a change in the valency of the original verb. There are also cases where the *adverb*+*verb* compound is clearly lexicalised but the case frame does not change (e.g. *kaʔarda behała* 'to pay attention' <ERG, NOM> / *behała* 'to take' <ERG, NOM').

7.2. Frames

7.2.1. <NOM> → <NOM, DAT/LOC$_3$>

boīała 'to happen' → *baī'ir boīała* 'to interfere'

(179) *a.* *ho-b* *b-oī-e* *ĩšdwac'ada-īo-b* *rešĩ- īi-l*
DEM-N N-happen-PF fifty-ORD-N year$_0$-CFG$_7$[LOC]-ADD
This took place in the fiftieth year.
Это случилось в пятидесятом году.

b. *bas-ĩd-o-b* *hedela-łij-a* *baīi-r* *w-oī-ibīše*
tell-IPF-PTCP-N thing-N$_0$-DAT between-ALL M-happen-PROH
Don't interfere in the conversation. (lit. Don't be between things being told)
Не вмешивайся в разговор (букв. не становись между рассказываемой вещью).

7.2.2. <NOM> → <NOM, LOC$_1$>

siniłała 'to stick (intr.)' → *kaʔa siniłała* 'to harass, to nag somebody'
t'erkwãła 'to stick (intr.)' → *kaʔa t'erkwãła* 'to cling to'
q̄'ulała 'to bend down' → *kaʔa q̄'ulała* 'to get down to'
urʁāła 'to think' → *kaʔa urʁāła* 'to ponder on'
boīała 'to happen' → *kaʔagal boīała* 'to forgive'
biχ̄wała 'to stay' → *baī'i biχ̄wała* 'to be pinched, caught in'

(180) *men* *di-č'o* *kaʔa-gal* *j-eī-i* / *w-oī-i*
2*sg* 1sg$_0$-CFG$_1$[LOC] on-ABL F-happen-IMP M-happen-IMP
Forgive me.
Ты прости меня.

7.2.3. <NOM, LOC_3> → <NOM, LOC_1>

rek'wãła 'to sit in TRANSPORT' → *kaʔa rek'wãła* 'to pressurise'

(181) *a.* *mak'-i* *mašinaj-a* *rek'w-ã*
child-PL car_0-CFG_1[LOC] sit-PF
Children got in the car.
Дети сели в машину.

b. *łaraq̄* *risidobo* *di-č'o* *kaʔa* *rek'w-ã*
overnight domovoï $1sg_0$-CFG_1[LOC] on[loc] sit-PF
Domovoï pressurised me last night.
Ночью на меня давил домовой.

7.2.4. <NOM, ALL> → <NOM, DAT/LOC_3>

bek̄wała 'to end up' → *dãde bek̄wała* 'to meet'

(182) *a.* *den* *roxo-īi-r* *w-ok̄-u*
2sg forest-CFG_7-ALL M-end_up-PF
I ended up in the forest.
Я оказался в лесу

b. *išij-a* *dãde* *w-ok̄-u* *hudu-w*
$1pl(EXCL)_0$-DAT together M-end-up-PF DEM-M
We met him.
Мы встретили его.

7.2.5. <ERG, NOM> → <ERG, NOM, LOC_1>

q̄'āła 'to tighten' → *kaʔa q̄'āła* 'to entrust to'

(183) *a.* *ce+mik'i* *q̄'wat'e* *q̄'-ā*
a_little saddle_girth tighten-IMP(tr)
Stop fooling around. (lit. Tighten the saddle-girth a little)
Уймись, остепенись / уйми кого-л. (букв. чуть-чуть подпруги натяни)

b. *den-a* *jac̄o-č'o* *kaʔa* *q̄'-ā* *waša-šu-b* *t'alab* *gah-ała*
1sg-ERG $sister_0$-CFG_1[LOC] on[LOC] tighten-PF boy-M_0[GEN]-N worry do-INF
I entrusted my sister with watching the boy.
Я поручила сестре смотреть за сыном.

8. PROPERTIES OF VERB CLASSES IN KARATA

8.1 Verb classes in Karata

Karata is a language with radical P-alignement, in other words, in all sentences, irrespective of TAM constraints or else, S and P are marked the same way:
- govern the class marker on the verb (if there is one)
- do not have overt case marking (nominative alias absolutive)
In addition, Karata as other Daghestanian languages shows great flexibility of constituent order and a sometimes disturbingly high ability to leave unexpressed any argument, triggering an anaphorical or indefinite interpretation of the non expressed argument(s). This holds true for the great majority of Karata verbs, but there is a little group of verbs for which when an argument is left unexpressed (A or P), in addition to interpreting this argument as indefinite or anaphorical, it is possible that the non-expression of the argument does not provoke any interpretation and simply reflects that the slot is not present altogether. This is not a problem for A-labile verbs (▸ 5.1.1) since the shift from the A slot to the S slot provokes a change in coding. On the other hand, as we have seen with P-labile verbs (▸ 5.1.2.), S is coded like P, therefore it is tricky to know (a) whether a verb leaving unexpressed its P argument still implies a patient but indefinite or retrievable from the context (interpretations that are always possible), or (b) whether the patient is altogether left out thus yielding a spontaneous event interpretation. In addition, verbs which exhibit both these possibilities (a&b) may be used decausatively only (possibility b) with a set of participants, the nature of which prevents any sort of control by another participant (in A).

Considering the behaviour of verbs in Karata with regards to transitivity alternation, I propose the following classes and sub-classes of verbs:

I) INTRANSITIVE VERBS
II) TRANSITIVE VERBS
    1. Only-transitive verbs
    2. Ambitransitive verbs
        i. Labile verbs
        ii. Semantically-restricted intransitively used verbs.

Class I contains many verbs, monovalent, bivalent and trivalent. Class I's verbs do not have an ergative argument in their case frame[42].

Class II is a lot more diverse.

The first split is between verbs which are always used with two participants (1) , i.e. the non-expression of a participant obligatorily triggers the indefinite or anaphorical interpretation, and (2) verbs, for which the non-expression of an argument opens up two possibilities: (a) the indefinite or anaphorical interpretation (b) the spontaneous-event interpretation.

This sub-class is subdivided between (i) labile verbs, the transitive/intransitive use of which is not restricted and (ii) ambitransitive verbs of which one construction is

[42] Note that I leave open the question raised in (▸5.1.2.4.2.) as to an ergative argument added to an intransitive construction makes the construction transitive or is to be understood as an instrument, i.e. a participant whose status is more adjunct-like.

restricted to a set of participants whose nature predisposes them not to undergo the influence/control of another participant.

8.2. Property of intransitive verbs: the expression of the responsible person for a spontaneous event.

As has been pointed out in the section presenting the frame <NOM, ABL_1> (▸ 4.4.13.), a few examples in Karata hint to the possibility of the addition of an 'involuntary agent' into an intransitive construction. The involuntary agent construction has been found with the verbs: *baq̄ãła* 'to escape', *χidi biχ̄wała* 'to stay behind' and *č'arq̄ãła* 'to jump'.

The verb *biχ̄wała* 'to stay' is typically used in the frame <NOM, LOC>. Combined with the adverb *χidi* 'behind', it takes on the meanings 'to be left over' or 'to lag behind' (with the same case frame). The following example features a human participant inflected in ABL_1. This participant is viewed as an agent who performs the action of the verb casually, without really wanting it or controlling it (Ganenkov 2005: 214). Note that *biχ̄wała* does not have a derived causative form.

(184) *a.* *čorpa* *χigi* *b-iχ̄-u* *di-č'o-gal*
soup behind N-stay-PF $1sg_0$-CFG_1-ABL
I did not finish my soup.
У меня (в тарелке) остался суп.

b. *bišdi-b-al* *x̄wane* *χigi* *b-iχ̄-u*
$2pl_0$[GEN]-N-ADD horse behind N-stay-PF
Your horse stayed behind.
Ваша лошадь отстала.

These two examples show a difference in the coding of the possessor. The difference is that in the first example the possessor has some affinity with a agent: the human participant is the reason why soup is left and has not been eaten completely. In the second example, the horse's slowliness cannot be blamed on the possessor.

The verbs *baq̄ãła* 'to escape' and *č'arq̄ãła* 'to jump' are regularly found in the case frame <NOM, ABL> with other configuration markers.

(185) *ra?ala-īi-gal* *j-aq̄-ãła-da* *j-aq̄-ẽda-č'e*
kitchen-CFG_7-ABL F-escape-INF-INT F-escape-IPF-NEG
I just can't manage to get out of the kitchen.
Из кухни никак не могу выбраться.

However when they are used with CFG_1, the participant in the ablative straddles the limit between involuntary agent and source of information (a productive use of ABL_1).

(186) *keī'-emχwa* *b-aq̄-ẽ* *di-č'o-gal* *ho-b* *ãɬer*
speak-PF.N.CVB N-escape-PF $1sg_0$-CFG_1-ABL DEM-N word
A word escaped me.
У меня вырвалось это слово.

Although Ganenkov (2005) brings evidence of the existence of the involuntary agent constructions in other Andi languages, I have to come to the conclusion that, at least in my corpus, this construction is very scarce. This might be ascribed to the nature of the corpus I have used though.

9. CONCLUSION

I have shown that much of Karata's verbs fall into case frames that are expected for an ergative language. There are other case frames which depart from the regular patterns. Some of them can be explained through the omission of a nominative head noun phrase or because the language reacts to causativisation not by creating a new slot for a new participant but by 'agentivising' a participant. Others have no obvious synchronic explanations.

Karata makes much use of alternation, be it affecting the core arguments of the verb or oblique arguments. In both cases, most alternations reflect different possibilities of conceptualising an event. However, we have seen that a set of verbs having to do with P-lability do not allow different conceptualisations of an event but rather imply different participants for the same event.

In terms of 'lexical valence orientation' (Nichols 2004), Karata is clearly a transitivising language. This is particularly obvious in the fact that Karata's only valency-increasing suffix is productive with intransitive verbs. Moreover the number of intransitive verbs is far greater than the number of non-derived transitive verbs.

At this point, I would also like to mention that a few iterative forms of verbs in Karata present characteristics of antipassive forms. Although the proximity or drift iterative/antipassive is in the line of semantic transitivity as described in Hopper&Thompson (1980), and in this case, of loss of semantic transitivity, this requires a comprehensive investigation that the lack of data prevented me from doing (most examples were given for 'simple' forms).

In this survey my aim was to outline valency phenomena in Karata. Some of my results may prove wrong when checked against other data but hopefully they will prompt further investigations.

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Abbreviations

ADJZ: adjectiviser
AgM: agreement marker
ALL : allative
ABL : ablative
ADD : additive particle
CAUS : causative
CFG : configuration marker
COMP : comparative
COND : conditional
COP : copula
CVB: converb
DAT : dative
DEM : demonstrative
ERG : ergative
F : feminine
FUT : future
GEN : genitive
H^{+}: human plural
IMP : imperative
INDEF : indefinite
INF : infinitive
INT : interrogative
intr: intransitive
IPF : imperfective
INT: intensive
LOC : locative
MSD : masdar
M : masculin
nH^{+}: non-human plural
N : neuter
NEG : negation
OPT: optative
$_{O}$: oblique stem
PF : perfective
PL : plural
POS: possessive
PR : present
PROH : prohibitive
PTCP :participle
Q: question marker
REFL: reflexive
SELECT: selective
sg : singular
tr: transitive

Appendixes

Appendix 1. Nakh-Daghestanian (East-Caucasian) language family.

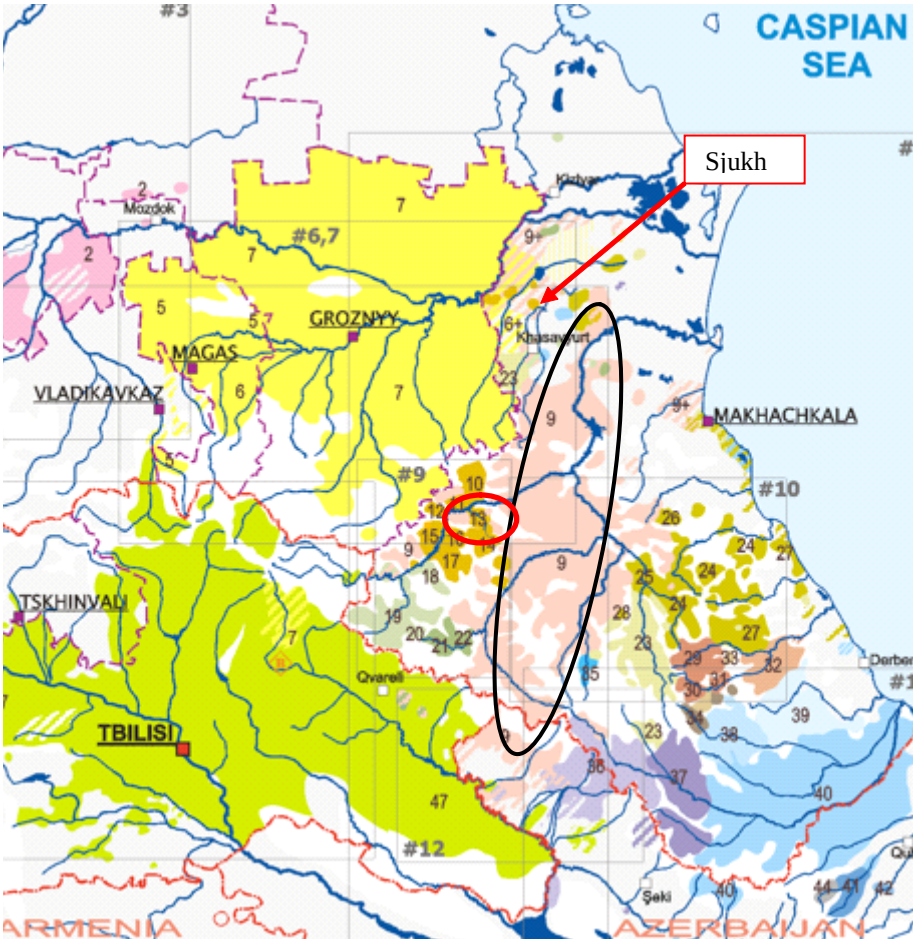
Daghestanian branch

- Avar-Andi branch
  - Andi
    - Andi
    - Botlikh
    - Godoberi
    - Karata
    - Akhvakh
    - Bagvalal
    - Tindi
    - Chamalal
  - Avar
    - Avar dialects
- Didoic or Tsezic branch
  - Tsez or Dido
  - Hinukh
  - Bezhta
  - Hunzib
  - Khvarshi
- Dargwa branch
  - Dargwa « dialects » (in fact, languages)
- Lak branch
  - Lak
- Lezgic branch
  - Lezgi
  - Tabasaran
  - Agul
  - Udi (probably the modern form of Caucasian Albanian)
  - Kryz
  - Budukh
  - Rutul
  - Tsakhur
  - Archi
- Khinalug branch
  - Khinalug

Nakh branch

- Chechen
- Ingush
- Bats

Appendix 2. Map



Lingvarium
(http://lingvarium.org)

Legend

9 Avar-speaking area
13 Karata-speaking area

Appendix 3 Karata-English glossary

This glossary is representative of the data I have used in my survey. It is however not really representative of Karata's lexicon since many entries in the dictionary were not illustrated at all or insuficiently to identify a case frame. This is particularly true for causative verbs which are least of all illustrated. Nevetheless, I thought this glossary would be useful to look up particular verbs. The use of the letter X, Y and Z to represent argument slots does not bear any significance except with labile verbs.

