AN UBYKH SAMPLER

compiled, translated, and analyzed
by John Colarusso

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(a first draft)

Symbols and Abbreviations

v́	=	vowel with primary stress
v̀	=	vowel with secondary stress
V	=	abstract vowel slot in the vocalic tier, used to explain word shape
3	=	'he,'' she,' 'it;' 'him,' 'her'
*	=	denotes a reconstructed form
-	=	morpheme boundary for inflectional or productive morphology
+	=	morpheme boundary for unproductive derivational morphology
abs	=	absolutive case (subject of intransitives, direct object of transitives)
	=	active
adj	=	adjective
adv	=	adverb
aff	=	affirmative mood
asp	=	aspect of present continuous verb
ATR	=	advanced tongue root, an articulatory gesture that bunches up the tongue body and produces a palatal y-like quality
cause	=	causative (caused, made, allowed, enabled)
ch.of.st	=	change of state preverb
conn	=	connective, used in compounds and sometimes with the causative
dat	=	dative ("to…, at …")
detri	=	detrimentive ("against…, despite…")
dir	=	direction
dist	=	distributed through space or time
dur	=	durative
dyn	=	dynamic
emph	=	emphatic ("indeed")
ep.v	=	epenthetic vowel (a vowel inserted for phonetic reasons)
fem	=	feminine
fut	=	future
gen	=	genitive ("belonging to …")
genr	=	general (unspecified)

ger	=	gerund (a participle-like form that can take case endings)
hor	=	horizon of interest (object of action is of interest to the speaker, or action is toward the speaker)
hum	=	human
immed	=	immediate, soon to happen
imp	=	imperative
inal	=	inalienable possession (inseparable from the possessor)
indef	=	indefinite
inf	=	infinitive
int	=	intimate possession (used for spouse or parents)
inst	=	instrumental
intr	=	intransitive
invis	=	invisible
irreal	=	irrealis ("contrary to fact, unreal")
iter	=	iterative ("again and again")
loc	=	locative
masc	=	masculine
neg	=	negative
neg.tns	=	negative tense suffix
non.pr	=	non-present tense vowel /e/ of Bzhedukh verbs
obl	=	oblique case (subject of transitives, indirect objects, objects of postpositions)
obl.conn	=	an affix found in Circassian compound nouns of the form /-n-/ or /-m-/ and reminiscent of the oblique case
opt	=	optative (for wishes or contrary to fact statements)
part	=	participle
PIE	=	Proto-Indo-European
pl	=	plural
pl.conn	=	plural or numerical connective found in Circassian between a noun and its numerical, specifically cardinal adjective
poss	=	possessive
pred	=	predicative case, being a certain way or in a certain state
pres	=	present tense

preV	=	preverb without a separate sense from the verb root
pro	=	pronominal suffix
prog	=	progressive aspect
prol	=	prolongation suffix
pro.tns	=	"pro-tense," which stands for a supressed or missing tense
prox.fut	=	proximate or near future
Q	=	question suffix, question complementizer
recip	=	reciprocal ("each other")
refl	=	reflexive ('to one's self")
sg	=	singular
stat	=	stative affirmative
subj	=	subjunctive ("maybe …")
th.v.	=	thematic vowel (used to form stems for inflection)
val	=	valence (adds an argument to a verb or increases its activity)
voc	=	vocative, form used in address
WCirc	=	West Circassian

Ubykh

Phonemic inventory

labial	p	b	p'	f	-	m	w
---, pharyngealized	p̄	ḇ	p̄'	-	v̱	m̱	w̱
dental	t	d	t'			n	r
---, labialized, ,	t° [pʿtʿ]	d° [bd]	t'° [p't']				
alveolar laminal	c	ʒ	c'	s	z		
---,laminal, labialized*	c° [cᶲ]	ʒ° [ʒᵝ]	c'° [c'ᶲ]	s° [sᶲ]	z° [zᵝ]		
---,---/---, apical	ċ	ʒ̇	ċ'	ṡ	ż		
---, ---/---, lateral	-	-	λ'	ɬ	l		
palato-alveolar, rounded	-	-	-	š°	ž°		
---, laminal	čʸ	ǯʸ	č'ʸ	šʸ	žʸ		
---, apical (retroflexed)	č	ǯ	č'	š	ž		
palatal	kʸ	gʸ	k'ʸ	x̂	ĝ		y
velar, rounded	k°	g°	k'°	x̂° [x̂ᶲ]	-		
uvular	q	-	q'	x̌	ɣ		
---, palatalized (+ATR.)	qʸ	-	q'ʸ	x̌ʸ	ɣʸ		
---, rounded	q°	-	q'°	x̌°	ɣ°		
---, pharyngealized	q̄	-	q̄'	x̄	ɣ̄		
---, ---, rounded	q̄°	-	q̄'°	x̄°	ɣ̄°		
laryngeal			-	h	-		
vowels	ə	a	ạ (< a + a)				

Stress is distinctive and cosnsists of a combination of rise in pitch and increase in energy.

Later in life Tevfik Esenç seems to have made these sounds somewhat retracted,

according to George Hewitt, somewhat like the corresponding Circassian series, /ć˚˚, ć˚,
ź̌˚, ś˚, ź˚/.

