

Northwest Caucasian

192. Abkhaz

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Abstract

To create new words, Abkhaz uses practically limitless resources of both compounding and affixation, as well as of their combination. Compounding is a dominant means of word-formation across the parts of speech. In verb formation prefixation is prevalent, while suffixation plays a modest role. In the derivation of other word classes suffixation is more prominent. Reduplication is a common mechanism in verb and adverb formation, but it is only modestly represented in noun formation. Another usual means to form new words is conversion. Neoclassical word-formation in Abkhaz is prefixal.

1. Introduction

Abkhaz, together with its sister languages Abaza, Circassian (i.e. Adyghe and Kabardian, regarded as separate languages, see articles 193 and 194) and extinct Ubykh form the Western branch of the North-Caucasian language family, its Eastern branch being represented by such languages as Chechen, Ingush, Avar, Lezgi, Tabasaran, Lak, Dargwa, Udi, etc. Abkhaz is spoken mainly in Abkhazia and in Turkey. Smaller Abkhaz communities are scattered over some Middle East countries and Western Europe.

Abkhaz has three dialects: Abzhywa, Bzyp and Sadz; Ahchypsy and Tsabal represent two additional (sub)dialects; of all these, only Abzhywa and Bzyp are preserved in Abkhazia, the rest are spoken now only in Turkey. Sadz is the most divergent from all the dialects. The number of Abkhaz speakers in Abkhazia is 122,069, according to the 2011 population census. The number of speakers in the diaspora (mainly in Turkey) is estimated as being between 200,000 and 500,000.

Abkhaz acquired its written form around the middle of the 19th century, and has since managed to create a rich literature, having developed various genres and styles. The creation of a literary language and the need to invent masses of new terms catering to the ever increasing cultural needs of the Abkhaz society has given rise to extensive

coining of new words and the exploitation of the available means of word-formation. The main chronological stages of this new tendency can be subdivided in three periods: 1. the second part of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century saw the publication of the first ABC textbooks (starting from 1865), containing both original and translated texts, numerous translations of Christian texts from Russian (starting from 1866), the publication of first literary works (starting from 1912 with pieces by Dyrmit Gulia), the working out of orthographic norms, as well as the choice of a dialectal base; 2. from 1921 until approximately 1940, the modernization of the early Soviet period resulted in a wealth of newly-coined words expressing new notions and realities; 3. the post-Soviet period (from 1992 on), which has been marked by the need to create new terminology and stylistic norms necessary for the official language of the Republic of Abkhazia in various domains such as education, science, government and politics.

2. General overview

Word-formation in Abkhaz has been the subject of studies by Kvarčelija (1953), Šinkuba (1956, 2008 [written in 1945]), Šakryl (1961), Gabunija (1971, 1985), Kaslandzia (1976, 1998), Xecija (1988), Čkadua (2005), Klyčeva (2009), Amičba (2010); it is also discussed in the relevant chapters of grammatical descriptions of Abkhaz, such as in *Grammatika abxazskogo jazyka* (1968: 45–48, 51–52, 160, 185–188), Hewitt (1979: 242–255), Chirikba (2003: 26–29, 31–32, 54–55, 56), among others.

As other languages of the North-Western branch of the North-Caucasian language family, Abkhaz is an agglutinative polysynthetic language characterized by extensive prefixation and moderate suffixation. The verbal system is extremely complex, occupying the central part of the grammar, in sharp contrast with the modestly developed nominal morphology. The verb can contain a dozen or so prefixes (expressing agreement, aspect, location and directionality), each occupying a rigidly fixed slot in the verbal template. Verbs formally distinguish between finite and non-finite forms. Being an ergative language and lacking overt nominal cases, Abkhaz, unlike its sister languages, realizes its ergative vs. absolutive strategy solely by means of the order of prefixed agreement markers. Another idiosyncratic feature of Abkhaz that sets it apart from Circassian and Ubykh is the presence of gender and/or class distinctions on verbal agreement markers, possessive prefixes, numerals and some pronouns.

The process of word-coinage is still active in connection with the expanding functions of Standard Abkhaz as a state language. To produce new words, Abkhaz uses practically limitless resources of both compounding and affixation, also in combination. Neoclassical word-formation in Abkhaz is based exclusively on prefixation.

Another derivational means is conversion. A specific feature of Abkhaz is the weak categorial distinction between verbs and nouns, nouns and adjectives, adjectives and adverbs, which allows for their easy incorporation into a paradigm belonging to another word class.

Abkhaz has many monosyllabic roots, so that the compounds are relatively short. On the other hand, the language abounds in words produced by long strings of morphemes, e.g., the noun *a-g^w.a.bzəja.ra.č'apá.r.ta* ‘sanatorium’ (7 morphemes) and the deverbal adjective *j.áj.c.rə.də.r.k'ə.la.x'a.w* ‘(one which is) generally accepted’ (10 morphemes).

New morphemes are added at the edge of the base: *a-t'wə* 'possession' → *a-t'wə.la* 'country' → *a-t'wə.la.wajw* 'citizen' → *a-t'wə.la.wajw.ra* 'citizenship' → *a-t'wə.la.wajw.ra.da* (*jə.q'a.w*) '(being) stateless' → *a-t'wə.la.wajw.ra.da.ra* 'statelessness' → *a-t'wə.la.wajw.ra.da.ra.t'w* 'pertaining to statelessness' → *a-t'wə.la.wajw.ra.da.ra.t'w-k'wa* 'those pertaining to statelessness' → *a-t'wə.la.wajw.ra.da.ra.t'w-k'wa-g'ə* 'and those pertaining to statelessness'.

In compounds the stress can fall either on one of the constituent parts (e.g., *a-lak'* = *j'wək'-ra* 'to hesitate; lit. taking down-taking up'), or on both, especially when the compound represents a somewhat looser unit (e.g., *ájš'wə=c'á'ara* 'feast; lit. table-eating'). A common phonological process involved in compounding is the elision of the final unstressed vowel before the onset of the second constituent, e.g., *a-x* = *a-c'ə* 'face' (← *a-xə* 'head', *a-c'ə* 'mouth'), *a-g'war* = *bž'á'ara* 'side street' (← *a-g'wára* 'yard', *a-bž'á'ara* 'between'), etc.

For the sake of economy I shall not gloss in this article the definite-generic article *a-*. Furthermore, in cases when the root contains the initial vowel (*a-*), I do not mark the presence of the definite-generic article (i.e. [*a-*]...). I use the hyphen (-) to mark the article (*a-*), the masdar suffix (*-ra*), or the plural marker, the equal sign (=) to divide the constituents of a compound, and a period (.) to mark a morpheme boundary. Non-self-explanatory abbreviations are explained at the end of the article.

3. Composition

Compounding is a productive means of word-formation across the parts of speech. Stems which create a compound can be simplex or complex. Complex stems can be compound, derived, or a combination of both compounding and derivation. Binary compounds are formed by the combination of two stems, e.g., *á-wrəs=š'wə* 'the Russian language; lit. Russian-speech'. Multi-stem compounds are formed by three or more stems, e.g., *a-bəz.š'wə=dš'ra* 'linguistics; lit. language [tongue-speech]-know-ABSTR'. In writing the compounds can appear as a single word (e.g., *a-sáx'a=təxj'wə* 'artist', from *a-sáx'a* 'picture' and *təxj'wə* 'one who takes off'), as a hyphenated binary unit (e.g., *áwra=á-tbaara* 'body-build, figure', from *áwra* 'height' and *á-tbaara* 'breadth'), or as a combination of two or more words (e.g., *lat'wə'aradat'wəj a-rc'arə* 'distance learning', *a-t'wəš'lawaj'rat'w* *tagə'lazaaš'a a-nc'arta* 'registry office').

Compounds can be endocentric, i.e. contain the head within the compound itself, or exocentric. Examples of endocentric compounds are: *a-mšən=ʒ(ə)* 'sea-water', *a-msər=k'aa'd* 'parchment; lit. Egypt-paper', *á-ga=pša* 'sea wind; lit. shore-wind'. Examples of exocentric compounds: *a-dərgan=c'əx'wə* 'wagtail (a kind of bird); lit. griddle-tail', *a-cg'wəš=xš* 'spurge, euphorbia (a kind of plant); lit. cat-milk', *a-d'wəš=yba* 'train; lit. field-ship', *á-ž'wə=ləmhə* 'hound's-tongue, Cynoglossum (a kind of plant); lit. cow-ear', etc.