Karata		English	notes
abāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X enlarge Y	
abełała	Y_{NOM}	Y become bigger	
ãdukała	Y_{NOM}	Y obey	
ahãła	Y_{NOM}	Y boil	
ahɬ̃ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X boil Y	
ãɬała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X hear Y	
ãɬāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X announce Y	
ãʁołała	Y_{NOM}	Y become deaf	
ãʁwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X deafen Y	
ãšałała	Y_{NOM}	Y warm up	
ãšāła	X Y_{NOM}	X warm up Y	
ãžāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X mark Y	
bacwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X conceal Y	
bacwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X plunge Y	
bacwāła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC7}	X flood Y	
bac'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X unite Y	P-labile
	Y_{NOM}	Y heal, skin over	Y = bodypart
bac'ac'āła	X_{ERG}	X urinate	
bac̄'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL3}	X ask Y to Z	-Y + dependent
	X_{ERG} Y_{GEN} Z_{ALL3}	X ask Z about Y	-omiss° of Y_{NOM}
bac̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X clean Y	
bac̄'ałała	Y_{NOM}	Y become clean	
bačak'łała	Y_{NOM}	Y become short	
bačak'wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X shorten Y	
bačc̄̃āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X fell Y	about flora
bačwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X endure Y	
bač'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X choose Y	
bahała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X buy Y	
bahała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X take Y	
bahała (heʟ'ir ~)	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X taste Y	
bahała(kwadir~)	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X subjugate Y	
bahała (kaʔar)	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X don't worry about Y	
bahwāła	X_{NOM}	X play	
bajãɬała	Y_{NOM}	Y become clear	
bajanāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X clear Y up	

bajbix̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X begin Y	P-labile
	Y_{NOM}	Y begin	
bak'arāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X gather Y	P-labile
	Y_{NOM}	Y gather up	
bak'ãła	Y_{NOM}	Y bend	
bak'ã̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bend Y	
baluχ̄łała	X_{NOM}	X grow up	
bałała	X_{NOM}	X begin	+ INF
bałāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X begin Y	
bałała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X can Y	
bałała	X_{DAT}	X cope with	+ INF
bałgwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL1}	X conceal Y from Z	
bałãła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X look like Y	
bałã̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT}	X imitate Y	
baɪ'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wear Y	
baq̄ãła	X_{NOM}	X is over	
baq̄ãła	X_{NOM}	X manage, get by	
baq̄ãła	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X escape Y	
baq̄ã̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X remove Y from Z	
baq̄ã̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spend Y	= waste
baq̄wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dig Y	
baq̄wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X weed Y	
baq̄wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X plot Y	
baq̄'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{COM}	X get along with Y	
baq̄'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X is happy with Y	
baq̄'ała	X_{NOM} $Y_{LOC1\sim DAT}$	X suit Y	
baq̄'ała	X_{NOM}	X become	+ ADJ
baq̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pile Y	
barkāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X greet Y	
basãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X tell Y to Z	
basãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X say Y	
bašāła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X appreciate Y	
bax̄wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X tie Y	
baχalāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC1}	X hit Z with Y	
baχiłłała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X envy Y	
baχiłłała	X_{NOM}	X feel hot	
baχ̄ała	Y_{NOM}	Y crumble down	
baχ̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X destroy Y	
bažarāła	$X_{DAT\sim ABL1}$ Y_{NOM}	X cope with Y	
baʕāła	X_{NOM}	X bleat	about sheep
baʔała	Y_{NOM} $X_{DAT\sim ALL4}$	X receive Y	
baʔała	X_{NOM} X_{DAT}	X has come for Y	X = time noun
baʔała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X arrive at Y	
baʔała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X stay at Y	
baʔała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X is up to Y	
baʔała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC7}	X bump against Y	

baʔała	X_{NOM}	X set in	weather verb
baʔāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spread Y	
baʔāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X send Y to Z	
bečāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X praise Y	
bečeχ̄ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X is happy for Y	
bečeχ̄ała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X is happy for Y	
bečeχ̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y happy	
becołała	Y_{NOM}	Y become blind	
becwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dazzle Y	
bec'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X load Y	
bec'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{GEN}	X is full of Y	
bec'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X take revenge on Y	
bec'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X fill Y	
bečečała	Y_{DAT} Z_{NOM}	Y forget Z	
bečečāła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT} Z_{NOM}	X make Y forget Z	
bečełała	Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL3}	Y make money on Z	
beč'ãła	Y_{NOM}	Y wither	P-labile
	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wither Y	
beč'at'irłała	Y_{NOM}	Y blacken	
beč'uχ̄wała	Y_{NOM}	Y empty	
beguχ̄wała	Y_{NOM}	Y become drunk	
beguχ̄wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y drunk	
begwažała	Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC3}	Y wind around Z	
bek̄ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} $Z_{DAT\sim ALL4}$	X give Y to Z	
bek̄wała	X_{NOM}	X turn out	+ ADJ
bek̄wała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X wind up at Y	
bek̄wała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X take place at Y	
bek̄wała	X_{NOM}	X has to ... /it is necessary that X...	+ INF
bek̄wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X lead Y to Z	
bek'abešãła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL4}	X look after Y	
bek'ãła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL4}	X look at Y	
bek'ãła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC5}	X wait for Y	
bek'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X send Y	
bek̄'wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X swallow Y	
belãła	Y_{NOM}	Y wake up	
belãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wake Y	
bełała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X drive Y to Z	
bełała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sing Y	
bełãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cook Y	P-labile
bełãła	Y_{NOM}	Y cook	
bełãła	X_{NOM}	X redden	
beɪała	X_{NOM}	X leak	
beʟ'arāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X thin Y	
beʟ'arałała	Y_{NOM}	Y become thin	
beɪ̄'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X sow Y in Z	TR

beī'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X sow Y in Z	TR
beī'ãła	Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	Y fit in Z	
beī'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X make Y fit Z	
beq̄'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X divide Y	
beq̄'ešała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X steal Y from Z	
beq̄'ešała	Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}/Z_{LOC}	Y hide from Z/in Z	
beq̄'ešãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}/Z_{LOC}	X hide Y from/in Z	
beq̄'wała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dry Y	
beq̄'wała	Y_{NOM}	Y dry up	
beq̄'wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dry Y	
berq̄ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X drag Y	
berq̄ała	Y_{NOM}	Y drag	
beʁała	Y_{NOM}	Y become turbid	
beʁãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y turbid	
beʁãła	Y_{NOM}	Y is defeated	
beʁãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X defeat Y	
bešdała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X leave Y	
bešałała	Y_{NOM}	Y become stout	
bešãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y stout	
betała	Y_{NOM}	Y is lost	
betãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X lose Y	
beχwała	Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL} Z_{ABL}	Y come to Z/from Z	
beχwała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bring Y	
beχwała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X feel Y	
beχwała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X receive Y	
beχwała	X_{ALL4} Y_{NOM}	X is affected by Y	Y = illness, sensat°
beχwała	X_{NOM}	X happen	
beχwãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X inspire Y to Z	
beχwãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bring Y	
beχarãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y old	
beχarłała	Y_{NOM}	Y grow old	
beχ̄elałała	Y_{NOM}	Y become longer	
bežała	Y_{NOM}	Y cook	
bežãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cook	
bežwała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X believe Y	
bežwãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X persuade Y of Z	
beʕãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sharpen Y	
beʕenãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y fat	
beʕẽłała	Y_{NOM}	Y become fat	
beʔała	Y_{NOM}	X ripen	
beʔwała	Y_{NOM}	X lie	
beʔwãła	Y_{NOM}	Y is enough	
beʔwãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X provide enough Y	
bibãła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL4}	X shout at Y	
bibãła	X_{ERG}	X chirp	
bičãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sell Y	

bic'ała	Y_{NOM}	Y melt	
bic'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X melt Y	
bīc'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X count Y	
bīc'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ESS}	X consider Y Z	
biǩała	Y_{NOM}	Y become wet	
biǩāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wet Y	
biǩ'ač'ała	Y_{NOM}	Y die	
biǩ'ač'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X kill Y	
biǩ'ała	Y_{NOM}	Y die	
biǩ'ała	Y_{NOM}	Y is damaged	
biǩ'ała	Y_{NOM}	Y is spent	Y = time/money
biǩ'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X kill Y	
biǩ'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spoil Y	
biǩ'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spend Y	Y = time/money
biǩ'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} $Z_{LOC\sim ALL}$	X set Y on Z	Y = step/foot
biǩ'ała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X understand Y	
biǩ'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X explain Y	
biǩ'ebiqāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X explain Y	
bigwãła	X_{NOM}	X redden	
bigwãła	X_{NOM}	X become hot	
bihāła	X_{NOM}	X fade (in the sun)	
bihāła	X_{NOM}	X become sober	
bihāła	X_{ERG} X_{NOM}	X relieve Y	
bihałała	Y_{NOM}	Y become easier	
bihãła	Y_{NOM}	Y become red hot	
bīkała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X hold Y	
bīkała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X catch Y	
bīkała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X fix Y at Z	
bik'wała	$X_{GEN\sim LOC1}$ Y_{NOM}	X has Y	
bik'wała	X_{NOM} Y_{NOM}	X is Y	
bik'wała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X work in Y	Y = domain
bik'wała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X experience Y	Y = state of mind
bik'wała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC7}	X wear Y	
bik'wała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL4}	X desire Y	
bik'wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X put Y on Z	
biɬ'ała	X_{NOM}	X die	
biɬ'ełała	X_{NOM}	X worsen	
biłała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X put Y at Z	
biłāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dilute Y	
biqwała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X slaughter Y	
biʁała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X stop at Y	
biʁała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X stay at Y	
biʁāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X stop Y	
biʁāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X calm Y	
biʁāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X supply Y to Z	
biʁāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X leave Y at Z	

biʁwãła		Y_{NOM}	Y become inflamed	
bisāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X push Y	
bisãła		X_{DAT} Y_{LOC}	X find Y	
bisãła		X_{DAT} Y_{LOC}	X honour Y	
bisãła		X_{NOM} Y_{NOM}	X make Y	+ ADJ
bisɑ̄ła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X procure Y	
bisasała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X push Y	
biskināła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y poor	
bĩskĩłała		X_{NOM}	X become poor	
bišāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y bigger	
bišãła		X_{NOM} Y_{ABL1}	X win over Y	
bišāqała		X_{NOM}	X work	
bišełała		X_{NOM}	X thicken	
bišełała		X_{NOM}	X coarsen	
bit'āła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X straighten Y	
bit'ebiχ̄ała	~	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X solve Y	P-labile
bit'ebišełała		Y_{NOM}	Y solve itself	
bit'ełała		X_{NOM}	X become straight	
bit'ełała		X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	Y is lucky with X	
bit'ut'ała		X_{NOM}	X break	
bit'ut'āła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X break Y	
bit'wała		X_{NOM}	X break	
bit'wała		X_{NOM}	X tear	
bit'wała		X_{NOM}	X is robbed	
bit'wāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X break Y	
bit'wāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X tear Y	
biχ̄wała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X leave Y	
biχ̄wała		X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X stay at Y	
bizãłała	~	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X bother Y	
bizarłała				
bižwała		X_{NOM}	X grow up	
bižwała		X_{NOM}	X develop	
bižwāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X grow Y	
bižwāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X invent Y	
biʔała		X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X notice Y	
biʔała		X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X know Y	Y = thing/person
biʔāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} $Z_{ALL2\sim DAT\sim ALL4}$	X announce Y to Z	
biʔāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL1}	X find out Y from Z	
biʔwała		X_{NOM}	X break	
biʔwāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X break Y	
boīała		X_{NOM}	X happen	
boīała		X_{NOM}	X work out	
boīała		X_{NOM}	X come out	
boīała		X_{NOM}	X result	
boīała		X_{NOM}	X is obtained	
boīała		X_{NOM}	X take root	

boīała		X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X originate from Y	
boīała		X_{GEN} Y_{NOM}	X become Y	
boīała		X_{NOM}	X walk	
boīāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X realise Y	
boɪ'ała		X_{NOM}	X fall ill	X = animate
boɪ'ała		X_{NOM}	X ache	X = inanimate
boɪ'āła		X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X hurt Y	
boī'ała		X_{NOM}	X become hot	
boī'ała		X_{DAT}	X fall in love	
boī'āła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X flog Y	
boq̄ała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X remove Y from Z	
boq̄ała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X spend Y at Z	
boq̄'ała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cut Y	
boq̄'ała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cross Y	
boq̄'ała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X exceed Y	
boršãła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dig up Y	
bosāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X revenge Y	
boχ̄ała		X_{NOM}	X appear	
boχ̄āła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make appear Y	
boʔãła		X_{NOM}	X go away	
boʔãła		X_{NOM}	X elapse	
boʔãła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X take away Y	
boʔãła		X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X require Y	
boʔãła		X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X go in search of Y	
bučãła ***bučãčurała***	~	Y_{NOM}	Y bathe	P-labile
		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wash Y	
buč'ãła		X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X go apart from Y	
buč'ãła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y	
buī'ãła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{COM}	X share Y with Z	
bulãła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X grub out Y	
burała		X_{NOM}	X swell	
burała		X_{NOM}	X frown	
bušãła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cut Y	
butała		X_{NOM}	X get untied	
buʔała		X_{NOM}	X roar	
cebłała		X_{NOM}	X unite	
čiljała		X_{NOM}	X become puffy	
čułała		X_{NOM}	X is bruised	
čurała		X_{NOM}	X burn	
čurikała		X_{NOM}	X emit smoke	
c'ahała		X_{NOM}	X burn	
c'ahała		X_{NOM} Y_{LOC5}	X grieve Y	
c'aī'ała		X_{NOM}	X is full	
c'eχ̄āła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X look for Y	
c'eχ̄ereχ̄āła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X try to find out Y	

