

Abkhaz Text (8): Ts'an

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- (1) aʒwót'w a-c'án h^wa ʒ'awk'ó ó-q'a-n.
- (2) wərt á-š'ixa jə-n-xa-wá-n waá ssá-n a-téras jé-k^w-la-nə j-k'á-r-č'a-wa-n.
- (3) wósq'an á-š'ixa a-só a-k^wá a-k'órcx ø-á-m-w-[w]a-[z]-zaarən.
- (4) a-pšá-c^wgja ø-á-s-wa-mə-zt'.
- (5) dará járbanzaalák'-g'ə ak'ó wós-s j-ró-ma-m-k'^wa ak'ə j-a-c^wó-m-š^wa-wa jé-q'a-[z]-zaarən.
- (6) a-nc^wa-g'jə d-ró-ma-mə-zt "hará há-da wáha psəzxáw dárbanə-w" h^wa [a]-ak'^wó-n j-š'ó-q'a-z.
- (7) wəs j-š'ó-q'a-z znó á-c'an-g^wára j-ax^j-ta-t'^wá-z a-čnó-š'əbz'lon a-x'it'^wó k'^wasá a-x'it'^wó gára ø-a-nə-rgóla-nə á-pška d-a-n-jála-nə xəx'it'^wój ak'ó də-lbáa-na-š'tə-jt' də-lbáa-zə-š'tə-z z-ak'^wó-w waj^wó jə-j-zó-m-dər-wa.
- (8) a-c'án arəj a-x^wəč'jə d-anə-r-ba j-g^wóγja-c'^wa j-q'a-lá-jt'.
- (9) d-aa-š'itə-r-xə-n d-r-aazá-jt'.
- (10) a-x^wəč'jə mšə-zhá j-jə-z-ha-wá dáara j-ž'já-w-š'ja-ra-t'^wə lassó j-jə-z-há-jt'.
- (11) d-an-dáw-xa znə wəs d-rə-z-c'aá-jt' d-z-aazá-z.
- (12) — abrəj š^wará ak'ó š^w-a-c^wó-m-š^wa-wa š^wó-q'a-wp' abrəj š^wará jə-š^w-jaáj-ra mč'jə-s jé-q'a-w-zaj — h^wa d-rə-z-c'aá-jt'.
- (13) a-c'án r-abdəw xəš^w šək^wsá ø-z-xó-c'-wa-z wəs ø-j-h^wá-jt':
- (14) — hará h-ác'k'jəs j-jaáj-wa-nə jé-q'a-w wəj [a]-á-wp' a-banba-só ø-a-w-né á-mca ø-a-cra-š^wá-r ha-blə-r ø-q'á-la-p' wáha hará h-ac'k'jəs j-a-jaáj-wa ak'ó a-dəwnáj a-č'ó j-zó-q'-la-rə-m — ø-j-h^wá-jt'.
- (15) wəs jə-š-t'^wá-z a-x^wəč'jə d-ax^j-cá=d-ax^j-aá ø-rə-m-ba-zá-k'^wa d-né-c'a-š^wk'^wa d-cá-jt'.
- (16) d-abá-ca-j h-x^wəč'jə, anáx^j-aráx^j r-h^wá-jt', axá wac'^wó də-w-bá-r d-aá-x^w — d-rə-m-bá-jt'.
- (17) j-šə-pš-wá-z pətrak' á-š'tax^j a-c'án r-ajhabó d-anə-na-pš á-ž'jma-k^wa á-c'an-g^wára j-ax^j-ta-t'^wá-z bay'jə-k' a-pac'a-k^wá lax'jónza j-la-za-wá jə-š-c'əs-

wá-z ø-j-bá-jt'.

(18) — ħaj š^w-an-až'á-l-ba-jt' há-k^w-c'-ra ø-aá-zaap', ħará á-x^wpħa d-ħ-aažá-ma ħa-k^wø-z-xó-šaz d-ħ-aažá-jt', há-k^wø-j-xø-jt' ø-š^wø-m-ba-wá-j — ø-j-ħ^wá-n, a-c'án ø-na-r-pš-nó jø-d-jø-r-bá-jt' á-baγ^j a-pac'á ø-šó-c'əs-wa-z.

