Abkhaz Text (14):
Which One Among Us Does She Belong To?

Tamio Yanagisawa

(1) háwa ḏo-z-t’wó-da?
who among us she-whom-belong to-Qu
Which one among us does she belong to?

(2) zná, maṣajwó-k’ néq’a-ra ḏ-ca-wá-n.
once upon a time carpenter-one journey-Masd he-go-Dyn-Impf
Long ago, a carpenter set out on a journey.

(3) á-mjwá ḏō-ɸ-kʷ-nọ ḏo-ʃ-ná-j-wa-z, á-matwá ʒaxjó,
the-road he-[it]-be on-Abs he-how-Prev-go thither-Impf.N.F the-clothes tailor
a-terazó ḏ-aa-jó-kwš’a-jt’.
the-tailor he-Par-him-come across-(Aor)-Fin
As he travelled, he came across a tailor.

(4) — w-abá-ca-wa-j?
you.M-where-go-Pres.N.F-Qu
“Where are you going?”

(5) — néq’a-ra s-ca-wá-jt’.
journey-Masd I-go-Dyn-Fin
“I’m going on a journey”.

(6) — h-ajmjwála-c’a-zaajt’ sar-gi’ néq’a-ra s-ca-wá-jt’.
we-fellow-traveller-Pl-Stat.Subjunc I-also journey-Masd I-go-Dyn-Fin
“Shall we not become travelling companions then? I am also on a journey”.

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(7) — w-aa-lá zajpšōq’am.
    you.M-let’s go! very fine
“Excellent! Off we go!”

(8) wəs n-ajbó-r-hʷa-a-ŋ
    so Par-Prev(each other)-they-talk with-Past.Ind.Fin together-adv
jə-ʃ-ná-j-wa-z a-xiōj d-aa-ró-kʷ-šʷa-ŋ’t.
they-how-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Impf.N.F the-silversmith he-Par-them-Prev-come across-(Aor)-Fin
In this way, they came to an agreement, and as they were travelling together, they came across a silversmith.

(9) — šʷ-abá-ca-wa-j?
    — hʷa d-rə-z-c’áa-j’t.
you.Pl-where-go-Pres.N.F-Qu SP he-them-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin
“Where are you two going?” he asked them.

(10) — h-abá-ca-wa, nəqʷ’a-ra h-ca-wá-j’t’, — [ə]r-hʷá-j’t
    we-where-go-Pres.N.F journey-Masd we-go-Dyn-Fin [it-]they-say-(Aor)-Fin
a-ma3ajʷ-ʃ-j a-terazš-j.
the-carpenter-and the-tailor-and
“You ask us where we’re going. We’re on a journey,” the carpenter and the tailor said.

    I-also I-traveller-Stat.Pres.Fin we-one another-friend-Pl.Stat.Subjunct [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin
a-xiōj, — dáara jə-bzjα-wp’, [ə]l-hʷá-n ajc-nō
silversmith very it-good-Stat.Pres.Fin [it-]they-say-Past.Ind together-adv
r-č’-nə-r-xa-j’t.
their-SV-Prev they-set out-(Aor)-Fin
“I am a traveler as well. Shall we become friends?” asked the silversmith. The carpenter and the tailor said, “This is very good”, and they set off together.

(12) wórṯ ajc-nō jə-š-ná-j-wa-z xʷaŋ’ʃica-k’
    they together-Adv they-how-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Impf.N.F Muslim-one
d-aa-ró-kʷšʷa-ŋ’t.
he-Par-them-come across-(Aor)-Fin
As they were travelling on together, they came across a Muslim. [lit. a Muslim came across them.]


you.PL-where-go-Pres.N.F-Qu he-them-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin the-Muslim

“Where are you going?” the Muslim asked them.

(14) — h-abama-ca-wa, wə-m-ba-wá-j náqʷa-ra h-ca-wá-jt’,

we-where-go-Pres.N.F you.M-Neg-see-Dyn-Qu journey-Masd we-go-Dyn-Fin

— [∅]-r-hʷá-jt’.