3.1. Nominal compounds

There are various ways of describing nominal compounds. I take here as the point of departure the classification proposed by Bisetto and Scalise (2009), who classify com-

pounds according to the nature of the semantic relation obtaining between their components as subordinate, attributive or coordinate.

3.1.1. Subordinate compounds

The relationship within subordinate compounds can be formulated as ‘the X of the Y’, e.g., *a-ž^w=xš* ‘cow-milk = the milk of the cow’, *a-kəta=nxámj^wa* ‘agriculture = the economy of the village’, etc.

Subordinate N+N compounds are right-headed. Structurally they are of the following sub-types:

- a) simplex noun + simplex noun: *a-wasá=xič^ja* ‘shepherd; lit. sheep-shepherd’, *á-mca=bz* ‘flame; lit. fire-tongue’, *a-ž^ja=psá* ‘salary; lit. labour-price’, *a-səs=c^wa* ‘lamb skin’, *ajxá=mj^wa* ‘railway; lit. iron-road’, *á-ž^w=k’ambaš^j* ‘cow-buffalo’. Incidentally, in the latter case a variant exists with the reverse order of constituents: *a-k’ambáš^j=a-ž^w*, lit. ‘buffalo-cow’. The presence of the definite-generic article in the second part of this compound suggests that the latter, unlike *á-ž^w=k’ambaš^j*, should be analyzed as a coordinate/dvandva compound, rather than a subordinate one.
- b) simplex noun + compound noun: *a-kəta=nxámj^wa* ‘agriculture; lit. village=household’, *a-bzá=laps* ‘evil eye of a live person; lit. alive-evil eye’, *a-x=apəc* ‘tooth; lit. head-front tooth’;
- c) simplex noun + derived noun: *a-q’arma=c’ə.s* ‘nightingale; lit. hop-bird [bird-DIM.SUF]’, *a-k’aləj=t.š^j.j^wə* ‘tinsmith; lit. tin-who tins’, *a-mšən=k^wə.la.j^w* ‘pirate; lit. sea-attacker’, *á-xaa=č’ə.s* ‘pastry; lit. sweet-food’; for the last example, cf. *a-č’ə.s=xaa* ‘sweet food’, where *xaa* is adjective;
- d) compound noun + simplex noun: *a-č’ə.bya=q’aza* ‘master of horse-riding; lit. horse back=master’, *a-x.a.č’=sax’a* ‘face, image; lit. face-picture’, *á-la.pš=t^wh^wa* ‘spell/charm against the evil eye; lit. evil eye=spell’;
- e) compound noun + compound noun: *a-fə.mca=d^wə.ɣba* ‘electric train; lit. electricity [lightning-fire]=train [field-ship)];
- f) compound noun + derived noun: *a-təz.š^wá=q’a.c’a.j^w* ‘quarrel-maker; lit. home-speech=PREV+do-AGENT.SUF’, *áb.ay^j=zə.s* ‘male goatling; lit. goat-semen=goatling-DIM’;
- g) derived noun + simplex noun: *á-hasab.ra=š^wq^wə* ‘maths textbook; lit. count-ABSTR=book’, *a-k’jəpx^j.ga=maš’əna* ‘type-writer; lit. instrument of typing=machine’;
- h) derived noun + compound noun: *á-ž.ra=xə.k^w* ‘ditchbank; lit. ditch=edge above sth.’;
- i) derived noun + derived noun: *a-g^wə.m.bəl=ž^jbara.ra* ‘cruelty; lit. heart-NEG-burn=hard-ABSTR’, *a-bəz.š^wa=dər.ra* ‘linguistics; lit. language [tongue-speech]=knowledge [know-ABSTR]’, *a-wə.s=wə.ra* ‘work, labour; lit. work=do-ABSTR’.

[N+V]_N compounds are exocentric and represent the combination of a noun with the pure stem of the verb. They have the following structures:

- a) simplex noun + simplex verb: *á-la=pš* ‘view; lit. eye-look’, *a-č’=k’ə* ‘catching disease; lit. mouth-catch’;

- b) simplex noun + derived verb: *a-c'la=r.k'wəšk'w* 'woodpecker; lit. tree=CAUS-split', *áž'w a=p.q'a* 'proverb; lit. word-cut', *a-š'w q'wə=n.c'a* 'certificate; lit. document=write down';
- c) compound noun + simplex verb: *a-fə.mca=nəq'w a* 'electric locomotive; lit. electricity [lightning-fire]=walk';
- d) derived noun + simplex verb: *a-g'w.ta=k'ə* 'wish, venture; lit. heart-inside=catch';
- e) derived noun + derived verb: *a-c'w.k'wə=r.pá* 'wave; lit. top [skin-top]=CAUS-jump', *a-wə.t.ra=tə.x* 'vegetables; lit. kitchen-garden=take off'.

[V+N]_N compounds are not numerous: *a-psš'á=xa* 'time for rest; lit. to rest=time for', *á-mdər=páglara* 'haughty ignoramus; lit. not know=haughtiness', etc.

Though asyndetic N+N subordinate compounding is more usual, there are also possessive compounds, i.e. compounds containing possessive person and (if in the singular) gender prefixes which function as infixes. Such compounds are left-headed, e.g., *a-pa=j-pá* 'grandson; lit. son=his-son', *a-pha=l-pá* 'grandson; lit. daughter=her-son', *áb=j-aš'a* 'paternal uncle; lit. father=his-brother', *án=l-ah'wš'a* 'maternal aunt; lit. mother=her-sister', *án=l-aš'a-j-pha* 'maternal niece; lit. mother=her-brother-his-daughter', *a-nap'=á-x'w da* 'wrist; lit. hand=its-neck', *š'əbž'j=a-g'w ə* 'noon; lit. noon=its-heart', *a-š'xa=r-án* 'queen bee; lit. bee=their-mother', *á-š'xa=rə-wa* 'mountaineer; lit. mountain=their-people', *a-ləmha=rə-j'w* 'ear-ring; lit. ear=their-*metal', *a-t'wə=jə-t'wə.ə.x* 'slave of the slave; lit. slave=his-slave'. In the case of *án=š'a* 'maternal uncle', the nature of the compound can still be regarded as being in a possessive relation ('mother-[*her]-brother'), even though possession is not explicitly expressed.

3.1.2. Attributive compounds

Attributive compounds contain a modifier and an explicit (in endocentric compounds) or implicit (in exocentric compounds) head. The [N+A]_N, [Adv+V]_N and [N+Quant]_N compounds are left-headed, the other structural types – [A+N]_N, [Pro+N]_N and [Quant+N]_N – are right-headed.

In [N+A]_N compounds A is usually represented by a primary, i.e. non-derived adjective, though derived ones also occur. Structurally these compounds can be of the following types:

- a) simplex noun + simplex adjective: *á-mza=č'a* 'young moon; lit. moon-young', *á-mat=apš'j* 'red snake; lit. snake-red', *a-mj'w a=dəw* 'main road; lit. road-big', *a-t'w=áza* 'forage; lit. hay-raw', *a-nəš'w=apš'j* 'clay; lit. earth-red', *án=x'w a* 'mother-in-law; lit. mother-crooked';
- b) simplex noun + derived adjective (negated deverbal adjective): *a-wál=m.š'w a* 'default-er; debt=NEG-pay', *a-ps=tá.m* 'nitrogen; lit. soul=inside-NEG';
- c) compound noun + simplex adjective: *á-la.pš=xaa* 'tender look; lit. look [eye-look]=sweet', *a-g'w.ə.c'=ápš'j* 'surmullet (a kind of fish); lit. heart-under=red';
- d) derived noun + compound adjective: *a-č'ə maza.ra=č'.k'ə* 'catching disease; lit. disease=mouth catching';
- e) derived noun + derived adjective: *a-ra.šə=m.c'aa* 'unsalted walnut butter; lit. walnut butter=NEG-salty', *a-sə.s=m.q'aa* 'silent lamb; lit. lamb=NEG-cry'.