(19) — aró j ø-z-ak'^wó-zaj? — ø-r-ħ^wá-n j-an-jø-z-c'aá, wəs ø-r-á-j-ħ^wa-jt':

(20) — ħará ħ-q'no jax'á waž^wráanža, j-šó-ž^w-dər-wa ájpš, [a]-a-pšá ø-a-mó-s-cəzt', waž^wó aró j á-baγ^j a-pac'á ø-zø-r-c'əs-wá ø-a-pšá-wp'.

(21) há-k^w-c'-rac há-q'a-zaap', š'íta ħará jó-q'a-ħ-c'a-wa eg'íó-q'a-m — ø-j-ħ^wá-jt'.

(22) a-pšá jahá-jahá a-č-a-r-γ^wγ^wa-wá-n.

(23) a-bamba-só a-w-rá j-á-la-ga-jt'.

(24) a-só ø-a-w-[w]á a-só ø-a-w-[w]a, j^wba-q'a saž'án r-q'ónža a-bamba-só ø-a-wó-jt'.

(25) nas á-mca ø-l-a-cra-š^wá-n zeg'íó jaráznak' j-ló-k^w-blaa j-a-gá-jt'.

(26) abásala jó-k^w-c'ə-jt' a-c'án.

(27) wáž^w-g'íó á-š'ixa jó-q'a-wp' j^wadára-k' Ačagólara ħ^wa j-ax'í-á-š'íta-w.

(28) as ø-z-á-x'ížø-w wə j [a]-a-wp': a-c'án d-a-š'íta-la-záap' š'amxó-la jø-s-k'-wá-jt' ħ^wa a-bnča.

(29) jø-pxa-c'a-nə j-jó-ma-nə də-š-ná-j-wa-z, abrój ačagólara ħ^wa j-ax'í-á-š'íta-w j-an-j^wá-j, wəbrá d-l-a-crá-s-nə, a-c'óx^wa ø-k'-nó j-aa-n-jó-k'əla-jt'.

(30) a-c'án-waa abás š'amxó-la-g'íó jø-γ^wγ^wá-n, ak'ó j-a-c^w-š^wa-wá-mə-zt', dará jø-r-jáaj-wa-z ħ^wa ak'-g'íó ó-q'a-məzt'.

Literal translation:

(1) in olden times Ts'an SP some people they-be-Stat.Past.Fin.

(2) they the-mountain they-Prev-dwell-Dyn-Impf people small-Stat.Past.Fin the-fern they-Prev-climb-Abs it-Prev-they-cut off (a branch of)-Dyn-Impf.

(3) at that time the-mountain the-snow the-rain the-hail [they]-Dummy-Neg-fall-Dyn-Impf.N.F-Evid.

(4) the-wind-bad/strong [it]-Dummy-blow-Dyn-Neg-Impf.

(5) they anything-also something work-as it-they-have-Neg-Abs something they-it-Prev-Neg-fear-Abs they-be-Stat.Past.N.F-Evid.

(6) the-God-even him-they-have-Neg-Stat.Past.Fin we us-without more creature who-Stat.N.F.Pres SP [it]-be-Stat.Past.Fin they-how-be-Stat.Past.N.F

(7) so they-how-be-Stat.Past.N.F one day the-Ts'an-courtyard they-where-Prev-

sit inside-Stat.Past.N.F on that day-at noon the-golden basket the-golden cradle [it]-it-Prev-stand onto-Abs the-baby he-it-Prev-lie on-Abs upper something him-Prev-it-bring down-(Aor)-Fin him-Prev-Rel-bring down-Past.Ind.N.F Rel-be-Stat.Pres.N.F person it-him-Pot-Neg-know-Abs.

(8) the-Ts'an this the-baby him-when-they-see.(Aor).N.F they-merrily-very they-Prev-become-(Aor)-Fin.