c'ĭk'wała	X_{NOM}	X ache	
c'ijãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X protect Y from Z	
c'ijãłała	X_{NOM}	X heal	
č'abuč'ała	X_{NOM}	X stretch out	
č'alāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X read Y	
č'alāła	X_{NOM}	X study	
č'amč'amała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL4}	X yell at Y	
č'amč'amała	X_{NOM}	X whine	
č'arała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X drink Y	
č'arāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y drink	
č'ĭč'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pinch Y	P-labile
	Y_{NOM}	Y itch	
č'ĭhā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X salt Y	
č'ĭhãłała	X_{NOM}	X become salted	
č'ĭk̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X clean Y off Z	
č'ik̄'ołała	X_{NOM}	X turn sour	
č'ik̄'wała	X_{NOM}	X increase	
č'imała	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X pinch Y	
č'irχ̄āła	X_{NOM}	X's stomach hurt	
č'obłała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X feel pity for Y	
č'wakała	X_{NOM}	X shine	
č'wakāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X polish Y	
čanāła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X hunt Y	
čebčała	X_{NOM}	X become dishevelled	
čergeš̄łała	X_{NOM}	X become thinner	
čirq̄'āła	X_{NOM}	X slip	
čiχmāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X beat up Y	
čorokāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dirty Y	
čorokłała	X_{NOM}	X become dirty	
čučełała	X_{NOM}	X weaken	
čurała	X_{NOM}	X is dispensed with	
čurāła	X_{ERG} Y_{GEN} Z_{NOM}	X deprive Y of Z	
čatała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X splash on Y	
čatāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X sprinkle Y on Z	
čĭt'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X drip from Y	
čĭt'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sprinkle Y	
čučurała	X_{NOM}	X hiss	
čuk'ała	X_{NOM}	X peel off	
č'agołała	X_{NOM}	X return to life	
č'agołāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X reanimate Y	
č'alat'wała	X_{NOM}	X is ripped	
č'alełała	X_{NOM}	X is diluted	
č'alʕãła	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X is fed up with Y	
č'alʕ̃āła	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	Y annoy X	
č'amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X chew Y	
č'āqała	X_{NOM}	X screech	

č'ebała	X_{NOM}	X flow out	
č'ebała	X_{NOM}	X become scattered	
č'ebāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X empty Y	
č'ikwarāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y beautiful	
č'ikwarłała	X_{NOM}	X become beautiful	
č'ĩč'āła	X_{NOM}	X become weather-beaten	
č'ĩjãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X beat up Y	
č'irč'irała	X_{NOM}	X ferment	
č'ũč'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT}	X annoy Y	
č'ũč'ałała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X is dull for Y	
č'uɬała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X is proud of Y	
č'uɬāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL3}	X make Y proud of Z	
č'ũtała	X_{NOM}	X crumble down	
č'wabała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X fall out of Y	X = hair, ...
č'wãq̄'ot'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X concretise Y	
č'warč'warała	X_{NOM}	X chatter	
č̌'arq̄ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X jump out Y	
č̌'arq̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X turn on Y	
č̌'ederłała	X_{NOM}	X become narrow	
č̌'ič̌'irāła	X_{NOM}	X squeal	
č̌'idāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X move Y away	
č̌'idałała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X drift apart from Y	
č̌'ĩt'ała	X_{NOM}	X become flat	
č̌'ĩt'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X flatten Y	
č̌'warała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC1}	X hit Z with Y	
č̌'warała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X break Y	
č̌'warała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X run away from Y	
č̌'warała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X appear	X = illness
č̌'warāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X drive Y away from Z	
dãdełała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X meet Y	
damdamała	X_{NOM}	X swell	
darułała	X_{NOM}	X is effective	
demała	X_{NOM}	X bend	
elbac̄'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT}	X blame Y	
elba?āła	X_{ERG} Y_{ALL3}	X warn Y	
elik̄ała	X_{NOM}	X fast	
erała	X_{NOM}	X freeze	
erc̄'ała	X_{NOM}	X stabilise	
erk̄ut'ała	X_{NOM}	X leak	
erq̄ãła	X_{NOM}	X swell	
erq̄̄ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X fill Y	
ertãła	X_{NOM}	X fly	
er?ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X throw Y	
gãgała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pull Y	
gãgała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X delay Y	
gahała ~ gāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{GEN}	X make Y from Z	

gahała ~ gāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{NOM}	X make Y Z	
gahała ~ gāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X give birth to Y	
gahała ~ gāła (dadiri ~)	X_{ERG}	X make their first steps	
gahała ~ gāła (ʕamal ~)	X_{ERG}	X try	
galała	X_{NOM}	X speak	
galāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X greet Y	
galāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X chat with Y	
galāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X swindle Y	
gā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X draw Y	
gā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X smoke Y	
gā̄ʁwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X stretch Y	
gerała	X_{NOM}	X move	
gerāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X move Y	
geraʁerała	X_{NOM}	X move	
geregerāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X shake Y	
gergamłała	X_{NOM}	X become stout	
gergečała	X_{NOM}	Y wobble	
gergečała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wobble Y	
gergečāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wobble Y	
gijāła	X_{DAT}	X can	+ INF
girała	X_{NOM}	X lie	
girgičała	X_{NOM}	X wallow	
gočała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X migrate to Y	
gočāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X relocate Y to Z	
gu̱kāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X swindle Y	
gurała	X_{NOM}	X curl up	
gurgĩłała	X_{NOM}	X become round	
gurħāła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X feel sorry for Y	
gwagwałała	X_{NOM}	X become heavier	
gwãʁała	X_{NOM}	X become clear	
gwãʁāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X illuminate Y	
hagłała	X_{NOM}	X go mad	
halagāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X worsen Y	
halagłała	X_{NOM}	X worsen	
hamak̄'wała	X_{NOM}	X yawn	
hamała	X_{NOM}	X gape	
hamāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y	
hāq̄'ejała	X_{NOM}	X is thirsty	
harhačała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X shake Y	
hark'ibāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X load Y	
hark'ibałała	X_{NOM}	X is heavy	
hark̄'ołała	X_{NOM}	X become effeminate	
hartała	X_{NOM}	X feel free	
hac'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X whiten Y	

hac'ałała	X_{NOM}	X turn white	
haʔãła	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X see Y	
haʔãła	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X experience Y	
haʔãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X show Y	
herāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X redden Y	
herč'ała	X_{NOM}	X stand up	
herč'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wake up Y	
herełała	X_{NOM}	X become red	
herk'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X enlarge Y	
herk'ãłała	X_{NOM}	X grow bigger	
herc'ała	X_{NOM}	X increase	
herc'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pay off Y	
herc'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X lift Y	
hesała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X desire Y	
hesāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X persuade Y	
hic'ac'āła	X_{ERG}	X boast	
hohāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X fertilise Y	
ħabała	X_{NOM}	X bark	
ħadurāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X prepare Y	
ħadurłała	X_{NOM}	X get ready	
ħalalāła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT} Z_{NOM}	X authorise Y to use Z	
ħalałłała	X_{NOM}	X work out well	
ħalbixāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X test Y	
ħalixatłała	X_{NOM}	X become mean	
ħalcāła	X_{NOM}	X become thirsty	
ħaq̄'irāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X humiliate Y	
ħaq̄'irłała	X_{NOM}	X become despicable	
ħarxāła	X_{NOM}	X rest	
ħawała	X_{NOM}	X is burnt	
ħawała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X burn Y	
ħawāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X burn Y	Y = inanimate
ħawāła	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X burn Y	Y = animate
ħebčała	X_{NOM}	X sneeze	
ħelāła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X beg to Y	
ħẽčołała	X_{NOM}	X become slow	
ħerała	X_{NOM}	X lose their breath	
ħerẽłała	X_{NOM}	X decrease	
ħet'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC1}	X get along with Y	
ħiħināła	X_{NOM}	X neigh	
ħikmałała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X is surprised by Y	
ħoxāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X endure Y	
ħulała	X_{NOM}	X shed hair	
ħulāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pluck Y	
ħũɪ̄'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X give a nudge to Y	
ħũsała	X_{LOC1}	X itch	
ĩkwała	X_{NOM}	X eat	

ĩkwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X feed Y	
iłatāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y an orphan	
iłatłała	X_{NOM}	X become an orphan	
itała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X let Y go to Z	
itała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X let Y go out of Z	
itała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X produce Y	
itała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X begin Y	
itała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X authorise Y	
itała	X_{NOM}	X come	X = weather
ix̄wačała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X feed Y	
ĩžitāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X humiliate Y	
ĩžitłała	X_{NOM}	X lose authority	
jarāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X send away Y from Z	
jaziq̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y poor	
jaziq̄łała	X_{NOM}	X become poor	
jiī'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X forbid Y	
kãłała	Y_{NOM}	X lack	
kapurłała	X_{NOM}	X lose faith	
karała	X_{NOM}	X collapse	
karāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X topple Y	
kãt'ała	X_{NOM}	X realise	
kãt'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y understand	
ka?ałała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X solicit Y	
ka?ałała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X throw os on Y	
kec'ała	X_{NOM}	X light up	
kec'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X is stuck in Y	
kec'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X hand Y on Z	
kec'ac'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X light up Y	
keī'ãī'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X speak to Y	
keī'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X put Y on	
keī'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL3}	X say Y to Z	
keī'ãła	X_{ABL1} Y_{NOM}	X utter Y	
kełała	X_{NOM}	X yean	
kerāła	X_{NOM}	X limp	
kerššãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y	
kerššẽšała	X_{ERG}	X weave	
kerχ̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X hang up Y on Z	
keχała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X suck Y	
kiloq̄ała	X_{NOM}	X fertilise	
kũč'āła	X_{NOM}	X shine	
kũdukała	X_{NOM}	X itch	
kucāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X educate Y	
kwačała	X_{NOM}	X become thin	
kwalkwasała	X_{NOM}	X hesitate	
kwanełała	X_{NOM}	X is not ripe	
kwãłała	X_{NOM}	X is over	X = reła

kwat'ała		X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X is late for Y	
kwat'āła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL3}	X hold Y up for Z	
k̄alahwała		X_{NOM}	X grow mouldy	
k̄imek̄imała		X_{NOM}	X smile	
k̄orała		X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X slip through Y	
k̄orāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X force Y through Z	
k̄ork̄āla		X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X crawl into Y	
k̄ork̄āla		X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X crawl ouf of Y	
k̄uk̄āła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X swindle Y	
k'abała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X braid Y	
k'ãc'āła		X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X rush to Y	
k'ãc'āła		X_{NOM} Y_{LOC3}	X attach Y	
k'ãc'āła		X_{NOM}	X jump	
k'amuχała		X_{NOM}	X fight	
k'arała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X vomit Y	
k'ark'āła		X_{NOM}	X vomit	
k'imała		X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X break off Y	
k'imāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X break Y off Z	
k'ork'āła		X_{NOM}	X become dappled	
k'uk'ubāła		X_{NOM}	X squat	
k'urk'učała		X_{NOM}	X doubt	
k'urk'urāła		X_{NOM}	X complain	
k'usała		X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X sit on/in Y	
k'usāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X seat Y	
k'uťāła		X_{NOM}	X knock	
k'waɦalʟ'ała		X_{NOM}	X is lazy	
k̄'abała		X_{NOM}	X collapse	
k̄'abāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bring Y down	
k̄'ãła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X invite Y to Z	
k̄'ãła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X call Y to Z	
k̄'ãła		X_{ERG} Y_{ALL4} Z_{LOC3}	X call Y on the phone	Z = phone
k̄'atāła		X_{NOM} Y_{LOC5}	X stick to Y	
k̄'wabała ***k̄'obała***	~	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X hit Y	
k̄'wabała ***k̄'obała***	~	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} $Z_{ALL \sim LOC}$	X put Y on Z	
k̄'wabała ***k̄'obała***	~	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC1}	X affect Y	X = disease
k̄'wabała ***k̄'obała***	~	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	Y smell	X = smell
k̄'wabāła ***k̄'obāła***	~	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X refuse Y	
k̄'wabāła ***k̄'obāła***	~	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X guess Y	
k̄'waraššała		X_{NOM}	X become rumpled	
lolāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spoil Y	

łalq̄ała	X_{NOM}	X have a break
łarała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sweep Y
łebala	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC1}	X is afraid of Y
łebāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X scare Y
łelałała	X_{NOM}	X wear out
łerała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X move from Y
łerała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X move to Y
łerāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X move Y
ɬ̄abała	X_{NOM}	X dry out
ɬiɬ̄irała	X_{NOM}	X hurt
ɬiq̄ołała	X_{NOM} $Y_{DAT/LOC3}$	X limp on Y
ɬoɬ̄abała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X rub Y against Z
ɬ̄orała	X_{NOM}	X crawl
ʟ'abałała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X love Y
ʟ'ek'ułała	X_{NOM}	X is left over
ʟ'orčała	X_{NOM}	X cloud up
ɬ̄'abāła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC7}	X multiply Y
ɬ̄'amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pull out Y
ɬ̄'ãt'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X thicken Y
ɬ̄'ãt'ałała	X_{NOM}	X thicken
ɬ̄'apčwała	X_{NOM}	X rust
ɬ̄'arãk̄wała	X_{NOM}	X is overcast
ɬ̄'arãk̄wała	X_{NOM}	X is sullen
ɬ̄'ebāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y dance
ɬ̄'ihãkwała	X_{NOM}	X dose
ɬ̄'ihãła	X_{NOM}	X sleep
ɬ̄'oɬ̄'amała	X_{NOM}	X stir
ɬ̄'oʕałała	X_{NOM}	X become bitter
ɬ̄'urała	X_{NOM}	X is screwed
ɬ̄'urałała	X_{NOM}	X is worn out
ɬ̄'určāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X precise Y
ɬ̄'wahãła	X_{NOM}	X burst
ɬ̄'wahā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X blow up Y
ɬ̄'waniłała	X_{NOM}	X increase
ɬ̄'waniłała	X_{NOM}	X become insolent
ɬ̄'wat'ała	X_{NOM}	X crack
maɦrumāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL3}	X deprive Y from Z
maɦcała	X_{NOM}	X reek
makwaʟ'ała ~ ***makwasała***	X_{NOM}	X is hungry
mał̄ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X teach Y to Z
mašhurłała	X_{NOM}	X become famous
merx̄wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X trample down Y
miɔ̄'ałała	X_{NOM}	X become sweet
miɔ̌'irłała	X_{NOM}	X become thin
mijawła	X_{NOM}	X mew