In [A+N]_N compounds the attribute is represented by a primary or derived adjective. Those containing a non-derived adjective are not numerous: *a-baa=psá* ‘bad; lit. rotten-soul’, *a-baa=ff^wá* ‘bad smell; lit. rotten-smell’, *a-bzá=k’ap’an* ‘live weight’, *á-xaa=č’á.s* ‘pastry; lit. sweet-food’, etc. Compounds containing a derived adjective are much more common and can be written either a) as one word, or b) as two words. Examples of a): *a-t^wá.m=waj^wá* ‘foreigner; lit. not belonging=man’, *a-t^wá.m=dg’ál* ‘foreign country’, *a-xa.t^w=psá* ‘net cost; lit. own-price’, *a-xa.t^w=k’rit’ik’a* ‘self-criticism’. Examples of b): *ájxa.t^wá cha* ‘iron bridge’, *a-x’i.t^wá mac^wáz* ‘golden ring’, *a-ok’eánnarc^w.t^wáj a-t^wála* ‘oversea(s)’, *lat^waráda.t^wáj a-st’udént* ‘correspondence student’, etc.

[Adv+V]_N compounds: (*a*)-*mala=k’rǎfa* ‘parasite, sponger; lit. gratis-eat’, *a-mala=nǎq^wa* ‘bicycle; lit. by itself-walk’, *znǎk^w=x’ara* ‘one milk yield; lit. once-milking’, *á-š’tax^j=až^wa* ‘afterword’, *apx’a=góla* ‘leader; lit. at front=stand’.

[Pro+N]_N compounds: *a-xála=rc’aga* ‘teach-yourself book; lit. self=teaching instrument’, *a-xata=psá* ‘cost price; lit. own=cost’.

[Quant+N]_N compounds: *a-j^wá=maa* ‘a kind of harp; lit. two-handle’, *a-pš’á=ša* ‘Thursday; lit. the fourth-day’, *a-x=š’ap’á* ‘tripod; lit. three-leg’, *á-j^w=bázš^wara* ‘bilingualism; lit. two=language-ness’.

[N+Quant]_N compounds: *a-mš=j^wónj^waž^wa* ‘funeral repast on the fortieth day; lit. day=forty’, *á-rmžaa=zejž^w* ‘innumerable number of soldiers; lit. army-not disappearing=nineteen’, *a-g^wá=j^wbara* ‘suspicion, doubt, duplicity; lit. heart=doubleness’.

3.2. Coordinate (dvandva) compounds

In this type of compound both members are hierarchically equal and represent two semantic heads. Coordinate compounds can be formed asyndetically by simple juxtaposition of roots, or be linked by one or more coordinating particles.

3.2.1. Coordinate N+N compounds

Asyndetic examples: *a-š^wága=zága* ‘measure, criterion; lit. size measurer=measurer’, *a-xaára=bzaára* ‘benefit, good; lit. sweetness=aliveness’, *ájmak’=ájč’ak* ‘dispute; lit. quarrel=kindling’, *á-j^wada=mrataš^wára* ‘north-west; lit. upwards=sunset’.

Coordinate N+N compounds can also be formed with the help of coordinating conjunctions *-j(á)*, *-j(á) -j(á)*, *-g’á -g’á*: Examples: *a-č’é-j=žǎk’a* ‘hospitality feast; lit. bread-and=salt’, *a-c^wá-j=ž’i* ‘body; lit. skin-and=flesh’, *gá-j=š’xá-j* ‘everywhere; lit. coast-and=mountain-and’, *ánǎ-j=abǎ-j* ‘parents; lit. mother-and=father-and’, *wax-g’á=čǎn-g’á* ‘twenty-four hours; lit. night-time-and=day-time-and’.

Less closely-knit coordinate compounds have both parts stressed and marked for definiteness: *a-g^wála=á-zla* ‘close neighbour; lit. neighbour-close’, *a-x[á]=a-č’á* ‘face; lit. head-mouth’, *á-fat^w=á-ž^wt^w* ‘food, supply; lit. food-drink’, *á-wa=a-tǎxá* ‘close relative; lit. relative-relative’. In cases like *á-zra=a-psrá* ‘death, destruction; lit. disappearance-death’, *á-fara=á-ž^wra* ‘feast; lit. eat-drink’, *a-j^wrá=á-px’ara* ‘literacy; lit. writing-reading’ there is a typical lack of clear differentiation between the verbal noun (suffix *-ra*) and abstract noun (also suffix *-ra*), which means that the compound can be equally

interpreted as V+V. In the dictionaries the entries with masdars are often followed by their homonymic nominal counterparts (e.g., *a-dár-ra* ‘to know; lit. knowing’; *a-dár.ra* ‘knowledge’).

Some such compounds can fluctuate between a looser (when both parts are marked for definiteness) or a tighter form, cf. *a-š^wq^wə=a-bəγjš^wə//a-š^wq^wə=bəγjš^wə* ‘documents and papers’, *á-hatər=á-p^tat^wəw//á-hatər=p^tat^wəw* ‘honour, respect’, *a-c^wá=a-žⁱə//a-c^wá-j=žⁱ* ‘body’, *á-fara=á-ž^wrá//á-fara=ž^wra* ‘feast; lit. eating-drinking’, etc. A subset of these less closely-bound copulative compounds represent alliterative words with the replacement of the initial consonant in the second constituent (see section 6 on echo-reduplication): *á-rax^w=a-š^wax^w* ‘various cattle’ (← *á-rax^w* ‘cattle’), *a-mál=a-šⁱál* ‘wealth, possessions’ (← *a-mál* ‘wealth’), etc.

3.2.2. Coordinate [V+V]_N compounds

Examples: *a-náj=aaγ* ‘visitors; lit. go-come’, *wə-najšⁱ=w-aaγšⁱ* (*zər^hawá*) ‘respected person; lit. (about whom they say) you.MASC-please go=you.MASC-please come’, *wə-h^wan=s-h^wán* ‘rumour; lit. you.MASC-say-PIDF=I-say-PIDF’, *á-q^am=jənám* ‘tall tale; lit. be-NEG=it-be on-NEG’, *a-naga=j^wága* ‘transportation; lit. thither-carry=upwards-carry’. Here the underlying verbal forms represent imperatives (*wə-najšⁱ=w-aaγšⁱ*), past indefinite forms (*wə-h^wan=s-h^wán*), negative present tense forms (*jəq^am=jənám*), or a combination of pure stems (*a-naga=j^wága*).

3.2.3. Appositive nominal coordinate compounds

The constituent parts of these compounds contain different descriptions of the same referent or event. They are of various structural types:

- [N+N]_N: *á-byamq^w=xač^ssak^w* ‘lazy fop; lit. not bending back=face with powder on’, *á-mca=šawra* ‘fever; lit. fire-heat’, *á-zra=a-psr^a* ‘death, destruction; lit. disappearance-death’;
- [A+A]_N: *má.m.g^w.dəw=čə.r.bá.qⁱant^az* ‘one who tries to look rich, but is in fact very poor; lit. have-NEG-heart-big=REFL-CAUS-see-naked’;
- [V+A]_N: *á-c^a.šⁱəc=c^a.baa* ‘envious person; lit. below-envy=below-rotten’;
- [V+V]_N: *a-zəmh^a=zəmc^a* ‘tubby person; lit. not growing=who is not learning’.

3.3. Adjectival compounds

The following types of adjectival compounds occur: [N+A]_A, [N+V]_A, [A+A]_A, [V+V]_A.

- [N+A]_A compounds: *ž^wa=ž^wálat^wəj* (*ájtaga*) ‘literal (translation)’, *ájłər^kaaga=dərratarat^w* (*wəšš^wq^wəj^wəra*) ‘reference-information (document)’, *a-lada=mragəlarat^wəj* (*a-pš^a*) ‘south-eastern (wind)’;

- b) [N+V]_A compounds: *a-g^wš=mbəl* ‘heartless, cruel; lit. heart=NEG.burn’, *á-ma=rja* ‘easy; lit. hand=CAUS.lie’, *a-g^w=k’š* ‘nice; lit. heart-catch’, *a-č’=k’š* ‘nice; lit. mouth-catch’;
- c) [A+A]_A compounds: (*a-by’š*) *q’jáq’ja=x^wx^wa-k^wá* ‘prolonged (leaves); lit. (leaf) flat=prolonged-PL’, *a-psš.m=bza.m* ‘more dead than alive; lit. dead-NEG=alive-NEG’, *ápswa=á-wrəs* (*ž^war*) ‘Abkhaz-Russian (dictionary)’; unlike the former examples, the last one represents a less tightly-knit unit with both parts independently marked for definiteness and stress. There are also appositive adjectival echo compounds, with a meaningless second part, e.g., *a-bža.m=čá.m* ‘unfinished, half-made’ (← *bža* ‘half’, *čá?*, *-m* NEG);
- d) [V+V]_A compounds: *á-na.za=[a]a.za* ‘tall, full-grown; lit. grown up=brought up’.