[it-]they-say-(Aor)-Fin

“You ask us where we’re going. Well, we are on a journey, you know,” they said.


I-also I-traveller-Stat.Pres.Fin we-one-another-friend-Pl-Stat.Subjunct [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin

a-xʷáŋya-g’ə d-ra-c-nə r-č’á-na-r-xa-jt’.

the-Muslim-also he-them-be with-Abs their-SV-Prev-they-set out-(Aor)-Fin

“I am a traveler as well. Shall we all become friends together?” he said, and they all set off together with the Muslim.

(16) j-aj-cʷážʷa-wa aje-nə nə-s-ná-j-wa-z

they-one another-talk-Abs together-Adv they-how-Prev-they-set out-(Aor)-Fin

[∅]-r-.navigateTo-Abs.N.F somewhere pass the-night-Masd they-sit-(Aor)-Fin

As they talked with each other and travelled, night fell.

(17) [∅]-janó-xʷla ʔjará pxʷa-rá j-tʷá-jt’.

[it-]when-get-dark.Aor.N.F somewhere pass the-night-Masd they-sit-(Aor)-Fin

As dusk fell, they stopped somewhere to spend the night.

(18) awóxa á-bna-č’ə j-axʷpxʷa-z j-č’apšá-r

that-night the-forest-in they-where-pass the-night-Stat.Past.N.F they-keep-watch-Masd

á-kʷə-n:

[Ł-]copula-Stat.Past.Fin
That night someone had to keep watch at the place where they were staying, in the middle of the forest.

(19) á-c’japša-ra-zə  á-c’x  [φ-]janö-r-ša  pšbá-pšbá

the-keep watch-Masd for the-night [it]-when-they-divide-(Aor.N.F) 4-Non.hum-4-Non.hum
saát  á-c’japša-ra  [φ-]jő-kw-šwa-jt’.

hour the-keep watch-Masd [it]-they-Prev-fall to one’s lot-(Aor)-Fin

They divided the night up into four-hour watches, and drew lots to decide who would keep watch.

(20) nas  á-c’japša-ra  apxá  j-zə-kwšwa-wá,  áštaxi

then the-keep watch-Masd at first it-Rel-Prev-fall to one’s lot-Pres.N.F later
j-zə-kwšwa-wa, — [φ-]hwa-n,  a-c’wō  [φ-]tā-r-psa-jt’.

it-Rel-Prev-allot-Pres.N.F [it]-they-say-Past.Ind the-stick [it]-Prev-they-pack into-(Aor)-Fin
(= they decided by drawing lots)

In this way, they could decide who would be on the first watch by drawing lots, and who would be on the next watch by drawing lots, and having said this, proceeded to draw their lots.

(21) a-c’wō  [φ-]an-tō-r-x,  r-ápša  á-c’japša-ra  a-ma3ajwxō

the-stick [it]-when-Prev-they-take out Aor.N.F them-before the-keep watch-Masd the-carpenter
j-jō-kwšwa-jt’,  woj  a-štāxi  a-terazō,  woj  jō-shťaxi

it-he-Prev-fall to one’s lot-(Aor)-Fin that it-after (= after that) the-tailor he him-after
a-xōj,  zagśi  rō-šťaxi  a-xwaśa.

the-silversmith all them-after the-Muslim

They drew their lots, and the first watch fell to the carpenter who drew that lot, next the tailor, after that the silversmith, and finally the Muslim.

(22) a-ma3ajwxō  d-c’japša-wa-n  agstårt  ściwa-jt’.

the-carpenter he-keep watch-Dyn-Impf other they-fall asleep-(Aor)-Fin

The carpenter kept watch, and the others fell asleep.

(23) j-gxō  cśyj-wa  d-an-ála-ga,  d-ná-j-n,  r-najx’s

his-be bored-Abs he-when-Prev-begin-(Aor.N.F) he-Prev-go thither-Past.Ind them-beside
As he had become bored, he went over and cut down a tree that was nearby, and made a wooden statue of a girl that almost seemed alive (you would never think that she was not alive), and gave her a shape and form, and then made the statue stand up. When his four hours' watch was over, he jogged the tailor on the chest and woke him up, while he himself lay down, and fell asleep.

