

## Abkhaz Text (7): How the king's daughter turned into a boy (II)

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(81) awóxa aréj «á-č'jk'wə́n» d-mé-c<sup>w</sup>a-zá-k'wa mazalá anój á-3ɣab jé-q'a-l-c'a-wa ɸ-z-ba-wá-jt' h<sup>w</sup>a l-wáda-[a-]č'ə́ a-capxá a-kólc'wara-[a-]č'ə́ d-k'ól-pš-wa d-á-la-ga-jt'.

(82) aréj ará d-k'ól-pš-wa də-š-t'<sup>w</sup>á-z ák'<sup>w</sup>əmk'wa á-c'x ak'ér j-n-ajg<sup>w</sup>a-x'á.n ájpšaan, a-x't'<sup>w</sup>ə laxánk'a a-wáda a-g<sup>w</sup>tá j-la-lə-rgól[a-j]t', a-laxánk'a a-zé ɸ-n-a-né-l-t<sup>w</sup>al[a-j]t'. (83) a-pénž'ər á-š<sup>w</sup> ɸ-aa-lə-r-t'ə́-n, h<sup>w</sup>əh<sup>w</sup>-k' ɸ-pər-pər-wá j-aa-j<sup>w</sup>na-šól[a-j]t'. (84) a-h<sup>w</sup>əh<sup>w</sup> j-aá-j-z a-laxánk'a j-a-né-z a-zé a-č'ə́-n-t-na-š'ə́-n a-mc'<sup>w</sup>əž<sup>w</sup>j<sup>w</sup>a-k<sup>w</sup>a ɸ-an-á[a]-a-rəš<sup>w</sup>š<sup>w</sup>a, á-rpəzba pšza-k', á-rpəzba zamána-k' d-aa-té-c'[ə-j]t'. (85) aréj á-rpəzba d-an-áa-tə-c', aréj á-3ɣab jnajmat<sup>w</sup>anó a-c'<sup>w</sup>əwa-ra d-á-la-ga-jt'.

(86) — j-bó-x'í-zaj, bə-z-c'<sup>w</sup>əwa-wa-zaj? — ɸ-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-n, anój a-h<sup>w</sup>əh<sup>w</sup> j-á-l-c'ə́-z á-rpəzba d-l-á-z-c'aa-jt'.

(87) — abrá č'jk'wə́na x<sup>w</sup>əč'íə-k' d-áa-j-n s-ab də-z-fá-rc jé-q'a-z a-dawé də-j-š'íə-jt'. (88) a-č'jk'wə́n sa sə-j-tax-xá-jt', waž<sup>w</sup>š'ítá jə-špá-zə-w-rə-j? — ɸ-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(89) — ʔoh! — ɸ-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' anój a-h<sup>w</sup>əh<sup>w</sup> j-á-l-c'ə́-z á-č'jk'wə́n. (90) — sará á-gəzmal-k<sup>w</sup>a r-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár j-pá s-a-wp'. (91) anój a-x<sup>w</sup>əč'íə bará bə-špa-s-c'<sup>w</sup>ə-j-ga-wa, də-s-š'íə-r-a-wp', də-špa-s-zé-m-š'í-wa-j! — ɸ-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(92) — nas jə-špá-zə-w-rə-j, wac'<sup>w</sup>ə ɸ-aa-šá-r [a-]aták' ɸ-r-á-s-h<sup>w</sup>a-r-a-wp'? — ɸ-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(93) — wac'<sup>w</sup>ə b-ab wbas ɸ-j-á-h<sup>w</sup>a (x<sup>w</sup>ə=dəw-k' a-x'í ɸ-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'). (94) abréjg<sup>í</sup>, abréjg<sup>í</sup> a-təp a-č'ə́ a-x<sup>w</sup>ə dəw jé-ɸ-k<sup>w</sup>ə-wp' a-xáh<sup>w</sup> dəw. (95) wəbréj a-x<sup>w</sup>ə jé-ɸ-k<sup>w</sup>ə-w a-xáh<sup>w</sup> ɸ-s-z-aa-j-gá-[a]ajt', nas s-jé-c-ca-wa-jt' wəj á-č'jk'wə́n h<sup>w</sup>a ɸ-j-á-h<sup>w</sup>a, — ɸ-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(96) art j-ajbó-r-h<sup>w</sup>a-k<sup>w</sup>a-z aréj ɸ-j-a-há-jt', nas anój a-h<sup>w</sup>əh<sup>w</sup> j-á-l-c'ə́-z ajtáx d-h<sup>w</sup>əh<sup>w</sup>-xá-n a-pénž'ər də-n-k'ól-praa-n d-cá-jt'.

(97) áš'əž'í j-an-áa-ša, aréj á-3ɣab l-ab j-č'ə́ d-ná-j-t'.

(98) — s-ab, jaxá j-wó-h<sup>w</sup>a-z s-a-z-x<sup>w</sup>óčə-n s-á-k<sup>w</sup>šahatə-wp', axá á-č'jk<sup>w</sup>ən sə-z-w-ta-ranó jé-q'a-w abrójg<sup>j</sup>, abrójg<sup>j</sup> a-x<sup>w</sup>ó dəw a-č'ó d-ca-né, wəbrá jə-š'jtá-w a-xáh<sup>w</sup> pšza ə-s-z-aa-j-gá-[a]ajt', nas s-jé-c-ca-wa-jt', mámzar sə-z-jé-c-ca-wa-m, — ə-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(99) a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár jə-phá as ə-anó-l-h<sup>w</sup>a, jé-q'a-j-c'a-x-wa-z, anój a-dawó də-z-š'ó-z «á-č'jk<sup>w</sup>ən» d-jé-px<sup>l</sup>a-n d-aa-j-gá-jt'.

(100) — haj, dádxajt', arój d-x<sup>w</sup>árta-m, w-ló-x<sup>w</sup>a-wa-m, wə-l-q'<sup>w</sup>á-c' h<sup>w</sup>a ə-zə-w-á-s-h<sup>w</sup>a-z abrój á-[a]k<sup>w</sup>ə-n. (101) waž<sup>w</sup> jé-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-z wəbrój [a]-lá-wp', wará d-wó-c-ca-r map' ə-lə-m-k'ó-jt', axá abrójg<sup>j</sup> abrójg<sup>j</sup> a-x<sup>w</sup>ó dəw a-č'ó d-ca-né wəbrá jé-k<sup>w</sup>ə-w a-xáh<sup>w</sup> pšza ə-s-z-aa-j-gá-[a]an<sup>3</sup>a s-jé-c-ca-wa-m, — ə-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(102) — a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár, wará a-zéjn ə-sé-w-ta-wa-zar, wəj jə-z-zé-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-z a-xáh<sup>w</sup> sa j-aa-z-ga-wá-jt', — ə-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' «á-č'jk<sup>w</sup>ən».

(103) — a-zéjn ə-z-wó-sə-m-ta-wa-zaj, axá wəj ə-aa-ga-rá ə-wadáj<sup>w</sup>ə-wp', — ə-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár.

(104) «á-č'jk<sup>w</sup>ən» d-aa-d<sup>w</sup>ól-c'ə-n, j-čə d-á-px<sup>l</sup>a-n a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár j-č'ə d-ax<sup>l</sup>ó-q'a-z j-[j]-a-há-z á-ž<sup>w</sup>abž' ə-[a]-á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt'.