3.4. Verbal compounds

Verbal stem structure is represented by the following models: simplex root (*ca* ‘to go’), compound root (*bzəja.ba* ‘to love; lit. well-see’), derived root (*z.wə* ‘for-do’), complex root (*q’a.c’a* ‘to do, make’, with preverb *q’a-* and root *c’a*), simplex root + extension (*pš.aa* ‘to search’, root *pš* ‘to look’ and extension *-aa*), complex root + extension (*tə.ž.aa* ‘to undig’, with preverb *tə-*, the root *ža* and extension *-aa*). The root/stem is usually represented by one phoneme or by a biphonemic combination (*a* ‘to be’, *k’(ə)* ‘to catch’, *š’(ə)* ‘to kill’, *ba* ‘to see’, *ga* ‘to carry’), though more complex structures also occur. Sometimes a directional infix can be inserted into a complex stem structure, cf. *g^w.a.ta* ‘to notice; lit. PREV(heart)-DIRECT-give’.

Compounding in verb formation is somewhat less common than in noun formation. The following structures obtain: [N+V]_V (nominal root + verbal root), [Adv+V]_V (adverbial root + verbal root), [V+V]_V (verbal root + verbal root). Besides, there are analytical verbal compounds containing a lexical verb and an auxiliary or light verb.

3.4.1. [N+V]_V compounds

Examples: *a-t^wa=r.x-rá* ‘to mow; lit. hay-mowing’, *a-k’onflik’t’=q’a.c’a-ra* ‘to make conflict; lit. conflict-making’, *á-q’ac’aš’a=q’a.c’a-ra* ‘to copy, mimic; lit. manner of doing=do’, *ač’á=š^wa-ra* ‘to hunt quails; lit. quail-hunting’. This model can be regarded as representing incorporation.

Analytical [N+V]_V compounds usually make use of such auxiliaries as *a-w-rá* ‘to do, prepare’, *a-z.wə-rá* ‘to make for sb.’, *a-ga-rá* ‘to produce sound’, *á-ta-ra* ‘to give’; e.g., *a-básta a-w-rá* ‘to prepare maize pap; lit. maize pap-preparing’, *a-cənx^wrá a-z.wə-rá* ‘to compensate; lit. compensation doing-for’, *a-zzəbž’š a-ga-rá* ‘to buzz; lit. buzz-voice sounding’, *a-hámta á-ta-ra* ‘to give a present’. Examples of other auxiliary verbs: *a-bibliot’ėk’a áj.k^wə.r.š^wa-ra* ‘to make up a library; lit. library-compiling’, *a-xbaj^wlašá á-c’əs-ra* ‘to contuse; lit. brain shaking’, *á-lj^wak’ a-xš.l.c’-ra* ‘to smoke; lit. sooth getting off’, etc.

3.4.2. V+V compounds

Examples: *a-na.j=áa.j-ra* ‘to walk; lit. thither-go=hither-coming’, *a-na.ga=áa.ga-ra* ‘to carry thither and hither’.

3.4.3. Appositive [V+V]_V compounds

Examples: *áj.k^w.pa-ra=áj.s-ra* ‘to make a violent uproar’ (both parts meaning ‘to fight’), *a-š^wa-ra=a-za-ra* ‘to measure carefully’ (both meaning ‘to measure’).

3.4.4. Analytical [Adv+V]_V compounds

Examples: *jəbaapsnə a-x.c^wá.ž^wa-ra* ‘to compromise; lit. badly talk over’), *a-k’ooperáci-jala a-č.áj.d.k’ə.la-ra* ‘to co-operate; lit. by cooperation assembling’, etc.

3.5. Adverbial compounds

Most adverbs consisting of two lexical units are cases of reduplication (see section 6.3). Examples of true compounding are less numerous, cf. *jax’a=n.t^wá.ra.k’* ‘the whole day; lit. today=LOC-sit-ABSTR-IDF’, *wac^w[ə]=á-š^jtax^j* ‘day after tomorrow; lit. tomorrow=its-after’, *arma=y^jš^rma* ‘topsy-turvy, otherwise, contrariwise; lit. left-rightish’, *nada=aadá* ‘crosswise’, *baša=malá* ‘uselessly; lit. in vain=for nothing’, *xara=by^jára* ‘dispersedly’ (← *xara* ‘far’), *waxá=wac^wš* ‘these days, soon; lit. tonight-tomorrow’, etc. Examples of appositive compounding: *g^wš.k’=psə.k’.a.la* ‘cordially; lit. heart-IDF=soul-IDF-its-by’, *xə.la=g^wš.la* ‘in disorder, higgledy-piggledy; lit. by head, by heart’. The next pair of examples are based on the juxtaposition of words belonging to semantically opposite lexical units: *waxən.la=čən.la* ‘twenty-four hours; lit. by night, by day’, *xác^wa.la=h^wsa.la* ‘all; lit. by men-by women’.

4. Derivation

4.1. Nominal derivation

4.1.1. Prefixation

Prefixation is rarely used in nominal derivation; among the few examples, cf. *á-z(ə).bža* ‘half, one of the halves’ (← *zə* ‘one’, *ábža* ‘half’), *a-z.q’áza* ‘master’ (← *z-* BENF, *q’áza* ‘master’), *a-c^w.máč^j.ra* ‘deficiency; lit. DETR-small-ABSTR’, etc.

4.1.2. Suffixation

Suffixation is quite a common means for deriving nouns from other nouns, verbs and adjectives. The most productive derivational suffixes are:

- a) *-ar*, forming abstract nouns: *a-mat^w[a].ár* ‘subject’ (← *á-mat^wa* ‘clothes, things’), *až^w[a].ár* ‘dictionary’ (← *áž^wa* ‘word’), *a-mz[a].ár* ‘calendar’ (← *á-mza* ‘month’);
- b) *-ga*, forming deverbal nouns with instrumental meaning: *a-žó.ga* ‘shovel’ (← *a-ž-rá* ‘to dig’), *a-j^wó.ga* ‘pen’ (← *a-j^w-rá* ‘to write’);
- c) *-j^wə*, mostly deverbal agent nouns: *a-žə.rj^wə* ‘listener’ (← *á-žə.r.j^w-ra* ‘to listen’), *a-bžəjaba.j^w* ‘amateur’ (← *a-bžəja.ba-ra* ‘to love’), *a-γjəčj.j^wə* ‘thief’ (← *a-γjəčj-ra* ‘to steal’);
- d) *-lə.x*, meaning ‘(product) made of’: *a-lasa.ləx* ‘made of wool’, *a-nap’.ləx* ‘needle-work; lit. made by hand’;
- e) *-m.ta*, forming result nouns: *á-laga.mta* ‘beginning’ (← *á-la.ga-ra* ‘to begin’), *a-nc’á.mta* ‘note’ (← *a-n.c’a-rá* ‘to write down’);
- f) *-ra*, forming abstract nouns: *á-pšža.ra* ‘beauty’ (← *á-pšža* ‘beautiful’), *a-nc’ə.ra* ‘lifetime’ (← *a-n.c’-rá* ‘to live a life’); the suffix is etymologically the same as the masdar suffix;
- g) *-ra.x*, with the meaning ‘result of’: *a-maza.ráx* ‘something stolen’ (← *á-mazara* ‘secrecy’), *a-pšaa.ráx* ‘something excellent, perfect’ (← *á-pšaa.ra* ‘to find’);
- h) *-r.ta*, forming place nouns: *a-təž’ə.rta* ‘publishing house’ (← *a-tə.žj-ra* ‘to publish’), *a-psšj’á.rta* ‘place of rest’ (← *a-ps.šj’á-ra* ‘to have rest’);
- i) *-šj’a*, indicating ‘manner of’: *a-waj^wə.šj’a* ‘human quality’ (← *a-waj^wə* ‘man, human’), *a-pstázaa.šj’a* ‘way of life’ (← *a-pstázaa.ra* ‘life’);
- j) *-ta*, expressing ‘location’: *a-g^w.tá* ‘centre’ (← *a-g^wə* ‘heart’), *á-šj.ta* ‘trace’ (← *šj-’foot’*);
- k) *-t^w(ə)*, an attributive suffix: *a-zc’aa.t^wə* ‘question, problem’ (← *a-z.c’.aa-rá* ‘to ask about’), *a-psaá.t^w* ‘bird’ (cf. Abaza *pss.ha-ra* ‘to fly’);
- l) *-wa*, an ethnic suffix: *áps.wa* ‘Abkhazian’, *ágə.r.wa* ‘Megrelian’;
- m) *-x^w*, denoting an object somehow related to the base (probably from *a-x^wə* ‘share, part’): *áž^wa.x^w* ‘speech’ (← *áž^wa* ‘word’).