<u>Note on the vertical vowel system of Ubykh:</u>

The system is much like that of the Circassian languages, save that the open vowel
can be a bit more back. A more open, coda-filling vowel [a̧] appears to occur, perhaps
unpredictably, and has been the topic of some dispute among specialists and Ubykhs
alike. See remarks in appendix A.

In addition to having one of the largest consonantal systems (81), Ubykh also
displays some highly unusual contrasts. It has both pharyngealized and plain
consonants at the lips and at the uvula (back of the mouth). The throat and epiglottis
are constricted for these sounds, imparting to them a noisy dark quality. The uvulars
also show a contrast in rounding. This labial activity is found with the dentals, /t, d,
t'/, resulting in the unusual combination of simultaneous labial and dental closure.
Abkhaz also has such odd sounds. Lip approximation, like blowing out a match, also
occurs with the /s/ fricatives and affricates, that is with /s/ and /z/ and the ts-like
sounds. Abkhaz shows an f-like contrast with this series. I myself showed that the
"rounded" palatal /x̂˚/ existed, Colarusso 1992b, only through x-ray analysis and
acoustic studies. Earlier scholars had missed it because it has the puffing labial
approximation seen in /s/, etc., rather than the expected simple lip rounding found
with /k/, etc. The 'sh' - 'ch' series shows simple rounding for those made with the flat
of the tongue. One should be perhaps grateful that the corresponding sounds made
with the tongue tip, both in the front of the mouth and against the palate remain
unrounded. Finally for the uvulars at the back of the mouth a bunched form can be
made that gives them a simultaneous y-like timbre despite their persistent back quality.

I have suggested that these sounds are made by tensing the floor of the mouth and so advancing the tongue root [+ATR], much as the contrast in English between the tense vowel of <u>beet</u> [+ATR] as opposed to the lax vowel of <u>bit</u> [-ATR].

Stress is unpredictable in Ubykh, as well as in Abkhaz and Abaza. I have marked it i the texts. In Ubykh and in some Abkhaz and Abaza dialects stress tends to have a tone component of higher pitch, so that the usual precussive quality of stress seen in Circassian is softened and supplemented with a soft lilt, a slight rise in pitch close to a minor third on a keyboard.

<u>Phonemicized and Glossed Text 1</u>

translated into French by Georges Dumézil
glossed in English by John Colarusso
with restored /x̂°/

1.   fáx̌ʸa marčʸą́n šą́ɣə ɣapʾcʾánə zax̂°ą́kʾʸa lát°qʾa

fa-a-x̌ʸa	nose, "front"-conn-time.locus
marčʸą́n	Marchan
šą́ɣə	Shaghi
ø-ɣa-pʾcʾá-nə	3-poss-name-pres.part
za-x̂°a-a-kʾʸa	one-hunt-conn-agent
ø-lá-t°-qʾa	3-there-be-past

2.   ałáx̂an wátənə zářə yə́kʾ°qʾa.

a-łáx̂a-n	the-montane.forest-obl
ø-ø-wá-tə-nə	3(he)-3(it)-in-be-pro.tns
	(an intransitive verb with indirect object)
zá-łə	one-buck
ø-yə́-kʾ°-qʾa	3(it)-3(he)-kill-past (an ergative verb)

3.   áz°apsən aɣ°adan áš°wa ałáx̂aɣa alagʸə́t°qʾa.

á-z°apsə-n	the-evening-obl
a-ɣ°ada-n	3-come.to.pass-pro.tns
á-š°wa	the-night
a-łáx̂a-ɣa	the-montane.forest-loc
a-la-gʸə+t°-q'a	3-there-on+be-past

4.　məž̌ʸá cáɣan ałə́ ɣac°agʸəc°ə́b̲a yəž̌°ágʸə zaq'ák'ʸa ɣə́q°q'a.

məž̌ʸá	fire
ø-ø-cá+ɣa-n	3-3(he)-burn+start-pro.tns
a-łə́	the-buck
ø-ɣa-c°a-gʸə-c°ə́b̲a	3-poss-hide-heart-liver, "sweet meats"
ø-yə-ž̌°á-gʸə	3-3(he)-roast-and, then
za-q'á-k'ʸa	one-say-agent, "voice"
ø-ø-ɣá-a-q°-q'a	3(voice)-3(him)-to-dat-be.audible-past, "he heard a voice"

5.　yəž̌°angʸə q'á̲ɣənə zaɣ°ə́nən k'ʸáƛ'aq'a.

ø-yə́-ž̌°a-n-gʸə	which-3-roast-pro.tns-and
ø-ø-q'á-a-ɣə-nə	3(food)-3(his)-hand-in-belong-pro.tns
za-ɣ°ə́nə-n	one-tree-obl
ø-ø-k'ʸá-ƛ'a-q'a	3(he)-3(tree)-go-near-past

6.　ɣágʸa dəqárdaq'a.

ø-ɣá-gʸa	3-poss-refl
ø-ø-də-qárda-q'a	refl-3-cause-hide-past

7.　ɣač'ʸá̲k'°a ż̲amá zaɣ°ənə́ž̌°g°aran bɣʸánč'ʸat°q'a.

