Abkhaz Text (9):
Lake Rits'a

Tamio Yanagisawa

(1) ʁə́jc'a a-ʒə́gʲažʲ wažʷə́ j-axə́-q'a-w   ánk'ʲa a-dʷə́   pšʒá-ranə
   Rits'a the-lake   now   it-where-be-Pres.N.F before the-field beautiful-around
awáa ə́-[ø-]kʷə-n-x-wa   jə́-q'a-n   ħʷa [ø-]r-ħʷa-wá-jt'.
people they-[it-]Prev-Prev-live.on-Dyn.Abs it-be-Past.Stat.Fin SP [it-]they-say-Dyn-Fin
It is said that the area where Lake Rits'a now lies was once beautiful populated farmland.

(2) Abnə́j   áq'ara a-dʷ-də́w   jə́-q'a-z   jə-ʒət'q'ʷa-nə́
   that   so   the-field-big Rel-be-Past.Stat.N.F it-place.of.water-as
jə-zə́-q'a-la   ħʷa jə́-r-ħʷ-wa   abás   [a-]á-wp'.
it-why-Prev-become.Aor.N.F SP Rel-they-say-Dyn.Pres.N.F like.this it-be-Pres.Stat
What they say about the reason why that wide farmland became a lake is as follows.

(3) Aná apása j-an-pswá   dgʲə́lə-z   jə-n-x-wá-z
   there early it-when-Abkhazian earth-Past.Stat.N.F Rel-Prev-live-Dyn+Impf.N.F
Pšə́s-aa   r-ák'ʼʷə-n.
Pshys-Pl them-be-Past.Stat.Fin
When long ago the area was Abkhazian land, the people who lived there were the tribe called Psysaa [note: 'Psysaa' is the plural form of 'Psysba'.].

(4) Dáara a-nxará   bzə́ja [ø-]rə́-ma-n   wa
   very   the-living good [it-]they-have-Past.Stat.Fin   there
jə-n-x-wá-z   zegʲə́, pħʷə́sajba-k' lə́-da.
Rel-Prev-live-Dyn+Impf.N.F all   widow-one   her-except
All the people who lived there lived a good life except for one widow.

(5)　A-pħʷә́sajba á-č'ʲk'ʷәn-cʷa racʷanә́ jә-lә́-ma-n,　　　　　 axá zegʲә́
　　　the-widow　　the-boy/son-Pl　many　 them-she-have-Past.Stat.Fin but　all
[ø-]xʷәč'ʲ-kʷá-n,　　　　　«j-aá-g»　　　　　á-da,　　wáħa ak'
[they-]little-Pl-Past.Stat.Fin　it/them-Prev-give.Imp it-except　more　something
[ø-]rә-z-dә́r-wa-mә-zt'.
[it-]them-Pot-know-Dyn-Neg-Impf.Fin
This widow had many sons, but all the sons were still small. They knew nothing
except one word, "give!"

(6)　A-pħʷә́sajba　esәmšá　[ø-]aa-šá-rgʲә　　　l-xә　　[ø-]nә́-c'ax-wa
　　　the-widow　　every.day　[it-]Par-dawn-even.if　her-head　[it-]Par-hang-Dyn.Abs
ak'rә-l-w-[w]á-n　　　　　　　l-gʷә́la-cʷa　　r-q'nә.
Dummy-she-work-Dyn+Impf.Fin　her-neighbor-Pl　their-at
Every day, as soon as dawn broke, the widow, hanging her head, went to work at
her neighbors' houses.

(7)　Jә́-l-w-[w]a-z-gʲә　　　　　　　wәj　[a-]ák'ʷә-n:　　a-šә́,　　a-bә́sta,
　　　Rel-she-do-Dyn-Impf.N.F-even　that　it-be-Past.Stat.Fin　the-millet　the-polenta
a-čá,　　lará lә́-da,　　egʲә́rt zegʲә́　　j-racʷanә́　jә-r-áw-[w]a-n,
the-bread　she　her-except　other　everything　they-many　them-they-obtain-Dyn+Impf.Fin
á-laħʷara　[ø-]anә-r-záa-n-xa-lagʲ,　　　　　anә́j r-gʷә́la　　pħʷәs
the-remains [it-]when-them-Prev-Prev-remain-(Aor)-Lak　that　their-neighbor　woman
a-kʲә́ra　a-zә́ j-lә́-r-t-wa-n,　　　　axá a-kʲә́ra　[ø-]máč'ʲ-ʒa-n.
the-wage　it-for　it-her-they-give-Dyn-Impf.Fin but　the-wage [it-]little-Emph-Past.Stat.Fin
What she was doing was this. All the neighbors except her used to obtain millet,
polenta, bread, and many other things. When they had leftover food, they used to
give it to the widow woman as wages.

(8)　Wәbrә́j áq'ara　jә-máč'ʲә-n　　　l-kʲә́ra,　　axá ak'rә́
　　　so much　　　it-little-Past.Stat.Fin　her-wage　but　anything
[ø-]awә́-l-ħʷa-x-wa-z,　　　　　　　jә-l-ħʷá-rgʲә
[it-]Rhetorical.Qu-she-say-Emph-Dyn-Impf.N.F　it-she-say-even if
j-l-áw-[w]a-mә-zt'　　　　　　[ø-]l-dә́r-wa-n.
them-she-obtain-Dyn-Neg-Impf.Fin　[it-]she-know-Dyn-Impf.Fin
Her wages were so very small, but how could she say anything? She knew that

even if she said anything, she could obtain nothing more.

(9) Wbás   rə́charəla   j-a[a]-ajzə-l-g-wa   á-la   [a-]-ak'ʷə́-n
    in.this.way   with.difficulty   Rel-Par-Prev-she-gather-Dyn.N.F   it-with   it-be-Past.Stat.Fin
lə́-č'ʲk'ʷən-cʷa   [ɸ-]zla-nə́q'ʷə-l-g-wa-z.
her-boy/son-pl   [them-]how-Prev-she-feed-Dyn-Impf.N.F
In this way, she used to feed her sons what she was gathering with difficulty.