When the tailor looked up, he saw a naked girl standing there by his side, with no clothes at all.

He wondered where this girl had come from in the middle of the night. “Are my eyes deceiving me? Can this be true?” he said, getting up joyfully. But when he rushed over to where she was, it was a wooden statue.
(26) — háj, arój a-ma3aj\"ov j-á-wp' j-q' a-z-c\'á, alláh
        oh! this the-carpenter him-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin it-Prev-Rel-make-(Aor.N.F) Allah
d-o-j-bl-áajt', — [\ø-]j-h\"á-n, d-aa-pxa-š\'á-jt'.
him-he-burn-3.Imp [it]-he-say-Past.Ind he-Par-be ashamed-Extension-(Aor)-Fin
“Oh no! The carpenter must have made it. Allah! Burn him to death!” he said,
feeling embarrassed.

(27) d-aa-x\"en-h\"-n\"ó d-la-t'\"a-n d-o-š-x\"sc-wa-z
        he-Prev-Prev-come to oneself-Abs he-Prev-sit down-Past.Ind he-how-think up-Dyn-Impf.N.F
ak'\"ó [\ø-]aa-j-g\"ála-š\"a-jt':
something [it-]Par-Prev-remember-(Aor)-Fin
When he came back to his senses, he sat down and thought about it. And he hit
upon a good idea.

(28) «arój a-sáx\"a [\ø-]q' a-j-c\'á-jt' sará j-ajlá-s-\"h-a-p'»,
        he the-statue [it]-Prev-he-make-(Aor)-Fin I it-Prev-I-dress-Fut.1.Fin
— [\ø-]j-h\"á-n d-aa-[a]-la-gá-n a-ph\"s mat\"á
        [it-]he-say-Past.Ind.Fin he-Par-it-Prev-begin-Past.Ind.Fin the-woman clothes
[\ø-]na-zö-j-3ax\"a-n j-na-[a]-š"-c'a-nó d-an-áa-[a]-l-ga
        [it-it]-for-he-sew-Past.Ind.Fin it-Par-[it]-Prev-dress in-Abs he-when-Par-[it]-Prev-finish.Aor.N.F
jö-pš\"l-saát-k'\"g\" [\ø-]aa-n-c\"wá-jt'.
his-4-hour-NS-collective [it-]Par-Prev-expire-(Aor)-Fin
“He made the statue, but I will give her clothes to wear,” he said and started to
sew women’s clothes. By the time he put the clothes on her, his four-hour watch
was over.

(29) a-xl\"oj d-na-j-g\"tá-s-n\"ó d-aa-jö-rč'\"xa-n
        the-silversmith he-Par-him-Prev-push-Abs him-Par-he-wake-Past.Ind he/himself
d-na-já-n dö-c"a-jt'.
he-Par-lie-Past.Ind.Fin he-fall asleep-(Aor)-Fin
He jogged the silversmith on the chest and woke him up, and then he himself lay
down and fell asleep.

(30) a-xl\"oj d-nök\"-t'\"a-n\"ó d-na-pšö-zar r-náj'\"san
        the-silversmith he-Prev-sit down-Abs he-Prev-look thither-as soon as them-beside

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When the silversmith sat up and looked about, he saw a slender girl standing next to them.

“Is what I am seeing a dream?” he said, not being able to believe what he saw. Rubbing his eyes, he got up, lit a match, and went over to where she was:

“It’s a girl of wood! Damn! How I rejoiced too soon! They made it...” he said, and came back to his senses.
“The carpenter made the statue from wood, and the tailor put clothes on it. I shall make it a golden dress to wear,” he said, and sat down, starting with a golden belt, and without anything at hand, made a golden dress for it to wear, and put the garment on it.