ø-ɣa-č'ʸá̲k'°a	3-poss-cloak
ż̲amá	other
za-ɣ°ənə́-ž̌°-g°ara-n	one-tree-old-certain-obl
ø-ø-bɣʸá-n-č'ʸa+t°-q'a	3(cloak)-3(tree)-on-3(he)-side+be-past, "He draped his cloak on a tree."

8.　q̄'°əzáč'ʸən azawałənə́ załax̂atə́tg°ara áyk'ʸaq'a.

q̄'°ə-zá-č'ʸə-n	hair, curl-all-side-obl
a-za-wa-łə-nə́	3-all-on-lie-pro.tns
za-łax̂a-tə́t-g°ara	one-montane.forest-man-certain

á-y-k'ʸa-q'a   3-hither-come-past

9.   azápɬat'°q'a.

a-zá-pɬa-t'°-q'a   3-all-look-around-past

10.   ač'ʸą́k'°a dəbɣʸáɬq'a ɣ°ə́nə tə́t ɣ°án ɣág'a bɣʸánč'awq'a.

a-č'ʸą́k'°a   the-cloak

ø-də-bɣʸá-ɬ-q'a   3(cloak)-which(tree)-on-lie-past

ɣ°ə́nə   tree

tə́t   man

ø-ø-ɣ°á-n   3(a man)-3(forest man)-believe-pro.tns

ø-ɣa-g'a   his-poss-refl

ø-ø-bɣʸá-n-č'a+w-q'a   refl-3(cloak)-on-3(forest man)-lean+act-past,
                           "he jumped on it, lunged at it"

11.   wanán bɣʸátən áɣ°an ɣatawp šánəɣan aɬax̂atə́tən yə́yaq'a.

wa-na-́n   that-sg-obl, that is "in that tree"

ø-ø-bɣʸa-tə-n   3(M.Sh.)-3(tree)-on-be.stat-pro.tns

á-ɣ°a-n   3-pro-obl

ø-ɣa-t°p [ø-ɣa-t'ap̄']   3-poss-gun (Turkish <u>top</u> 'cannon')

ø-šá-nə-ɣa-n   3(gun)-preverb-3-load.a.gun-pro.tns

a-ɬax̂a-tə́t-ən   the-montane.forest-man-obl

ø-yə́-ya-q'a   3(M.Sh.)-3(forest man)-hit, fire.at-past

12.   ámǯ'a fą́tənə áɬax̂an wą́wən ák'ʸaq'a.

á-mǯʸa   the-fire

ø-fá-a-tə-nə   3-down-to-be.stat-pro.tns,"the fire dropped down"

á-ɬax̂a-n   the-montane.forest-obl

ø-ø-wá-a-wə-n   3(fire)-3(foresst man)-in-dat-enter-pro.tns

á-k'ʸa-q'a   3(forest man)-go-past

13.   wanaɬaq'ála marč'ʸą́n šą́ɣə ámǯʸalaq áyǯʸən wac°ag'əc'°ą́ba yə́ž'an fą́yq'a.

wa-na-ɬa-q'á-a-la   that-sg-foot-trace-conn-adv

marč'ʸą́n šą́ɣə   Marchan Shaghi

á-mǯʸa-laq   the-fire-near

á-y-ǯʸ'ə-n   3(M.Sh.)-toward-return-pro.tns

wa-c°a-g'ə-c'°ą́ba   that-hide-heart-liver

ø-yə́-ž̥°a-n   3(food)-3(M.Sh.)-roast

ø-ø-f-ạ́y-q'a   3(food)-3(M.Sh)-eat-finally-past

14. "sədyaq'á mac'° mạ́k'ʸašʸagʸə azɣ°ạ́yaw" yə́q'aq'a,

ø-sə-dya-q'ạ́   whom-I(cause)-die, wound-past

mac'°   morning

mạ́-ø-k'ʸa-šʸagʸə   where-3-go-ever

a-z-ɣ°a-ạ́y-aw   3-I-find-again-future

ø-yə́-q'a-q'a   3-3(M.Sh.)-say-past

15. dɣáx̂°t'ən ɣáɬaq'an gʸə́wq'a.

dɣá-ø-x̂°-t'ə-n   as-3-dawn-when-adv

ø-ɣá-ɬa-q'a-n   3(forest man)-poss-leg-trace-obl

ø-ø-gʸə́-w-q'a   3(M.Sh.)-3(trace)-on-enter-past

16. ak'ʸámsala zád°ə anəx̂°áš°ən ɣáɬaq'a.

a-k'ʸá-msa-la   3(M.Sh.)-go-dur-exhaustive

zá-d°ə   one-plain, meadow

a-nəx̂°á-š°ə-ø-n   3-beautiful-small-be-pro.tns

ø-ø-ɣá-a-la-q'a   3(M.Sh.)-3(plain)-loc-to-reach-past, with /-la-/ 'there' used

                                  as a verb

17. dɣázapɬat'°t'ən "sạwə́š°wan wə́yk'ʸaq'ay?" q'ágʸə záq'ak'ʸa ɣáq'°q'a.

dɣá-ø-za-pɬa-t'°-t'ə-n   as-3-all-look-around-when-adv

sạ-wə́-š°wa-n   what-you-do-inf

wə́-y-k'ʸa-q'a-y   you-hither-come-past-Q

ø-ø-q'á-gʸə   3(question)-3(some one)-say-and

za-́q'a-k'ʸa   one-say-agent

ø-ø-ɣá-a-q'°-q'a   3(question)-3(M.Sh.)-to-dat-be.audible-past

18. dɣázapɬat'°t'ən zayanə́ż°ara fabżát'°q'a yə́byaq'a.