(10) Znə,   j-ájzə-l-ga-z   [ɸ-]anə-n-c'ʷá,   lə́-č'ʲk'ʷən-cʷa
    one.day   Rel-Prev-she-gather-Past.Ind.N.F   [it-]when-Prev-run.out.Aor.N.F   her-son-Pl
«á-mla,   á-mla»   ħʷa   də-r-k'ə́-jt'.
the-hunger   the-hunger   SP   her-they-bother-(Aor)-Fin
One day, when what she had gathered ran out, her sons bothered her saying, "I'm hungry, I'm hungry!"

(11) Jʷ-ʒ́ʲará   xə́-ʒ́ʲara,   j-s-áw-p'   [ɸ-]axə-l-gʷá-xʷ-wa-z
    2-somewhere   3-somewhere   it-I-receive-Fut.I   [it-]where-she-Prev-think-Dyn-Impf.N.F
d-ná-j-n   č'ʲa   xʷəč'ʲə-k'   ħʷa,   axá   aʒʷgʲə́
she-Prev-go.thither-Past.Indf.Fin   bread   a.little-one   SP   but   nobody
d-áa-ħʷ-nə   d-lə-xʷa-m-pšə-jt'.
he-Prev-turn.this.way-Past.Abs   he-her-Prev-Neg-look.at-(Aor)-Fin
She thought that she would be able to obtain some food at two or three places, and went there. Though she asked them to give her a little bread, nobody turned to her, nor paid her any attention.

(12) Agʲə́jraxʲ   wjazgʲə́   jə-sə-l-m-áw-[w]a-z
    on.the.other.side   all.the.same   it-how-she-Neg-obtain-Dyn-Impf.N.F
[ɸ-]-l-də́r-wa-n.
it-she-know-Dyn+Impf.Fin
She knew that even though she went to the other places, she would still not be able to obtain food in either case.

(13) Jə-q'a-l-c'á-x-wa-zəj,   d-aa-gʲaž́ʲə́-jt'.
    Rel-Prev-she-do-Emph-Dyn-what   she-Par-return-(Aor)-Fin
Whatever should she have done? She returned home fruitlessly.

(14) D-aá-jə-n,   avə́rħʷa a-čʲwán a-xáħʷ

  she-Prev-come-Past.Indef.Fin quickly the-caldron the-stone

[ø-]l-ø-ta-psa-nə́   jə-jʷ-k'na-l-ħá-n,   á-mca

[it-]Par-it-Prev-pour.into-Past.Abs it-Par-Prev-she-hang.on-Past.Ind.Fin the-fire

aq'ʷq'ʷáħʷa jə-jʷ-á-c'a-l-c'-t'.

plop-plop it-Par-it-Prev(under)-she-put-(Aor)-Fin

She came home and quickly poured stones into a caldron. Then she hung it up and lit the fire under it.

(15) <u>Aáj-xa</u>   [ø-]lə́-m-ta-k'ʷa,   á-č'ʲk'ʷən-cʷa «á-mla, á-mla» ħʷa

  come-Masd [it-]her-Neg-give-Past.Abs the-boy/son-Pl the-hunger the-hunger SP

jə-lə́-k'ʷ-ša-nə   jə-gə́l-t'.

they-her-Prev-surround-Past.Abs they-stand.up-(Aor)-Fin

No sooner had she come back home than her sons followed her about saying, "I'm hungry, I'm hungry!"

(16) — Aaj, nan   d-šʷə́-k'ʷxša-wp',   ožʷə́c'ʷq'ʲa

   Oh young.man he-your.Pl-to.alleviate.pain-Pres.Stat.Fin at.once

ak'ər-zə-m-w-wá-j,   — [ø-]l-ħʷá-n,   rə́-x-kʷa

Dummy-I-Neg-prepare-Dyn-Qu [it-]she-say-Past.Ind.Fin their-head-Pl

[ø-]aa-l-šʲšʲə́-jt'.

[them-]Par-she-stroke-(Aor)-Fin

"Oh, poor children! I'll prepare a meal at once!" she said, and stroked their heads.

(17) Ant a-čʲwán [ø-]anə́-r-ba,   j-á-k'ʷ-ša-nə

  those the-caldron [it-]when-they-see.Aor.N.F they-it-Prev-surround-Past.Abs

j-la-t'ʷá-jt',   ožʷə́-ošʲtán   a-bə́sta <u>[a-]áa-ba-rə.wšʲ</u> ħʷa,

they-Prev-sit.down-(Aor)-Fin now-then (= at once) the-polenta it-Par-see-even if SP

axá ak'rə́   [ø-]awə́-r-ba-x-wa.

but something [it-]Rhetorical.Qu-they-see-Emph-Dyn.N.F

When they saw the caldron, at once they surrounded it and sat down there hoping to see the polenta. But of course they could see nothing.

(18) A-xʷla-ra-gʲ   wəj [a-]ák'ʷə-n.

  the-become.evening-Masd-also that it-be-Past.Stat.Fin

It became dark.

(19) A-č'ʲk'ʷən-cʷa žʲawk'-gʲə́   jə́-cʷ-t',   žʲawk'-gʲə́
      the-boy/son-Pl   some.people-also they.fall.asleep-(Aor)-Fin some.people-also
á-cʷa   j-aa-rə-m-na-x-aanӡa,   jə-c'ʷə́wa-n,   r-an:
the-sleep it-Par-them-Prev(from)-it-take-(Aor)-until they-cry-Past.Ind.Fin their-mother
«ožʷə́c'ʷq'ʲa, nan   ožʷə́c'ʷq'ʲa šʷə-m-c'ʷə́wa-n», — [∅-]l-ħʷ-wá-n.
at.once   young.man   at.once   you.Pl-Neg-cry-Imp   [it-]she-say-Dyn-Impf.Fin
Some of the boys fell asleep, others were crying until they too fell asleep. Their
mother said, "Boys, now, stop crying at once!"

