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Prefixal Particles in Abkhaz

Tamio YANAGISAWA

1. Introduction

Abkhaz, a language in the North-West Caucasian linguistic family, has several prefixal particles which express a variety of nuances for an action or a mood. Though in standard literary Abkhaz these prefixal particles are rare, they are often found in folktale texts. Grammatically, these particles are not necessary to the building of verbal complexes. Since they are placed before the verbal root and resemble the preverbs which specify the direction or location of a verbal action, some investigators regard the particles themselves as preverbs. However, the preverbs cannot be dropped. In this regard there is a distinct difference between prefixal particles and preverbs. These particles have seldom been described in detail in the Abkhaz grammars and dictionaries. This may be because it is difficult to define their subtle meanings and most of them are only to be found in the colloquial speech of the folktale texts. However, in order to understand a language such as Abkhaz more deeply, we should know how a grammatical category such as a particle is used in a sentence, and what nuances it gives to a sentence. This paper's aim is to investigate particles in the Abkhaz folktale texts and to describe their meanings.

The sample sentences cited below are from the texts "Сергей Зыхбуа (ed.), Абхазская лакула, Акуа, Алашара, 1997". Interpretation of the texts was facilitated by my Abkhaz consultant, Mrs. Ana Tsvinaria, a native speaker of the Abzhywa dialect of Abkhaz.

2. The features of the verbal complex

Abkhaz, like the other North-West Caucasian languages, is a 'polysynthetic language'. It can have a considerable verbal complex, resulting from the affixing of markers expressing the class-person and grammatical categories such as negation, the causative, the version,
potentialis, unvolitionalis, tense-aspect, etc. Most of the affixes in the verbal complex are prefixes. Thus, Abkhaz is a language having a system of 'actant slots' which are placed before a root. In this paper, the class-personal prefixes occupying the actant slots will be referred to as 'columns' (hereafter marked as C), following Hewitt (1989). Abkhaz does not have a case marking system, but uses an alternative strategy for the distribution of columns indicating the relation of both the subject and the object in the verbal complex. Abkhaz has three basic columns. Column I (hereafter marked as C1) represents both an intransitive subject (S) and a transitive object (O), and is placed in the first actant slot. Column II (hereafter marked as C2) represents an indirect object (Oi) of both intransitive and transitive verbs, and is placed in the actant slot between C1 and C3. The appearance of C2 depends on whether or not the verb can take the actant. Column III (hereafter marked as C3) represents a transitive subject (A), and is placed in the actant slot before a root. Since S is thus treated in the same way as O, and differently from A, Abkhaz is a morphological ergative language. Some examples are provided below.

one-place intransitive:

(1) dÁ-pa-wa-jt’
   he/she(C1)-jump-DYN-Fin
   "he/she (S) jumps"

two-place intransitive:

(2) d-lÁ-s-wa-jt’
   he/she(C1)-her(C2)-hit-DYN-Fin
   "he/she (S) hits her (Oi)"

two-place transitive:

(3) d-l-ši-wá-jt’
   him/her(C1)-she(C3)-kill-DYN-Fin
   "she (A) kills him/her (O)"
three-place transitive:

(4) d-lô-s-ta-wa-jt’
   him/her(C1)-to her(C2)-I(C3)-give-DYN-Fin
   "I (A) give him/her (O) to her (Oi)"

If a transitive verb has a "preverb" (hereafter marked PREV), C3 is placed between the
preverb and the verbal root, e.g.

(5) j-pô-s-q’a-f-jt’
   it(C1)-PREV-I(C3)-cut-(Aor.)-Fin
   "I (A) cut it (O)"

On the other hand, if a two-place intransitive verb has a "preverb", C2 is placed between C1
and the preverb, e.g.

(6) d-lô-xʷ-a-pš-wa-jt’
   he/she(C1)-her(C2)-PREV(at)-look-DYN-Fin
   "he/she (S) looks at her (Oi)"

This difference in the positions in which the preverb and the actants appear is one of the
important criteria for transitivity in Abkhaz.

If a verb has a causative marker, it immediately precedes the root. Compare the example
given in (5) above and the causative form in (7) below:

(7) jo-s-p-Iš-r-q’á-f-jt’
   it(C1)-me(C2)-PREV-she(C3)-CAUS-cut-(Aor.)-Fin
   "she made me cut it"

When a relative adverbial clause is formed, the relative adverbial marker is inserted after C1
of the verbal complex, e.g.
(8) Sará ja-z-dár-wa-ji' Amra d-ax'î-n-xa-wá a-j'"nô.  
I it-1-know-DYN-Fin Amra (f.) she(C1)-where-PREV-live-DYN.Non.Fin the-house  
"I know the house where Amra lives."