dɣá-ø-za-pɬa-t'°-t'ə-n   as-3-all-look-around-when-adv

za-yanə́ż-g°ara   one-gaint-referential

ø-fa-bża-ɬt'°-q'a   3(giant)-down-tie+be-past

ø-yə́-bya-q'a   3(giant)-3(M.Sh.)-see-past

19. wábżaqʼan "lá̧la wə́yk'ʸa!" qʼan mə́ṡaqʼa.

waˊ-bża-qʼa-n	that-tie-past-obl
láˊ-a-la	there-to-there
wə́-y-k'ʸa	you-hither-come
ø-ø-qʼa-n	3-3(giant)-say-pro.tns
ø-ø-mə́ṡa-qʼa	3(giant)-3(M.Sh.)-call-past

20. "ánc'ən ax̌°ás°agʸə á̧łaqʼala aš'ą́yən na̧nk'ʸa zaɣ̄ą́nca asx̌'awə́!" qʼáqʼa.

ánc'°-ən	first-adv
a-x̌°ás°a-gʸə	3-bloom-and
á-ła-qʼa-a-la	3-leg-trace-conn-after, "last"
a-š'-áay-ən	3-ripen-final-pro.tns
ø-na-a-nk'ʸa-ø	3-3.pl-dat-among-be
za-ɣ̄ą́nca	one-digging.stick
a-s-x̌'a-ø-w-ə́	3-me-for-you.imp-bring-polite
ø-ø-qʼa-ˊqʼa	3-3(giant)-say-past

21. ák'ʸan aɣ°ádan żamaɣ̄ą́nca qʼá̧ɣəgʸə x̌'ánəwqʼa.

á-k'ʸa-n	3(M.Sh.)-go-pro.tns
a-ɣ°áda-n	3-happen-pro.tns
żama-ɣ̄ą́nca	other-digging.stick
ø-ø-qʼá-a-ɣə-gʸə	3(stick)-3(M.Sh.)-hand-dat-belong-and
ø-ø-x̌'á-nə-w-qʼa	3(stick)-3(giant)-for-3(M.Sh.)-bring-past

22. "áš'qʼama" yə́qʼaqʼa.

á-š'-qʼa-ma	3-do-past-not, "it did not suffice"
ø-yə-qʼa-qʼa	3-3(giant)-say-past

23. wanałaqʼá̧la ak'ʸán zaməcánə afanqʼáwtən amɣ'á̧wqʼa.

wa-na-ła-qʼá-ala	that-sg-leg-trace-and, "after that"
a-k'ʸá-n	3(M.Sh.)-come-pro.tns
za-məcánə	one-dogwood
a-fa-n-qʼ-áw-t-ən	3-sever-3(M.Sh.)-cut-fut-genr-inf
a-mɣ'á-a-w-qʼa	3(M.Sh.)-road-to-strike-past, "He started as though to cut it."

24. ẓamá zaqʾakʾág°arangʸə "afáwqʾə(gʸə) šʸáwmət!"

ẓamá	other
za-qʾa-kʾʸá-g°ara-n-gʸə	one-say-agent-referential-obl-and, "and another voice"
a-fá-w-qʾə(-gʸə)	3-sever-you-cut(-and)
ø-šʸ-áw-mə-t	3-happen-fut-not-sg

25. azápłatʾ°qʾa adəqʾaqʾá yəbyaqʾáma.

a-zá-pła-tʾ°-qʾa	3(M.Sh.)-all-look-around-past
a-də-qʾa-qʾá	3-who-say-past
ø-yə-bya-qʾá-ma	3(speaker)-3(M.Sh.)-see-past-not

26. "azɣ°áwqʾama" qʾan ayánəẓlaq áyǯʸqʾa.

a-s-ɣ°á+w-qʾa-ma	3-I-find+act-past-not
ø-ø-qʾa-n	3-3(M.Sh.)-say-pro.tns
a-yánəz̲-laq	the-giant-near
á-y-ǯʸ-qʾa	3(M.Sh.)-direction-return-past

27. "awɣ°áwgʸə asx̌ʸáwməwqʾadan wədəgʸətə́n wan wəgʸənəmdətʾ°ádax̌!" yə́qʾaqʾa.

a-w-ɣ°á+w-gʸə	3-you-find+act-and
a-s-x̌ʸá-w-mə-w-qʾa-da-n	3-me-for-you-not-bring-past-if.so-adv
wə-də-gʸə-t-ə́n	you-where-on-stand-obl
wa-n	God-obl
wə-(ø-)gʸə-nə-m-də-tʾ°+á+da-x̌	
	you-(3-)on-He-not-cause-move+conn+out(?)-may,
	(an old oath with a complex frozen stem)
ø-yə́-qʾa-qʾa	3-3(giant)-say-past

28. "yəš°abláwn salátəy?

yə-š°ablá-w-n	this-land-inst-obl
sa-lá-t-əy	what-there-be-Q

29. abə́yə abə́yəš°ə azašatʾ°ą́nəś?

a-bə́yə	the-sheep
a-bə́yə-š°ə	the-sheep-little
a-za-ša-tʾ°á-a-n-əs	they-refl-head, self-increase-pl-pres-whether

30. aǯáǯ azašat’°ą́nəṡ yəš°ax̌ʸáx̌awn?”

a-ʒáʒ/a-ǯaaǯ(a)	the-bee (perhaps also /ǯaǯ/)
a-za-ša-t’°á-a-n-əṡ	they-refl-head, self-increase-pl-pres-whether
yə-š°a-x̌ʸá-x̌-aw-n	this-year-time.locus-ordinal-inst-adv

31. “áš ʸnawt, ná yada ná máč’ʸ aš ʸáwt.