The following derivational suffixes are less productive:

- a) *-c* ‘single’: *a-byj’ə.c* ‘(single) leaf’ (← *a-byj’ə* ‘leaf’), *a-dá.c* ‘root’ (← *a-dá* ‘root’);
- b) *-nə.za* ‘attached to’: *a-mj^wa.nəza* ‘provisions’ (← *á-mj^wa* ‘road’), *a-ma.nəza* ‘shield’ (< **ma* ‘hand’);
- c) *-s* ‘young N’: *a-sə.s* ‘lamb’, *a-h^wə.s* ‘calf’, *árpə.s* ‘young man’;
- d) *-s.pá//z.ba* ‘young, small N’: *a-ph^wə.spá//a-ph^wə.zba* ‘young woman’ (cf. *a-phá* ‘daughter’), *áh^wə.spá//áh^wə.zba* ‘knife’ (cf. *áh^wa* ‘sword’);
- e) *-za*: *apə.za* ‘leader’ (← *apə-* ‘in front of’), *a-j^wə.za* ‘friend’ (cf. *j^w(ə)-* ‘two?’), *a-xə.za* ‘blanket’ (← *a-xə* ‘head’).

4.1.3. Infixation

A rare example of infixation is the insertion of the negative particle *m(ə)*, according to the following models: a) N-NEG-N, b) N-NEG-V, e.g., a) *a-xac'a.m.ph^wás* ‘heroic woman; lit. man-NEG-woman’, *a-š^já.m.aš^wə.ga* ‘garget, *Phytolacca americana*; lit. blood-NEG-paint-AGENT’; b) *č^já.n.m.č^ja* ‘late for dinner because of laziness; lit. time of eating-NEG-eat’, etc.

4.2. Adjectival derivation

4.2.1. Prefixation

The few adjectival prefixes are the detrimental (malefactive) prefix *c^wə-* and the benefactive prefix *zə-* ‘for’, both expressing approximation of a quality: *a-c^wə.š* ‘grey, pale; lit. DETR-white’, *a-c^wə.q^japš^j* ‘reddish; lit. DETR-red’, *a-zə.q^japš^j* ‘reddish; lit. BENF-red’, etc.

4.2.2. Suffixation

Suffixation is a usual means of deriving adjectives:

- a) *-za*: *á-pš.za* ‘beautiful’ (← *a-pš-rá* ‘to look’), *aajg^wa.zá* ‘the nearest’ (← *aajg^wá* ‘close, nearby’);
- b) *-zza*: *a-dəw.zza* ‘great’ (← *a-dəw* ‘big’);
- c) *-da*, a privative suffix: *a-nc^wá.da* ‘godless’, *a-zj^wə.da* ‘healthy’ (← *a-zj^wá* ‘plague, contagion’);
- d) *-t^w(ə)*, a very productive adjectivizing suffix (from *a-t^wəš* ‘possession’): *a-psabá-ra.t^w* ‘natural’ (← *a-psabára* ‘nature’), *a-bj^wá.t^w* ‘(of) copper’ (← *a-bj^wá* ‘copper’), *a-x^j.t^wəš* ‘golden’;
- e) *-t^wə.j*, another productive adjectivizing suffix, derived from the former: *a-təpan.t^wə.j* ‘local’ (← *a-təp* ‘place’), *jax^ja.t^wə.j* ‘contemporary’ (← *jax^já* ‘today’), *c^jaq^ja.t^wə.j* ‘which is below’ (← *á-c^jaq^ja* ‘below’);
- f) *-x^w(ə)*, expressing ‘possession of a feature or quality’ (probably from *a-x^wəš* ‘share, part’), e.g., *a-rəcha.x^w* ‘miserable’ (← *a-rəcha* ‘poor’), *a-c^wərs^wá.x^w* ‘wretched’ (← *a-c^wə.r.š^wá-ra* ‘to frighten sb.’).

4.3. Verbal derivation

4.3.1. Prefixation

Verbal derivation by means of preverbs which express directional or orientational parameters (‘up’, ‘down’, ‘thither’, ‘hither’, ‘on top’, ‘inside’, ‘outside’, and many

others) is very common. So from the verb *gəla* ‘to stand, stand up’ we have *á-d.gəla-ra* ‘to stand close to X’, *á-va.gəla-ra* ‘to stand beside, next to X’, *á-c’a.gəla-ra* ‘to stand under’, *á-k^w.gəla-ra* ‘to stand on top’, *a-xa.gəla-ra* ‘to stand above’, etc. Some verbs cannot function without preverbs, for instance the verb *la* ‘to enter’: *á-la.la-ra* ‘to enter into the mass’, *a-tá.la-ra* ‘to enter inside’, *á-c’a.la-ra* ‘to enter underneath’, *a-j^wn.á.la-ra* ‘to enter inside the house’, etc. The combination of two or more preverbs to form new verbs is not uncommon: *a-n.áa.la-ra* ‘to pass, fit’ (← *na* ‘thither’, *aa* ‘hither’, *la* ‘to go’), *áj.d.č’a.h^wa.la-ra* ‘to tie up to each other’ (← *aj-* ‘reciprocal’, *d(ə)-* ‘close to’, *č’a* ‘mouth, face’, *h^wa* ‘to tie’, plus the extension *-la*).

A very large group of verbs is formed by means of preverbs based on terms for such body-parts as *a-g^wš* ‘heart’ and *a-xš* ‘head’; the first preverb a) forms verbs expressing mental or spiritual activities, the other one b) is responsible for actions occurring above the object, cf. a) *a-g^w.bəl-rá* ‘to worry about’ (← *a-bəl-rá* ‘to burn’), *a-g^wə.r.j^wa-rá* ‘to worry’ (← *a-r.j^wa-rá* ‘to make dry’), *a-g^w.á.la.š^wa-ra* ‘to remember’ (← *á-la.š^wa-ra* ‘to fall in the mass (of small objects)’), b) *a-xš.r.pa-ra* ‘to make jump over sth.’ (← *á-r.pa-ra* ‘to make jump’), *a-xš.s-ra* ‘to cross over sth.’ (← *s-* ‘to pass’), etc.