When a relative adjective clause is formed, the relative adjective marker (hereafter marked Rel) functions as well as the operation of columns. If the relative corefers with the same referent as C1, the relative marker takes ji(-), while if the relative corefers with the same referent as C2 or C3, the relative marker takes -z(ə)-.

(9) A-šk'îl-axî j-ca-wá á-č'îk'wôn də-ž-dôr-wa-ji'.  
the-school-to Rel(C1)-go-DYN.Non.Fin the-boy him-I-know-DYN-Fin  
"I know the boy who is going to school."

(10) Wará wo-z-la-c'âž"a-wa sará jø-s-xá-št-x/a-ji'. (AAD)  
you (m.) you-Rel(C2)-PREV-talk about-DYN.Non.Fin I it-me-PREV-forget-Perfect-Fin  
"I have forgotten what you talked about."

(11) á-x'wô sô-zô-dô-z-ki'la-wa á-č'îk'wôn  
the-medicine [it]-Rel(POSS)-SV-Rel(C3)-take-DYN.Non.Fin the-boy  
"the boy who takes the medicine"

3. The position of particles in the verbal complex

If a verbal complex has the prefixal particle (hereafter marked PAR) in question, it is inserted after C1. Compare the example of a one-place intransitive (12) and that of a three-place transitive which contains C1, C2 and C3 (13):

(12) a-d"k'în də-n-d"sl-c'-wa-ji' a-ph'ôzba  
the-store he/she(C1)-PAR-PREV(outside)-go-DYN-Fin the-girl  
"the girl goes out of the store at once/gladdly"
Furthermore, if there is both a prefixal particle and a relative adverbial prefix in a verbal complex, the particle is placed after the relative adverbial prefix, e.g.

(14) A-j"nò d-axj6-na-ja-na-la-z awáa rac"a-j"nò j-ajk"sa-ná
the-house he-where-PAR-PREV(into)-enter-Non.Fin.P.1. people many-Hum. they-surround-Abs.
j-š-t"á-z [∅]-j-bá-∅-jt'.
[Text 1]
they-how-sit-Non.Fin.Past [it]-he-see-(Aor.)-Fin
"He saw that in the house where he entered rapidly many people were sitting around."

If a verbal complex has both a reflexive prefix and a particle, the latter is placed after the former, e.g.

(16) a-čó-n-t-na-šq-n
its-self-PAR-PREV-it-dip-Past.Ind.
"it dipped itself and ..."
(17) j-áa-h-aw-[w]a
Rel(C1)-PAR-we-receive-DYN.Non.Fin
"all that we receive"

Compare example (17) above and example (18) below, wherein the relative adjective marker functions as C2:

(18) dɔ-n-z-ah-ta-wá,
her(C1)-PAR-Rel(C2)-we-give-DYN.non.Fin
waxá dɔ-ps-wá-jt'
"the person to whom we will give her (in marriage) will die tonight"

4. The usages and meanings of prefixal particles in Abkhaz folktale texts

The prefixal particles used in Abkhaz folktale texts are as follows: n "at once", "gladly", "in good humor", ’ "quickly", "at once", aa "at once", "quickly", jw "instantly", "at once", jw "quickly", na "quickly", and "instantly". As mentioned above, these particles are not always grammatically necessary to the building of a sentence. Therefore, though it is difficult to describe their meaning, their primary purpose would appear to be to lend greater intensity to an action. Furthermore, they can be used to indicate that an action has started quickly or has been rapidly completed, but they do not represent a perfective tense-aspect as a grammatical category (expressed by a perfective suffix -xq). When the particles in question are used in folktale texts, the forms of the verbal complex in which they are used usually have Absolutes (which resemble English participles) which are marked by -nq, Past Indefinite in -n, and a finite form of Aorist in -φ-jt' or non-finite form of Aorist in -φ. These particles are remarkably similar in meaning and often interchangeable, e.g.: d-lô-j"na-la-jt' or d-nô-j"na-la-jt' (he/she-PAR-PREV-enter-Fin) "he/she entered at once". The following are examples:

(19) A-šarpaz a-čámazajw dɔ-n-tá-ha-nq
dő-cw-a-φ-jt'. (AAD)
early morning the-sick person he/she-PAR-PREV(in)-fall.Abs. he/she-sleep-(Aor.-Fin)
"In the early morning the sick person fell asleep soundly."

(20) A-x*é'j̱ á-mba d-na-[a]-k'î-ó-so-n
the-boy the-goal he-PAR-it-PREV-touch-Past.Ind. back he-run-(Aor.-Fin)
š/tax/q'á dő-jw-φ-jt'.