á-š ʸ-na-(á)w-t	3-happen-pl-fut-gen
ná	neither
yada	much
ná	neither
máč’ʸ	little
a-š ʸ-áw-t	3-happen-fut-gen

32. są́ba wəx̌ʸaʒɣáq’ay?”

są́-ba	why-pro
wə-ø-x̌ʸa-ʒɣá-q’a-y	you-3-for-ask-past-Q

33. “aȳ̧ą́nca azɣ°áwq’ayt’əba səcánə fą́səwt’°awt°q’a, anán səɣ°á dásq’anən səɣ°á səš°wa
     aš ʸáwt°q’a.”

a-ȳ̧áanca	the-digging.stick
a-s-ɣ°á+w-q’a-y-t’ə-ba	3-you-find+act-past-stat-sg-if.hypothetical
sə-cánə	my-sword
ø-fą́-a-sə-w-t’°-aw-t°-q’a	3-down-to-I-act-dig-subj-be-past, “I would have dug down to it.”
a-ná-n	3-sg-obl, “then” or “with it”
sə-ɣ°á	I-pro
dá-ø-s-q’a-nə-n	adv-3-I-say-pro.tns-obl, “as I said”
sə-ɣ°á	I-pro
sə-š°wa	my-business
a-š ʸ-áw-t°-q’a	3-happen-subj-be-past, “it would have happened”

34. ɣacánə daɣ°áwṡa áš°abla ɣaɣ°ərdáyəǯʸ dɣaš ʸáwtə yə́c’anayt’.

ø-ɣa-cánə	3-poss-sword
da-ø-ø-ɣ°á+w-ṡa	adv-3-3(giant)-find+act-when

a-š°abla	the-land
ø-ɣa-ɣ°ərdá-a̜y-əǯ ʸ	3-poss-destruction-finally-again (last two suffixes are emphatic "iteratives")
dɣa-ø-šʸ-áw-tə	adv-3-happen-fut-gen
ø-yə́-c̛'a-na-y-t'	3-3(M. Sh.)-know-pres-stat-sg

35. ayánəż ɣašán yəšx̌°áma, ɣacánə daɣ°a̜yṡa q'ášaɣə áynšʸawtən dɣašʸə́ṡa̜la aš°ábla
     ɣak'°ač ʸá ac̛ə́c̛ana aɣawadyáyəǯ ʸ dɣašʸáwtəż.

a-yánəż	the-giant
ø-ɣa-šá-n	3-poss-head, "his own"
yə-šx̌°á-ø-ma	3-strong-be-if.conditional, "if he had his own strength"
ø-ɣa-cánə	3-poss-sword
da-ø-ø-ɣ°á-a̜y-ṡa	adv-3-3(giant)-find-final-when
ø-ø-q'áša-ɣə	3-3(giant)-desire-belong, "his wishes"
á-y-n-šʸ-aw-t-ən	3-dir-3(giant)-do-fut-gen-adv
dɣa-ø-šʸə́-ṡa-ala	adv-3-happen-when-and
a-š°ábla	the-land
ø-ɣa-k'°ačʸá	3-poss-end
a-c̛ə́c̛a-n-a	the-people-obl-pl
a-ɣa-wadyá-a̜y-əǯ ʸ	3.pl-poss-doom-final-back
dɣa-ø-šʸ-áw-t-əż	adv-3-happen-fut-genr-be

From Georges Dumézil (1955) Récits oubykh [I], <u>Journal asiatique</u>, vol. 243, pp. 30-33, tale V, and revised in (1960) <u>Documents anatoliens sur les languages et les traditions du Caucase</u>, I, p. 74, tale V, teller Tevfik Esenç from Haji Osman köy. For the split of "s°'" into / s° / and / x̂° / see JohnColarusso 1992 "How Many Consonants does Ubykh Have?" In <u>Caucasian Perspectives</u> edited by B. George Hewitt, 145-56. Munich: Lincom Europa.

<u>Translation</u>

1. Long ago there was a hunter called Marchan Shaghy.

2. He killed a buck when he was in the mountain forests.

3. Evening having fallen, he spent the night on the mountain.

4. He lit a fire and was roasting the inner organs when he heard a voice.

5. He climbed into a nearby tree, holding on to the innards he had been roasting.

6. He hid himself.

7. He draped his cloak over another tree.

8. A wildman, covered all over with hair, approached.

9. He looked around.

10. He mistook the tree on which the cloak was draped for a man and threw himself on it.

11. Marchan Shaghi, seeing this from where he was sitting in the tree, primed his pistol and shot at the wildman.

12. The wildman caught fire and ran into the woods.

13. After this Marchan Shaghy returned to his fire, roasted the organs, and finally ate them.

14. He said to himself ,"In the morning I shall find whom I have wounded, wherever he may have gone to."

15. At dawn he set off after him.

16. He traveled very long and came upon a beautiful small plain.

17. When he looked all around, he heard a voice saying, "What did you come here to do?"

18. When he looked all around again, he saw a giant who had been tied down.

19. The bound giant called to him, "Come here!

20. Bring me a digging stick made from the plant that blooms first but brings forth fruit last."

21. Marchan Shaghy went and brought back with him another sort of digging stick for the giant.

22. "This won't do," the giant said.