mik'iłała	~	X_{NOM}	X decrease	
mik'ołała	~			
mik'ełała				
mik'wāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X reduce Y	
minarāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X separate Y	
minarłała		X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X break off from Y	
muɬhkãłała		X_{NOM}	X is confirmed	
muk'urłała		X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X confess Y	
mušq̄'urłała		X_{NOM}	X become emaciated	
nix̄urłała		X_{NOM}	X become rancid	
odełała		X_{NOM}	X deepen	
oɬāła		X_{NOM}	X cough	
panałała		X_{NOM}	X is exhausted	
panałāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X exhaust Y	
pãk'āła		Y_{NOM}	Y take fire	P-labile
		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X light up Y	
papałała		X_{NOM}	X become light	
paraq̄'āła	~	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y comfortable	
paraq̄'ałāła				
paraq̄'ałała		X_{NOM}	X settle down	
parparała		X_{NOM}	X flutter	
parq̄'ała		X_{NOM}	X shine	
pasatāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X ruin Y	
pasatłała		X_{NOM}	X is spoilt	
pasiɬłała		X_{NOM}	X become eloquent	
pašmanāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X depress Y	
pašmãłała		X_{NOM}	X is sad	
pilała		X_{NOM} Y_{LOC3}	a pimple appears on Y	X = *hedela* 'thing'
pirχ̄ała		X_{NOM}	X flame up	
pũc'ała		X_{NOM}	X inflate	
pũšała		X_{NOM}	X is pulverised	
pũšāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pulverise Y	
purχ̄ała		X_{NOM}	X blister	
purχ̄ała		X_{NOM}	X bloom	
puwała		X_{NOM}	X blow	X = wind
q̄abała		X_{NOM}	X crack	
q̄ač'aχ̄wała		X_{NOM}	X become hard	
q̄aɬłała		X_{NOM}	X dawn	X = *dunjal* 'earth'
q̄āła		X_{NOM}	X cry	
q̄amała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X snatch Y away from Z	
q̄ãt'āła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} $Z_{LOC\sim ALL}$	X attach Y to Z	
q̄ãt'ełała		X_{NOM}	X is avid	
q̄arała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X scratch Y	
q̄arsĩłała		X_{NOM}	X become stingy	
q̄ajīała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X turn Y blue	
q̄ajīełała		X_{NOM}	X become blue	

q̄ibała	X_{NOM}	X tear apart	
q̄ibq̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X tear up Y	
q̄irāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y ajar	
q̄irq̄irała	X_{NOM}	X make noise	
q̄it'āła	X_{NOM}	X stick out	
q̄oq̄abała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X polish Y	
q̄orała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X grind Y	
q̄orała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X speak Y	
q̄ubāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dirty Y	
q̄ubełała	X_{NOM}	X become dirty	
q̄ušt'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X slip from Y	
q̄wanała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X avoid Y	
q̄warała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL4}	X write Y to Z	
q̄warała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X record Y to Z	
q̄'abiɬɬała	X_{NOM}	X become stingy	
q̄'abułłała	X_{NOM}	X is blessed	
q̄'abułłała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X like Y	
q̄'acanāła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X scold Y	
q̄'ač'ak'at'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spruce up Y	
q̄'ač'āła	X_{NOM}	X is ready	
q̄'alāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bend Y	
q̄'alełała	X_{NOM}	X bend	
q̄'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X get stuck in Y	
q̄'āła	Y_{NOM}	X harden	P-labile
	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X tighten Y	
q̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X entrust to Y	+ INF
q̄'amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X eat Y	
q̄'anaʕłała ~ ***q̄'anaʕatłała***	X_{NOM}	X become scarce	
q̄'aq̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X press Y	
q̄'arała	X_{NOM}	X boil	
q̄'arumłała	X_{NOM}	X become greedy	
q̄'eq̄'amała	X_{NOM}	X hobble	
q̄'erała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X gnaw Y	
q̄'erī'āła	X_{NOM}	X strive	
q̄'ecāła	X_{NOM} Y_{COM} Z_{LOC7}	X compete with Y for Z	
q̄'ĭq̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X embroider Y	
q̄'ijãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sew Y	
q̄'irała	X_{NOM}	X screech	
q̄'oq̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X shorten Y	
q̄'oq̄'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X make for Y	
q̄'orāła	$X_{DAT\sim ALL3}$ Y_{NOM}	X want Y	
q̄'orāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X narrow Y	
q̄'orałała	X_{NOM}	X become narrow	
q̄'orołłała	X_{NOM}	X become a widow	
q̄'osała	X_{NOM}	X is mistaken	

q̄'ot'ała	X_{NOM}	X stop	
q̄'ot'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X stop Y	
q̄'ot'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{NOM}	X exclude Y from Z	
q̄'ułała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC1}	X get down to Y	
q̄'uq̄'urāła	X_{NOM}	X rumble	
q̄'wabāła	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X spank Y	
q̄'wač'ãłała	X_{NOM}	X get dirty	
q̄'wãk'ełała	X_{NOM}	X harden	
q̄'warała	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X bite Y	
q̄'warq̄'warāła	Y_{NOM}	X rustle	
	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y rumble	
raʁāła	X_{NOM}	X fight in a war	
rakwała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X reap Y	
raχ̄waššała	X_{NOM}	X ruminate	
razāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X soothe Y	
raziłała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X agree with Y	
rak'wač'o reč̃ãła	X_{NOM} $Y_{ABL3\sim LOC3}$	X regret Y	
rekwała	X_{NOM}	X burn	
rekwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X burn Y	
rek'ũk'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X travel by Y	
rek'wała	X_{NOM}	X fall	X = snow
rek'wãła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X travel by Y	
rek'w̃ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X seat Y in Z	
reɬeχ̄ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X laugh at Y	
reɬ̄baχ̄wała	X_{NOM}	X is barren	
req̄'emɬała	X_{NOM} Y_{COM}	X is at the same level as Y	
reʕāła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X has enough time for Y	
rit'ała	X_{NOM}	X clear up	X = weather
riχãła	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X hate Y	
riχ̃ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT} Z_{NOM}	X make Y hate Z	
rošãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y	
ruhãła	X_{NOM}	X open up	
ruh̃ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y	
ruhunāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X teach to Y	+ INF
ruhũɬała	X_{NOM}	X get used to	+ INF
ruq̄'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X close Y	
rušt'ãła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X settle at Y	
rušt'ãła	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X get down from Y	Y = transportation
ʁabała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X comb Y	
ʁabała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X score Y	
ʁabs̄wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X scratch Y	
ʁabuʁała	X_{NOM}	X is soaked	
ʁãq̄'ała	X_{NOM}	X choke	
ʁãq̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X strangle Y	
ʁarała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X is sated with Y	
ʁarāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bore Y	

ʁimała	X_{NOM}	X slip	
ʁĩjała	X_{NOM}	X bristle up	
ʁirʁičała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X is sick from Y	
ʁiziχwała	X_{NOM}	X get dirty	
ʁiziχwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dirty Y	
ʁorała	X_{NOM}	X is broken up	
ʁorāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X destroy Y	
ʁužāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X toy with	
ʁulʁulāła	X_{NOM}	X grumble	
ʁurʁurāła	X_{NOM}	X thunder	X = sky
ʁurī'ała	X_{NOM}	X is dislocated	
rak'wa ʁuromāła	X_{GEN}	X feel sick	
ʁwāła	X_{NOM}	X speak	
ʁwāła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X scold Y	
ʁwāła	X_{NOM} Y_{COM}	X chat with Y	
ʁwarʁwarāła	X_{NOM}	X tinkle	
samsamała	X_{NOM}	X shiver	
saχawatłała	X_{NOM}	X show generosity	
seχaχwāła	X_{NOM}	X crack	
sĩdułała	X_{NOM}	X darken	
sĩdułāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X darken Y	
siniłała	X_{NOM}	X stick	
kaʔa siniłała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC1}	X nag Y	
sorała	X_{NOM}	X shiver	
suk'ała	X_{NOM}	X fold	
sulaɪ'āla	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X embarrass Y	
surāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X disgrace Y	
surełała	X_{NOM}	X become ugly	
surk̄wała	X_{NOM}	X calm down	
susāła ~ sisāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X release Y	
s̄orała	X_{NOM}	X is produced	
s̄orała	X_{NOM}	X spin	
s̄orała	X_{NOM}	X elapse	X = time
s̄orała	X_{NOM}	X calm down	X = wind/pain
s̄orała	X_{NOM}	X come back	
s̄orała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X begin Y	
s̄orała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL3}	X turn Y into Z	
s̄orała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X walk in Y	
s̄orāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X take Y to Z	
s̄orāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X take Y away from Z	
s̄orāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X take Y for a walk	
s̄orebaɪ̄ała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X surround Y	
s̄oʕłała	X_{NOM}	X coarsen	
s̄uhãła	X_{NOM}	X is tired	
s̄uh̄ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X exhaust Y	

šuwãła	X_{NOM}	X snore	
šamała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X wear Y on Z	
šũšaχwała	X_{NOM}	X change	
šakłała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X suspect Y	
šarała	X_{NOM}	X germinate	
šebełała	X_{NOM}	X become stronger	
šibšikała	X_{NOM}	X drizzle	X = rain
širała	X_{NOM}	X drizzle	X = rain
šoq̄'łała	X_{NOM}	X is crippled	
šurała	X_{NOM}	X is in heat	X = animal
šušãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X whisper Y to Z	
tabała	X_{ERG}	X whistle	
tabãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X burst Y	
tabałała	X_{NOM}	X become soft	
tabałãla	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X soften Y	
tabtała	X_{NOM}	X burst open	
tabtãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pierce Y	
tamašãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X astonish Y	
tamašałała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X is surprised by Y	
tãkãła	X_{NOM}	X calm down	
tãk̄wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X warm up Y	
tãk'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC3}	X hobble on Y	
tarała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X win over Y	
tartačała	X_{NOM}	X stagger	
terχ̄eχ̄ała	X_{NOM}	X dangle	
te?ała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X receive Y from Z	
tiɬhināła	X_{NOM}	X giggle	
tirx̄ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X throw away Y	
torała	X_{NOM}	X decay	
torãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X let Y rot	
torč̌'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X throw Y at Z	
torč̌'ãła	Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	Y affect Z	Y = disease/weather
torč̌'ãła	Y_{NOM}	Y fight	
torč̌'ãła	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X fall from Y	
toχłała	X_{NOM}	X weaken (intr)	
tũkała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC7}	X bump against Y	
tũkãła	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X give a push to Y	
turk'ała	X_{NOM}	X start	
turk'ała	X_{NOM}	X grow	
tutaq̄uq̄ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{ALL3}	X defame Y	
t'amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X put Y on Z	
t'amała	Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	Y fall on Z	Y = dew
t'amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X throw Y on Z	
t'amała	Y_{NOM}	Y run	
t'amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cross Y	
t'amãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X throw Y down	

t'arala	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL} Z_{ALL}	X fall from Y onto Z	
t'arāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X throw off Y	
t'aɜ̄wała	X_{NOM}	X is covered with miliaria	
t'atała	X_{NOM}	X is revealed	
t'atāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X discover Y	
t'aʕāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X eradicate Y	
t'epāła	X_{NOM}	X cloud up	
t'erała	X_{NOM} Y_{NOM}	X is thrust in Y	
t'erāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X thrust Y in Z	
t'erkwãła	X_{NOM}	X stick	
t'et'erāła	X_{NOM}	X tremble	
t'ibit'ała	X_{NOM}	X spread	
t'ijãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X pour Y into Z	
t'obāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X carry out Y	
t'orała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X drip from Y	
t'orała	X_{NOM}	X drizzle	X = rain
t'orčãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X lick Y	
t'urała	X_{NOM}	X argue	
t'urała	X_{NOM}	X run away	
t'urała	X_{NOM}	X is upset	
t'urāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y argue	
t'urāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X chase Y away	
t'urāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X upset Y	
t'wat'warała	X_{NOM}	X flow	
učuzłała	X_{NOM}	X become cheaper	
ũhunāła	X_{NOM}	X moan	
urʁāła (kaʔa ~)	X_{NOM}	X think about Y	
urq̄ała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC5}	X miss Y	
ũwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC} Z_{NOM}	X touch Y with Z	
waħšiłała	X_{NOM}	X harden	
waswasała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X doubt Y	
x̄ijała (kaʔar~)	X_{NOM}	X attack	
x̄ołała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X fit Y	
x̄ołała	X_{NOM}	X recover	
x̄ołāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X heal Y	
x̄uc̄'ełała	X_{NOM}	X become poor	
x̄uc̄'ełała	X_{NOM}	X become a swamp	
x̄wahãła	X_{NOM}	X rot	
x̄warāła	X_{NOM}	X walk	
x̄warāła	X_{NOM} Y_{COM}	X cohabit Y	
x̄warāła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X go to Y	
x̄warāła	X_{ERG}	X live	
x̄waʕała	X_{NOM}	X tremble	
x̄waʕaʕāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X agitate Y	
χabała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL7}	X impregnate Y	
χāła	X_{ERG} $Y_{DAT\sim ABL1}$	X ask to Y	

χisała		X_{NOM}	X change
χisāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X change Y
χijanałała		X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X betray Y
χwabała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X butt Y
χwarikała		X_{NOM}	X experience labour pains
χwašarāła		X_{ERG} Y_{LOC} Z_{ABL3}	X rescue Y from Z
χ̄abała		X_{NOM}	X burn
χ̄abāła		X_{ERG} Y_{LOC}	X burn Y
χ̄ãła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ERG}	X cut Y with Z
χ̄ãła		X_{ERG}	X snore
χ̄arała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cross Y
χ̄arała		X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X reach Y
χ̄arała		X_{ALL4} Y_{NOM}	X is ill with Y
χ̄erała		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X saw Y
χ̄ecała		X_{NOM} Y_{COM}	X fight with Y
χ̄eχ̄ałała		X_{NOM}	X speed up
χ̄irałała		X_{NOM}	X become dear
χ̄orobała	~	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X darn Y
χ̄orabała			
χ̄wabała		X_{NOM}	X shrink
χ̄wabχ̄wāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X crease Y
χ̄warała		X_{NOM}	X flow
zaħmałała		X_{DAT}	X has difficulty + IPF
zãt'wała		X_{NOM}	X quiet down
zaraʁwała		X_{NOM}	X become cold
zaraʁwāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X let Y catch cold
zaʕipłała		X_{NOM}	X weaken
zigarāła		X_{NOM}	X groan
zirała		X_{NOM}	X roll
zirāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X roll Y
zizamłała		X_{NOM}	X weaken
ziziq̄wała		X_{NOM}	X gleam
zuzuχ̄ała		X_{NOM}	X become numb
zwãła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X fling Y away
zwarała		X_{NOM}	X have an echo
žãła		X_{NOM}	X ache
žãła		X_{NOM}	X is digested
žarała		X_{NOM}	X spread
žik̄'āła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X crush Y
žobāła		X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X strain Y
žulãkała		X_{NOM}	X fidget
ǯaʁalłała		X_{NOM}	X go awry
ǯaʁalłała		X_{NOM}	X go loose
ǯarʁała		X_{NOM}	X tinkle
ǯigarłała		X_{NOM}	X is efficient
ǯirʁāła		X_{NOM}	X become clearer