(9) him-Par-Prev-they-take up-Past.Ind.Fin him-they-bring up-(Aor)-Fin.

(10) the-baby day-growing Dummy-him-Prev-grow-Abs very it/him-Prev-you-feel suprised-Resultative rapidly Dummy-him-Prev-grow-(Aor)-Fin.

(11) he-when-big-become-(Aor.N.F) one day as follows he-them-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin him-Rel-bring up-Past.Ind.N.F.

(12) — this you.Pl something you.Pl-it-Prev-Neg-fear-Abs you.Pl-be-Stat.Pres this you.Pl Rel-you.Pl-overcome-Fut.I.N.F power-as what-be-Stat.N.F-Qu — SP he-them-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin.

(13) the-Ts'an their-grandfather 300 year [they]-Rel-Prev-be X-years-Dyn-Impf. N.F as follows [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin:

(14) we us-than it-overcom-Dyn-Abs Rel-be-Stat.Pres.N.F as follows [it]-be-Stat.Pres.Fin: the-cotton-snow [it]-Dummy-fall-Abs the-fire [it]-it-Prev-start to burn.(Aor.N.F)-if we-burn.(Aor.N.F)-Conditional [it]-Prev-become-Fut.I.Fin more we us-than Rel-it-overcome-Dyn.(Pres.N.F) something the-world it-in it-Pot-Prev-happen-Fut.I-NEG.Fin — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(15) thus they-as-sit-Stat.Past.N.F the-child he-where-go=he-where-come.(Aor.N.F) [it]-they-Neg-see-Emph-Abs he-Par-Prev-disappear.(Abs?) he-go-(Aor)-Fin.

(16) he-where to-go-(Aor)-Qu our-child thither-hither they-say-(Aor)-Fin (= they went this way and that) but tomorrow him-you-see-if him-Prev-buy.Imp him-they-Neg-see-(Aor)-Fin.

(17) they-how-wait-Dyn-Impf.N.F a little while it-after the-Ts'an their-leader/elder he-when-Prev-look thither-(Aor.N.F) the-goat-Pl the-Ts'an-courtyard they-where-Prev-sit inside-Stat.Past.N.F billy goat-one its-beard-Pl far they-Prev-reach-Abs they-how/that-swing-Dyn-Impf.N.F [it]-he-see-(Aor)-Fin.

(18) oh! your.Pl-mother-labor-she-see-(Aor)-Fin we-Prev-abandan one's countryside-Masd [it]-come-(Aor)-Evid we the-adopted child him-we-bring up-Qu us-Prev-Rel-exterminate-Cond.II.N.F him-we-bring up-(Aor)-Fin us-Prev-he-exterminate-(Aor)-Fin [it]-you.Pl-Neg-see-Dyn-Qu [it]-he-say-Past.Ind.Fin the-Ts'an [them]-Prev-Caus-look thither it-them-he-Caus-see(= show)-(Aor)-Fin the-

billy goat its-beard [it]-how/that-sway-Dyn-Impf.N.F.

(19) this [it]-Rel-be-what [it]-they-say-Past.Ind.Fin they-when-him-Prev-ask.
(Aor.N.F) as follows [it]-them-to-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(20) we us-at today till now it-how-you.Pl-know-Dyn.N.F [it]-like the-wind
[it]-Dummy-Neg-blow-Pluperf.Fin now this the-billy goat its-beard [it]-Rel-Caus-
swing-Dyn.N.F [it]-the-wind-Stat.Pres.Fin.

(21) we-Prev-abandan one's countryside-Purp we-be-Evid now we Rel-Prev-
we-do-Dyn.N.F nothing-be-Neg [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(22) the-wind more and more its-Self-it-Caus-strengthen-Dyn-Impf.

(23) the-cotton-snow the-fall-Masd it/they-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin.

(24) the-snow [it]-Dummy-fall-Abs the-snow [it]-Dummy-fall-Abs 2-about
sazhen (2.13m.) them-up to the-cotton-snow [it]-Dummy-fall-(Aor)-Fin.