(105) — wəj a-xáh<sup>w</sup> ə-aa-ga-rá j-wadáj<sup>w</sup>ə-w wósə-wp', a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á ə-a-xóla-pš-wa-jt'. (106) axá, w-aa-lá, h-á-la-ga-p', j-añ-z-aa-ga-wá-zar aa-bá-p'. (107) ámala, wa h-ax<sup>l</sup>-ná-j-ša h-an-ná-j-lak<sup>l</sup>, a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á ró-la-k<sup>w</sup>a ə-x-t'ó-zar, jé-c<sup>w</sup>a-wp' [a]-lá-wp' j-aá-na-ga-wa, wará jaráznak' a-xáh<sup>w</sup> ə-áaš'it-paa-nə j-wó-ma-nə w-d<sup>w</sup>é-k<sup>w</sup>-la. (108) a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á w-g<sup>w</sup>á-r-ta-r, j-q'áa-št', jə-h<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>á-št', axá jag<sup>l</sup>á jə-h<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>á-rg<sup>l</sup>ə, jag<sup>l</sup>á j-q'áa-rg<sup>l</sup>ə, wó-š'itax<sup>l</sup>iq'a w-x<sup>l</sup>á-m-pšə-n. (109) a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á ró-la-k<sup>w</sup>a ə-x-j<sup>w</sup>á-zar, jé-c<sup>w</sup>a-za-m, j-áa-pšə-wp' [a-lá-wp' j-áana-ga-wa, wə-r-ba-wá-jt' jaráznak', r-áajg<sup>w</sup>ara wə-z-ná-j-za-wa-m, s-ná-j-wa-jt' h<sup>w</sup>á-g<sup>l</sup>ə w-á-la-m-ga-n, — ə-a-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' a-č'ó.

(110) arój «á-č'jk<sup>w</sup>ən» j-čə d-á-ma-nə anój a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár jə-z-zé-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-z a-xáh<sup>w</sup> pšza ə-ax<sup>l</sup>ó-q'a-z a-x<sup>w</sup>ó dəw a-č'ó a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á r-áajg<sup>w</sup>ara j-ná-j[ə-j]t'. (111) «á-č'jk<sup>w</sup>ən» də-l-č'ž<sup>w</sup>-pa-n a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á xara-nt'<sup>w</sup>ó d-an-ré-x<sup>w</sup>a-pš, ró-la-k<sup>w</sup>a ə-x-t'-nó jə-j-bá-n, d-ló-š'itə-sə-n a-xáh<sup>w</sup> ə-mc'á-rs-nə d-é-j<sup>w</sup>[ə-j]t'. (112) arój d-anó-j<sup>w</sup>, a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á d-g<sup>w</sup>á-r-ta-n jə-h<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>á-jt', j-q'áa-jt', axá arój j-čə d-áaš'it-na-paa-n d-á-ma-nə jə-l-tak<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>á j-cá-jt'.

(113) a-xáh<sup>w</sup> ə-jé-ma-nə d-aa-k'ól-sə-n, d-j<sup>w</sup>a-x<sup>w</sup>ná-n, j-ná-ga-nə a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár [j-ljé-j-ta-jt'.

(114) — abár waž<sup>w</sup>š'itá wə-phá jé-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-z ə-na-sə-gzá-jt', də-z-ga-wá-jt', — ə-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(115) arój «á-č'ik'wən» j-aa-j-gá-z a-xáh<sup>w</sup> ø-ná-ga-nø a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár jə-phá j-na-lə-j-ta-n, «waš'tá b-jó-c-ca, dad!» h<sup>w</sup>a ø-l-á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt'.

(116) — jə-bzəja-wp', s-jó-c-ca-wa-jt', waš'tá wáha ak'ag'íø ø-s-h<sup>w</sup>a-wá-m, axá waxá zac'wók' á-zara ø-só-š<sup>w</sup>-t, — ø-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' lará x<sup>w</sup>daxc'wá ajtáx.

(117) — jə-bzəja-g<sup>w</sup>əš'a-wp', — ø-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' l-áb-g'jə.

(118) a-čnə j-anə-x<sup>w</sup>la, arój də-z-ga-ranə jó-q'a-z «á-č'ik'wən» ajtáx apx'án ajpš d-k'ələ-pš-nə la də-z-č'ə-z ø-j-bá-jt'. (119) apx'án ajpš wəj awəxa-g'jə, a-c'x ø-n-ajg<sup>w</sup>a-wá-n ajpš, anój lə-x'it'<sup>w</sup>ə laxánk'a ø-aa-c'wə-rə-l-ga-jt', a-wáda a-g<sup>w</sup>tanə j-ná-ga-nø j-na-lə-rgəl[a-j]t', a-zó ø-n-a-nó-l-t<sup>w</sup>ála-jt'. (120) a-pénz'jər ø-aa-lə-rt'ə-n, a-h<sup>w</sup>əh<sup>w</sup> ø-pər-pər-wá j-aa-j<sup>w</sup>ná-l[a-j]t'. (121) j-ná-j-nə anój a-laxánk'a j-a-nə-z a-zó a-čə-j<sup>w</sup>-t-ná-š'jə-n, d-arpəs bzəja-xa d-áa-k<sup>w</sup>-gəl[a-j]t'.

(122) a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár jə-phá d-t'<sup>w</sup>a-nó a-k'jažə-h<sup>w</sup>a a-c'<sup>w</sup>əwa-ra d-a-č'ə-wp'.

(123) — j-bə-x'í-zaj, b-zə-r-c'<sup>w</sup>əwa-wa-zaj? — ø-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-n, anój a-h<sup>w</sup>əh<sup>w</sup> j-á-l-c'ə-z á-č'ik'wən d-l-á-z-c'aa-jt'.

(124) — s-ab sə-z-j-ta-wá á-č'ik'wən a-dc'á ø-jó-s-ta-z ø-na-jə-gzá-jt', a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á r-xah<sup>w</sup> ø-aa-j-gá-jt', — ø-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(125) — abrəjg'j, abrəjg'j á-dg'jəl a-č'ə daw-k<sup>w</sup>á-k' ə-q'a-wp', wbárt a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á sárk'ja-k' ø-rə-ma-wp', wəbrəj a-sárk'ja ø-aa-j-gá-[a]ajt'. (126) wəbrəj a-sárk'ja ø-aa-z-gá-z ak'ag'íø ø-jó-x<sup>w</sup>a-wa-m, x<sup>w</sup>artá-pš'j ø-jó-ma-m, — ø-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' anój a-h<sup>w</sup>əh<sup>w</sup> j-á-l-c'ə-z á-č'ik'wən. (127) nas jará d-h<sup>w</sup>əh<sup>w</sup>-xa-n d-nó-k<sup>w</sup>-praa-n d-cá-jt'.

(128) art j-ájə-r-h<sup>w</sup>a-k<sup>w</sup>a-wa-z anój a-dawə də-z-š'j-x'á.z á-č'ik'wən d-ax'jə-zəj<sup>w</sup>-wa-z zeg'j ø-j-a-há-jt'.

(129) ádərj<sup>w</sup>ačnə j-an-áa-ša, arój á-zɣab l-áb jə-q'nə d-ná-jt'.

(130) — abrəjg'j, abrəjg'j á-dg'jəl a-č'ə a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á ø-n-xa-wá-jt', wbárt a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á sárk'ja-k' ø-rə-ma-wp', wəbrəj r-sárk'ja ø-rə-m-x-nə j-aa-j-gá-r, nas s-jó-c-ca-wa-jt' sə-z-w-tá-rc jó-w-taxə-w á-č'ik'wən, — h<sup>w</sup>a ø-j-á-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt' l-ab.

(131) arój l-ab (a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár) jó-q'a-j-c'a-x-wa-z, anój «á-č'ik'wən» d-aa-jó-px'ja-n, «abás abás, arój a-x<sup>w</sup>daxc'wá, abrəjg'j, abrəjg'j á-dg'jəl a-č'ə jə-n-xa-wá a-daw-c<sup>w</sup>á a-sárk'ja ø-rə-ma-wp', wəbrəj a-sárk'ja ø-rə-m-x-nə j-aa-j-gá-r s-jó-c-ca-wa-jt', mamzár s-jó-c-ca-wa-m» h<sup>w</sup>a ø-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' ø-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(132) — jə-bzəja-wp', — ø-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' arój «á-č'ik'wən».