Some other verbal prefixes are:

- a) *c^w(ə)-*, detrimental (malefactive): *a-c^w.ca-rá* ‘to escape, flee sb.’, *a-c^w.ga-rá* ‘to take from sb. against his/her will’;
- b) *z(ə)-*, benefactive: *a-z.g^w.á.ta-ra* ‘to remark, reproach’, *a-z.q’aza-ra* ‘to be a master in something’;
- c) *z(ə)-*, potential (etymologically connected with the former prefix): *a-zš.m.č’ha-ra* ‘to have no patience’;
- d) *r(ə)-*, causative: *a-r.ba-rá* ‘to show’ (cf. *a-ba-rá* ‘to see’), *a-r.jáša-ra* ‘to correct’ (cf. *a-jáša* ‘straight’);
- e) *aj-*, reciprocal (with intransitive verbs): *áj.pš-ra* ‘to look like, be similar’ (*a-pš-rá* ‘to look’), *áj.sa-ra* ‘to argue, compete with each other’;
- f) *aj.ba-*, reciprocal (with transitive verbs): *áj.ba.š’-ra* ‘to fight, be at war’ (← *a-š’-rá* ‘to kill’), *áj.ba.ga-ra* ‘to marry each other’ (cf. *a-ga-rá* ‘to take, carry’);
- g) *aj.c(ə)-*, comitative: *áj.c.dər-ra* ‘to be well-known’ (← *a-dər-ra* ‘to know’), *áj.c.wə-ra* ‘to collaborate, work together’ (cf. *a-w-rá* ‘to do, work’);
- h) *aj.z(ə)-* ‘together for’: *áj.z.ga-ra* ‘to collect, bring together’, *áj.z.h^wa-ra* ‘propose sb. to sb. as a wife or husband’ (cf. *á-h^wa-ra* ‘to ask’);
- i) *aj.ma-* ‘together, mutually’: *áj.ma.k’-ra* ‘to argue, quarrel with each other’ (cf. *a-k’-rá* ‘to catch’), *áj.ma.da-ra* ‘to connect’ (← *da-* ‘to lead’);
- j) *amxa-* ‘involuntarily’: *ámxa.ps-ra* ‘to kill accidentally’ (← *a-ps-rá* ‘to die’), *ámxa.ba-ra* ‘to see involuntarily’.

4.3.2. Suffixation

The derivational verbal suffixes are as follows:

- a) *-š’a* ‘to regard as’: *á-x^wəmgə.š’a-ra* ‘to regard as loathsome’ (← *á-x^wəmgə* ‘loathsome’), *á-pxa.š’a-ra* ‘to feel shy’ (← *a-pxá* ‘loss, deprivation’);
- b) *-r.k’* ‘to turn to’ (from the causative verb *a-r.k’-rá* ‘to make hold’): *a-pstám.r.k’-ra* ‘nitriding’ (← *a-pstám* ‘nitrogen’), *a-rčcx^w.r.k’-ra* ‘to date’ (← *a-rčcx^w* ‘numeral’);

- c) *-t^w* ‘to turn to’ (from the verb *a-t^w-rá* ‘to possess, relate to, pertain to’): *abž’ár.da.t^w-ra* ‘to demilitarize’ (← *abž’ar.da* ‘weapon-without’), *á-k^wəjt.t^w-ra* ‘to allow’ (← *k^wəjt* ‘free’);
- d) *-xa* ‘to become’: *ájpš.xa-ra* ‘to assimilate, become alike’ (← *ájpš* ‘alike’), *ámg^wadəw.xa-ra* ‘to become pregnant; lit. big belly-become’.

Of the two verbal root-extension suffixes, *-aa-* and *-la-*, the first expresses centrifugal movement (*a-t.pr.aa-rá* ‘to fly (hither) from inside’), while the second one is centripetal (*á-la.ga.la-ra* ‘to bring into the mass’). These suffixes are quite productive in the derivation of new verbs.

4.4. Adverbial derivation

There is a repertory of affixes which are used to form adverbs from nouns, adjectives, quantifiers or verbal forms. Some of these are given below:

- a) *-za*, superlative: *ak’ər.za* ‘very’ (← *ak’ər* ‘many’), *nazá.za* ‘forever’ (cf. *a-nazá.ra* ‘edge, end of X’, *á-na.za-ra* ‘to reach, get to’);
- b) *-h^wa*, a “quotative” suffix (etymologically related to *a-h^wa-rá* ‘to tell’), often used to produce adverbs out of sound-descriptive words: *á-fər.h^wa* ‘instantaneously’, *a-š’š’j.š.h^wa* ‘noiselessly’, *x’arč’j=x’árč’j.h^wa* ‘producing noise, splash’; some words with this suffix, however, are probably not sound-descriptive, e.g., *aárla.h^wa* ‘hardly, scarcely’;
- c) *-k^wa*, expressing ‘manner’ (in negative formations): *č’š.m.t.k^wa* ‘silently’ (← *a-č’.t-rá* ‘to shout’), *-x^wartá.m.k^wa* ‘badly, improperly’ (← *a-x^wartá* ‘benefit, good’);
- d) instrumental *-la-*: *bz’ja.la* ‘well’ (← *a-bz’ja* ‘good’), *maza.lá* ‘secretly’ (← *á-maza* ‘secret’);
- e) privative *-da-*: *x^wə.da=psá.da* ‘gratis’ (← *a-x^w*, *a-psá* ‘price’), *xš.m.pa.da* ‘undoubtedly’ (← *a-xš.pa-ra* ‘to jump over’);
- f) *-nə*: *z.nə* ‘once’ (← *z < *za* ‘one’), *tánč’j.nə* ‘quietly’ (← *a-tánč’j* ‘quiet’);
- g) *-šak^w*: *x^wmár.šak^w* ‘jokingly’ (← *á-x^wmar-ra* ‘to play’), *c^wg’á.šak^w* ‘to spite of sb.’ (← *á-c^wg’á* ‘bad’);
- h) *-š^wa* ‘as if, like’: *wama.š^wá* ‘surprisingly’ (← *á-wama* ‘sth. terrible’), *záa.š^wa* ‘somewhat earlier’ (← *záa* ‘early, beforehand’);
- i) *-xa* ‘becoming’: *-aapsa.xá* ‘tired’ (← *áa.psa-ra* ‘to be tired’), *-rəchax^w.xa* ‘miserably’ (← *a-rəchax^w* ‘miserable’).

5. Conversion

Conversion, a word-formation device creating words out of other classes of words without a formal change, is common in Abkhaz. I shall give here examples of the following types of conversion: verb to noun, verb to adjective, adjective to noun, noun to adjective, adjective to adverb, and postposition to adverb.

5.1. Verb to noun

5.1.1. Masdar form → noun

The masdar form of the verb can be converted into a noun. Cf. such examples as *áj.ba.šj-ra* ‘to fight, be at war’ → *ájbašj-ra* ‘war’, *áj.ma.da-ra* ‘to connect’ → *ájmadara* ‘link, communication’, *áj.lə.m.ga-ra* ‘not to understand’ → *ájləmgara* ‘absurdity’, *áj.n.aa.la-ra* ‘to reconcile’ → *ájnaalara* ‘reconciliation’. A deverbal noun derived through conversion often has a stress position different from the base verb, e.g., *a-j^w-rá* ‘to write’ vs. *a-j^wəra* ‘writing’, *a-pxa-rá* ‘to warm’ vs. *a-pxára* ‘warmth’, *a-z.ha-rá* ‘to grow’ vs. *a-zhára* ‘success, flourishing’.

5.1.2. Pure stem form → noun

The pure stem form of the verb (i.e. without the masdar suffix) can also be used to form a deverbal noun, cf. *a-pə.š^wa-ra* ‘to try’ → *a-pəš^wa* ‘experience’, *á-l.x-ra* ‘to choose’ → *a-ləx* ‘ingredient’, *á-d.c’a-ra* ‘to give order’ → *a-dc’á* ‘task’, *á-c’^wax-ra* ‘to hide’ → *a-c’^waxə* ‘store’, *a-zə.m.ha-ra* ‘not to grow’, *a-zə.m.c’a-ra* ‘not to be able to learn’ → *(a-)zəmhə=zəmc’a* ‘tubby person’.

It seems that the difference between the derivation with or without masdar suffix lies not in the semantic output, but rather in a somewhat lower productivity of conversion by using a pure stem form, though, admittedly, there are cases when both masdar and pure stem forms can be used to form a noun without any change in the meaning, cf. *a-pəš^warə/á-pəš^wa* ‘experiment’ (← *a-pə.š^wa-ra* ‘to try’); note that the same word in the meaning ‘experience’ (see above) is used only without the suffix *-ra*.