(34) was jō-pši-saāt-k’-g° [φ-]aa-n-c’wá-n, a-xʷáʒ/a thus his-4-hour-NS-collective [it-]Par-Prev-expire-Past.Ind.Fin the-Muslim d-n-jō-gʷtá-so-n d-aa-jō-rē’óxa-nə jará he-Par-him-Prev-push-Past.Ind.Fin him-Par-he-wake-Abs he/himself dō-c’wa-jt’. he-Prev-lie down-Past.Ind.Fin he-fall asleep-(Aor)-Fin
As his four hours had passed in this way, he then tapped the Muslim on the chest and woke him up, and lying down he fell asleep.

(35) a-xʷáʒ/a jō-la aźʷžʷá d-tōxa-wa á-c’wa d-an-áa-[a]-l-c’. the-Muslim his-eye strongly he-wipe-Abs the-dream he-when-Par-[it]-Prev-go out of.Aor.N.F 3yáb-k d-ajxś-ašʷa-wa d-ə-xi-psáraxa, d-nask’i-a-śʷá girl-one she-be slender-Abs she-gold-all over he-movement little thither-slightly dō-ś-góla-z [φ-]j-bá-jt’, l-nap’-g° she-how/that-stand-Stat.Past.N.F [it-]he-see-(Aor)-Fin her-hand-even [φ-]aa-l-q’á-z-śʷa-g° j-lápś j-aa-c’a-śʷa-jt’, [it-]Par-she-wave-Past.Ind.N.F-as if-even his-look it-Par-Prev-fall down-(Aor)-Fin d-an-áa-pš d-agl-j-a-lacʷq’ós-z-śʷa-g° she-when-Prev-look hither.Aor.N.F she-even-him-to-wink at-Past.Ind.N.F-as if-even [φ-]j-bá-jt’.[it-]he-see-(Aor)-Fin The Muslim rubbed his eyes hard, waking from his dreams, and saw a slim girl standing before him with gold all over her. It seemed to him as if she had waved her hands and winked at him.

really she-girl-if my-fortune her-it-Prev-put in.Imp [it-]he-say-Past.Ind.Fin
his-hand-Pl he-Prev-them-pull up/raise-Past.Ind.Fin the-sky it-to
them-Prev-turn up-towards(?)-Abs the-prayer [it-]he-seize(?)-(Aor)-Fin (= he prayed)
then his-head Rel-it-be under-Stat.Past.N.F his-Koran [it-]he-Prev-he-pick up-Past.Ind.Fin
her-you-for-he-create-(Aor)-Fin SP [it-]him-to-it (= the Koran)-say-(Aor)-Fin
“Oh no, what is this? Is the devil making fun of me? All-powerful Allah! If she is a devil, burn her! If she is a girl, place her fate with together with mine!” he said, lifting both his hands, and praying with his hands facing towards the sky. And then he picked up the Koran that was under his pillow [Note: lit. "under his head"], and when he looked into it, what was written on that page of the Koran was “She is a girl. God favors you, and God made her for you”.

(37) w´s, a-k´táp [φ-]nº-š/ta-c’a-nº d-ná-j-n j-nap´-kºá
thus the-Koran [it-]he-Prev-put down-Abs he-Prev-go thither-Past.Ind.Fin his-arm-Pl
[φ-]jáa-[a]-kº-ša-nº, — sº-laxj j-a-nº-zaj, a-nºwºa d-åbaa-pº-nº
you.F-where-me-for-Prev-he-bring-(Aor.N.F)-Qu this so the-harming Rel-be-Stat.Past.N.F
[φ-]hº-ša-nº, d-sº-gºž-wºj-j lºa-j-kºšw [it-]he-say-Past.Ind.Fin her-I-kiss-Dyn-Fin SP her-mouth his-lip
[φ-]nº-á-dº-kº-sal[a-j]-jº
[it-]he-say-Past.Ind.Fin her-I-kiss-Dyn-Fin SP her-mouth his-lip
[φ-]nº-á-dº-kº-sal[a-j]-jº
And so, he put the Koran down, and went over to the statue, and turned it around with both hands, and said, “How happy I am! God has looked down upon me from on high, and has brought you, this very charming you, from somewhere, for me.” “I shall kiss her”, he thought. And so, when he put his lips against her mouth, his lips touched a very cold tree.

the-wood statue be best dressed him-in front of it-stand-Stat.Pres.Fin “Oh Allah! Take pity on me! What am I looking at?” he said, striking a match and taking a good look. Wherever was the girl? (he wondered). A well-dressed wooden statue was standing in front of him.