(133) arój «á-č'ik'wən» d-aa-d<sup>w</sup>əl-c'ə-n, á-ž<sup>w</sup>abž'j č'əc [j-lj-a-há-z j-čə j-[a]-á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt'.

(134) — haj, alláh, a-xáh<sup>w</sup> ø-z-m-áh-xə-z a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>a-g'jə ø-ɣ<sup>w</sup>ɣ<sup>w</sup>á-n, axá waž<sup>w</sup>ə arój a-sárk'ja ø-z-má-w r-lájs<sup>w</sup>a ø-baaps-zá-wp', egl'ört j-r-ájpsə-m, h-ax'j-

ná-j-ra h-an-ná-j-lak'<sup>i</sup>, eglórt j-šə-r-zə-w-wə-z ájps̃, ró-la-k<sup>w</sup>a ø-x-t'-nə jə-w-ba-wá-zar, a-sárk'<sup>ja</sup> ø-aa-rə-m-c'-paa-nə, jaráznak' w-ajxa-nə wə-j<sup>w</sup>. (135) a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á w-g<sup>w</sup>á-r-ta-št', jə-h<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>á-št', j-q'áa-št', a-š<sup>w</sup>jə-pš'jə-ra j-á-la-ga-št', axá jag'á r-h<sup>w</sup>á-rg'ə jə-č'ha-nə, j-zák'<sup>w</sup>zaa-lak'<sup>i</sup> w-x'á-pš-nə w-rə-x<sup>w</sup>a-m-pšə-n, a-ž<sup>w</sup>á-k'-g'ə ø-r-á-s-h<sup>w</sup>a-wa-jt' h<sup>w</sup>a w-á-la-m-ga-n. (136) ámala, w-ʒəɽj<sup>w</sup>-lá, jə-w-xá-w-mə-r-štə-n, á-š<sup>w</sup>j-ra j-an-á-la-ga-lak'<sup>i</sup>, jə-r-h<sup>w</sup>a-wa ø-g<sup>w</sup>ən-k'əla, — ø-a-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' a-čš.

(137) a-čš as ø-an-a-h<sup>w</sup>á, ap'q'áj<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>a də-j<sup>w</sup>-čš<sup>w</sup>-la-n, a-sárk'<sup>ja</sup> ø-z-má-z a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á r-č'ə d-ná-j[ə-j]t'. (138) də-j<sup>w</sup>-čš<sup>w</sup>-c'ə-n nax'x'əj a-xáh<sup>w</sup> ø-z-mə-j-xə-z a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á r-č'ə j-šə-q'a-j-c'a-z ájps̃, a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á ró-la ø-x-t'ə-z-š<sup>w</sup>a ø-anə-j-ba, d-ná-j-n a-sárk'<sup>ja</sup> ø-aa-rə-m-c'ə-j-paa-n də-j<sup>w</sup>-t'. (139) d-anə-j<sup>w</sup>, dará d-g<sup>w</sup>á-r-ta-n jə-h<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>á-jt', j-q'áa-jt', á-š<sup>w</sup>əj-ra j-á-la-ga-jt'.

(140) — eh, abrá j-aá-j-nə hará h-sárk'<sup>ja</sup> ø-z-gá-z d-xác'a-zar, də-ph<sup>w</sup>əs-xa-[a]ajt', də-ph<sup>w</sup>əs-zar, d-xác'a-xa-[a]ajt', — ø-r-h<sup>w</sup>á-n, də-r-š<sup>w</sup>əjə-jt'. (á-zamanala də-r-š<sup>w</sup>əjə-jt', wə-m-ba-wá!). (141) arəj a-sárk'<sup>ja</sup> ø-jə-ma-nə j-čš a-q'nə d-an-áa-j, «j-w-á-r-h<sup>w</sup>a-zaj, wə-špá-r-š<sup>w</sup>əjə-j?» h<sup>w</sup>a j-čš ø-j-á-z-c'aa-jt'.

(142) — abrá j-aá-j-nə hará h-sárk'<sup>ja</sup> ø-z-gá-z d-xác'a-zar, də-ph<sup>w</sup>əs-xa-[a]ajt', də-ph<sup>w</sup>əs-zar, d-xác'a-xa-[a]ajt' h<sup>w</sup>a sə-r-š<sup>w</sup>əjə-jt', — ø-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'. (arəj jará a-xác'a mat<sup>w</sup>á ø-j-š<sup>w</sup>ə-n, axá də-ʒɣábə-m-zəj, d-xác'a-zar ø-j-taxə-m-zəj, zamánala də-r-š<sup>w</sup>əjə-jt' wərt a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á!).

(143) arəj waž<sup>w</sup>š'íta d-xác'a-xa-jt', a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á jə-r-h<sup>w</sup>á-z ø-na-ʒá-jt'. (144) a-sárk'<sup>ja</sup> jə-r-c<sup>w</sup>ə-j-ga-z ø-jə-ma j-č'ə-la-j-xa-n a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár j-na-ga-n [j-ljə-j-ta-jt'.

(145) a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár ajtáx jə-phá d-lə-px'á-n d-aa-j-gá-n, «áa, dad, a-sárk'<sup>ja</sup> h<sup>w</sup>a bə-z-č'ə-z-g'ə ø-aa-j-gá-jt', waš'íta b-jə-c-ca-wa-zar, b-jə-c-ca!» ø-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(146) — j-q'a-la-wá-zar, waxá-k'-g'ə á-ʒara ø-sə-š<sup>w</sup>-t, — ø-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(147) — jə-bzəja-wp', j-b-áh-ta-p' á-ʒara, — ø-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' l-áb-g'ə.

(148) awəxa anəj j-aá-j-lac a-h<sup>w</sup>š<sup>h</sup> ø-aá-j-n, j-árpəzba-nə j-šə-q'a-lac j-áa-q'a-la-n jará-j lará-j ø-aj-c<sup>w</sup>áž<sup>w</sup>a-jt'.

(149) — s-ab sə-z-j-tá-rc jə-j-taxə-w á-č'k'<sup>w</sup>ən wará jə-z-zə-w-h<sup>w</sup>a-z a-daw-c<sup>w</sup>á r-sárk'<sup>ja</sup> ø-aa-j-gá-jt', — ø-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(150) — ʔoh, wa j-cá-z aʒ<sup>w</sup>g'íš ajbgá-la d-m-aa-ʒá-cəzt', wəj jará jə-zla-jə-l-ša-zaj, d-ajbga-nə də-zlá-[a]a-zaj? — ø-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' anəj a-h<sup>w</sup>š<sup>h</sup> j-á-l-c'ə-z [a]-árpəzba.

(151) — jə-zla-jə-l-ša-z ø-sə-z-dér-[w]a-m, axá [j-ljə-l-ša-jt', — ø-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(152) — wəs ák'<sup>w</sup>zar, wac'<sup>w</sup>ə b-ax'í-ná-j-wa wbas ø-j-á-h<sup>w</sup>a b-ab. (153) a-h<sup>w</sup>əntkár j-báhč'á-[a]-č'ə a-bəja š'atá-k' ə-q'a-wp', a-c'əc'məʒ'í š'atá-k'-g'ə

ǎ-q'a-wp'. (154) a-bǎja w-n-a-k'ǎ-sə-r, jə-č'č'ǎ-wá-jt', a-c'əc'mǎžǎj w-n-a-k'ǎ-sə-r, j-c'wǎwa-wa-jt'. (155) wbart a-bǎja-j a-c'əc'mǎžǎj ǎ-c'-x-nə j-aa-j-gǎ-[a]ajt', — ǎ-j-h'wǎ-jt'.

(156) ádərjwacnə j-an-áa-ša, arǎj á-zyab d-ná-j-n l-áb j-j-á-l-h'wǎ-jt' «abás, abás, abrǎjgǎj, abrǎjgǎj a-tǎp a-č'ǎ jǎ-q'a-w a-bǎja-j a-c'əc'mǎžǎj ǎ-aa-j-gǎ-[a]ajt', nas wará sə-z-w-ta-wá á-č'ǎk'wǎn sə-j-t'wǎ-wp'» h'wǎ.