ʕadałłała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y mad
ʕažaibłała	X_{NOM}	X is amazed
ʕalamłała	X_{NOM}	X is astonished
ʕãč'ełała	X_{NOM}	X is ecstatic
ʕā̄ła	X_{NOM}	X bray
ʕaq̄'ilłała	X_{NOM}	X become wise
ʕaršała	X_{NOM} $Y_{DAT\sim LOC1}$	X irritate Y
ʕašibłała	X_{NOM}	X become embittered
ʕat'iłała	X_{NOM}	X enlarge
ʕedeʕała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X hurry for Y
ʕedeʕāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X urge Y
ʕoloq̃ãłała	X_{NOM}	X become young
ʕubāła	X_{NOM}	X belch
ʕumāła	X_{NOM}	X moo
ʕuwãła	X_{NOM}	X bear down
ʕuʕāła	X_{NOM}	X crow

Appendix 4 English-Karata glossary

English	Karata			notes
ache	boʟ'ała	X_{NOM}	X ache	X = inanimate
ache	c'īk'wała	X_{NOM}	X ache	
ache	žā̄ła	X_{NOM}	X ache	
affect	beχ̄wała	X_{ALL4} Y_{NOM}	X is affected by Y	Y = illness, sensat°
affect	k̄'wabała ~ k̄'obała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC1}	X affect Y	X = disease
affect	torč'ãła	Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	Y affect Z	Y = disease/weather
afraid of (be~)	ɬebala	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC1}	X is afraid of Y	
agitate	χ̄waʕaʕāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X agitate Y	
agree with	raziɬała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X agree with Y	
amazed (be ~)	ʕažaibɬała	X_{NOM}	X is amazed	
announce	ãɬāła	X Y_{NOM}	X announce Y	
announce	biʔāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} $Z_{ALL2\sim DAT\sim ALL4}$	X announce Y to Z	
annoy	č'alʕā̄ła	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	Y annoy X	
annoy	č'ũč'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT}	X annoy Y	
appear	boχ̄ała	X_{NOM}	X appear	
appear	č'warała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X appear	X = illness
appear (make ~)	boχ̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make appear Y	
appreciate	bašāła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X appreciate Y	
argue	t'urała	X_{NOM}	X argue	
arrive	baʔała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X arrive at Y	
ask	bac̄'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL3} X_{ERG} Y_{GEN} Z_{ALL3}	X ask Y to Z X ask Z about Y	-Y + dependent -omiss° of Y_{NOM}
ask	χ̄āła	X_{ERG} $Y_{DAT\sim ABL1}$	X ask to Y	
astonish	tamašāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X astonish Y	
astonished (be ~)	ʕalamɬała	X_{NOM}	X is astonished	
attach	q̄ãt'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} $Z_{LOC\sim ALL}$	X attach Y to Z	
attack	k'ãc'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC3}	X attach Y	
attack	x̄ijała (kaʔar~)	X_{NOM}	X attack	
authorise	ħalalāła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT} Z_{NOM}	X authorise Y to use Z	
authorise	itała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X authorise Y	
avid (be ~)	q̄āt'eɬała	X_{NOM}	X is avid	
avoid	q̄wanała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X avoid Y	
bark	ħabała	X_{NOM}	X bark	
barren (be ~)	reɬ̄baχ̄wała	X_{NOM}	X is barren	
bathe (intr)	bučãła ~ bučãčurała	Y_{NOM}	Y bathe	
be	bik'wała	X_{NOM} Y_{NOM}	X is Y	

be at the same level	req̄’emɬała	X_{NOM} Y_{COM}	X is at the same level as Y	
be hot	baχilɬała	X_{NOM}	X feel hot	
be over	baq̄ãła	X_{NOM}	X is over	
be up to	baʔała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X is up to Y	
bear down	ʕuwãła	X_{NOM}	X bear down	
beat up	čiχmāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X beat up Y	
beat up	č’ĭjãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X beat up Y	
beautiful (become ~)	č’ikwarɬała	X_{NOM}	X become beautiful	
beautiful (make ~)	č’ikwarāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y beautiful	
become	baq̄’ała	X_{NOM}	X become	+ ADJ
become	boɪ̄ała	X_{GEN} Y_{NOM}	X become Y	
beg	ħelāła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X beg to Y	
begin	itała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X begin Y	
begin	s̄orała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X begin Y	
begin (intr)	bajbix̄āła	Y_{NOM}	Y begin	P-labile
begin (intr)	bałała	X_{NOM}	X begin	+ INF
begin (tr)	bajbix̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X begin Y	
begin (tr)	bałāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X begin Y	
belch	ʕubāła	X_{NOM}	X belch	
believe	bežwała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X believe Y	
bend (intr)	bak’ãła	Y_{NOM}	Y bend	
bend (intr)	demała	X_{NOM}	X bend	
bend (intr)	q̄’aleɬała	X_{NOM}	X bend	
bend (tr)	bak’ã̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bend Y	
bend (tr)	q̄’alāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bend Y	
betray	χijanałała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X betray Y	
big (become ~)	abeɬała	Y_{NOM}	Y become bigger	
big (make ~)	bišāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y bigger	
bigger (become ~)	herk’ãɬała	X_{NOM}	X grow bigger	
bite	q̄’warała	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X bite Y	
bitter (become ~)	ɬ’oʕałała	X_{NOM}	X become bitter	
blacken (intr)	beč’at’irɬała	Y_{NOM}	Y blacken	
blame	elbac̄’ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT}	X blame Y	
bleat	baʕāła	X_{NOM}	X bleat	about sheep
blessed (be ~)	q̄’abulɬała	X_{NOM}	X is blessed	
blind (become ~)	bec̄oɬała	Y_{NOM}	Y become blind	
blister	purχ̄ała	X_{NOM}	X blister	
bloom	purχ̄ała	X_{NOM}	X bloom	
blow (intr)	puwała	X_{NOM}	X blow	X = wind
blow up (tr)	ɬ’wahã̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X blow up Y	
blue (become ~)	q̄ajɪ̄eɬała	X_{NOM}	X become blue	
boast	hic’ac’āła	X_{ERG}	X boast	
boil (intr)	q̄’arała	X_{NOM}	X boil	
boil (intr.)	ahãła	Y_{NOM}	Y boil	

boil (tr.)	ahɬ̃ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X boil Y	
bore	ʁarāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bore Y	
bother	bizãłała ~ bizarłała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X bother Y	
braid	k'abała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X braid Y	
bray	ʕɬ̃ała	X_{NOM}	X bray	
break (intr)	bit'ut'ała	X_{NOM}	X break	
break (intr)	bit'wała	X_{NOM}	X break	
break (intr)	biʔwała	X_{NOM}	X break	
break (tr)	č'warała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X break Y	
break (tr)	bit'ut'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X break Y	
break (tr)	bit'wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X break Y	
break (tr)	biʔwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X break Y	
break off	minarłała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X break off from Y	
break off (intr)	k'imała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X break off Y	
break off (tr)	k'imāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X break Y off Z	
bring	beɤ̄wała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bring Y	
bring	beɤ̄wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bring Y	
bring down	k̄'abāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X bring Y down	
bristle up	ʁĩjała	X_{NOM}	X bristle up	
broken up (be ~)	ʁorała	X_{NOM}	X is broken up	
bruised (be ~)	c̄uɬała	X_{NOM}	X is bruised	
bump against	baʔała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC7}	X bump against Y	
bump against	tũkała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC7}	X bump against Y	
burn (intr)	c'ahała	X_{NOM}	X burn	
burn (intr)	rekwała	X_{NOM}	X burn	
burn (intr)	χ̄abała	X_{NOM}	X burn	
burn (intr) slightly	c̄urała	X_{NOM}	X burn	
burn (tr)	ħawała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X burn Y	
burn (tr)	ħawāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X burn Y	Y = inanimate
burn (tr)	ħawāła	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X burn Y	Y = animate
burn (tr)	rekwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X burn Y	
burn (tr)	χ̄abāła	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC}	X burn Y	
burnt (be ~)	ħawała	X_{NOM}	X is burnt	
burst (intr)	ɬ̄'wahãła	X_{NOM}	X burst	
burst (tr)	tabāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X burst Y	
burst open (intr)	tabtała	X_{NOM}	X burst open	
butt	χwabała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X butt Y	
buy	bahała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X buy Y	
call	k̄'ɬ̃ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X call Y to Z	
calm (tr)	biʁāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X calm Y	
calm down (intr)	tãkāła	X_{NOM}	X calm down	
calm down (intr)	surk̄wała	X_{NOM}	X calm down	
calm down (intr)	s̄orała	X_{NOM}	X calm down	X = wind/pain
can	bałała	X_{DAT}	X cope with	+ INF
can	gijãła	X_{DAT}	X can	+ INF

carry out	t'obāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X carry out Y	
catch	biǩała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X catch Y	
cause to argue	t'urāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y argue	
cause to catch a cold	zaraʁwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X let Y catch cold	
change	šũšaχ̄wała	X_{NOM}	X change	
change (intr)	χisała	X_{NOM}	X change	
change (tr)	χisāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X change Y	
chase away	t'urāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X chase Y away	
chat	galāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X chat with Y	
chat	ʁwāła	X_{NOM} Y_{COM}	X chat with Y	
chatter	č'warč'warała	X_{NOM}	X chatter	
cheaper (become ~)	učuzłała	X_{NOM}	X become cheaper	
chew	č'amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X chew Y	
chirp	bibāła	X_{ERG}	X chirp	
choke	ʁãq̄'ała	X_{NOM}	X choke	
choose	bač'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X choose Y	
clean	bac̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X clean Y	
clean	c̄'īǩ'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X clean Y off Z	
clean (become ~)	bac̄'ałała	Y_{NOM}	Y become clean	
clear (become ~)	bajãłała	Y_{NOM}	Y become clear	
clear (become ~)	gwãʁała	X_{NOM}	X become clear	
clear (become ~)	ǯirʁāła	X_{NOM}	X become clearer	
clear up (intr)	rit'ała	X_{NOM}	X clear up	X = weather
clear up (tr)	bajanāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X clear Y up	
close	ruq̄'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X close Y	
cloud up (intr)	ʟ'orčała	X_{NOM}	X cloud up	
cloud up (intr)	t'epāła	X_{NOM}	X cloud up	
coarsen	bišełała	X_{NOM}	X coarsen	
coarsen	s̄oʕłała	X_{NOM}	X coarsen	
cohabit	x̄warāła	X_{NOM} Y_{COM}	X cohabit Y	
cold (become ~)	zaraʁwała	X_{NOM}	X become cold	
collapse	karała	X_{NOM}	X collapse	
collapse (intr)	ǩ'abała	X_{NOM}	X collapse	
comb	ʁabała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X comb Y	
come	bex̄wała	Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL} Z_{ABL}	Y come to Z/from Z	
come	itała	X_{NOM}	X come	X = weather
come back	s̄orała	X_{NOM}	X come back	
come out	boī̄ała	X_{NOM}	X come out	
compete	q̄'ecāła	X_{NOM} Y_{COM} Z_{LOC7}	X compete with Y for Z	
complain	k'urk'urāła	X_{NOM}	X complain	
conceal	bacwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X conceal Y	
conceal	bałgwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL1}	X conceal Y from Z	
concretise	č'wãq̄'ot'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X concretise Y	
confess	muk'urłała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X confess Y	

confirmed (be ~)	muħkãɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X is confirmed	
confortable (make ~)	paraq̄'āɬa ~ paraq̄'aɬāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y comfortable	
consider	biC̄'āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ESS}	X consider Y Z	
cook (intr)	beɬãɬa	Y_{NOM}	Y cook	D/c
cook (intr)	bežaɬa	Y_{NOM}	Y cook	
cook (tr)	beɬãɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cook Y	d/C
cook (tr)	bežāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cook	
cope with	baɬaɬa	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X can Y	
cope with	bažarāɬa	$X_{DAT\sim ABL1}$ Y_{NOM}	X cope with Y	
cough	oħāɬa	X_{NOM}	X cough	
count (tr)	biC̄'āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X count Y	
covered with miliaria (be ~)	t'aS̄waɬa	X_{NOM}	X is covered with miliaria	
crack	q̄abaɬa	X_{NOM}	X crack	
crack	seχaχwāɬa	X_{NOM}	X crack	
crack (intr)	ɬ̄'waɬ'aɬa	X_{NOM}	X crack	
crawl	ɮoraɬa	X_{NOM}	X crawl	
crawl into	k̄ork̄āla	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X crawl into Y	
crawl ouf of	k̄ork̄āla	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X crawl ouf of Y	
crease	χ̄wabχ̄waɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X crease Y	
crippled (be ~)	šoq̄'ɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X is crippled	
cross	boq̄'aɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cross Y	
cross	ɬ'amaɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cross Y	
cross	χ̄araɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cross Y	
crow	ʕuʕāɬa	X_{NOM}	X crow	
crumble down	baχ̄aɬa	Y_{NOM}	Y crumble down	
crumble down	č'ũtaɬa	X_{NOM}	X crumble down	
crush	žik̄'āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X crush Y	
cry	q̄āɬa	X_{NOM}	X cry	
curl up (intr)	guraɬa	X_{NOM}	X curl up	
cut	χ̄ãɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ERG}	X cut Y with Z	
cut (tr)	boq̄'aɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cut Y	
cut (tr)	buS̄āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X cut Y	
damaged (be ~)	biČ'aɬa	Y_{NOM}	Y is damaged	
dance (make ~)	ɬ̄'ebāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y dance	
dangle	terχ̄eχ̄aɬa	X_{NOM}	X dangle	
dappled (become ~)	k'ork'āɬa	X_{NOM}	X become dappled	
darken (intr)	sĩduɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X darken	
darken (tr)	sĩduɬāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X darken Y	
darn	χ̄orobaɬa ~ χ̄orabaɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X darn Y	
dawn	kwãɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X is over	X = *reɬa* 'night'
dawn	q̄aħɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X dawn	X = *dunjal* 'earth'
dazzle	beC̄wāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dazzle Y	
deaf (become ~)	ãʁoɬaɬa	Y_{NOM}	Y become deaf	