[it]-pass-(Aor)-Fin “My friends are the ones who made this. The carpenter made the wooden statue. The tailor made the clothes. The silversmith made golden ornaments for it. What shall I make?” He sat down and thought about it, and three hours passed.

(40) a-pšl-ba r-zó wɔs [ø]-jó-3bő-jit’, a-psó [ø]-l-xá-s-c’a-p’ h’wa. the-4-Non.hum them-at thus [it]-he-decide-(Aor)-Fin the-spirit [it]-he-Prev-I-fit-Fut.1.Fin SP At the fourth hour he decided: “I shall breathe life into her”.

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And so, he put the Koran down, and went over to the statue, and turned it around with both hands, and said, "How happy I am! God has looked down upon me from on high, and has brought you, this very charming you, from somewhere, for me."

"I shall kiss her," he thought. And so, when he put his lips against her mouth, his lips touched a very cold tree.

"Oh Allah! Take pity on me! What am I looking at?" he said, striking a match and taking a good look. Wherever was the girl? (he wondered). A well-dressed wooden statue was standing in front of him.

My friends are the ones who made this. The carpenter made the wooden statue. The tailor made the clothes. The silversmith made golden ornaments for it. What shall I make?" He sat down and thought about it, and three hours passed.

At the fourth hour he decided: "I shall breathe life into her.

He started to pray to God. He asked, 'Please breathe life into her.'

As he was praying to God, his four hours came to an end, and it was already dawn.

A spirit rose up into the thing that stood there in the shape of a girl, and it changed into a very beautiful girl.

Just at that moment, just as if someone had pricked them, the other people woke up.

It seemed as if his friends had turned to stone. The Muslim hadn’t liked them. If they hadn’t woken up in a short while, he would take her away, he had decided. But what could he have done?
then they-Prev-him-Prev-come near-Past.Ind.Fin the-decide-Masd
they-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin who of us her-who-take-Fut.1.N.F-Qu SP
After that, they came up to him, and started to decide which of them would take
her away.

The carpenter stood up, and said, “She belongs to me. It has nothing to do with
you”.

“No. Who she needs is me. Even though you did make a wooden statue, you would
just throw it away on to the ground and go away. You too, who made the clothes,
you should put them in your pack and put it on your back and go away. I am the
one who made her golden clothes. She belongs to me,” announced the silversmith.
a-mč’ sáx’a [φ-]q’a-z-c’á-z-g’ọ jo-n-k’á-ži-nọ
the-wood statue [it]-Prev-Rel-make-Past.Ind.N.F also it-Par-Prev-throw down-Abs
w-c’a-wá-n, á-mat’a [φ-]z-3axó-z-g’ọ wo-x*rřjón
you.M-go-Dyn-Impf.Fin the-clothes [it]-Rel-sew-Past.Ind.N.F also your.M-saddle bag
j-n-φ-ta-c’a-nọ wó-zkwa j-áa-k”-c’a-nọ w-c’a-wá-n.
it-Par-[it]-Prev-put into-Abs your.M-back it-Par-Prev-put on-Abs you.M-go-Dyn-Impf.Fin
“What you are saying is all nonsense. The one who made the wooden statue
should throw it onto the ground and go away. You who made the clothes too, put
them in your pack, put that on your back, and go away.