(157) arǎj á-č'ǎk'wǎn (ant a-sárk'ǎ ǎ-z-mǎ-j-xə-z a-daw-c'wá d-anǎ-r-š'wǎjə-z áaxəs wǎsgǎjə də-č'ǎk'wǎna-xa-xǎ.n) də-jw-d'wǎl-c'ə-n á-ž'wǎbžǎ č'əc [j-lj-a-hǎ-z j-čə j-[a]-ǎ-j-h'wǎ-jt'.

(158) — wáa, wǎj dáara j-wadájw-za-wp', a-bǎja-j a-c'əc'mǎžǎj h'wǎ zǎ-3baxw ǎ-w-ǎ-r-h'wǎ-z á-gəzmal-k'wǎ r-báhč'ǎ-č'-a-wp' j-axǎj-q'a-w, axá h-d'wǎk'wǎ-l-a-p', j-ah-z-aa-ga-wá-zar aa-bá-p', h-č-a-z-áh-š'wǎ-p', — ǎ-a-h'wǎ-jt' a-čǎ.

(159) j-čə d-jw-ǎ-k'wǎ-t'wǎ-n də-š-ná-j-wa-z ák'wǎmk'wǎ, x-jwǎ-k' ájšǎ-c'wǎ r-ab [jə-lj-tə-nxǎ-z q'áma-k'ə-j xǎlparč'ǎ-k'ə-j, wap'ǎ-k'ə-j ǎ-ájma-k'-nə rǎ-la-k'wǎ ǎ-š-tǎjbax-wa-z d-na-rǎ-d-gǎl[a-j]t'.

(160) — jǎ-q'a-š'wǎ-c'a-wa zak'wǎwzaj, wará? — ǎ-j-h'wǎ-n, d-r-ǎ-z-c'aa-jt'.

(161) — abárt ǎ-ajmǎ-h-k'-wa-jt', — ǎ-r-h'wǎ-n a-q'amč'ǎj, a-xǎlparč'ǎj, a-wp'ǎ-j ǎ-j-də-rbǎ-jt'.

(162) — š'wǎ-s-zǎ-3ərjwǎ, báša š'wǎ-la-k'wǎ ǎ-tǎjbax-wa-jt'. (163) wǎj ác'k'ǎs-gǎjə sará jə-š-š'wǎ-ǎ-s-h'wǎ-wa š'wǎ-nǎq'wǎ-r, jmarja-za-nǎ jə-š'wǎ-zǎ-s-ša-wa-jt', — ǎ-j-h'wǎ-jt' á-č'ǎk'wǎn.

(164) — jə-špǎ-h-zǎ-w-ša-wa-j?

(165) — j-šə-š'wǎ-zǎ-s-ša-wa wǎj [a]-ǎ-wp', a-xǎc ǎ-d'wǎk'wǎ-s-c'a-wa-jt', ápxǎ wǎbrǎj a-xǎc ǎ-aa-z-ga-wá [jə-lj-t'wǎ-wp' a-q'amč'ǎj, a-xǎlparč'ǎj, a-wp'ǎ-j, — ǎ-j-h'wǎ-jt'.

(166) — jə-bzǎja-wp', wará j-šǎ-w-h'wǎ-z j-q'a-h-c'a-wá-jt', — ǎ-r-h'wǎ-jt'.

(167) arǎj a-xǎc ǎ-d'wǎk'wǎ-j-c'a-n, j-aa-h-ga-wá-jt' h'wǎ ájšǎ-c'wǎ ǎ-ajbár-jw-nə j-an-cǎ, j-aa-r-gǎ-[a]anǎ, anǎj jará wa də-pšǎ-z-ma, a-q'amč'ǎj, a-xǎlparč'ǎj, a-wp'ǎ-j ǎ-áa-š'tə-j-xə-n, [j-lj]ǎ-ma-n d-cǎ-jt'.

(168) — a-wp'ǎ ǎ-a[a]-ajc'ǎ-x-nə w-nǎ-la-t'wǎ-nə q'amč'ǎ-la w-an-ǎ-s-lak'ǎj, j-axǎ-áa-w-taxə-w w-a-ga-wá-jt', a-xǎlparč'ǎ ǎ-na-w-xǎ-w-c'a-r, a-ž'wǎgǎjə wə-j-ba-za-wá-m, — ǎ-a-h'wǎ-jt' arǎj á-č'ǎk'wǎn j-čə.

(169) də-š-ná-j-wa-z anǎj a-bǎja-j a-c'əc'mǎžǎj ǎ-axǎj-gǎla-z [ǎ-]ajwstaa-c'wǎ r-báhč'ǎ d-a-z-áa-[a]jg'wǎ-xa-jt'. (170) də-pšǎ-n, anǎj jará jə-j-ga-ranǎ jǎ-q'a-z a-h'wǎntkár jə-pǎa-gǎjə wa dǎ-q'a-wp', [ǎ-]ajwstaa-c'wǎ r-ajhabǎ j-pa-gǎjə wa dǎ-q'a-

wp', a-bója-j a-c'əc'mǝʒjə-j r-š'ap'-k<sup>wá</sup> a-r rə-k'<sup>w</sup>-rša-nə, j-táxk'aa-nə j-q'a-c'á-wp'. (171) arəj á-č'jk'<sup>wən</sup> j-xəlparč'j ø-j<sup>w</sup>a-j-xá-j-c'a-n, ašjšjə-ħ<sup>w</sup>a d-ná-j-n (a-xəlparč'j ø-an-j-xá-j-č'a, nas də-z-ba-wá-da-z?!) jə-č'č'ja-wa-z a-bója-j j-c'<sup>w</sup>əwa-wa-z a-c'əc'mǝʒjə-j ø-áa-c'ə-j-xə-n, ak'š ø-č'č'ja-wá, ak'š ø-c'<sup>w</sup>əw[a]-wa [j-]jə-ma d-d<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>-la-jt', jə-č-g'jə jar-g'jə a-wp'á ø-a[a]-ajc'š-j-xə-n j-j<sup>w</sup>a-[a]n-gəla-n, a-wp'á a-q'amč'jə ø-anə-j<sup>w</sup>a-[a]-xə-j-q'<sup>ja</sup>, arəj zə-phá də-j-ga-rán jə-q'a-z a-ħ<sup>w</sup>əntkár j-č'ə j-aá-jt'.

(172) — a-ħ<sup>w</sup>əntkár, jə-w-ħ<sup>w</sup>a-z zeg'jə ø-na-sə-gzá-jt', jə-č'č'ja-wa a-bója-j j-c'<sup>w</sup>əwa-wa a-c'əc'mǝʒjə-j ø-aa-z-gá-jt', — ø-j-ħ<sup>w</sup>á-jt'.

(173) a-ħ<sup>w</sup>əntkár jə-phá d-lə-px'á-n d-ná-j-ga-n «áa, bába, jə-z-zə-b-ħ<sup>w</sup>a-z á-c'la-k<sup>wa</sup> ø-aa-j-gá-jt' arəj á-č'jk'<sup>wən</sup>» ø-j-ħ<sup>w</sup>á-n wəs ø-l-á-j-ħ<sup>w</sup>a-jt'.

(174) — áaq', waž<sup>w</sup>š'tá wáħa ak'ag'jə ø-sə-z-ħ<sup>w</sup>a-wá-m, s-jə-c-ca-wa-jt', — ø-l-ħ<sup>w</sup>á-jt' lar-g'jə.