deafen	ãʁwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X deafen Y
dear (become ~)	χ̄irałała	X_{NOM}	X become dear
decay	torała	X_{NOM}	X decay
decrease (intr)	ħerẽłała	X_{NOM}	X decrease
decrease (intr)	mik'iłała ~ mik'ołała ~ mik'ełała	X_{NOM}	X decrease
deepen (intr)	odełała	X_{NOM}	X deepen
defame	tutaq̄uq̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{ALL3}	X defame Y
defeat	beʁãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X defeat Y
defeated (be ~)	beʁãła	Y_{NOM}	Y is defeated
delay	gãgała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X delay Y
depress	pašmanāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X depress Y
deprive	čurāła	X_{ERG} Y_{GEN} Z_{NOM}	X deprive Y of Z
deprive	maħrumāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL3}	X deprive Y from Z
desire	bik'wała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL4}	X desire Y
desire	hesała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X desire Y
despicable (become ~)	ħaq̄'irłała	X_{NOM}	X become despicable
destroy	baχ̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X destroy Y
destroy	ʁorāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X destroy Y
develop (intr)	bižwała	X_{NOM}	X develop
die	bič'ač'ała	Y_{NOM}	Y die
die	bič'ała	Y_{NOM}	Y die
die	biʟ'ała	X_{NOM}	X die
dig	baq̄wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dig Y
dig up	boršãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dig up Y
digested (be ~)	žãła	X_{NOM}	X is digested
dilute	biłāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dilute Y
diluted (become ~)	č'alełała	X_{NOM}	X is diluted
dirty	q̄ubāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dirty Y
dirty (become ~)	čorokłała	X_{NOM}	X become dirty
dirty (become ~)	q̄ubełała	X_{NOM}	X become dirty
dirty (become ~)	ʁiziχ̄wała	X_{NOM}	X get dirty
dirty (intr)	q̄'wač'ãłała	X_{NOM}	X get dirty
dirty (tr)	čorokāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dirty Y
dirty (tr)	ʁiziχ̄wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dirty Y
discover	t'atāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X discover Y
disgrace	surāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X disgrace Y
dishevelled (become ~)	čebčała	X_{NOM}	X become dishevelled
dislocated (be ~)	ʁurĪ'ała	X_{NOM}	X is dislocated
dispensed with (be ~)	čurała	X_{NOM}	X is dispensed with
divide	beq̄'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X divide Y
doubt	k'urk'učała	X_{NOM}	X doubt

doubt	waswasała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X doubt Y	
doze	ɪ̄’ihãkwała	X_{NOM}	X dose	
drag	berq̄ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X drag Y	
drag (intr)	berq̄ała	Y_{NOM}	Y drag	
drain	žobāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X strain Y	
draw	gā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X draw Y	
drift apart	č’idałała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X drift apart from Y	
drink	c̄’arała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X drink Y	
drink (make ~)	c̄’arāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y drink	
drip	čɪ̃t’ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X drip from Y	
drip from	t’orała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X drip from Y	
drive	bełała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X drive Y to Z	
drive away	č’warāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X drive Y away from Z	
drizzle	šibšikała	X_{NOM}	X drizzle	X = rain
drizzle	širała	X_{NOM}	X drizzle	X = rain
drizzle	t’orała	X_{NOM}	X drizzle	X = rain
drunk (become ~)	beguχ̄wała	Y_{NOM}	Y become drunk	
drunk (make ~)	beguχ̄wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y drunk	
dry (tr)	beq̄’wała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dry Y	
dry (tr)	beq̄’wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X dry Y	
dry out (intr)	ɬ̄abała	X_{NOM}	X dry out	
dry up (intr)	beq̄’wała	Y_{NOM}	Y dry up	
dull (be ~)	č’ũč’ałała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X is dull for Y	
easier (become ~)	bihałała	Y_{NOM}	Y become easier	
eat	q̄’amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X eat Y	
eat (intr)	ɪ̃kwała	X_{NOM}	X eat	
ecstatic (be ~)	ʕãč’ełała	X_{NOM}	X is ecstatic	
educate	kucāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X educate Y	
effective (be ~)	daruɬała	X_{NOM}	X is effective	
effeminate (become ~)	hark̄’ołała	X_{NOM}	X become effeminate	
efficient (be ~)	ǯigarɬała	X_{NOM}	X is efficient	
elapse	boʔãła	X_{NOM}	X elapse	
elapse	s̄orała	X_{NOM}	X elapse	X = time
eloquent (become ~)	pāsiɦɬała	X_{NOM}	X become eloquent	
emaciated (become ~)	mušq̄’urɬała	X_{NOM}	X become emaciated	
embarrass	sulaʟ’āla	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X embarrass Y	
embittered (become ~)	ʕaāsibɬała	X_{NOM}	X become embittered	
embroider	q̄’ɪ̃q̄’āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X embroider Y	
emit smoke	c̄urikała	X_{NOM}	X emit smoke	
empty	č’ebāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X empty Y	
empty (intr)	beč’uχ̄wała	Y_{NOM}	Y empty	

endure	baǩwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X endure Y	
endure	ħoxāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X endure Y	
enlarge	abāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X enlarge Y	
enlarge	herk'ā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X enlarge Y	
enlarge (intr)	ʕat'iłała	X_{NOM}	X enlarge	
enough (be ~)	beʔwãła	Y_{NOM}	Y is enough	
enough (make ~)	beʔwā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X provide enough Y	
entrust	q̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X entrust to Y	+ INF
envy	baχilłała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X envy Y	
eradicate	t'aʕāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X eradicate Y	
escape	baq̄ãła	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X escape Y	
exceed	boq̄'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X exceed Y	
exclude	q̄'ot'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{NOM}	X exclude Y from Z	
exhaust	panałāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X exhaust Y	
exhaust	sūhā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X exhaust Y	
exhausted (be ~)	panałała	X_{NOM}	X is exhausted	
experience	bik'wała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X experience Y	Y = state of mind
experience	haʔāła	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X experience Y	
experience labour pains	χwarikała	X_{NOM}	X experience labour pains	
explain	biǩ'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X explain Y	
explain	biǩ'ebiq̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X explain Y	
fade (in the sun)	bihāła	X_{NOM}	X fade (in the sun)	
fall	rek'wała	X_{NOM}	X fall	X = snow
fall	torǩ'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X fall from Y	
fall	t'amała	Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	Y fall on Z	Y = dew
fall	t'arala	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL} Z_{ALL}	X fall from Y onto Z	
fall ill	boʟ'ała	X_{NOM}	X fall ill	X = animate
fall in love	boī'ała	X_{DAT}	X fall in love	
fall out	č'wabała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X fall out of Y	X = hair, ...
famous (become ~)	mašhurłała	X_{NOM}	X become famous	
fast	eliǩała	X_{NOM}	X fast	
fat (become ~)	beʕēłała	Y_{NOM}	Y become fat	
fat (make ~)	beʕenāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y fat	
fed up with (be ~)	č'alʕāła	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X is fed up with Y	
feed	īkwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X feed Y	
feed	ixwačała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X feed Y	
feel	bexwała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X feel Y	
feel free	hartała	X_{NOM}	X feel free	
feel pity for	c̄'obłała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X feel pity for Y	
feel sick	rak'wa ʁuromāła	X_{GEN}	X feel sick	
feel sorry for	gurħāła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X feel sorry for Y	
fell	baǩā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X fell Y	about flora
ferment (intr)	č'irč'irała	X_{NOM}	X ferment	
fertilise	hohāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X fertilise Y	

fertilise (intr)	kiloq̄ała	X_{NOM}	X fertilise	
fidget	žulãkała	X_{NOM}	X fidget	
fight	k'amuχ̄ała	X_{NOM}	X fight	
fight	torč̌'ãła	Y_{NOM}	Y fight	
fight in a war	raʁāła	X_{NOM}	X fight in a war	
fight wit	χ̄ecała	X_{NOM} Y_{COM}	X fight with Y	
fill	bec'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X fill Y	
find	bisãła	X_{DAT} Y_{LOC}	X find Y	
find out	biʔāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL1}	X find out Y from Z	
fit	beɪ̄'ãła	Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	Y fit in Z	
fit	x̄ołała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X fit Y	
fit (make ~)	beɪ̄'ā̃ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X make Y fit Z	
fix at	bik̄ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X fix Y at Z	
flame up	pirχ̄ała	X_{NOM}	X flame up	
flatten (intr)	č̌'ĭt'ała	X_{NOM}	X become flat	
flatten (tr)	č̌'ĭt'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X flatten Y	
fling away	zwā̃ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X fling Y away	
flog (tr)	boɪ̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X flog Y	
flood (tr.)	bacwāła	Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC7}	Z flood Y	
flow	t'wat'warała	X_{NOM}	X flow	
flow out	č'ebała	X_{NOM}	X flow out	
flutter	parparała	X_{NOM}	X flutter	
fly	ertãła	X_{NOM}	X fly	
fold (intr)	suk'ała	X_{NOM}	X fold	
forbid	jiɪ̄'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X forbid Y	
force through	k̄orāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X force Y through Z	
forget	bečečała	Y_{DAT} Z_{NOM}	Y forget Z	
forget (make ~)	bečečāła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT} Z_{NOM}	X make Y forget Z	
freeze (intr)	erała	X_{NOM}	X freeze	
frown (intr)	burała	X_{NOM}	X frown	
full (be ~)	c'aɪ̄'ała	X_{NOM}	X is full	
full of (be ~)	bec'ała bec'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{GEN}	X is full of Y	
gape	hamała	X_{NOM}	X gape	
gather (intr)	bak'arāła	Y_{NOM}	Y gather up	
gather (tr)	bak'arāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X gather Y	
germinate	šarała	X_{NOM}	X germinate	
get along with	baq̄'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{COM}	X get along with Y	
get along with	ħet'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC1}	X get along with Y	
get down from	rušt'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X get down from Y	Y = transportation
get down to	q̄'ulała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC1}	X get down to Y	
get used to	ruhũɬała	X_{NOM}	X get used to	+ INF
giggle	tiħināła	X_{NOM}	X giggle	
give	bek̄ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} $Z_{DAT\sim ALL4}$	X give Y to Z	
give a nudge to	ħũɪ̄'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X give a nudge to Y	

give a push	tũkāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X give a push to Y
give birth	gahaɬa ~ gāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X give birth to Y
gleam	ziziq̄waɬa	X_{NOM}	X gleam
gnaw	q̄'eraɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X gnaw Y
go	x̄warāɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X go to Y
go apart	buč'ãɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X go apart from Y
go away	boʔãɬa	X_{NOM}	X go away
go awry	ǯaʁalɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X go awry
go in search of	boʔãɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X go in search of Y
go loose	ǯaʁalɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X go loose
go mad	hagɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X go mad
greedy (become ~)	q̄'arumɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X become greedy
greet	barkāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X greet Y
greet	galāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X greet Y
grieve	c'ahaɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC5}	X grieve Y
grind	q̄oraɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X grind Y
groan	zigarāɬa	X_{NOM}	X groan
grow (intr)	turk'aɬa	X_{NOM}	X grow
grow (tr)	bižwāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X grow Y
grow up	baluχ̄ɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X grow up
grow up (intr)	bižwaɬa	X_{NOM}	X grow up
grub out (tr)	bulãɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X grub out Y
grumble	ʁulʁulāɬa	X_{NOM}	X grumble
guess	k̄'wabāɬa ~ k̄'obāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X guess Y
hang	kec'āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X hand Y on Z
hang up (tr)	kerχ̄āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X hang up Y on Z
happen	bex̄waɬa	X_{NOM}	X happen
happen	boīaɬa	X_{NOM}	X happen
happy (make ~)	beč̄eχ̄āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y happy
happy for (be ~)	beč̄eχ̄aɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X is happy for Y
happy with (be ~)	baq̄'aɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X is happy with Y
happy with (be ~)	beč̄eχ̄aɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X is happy for Y
hard (become ~)	q̄ač'aχ̄waɬa	X_{NOM}	X become hard
harden (intr)	q̄'āɬa	X_{NOM}	X harden
harden (intr)	q̄'wãk'eɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X harden
harden (intr)	waɦšiɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X harden
hate	riχ̃āɬa	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X hate Y
hate (make ~)	riχ̄ãɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT} Z_{NOM}	X make Y hate Z
have a break	ɬalq̄aɬa	X_{NOM}	X have a break
have a pimple	pilaɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC3}	a pimple appears on Y X = *hedela* 'thing'
have an echo	zwaraɬa	X_{NOM}	X have an echo
have enough time for	reʕāɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X has enough time for Y

have to	beƙwała	X_{NOM}	X has to ... /it is necessary that X...	+INF
have, possess	bik'wała	$X_{GEN\sim LOC1}$ Y_{NOM}	X has Y	
heal	bac'ała	Y_{NOM}	Y heal, skin over	Y = bodypart
heal	c'ijãłała	X_{NOM}	X heal	
heal	x̄ołāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X heal Y	
hear	ãłała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X hear Y	
heartburn (feel ~)	c̄'irχ̄āła	X_{NOM}	X's stomach hurt	
heavy (be ~)	hark'ibałała	X_{NOM}	X is heavy	
heavy (become ~)	gwagwałała	X_{NOM}	X become heavier	
hesitate	kwalkwasała	X_{NOM}	X hesitate	
hide (tr) from/in	beq̄'ešāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}/Z_{LOC}	X hide Y from/in Z	
hide from/in	beq̄'ešała	Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}/Z_{LOC}	Y hide from Z/in Z	
hiss	čučurała	X_{NOM}	X hiss	
hit	baχalāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC1}	X hit Z with Y	
hit	č'warała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC1}	X hit Z with Y	
hit	k̄'wabała ~ k̄'obała	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X hit Y	
hobble	q̄'eq̄'amała	X_{NOM}	X hobble	
hobble	tãk'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC3}	X hobble on Y	
hold	bik̄ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X hold Y	
hold up	kwat'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL3}	X hold Y up for Z	
honour	bisãła	X_{DAT} Y_{LOC}	X honour Y	
hot (become ~)	bigwãła	X_{NOM}	X become hot	
hot (become ~)	boɪ̄'ała	X_{NOM}	X become hot	
humiliate	ħaq̄'irāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X humiliate Y	
humiliate	ĩʒitāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X humiliate Y	
hungry (be ~)	makwaʟ'ała ~ makwasała	X_{NOM}	X is hungry	
hunt	čanāła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X hunt Y	
hurry	ʕedeʕała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X hurry for Y	
hurt (intr)	ɪ̄iɪ̄irała	X_{NOM}	X hurt	
hurt (tr)	boʟ'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X hurt Y	
ill with (be ~)	χ̄arała	X_{ALL4} Y_{NOM}	X is ill with Y	
illuminate	gwãʁāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X illuminate Y	
imitate	baɬ̄ã̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{DAT}	X imitate Y	
impregnate	χabała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL7}	X impregnate Y	
in heat (be ~)	šurała	X_{NOM}	X is in heat	X = animal
increase (intr)	c̄'ik̄'wała	X_{NOM}	X increase	
increase (intr)	herc'ała	X_{NOM}	X increase	
increase (intr)	ɪ̄'waniɬała	X_{NOM}	X increase	
inflamed(become~)	biʁwãła	Y_{NOM}	Y become inflamed	
inflate (intr)	pũc'ała	X_{NOM}	X inflate	
insolent (become ~)	ɪ̄'waniɬała	X_{NOM}	X become insolent	
inspire	bex̄wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X inspire Y to Z	