(50) a-psó [φ-]xá-z-c’a-z sará s-á-wp’, sara
the-spirit [it]-Jher-Prev-Rel-fit-Past.Ind.N.F I me-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin I
do-s-t’wá-wp’, swárt h’árt
she-me-belong to-Stat.Pres.Fin you.Pl opportunity to express one’s opinion
[φ-]š-aš-ma-ža-m [φ-]j-h’át, a-x’áž/a j-nap’-k’á
[it-]you.Pl-have-Emph-Neg [it-]he-say-Past.Ind.Fin the-Muslim his-arm-Pl
[φ-]ló-k”-rša-nọ d-góI[a-j]t’.
[them-]her-Prev-wrap around-Abs he-stand up-(Aor)-Fin
I am the one who breathed life into her. She belongs to me. You have no right to
express your opinion,” said the Muslim, standing with one arm around her.

(51) axá a giórt do-r-ši-wá j-á-la-ga-jt’.
but others him-they-kill-Pres.N.F they-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin
However, the other people started trying to kill him.

(52) j-an-aj-nọ-m-aa-la-ža
they-when-Reciprocal-Prev-Neg-Prev-come to an agreement-Emph.Aor.N.F thus
[φ-]r-zb-a-jt’, r-ápx/a j-na-zš-k”š’a-wá
[it-]they-decide-(Aor)-Fin them-before (= first) they-Par-Rel-Prev-come across-Pres.N.F
a-wósh’arta-c’o j-ná-j-nọ r-wós [φ-]rš-r-ta-ranọ, wa
the-public office-to they-Prev-go thither-Abs their-affairs [it-]to them-they-give-must there
jó-r-h”a-wa zagrž/a-zórazx-aranọ.
Rel-they-say-Pres.N.F all it-agree with-must
They just could not reach agreement with each other, and so they decided this: they would go to the town hall, and would pose their question to the first people that they met. And they must obey whatever the people said.

(53) wós j-ajbó-hʷa-nə
    thus they-one another-talk with-Abs
j-š-ná-j-wa-z
they-how-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Impf.N.F
wóshʷarta-k’
you-Pl[it]-Prev-approach-(Aor)-Fin
j-ná-[a]-d-gəl[a-j]-t’.

public office-one

They discussed this together, and walked on until they came up to the town hall.

(54) j-ná-jʷná-la-n
    they-Par-Prev-come in-Past.Ind.F
—
Śa-ná!-j-wa-z
our-affairs such it-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin
śʷará j-a-šʷ-hʷa-wá
a-šªra!-zºra!-wp’
[Ś]-[it-]to them-they-give-(Aor)-Fin
h-a h*a
you.Pl Rel-you.Pl-say-Pres.N.F
[wº]-jº-r-ta-ʃ’t’.
[Ś]-[it-]we-it-be agreement with-Stat.Pres.Fin
SP their-affairs [Ś]-[it-]you-Pl-say-Pres.N.F
their-affairs [Ś]-[it-]we-it-be agreement with-Stat.Pres.Fin
SP their-affairs

They went in, and posed their question to the people there: “Our problem is this. We will do as you say”.

(55) a-wóshʷa-cʷa r-wós j-an-á-xʷa-pš
    the-judge-Pl their-affairs they-when-it-look at.Aor.N.F
a-xʷášːa
the-Muslim

The judges considered their problem well, and decided that the one that she needed most was the Muslim: they awarded her to the Muslim, they said. So it was he who went off with her.

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Notes


(1) 1. da-z-t"*-s-da (she(C1)-whom(C2)-belong to-Qu) ‘whom she belongs to?’: masd. a-t"*-s-zaa-ra [intr.] ‘to belong to’.

(2) 1. n"q"*ra da-ca-wa-n ‘he went on a journey’. Cf. ьеьзакдич ‘он отправился в путешествие’ (ARD (Касланцзян, Абхазско-русский словарь. 2005): Том 2, 32).

(3) 1. d-s-k"*n (he(C1)-[it(= a road, C2)]-be on-Abs) ‘to be on’: masd. á-k"*-s-zaa-ra [intr.] ‘to be on’. 2. d-aa-já-k"*s-a-jt’ (he(= a carpenter, C1)-Par-him(= a tailor, C2)-come across-(Aor)-Fin) ‘he came across him’: masd. á-k"*-s"*a-ra [intr.] ‘to come across’.