(175) a-č'jára ø-r-wə-n, á-ž<sup>w</sup>ra ø-r-wə-n arəj á-č'jk'<sup>wən</sup> a-ħ<sup>w</sup>əntkár jə-phá d-jə-r-ta-jt'. (176) a-č'jára-[a]-č'ə d-j<sup>w</sup>a-gəla-n abrəj á-č'jk'<sup>wən</sup> j-aa-j-xə-j-ga-z zeg'jə ak'ák'ala á-ž<sup>w</sup>lar j-ajza-nə j-t'<sup>w</sup>á-z j-r-á-j-ħ<sup>w</sup>a-jt'. (177) [á]-abx<sup>wa</sup> á-č'jk'<sup>wən</sup> j-ab-j-ax' á-š<sup>w</sup>q'<sup>w</sup>š ø-d<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>-j-c'a-jt' «w-pa a-ph<sup>w</sup>šs d-jə-ma-nə x'jəz-la=pšá-la d-wə-z-ná-j-wa-jt'» ħ<sup>w</sup>a. (178) á-č'jk'<sup>wən</sup> jə-ph<sup>w</sup>šs d-jə-ma-nə j-ab j-č'ə j-ax'á-aá-j-z-g'jə č'jára-la j-pə-la-jt'. (179) zaš<sup>w</sup>á š<sup>w</sup>ar-g'jə wbas a-bzjára-k<sup>wa</sup> ø-š<sup>w</sup>-zə-q'a-la-ša.

### Literal translation:

(81) that night this “the-boy” he-Neg-sleep-Emph-Abs secretly that the-girl Rel-Prev-she-do-Pres.N.F [it]-I-see-Dyn-Fin SP her-room-its-in the-key its-hole-its-to he-Prev-peep-Abs he-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin.

(82) he here he-Prev-peep-Abs he-how-be sitting-Stat.Past.N.F the-night considerably it-Par-pass-Pluperf.Fin at the time, the-gold(en) washtub the-room the-middle it-Par-she-place-(Aor)-Fin, the-washtub the-water [it]-Par-it-Prev-she-pour into-(Aor)-Fin. (83) the-window the-door [it]-Prev-she-Caus-open-Past.Ind, dove-one [it]-flap one's wings-Abs it-Prev-Prev-go inside-(Aor)-Fin. (84) the-dove Rel-Prev-come-Past.Ind.N.F the-washtub Rel-it-be on-Stat.Past.N.F the-water it-Self-Par-Prev-it-dip-Past.Ind the-wing-Pl [them]-when-Par-it-wave.(Aor.N.F), the-young man beautiful-one, the-young man fine-one he-Prev-Prev-go out-(Aor.)-Fin. (85) this the-young man he-when-Prev-Prev-go out-(Aor.N.F), this the-girl violently the-cry-Masd he-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin.

(86) — what-you.F-happen to-(Aor)-Qu, you.F-why-cry-Dyn-Qu? — [it]-he-

say-Past.Ind, that the-dove Rel-it-Prev-go out of-Past.Ind.N.F the-young man her-it-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin.

(87) — here boy little-one he-Prev-come hither-Past.Ind my-father him-Rel-eat-must Rel-be-Stat.Past.N.F the-ogre him-he-kill-(Aor)-Fin. (88) the-boy I I-him-want-become-(Aor)-Fin (= he wanted me), now it-how-I-do-Fut.I.N.F-Qu? — [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(89) — oh! — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin that the-dove Rel-it-Prev-go out of-Past.Ind.N.F the-boy. (90) — I the-demon-Pl their-king his-son I-copula-Stat.Pres Fin. (91) that the-child you.F you.F-how-me-Prev-he-take away from-Pres.N.F, him-I-kill-must-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin, he-how-me-Pot-Neg-kill-Pres.N.F-Qu! — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(92) — then it-how-I-do-Fut.I.N.F-Qu, tomorrow [it]-Prev(here)-dawn-if the-answer [it]-them-to-I-say-must-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin? — [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(93) — tomorrow your.F-father thus [it]-him-to-say.Imp (hill-big-one its-name [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin). (94) such and such the-place it-at the-hill big it-[it]-on-Stat.Pres.Fin the-stone big. (95) it the-hill Rel-[it]-be on-Stat.Pres.N.F the-stone [it]-me-OV(for)-Prev-he-bring-Subjunctive, then I-him-with-go(= get married to)-Dyn-Fin that the-boy SP [it]-him-to-say.Imp, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(96) these people Rel-Prev(one another)-they-talk with-Pl-Past.Ind.N.F this [it]-him-to-be audible-(Aor)-Fin, then that the-dove Rel-it-Prev-go out of-Past.Ind.N.F once more he-dove-become-Past.Ind the-window he-Par-Prev-fly out-Past.Ind he-go-(Aor)-Fin.

(97) in the morning it-when-Par-dawn-(Aor.N.F), this the-girl her-father him-to she-Prev-go thither-(Aor)-Fin.

(98) — my-father, last night Rel-you.M-say-Past.Ind.N.F I-it-Prev(about)-think-Past.Ind I-it-consent to-Stat.Pres.Fin, but the-boy me-Rel-you.M-give-must Rel-be-Stat.Pres.N.F such and such the-hill big it-to he-go-Abs, there Rel-be situated-Stat.Pres.N.F the-stone beautiful [it]-me-OV(for)-Prev-he-bring-Subjunctive, then I-him-with-go(= get married to)-Dyn-Fin, otherwise I-Pot-him-with-go(= get married to)-Dyn-Neg, — [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(99) the-king his-daughter so [it]-when-she-say.(Aor.N.F), what-Prev-he-do-Par-Dyn-Impf.N.F, that the-ogre him-Rel-kill-Past.Ind.N.F “the-boy” he-him-call-Past.Ind him-Prev-he-bring-(Aor)-Fin.

(100) — unfortunately, my dear!, she she-useful-Neg, you.M-her-manage-Dyn-Neg, you.M-her-leave alone.Imp SP [it]-why-you.M-to-I-say-Past.Ind.N.F this it-

copula-Stat.Past.Fin. (101) now Rel-she-say-Past.Ind.N.F it it-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin, you.M she-you.M-with-go-if no it-she-Neg-refuse-(Aor)-Fin, but such and such the-hill big it-to he-go-Abs there Rel-be-Stat.Pres.N.F the-stone beautiful [it]-me-OV(for)-Prev-he-bring.(Aor.N.F)-until I-him-with-go(= get married to)-Dyn-Neg, — [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(102) — the-king, you.M the-permission [it]-to me-you.M-give-Dyn-if, she it-Rel-about-she-say-Past.Ind.N.F the-stone I it-Prev-I-bring-Dyn-Fin, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin “the-boy.”

(103) — the-permission [it]-why-to you.M-I-Neg-give-Dyn-Qu, but that [it]-Prev-bring-Masd [it]-difficult-Stat.Pres.Fin, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin the-king.

(104) “the-boy” he-Par-Prev-go out-Past.Ind, his-horse he-it-call-Past.Ind the-king him-at he-where-be-Stat.Past.N.F Rel-[him]-to-be audible to-Past.Ind.N.F the-story [it]-[it]-to-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(105) — that the-stone [it]-Prev-bring-Masd Rel-difficult-Stat.Pres.N.F (= adj) work-Stat.Pres.Fin, the-ogre-Pl [they]-it-Prev-watch-Dyn-Fin. (106) but you.M-go-let’s we-it-Prev-begin-Fut.I.Fin (= let’s begin it!), it-us-Pot-Prev-bring-Dyn-if [it]-we-see-Fut.I.Fin. (107) but, there we-where-Prev-go thither-Fut.II.N.F we-when-Prev-go thither-Lak, the-ogre-Pl their-eye-Pl [they]-Prev-open-if, they-sleep-Stat.Pres.Fin [it]-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin Rel-Prev-mean-Pres.N.F (= that is), you.M immediately the-stone [it]-Prev-take up-Abs it-you.M-have-Abs you.M-Prev-set out.Imp. (108) the-ogre-Pl you.M-Prev-they-notice-if, they-cry out-Fut.II.Fin, they-bawl-Fut.II.Fin, but however they-bawl-even if, however they-cry out-even if, you.M-back you.M-Prev-Neg-look back-Imp. (109) the-ogre-Pl their-eye-Pl [they]-Prev-be closed-if, they-sleep-Emph-Neg, they-Prev-be awake-Stat.Pres.Fin that is, you.M-they-see-Dyn-Fin immediately, them-near you.M-Pot-Prev-reach-Emph-Dyn-Neg, I-Prev-reach-Dyn-Fin SP-also you.M-it-Prev-Neg-begin-Imp, — [it]-it-say-(Aor)-Fin the-horse.