(25) then the-fire [it]-Par-it-Prev-start to burn-Past.Ind.Fin all suddenly they-
Par-Prev-be burned completely them-it-take-(Aor)-Fin.

(26) in this way they-Prev-abandan one's homeland-(Aor)-Fin the-Ts'an.

(27) now-also the-mountain it-be-Stat.Pres.Fin hill-one Achagylara (lit. the-
horse-standing) SP they-where-it-call-Stat.Pres.N.F.

(28) so [it]-why-it-be called-Stat.Pres.N.F that [it]-be-Stat.Pres.Fin the-Ts'an
he-it-Prev-track-(Aor)-Evid knee-Instr it-I-catch-Dyn-Fin SP the-deer.

(29) it-Prev-follow-Abs it-he-have-Abs he-how-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Impf.N.F
this Achagylara SP they-where-it-call-Stat.Pres.N.F they-when-Prev-go up.(Aor.
N.F) there he-Par-it-Prev-touch-Abs the-tail [it]-catch-Abs it-Prev-Prev-he-hold
down-(Aor)-Fin.

(30) the-Ts'an-people in this way knee-Instr-also they-strong-Stat.Past.Fin
something they-it-Prev-fear-Dyn-Neg-Impf they Rel-them-overcome-Dyn-Impf.
N.F SP something-also it-be-Neg.Stat.Past.Fin. (= it did not seem that)

Translation:

(1) In the olden times, there lived a people called the Ts'an (= mythological
aboriginal inhabitants of Abkhazia).

(2) They were a tiny people who lived in the mountains. They clambered up
ferns and cut off the fronds.

(3) In those days, they say that there was neither snow, nor rain nor hail in the
mountains.

(4) Nor was there was any strong wind.

(5) They had no need to work, nor had they anything to fear.

(6) They did not even have a God. “What is alive apart from us?!” they said, and so they passed their days.

(7) While they were living in this way, one day at noon, as they were sitting in the Ts’an courtyard, [they noticed that] there was a golden cradle with a baby asleep in it, placed on a golden basket. Someone had placed the child there from out of the heavens. No one knew who had placed the baby there.

(8) The Ts’an became very happy when they saw the baby there.

(9) They picked him up, and brought him up.

(10) The baby grew day by day, and grew so quickly that you would be very surprised.

(11) One day, when the baby had grown up, he questioned the people who had brought him up:

(12) “You people don’t seem to be afraid of anything. Is there nothing that can defeat you?” he asked them.

(13) The oldest man among them, who was 300 years old, said:

(14) “There is this one thing that is stronger than us: when *cotton snow* falls, if it catches fire, we will be burnt up. I think that there is nothing stronger than that for us in the entire world,” he said.

(15) As they were sitting together in this manner, they realized that they did not know where the child had gone, he had disappeared.

(16) “Where has our child gone?” they cried. They searched high and low for him, but they could not find him.

(17) After they been waiting for a little while, the Ts’an chief looked at the billy goats in the middle of the Ts’an courtyard, and noticed that the beard of one of the goats was almost touching the ground, and that it was swaying in the wind.

(18) “Oh no! What’s this? The time for us to abandon our land has come. We raised our adopted child, didn’t we? We have brought up the one being who will destroy us. He will drive us out. Can’t you see?!” he said, pointing to the spot on the ground where the goat’s beard was swaying.

(19) “What on earth does this mean?” they asked him, their chief, and he replied:

(20) “As you all know, in our place, until today, the wind has never blown. Now, that wind is moving the billy goat’s beard”.

(21) “We will have to abandon our land. Now there is nothing that we can do,” he said.

(22) The wind was growing stronger and stronger.

(23) Then the cotton snow started to fall.

(24) The snow, the cotton snow, fell and fell to a depth of about two *sazhen* (4.26 metres).

(25) Then it caught fire, and soon everything around it burnt up.

(26) This is how the Ts’an people abandoned their homeland.