23. Then he set out again and began to cut off part of a dogwood.

24. Another voice said, "You must not cut this off!"

25. He looked all around but did not see who had said this.

26. He returned to the giant and said, "I did not find it."

27. "If you found it and did not bring it back to me, then may God turn you to stone right where you stand!" roared the giant.

28. "How are things in this land?"

29. "Do the sheep bring forth lambs?

30. Do the honeybees multiply this year?"

31. "It will happen, but it will be neither much nor little.

32. Why do you ask?"

33. "If I had gotten hold of the digging stick, I would have dug down to my sword, then it would have been possible for me to do that which I promised."

34. Marchan Shaghy knew that if the giant found his sword, it would mean the country's destruction.

35. If he had his own strength back and had gotten back his sword, he would have done as he wished, and when that happened it would be the end of the world and the final doom of humankind.

Phonemicized text 2

[after Hans Vogt (1963) Dictionnaire de la langue oubykh (Oslo) p. 60]

Rephonemicized and glossed by John Colarusso

I.   na� rt+amsana wašáȝaq'ayt'

nárt-ła-msa-n-a   Nart-blood-dur(ative)-obl-pl (/-m-s-a/ -oblique-sit-in)
w-a-ša-ȝa-q'a-yt'   you-it-remain.preV-exist-past-dur (sg)

       wə́ssʸəšʸəmsa wəgʸəȝásəšʸq'ayt'

wə́-s-šʸə+šʸə-msa   you-I(cause)-big+big-dur
wə-gʸəȝá-sə-šʸ-q'a-y+t'   you-big-I(cause)-do-past-prog(ressive.aspect)+sg

       sə́q°a zá̠qa səyarəčʸx̌áw

sə́-q°a   my-son
zá̠qa   unique (from Abaza /zá-q̠a/ one-head)
sə-yarəčʸx̌áw   my-Yarichkhyaw

Refrain [də́wšaq'agʸə satanáɣ aha·hahá·, háɣ háɣ sarasánə satanáɣ aha·haha·

ø-də́wša-q'a-gʸə   she-poor(= Turkish loan)-past-and
satanáɣ   Satanay

II.
       wəčʸábɣʸasən wəgʸəsə́t'°q'ayt'

wə-čʸá-bɣʸa-sə-n   your-horse-on-sit-adv
wə-gʸə-sə́-t'°-q'a-y+t'   you-out-I-drive-past-prog+sg

       wəcaná wgʸət'°ə́ wfásəłq'ayt'

wə-caná   your-sword
w-gʸət'°ə́   your-lance
ø-w-fá-sə-ł-q'a-y+t'   them-you-down-I-hang(coll)-past-prog+sg

       g°ənd°ạnəx̂°an wəbɣʸáwadəyayt'

g°ənd°a-a-nəx̂°a-n   Gundba-the-beautiful-obl

wə-ø-bɣʸá-wadəya-y+t'   you-her-on-a.corpse-stat.past+s

III.   wəcán wəgʸə́t’° əwfasəɬq’ayt’

wə-cán   your-sword
wə-gʸə́t’°   your-lance
    =əw-fa-sə-ɬ-q’a-y+t’   =you-down-I-hang(coll)-past-prog+sg

    nártɬamsana wašáȝaq’ayt’

nárt-ɬa-msa-n-a   Nart-blood-dur-obl-pl
w-a-šá-ȝa-q’a-y+t’   you-it-remain.preV-exist-past-dur (sg)

    sə́q°a zą́q̄a səyarəčʸx̣aw

sə́-q°a   my-son
zą́q̄a   unqiue
sə-yarəčʸx̣aw   my-Yarichkhyaw

IV.   ɣáq°a zą́q̄a dəwádəyạyəq’a

ɣá-q°a   her-son
zą́q̄a   unique
ø-ø-də-wádəy-ạyə-q’a   him-she(G.)-cause(abs.sg)-repeat(= finally)-past

    ɣáša ɣálak’ʸ dəfačʸ’ạ́yəq’a

ɣá-ša   her-head
ɣá-lak’ʸ   its-hair
ø-ø-də-fačʸ’á-ạyə-q’a   it-she-cause(abs.sg)-repeat(ed.action)-past

    ɣat’q’°a ȝ̌ʸágʸa dəṡaṡáyəq’a

ɣa-t’q’°a   her-two
ȝ̌ʸágʸa   thigh(s)
ø-ø-də-ṡa+ṡá-ạyə-q’a   them-she-trans(itive)-beat+beat-repeat-past

Translation

I.   You remained the last of the Nart race.
    I made you grow big (with) always caressing you.
    My unique son, my Yarichkhaw.
    [Poor Satanay ahaha, no! no! Remaining my (?) Satanay, ahahaha]

II.   Seated upon (your) horse I made you go out.
I hung down from you your sword and your lance.
On Gunda the beautiful you became a corpse.