(110) this “the-boy” his-horse him-it-have-Abs that the-king it-Rel-about-he-say-Past.Ind.N.F the-stone beautiful [it]-where-be-Stat.Past.N.F the-hill big it-to the-ogre-Pl them-near they-Prev-go thither-(Aor)-Fin. (111) “the-boy” he-Par-Prev-leap down from a horse-Past.Ind the-ogre-Pl far-from (= from afar) he-when-them-Prev-look at-(Aor.N.F), their-eye-Pl [they]-Prev-open-Abs it-he-see-Past.Ind, he-Par-touch the ground-Past.Ind the-stone [it]-Prev-snatch-Abs he-run-(Aor)-Fin. (112) he he-when-run-(Aor.N.F) the-ogre-Pl him-Prev-they-notice-Past.Ind they-bawl-(Aor)-Fin, they-cry out-(Aor)-Fin, but he his-horse him-Prev-it-pick up-Past.

Ind him-it-have-Abs they-Par-run down they-go-(Aor)-Fin.

(113) the-stone [it]-he-have-Abs he-Par-Prev-go through-Past.Ind, he-Par-go up-Past.Ind, it-Prev-take thither-Abs the-king it-to him-he-give-(Aor)-Fin.

(114) — look here now your.M-daughter Rel-she-say-Past.Ind.N.F [it]-Prev-I-carry out-(Aor)-Fin, her-I-take-Dyn-Fin, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(115) this “the-boy” Rel-Prev-he-bring-Past.Ind.N.F the-stone [it]-Prev-take thither-Abs the-king his-daughter it-Par-to her-he-give-Past.Ind, «now you.F-him-with-go(= get married to).Imp dear» SP [it]-her-to-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(116) — it-good-Stat.Pres.Fin, I-him-with-go(= get married to)-Dyn-Fin, now more nothing [it]-I-say-Dyn-Neg, but tonight one and only the-time [it]-to me-you. Polite-give.Imp, — [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin she obstinate once more.

(117) — it-good-discontentedly-Stat.Pres.Fin, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin her-father-also.

(118) on that day it-when-get dark-(Aor.N.F), this her-Rel-take-must Rel-be-Stat.Past.N.F “the-boy” once more before like (= as before) he-Prev-peep-Abs she she-Rel-be engaged in-Stat.Past.N.F [it]-he-see-(Aor)-Fin. (119) as before that that night-also, the-night [it]-Par-pass-Dyn-Impf like as, that her-gold(en) washtub [it]-Par-Prev-she-bring out-(Aor)-Fin, the-room the-middle it-Prev-take thither-Abs it-Par-she-place-(Aor)-Fin, the-water [it]-Par-it-Prev-she-pour into-(Aor)-Fin. (120) the-window [it]-Prev-she-open-Past.Ind, the-dove [it]-flap one’s wings-Abs it-Prev-Prev-enter-(Aor)-Fin. (121) it-Prev-go thither-Abs that the-washtub Rel-it-be on-Stat.Past.N.F the-water it-Self-Par-Prev-it-dip-Past.Ind, he-young man good-Adverb he-Par-Prev-appear-(Aor)-Fin.

(122) the-king his-daughter she-sit-Abs the-bitterly-SP the-cry-Masd she-it-be engaged in-Stat.Pres.Fin.

(123) — what-you.F-happen to-(Aor)-Qu, you.F-Rel-Caus-cry-Dyn-Qu? — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin, that the-dove Rel-it-Prev-go out of-Past.Ind.N.F the-boy he-her-it-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin.

(124) — my-father me-Rel-he-give-Pres.N.F the-boy the-order [Rel]-to him-I-give-Past.Ind.N.F [it]-Prev-he-carry out-(Aor)-Fin, the-ogre-Pl their-stone [it]-Prev-he-bring-(Aor)-Fin, — [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(125) — such and such the-land it-at ogre-Pl-one they-be-Stat.Pres.Fin, those the-ogre-Pl mirror-one [it]-they-have-Stat.Pres.Fin, it the-mirror [it]-Prev-he-bring-Subjunctive. (126) it the-mirror [it]-Prev-Rel-bring-Past.Ind.N.F nothing [it]-him-help-Dyn-Neg, help-? [it]-he-have-Neg, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin that the-

dove Rel-it-Prev-go out of-Past.Ind.N.F the-boy. (127) then he he-dove-become-Past.Ind he-Par-Prev-fly away-Past.Ind he-go-(Aor)-Fin.

(128) these people Rel-Prev(one another)-they-talk with-Pl-Dyn-Impf.N.F that the-ogre him-Rel-kill-Pluperf.N.F the-boy he-where-listen-Dyn-Impf.N.F all [it]-him-to-be audible-(Aor)-Fin.

(129) the next day it-when-Par-dawn, this the-girl her-father him-to he-Prev-go thither-(Aor)-Fin.

(130) — such and such the-land it-at the-ogre-Pl [they]-Prev-live-Dyn-Fin, those the-ogre-Pl mirror-one [it]-they-have-Stat.Pres.Fin, they their-mirror [it]-them-Prev(from)-take-Abs it-Prev-he-bring-if, then I-him-with-go (= get married to)-Dyn-Fin me-Rel-you.M-give-Purposive Rel-you.M-want-Stat.Pres.N.F the-boy, — SP [it]-him-to-she-say-(Aor)-Fin her-father.

(131) this her-father (the-king) what-Prev-he-do-Par-Dyn-Impf.N.F, that “the-boy” him-Prev-he-invite-Past.Ind, «in this way this the-bitch, such and such the-land it-at Rel-Prev-live-Pres.N.F the-ogre-Pl the-mirror [it]-they-have-Stat.Pres.Fin, it the-mirror [it]-them-Prev(from)-take-Abs it-Prev-he-bring-if I-him-with-go(= get married to)-Dyn-Fin, otherwise I-him-with-go-Dyn-Neg» SP [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(132) — it-good-Stat.Pres.Fin, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin this “the-boy.”

(133) this “the-boy” he-Par-Prev-go out-Past.Ind, the-story again Rel-him-to-hear-Past.Ind.N.F his-horse it-[it]-to-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(134) — unfortunately, Allah, the-stone [it]-Rel-Prev(from)-we-take-Past.Ind.N.F the-ogre-Pl-also [they]-strong-Stat.Past.Fin, but now this the-mirror [it]-Rel-have-Stat.Pres.N.F their-behavior [it]-bad-Emph-Stat.Pres.Fin, other they-them-resemble-Neg, we-where-Prev-go thither-must we-when-Prev-go thither-Lak, other it-how-them-for-you.M-do-Past.Ind.N.F like, their-eye-Pl [they/them]-Prev-open-Abs them-you.M-see-Dyn-if, the-mirror [it]-Par-them-Prev(from)-Prev-take-Abs, instantly you.M-be dying to go-Abs (= at full speed) you.M-run.Imp. (135) the-ogre-Pl you.M-Prev-they-notice-Fut.II.Fin, they-bawl-Fut.II.Fin, they-cry out-Fut.II.Fin, the-curse-Masd they-it-Prev-begin-Fut.II.Fin, but however they-say-even if it-endure-Abs, whatever may happen you.M-Prev-look back-Abs you.M-them-Prev-Neg-look at-Imp, the-word-one-even [it]-them-to-I-say-Dyn-Fin SP you.M-it-Prev-Neg-begin-Imp. (136) only, you.M-listen-Iterative, it-you.M-Prev-you.M-Neg-Caus-forget-Imp, the-curse-Masd they-when-it-Prev-begin-Lak, Rel-they-say-Pres.N.F [it]-Prev-remember.Imp, — [it]-it-say-(Aor)-Fin the-horse.