invent	bižwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X invent Y	
invite	k̄’ā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X invite Y to Z	
irritate, annoy	ʕaršała	X_{NOM} $Y_{DAT\sim LOC1}$	X irritate Y	
itch	ħūšała	X_{LOC1}	X itch	
itch	kũdukała	X_{NOM}	X itch	
jump	č’arq̄ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X jump out Y	
jump (intr)	k’ãc’āła	X_{NOM}	X jump	
kill	bič’ač’āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X kill Y	
kill	bič’āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X kill Y	
knock (intr)	k’ut’āła	X_{NOM}	X knock	
know	biʔała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X know Y	Y = thing/person
lack	kā̃łała	Y_{NOM}	X lack	
late for (be ~)	kwat’ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X is late for Y	
laugh at	reɬeχ̄ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X laugh at Y	
lazy (be ~)	k’waħalʟ’ała	X_{NOM}	X is lazy	
lead	bek̄wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X lead Y to Z	
leak	beɪ̄ała	X_{NOM}	X leak	
leak	erk̄ut’ała	X_{NOM}	X leak	
leak	χ̄warała	X_{NOM}	X flow	
leave (tr)	bešdała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X leave Y	
leave (tr)	biχ̄wała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X leave Y	
leave (tr) at	biʁāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X leave Y at Z	
left over (be ~)	ʟ’ek’uɬała	X_{NOM}	X is left over	
let go out of	itała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X let Y go out of Z	
let go to	itała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X let Y go to Z	
let rot	torāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X let Y rot	
lick	t’orčā̃ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X lick Y	
lie	beʔwała	Y_{NOM}	X lie	
lie	girała	X_{NOM}	X lie	
lift	herc’āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X lift Y	
light (become ~)	papałała	X_{NOM}	X become light	
light up	pāk’āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X light up Y	
light up (intr)	kec’ała	X_{NOM}	X light up	
light up (tr)	kec’ac’āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X light up Y	
like	q̄’abuɬała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X like Y	
limp	kerāła	X_{NOM}	X limp	
limp	ɪ̄iq̄oɬała	X_{NOM} $Y_{DAT/LOC3}$	X limp on Y	
live	x̄warāła	X_{ERG}	X live	
load	bec’ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X load Y	
load	hark’ibāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X load Y	
longer (become ~)	beχ̄elałała	Y_{NOM}	Y become longer	
look after	bek’abeš̄ā̃ła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL4}	X look after Y	
look at	bek’ā̃ła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL4}	X look at Y	
look for	c’eχ̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X look for Y	
look like	baɬ̄ā̃ła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X look like Y	

lose (tr)	betāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X lose Y
lose authority	ĩʒitłała	X_{NOM}	X lose authority
lose faith	kapurłała	X_{NOM}	X lose faith
lose one's breath	ħerała	X_{NOM}	X lose their breath
lost (be ~)	betała	Y_{NOM}	Y is lost
love	ʟ'abałała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X love Y
lucky (be ~)	bit'ełała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	Y is lucky with X
mad (make ~)	ʕadałłała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y mad
make	gahała ~ gāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{GEN}	X make Y from Z
make	gahała ~ gāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{NOM}	X make Y Z
make ADJ	bisãła	X_{NOM} Y_{NOM}	X make Y + ADJ
make for	q̄'oq̄'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X make for Y
make one's first steps	gahała ~ gāła (dadiri ~)	X_{ERG}	X make their first steps
manage, get by	baq̄ãła	X_{NOM}	X manage, get by
mark	ãžāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X mark Y
mean (become ~)	ħalix̄atłała	X_{NOM}	X become mean
meet	dãdełała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X meet Y
melt (intr)	bic'ała	Y_{NOM}	Y melt
melt (tr)	bic'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X melt Y
mew	mijawła	X_{NOM}	X mew
migrate, move out	gočała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X migrate to Y
miss	urq̄ała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC5}	X miss Y
mistaken (be ~)	q̄'osała	X_{NOM}	X is mistaken
moan	ũhunāła	X_{NOM}	X moan
money on (make ~)	bečełała	Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL3}	Y make money on Z
moo	ʕumāła	X_{NOM}	X moo
mouldy (become ~)	k̄alahwała	X_{NOM}	X grow mouldy
move (intr)	gerała	X_{NOM}	X move
move (intr)	geraʁerała	X_{NOM}	X move
move (intr)	łerała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X move from Y
move (intr)	łerała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X move to Y
move (tr)	gerāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X move Y
move (tr)	łerāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X move Y
move away (tr)	č'idāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X move Y away
multiply	ʟ'abāła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC7}	X multiply Y
nag	kaʔa siniłała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC1}	X nag Y
narrow	q̄'orāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X narrow Y
narrow (become ~)	č'ederłała	X_{NOM}	X become narrow
narrow (intr)	q̄'orałała	X_{NOM}	X become narrow
neigh	ħiħināła	X_{NOM}	X neigh
noise (make ~)	q̄irq̄irała	X_{NOM}	X make noise
not ripe (be ~)	kwanełała	X_{NOM}	X is not ripe
notice	biʔała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X notice Y
numb (become ~)	zuzuχ̄ała	X_{NOM}	X become numb
obey	ãdukała	Y_{NOM}	Y obey

obtained (be ~)	boīała	X_{NOM}	X is obtained	
old (grow ~)	beχarłała	Y_{NOM}	Y grow old	
old (make ~)	beχarāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y old	
open	kerš̃āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y	
open	rošāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y	
open	ruhā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y	
open (tr)	buč'ā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y	
open (tr)	hamāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y	
open ajar	q̄irāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X open Y ajar	
open up (intr)	ruhāła	X_{NOM}	X open up	
originate	boīała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X originate from Y	
orphan (become ~)	iłatłała	X_{NOM}	X become an orphan	
orphan (make ~)	iłatāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y an orphan	
overcast (be ~)	ɪ̄'arāk̄wała	X_{NOM}	X is overcast	
pay off	herc'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pay off Y	
peel off (intr)	čuk'ała	X_{NOM}	X peel off	
persuade	bežwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X persuade Y of Z	
persuade	hesāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X persuade Y	
pierce	tabtāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pierce Y	
pile	baq̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pile Y	
pinch	c̄'ɪ̃c̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pinch Y	
pinch	c̄'imała	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X pinch Y	
plant	beī'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X sow Y in Z	TR
play	bahwāła	X_{NOM}	X play	
plot	baq̄wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X plot Y	
pluck	ħulāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pluck Y	
plunge	bacwāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X plunge Y	
polish	c̄'wakāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X polish Y	
polish	q̄oq̄abała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X polish Y	
poor (become ~)	bɪ̃skɪ̃łała	X_{NOM}	X become poor	
poor (become ~)	jaziq̄łała	X_{NOM}	X become poor	
poor (become ~)	x̄uc̄'ełała	X_{NOM}	X become poor	
poor (make ~)	biskināła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y poor	
poor (make ~)	jaziq̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y poor	
pour	t'ijāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X pour Y into Z	
praise	bec̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X praise Y	
precise	ɪ̄'určāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X precise Y	
prepare	ħadurāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X prepare Y	
press	q̄'aq̄̓āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X press Y	
procure	bisā̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X procure Y	
produce	itała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X produce Y	
produced (be ~)	s̄orała	X_{NOM}	X is produced	
protect	c'ijāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X protect Y from Z	
proud of (be ~)	č'uħała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X is proud of Y	
proud of (make ~)	č'uħāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL3}	X make Y proud of Z	

puffy (become ~)	čiljała	X_{NOM}	X become puffy
pull	gãgała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pull Y
pull out	ɬ'amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pull out Y
pulverise	pũšãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X pulverise Y
pulverised (be ~)	pũšała	X_{NOM}	X is pulverised
push	bisãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X push Y
push	bisasała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X push Y
put	bik'wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X put Y on Z
put	biɬała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X put Y at Z
put	k̄'wabała ~ k̄'obała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} $Z_{ALL \sim LOC}$	X put Y on Z
put	t'amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X put Y on Z
put on, wear	keɬ'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X put Y on
quiet down	zãt'wała	X_{NOM}	X quiet down
rancid (become ~)	nix̄urɬała	X_{NOM}	X become rancid
reach	χ̄arała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X reach Y
read (tr)	č'alãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X read Y
ready (be ~)	q̄'ač'ãła	X_{NOM}	X is ready
ready (become ~)	ħadurɬała	X_{NOM}	X get ready
realise, perform	boɬãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X realise Y
realise, understand (intr)	kãt'ała	X_{NOM}	X realise
reanimate	č'agoɬãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X reanimate Y
reap	rakwała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X reap Y
receive	ba?ała	Y_{NOM} $X_{DAT\sim ALL4}$	X receive Y
receive	bex̄wała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X receive Y
receive, obtain	te?ała	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X receive Y from Z
record	q̄warała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X record Y to Z
recover	x̄ołała	X_{NOM}	X recover
red (become ~)	bigwãła	X_{NOM}	X redden
redden (intr)	beɬãła	X_{NOM}	X redden
redden (intr)	hereɬała	X_{NOM}	X become red
redden (tr)	herãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X redden Y
red-hot (become ~)	bihãła	Y_{NOM}	Y become red hot
reduce	mik'wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X reduce Y
reek	maħcała	X_{NOM}	X reek
refuse	k̄'wabãła ~ k̄'obãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X refuse Y
regret	rak'wač'o reč̄ãła	X_{NOM} $Y_{ABL3\sim LOC3}$	X regret Y
release	susãła ~ sisãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X release Y
relieve	bihãła	X_{ERG} X_{NOM}	X relieve Y
relocate	gočãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X relocate Y to Z
remove	baq̄ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X remove Y from Z
remove	boq̄ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X remove Y from Z
require	bo?ãła	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X require Y

rescue	χwašarāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC} Z_{ABL3}	X rescue Y from Z
rest	ħarx̄āɬa	X_{NOM}	X rest
result	boīaɬa	X_{NOM}	X result
return to life	č'agoɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X return to life
revealed (be ~)	t'ataɬa	X_{NOM}	X is revealed
revenge	bosāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X revenge Y
ring, phone, call	k̄'ā̄ɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{ALL4} Z_{LOC3}	X call Y on the Z = phone phone
ripen	beʔaɬa	Y_{NOM}	X ripen
ripped (become ~)	č'alat'waɬa	X_{NOM}	X is ripped
roar	buʔaɬa	X_{NOM}	X roar
robbed (be ~)	bit'waɬa	X_{NOM}	X is robbed
roll (intr)	zirāɬa	X_{NOM}	X roll
roll (tr)	zirāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X roll Y
rot	x̄wahãɬa	X_{NOM}	X rot
round (become ~)	gurgĩɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X become round
rub	ɬoīabaɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X rub Y against Z
ruin	pasatāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X ruin Y
rumble	q̄'uq̄'urāɬa	X_{NOM}	X rumble
ruminate	raχ̄waššaɬa	X_{NOM}	X ruminate
rumpled (become ~)	k̄'waraššaɬa	X_{NOM}	X become rumpled
run	t'amaɬa	Y_{NOM}	Y run
run away	č̌'waraɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X run away from Y
run away	t'uraɬa	X_{NOM}	X run away
rush to	k'ãc'āɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X rush to Y
rust	ɬ'apč̌waɬa	X_{NOM}	X rust
rustle	q̄'warq̄'warāɬa	X_{NOM}	X rustle
sad (become ~)	pašmãɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X is sad
salt	c̄'īhā̄ɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X salt Y
salty (become ~)	c̄'īhãɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X become salted
sated (be ~)	ʁaraɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X is sated with Y
saw	χ̄eraɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X saw Y
say	basãɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X say Y
say	keɬ'ãɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL3}	X say Y to Z
scarce (become ~)	q̄'anaʕɬaɬa ~ q̄'anaʕatɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X become scarce
scare	ɬebāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X scare Y
scattered (become ~)	č'ebaɬa	X_{NOM}	X become scattered
scold	q̄'acanāɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X scold Y
scold	ʁwāɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X scold Y
score	ʁabaɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X score Y
scratch	q̄araɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X scratch Y
scratch	ʁabs̄wāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X scratch Y
screech	č'ãq̄aɬa	X_{NOM}	X screech

screech	q̄’irała	X_{NOM}	X screech	
screwed (be ~)	ɬ̄’urała	X_{NOM}	X is screwed	
seat	k’usāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X seat Y	
seat, make travel	rek’wā̃ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X seat Y in Z	
see	haʔāła	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X see Y	
sell	bičāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sell Y	
send	baʔāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X send Y to Z	
send	bek’ā̃ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X send Y	
send away	jarāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X send away Y from Z	
separate	minarāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X separate Y	
set foot on	bič’ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} $Z_{LOC\sim ALL}$	X set Y on Z	Y = step/foot
set in	baʔała	X_{NOM}	X set in	weather verb
settle at	rušt’ā̃ła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X settle at Y	
settle down	paraq̄’ałała	X_{NOM}	X settle down	
sew	q̄’ijā̃ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sew Y	
shake (tr)	geregerāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X shake Y	
shake (tr)	harhačała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X shake Y	
share (tr)	buɬ̄’ā̃ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{COM}	X share Y with Z	
sharpen (=whet)	beʕāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sharpen Y	
shed hair	ħulała	X_{NOM}	X shed hair	
shine	c̄’wakała	X_{NOM}	X shine	
shine	kŭč’āła	X_{NOM}	X shine	
shine	parq̄’ała	X_{NOM}	X shine	
shiver	samsamała	X_{NOM}	X shiver	
shiver	sorała	X_{NOM}	X shiver	
short (become ~)	bačak’ɬała	Y_{NOM}	Y become short	
shorten	bačak’wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X shorten Y	
shorten	q̄’oq̄’āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X shorten Y	
shout at	bibāła	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL4}	X shout at Y	
show	haʔā̃ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X show Y	
show generosity	saχawatɬała	X_{NOM}	X show generosity	
shrink	χ̄wabała	X_{NOM}	X shrink	
sick from (be ~)	ʁirʁičała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X is sick from Y	
sing	beɬała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sing Y	
sit	k’usała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X sit on/in Y	
slaughter	biq̄wała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X slaughter Y	
sleep	ɬ̄’ihā̃ła	X_{NOM}	X sleep	
slip	q̄ušt’ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL}	X slip from Y	
slip	ʁimała	X_{NOM}	X slip	
slip (intr)	čirq̄’āła	X_{NOM}	X slip	
slip through	k̄orała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X slip through Y	
slow (become ~)	ħĕc̄ołała	X_{NOM}	X become slow	
smell	k̄’wabała ~ k̄’obała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	Y smell	X=smell