III.   I hung down from you your sword and your lance.
You remained the last of the Nart race.
My unique son, my Yarichkhaw.

IV.   Her unique (= only) son was killed (= made into a corpse).
She tore again and again her hair.
She beat again and again her two thighs.

Phonemicized text 3
[after Hans Vogt, 1963, pp. 56-58]
Rephonemicized and glossed by John Colarusso

č'ʸapšʸá

č'ʸapšʸá uanalyzable name of the song, it was sung by the wife to keep herself awake while attending to a wounded husband.

[1] fáx̌ʸa adəĝaɣá zaya áynạšʸəgʸə azáyanabạla ášʸx̂aqʼa áynaɣakʸažʸnasạla č'ʸapšʸá tx̌ʸánạqʼan q°əmála-gʸə áynạšʸənaytʼ.

fá-a-x̌ʸa	front-conn(ective)-for
a-dəĝa-ɣá the-people-loc(ative), 'Circassia'	
za+ya	recipr(ocal)+strike, 'war'
á-y-na-a-šʸə-gʸə	it-there-3-pl-make-and
a-zá+ya-n-a-ba-ala	the-recipr+strike-obl(ique)-pl(ural)-hypo(thetical)-adv
á-šʸx̂a-qʼa	the-wound-perf(ective)
á-y-na-a-ɣa-kʸa-žʸ-na-sa-ala	
	they-there-3-pl-cause-come-action-pl-then-adv
č'ʸapšʸá	insomnia song
ø-t-x̌ʸá-na-a-qʼa-n	it-which-for-3-pl-say-ger(und)
q°əmá·la-gʸə	dance (ritual?)-and
á-y-na-a-šʸə-na-y-tʼ	it-there-3-pl-do-pl-dyn(amic), past-sg.

[2] ášʸx̂alaq azax̌ʸabzə́nasa nə́čʸ ak'°ə́sạla č'ʸapšʸá wárada áqʼanaytʼ.

á-šʸx̂a-laq	the-wound(ed)-after
a-za-x̌ʸa-bzə́-na-sa	they-recipr-for-reunite-pl-sequ, ger
nə́čʸ	animal
ø-a-k'°ə́-sa-ala	it-3-kill-then-adv
č'ʸapšʸá	insomnia song
wárada	song
ø-á-qʼa-na-y-tʼ	it-3-say-pl-dyn, past-sg

[3] aqʼán wáradagʸə yənaẓaytʼ:

a-qʼá-n	the-say-ger
wárada-gʸə	song-and
yə+na-ẓa-y-tʼ	this+sg-be-dyn, past-sg:

[4] q̄aṡəcacá-n, ya wárada, yadá čʸapʼċʼaqʼá gʸə́tʼ°qʼaytʼ wárada rą waráydara 1wará·
waráydarą

q̄aṡə-ca+cá-n	village-small+small-obl
ya wárada	Oh, song!
yadá	very, many
čʸ-a-pʼċʼa-qʼá	horse(men)-conn-pure, noble-past
ø-gʸə́-tʼ°-qʼa-y-tʼ	3-out-exit-perf-past-sg

wárada rą waráydara wará́ waráydarą (7-11) refrain.

[5] sə́k°abžʸagʸ°əšʸan, ya wárada, bləc°ałábžʸa x̌ʸázd°əqʼagʸ°əšʸ wárada 7rą waráydarą
wasə́· ya waradá́

sə́-k°abžʸa-gʸ°əšʸa-n	my-husband-poor, pitiable-obl
ya wárada	Oh, song!
blə-c°a-łá+bžʸa	seven-leather-foot+shoe
ø-ø-x̌ʸá-z-d°ə-qʼa-gʸ°əšʸ	3-him-for-I-sew-perf-pityingly, sorrowfully

wárada rą waráydarą wasə́· ya waradá́ (6-11) refrain.

[6] awápłagʸ°əšʸan, ya wárada, załádəɣaẓa wanəw+tʼ°qʼa wárada rą waráydara wasə́·
waráydarą

ø-a-wá-pła-gʸ°əšʸa-n	he-them-among-look-sorrowful-ger
ya wárada	Oh, song!
za-łá+də+ɣa+ẓa	one-leg+cause+loc+be, 'one pair of boots'
ø-wa-nə-w+tʼ°-qʼa	he-among-it-def(inite) asp(ect)-choose-perf

wárada rą waráydara wasə́· waráydarą (6-10) refreain.