(20) Lə́-č'ʲk'ʷən-cʷa   r-čə́-n-k'apsa=jʷ-k'apsa-nə́,
      her-boy/son-Pl   their-Self-Par-scatter=Par-scatter-Past.Abs
jə-k'arawára-xa   jə́-cʷ-t',   lar-gʲə́   d-xʷə́c-wa,
Rel-exhausted-become.Abs they-fall.asleep-(Aor)-Fin she-also she-think-Dyn.Abs
l-čʲwán   m-c'ʷaxə́ pšáa ħʷa də-z-[∅-]ta-pš-wá-z,
her-caldron Neg-hide find   SP   she-how-[it-]Prev(into)-look-Dyn+Impf.N.F
«á-pšʷma!» ħʷa aӡʷə́   jə-bžʲə́   [∅-]gá-jt'   adʷaxʲə́.
the-master SP   someone his-voice [it-]be.heard-(Aor)-Fin outdoors
The boys who had become very tired, having lain down just anywhere, fell asleep.
She, thinking about the future, said, "I hid nothing, I am looking for something",
and looked into the caldron. Just then she heard someone's voice outside saying
"Master!"

(21) — Aw! — [∅-]l-ħʷa-n,   də-jʷ-dʷə́l-c'ə-n.
         yes   [it-]she-say-Past.Ind.Fin she-Par-Prev-go.out-Past.Ind.Fin
"Yes", she said and went out.

(22) — Bzə́ja-la w-aa-bá-jt'!   — [∅-]l-ħʷá-n   a-jʷnə-q'a
         good-by   you.M-we-see-(Aor)-Fin [it-]she-say-Past.Ind.Fin the-home-to
d-lá-l-gə-jt'.
him-Prev-she-take.thither-(Aor)-Fin
"Welcome!" she said to the man who stood there, and took him back inside.

(23) D-sə́-la-t'ʷa-z   ájpš   wəs   [∅-]jə-ħʷə́-jt':

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he-how-Par-sit.down-Past.Ind.N.F as.soon.as   as.follows [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin
As soon as he had sat down, he said as follows:

(24) — Dáara á-mla   s-a-k'-nə́   sə́-q'a-wp',   jə-z-ʒá-r-gʲə
         very   the-hunger I-it-feel-Past.Abs I-be-Stat.Pres.Fin it-I-hide-Masd-even
j-a-psá-m,   xʷəč'ʲə́-k' [ø-]b-zə-s-č'a-c'a-rə́.wšʲ?
it-it-be.worth-Neg.Stat.Pres.Fin a.little   [it-]you.F-Pot-me-Prev-feed-even.if
— [ø-]jə-ħʷə́-jt'.
   [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin
"I am very hungry. I cannot hide how I am suffering from hunger [lit. It is not
worth while hiding it]. Cannot you give me a little food?" he asked.

(25) — Wə́nan, važʷə́c'ʷq'ʲa, — [ø-]l-ħʷə́-jt',   axa d-ax-pš-wá
         of.course at.once/now   [it-]she-say-(Aor)-Fin but she-where-look-Dyn.N.F
anə́j a-kʷáb   a-xáħʷ   [ø-]z-tá-w   á-šq'a   [a-]á-wp':
that the-caldron the-stone [it-]Rel-be.in-Pres.Stat.N.F it-toward [it-]be-Pres.Stat.Fin
"Of course, at once", she said. But she did nothing but look toward the caldron in
which were the stones.

(26) Anə́j adjʷrágʲ   wəs   [ø-]jə-ħʷə́-jt':
    that   once.more as.follows [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin
The guest spoke again as follows:

(27) — ʒʲáwšʲt, arə́j jə-ø-tá-w-gʲ   [ø-]xaħʷə́-w-šʷa
         well   this Rel-[it-]be.in-Pres.Stat.N.F-even [it-]stone-Stat.Pres.N.F-just like
[ø-]z-bwa-wá-t',   anáxʲ ʒʲará   c'ʷaxə́-k' [ø-]bə́-ma-m-zar,   waxá
[it-]I-see-Dyn-Pres.Fin there somewhere stock-one [it-]you.F-have-Neg-if this.evening
jə-s-č'á-b-c'-wa-zəj?   — [ø-]jə-ħʷə́-jt'.
Rel-me-Prev-you.F-feed-Dyn-Qu   [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin
"Well, whatever is in that looks like stones to me. If you do not have a stock of
food somewhere, what will you feed me with this evening?" he said.

(28) — Wáxʲ-gʲə   c'ʷaxə́-s jə-sə́-ma-w   egʲə́-q'a-m,   axá
         there-also stock-as Rel-I-have-Pres.Stat.N.F nothing-be-Neg.Pres.Fin but
a-ncʷá   jə-sə́-j-ta-lagʲ   [ø-]z-bá-p',   w-aa-m-ccak'ə́-n,

the god   Rel-me-he-give-Lak   [it-]I-see-Fut.I.Fin   you.M-Par-Neg-hurry-Imp

s-wə́-k'ʷxša-wp',   — [ø-]l-ħʷə́-x-t'   adrjʷágʲ.

I-your.M-to.alleviate.pain-Pres.Stat.Fin   [it-]she-say-Emph-(Aor)-Fin   once.more

"I have no stock of food, but I'll see what God will give me. Do not hurry, my

friend", she said once more.

(29) Wəs=wəs [ø-]sə́-l-ħʷ-wa-z,   l-xaħʷ   jə-šə́la-xa-nə

       so   [it-]how-she-say-Dyn-Impf.N.F   her-stone   it-cornmeal-become-Past.Abs

jə-q'ʲat'=q'ʲát'-wa   j-á-la-ga-jt'.

it-mush/kasha-Dyn.Abs   it-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin

As she was saying so, the stones became cornmeal, and it began to turn into mush.