(6) 1. h-ajm"a*la-cwa-zajt’: cf. ájmaj*ala-j’ sg. ‘a fellow-traveller’.

(7) 1. w-aa-lá ‘let’s go!’: cf. b-aa-lá (you.f.-let’s go).

(11) 1. s-n"q"aj*wa-jn: cf. a-n"q"aj*[n.] ‘traveller’. 2. r-č*na-r-xa-jt’ (their(Poss)-SV(face)-Prev-they(C3)-set out-(Aor)-Fin) ‘they set out’: masd. a-č*š-na-xa-ra [tr.] ‘to start’.

(12) 1. x*á*y*a-k’ : cf. a-x*á*y’a ‘ходжа’.

(14) 1. w-o-m-ba-wa-j ‘you see?’.

(15) 1. d-r*č-na (he-them-be with-Abs) lit. ‘he being with them’, i.e. ‘he ... together with them’: masd. á-č-c-zaa-ra [inst.] ‘to be with’.

(16) 1. a-aj-cwa*la-rajt’: cf. a-xWa!Z#∆a-r ‘ход’a’.

(18) 1. j-c*aw a!-k’W-n ‘they had to keep watch’: masd. a-c*aw a-rla-ra [intr.] ‘to keep watch’.

(19) 1. a-anš-r-la ‘when they divided it’: masd. a-ša-ra [tr.] ‘to divide’. 2. r-č*-ša-la-jt’ ([night(C1)]-them(C2)-Prev-catch-(Aor)-Fin) lit. ‘the night caught them’, ‘they were caught by the night’: masd. á-k*-š-la-ra [intr.] ‘to catch’.

(21) 1. a-ta*n-r-x: masd. a-ta-n-r-x [tr.] ‘to fill’. 2. px∆a-ra!: masd. a-p-x∆a-ra! [tr.] ‘to put it in’.

(22) 1. ́-cWa-raj: masd. a-cWa-ra [intr.] ‘to sleep, to fall asleep’.


(25) 1. a-n*c"*a-ra [intr.] ‘to expire’. 2. a-nc="*a-ra [intr.] ‘to sleep, to fall asleep’.

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14. d-aba±-[a]-na-ga-j (her(C1)-whence-Prev-it(C3)-bring-(Aor.N.F)-Qu) ‘where did it bring her from?’: masd. a-ga-ra! [tr.] ‘to bring’. 2. d-pxašâ-á-jât’: masd. a-pxašâ-ra [intr.] ‘to be ashamed’.

20. j-ajla-s-h*â-p’: masd. âjlo-h*â-ra [tr.] ‘to dress’. 2. a-ph*šs mat*â ‘the woman’s clothes’. 3. φ-na-zâ-j-xaxa-n ([it(C1)]-[it(= the exterior, C2)-for-he(C3)-sew-Past.Ind.) ‘he sewed it for it’: masd. â-xaxa-ra [intr.] ‘to sewer’. 4. φ-aa-j-g*âla-s*-a-jt’ ([it(C1)]-Par-him(C2)-Prev-remember-(Aor)-Fin) ‘he remembered’: masd. a-gâla-s*-a-ra [intr. inverse] ‘спомниться, to remember’.

27. 1. d-na-j-gWta!-s-nâ: masd. gWta!-s-ra [intr.] ‘to push’, cf. (23)-9.

30. 1. d-nâk-t’-a-nâ: masd. a-nâk-t’-a-ra [intr.] ‘to take a seat’.


33. 1. φ-a-zš-q’as-c’-a-p’ ([it(= gold clothes, C1)]-[it(= the statue, C2)-for-Prev-l(C3)-make-Fut.1Fin) ‘I will make it for it’: masd. â-q’as-c’a-ra [tr.] ‘to make’. 2. d-la-t’-â-n: masd. â-la-t’-a-ra [intr.] ‘to sit down (in)’. 3. j-â-ga-m-k’-a (Rel(C1)-it(= the statue, C2)-lack-Neg-Abs) ‘without which it lacks’: masd. â-g-zaa-ra [intr.] ‘to be short of, to lack’. 4. j-lâ-k*âga-xa-sâz ‘true, that полагалось’: masd. a-k*âga-ra [intr.] ‘to be due’. 5. ahya = ahya. 6. j-na-lâš*-j-c’a-jt’ (it(C1)-Par-her(C2)-Prev-he(C3)-dress-(Aor)-Fin) ‘he dressed her in it’: masd. a-š*-c’a-râ [tr.] ‘to dress sb. in sth.’.