(27) Even today, in the middle of the mountains, there is a place called *Achagylara, The Place Where The Horse Stands*.

(28) The reason why it is so called is as follows: Apparently a Ts’an once chased a deer saying, “I’ll catch you because I can outrun you”.

(29) He chased the deer very fast, until he reached and climbed up to the place that is called *Achagylara, The Place Where The Horse Stands*, touching the deer there, and grabbing hold of it by its tail.

(30) The Ts’an people were indefatigable walkers in this way. It seems too that they never feared anything, and that there was nothing that could defeat them either.

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Notes

* The text is taken from «Ш. Хь. Салакаи. Агьсуа жэлар рѣапынтѣ рѣиамта, Ахрестоматиа. Акиа: Алапара», 1975. pp. 121-123.

(1) 1. *ac’án* = “низкорослые мифические жители Абхазии” (Kaslandzija: 2005). 2. *ǰ-q’a-n*: *masd. á-q’a-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to be, to exist”.

(2) 1. *á-š’xa jə-n-xa-wá-n* “they lived in the mountain”: *masd. a-n-xa-rá* [intr.] “to dwell”. Cf. *Apswa kǰtak’ a-č’ǰ jə-n-xa-wá-n* “they lived in an Abkhazian village”. Also cf. Hewitt (2005:20). 2. *ssá-n*: *á-ssa* “small”. 3. *jǰ-k^w-la-nə*: *masd. á-k^w-la-ra* [intr.]. 4. *j-k’á-r-č’a-wa-n*: *masd. a-k’a-č’a-rá* [tr.] “to cut off branches of”.

(3) 1. Here *á-š’xa* “the-mountain” expresses a locative meaning, i.e. “in the mountain(s)”. 2. *ǰ-á-m-w-*