"the person to whom we will give her (in marriage) will die tonight"
"As soon as the boy touched the goal, he ran back."

(21) Nas áfərhʷa j-č'ó-na-j-xa-n, anój j-zə-d-gōla-z
then quickly his-SV-PREV-he-start-Past.Ind. that they-Rel-PREV(by)-stand-Non.Fin.PI.
a-jʷ n dəw d-ló-jʷ-na-la-φ-jt'.
the-house big he-PAR-PREV-enter-(Aor.)-Fin

"Then he quickly set out and (at once) entered that big house by which they stood."

(22) Ja-bzója-wp', s-âb, jó-w-hʷa-z φ-s-a-há-φ-jt', — j-hʷá-n,
it-good-stat.pres. my-father Rel-you-say-Non.Fin.PI. [it]-me-to-hear-(Aor.)-Fin he-say-Past.Ind.
də-jʷ-čózʷ-la-n j-čó d-á-s-nə d-cá-φ-jt'.
he-PAR-PREV-mount a horse-Past.Ind. his-horse he-it-hit-Abs he-go-(Aor.)-Fin

"It is good, my father, I see what you said, — said he, and he (quickly) mounted his horse, and having struck it (with the whip), he went away."

(23) Ja-bzója-wp', s-âb, jó-w-hʷa-z φ-s-a-há-φ-jt', — j-hʷá-n,
wáj-gło, j-čó d-á[a]-a-s-nə d-cá-φ-jt'.
this-also his-horse he-PAR-it-hit-Abs he-go-(Aor.)-Fin

"It is good, my father, I see what you said, — said he and having struck it (quickly) (with the whip), he went away."

From the examples given above (and those provided below as well) it will be seen that in many cases these particles are used in the forms of the Past Indefinite and Absolutives. Since Abkhaz lacks a coordinate conjunction, the Past Indefinite and Absolutives provide clause linkage. For this reason, in order to express the various nuances of an action in clause-chaining, the particles are mainly used in the Past Indefinite and Absolutives.

We find that two different particles can be used in one sentence, e.g.

(24) Ja-bzjáa-wp', — j-hʷá-n, áhʷa φ-áa-štə-j-xə-n
it-good-stat.pres. he-say-Past.Ind. [the]-sword [it]-PAR-PREV-he-pick up-Past.Ind.
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"a-č'k'jwən" a-h"ontkár ja-j"nó d-na-j"ná-l-t' (< d-na-j"ná-la-φ-j't'). [Text 1]  
the-boy the-king his-house he-PAR-PREV-enter-(Aor.-)Fin  
It is good, — the "boy" said, and he picked up the sword at once and quickly entered the  
king's house."

(25). Nas arőj "a-č'k'jwən" j-শòba j-aa-tó-j-xə-n a-dawó j-lómha  
then this the-boy his-pocket it-PAR-PREV-he-take out-Past.Ind. the-ogre his-ear  
φ-na-ga-nó r-ápχə j-čó-k"j-c'c-a-φ-j't'. [Text 1]  
[it]-PREV(thither)-take-Abs them-in front of it-PAR-PREV(on)-he-put-(Aor.-)Fin  
"Then as soon as this "boy" removed an ear of the ogre from his pocket, he took it  
thither and put it in front of them."

(26) A-h"óhsh j-aa-j-z a-laxánk'a j-a-nó-z a-žó  
the-dove Rel-PREV-come-NonFin.P.I. the-washtub Rel-it-be on-Stat.Past.N.F the-water  
a-čó-n-t-na-শো-n a-mc"žx'jwə-kwa φ-an-ά[a]-a-ράšwə-a,  
á-rpɔzba pʒá-k', á-rpɔzba zamána-k' d-aa-tóc'-'φ-t'. [Text 1]  
a-young man beautiful-a a-young man fine-a he-PREV-go out-(Aor.-)Fin  
"The dove which had come here dipped itself into the water on the washtub, and as soon  
as it waved its wings, it turned into a beautiful and fine young man."

(27) A-dawó wa j-ę-psó φ-aα-j-xəc'ə-n,  
the-ogre there his-soul [it]-PAR-him-cross-Past.Ind. (= he breathed his last)  
ág"arahə da-l-k'á-ha-φ-j't'. [Text 1]  
in a heap he-PAR-PREV-fall-(Aor.-)Fin  
"The moment the ogre breathed his last there, he fell in a heap."