35. 1. jš-la ažšâ d-tôxa-wa ‘силенно-силенно протирая егo глаза’. 2. a-c’as d-an-ââ-[a]-l-c’ ‘when he woke up’: masd. â-l-c’-a-ra [intr.] ‘to go out of’. 3. d-xš’-psâráxa ‘всю в золоте’. 4. φ-aa-l-q’âš*-š*-a-ḡ̣ ‘as if she had waved her hand’: masd. a-q’â-ra [tr.] ‘to wave’. 5. j-lâpš j-aa-c’a-š*-a-jt’ ‘it
(47) 1. dò-z-t’s-w (she(C1)-Rel(C2)-belong to-Stat.N.F) ‘the one she belongs to’: masd. a-t’s-zaa-ra [intr.] ‘to belong to’. 2. šár ‘exclusive you (pl.)’. 3. jò-s*-wós-x*-zaj ‘that’s none of your business.’
(48) 1. dò-z-x*s*tá-w: masd. a-x*s*ta-rá [intr.] ‘to be necessary’. 2. jò-n-ká-x*j-nó : masd. a-ká-x*j-ra [tr.] ‘to throw down’. 3. j-n-φ-ta-c’a-nó (it= the clothes, C1)-Par-[it= your saddle bag, C2]-Prev-put into-Abs) ‘having put it into your saddle bag’: masd. a-ta-c’a-rá [tr.] ‘to put into’. 4. wós-zk*a jà-n-kód-c’a-nó ‘having carried it on your back’: masd. a-kód-c’a-ra [tr.] ‘to hang’.
(49) 1. jó-s* h*a-wa φ-psá-z*a-wp ‘what you all say is empty’: cf. иухэо всажэоун ‘поздно, не стоит уже оправдываться, ты не происходил за себя тогда, когда нужно было’ (ARD).
(50) 1. φ-ló-k*s*-ròa-nó: masd. á-k*s*-ròa-ra [tr.] ‘to wrap around’.
(52) 1. j-ajbó-h*a-nó: masd. ájbo-h*a-ra [tr.] ‘to talk with each other’. 2. j-ná-[a]-d-gòl[a]-j-t’ (they(C1)-Prev-[it= a public office, C2]-Prev-approach-(Aor)-Fin) ‘they approached it’: masd. a-ná-d-gòla-ra [intr.] ‘to approach’.
(53) 1. h-a-zórazz-wp’ (we(C1)-it(C2)-be agreement with-Stat.Pres.Fin) ‘we will agree to it’: masd. a-zóraz-ra [intr.] ‘to be agreement with’. 2. r-px/ažá-jt’ (they(C3)-consider-(Aor)-Fin): masd. á-px/aža-ra [tr.] ‘to consider’.

Abbreviations
Abs = absolutive
Adv = adverb
Aor = aorist
ARD = Kaslandzija (2005)
C1 = the first column
C2 = the second column
C3 = the third column
Cond = conditional
Dyn = dynamic
Emph = emphasis
F = feminine
Fin = finite
Fut = future
hum = human
Imp = imperative
Abkhaz Text (14)

Impf = imperfect
Ind = indefinite
intr. = intransitive
M = masculine
Masd = masdar
Neg = negative
N.F = non-finite
NS = numeral suffix
Par = prefixal particle
Past.Ind = past indefinite
Perf = perfect
Pl = plural
Plupf = pluperfect
Pot = potential
Pres = present
Prev = preverb
Qu = question
Rel = relative prefix
Self = reflexive
SP = speech-particle
Stat = stative
SV = subjective version
tr. = transitive

References