(30) A-mħáp   [ø-]á-c'ə-l-šʲə-n   a-bə́sta   [ø-]l-wə́-jt'.

      the-spoon.for.mush   [it-]it-Prev-she-mix-Past.Ind.Fin   the-polenta   [it-]she-make-(Aor)-Fin

She mixed the mush with a spoon and made polenta.

(31) J-aa-k'nə́-l-xə-n,   lə-sas   xʷəč'ʲə́-k'

      it-Par-Prev-she-put.away-Past.Ind.Fin   her-guest   little-one

[ø-]jə-č'á-l-c'a-n   də-šʲtá-l-c'ə-jt'.

[it-]him-Prev-she-feed-Past.Ind.Fin   him-Prev-she-put.down-(Aor)-Fin

She took out the polenta and gave her guest a little, and then she gave him a place

on the floor to sleep.

(32) A-šʲtaxʲ lə́-č'ʲk'ʷən-cʷa [ø-]aa-lə-r-pšə́-n   xʷəč'ʲə́-k'

      it-after   her-boy/son-Pl   [them-]Prev-she-Caus-wake-Past.Ind.Fin   little-one

[ø-]r-č'á-l-c'a-n   jə-šʲtá-l-c'ə-jt'.

[it-]them-Prev-she-feed-Past.Ind.Fin   them-Prev-she-put.down-(Aor)-Fin

Then she woke up her sons and fed them a little polenta, and gave each of them in

turn a place on the floor.

(33) Ačnə́   šʲəžʲəmtán   šáanʒa

      on.that.day   in.the.morning   very.early.in.the.morning

d-awə-m-gə́la-x-wa-z,   d-an-áa-pš,

she-Rhetorical.Qu-Neg-get.up-Emph-Dyn-Impf.N.F   she-when-Prev-awake.Aor.N.F

lə́-sas   d-lə-m-bə́-jt',   a-jʷn-gʲə   a-ʒə́

her-guest him-she-Neg-see-(Aor)-Fin the-house-also the-water

[ø-]aa-jʷna-žž-wá　　　　　　　jə́-q'a-n.

[it-]Prev-Prev-percolate-Dyn.Abs it-be-Past.Stat.Fin

Did she get up early in the morning of the following day? (Of course she got up very early in the morning of the following day.) When she awoke, she found that her guest was gone, and that water was seeping into the house.

(34) «Jə́-q'a-la-zaj?!»　　　　　ħʷa d-ané-jʷ-gəla,　　　　　lə́-lapš

　　Rel-Prev-happen-(Aor)-what SP she-when-Par-stand.up.Aor.N.F her-gaze

[ø-]axə-nʒa-na-ʒá-wa-z　　　　　　　　zegʲə jə-ʒət'q'wa-nə́

[it-]where-as.far.as-Prev-reach.thither-Dyn+Impf.N.F all it-place.of.water-as

j-gaz-wá　　　　　jə-[ø-]tá-žʲə-n,　　　　　a-jʷnə́ j-a-ma-rjaša-nə

it-be.ruffled-Dyn.Abs it-[it-]Prev-lie.in-Past.Stat.Fin the-house it-it-Prev-direct.to-Past.Abs

mjʷaxʷásta xʷəč'ʲə́-k' [ø-]ga-n　　　　　ák'ʷəmzar.

path　　　　little-one [it-]lead-Past.Stat.Fin only

"What has happened?!" she cried. When she stood up, she found that as far as the eye could see, everything was rippling water and that only one narrow path led to her house.

(35) Avərħʷa d-aa-gʲažʲə́-n,　　　　　lə́-č'ʲk'ʷən-cʷa

　　quickly she-Par-return-Past.Ind.Fin her-boy/son-Pl

[ø-]aa-lə-r-pšə́-n　　　　　jə-d-lə-rbə́-jt'.

[them-]Prev-she-Caus-wake-Past.Ind.Fin it-them-she-show-(Aor)-Fin

She hurried back, woke her sons and showed them the little path.

(36) Arə́j a-mjʷaxʷásta [ø-]á-l-ga-nə　　　　　jə-zə́-q'a-w

　　this the-path [it-]it-Prev-lead.from-Past.Abs it-why-be-Pres.Stat.N.F

—šʷará šʷ-á-m-ga-r　　　a-ncʷá jə-[j-]taxə́-wp',　　— [ø-]l-ħʷə́-jt'.

　　you.Pl you.Pl-it-Neg-kill-if the-god it-he-want-Pres.Stat.Fin [it-]she-say-(Aor)-Fin

"The reason why this path was laid down is because God does not want you to die," she said.

(37) Wəs [ø-]r-á-ħʷa-nə,　　　　　á-č'ʲk'ʷən-cʷa jə-z-nə́q'ʷ-wa-z

　　so [it-]them-to-say-Past.Abs the-boy/son-Pl Rel-Pot-walk-Dyn+Impf.N.F

l-ápxʲa　　　j-la-r-gə́la-nə,　　　　　a-xʷəč'ʲ-kʷá lará

her-ahead.of   them-Par-Caus-stand-Past.Abs   the-baby-Pl   she
j-áa-šʲtə-x-nə,   a-mjʷaxʷásta   xʷəč'ʲə́   j-á-l-ga-z
them-Par-Prev-pick.up-Past.Abs   the-path   little   Rel-it-Prev-lead-Past.Stat.N.F
də́-kʷ-la-nə   d-dʷə́kʷ-l-t'.
she-Prev-set.off-Past.Abs   she-Prev-depart-(Aor)-Fin

Having said so, she made the sons who were old enough to go on their own feet walk ahead of her, and carried her babies. Then she made her way along the little path.

(38) Esaájra   naq'   d-cá-cəpxʲaʒa,   lə́-šʲtaxʲq'a   j-ajmáħ-wa-n.
     gradually   there   she-go-every.time   her-behind   it-collapse-Dyn+Impf.Fin

As she was progressing along it, the little path was gradually collapsing behind her.