smile	k̄imek̄imała	X_{NOM}	X smile	
smoke (tr)	gã̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X smoke Y	
snatch	q̄amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X snatch Y away from Z	
sneeze	ħebčała	X_{NOM}	X sneeze	
snore	s̄uwãła	X_{NOM}	X snore	
snore	χ̄ã̄ła	X_{ERG}	X snore	
soaked (be ~)	ʁabuʁała	X_{NOM}	X is soaked	
sober (become ~)	bihāła	X_{NOM}	X become sober	
soften (intr)	tabałała	X_{NOM}	X become soft	
soften (tr)	tabałāla	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X soften Y	
solicit	kaʔałała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X solicit Y	
solve, settle	bit'ebiχ̄ała ~ bit'ebišełała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X solve Y	
soothe	razāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X soothe Y	
sour (become ~)	č'ik̄'ołała	X_{NOM}	X turn sour	
sow	beɬ'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X sow Y in Z	TR
spank	q̄'wabāła	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC1}	X spank Y	
speak	q̄orała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X speak Y	
speak	ʁwāła	X_{NOM}	X speak	
speak (intr)	galała	X_{NOM}	X speak	
speak to	keɬ'ãɬ'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X speak to Y	
speed up (intr)	χ̄eχ̄ałała	X_{NOM}	X speed up	
spend	baq̄ã̄ła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spend Y	= waste
spend	bič'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spend Y	Y = time/money
spend (time)	boq̄ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X spend Y at Z	
spent (be ~)	bič'ała	Y_{NOM}	Y is spent	Y = time/money
spin	s̄orała	X_{NOM}	X spin	
splash (intr)	čatała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X splash on Y	
spoil	bič'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spoil Y	
spoil	lolāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spoil Y	
spoilt (be ~)	pasatɬała	X_{NOM}	X is spoilt	
spread	baʔāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spread Y	
spread (intr)	t'ibit'ała	X_{NOM}	X spread	
spread (intr)	žarała	X_{NOM}	X spread	
sprinkle	čatāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X sprinkle Y on Z	
sprinkle	čĩt'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sprinkle Y	
spruce up	q̄'ač'ak'at'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X spruce up Y	
squat	k'uk'ubāła	X_{NOM}	X squat	
squeal	č'ič'irāła	X_{NOM}	X squeal	
stabilise (intr)	erc̄'ała	X_{NOM}	X stabilise	
stagger	tartačała	X_{NOM}	X stagger	
stand up	herč'ała	X_{NOM}	X stand up	
start, jump	turk'ała	X_{NOM}	X start	
stay	baʔała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X stay Y	
stay at	biʁała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X stay at Y	

stay at	biχ̄wała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X stay at Y	
steal	beq̄'ešała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X steal Y from Z	
stick	k̄'atāła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC5}	X stick to Y	
stick (intr)	siniłała	X_{NOM}	X stick	
stick (intr)	t'erkwãła	X_{NOM}	X stick	
stick out	q̄it'āła	X_{NOM}	X stick out	
stingy (become ~)	q̄ars̄ĩłała	X_{NOM}	X become stingy	
stingy (become ~)	q̄'abiħłała	X_{NOM}	X become stingy	
stir (intr)	ɬ'oɬ'amała	X_{NOM}	X stir	
stop (intr)	q̄'ot'ała	X_{NOM}	X stop	
stop (tr)	biʁāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X stop Y	
stop (tr)	q̄'ot'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X stop Y	
stop at	biʁała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X stop at Y	
stout (become ~)	bešałała	Y_{NOM}	Y become stout	
stout (become ~)	gergamłała	X_{NOM}	X become stout	
stout (make ~)	bešāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y stout	
straight (become ~)	bit'ełała	X_{NOM}	X become straight	
straighten (tr)	bit'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X straighten Y	
strangle	ʁãq̄'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X strangle Y	
strengthen (intr)	šebełała	X_{NOM}	X become stronger	
stretch (tr)	gə̃ʁwãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X stretch Y	
stretch out (intr)	c̄'abuc̄'ała	X_{NOM}	X stretch out	
strive	q̄'erɬ'āła	X_{NOM}	X strive	
stuck (be ~) in	kec'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X is stuck in Y	
stuck (get ~)	q̄'āła	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X get stuck in Y	
study (intr)	c̄'alāła	X_{NOM}	X study	
subjugate	kwadir bahała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X subjugate Y	
suck (tr)	keχała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X suck Y	
suit	baq̄'ała	X_{NOM} $Y_{LOC1\sim DAT}$	X suit Y	
sullen (be ~)	ɬ'arãk̄wała	X_{NOM}	X is sullen	
supply (tr) to	biʁāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X supply Y to Z	
surprised by (be ~)	ħikmałała	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL3}	X is surprised by Y	
surprised by (be~)	tamašałała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X is surprised by Y	
surround	s̄orebaɬała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X surround Y	
suspect	šakłała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X suspect Y	
swallow	bek̄'wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X swallow Y	TR
swampy (become ~)	x̄uc̄'ełała	X_{NOM}	X become a swamp	
sweep	ɬarała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X sweep Y	
sweet (become ~)	mic̄'ałała	X_{NOM}	X become sweet	
swell	burała	X_{NOM}	X swell	
swell	damdamała	X_{NOM}	X swell	
swell (intr), fill	erq̄ãła	X_{NOM}	X swell	
swell (tr), fill (tr)	erq̄̃ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X fill Y	
swindle	galāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X swindle Y	
swindle	guk̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X swindle Y	

swindle	k̄uk̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X swindle Y	
take	bahała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X take Y	
take away	s̄orāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X take Y away from Z	
take away (tr)	boʔāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X take away Y	
take fire (intr)	pãk'āła	Y_{NOM}	Y take fire	
take for a walk	s̄orāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X take Y for a walk	
take place	bek̄wała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X take place at Y	
take revenge on	bec'ała	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X take revenge on Y	
take root	boɪ̄ała	X_{NOM}	X take root	
take to	s̄orāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X take Y to Z	
taste	heʟ'ir bahała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X taste Y	
teach	maɬ̄ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X teach Y to Z	
teach	ruhunāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X teach to Y	+ INF
tear (intr)	bit'wała	X_{NOM}	X tear	
tear (tr)	bit'wāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X tear Y	
tear apart (intr)	q̄ibała	X_{NOM}	X tear apart	
tear up (tr)	q̄ibq̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X tear up Y	
tell	basāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ABL}	X tell Y to Z	
test	ħalbix̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X test Y	
thicken (intr)	bišełała	X_{NOM}	X thicken	
thicken (intr)	ɪ̄'ãt'ałała	X_{NOM}	X thicken	
thicken (tr)	ɪ̄'ãt'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X thicken Y	
thin (become ~)	beʟ'arałała	Y_{NOM}	Y become thin	
thin (become ~)	čergēšłała	X_{NOM}	X become thinner	
thin (become ~)	kwačała	X_{NOM}	X become thin	
thin (become ~)	miČ'irłała	X_{NOM}	X become thin	
thin (tr)	beʟ'arāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X thin Y	
think	urʁāła (kaʔa ~)	X_{NOM}	X think about Y	
thirsty (be ~)	hãq̄'ejała	X_{NOM}	X is thirsty	
thirsty (become ~)	ħalcāła	X_{NOM}	X become thirsty	
throw	erʔała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X throw Y	
throw	torČ'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X throw Y at Z	
throw	t'amała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL}	X throw Y on Z	
throw away	tirx̄āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X throw away Y	
throw down	t'amāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X throw Y down	
throw off	t'arāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X throw off Y	
throw os on	kaʔałała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL3}	X throw os on Y	
thrust (tr)	t'erāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X thrust Y in Z	
thrust in (be ~)	t'erała	X_{NOM} Y_{NOM}	X is thrust in Y	
thunder	ʁurʁurāła	X_{NOM}	X thunder	X = sky
tie	bax̄wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X tie Y	
time (it is ~)	baʔała	X_{NOM} X_{DAT}	X has come for Y	X = time noun
tinkle, jingle	ǯarʁała	X_{NOM}	X tinkle	
tinkle, ring	ʁwarʁwarāła	X_{NOM}	X tinkle	

tired (be ~)	šuhãɬa	X_{NOM}	X is tired
topple	karāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X topple Y
touch	ũwāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{LOC} Z_{NOM}	X touch Y with Z
toy with	ʁužāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X toy with
trample down	merx̄wāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X trample down Y
travel	rek'ũk'aɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X travel by Y
travel	rek'wãɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{DAT}	X travel by Y
tremble	t'et'erāɬa	X_{NOM}	X tremble
tremble	x̄waʕaɬa	X_{NOM}	X tremble
try	gahaɬa ~ gāɬa (ʕamal ~)	X_{ERG}	X try
try to find out	c'eχ̄ereχ̄āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X try to find out Y
turbid (become ~)	beʁaɬa	Y_{NOM}	Y become turbid
turbid (make ~)	beʁāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y turbid
turn blue	q̄ajīaɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X turn Y blue
turn into	šoraɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL3}	X turn Y into Z
turn on, switch on	č'arq̄āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X turn on Y
turn out	bek̄waɬa	X_{NOM}	X turn out + ADJ
ugly (become ~)	sureɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X become ugly
understand	bič'aɬa	X_{DAT} Y_{NOM}	X understand Y
understand (make ~)	kāt'āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X make Y understand
unite	bac'aɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X unite Y
unite (intr)	cebɬaɬa	X_{NOM}	X unite
untied (get ~)	butaɬa	X_{NOM}	X get untied
upset	t'urāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X upset Y
upset (be ~)	t'uraɬa	X_{NOM}	X is upset
urge	ʕedeʕāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X urge Y
urinate	bac'ac'āɬa	X_{ERG}	X urinate
utter	keī'ãɬa	X_{ABL1} Y_{NOM}	X utter Y
vomit (intr)	k'ark'āɬa	X_{NOM}	X vomit
vomit (tr)	k'araɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X vomit Y
wait for	bek'ãɬa	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC5}	X wait for Y
wake (tr)	belā̃ɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wake Y
wake up (intr)	belãɬa	Y_{NOM}	Y wake up
wake up (tr)	herč'āɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wake up Y
walk	x̄warāɬa	X_{NOM}	X walk
walk (intr)	boīaɬa	X_{NOM}	X walk
walk, travel	šoraɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X walk in Y
wallow	girgičaɬa	X_{NOM}	X wallow
want	q̄'orāɬa	$X_{DAT\sim ALL3}$ Y_{NOM}	X want Y
warm up (intr.)	ãšaɬaɬa	Y_{NOM}	Y warm up
warm up (tr)	tãk̄wāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X warm up Y
warm up (tr.)	ãšāɬa	X Y_{NOM}	X warm up Y
warn	elbaʔāɬa	X_{ERG} Y_{ALL3}	X warn Y

wash (tr)	bučãła ~ bučãčurała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wash Y	
weaken (intr)	čučełała	X_{NOM}	X weaken	
weaken (intr)	toχłała	X_{NOM}	X weaken (intr)	
weaken (intr)	zaʕipłała	X_{NOM}	X weaken	
weaken (intr)	zizamłała	X_{NOM}	X weaken	
wear	baʟ'ała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wear Y	
wear	bik'wała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC7}	X wear Y	
wear	šamała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC}	X wear Y on Z	
wear out (intr)	łelałała	X_{NOM}	X wear out	
weather-beaten (become ~)	č'īč'āła	X_{NOM}	X become weather-beaten	
weave	kerščēšała	X_{ERG}	X weave	
weed	baq̄wãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X weed Y	
wet (become ~)	biči̇̆ała	Y_{NOM}	Y become wet	
wet (tr)	biči̇̆āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wet Y	
whine	c̄'amc̄'amała	X_{NOM}	X whine	
whisper	šušāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{DAT}	X whisper Y to Z	
whistle	tabała	X_{ERG}	X whistle	
whiten (intr)	hac'ałała	X_{NOM}	X turn white	
whiten (tr)	hac'āła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X whiten Y	
widow (become ~)	q̄'orolłała	X_{NOM}	X become a widow	
win over	tarała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X win over Y	
win over (tr)	bišãła	X_{NOM} Y_{ABL1}	X win over Y	
wind around	begwažała	Y_{NOM} Z_{LOC3}	Y wind around Z	
wind up	bek̄wała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL}	X wind up at Y	
wise (become ~)	ʕaq̄'ilłała	X_{NOM}	X become wise	
wither (intr)	beč'ãła	Y_{NOM}	Y wither	
wither (tr)	beč'ãła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wither Y	
wobble (intr)	gergečała	X_{NOM}	Y wobble	
wobble (tr)	gergečała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wobble Y	
wobble (tr)	gergečāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X wobble Y	
work	bik'wała	X_{NOM} Y_{LOC}	X work in Y	Y = domain
work	bišãq̄ała	X_{NOM}	X work	
work out	boīała	X_{NOM}	X work out	
work out well	ħalalłała	X_{NOM}	X work out well	
worn out (be ~)	ī'urałała	X_{NOM}	X is worn out	
worry (not to ~)	kaʔar bahała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X don't worry about Y	
worsen (intr)	biʟ'ełała	X_{NOM}	X worsen	
worsen (intr)	halagłała	X_{NOM}	X worsen	
worsen (tr)	halagāła	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM}	X worsen Y	
write	q̄warała	X_{ERG} Y_{NOM} Z_{ALL4}	X write Y to Z	
X have difficulty to	zaħmałała	X_{DAT}	X has difficulty	+ IPF
yawn (intr)	hamak̄'wała	X_{NOM}	X yawn	
yean	kełała	X_{NOM}	X yean	

yell at	c̄'amc̄'amała	X_{NOM} Y_{ALL4}	X yell at Y
young (become ~)	ʕoloq̄ãłała	X_{NOM}	X become young