(28) Arőj a-dawó da-z-शò-c'q'jə-z "a-č'k'jwən" da-l-d'wəl-c'ə-n  
this the-ogre him-Rel(C3)-kill-Indeed-Non.Fin.P. the-boy he-PAR-PREV(outside)-go-Past.Ind.  
j-čó a-xʷč-k'wə φ-a[a]-aj-dó-jə-k'šala-n, ... [Text 1]  
his-horse its-hair-PL [them]-PAR-one onother-PREV-he-bump-Past.Ind.
"As soon as the «boy» who had indeed killed this ogre went out, he rubbed his horse’s hair, ..."

(29) «A-ç’ k’jwom> de-1-~6~w_pa-n a-daw-kwá xara-nt’wâ
the-boy he-PAR-PREV(out of horse)-jump-Past.Ind. the-ogre-PL far-from
rò-la-kwâ φ-x-t’-nô [jê]-j-bá-n,
he-when-them-PREV-look at.Non.Fin.Aor their-eye-PL [they]-PREV-open-Abs [it]-he-see-Past.Ind.
d-lò-št-a-sá-n a-xâhwa φ-mc’a-rs-nô dâ-j’w-x-t’. [Text 1]
he-PAR-PREV-touch the ground-Past.Ind. the-stone [it]-PREV-snatch-Abs he-run-(Aor.-Fin
"When the «boy» quickly jumped down off the horse and looked at the ogres from afar, he saw that their eyes were open. And at once he lay down on the ground, snatched the stone and started to run."

Here is an example where two verbs with a similar meaning have different particles:

(30) A-ncwá j-ah-páx’á-jò-r-sw’a-z, k’w’t’-á-k’ φ-h-áw-r-gíó,
God Rel-us-PREV-he-CAUS-come into-Non.Fin.Past.Ind. hen-one [it]-we-receive-if-even
j-ajq’ara-nô j-l-ajj’-áh-ša-wa-ju, k’ap’ék’ φ-h-áw-r-gíó
it-equally-adv. it-PAR-PREV-we-divide-DYN-Fin kopeck [it]-we-receive-if-even
ajq’ara-nô j-a[a]-ajq’-wa-r-č’á-r-a-wp’. [Text 2]
equally-adv. it-PAR-PREV-we-divide-must-be-Stat.pres.
"Whatever God gave us — even if we receive one hen —, we shall divide it equally, even if we receive a kopeck, we must divide it equally."

We can also provide an example of different particles with the same roots:

(31) anáx-áráxj d-aa-náq’w-a-n, d-lò-kw’s-ju-k’w’sh-ô-n,
thither-hither he-PAR-walk-Past.Ind. he-PAR-watch-PAR-watch-Past.Ind.
awáa-gj φ-j-bá-φ-ju’ ...
people-also [them]-he-see-(Aor.)-Fin
"he walked thither and hither, looked around, and he also saw people ..."

5. Conclusion

The prefixal particles n, l, aa, jw, jwa, na, which are often found in the Abkhaz folktale texts, are not preverbs but a unique grammatical category. Grammatically, Abkhaz can do without these particles when building a sentence, therefore, in standard literary Abkhaz they are rarely found. They are inserted after C1 or the relative adverbial prefix in the verbal complex, and they are mainly used in the forms of Past Indefinite and Absolutives. The basic purpose of the particles used in these forms is to connect more than two clauses closely by intensifying an action. From this basic purpose several individual meanings then stem, e.g. quickness of an action, rapid completion of an action, a mood of contentment as the result of an action, etc. However, most of the examples in the folktale texts indicate that an action has been performed quickly.

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Note

1. According to Chirikba (2003:43), preverbs which do not make up a part of the verbal stem can be called ‘free preverbs’, cf. d-aa- xo sóc-∅-jit’ ‘(s)he thought a bit’ vs. d- xo sóc-∅-jit’ ‘(s)he thought’ (stem xo sóc(a) ‘to think’). On the other hand, the preverbs which are a part of the stem (a-p+q’a-ra ‘to cut’, the stem p+q’a) can be called ‘stem (or bound) preverbs’. We do not use the term ‘free preverbs’ for the prefixal elements which do not make up a part of the verbal stem. This is because, though preverbs and prefixal particles have the same origin, they are not functionally equivalent.
Abbreviations

A = Agent
Abs = absolutive
Aor. = aorist
C1 = the first column
C2 = the second column
C3 = the third column
CAUS = causative
DYN = dynamic (verb)
Fin = finite
Hum. = Human
Ind = indefinite
NEG = negative
Non.Fin / N.F. = non-finite
O = direct object
O1 = indirect object
OV = objective version
PAR = particle
Past.Ind. / P.I. = past indefinite
perf. / PERF = perfect
POSS = possessive
PL = plural
pres. = present
PREV = preverb
Rel = relative prefix
Stat. = stative
SV = subjective Version

References


Texts