5.2. Verb to adjective

From verbal stems: *a-g^w.ra.ga-rá* ‘to trust’ → *a-g^wragá* ‘reliable’, *a-č’ə.xa-ra* ‘to wake up’ → *a-č’əxa* ‘vivid, energetic’. From verbal adjectives (participles): *ak’rə.z.c’á.z.k.wa* ‘important; lit. much-REL-PREV-REL-hold-PRES.PART’, *z.c’^wa.z.t’^wə.m* ‘pregnant; lit. REL-skin-REL-belong-NEG’. Analytical participial constructions are also quite common, for example according to such models such as name + participle *jə.z.má.w* ‘having’ (e.g., *á-int’eres* *θ.z.má.w* ‘interesting’), name + *jə.z.lá.w* ‘containing’ (e.g., *á-mč’j* *θ.z.lá.w* ‘powerful’), adverb + *jə.q’a.w* ‘being’ (e.g., *aa.j.g^wá* *jə.q’a.w* ‘nearby’). Cf. also *ak’ər* *j.a.psá.w* ‘dear, respected; lit. who has much value’, *zə.la.x’j* *ajk^wə.w* ‘sad; lit. whose forehead is dark’, *h^wáá* *z.má.m* ‘endless; lit. border which-not-having’, *a-cént’r* *θ-ax’j* *jə.ca.wá* ‘centripetal; lit. the one who is going to the centre’.

5.3. Adjective to noun

Examples: *á-q’apš’j* ‘red’ → ‘a red one’, *a-bzəja* ‘good’ → ‘a good one’, *áp.x’a.t’^wə.j* ‘first’ → ‘the first one’, etc.

5.4. Noun to adjective

Examples: *áps.wa* ‘Abkhaz’ → *áps.wa ž^wlar* ‘the Abkhaz people’, *a-mšón* ‘sea’ → *a-mšón ʒə* ‘sea water’.

5.5. Adjective to adverb

Adverbs formed from adjectives by conversion usually differ from the former by the absence of the definite-generic article, e.g., *a-tónčj* ‘calm’ → *tənčj* ‘calmly’, *á-ckja* ‘clean’ → *ckja* ‘clearly’; sometimes this is accompanied by the shift in stress position: *áajg^wa* ‘near’ → *aajg^wá* ‘nearby, recently’, *á-las* ‘quick’ → *lassá* ‘quickly’.

5.6. Postposition to adverb

Example: *á-c’aq’a* ‘under’ → *c’aq’á* ‘below, downwards’.

6. Reduplication

6.1. Nominal reduplication

In noun formation, reduplication does not play such a prominent role as it does in verb and adverb formation. The following types of reduplication can be mentioned: a) deverbal nouns based on reduplicated verbal stems; b) nouns formed by reduplication of sound-descriptive or movement-descriptive elements; c) full reduplication of the nominal root:

- a-h^wa.n=h^wá.x* ‘rumour; lit. tell-PIDF=tell-again’, *a-naj=áaj.ra* ‘walk; lit. go=come.ABSTR’;
- a-q’ap=q’áp* ‘wooden shoes’, *a-k^wš=k^wəw* ‘cuckoo’, *á-də=d(ə)* ‘thunder’, *á-k’jat’=k’jat’ra* ‘top of the tree’;
- a-š=šá* ‘fat’ (< *šə=šá < *ša=šá), *a-kja=kjá* ‘hoop made of thread or vine’, *á-gja=gja* ‘circle’.

A specific type of reduplication, very common in Abkhaz, is *echo-reduplication*, whereby the onset of the second part of the compound is replaced by another consonant. The most popular initial increment in the second part of the reduplications is the resonant *m-*, which represents a very wide areal feature (cf. Chirikba 2008: 55–56). The resonant *m-* can either replace the initial sound on the second constituent, as in *až^w=máž^w* ‘rags’ (← *áž^w* ‘old’), *a-x^wač’ja=máč’ja* ‘worms, caterpillars, etc.’ (← *a-x^wáč’ja* ‘larva, caterpillar’), or be placed before the initial sound of the second member of the reduplicated complex: *aža=máža* ‘raw things’ (← *áža* ‘raw’), *a-baá=mbaá* ‘rot, decay’ (← *a-baá* ‘rot’), *a-x^w=máx^w* ‘leftovers’ (← *a-x^wš* ‘food’), etc. If a word with an initial *m-* is to be ‘echoed’, another consonant is used to replace it, cf. *a-mat^wa=j^wš^wa* ‘all kinds of clothes’ (← *á-mat^wa* ‘clothes’), *á-makar=č’akár^wa* ‘all kinds of threats’ (← *á-makar^wa*

‘threat’), *a-mál*=*a-š’ál* ‘wealth, possessions’ (← *a-mál* ‘wealth’). Besides *m*, other consonants can also be used, cf. *a-g^wam*=*sám* ‘all rubbish/rubbish and such’ (← *a-g^wám* ‘rubbish’), *á-rax^w*=*á-š^wax^w* ‘all kinds of cattle/cattle and such’ (← *á-rax^w* ‘cattle’). In most cases such formations function as collective nouns, though in cases like *a-xaga*=*zága* ‘oaf, softhead’ (← *a-xága* ‘idiot’) the semantics of collectiveness is not present.

6.2. Adjectival reduplication

There are quite a number of reduplicated adjectives, e.g., *á-g’ja*=*g’ja* ‘round’, *a-k’já*=*k’ja* ‘hard, rough’, *a-k’áz*=*k’áz* ‘transparent and shining’, *á-cər*=*cər* ‘shining’, *a-šam*=*šám* ‘clear (of a sight or glance)’. Examples of echo-reduplication with the typical *m*-replacement: *a-gaza*=*mazá* ‘foolish’ (← *a-gazá* ‘foolish’), *a-p’ás^w*=*maš^w* ‘well cared-for’ (← *a-p’ás^w* ‘clean, tender’), etc.

6.3. Adverbial reduplication

Adverbial reduplication comes in two varieties, one without an affix and one in which it is combined with a suffix:

- a) *waž^wə*=*waž^wə* ‘often’, *xaz*=*xazə* ‘separately’, *ak’*=*ák’a* ‘one by one’, *x^wəč’j(ə)*=*x^wəč’jə* ‘little by little’, *mač’j*=*máč’j* ‘little by little’, *xrəžj*=*xrəžj* ‘occasionally’, *lassə*=*lassə* ‘often’, *xama-xáma* ‘in all directions’;
- b) *znə*=*zən.la* ‘from time to time’, *aár.la*=*aár.la* ‘with difficulty’.

Examples of echo-reduplication: *á-k’wša*=*mək’wša* ‘all around’ (← *á-k’w.ša-ra* ‘to go around’), *aajg^wá*=*sajg^wa* ‘nearby’ (← *áajg^wa* ‘near’).

6.4. Verbal reduplication

Reduplication is quite common in verb formation, cf. *á-bar*=*bar-ra* ‘to clack, blab’, *á-k’jər*=*k’jər-ra* ‘to neigh’, *á-cər*=*cər-ra* ‘to shine’, *a-pažj*=*pážj-ra* ‘to prance’, etc. Echo-reduplication is also popular, especially with the *m*-replacement, cf. *a-k’alšj*=*maləšj-ra* ‘to walk carelessly’, *a-yəžə*=*məž-ra* ‘to moan’, *a-x’at’əj*=*mat’əj-ra* ‘to bend (of resilient objects)’, *a-k^wac*=*maca-rá* ‘to move’. Other kinds of replacement: *a-makar*=*č’akár-ra* ‘to threaten’, *á-š^wəj*=*pš’əj-ra* ‘to curse’, *a-h^wələ*=*səl-ra* (beside *a-h^wələ*=*h^wəl-ra*) ‘to splash (of big quantity of fish)’, etc.

Some verbs can be regarded as derived according to the sound symbolic connotations attributed to certain consonants. As examples of such formations, a number of verbal roots with the general meaning ‘to hang swinging or dangling from side to side’ can be cited, their semantic nuances, depending on the form and mass of the object, being expressed by different consonants, cf. *á-k’al*=*k’ala-ra* (of small and thin objects), *á-k’^wal*=*k’^wala-ra* (of somewhat heavier objects), *á-q’al*=*q’ala-ra* (of bigger objects). Another verb with a similar semantics and phonetic shape (*á-g’al*=*g’ala-ra*) could be a

part of this set, but it refers to objects of any mass and shape, though tending to denote somewhat heavier ones.

7. Neoclassical word-formation

In case of the borrowed Russian words with classical affixes, the latter can stay within the borrowed item, or be replaced by native elements: R. *avanjurizm* ‘adventurism’ > Abkhaz *avant'urizím//avant'iúra.ra* (with the abstract suffix *-ra*), R. *alogizm* ‘alogism’ > *alogizím//a-lógik'a.da.ra* (with the suffix *-da.ra* ‘without’), R. *antidemokratičeskij* ‘anti-democratic’ > *ant'i.demok'rát'ia.t'w//a-demok'rát'ia=č'a.gəla.ra.t'w* (with *a-č'a.gəla.ra.t'w* ‘oppositional’). Cf. also R. *akademizm* ‘academicism’ > *ak'ademizm*, beside pleonastic *ak'ademizm.ra*.