- [w]a-[z]-*zaarən*: masd. *a-w-rá* [intr.] “to fall”, cf. *a-só* *ø-a-w-wá-jt'* or *j-a-w-wá-jt'* *a-só* “it snows”: (C1(snow)-C2(Dummy)-fall-Dyn-Fin). The verb *a-w-rá* meaning “to fall, to rain/snow” may appear to be cognate with the transitive verb *a-w-rá* meaning “to do/make”. If so, *a-só* *ø-a-w-[w]á-jt'* is interpretable as “it(Heaven?) is doing/making snow” (C1(snow)-C3(it)-do/make-Dyn-Fin). For the verb see Hewitt (2005:117). **3.** For *-zaarən*, see Chirikba (2003:47).
- (4) *ø-á-s-wa-mə-zt'*: masd. *á-s-ra* [intr.] “to blow”; cf. *a-pšá* *ø-á-s-wa-jt'* (C1(wind)-C2(Dummy)-blow-Dyn-Fin) “the wind blows”. The verb *á-s-ra* meaning “to blow” is cognate with the intransitive verb *á-s-ra* meaning “to hit”. Therefore, *a-pšá* *ø-á-s-wa-jt'* is interpretable as “the wind is hitting it” (C1(wind)-C2(it)-hit-Dyn-Fin). As regards the meaning of Column II here, Hewitt (2005:117) states that the (indirect) object will originally have been ‘the earth’.
- (5) **1.** *j-rš-ma-m-k'wa*: masd. *á-ma-zaa-ra* [intr. inverse] “to have”. **2.** *j-a-c^w-m-š^wa-wa*: masd. *a-c^w-š^wa-rá* [intr.] “to be afraid of”.
- (6) **1.** *d-rš-ma-məzt*: [he(C1)-them(C2)-be-Neg.Past], lit. “he(= God) was not by them”, i.e. “they did not have a God”. **2.** *dárbanəw* (= *dárban*) is a colloquial expression (Kaslandzija: 2005). **3.** *h^wa*: SP (Speech-Particle) “saying, having said; that ...”, cf. masd. *a-h^wa-rá* “to say”. SP is an archaic form of the Past Absolute (Hewitt: 2005:47). **4.** [*a*]-*ak^wš-n*: (it(C2)-be-Stat.Past) “X was it”. **5.** [*a*]-*ak^wš-n* *j-šš-q'a-z*: “вот так они жили”.
- (7) **1.** *á-c'an-g^wára* “the-Ts'an-courtyard”. According to my informant, however, the meaning for this word is “a fence of stones build by the Ts'an”; cf. *a-g^wára* “the fence”, “the courtyard [bzyq dialect]”. **2.** *j-ax^l-ta-t'^wá-z*. masd. *a-ta-t'^wá-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to sit inside”. **3.** *ø-a-nə-rgšla-nə* < [*j*]-*a-nə-ø-r-gšla-nə* ([it (= cradle, C1)]-it (= basket, C2)-Prev(onto)-[C3]-Caus-stand-Abs): masd. *a-nə-rgšla-ra* [tr.] “to stand *sth* onto”. **4.** *d-a-n-jála-nə*. masd. *a-n-jála-ra* [intr.] “to lie on”. **5.** *də-lbáa-na-š^tə-jt'* (him(C1)-Prev-it=something(C3)-let down-(Aor)-Fin): masd. *á-lbaa-š^tə-ra* [tr.]. **6.** *də-lbáa-zə-š^tə-z* (him(C1)-Prev-Rel(C3)-let down-Past.Ind.N.F). **7.** *z-ak^wš-w* (Rel(C2)-be-Stat.Pres.N.F), cf. (6)-4. **8.** *jə-j-zš-m-dər-wa* (it(C1)-him(C2)-Pot-Neg-know-Abs): masd. *a-dšr-ra* [tr.] “to know”.
- (8) **1.** Here the form *a-c'án* is plural. Note that this noun has the same form for both the singular and the plural. **2.** *d-anš-r-ba* (him(C1)-when-they(C3)-see-[Aor.N.F]): masd. *a-ba-rá* [tr.] “to see”. **3.** *j-q'a-lá-jt'*: masd. *á-q'a-la-ra* [intr.] “to become”.
- (9) **1.** *d-aa-š^tə-r-xə-n* (him(C1)-Par-Prev-they(C3)-take up-Past.Ind): masd. *á-š^tə-x-ra* [tr.] “to pick up”. Also for Particle *-aa-* see Yanagisawa (2005). **2.** *d-r-aažá-jt'* (him(C1)-they(C3)-bring up-(Aor)-Fin): masd. *áaža-ra* [tr.] “to bring up”.
- (10) **1.** *j-jə-z-ha-wa* (Dummy(C1)-him(C2)-Prev-grow-Abs) lit. “he growing”: masd. *a-z-ha-rá* [intr.] “to grow”, cf. *a-x^wəč^l-k^wá* *ø-rə-z-ha-wá-jt'* “the children are growing”. **2.** *mšə-zhá* *j-jə-z-ha-wa* “he growing day by day”. **3.** *j-ž^lá-w-š^la-ra-t'^wə* “на удивление”: masd. *a-ž^la-š^la-rá* [tr.] “to feel surprised”.
- (11) **1.** *d-an-dšw-xa*: masd. *a-dšw-xa-ra* [intr.] “to become big”, cf. *a-dšw* “big”. **2.** *d-rə-z-c'aá-jt'* (he(C1)-them(C2)-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin): masd. *a-z-c'aá-rá* [intr.] “to ask”. **3.** *d-z-aažá-z* (him(C1)-Rel(C3)-bring up-Past.Ind.N.F) “the one who brought him up”, cf. (9)-2.
- (12) **1.** *jə-š^w-jaáj-ra*: masd. *a-jaáj-ra* [intr.] “to overcome”.
- (13) **1.** *ø-z-xš-c'-wa-z* < [*jə*]-*z-xš-c'-wa-z* ([they=300 years(C1)-Rel(C2)-Prev-be X-years-Dyn-Imperf. N.F) “the one who was 300 years old”: masd. *a-xš-c'-ra* [intr.] “to be X years old”. **2.** *ø-j-h^wá-jt'*