[7] áyda fəɫádəɣaẓagʸə, ya wárada, atˈ˚ásšˈabaċʼaɣa baċʼaṡaqʼá

áy-da	other-sg(collective)
fə-ɫá+də+ɣa+ẓa-gʸə	six-leg+cause+loc+be, 'six-pairs'
ya wárada	Oh, song!
a-tˈ˚á-s-šˈa-baċʼa-ɣa	the-down-sit-place-under-loc, 'underneath area of the sofa'
ø-baċʼa-ṡa-qʼá	3-under-rot-perf

[8] ɣaṡáx̌ax̌an, ya wárada, šʸəw̲ánẓaž˚ə dətx̌ážʸqʼa

ɣa-ṡá-x̌a+x̌a-n	(3)poss-rot-much+much-ger
ya wárada	Oh, song!
šʸə-w̲ánẓa-ž˚ə	our-dog-old
ø-ø-də-tx̌ážʸ-qʼa	it-they-cause-be.satisfied, be nourished-perf

[9] ačʸá"x̌ʸaɣa səkˈʸág˚əšʸan, ya 4wárada, ačʸətx̌ážʸqʼawásəwtˈ˚qʼa

a-čʸá-a-x̌ʸa-ɣa	the-horse-con-place-loc, 'the horse stable'
sə-kˈʸá-g˚əšʸa-n	I-go-sorrowfully-ger
ya wárad	Oh, song!
a-čʸə-tx̌ážʸ-qʼa	the-horse-nourish-perf
ø-wá-s-w+tˈ˚-qʼa	it-among-I-def, asp+choose-perf

[10] ác˚əyaɣagʸə səṡáwəg˚əšʸan, ya wárada, atˈát˚awa"wa bɣʸásəɫqʼa

á-c˚əya-ɣa-gʸə	the-house-loc-and
sə-ṡá-wə-g˚əšʸa-n	I-inside-lead-sorrofully-ger
ya wárada,	Oh, song!
a-tˈát˚a-wa"wa	the-golden-saddle
ø-ø-bɣʸá-sə-ɫ-qʼa	it(saddle)-it(horse)-on-I-lay-perf.

[11] sə́k˚abžʸag˚əšʸa ačʸábɣʸaswəsən ag˚ą́ɣan gʸəsə́tˈ˚qʼag˚əšʸ

sə́-k˚abžʸa-g˚əšʸa	my-husband-pitiable
a-čʸ-á-bɣʸa-s-wə-sə-n	him-horse-dat(ive)-on-I-cause-sit-ger
a-g˚ą́aɣa-n	the-paddock-obl (g˚á+a+ɣa outside-conn-loc ?)

ø-ø-gʸə-sə́-tʾ°-qʾa-g°əšʸ   him-it-out-I (cause)-exit-perf-sorrowfully.

[12] ɣáɬaqʾawnə dasəɣą́pɬadag°əšʸatʾən ya wárada aɬą́pʾana blapɬáčʸax̂agʸə nąmət°ən

ɣá-ɬaqʾa-wnə	poss-trace-adv
d(ɣ)a-sə-ø-ɣá-a-pɬa+da-g°əšʸa-tʾə-n	
	when-I-3-on-at-look+prolonged-sorrowfully-temporal-adv,
	with the preceding, 'when I gaze sorrowfully after him'
ya wárada	Oh, song!
a-ɬá+a+pʾa-n-a	the-leg+conn+tip-obl-pl, 'the pedestrians'
bla+pɬá+čʸa+x̂a-gʸə	eye+gaze+far+act-and, 'deference'
ø-ø-na-a-mə-t°ə-n	it-him-3-pl-not-give-gerund

[13] ačʸə́n ɣalą́žʸada ya wárada ačʸaǯápsqʾan šáɬatax̌ !

a-čʸə́-n	the-horse-obl
ɣa-láažʸa-da	poss-fault-if
ya wárada	Oh, song!
a-čʸaǯá-ps-qʾa-n	the-spit-sharp-perf-obl
ø-ø-šá-ø-ɬat-ax̌	it(horse)-it(spit)-on-3(indef)-stick (through)-opt(ative)!

[14] sə́k°abžʸag°əšʸan ɣalą́žʸada ya wáradą sədəɣəcafaċʾán šáɬatax̌ !

sə́-k°abžʸa-g°əšʸa-n	my-husband-poor-obl
ɣa-láažʸa-da	poss-fault-if
ya wáradą	Oh, song!
sə-dəɣəca-faċʾá-n	my-scissors (note /ca/ tooth)-tip-obl
ø-ø-šá-ø-ɬat-ax̌	him-it(scissors)-on-3(indef)-stick.through-opt!

Translation

(an "insomnia" song)

[1] Long ago, when they made war in Circassia, and if they brought back the wounded from the battle, they then performed a ritual, which they called /čʸąpšʸá/. [2] When they were reunited with the wounded, they would then kill an animal and then sing the song /čʸąpšʸá/. [3] The song which they sang was this:

[4] From the small village many of the noble horsemen have parted [refrain].

[5] For my poor husband I have saddly sewn seven (pairs of) leather boots [refrain].

[6] He has saddly looked among them, and chosen one pair [refrain].

[7] The other six pairs lie rotting under the sofa.

[8] Those which were very rotten have nourished our old dog.

[9] I have gone saddly to the stable and chosen a well fed horse.

[10] Saddly I have led it into the house and set the golden saddle upon it.

[11] I have set my poor husband upon the horse and saddly I have led him out to the paddock.

[12] When saddly I gaze after him [I see that] the pedestrains do not give to him deference (lit., gazing away past him, i.e., turning their heads away from him).

[13] If this be the fault of the horse, then may it be run through with a sharp spit!

[14] If this be the fault of my poor husband, may he be run through with the tip of my scissors!

(analyzed and translated by John Colarusso, after Hans Vogt, 1963)

(November 1996) (revised May 28, 2004)