(39) A-pħʷə́s ajbá-gʲ   d-ná-l-c'ə-jt',   a-ʒ-gʲə́
     the-widow-also   she-Prev-Prev-go.out-(Aor)-Fin   the-water-also
j-a[a-]ajlajʷajlá-sə-n,   jə-gazg-wá
Dummy-Par-Prev-seethe-Past.Ind.Fin   it-be.ruffled-Dyn.Abs
jə-l-[ø-]ta-tʷá-jt'.
it-Par-[it-]Prev-pour.into-(Aor)-Fin

As soon as the widow had finished crossing over the path, the water, being churned up, poured over it.

(40) Wəbrə́j   á-naxəs   Rə́jc'a   ʒə́žʲ   [ø-]cʷgʲa-nə́,   jə-c'ə́da-nə
     that   its-after   Rits'a   backwater   [it-]awfully.deep-Abs   it-bottomless-Abs
j-áa-q'a-l-t'.
it-Par-Prev-become-(Aor)-Fin

After that Rits'a's backwater became an unfathomably deep, bottomless lake.

(41) Abnə́j   a-pħʷə́sajba   lə́-č'ʲk'ʷən-cʷa   j-aa-r-xə́l-c'ə-z
     that   the-widow   her-boy/son-Pl   Rel-Par-they-Prev-give.birth.to-Past.Ind.N.F
r-á-wp'   ožʷ   Pšə́saa   jə-rə́-žʷla-nə   jə́-q'a-w.
them-be-Pres.Stat.Fin   now   Pshys-Pl   it-their-surname-as   Rel-be-Pres.Stat.N.F

The people to whom the widow's sons gave birth now go by the surname of Psysaa.

(42) Jəjášanə, Pšə́sba-nə jə́-q'a-w　　　　Rə́jc'a [ɸ-]jə-bá-r, d-wə-m-k'ə́-r

　　　in.fact　　　Pshysba-as Rel-be-Pres.Stat.N.F Rits'a [it-]he-see-if him-you-Neg-hold-if

s-xə　　[ɸ-]á-s-t-wa-jt'　　　　ħʷa d-á-la-ga-wa-jt'　　　　　[ɸ-]r-ħʷa-wá-jt'.

my-head [it-]it-I-give-Dyn-Fin SP he-it-Prev-begin-Dyn-Fin　　[it-]they-say-Dyn-Fin

In fact, they say that if a person named Psysba sees Lake Rits'a, he will begin to say "If you don't hold me back, I'll plunge into it."

Acknowledgments

Notes

* The text is taken from «Ш. Хь. Салаҟаиа. Аҧсуа жәлар рҿаҧҗыштә рҿиамҭа, Ахрестоматиа. Аҟиа: Алашара», 1975. pp. 125-126.

** This text is written in the Gudauta dialect. This dialect can be characterized as the weakening of the open vowel in the final position of the verbal root.

(1) ə́-kʷə-n-x-wa (dial.) = ə́-kʷə-n-xa-wa: masd. á-kʷə-n-xa-ra 'to live on'.

(2) **1.** jə-zə́-q'a-la: masd. á-q'a-la-ra [intr.] 'to become'. **2.** jə́-r-ħʷ-wa (dial.) = jə́-r-ħʷa-wa: masd. a-ħʷa-ra [tr.] 'to say'.

(3) **1.** j-an-pswá = j-an-psə́wa; j-an-pswá dgʲə́lə-z, cf. ápswa matʷá 'Abkhazian clothes'. **2.** Pšə́s-aa: Pšə́s-ba [sg.] (surname). **3.** r-ák'ʷə-n (them(C2)-be-Past.Stat.Fin) '[people who lived there] were the tribe called Pshysbas': masd. ák'ʷ-zaa-ra 'to be'.

(4) **1.** a-nxa-rá or a-nxá-ra.

(5) **1.** j-aá-g (it/them(C1)-Prev-give.Imp) 'give it/them!': masd. aá-ga-ra [tr.] 'to give'. **2.** [ɸ-]rə-z-də́r-wa-mə-zt' (it(C1)-them(C2)-Pot-know-Dyn-Neg-Impf.Fin) 'they did not know it': masd. a-dér-ra [tr.] 'to know'.

(6) **1.** aa-šá-rgʲə: masd. a-ša-rá [intr.] 'to dawn', cf. jə-ša-wá-jt' (Dummy(C1)-dawn-Dyn-Fin) 'it dawns'. **2.** ak'rə-l-w-[w]á-n (Dummy-she(C3)-work-Dyn-Impf) 'she was working': masd. ak'rə-w-rá [tr.] 'to work'.

(7) **1.** jə́-l-w-[w]a-z-gʲə (Rel(C1)-she(C3)-do-Dyn-Impf.N.F-even) 'one which she was doing': masd. a-w-rá [tr.] 'to do'. **2.** jə-r-áw-[w]a-n (them(C1)-they(C2)-obtain-Dyn-Impf.Fin) 'they used to obtain them': masd. á-aw-ra [intr.] 'to receive, obtain'. **3.** [ɸ-]anə-r-záa-n-xa-lagʲ = [ɸ-]anə-r-záa-n-xa-lak'ʲ (it(C1)-when-them(C2)-Prev-Prev-remain-(Aor)-Lak) 'when they had remains': masd. a-záan-xa-ra [intr.] 'to remain'. **4.** j-lə́-r-t-wa-n (dial.) = j-lə́-r-ta-wa-n (it(C1)-her(C2)-they(C3)-give-Dyn-Impf.Fin) 'they used to give it to her': masd. á-ta-ra [tr.] 'to give'.