- ([it(C1)]-he(C3)-say-(Aor)-Fin): masd. *a-h^wa-rá* [tr.] “to say”.
- (14) 1. *[a]-a-wp'* ([it(C2)]-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin) “X is it”. 2. *ø-a-w-nš*: masd. *a-w-rá*, cf. (3)-2. 3. *ø-a-cra-š^wá-r < j-a-cra-š^wá-r* (it(=fire.C1)-it(=cotton-snow.C2)-Prev-burn-if) “if feathery snowflakes catch fire”: masd. *a-cra-š^wa-rá* [intr.] “to catch fire”. 4. *ha-blš-r*: masd. *a-bəl-rá* [intr.] “to burn”. 5. *ha-blš-r ø-q'á-la-p'* “we will probably burn”.
- (15) 1. *jə-š-t'^wá-z*: masd. *a-t'^wa-rá* [intr.] “to sit”. 2. *d-nš-c'a-š^wk'^wa*: masd. *á-c'a-š^wk'^wa-ra* [intr.] “to disappear”. 3. *d-cá-jt'*: masd. *a-ca-rá* [intr.] “to go”.
- (16) 1. *d-áá-x^w* (him(C1)-Prev-buy.Imp): masd. *aá-x^wa-ra* [tr.] “to buy”. 2. *wac'^wš də-w-bá-r d-áá-x^w* lit. “if you see him tomorrow, buy him!”, i.e. “searched for him, but in vain”.
- (17) 1. *j-šə-pš-wá-z*: masd. *a-pš-rá* [intr.] “to wait; to look”. 2. *d-anš-na-ps*: masd. *á-na-pš-ra* [intr.] “to look thither”. 3. *j-la-za-wá*: masd. *á-la-za-ra* [intr.] “to reach”. 4. *jə-š-c'əs-wá-z*: masd. *a-c'əs-rá* [intr.] “to swing”.
- (18) 1. *š^w-an-aš'á-l-ba-jt'* “my God, боже мой!”. 2. *há-k^wc'-ra*: masd. *á-k^wc'-ra* [intr.] “to move; to abandon one’s countryside”. 3. *ø-aá-zaap'*: masd. *aa-rá* [intr.] “to come”. 4. *há-k^wə-j-xə-jt'*: masd. *á-k^w-x-ra* [tr.] “to exterminate”. 5. *ø-na-r-pš-nš*: masd. *á-na-r-pš-ra* [tr.] “to make look thither”. 6. *jə-d-jə-rbá-jt'*: masd. *a-rba-rá* [tr.] “to show” < *a-r-ba-rá* “to make see”.
- (19) 1. *ø-r-á-j-h^wa-jt'* ([it(C1)]-them(C2)-to-he(C3)-say-(Aor)-Fin) “he said it to them”: masd. *a-h^wa-rá* [tr.] “to say”.
- (20) 1. *ø-zə-r-c'əs-wá*: masd. *a-rc'əs-rá* [tr.] “to swing; to sway”, cf. (17)-4. *a-c'əs-rá* [intr.] “to swing”. 2. *ø-a-pšá-wp'* ([it(C1)]-the-wind-Stat.Pres.Fin) “it is the wind”: cf. *a-pšá* “the-wind”.
- (21) 1. *há-k^w-c'-rac há-q'a-zaap'* “мы должны исчезнуть”. Is the suffix *-rac* the variant of *-rc* expressing Purpose? 2. *jš-q'a-h-c'a-wa* (Rel(C1)-Prev-we(C3)-do-Dyn.N.F) “that which we will do”: masd. *á-q'a-c'a-ra* [tr.] “to do”.
- (22) *a-č-a-r-γ^wγ^wa-wá-n* (its(Poss)-Self-it(C3)-Caus-strong-Dyn-Impf) “it was strengthening”; cf. *a-r-γ^wγ^wa-rá* [tr.] “to strengthen”.
- (23) 1. *j-á-la-ga-jt'* (it/they(C1)-it(= fall of cotton-snow, C2)-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin) “cotton-snow (= feathery snowflakes) began to fall”: masd. *á-la-ga-ra* [intr.] “to begin”.
- (24) 1. *ø-a-w-[w]á* ([it(=snow, C1)-Dummy(C2)-fall-Abs] “it falling”: masd. *a-w-rá* [intr.] “to fall”.
- (25) 1. *j-lš-k^w-blaa*: masd. *á-k^w-bl-aa-ra* [intr.] “to be burned completely”. For Particle *-lə-* see Yanagisawa (2005). 2. *j-a-gá-jt'*: masd. *a-ga-rá* [tr.] “to take”.
- (27) 1. Here *á-š'xa* denotes the locative meaning “in the mountain(s)”. 2. *Ačagšlara < A-č-agšlara* (lit. “the-horse-standing”). 3. *j-ax^j-á-š'ta-w*: masd. *á-š'ta-zaa-ra* “to be called; cf. *Górk'əj jš-wlica h^wa j-á-š'ta-wp'*. “It is called the Gorky Street.”
- (28) 1. *ø-z-á-x'zə-w* ([it(C1)-why-it(C2)-be called-Stat.Pres.N.F], lit. (it(C1)-why-its(Poss)-name-be. N.F) “the reason why it is called so”: masd. *á-x'z-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to be called”. 2. *wəj [a]-a-wp'* “is as follows”. 3. *d-a-š'ta-la-záap'*: masd. *á-š'ta-la-ra* [intr.] “to track”. 4. *jə-s-k'-wá-jt'*: masd. *a-k'-rá* [tr.] “to catch”.
- (29) 1. *jə-pxa-c'a-nš* (it(C1)-Prev-[ø(C3)]-follow-Abs) “following it”: *a-pxa-c'a-rá* [tr.] “to follow”. 2. *j-jš-ma-nə* (it(C1)-he(C2)-have-Abs), lit. (it(C1)-him-be by-Abs) “he having it”: masd. *á-ma-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to have”, cf. (6)-1. 3. *də-š-ná-j-wa-z*: masd. *a-ná-j-ra* [intr.] “go thither”. 4. *j-an-j^wá-j*: masd. *a-j^wá-j-ra* [intr.] “to go up”. 5. *d-l-a-crá-s-nə* (he(C1)-Par-it(C2)-Prev-touch-Abs) “he quickly having