There are many neoclassical formations construed on the model of borrowed Russian compounds where the borrowed classical element remains intact, while the Russian part of the borrowed item is translated. Neoclassical word-formation in Abkhaz is prefixal, i.e. the classical (Greek or Latin) elements exclusively occupy the first part of the word. Examples: *agro-* ‘agricultural’: *agropq'ára* ‘agricultural rule’, *agroaaglaxrat'w* ‘agro-industrial’; *ant'i-* ‘against’: *ant'imat'w aš'ár* ‘antimatter’, *ant'idəwněj* ‘antiworld’; *avia-* ‘aviatic’: *avianəq'wgaga* ‘aircraft carrier’, *aviapšəx'ra* ‘air reconnaissance’; *avt'o-* ‘auto-’: *avt'omj'á* ‘highway’, *avt'omj'ak'w c'aj'ə* ‘traffic controller’; *bio-* ‘biological’: *a-biofəmcə* ‘biocurrent’, *a-bioxač'hara* ‘biostability’; *evro-* ‘European’: *a-evrox'apšrá* ‘Eurovision’; *foť'o-* ‘photographic’: *a-foť'otəxra* ‘photographing’, *a-foť'osəx'a* ‘photo, picture’; *k'ino-* ‘cinematographic’: *a-k'inoq'ázara* ‘film art’, *a-k'inosəx'a* ‘motion picture’; *k'ont'r-* ‘against’: *a-k'ont'rž'əlara* ‘counterattack’, *a-k'ont'rdgalara* ‘counter-offer’; *mega-* ‘mega-’: *a-megadəwněj* ‘mega-world’; *met'a-* ‘meta-’: *a-met'abəzš'á* ‘metalanguage’; *mik'ro-* ‘micro-’: *a-mik'rodəwněj* ‘microcosm’, *a-mik'rox'táč'j* ‘microparticle’; *p'ara-* ‘para-’: *a-p'aramxəldəzt'w* ‘paramagnetic’; *t'ele-* ‘tele-’: *a-t'elexpəšrá* ‘television’, *a-t'e-leš'əga* ‘telemetering’; *t'er-mo-* ‘thermo-’: *a-t'ermog'əc'wt'w* ‘thermonuclear’, *a-t'er-momxəldəzt'w* ‘thermomagnetic’; *video-* ‘video-’: *a-videonc'amta* ‘video recording’.

8. Other types of word-formation

8.1. Clipping

Clipping is occasionally observed in word-formation: *a-mazán.k'wadər* ‘a type of female saddle’, from *amazánk'wa k'wadər* ‘Amazonian saddle’; *wə.s.t!* ‘you.MASC take it!’, an interjection-like clipped verbal form, derived from *jə.wə.s.t.wa.jt'* ‘it-to you.MASC-I-give-PRES-FIN’; *wə.h'w a.n=s.h'w á.n* ‘rumour’, from *jə.wə.h'w á.n=jə.s.h'w á.n* ‘it-you.MASC-say-PIDF=it-I-say-PIDF’; *a-h'w a.n=h'w á.x* ‘rumour’, from *jə.PERSON.h'w á.n=jə.PERSON.h'w á.x-t'* ‘it-X-say-PIDF=it-X-say-again-PAST’.

Unlike the form *wə.s.t!* ‘you.MASC take it!’, where the verbal agreement partially remains, despite the dropping of the object marker (cf. *bə.s.t!* ‘you.FEM take it!’, *š'w ə.s.t!* ‘you.PL take it!’, etc.), the form *(a-)wə.h'w a.n=s.h'w á.n* ‘rumour, gossip’ is fully lexical-

ized, since, apart from dropping the object marker, it can take the definite-generic article, and keeps the personal markers (*wə-* ‘you.MASC’, *s-* ‘I’) in fossilized form.

8.2. Acronyms

During the Soviet era, Abkhaz borrowed from Russian quite a number of acronyms: R. *part.kom* > *a-p'art'k'óm* ‘party committee’, *rab.kor* > *a-rabk'ór* ‘worker-correspondent’, *rab.fak* > *a-rabfák* ‘workers’ courses’, etc. Many of these are now out of use. In other cases only one part of the Russian acronymic compounds was borrowed, while the other part was translated, to produce hybrid Russian-Abkhaz compounds. Despite the fact that some of the Russian originals were combinations of two or more clipped words (like *polit.ruk*, *kom.so.mol*), while other complex acronyms preserved one part of the compound intact (like *polit.učeba*), the general practice was to render both types by borrowing the first clipped part, while translating the second part (either clipped or intact).

Examples of both parts of the complex acronym clipped in the source language: R. *kol.xoz* > Abkhaz *a-k'ól=n.xá.ra* ‘collective farm’ (*a-n.xa.rá* ‘farming’), R. *sov.xoz* > *a-sov=n.xá.ra* ‘Soviet farm’, R. *kom.so.mol* > *a-k'óm=č'ár* ‘Young Communist League’ (*a-č'ár* ‘youth’), R. *polit.ruk* > *a-p'olit'=nap'xgajwə* ‘political supervisor’.

Cases when the second part of the Russian original represents the whole word: R. *polit.otdel* > *a-p'olit'=q'wšá* ‘political department’, R. *polit.učeba* > *a-p'olit'=c'ara* ‘political education’, R. *agit.punkt* > *agit'=təp* ‘propaganda centre’, R. *tex.nadzor* > *a-t'əx=xəlapšra* ‘engineering supervision’, R. *tex.osmotr* > *a-t'əx=g'átara* ‘equipment check-up’.

Acronyms in the form of individual letters are rare in Abkhaz, cf. such examples as *ATA*, which stands for *At'wəlawajwrat'w tagəlazaš'a atájwərtá* ‘registry office’, *EME* for *Əjdgəlo Amilátka r-Əjc'kaara* ‘United Nations Organization’, *MHC* for *megaherc* ‘megahertz’, etc.

8.3. Blending

Among the instances of blending one can mention such examples as *án=š'a* ‘maternal uncle’, from a fuller but unattested form **án=l.jaš'a* lit. ‘mother-her-brother’, with an attested variant form *án=l.aš'a*; *séjdrəw* ‘I wouldn’t know’ (in the Abzhywa dialect), from *sa jə.z.dər.waj* ? lit. ‘I it-I-know-QU’, colloquial *x'əməčxán* ‘in the evening’, from **x'ə.l[a].apə.č.xá.n* (from an older form **q'ə.l[a].apə.mš.qá.n*), with an intermediate form *x'əlbəčxán*, etc.

8.4. Gemination

Gemination of the root consonant, apart from its spontaneous usage for emphatic purposes, is also employed in word-formation to create verbs with an intensifying semantics,

cf. *a-h^wa-rá* ‘to speak’ vs. *á-h^wh^wa-ra* ‘to shout, cry’, *a-p.ž^wa-rá* ‘to tear’ vs. *a-pə.ž^wž^wa-rá* ‘to tear in small pieces’, *a-p.č^č-rá* ‘to break’ vs. *a-p.č^č-rá* ‘to break in many pieces’.

Abbreviations

ABSTR	abstract suffix	NEG	negative
BENF	benefactive	NFIN	non-finite
CAUS	causative	PIDF	past indefinite
DETR	detrimental	POT	potential
DIM	diminutive	PRES	present
DIRECT	directional affix	QU	question
IDF	indefinite article	SUF	suffix
FIN	finite		

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193. Adyghe

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Abstract

Adyghe is a highly polysynthetic language with a very weak distinction between nouns and verbs. Compounding and affixation (including both suffixation and prefixation) are widespread. Morphological means often allow recursion and the order of morphemes depends to a large extent on semantics. Inflection and derivation are not distinguished clearly. While deverbal nominal derivation is highly developed, most “verbal” formation actually applies to all kinds of bases. Minor parts-of-speech like adjectives and adverbs show dedicated markers. Conversion proper is occasional.