(8) **1.** [ɸ-]awə́-l-ħʷa-x-wa-z (it(= anything)-Rhetorical.Qu-she-say-Emph-Dyn-Impf.N.F) 'Could she say anything?' (= 'Of course she could not say anything.'): masd. a-ħʷa-rá [tr.] 'to say'. Of the affix of the rhetorical question see Hewitt (2010: 271).

(9) **1.** j-a[a]-ajzə-l-g-wa = j-a[a]-ajzə-l-ga-wa (Rel(C1)-Par-Prev-she(C3)-gather-Dyn.N.F) 'what she is gathering': masd. ájz-ga-ra [tr.] 'to gether'. **2.** [ɸ-]zla-nə́q'ʷə-l-g-wa-z = [ɸ-]zla-nə́q'ʷə-l-ga-wa-z (them(C1)-how-Prev-she(C3)-feed-Dyn-Impf.N.F) 'how she was feeding them': masd. a-nə́q'ʷ-fa-ra [tr.] 'to feed'.

(10) **1.** [ɸ-]anə-n-c'ʷa (it-when-Prev-run.out.Aor.N.F) 'when it ran out': masd. a-n-c'ʷa-rá [intr.] 'to finish, to run out'. **2.** á-mla = á-mla sak'wájt' 'I'm hungry'. **3.** də-r-k'ə́-jt (her-they-pester-(Aor)-Fin) 'they bothered her': masd. a-k'-rá [tr.] 'to bother'.

(11) **1.** [ɸ-]axə-l-gʷá-xʷ-wa-z (it(C1)-where-she(C2)-Prev-think-Dyn-Impf.N.F) 'to the place where she thought that (she would receive the food)': masd. a-gʷá-xʷ-ra [intr.] 'to think'. **2.** d-áa-ħʷ-nə (he-Prev-turn.this.way-Past.Abs) 'he, having turned this way': masd. áa-ħʷ-ra [intr.] 'to turn this way'. **3.** d-lə-xʷa-m-pšə-jt (he(C1)-her(C2)-Prev-Neg-look.at-(Aor)-Fin) 'he did not look at her': masd. á-xʷa-pš-ra [intr.] 'to look at'.

(12) **1.** wjazgʲə́ (dial.) = wajzgʲə́ 'all the same'. **2.** jə-sə-l-m-áw-[w]a-z (dial.) = jə-šə-l-m-áw-[w]a-z (it-how-she-Neg-obtain-Dyn-Impf.N.F) '(she knew) that she could not obtain it': masd. á-aw-ra [intr.] 'to receive, obtain'.

(13) **1.** d-aa-gʲažʲə́-jt' (she-Par-return-(Aor)-Fin) 'she returned': masd. á-gʲažʲ-ra/á-gʲežʲ-ra [intr.] 'to return'.

(14) **1.** D-aá-jə-n (she-Prev-come-Past.Indef.Fin) 'she came and': masd. aá-j-ra [intr.] 'to come, to arrive'. **2.** [ɸ-]-l-ɸ-ta-psa-nə́ (it(= the stone, C1)-Par-it(= the caldron, C2)-Prev(into)-pour-Past.Abs) lit. 'having poured stones into a caldron': masd. a-ta-psa-rá [tr.] 'to pour into'. **3.** jə-jʷ-k'na-l-há-n (it(= the caldron, C1)-Par-Prev-she(C3)-hang.on-Past.Indef.Fin) 'she hung the caldron': masd. a-k'ná-ħa-ra [tr.] 'to hang on'. **4.** jə-jʷ-á-c'a-l-c'-t' = jə-jʷ-á-c'a-l-c'a-jt' (it(= the fire, C1)-Par-it(= the caldron, C2)-Prev(under)-she(C3)-put-(Aor)-Fin) 'she put the fire under the caldron': masd. á-c'a-c'a-ra [tr.] 'to put under'.

(15) **1.** aáj-xa = aáj-ra 'coming'. **2.** Aáj-xa [ɸ-]lə́-m-ta-k'ʷa 'no sooner had she come back'. **3.** jə-lə́-k'ʷ-ša-nə (they(C1)-her(C2)-Prev-surround-Past.Abs) 'they surrounded her': masd. á-lə́-k'ʷ-ša-ra [intr.] 'to surround'. **4.** jə-gə́l-t' = jə-gə́la-jt' (they(C1)-stand.up-(Aor)-Fin) 'they stood up': masd. a-gə́la-ra [intr.] 'to stand up'.

(16) **1.** d-šʷə́-k'ʷxša-wp': á-kəхшазаара 'ласковое обращение: «чтобы твои болезни перешли на меня»' (Kaslandzija:2005). **2.** ožʷə́c'ʷq'ʲa = wažʷə́c'ʷq'ʲa; cf. (25). **3.** ak'ər-zə-m-w-wá-j (Dummy-I-Neg-prepare-Dyn-Qu) 'don't I prepare a meal?': masd. a-k'rə-w-ra [tr.] 'to prepare; to work'. **4.** [ɸ-]aa-l-šʲšʲə́-jt' (them(= their heads, C1)-Par-she(C3)-stroke-(Aor)-Fin) 'she stroked them': masd. a-šʲšʲ-ra [tr.] 'to stoke'.

(17) **1.** j-la-t'ʷá-jt' (they-Prev-sit.down-(Aor)-Fin) 'they sat down': masd. á-la-t'ʷa-ra [intr.] 'to sit down'. **2.** [a-]áa-ba-rə-wšʲ hʷa 'only to see it'. **3.** [ɸ-]awə́-r-ba-x-wa (it(= something, C1)-Rhetorical.Qu-they(C3)-see-Emph-Dyn.N.F) 'Can they see anything?', 'Of course they can see nothing': masd. a-ba-rá [tr.] 'to see'.