touched it”: masd. *a-crá-s-ra* [intr.] “to touch”. 6. $\emptyset-k'-n\acute{o} < \emptyset-\emptyset-k'-n\acute{o}$ ([it(= tail,C1)]-[he(C3)]-catch-Abs) “having caught [it]”: masd. *a-k'-rá* [tr.] “to catch”. 7. *j-aan-jó-k'əla-jt'*: masd. *aa-n-kəla-ra* [tr.] “to hold down”.

(30) 1. *a-c'án-waa*: cf. *a-waá* pl. “people”, sg. *a-wajwǝ* “man, person”. 2. *jə-γ^wγ^wá-n*: cf. *á-γ^wγ^wa* “strong”, cf. (22). 3. *h^wa á-q'a-zaa-ra* “to seem”.

Abbreviations

Abs = absolutive

Aor = aorist

C1 = the first column

C2 = the second column

C3 = the third column

Caus = causative

Cond = conditional

Dyn = dynamic

Emph = emphasis

Evid = evidential

F = feminine

Fin = finite

Fut = future

Imp = imperative

Impf = imperfect

Ind = indefinite

Instr = instrumental

intr. = intransitive

M = masculine

masd. /Masd = masdar

Neg = negative

N.F = non-finite

OV = objective version

Par = prefixal particle

Past.Ind = past indefinite

Pl = plural

Pluperf = pluperfect

Poss = possessive

Pot = potential

Pres = present

Prev = preverb

Purp = purpose

Qu = question

Rel = relative prefix

Self = reflexive

SP = speech-particle

Stat = stative

tr. = transitive

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