(137) the-horse thus [it]-when-it-say-(Aor.N.F), instantly he-Par-Prev-mount a horse-Past.Ind, the-mirror [it]-Rel-have-Stat.Past.N.F the-ogre-Pl them-to he-Prev-go thither-(Aor)-Fin. (138) he-Par-Prev-get down from a horse-Past.Ind, in the distance over there, the-stone [it]-Rel-Prev-he-take from-Past.Ind.N.F the-ogre-Pl them-to it-how-Prev-he-do-Past.Ind.N.F like, the-ogre-Pl their-eye [it]-Prev-open-Past.Ind.N.F-as if [it]-when-he-see-(Aor.N.F) he-Prev-go thither-Past.Ind the-mirror [it]-Par-them-Prev(from)-Prev-he-take-Past.Ind he-run-(Aor)-Fin. (139) he-when-run-(Aor.N.F), they him-Prev-they-notice-Past.Ind they-bawl-(Aor)-Fin, they-cry out-(Aor)-Fin, the-curse-Masd they-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin.

(140) — eh! hither they-Prev-come hither-Abs we our-mirror [it]-Rel-take-Past.Ind.N.F he-man-if, he-woman-become-Subjunctive, she-woman-if, she-man-become-Subjunctive, — [it]-they-say-Past.Ind, him-they-curse-(Aor)-Fin. (perfectly well him-they-curse-(Aor)-Fin, you.M-Neg-see-Dyn (= indeed!)). (141) this the-mirror [it]-he-have-Abs his-horse it-to he-when-Prev-come hither-(Aor.N.F), «what-you.M-to-they-say-(Aor)-Qu you.M-how-they-curse-(Aor)-Qu» SP his-horse [it]-him-it-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin.

(142) — here they-Prev-come hither-Abs we our-mirror [it]-Rel-take-Past.Ind.N.F he-man-if, he-woman-become-Subjunctive, she-woman-if, she-man-become-Subjunctive SP me-they-curse-(Aor)-Fin, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin. (this he the-man clothes [they]-him-be on (i.e. he wears them)-Stat.Past.Fin, but he-girl-Neg-Qu, he-man-if [it]-him-want-Neg-Qu, perfectly well him-they-curse-(Aor)-Fin they the-ogre-Pl!).

(143) he now he-man-become-(Aor)-Fin, the-ogre-Pl Rel-they-say-Past.Ind.N.F [it]-Prev-reach-(Aor)-Fin. (144) the-mirror Rel-them-Prev-he-take away from-Past.Ind.N.F [it]-he-have.Abs his-SV-Prev-he-set out thither-Past.Ind the-king it-Prev-take thither-Abs it-to him-he-give-(Aor)-Fin. (145) the-king once again his-daughter he-her-call-Past.Ind her-Prev-he-bring-Past.Ind, «oh! dear, the-mirror SP you.F-Rel-be engaged in-Stat.Past.N.F-even [it]-Prev-he-bring-(Aor)-Fin, now you.F-him-with-go(= get married to)-Dyn-if, you.F-him-with-go.Imp» [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(146) — it-Prev-become-Dyn-if (= if possible), tonight-one-also the-time [it]-to me-you.Polite-give.Imp, — [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(147) — it-good-Stat.Pres.Fin, it-to you.F-we-give-Fut.I.Fin the-time, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin her-father-also.

(148) that night that Rel-Prev-come hither-always the-dove [it]-Prev-come

hither-Past.Ind, it-the-young man-as it-how-be-always it-Par-Prev-become-Past. Ind he-and she-and [they]-Reciprocal-talk together-(Aor)-Fin.

(149) — my-father me-Rel-he-give-in order to Rel-him-want-Stat.Pres.N.F the-boy you.M it-Rel-about-you.M-say-Past.Ind.N.F the-ogre-Pl their-mirror [it]-Prev-he-bring-(Aor)-Fin, — [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(150) — oh! there Rel-go-Past.Ind.N.F nobody safe-Instr he-Neg-come back-Emph-Pluperf, that he it-how-him-Prev-be possible-(Aor)-Qu, he-safe-adv he-how-come back-(Aor)-Qu? — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin that the-dove Rel-it-Prev-go out of-Past.Ind.N.F the-young man.

(151) — it-how-him-Prev-be possible-Past.Ind.N.F [it]-me-Pot-know-Dyn-Neg, but it-him-Prev-be possible-(Aor)-Fin, — [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(152) — if so, tomorrow you.F-where-Prev-go thither-Pres.N.F thus [it]-him-to-say.Imp your-father. (153) the-king his-garden-it-in the-quince root-one it-be-Stat.Pres.Fin, the-pomegranate root-one-also [it]-be-Stat.Pres.Fin. (154) the-quince you.M-Par-it-Prev-touch-if, it-laugh-Dyn-Fin, the-pomegranate you.M-Par-it-Prev-touch-if, it-cry-Dyn-Fin. (155) those the-quince-and the-pomegranate-and them-Prev-pull out-Abs them-Prev-he-bring-Subjunctive, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(156) the next day it-when-Par-dawn-(Aor.N.F), this the-girl she-Prev-go thither-Past.Ind her-father it-him-to-she-say-(Aor)-Fin «in this way and that such and such the-place it-in Rel-be-Stat.Pres.N.F the-quince-and the-pomegranate-and [them]-Prev-he-bring-Subjunctive, then you.M me-Rel-you.M-give-Pres.N.F the-boy I-him-belong to-Stat.Pres.Fin» SP.

(157) this the-boy (those the-mirror [it]-Rel-Prev(from)-he-take-Past.Ind.N.F the-ogre-Pl him-when-they-curse-Past.Ind.N.F since after all he-boy-become-Pluperf) he-Par-Prev-go out-Past.Ind the-story again Rel-him-to-be audible to-Past.Ind his-horse it-it-to-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(158) — oh! that very it-difficult-Emph-Stat.Pres.Fin, the-quince-and the-pomegranate-and SP Rel.Poss-information [it]-you.M-to-they-say-Past.Ind.N.F the-demon-Pl their-garden-in-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin they-where-be-Stat.Pres.N.F, but we-Prev-set out-Fut.I.Fin, it-us-Pot-Prev-bring-Dyn-if Par-see-Fut.I.Fin, our-Self-it-for-we-do one's best-Fut.I.Fin, — [it]-it-say-(Aor)-Fin the-horse.

(159) his-horse he-Par-it-Prev(on)-ride-Past.Ind he-how-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Impf, 3-Hum-one brother-Pl their-father Rel-him-Prev-remain after-Past.Ind.N.F dagger-one-and hat-one-and, felt cloak-one-and [them]-Prev-argue-Abs their-eye-Pl [they]-how-they quarrel-Dyn-Impf (= how they were quarreling) he-Par-them-

Prev(by)-stand-(Aor)-Fin.

(160) — Rel-Prev-you.Pl-do-Dyn.N.F what, you.M? — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Past.Ind, he-them-it-Prev(about)-ask-(Aor)-Fin.

(161) — these [them]-Prev-we-argue-Dyn-Fin, — [it]-they-say-Past.Ind the whip-and, the-fur hat-and, the-felt cloak-and [them]-to him-they-show-(Aor)-Fin.

(162) — you.Pl-me-Prev-listen to.Imp, in vain your.Pl-eye-Pl [they]-quarrel-Dyn-Fin (= you are quarreling). (163) that better than-also I it-how-you.Pl-to-I-say-Pres.N.F you.Pl-act-if, easy-Emph-adv them-you.Pl-for-I-divide-Dyn-Fin, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin the-boy.