(19) **1.** jə́-cʷ-t' = jə́-cʷa-jt' (they(C1)-fall.asleep-(Aor)-Fit) 'they fell aspleep': masd. á-cʷa-ra [intr.] 'to

sleep'. **2.** j-aa-rə-m-na-x-aanӡa (it(C1)-Par-them(C2)-Prev(from)-it(= sleep, C3)-take-(Aor)-until) lit. 'until a sleep took it from them', i.e. 'until they grew sleepy': masd. á-m-x-ra [tr.] 'to take from'. **3.** jə-c'ʷə́wa-n (they(C1)-cry-Past.Ind.Fin): a-c'ʷə́wa-ra [intr.] 'to cry'.

(20) **1.** r-čə́-n-k'apsa = jʷ-k'apsa-nə́ 'they, having lain down everywhere': masd. a-k'a-psa-rá [labile] 'to scatter'. **2.** jə-k'arawára-xa: masd. a-k'arawára-xa-ra [intr.] 'to become exhausted'. **3.** d-xʷə́c-wa (she-think-Dyn.Abs) 'she, thinking': masd. a-xʷə́c-ra [intr.] 'to think'. **4.** m-c'ʷaxə́ pšáa is not analysable. According to my informant, its phrase was translated as 'ничего не спрятала, а ищет'. Cf. the masdars á-c'ʷax-ra [tr.] 'to hide', á-pšaa-ra [tr.] 'to find'. **5.** də-z-ɸ-ta-pš-wá-z = də-š-ɸ-ta-pš-wá-z (she(C1)-how-it(C2)-Prev(into)-look-Dyn-Impf.N.F) lit. 'how she was looking into it': masd. a-ta-pš-rá [intr.] 'to look into'. **6.** [ɸ-]gá-jt' (it(C1)-be.heard-(Aor)-Fin) 'it was heard': masd. a-ga-rá [intr.] 'to be audible'.

(21) **1.** də-jʷ-dʷə́l-c'ə-n: masd. a-dʷə́l-c'-ra [intr.] 'to go out'.

(22) **1.** bzə́ja-la w-aa-bá-jt'! '(addressed to a male person) welcome!': masd. a-ba-rá [tr.] 'to see'. **2.** d-lá-l-gə-jt' = d-ná-l-ga-jt' (him-Prev-she-take.thither-(Aor)-Fin) 'she took him there': masd. a-ná-ga-ra [tr.] 'to take thither'.

(23) **1.** d-sə́-la-t'ʷa-z = d-šə́-la-t'ʷa-z: masd. á-t'ʷa-ra [intr.] 'to sit down'. **2.** [ɸ-]jə-ħʷə́-jt' = [ɸ-]jə-ħʷá-jt'.

(24) **1.** s-a-k'-nə́ (I(C1)-it(C2)-feel-Past.Abs): masd. a-k'-rá [intr.] 'to feel'. Cf. (10)-2. **2.** j-a-psá-m (it(C1)-it(= hiding, C2)-be.worth-Neg.Stat.Pres.Fin) 'it is not worth hiding': masd. a-psa-rá [intr.] 'to be worth'. **3.** [ɸ-]b-zə-s-čʲa-c'a-rə́.wšʲ (it(C1)-you.F(C2)-Pot-me(C2)-Prev-feed-even if) 'Cannot you feed me some food?': masd. a-čʲa-c'a-rá [tr.] 'to feed'.

(25) **1.** d-ax-pš-wá = d-axʲ-pš-wá (she-where-look-Dyn.N.F) 'where she is looking': masd. a-pš-rá [intr.] 'to look'. **2.** [ɸ-]z-tá-w (it(= the stone, C1)-Rel(C2)-be.in-Pres.Stat.N.F) 'which the stone is in': masd. a-tá-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to be in'.

(27) **1.** jə-ɸ-tá-w-gʲ (Rel(C1)-it(= this, C2)-be.in-Pres.Stat.N.F-even) 'what is in it': masd. a-tá-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to be in'. **2.** [ɸ-]z-bwa-wá-t' = [ɸ-]z-ba-wá-jt': masd. a-ba-rá [tr.] 'to see'. **3.** jə-s-č'á-b-c'-wa-zəj? = jə-s-č'á-b-c'a-wa-zaj? (Rel(C1)-me(C2)-Prev-you.F(C3)-feed-Dyn-Qu) 'What will you feed me with?': masd. a-čʲa-c'a-rá [tr.] 'to feed'. Cf. (25)-2.

(28) **1.** w-aa-m-ccak'ə́-n (you.M-Par-Neg-hurry-Imp) 'don't hurry up!': masd. á-ccak'-ra [intr.] 'to hurry'. **2.** s-wə́-k'ʷxša-wp' 'my dear!': masd. á-кəхшазаара 'ласковое обращение'; cf. (16)-1. **3.** adrjʷágʲ = adjʷrágʲ, see (26).

(29) **1.** [ɸ-]sə́-l-ħʷ-wa-z = [ɸ-]šə́-l-ħʷa-wa-z (it(C1)-how-she(C3)-say-Dyn-Impf.N.F) lit. 'how she was saying so'. **2.** q'ʲat'=q'ʲát' 'каша из кукурузной крупы'.

(30) **1.** [ɸ-]á-c'ə-l-šʲə-n: masd. a-c'-šʲ-ra [tr.] 'to mix'. **2.** [ɸ-]l-wə́-jt': masd. a-w-rá [tr.] 'to make; to do'.

(31) **1.** j-aa-k'nə́-l-xə-n: masd. a-k'nə́-x-ra [tr.] 'to take down; to put away (the polenta)'. **2.** də-šʲtá-l-c'ə-jt' = də-šʲtá-l-c'a-jt' (him(C1)-Prev-she(C3)-put.down-(Aor)-Fin): masd. á-šʲta-c'a-ra [tr.] 'to put down'.

(32) **1.** [ɸ-]aa-lə-r-pšə́-n (them-Prev-she-Caus-wake-Past.Ind.Fin) 'she woke them up and': masd. áa-rpš-ra [tr.] 'to wake up'; cf. (33)-**2**.

(33) **1.** d-awə-m-gə́la-x-wa-z (she(C1)-Rhetorical.Qu-Neg-get.up-Emph-Dyn-Impf.N.F) 'didn't she get

up': masd. a-gə́la-ra [intr.] 'to get up'. **2.** d-an-áa-pš (she-when-Prev-awake.Aor.N.F) 'when she awoke': masd. áa-pš-ra [intr.] 'to awake'. **3.** d-lə-m-bə́-jt' = d-lə-m-bá-jt' (him(C1)-she(C3)-Neg-see-(Aor)-Fin) 'she did not see him'. **4.** [ɸ-]aa-jʷna-žž-wa: masd. aa-jʷna-žž-rá [intr.] 'to percolate'.

(34) **1.** jə́-q'a-la-zaj (Rel-Prev-happen-(Aor)-what) 'what happened?': masd. á-q'a-la-ra [intr.] 'to happen'. **2.** [ɸ-]axə-nʒa-na-ʒá-wa-z = [ɸ-]axʲə-nʒa-na-ʒá-wa-z (it(= her gaze, C1)-where-as.far.as-Prev-reach.thither-Dyn-Impf.N.F) 'as far as her eye could see': masd. á-na-ʒa-ra [intr.] 'to reach thither'. **3.** j-gaz-wá = j-gazga-wá: masd. a-gazga-rá [intr.] 'to be ruffled'. For this form see j-gazga-wá in (39). **4.** jə-[ɸ-]tá-žʲə-n (it(C1)-it(C2)-Prev(in)-lie-Past.Stat.Fin) 'it lay in it': masd. a-tá-žʲ-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to lie in'. **5.** j-a-ma-rjaša-nə (it(C1)-it(= the house, C2)-Prev-direct.to-Past.Abs) lit. 'having directed it to the house': masd. á-ma-rjaša-ra [tr.] 'to direct to'. **6.** [ɸ-]ga-n: masd. a-gá-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to lead'.

(35) **1.** jə-d-lə-rbə́-jt' = jə-d-lə-r-bá-jt' < jə-r-lə-r-bá-jt' (it(= the path, C1)-them(C2)-she(C3)-Caus-see-(Aor)-Fin) 'she showed it to them': masd. a-rba-rá [tr.] ' to show'.

(36) **1.** [ɸ-]á-l-ga-nə (it(= the path, C1)-it(C2)-Prev-lead.from-Past.Abs) 'having led the path from it': masd. á-la-ga-ra [tr.] 'to lead from'. **2.** šʷ-á-m-ga-r (you.Pl(C1)-it(C3)-Neg-kill-if) jə-[j-]taxə́-wp' '[God] does not want it to kill you': masd. a-ga-rá [tr.] 'to kill'.

(37) **1.** wəs [ɸ-]r-á-ħʷa-nə (it(C1)-them(C2)-to-say-Past.Abs) 'having said so to them': masd. a-ħʷa-rá [tr.] 'to say'. **2.** jə-z-nəq'ʷ-wa-z = jə-z-nəq'ʷa-wa-z (Rel-Pot-walk-Dyn-Impf.N.F) '[the boys] who could walk': masd. a-nə́q'ʷa-ra [intr.] 'to walk, go (on foot)'. **3.** j-la-r-gə́la-nə (them(C1)-Par-Caus-stand.up-Past.Abs) 'having made them stand': masd. a-rgə́la-ra [tr.] 'make *sb* stand'. **4.** j-áa-šʲtə-x-nə (them-Par-Prev-pick.up-Past.Abs) 'having picked them up': masd. á-šʲtə-x-ra [tr.] 'to pick up'. **5.** j-á-l-ga-z '[the little path] which was laid down'. **6.** də́-kʷ-la-nə: masd. á-kʷ-la-ra [intr.] 'to set off'. **7.** d-dʷə́kʷ-l-t' = d-dʷə́kʷ-la-jt': masd. a-dʷə́kʷ-ra [intr.] 'to depart'.

(38) **1.** j-ajmáħ-wa-n = j-ajmáħa-wa-n (it-collapse-Dyn-Impf.Fin) 'it was collapsing': masd. ájmaħa-ra [intr.] 'to collapse, to cave in'.

(39) **1.** A-pħʷə́s ajbá-gʲ: cf. (5) a-pħʷésajba 'the widow'. **2.** d-ná-l-c'ə-jt': masd. a-ná-l-c'-ra [intr.] 'to go out'. **3.** j-a[a-]ajlajʷajlá-sə-n: masd. ájlajʷajka-s-ra 'to seethe; to crowd'. **4.** jə-l-[ɸ-]ta-tʷá-jt' (it(= the water, C1)-Par-it(= the path, C2)-Prev-pour.into-(Aor)-Fin) 'the water poured into the path': masd. a-ta-tʷa-rá [labile] 'to pour into'.

(40) **1.** jə-c'ə́da-nə < jə-c'ə́-da-nə 'it-bottom-without-Abs', cf. á-c'a 'bottom'. **2.** j-áa-q'a-l-t' = j-áa-q'a-la-jt' (it-Par-Prev-become-(Aor)-Fin) 'it became': masd. á-q'a-la-ra [intr.] 'to become'.

(41) **1.** j-aa-r-xə́l-c'ə-z (Rel(C1)-Par-they(C2)-Prev-give.birth.to-Past.Ind.N.F) 'one who they gave birth to': masd. a-xə́l-c'-ra [intr.] 'to give birth to'.

(42) **1.** d-wə-m-k'ə́-r (him(C1)-you(C2)-Neg-hold-if) 'if you do not hold him': masd. a-k'-rá [intr. inverse] 'to hold'. **2.** [ɸ-]á-s-t-wa-jt' = [ɸ-]á-s-ta-wa-jt' (it(= my head, C1)-it(= Lake, C2)-I(C3)-give-Dyn-Fin) 'I'll give my head to Lake Rits'a', i.e. 'I'll plunge into Lake Rits'a': masd. á-ta-ra [tr.] 'to give'.

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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