(164) — them-how-us-for-you.M-divide-Dyn-Qu?

(165) — them-how-you.Pl-for-I-divide-Pres.N.F that [it]-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin, the-bow [it]-Prev-I-draw-Dyn-Fin, first it the-arrow [it]-Prev-Rel-bring-Pres.N.F they-him-belong to-Stat.Pres.Fin the-whip-and, the-fur hat-and, the-felt cloak-and, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(166) — it-good-Stat.Pres.Fin, you.M it-how-you.M-say-Past.Ind.N.F it-Prev-we-do-Dyn-Fin, — [it]-they-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(167) this the-bow [it]-Prev-he-draw-Past.Ind, it-Prev-we-bring-Dyn-Fin SP brother-Pl [they]-Prev-race with one another-Abs they-when-go-(Aor.N.F), them-Prev-they-bring-(Aor.N.F)-before, that he there he-wait-Stat.Past.N.F-Qu, the-whip-and, the-fur hat-and, the-felt cloak-and [them]-Par-Prev-he-pick up-Past.Ind, them-he-have-Past.Ind he-go-(Aor)-Fin.

(168) — the-felt cloak [it]-Par-Prev-stretch-Abs you.M-Par-Prev-sit down in-Abs whip-Instr you.M-when-it-hit-Lak, it-where-Par-you.M-want-Stat.Pres.N.F you.M-it-take-Dyn-Fin, the-fur hat [it]-Par-your.M-SV-you.M-put on-if, nobody you.M-he-see-Emph-Dyn-Neg, — [it]-it-say-(Aor)-Fin this the-boy his-horse.

(169) he-how-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Impf.N.F that the-quince-and the-pomegranate-and [they]-where-stand-Stat.Past.N.F the-devil-Pl their-garden he-it-Prev-Prev-approach-(Aor)-Fin. (170) he-look-Past.Ind, that he Rel-he-take-must Rel-be-Stat.Past.N.F the-king his-daughter-also there she-be-Stat.Pres.Fin, the-devil-Pl their-leader his-son-also there he-be-Stat.Pres.Fin, the-quince-and the-pomegranate-and their-root-Pl the-army them-Prev-fence-Abs, them-encircle-Abs they-Prev-be done-Stat.Pres.Fin. (171) this the-boy his-fur hat [it]-Par-his-SV-he-put on-Past.Ind, quietly he-Prev-go thither-Past.Ind (the-fur hat [it]-when-his-SV-he-put on-(Aor.N.F), then him-who-see-Dyn-Qu-Impf?!) Rel-laugh-Dyn-Impf.N.F the-quince-and Rel-cry-Dyn-Impf.N.F the-pomegranate-and [them]-Par-Prev-he-

pull out-Past.Ind, something [it]-laugh-Abs, something [it]-cry-Abs them-he-have. Abs he-Prev-set out-(Aor)-Fin, his-horse-and he-and the-the-felt cloak [it]-Par-Prev-he-stretch-Past.Ind they-Prev-when-stand up-Past.Ind, the-felt cloak the-whip [it]-when-Par-it-Prev-he-lash-(Aor.N.F), this Rel-daughter her-he-take-must Rel-be-Stat.Past.N.F the-king him-to they-come-(Aor)-Fin.

(172) — the-king, Rel-you.M-say-Past.Ind.N.F all [it]-Prev-I-carry out-(Aor)-Fin, Rel-laugh-Pres.N.F the-quince-and Rel-cry-Pres.N.F the-pomegranate-and [them]-Prev-I-bring-(Aor)-Fin, — [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(173) the-king his-daughter he-her-call-Past.Ind her-Prev-he-take thither-Past.Ind «oh! hi! it-Rel-about-you.F-say-Past.Ind the-tree-Pl [them]-Prev-he-bring-(Aor)-Fin this the-boy» [it]-he-say-Past.Ind so [it]-her-to-he-say-(Aor)-Fin.

(174) — Oh dear! now some more nothing [it]-me-Pot-say-Dyn-Neg, I-him-with-go(= get married to)-Dyn-Fin, — [it]-she-say-(Aor)-Fin she-also.

(175) the-wedding [it]-they-do-Past.Ind, the-drinking [it]-they-do-Past.Ind this the-boy the-king his-daughter her-to him-they-give-(Aor)-Fin. (176) the-wedding-it-at he-Prev-stand up-Past.Ind this the-boy Rel-Par-his-SV-he-experience-Past.Ind.N.F all one by one the-people they-gather-Abs Rel-be sitting-Stat.Past.N.F it-them-to-he-say-(Aor)-Fin. (177) the-father-in-law the-boy his-father him-to the-letter [it]-Prev-he-send-(Aor)-Fin «your.M-son the-wife her-he-have-Abs name-Instr-wind-Instr (= with a great reputation) he-you.M-for-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Fin» SP. (178) the-boy his-wife her-he-have-Abs his-father him-to they-where-Prev-come hither-Past.Ind.N.F-also wedding-Instr they-Prev-meet-(Aor)-Fin. (179) may... you.Pl-also like this the-good-Pl [they]-you.Pl-for-Prev-happen-Fut.II.N.F.

### Translation:

(81) That night, the ‘boy’ was unable to sleep and crept up to the girl’s room secretly and peeked through the keyhole to see what she was doing.

(82) As he was sitting there peeping at her, the night got later and later. Then, she placed a golden washtub in the middle of her room and poured some water into it. (83) When she opened the window in her room, a dove flew in flapping its wings. (84) The dove that had come dipped itself in the water in the washtub and when it flapped its wings, it turned into a fine, handsome young man. (85) When the young man appeared, the girl started to cry.

(86) “What’s the matter? Why are you crying?” the young man who had come

out of the dove asked.

(87) “A little boy came here and killed the ogre that should have eaten my father. (88) That boy wants me. What should I do now?” she said.

(89) “Oh no,” said the young man who had come out of the dove. (90) “I am the son of the King of the demons. (91) Does that boy think he is going to take you away from me? I have to kill him. How can I not kill him?” he said.

(92) She asked him, “So what should I do? I have to give my answer tomorrow, in the morning.”

(93) “Say this to your father tomorrow. (He told her the name of a large hill). (94) ‘On the top of the big hill at a certain place there is a big stone. (95) Have him [the ‘boy’] bring the stone on the top of the hill here to me.’ And tell your father, ‘Then I will go as his bride,’” he [the demon King’s son] said.

(96) He [the ‘boy’] listened to what they said to each other. Then the young man who had come out of the dove turned into a dove again and flew out the window.

(97) In the morning, as the dawn was breaking, the girl went to her father’s room.

(98) “Father, I have thought about what you said to me last night. And I agree to it. But I ask you to have the person you are certainly going to give me away to as a bride go to a big hill and bring me back a certain beautiful stone from there. Then I will marry him. If not, I cannot marry him,” she said.

(99) What could the King do, when his daughter told him this? He called out, and had the ‘boy’ who killed the ogre brought to him.

(100) “My dear friend, unfortunately, this girl is useless. You won’t be able to manage her. That is why I told you ‘Please leave her as she is.’ (101) Now, what she has said is this. She hasn’t refused to be your wife. But she said she will not consent to marry you until you go to some big hill and bring her back a beautiful stone.”

(102) “Your Majesty, if you will give me permission, I will bring back the stone that she mentioned,” the ‘boy’ said.

(103) “How could I possibly refuse you? But it will be difficult,” the King responded.

(104) The ‘boy’ left right away, called his horse, and told the horse what he had been told when he was at the King’s place.

(105) “It will be difficult to bring back the stone. Ogres are guarding it. (106) But let’s go. Let’s set out. We’ll probably be able to bring it back. (107) When we

arrive at the place that we have to go to, even if the ogres have their eyes open, they will be sleeping. Please lift up the stone that is there and run away with it immediately. (108) If the ogres notice you, they will probably scream and wail. But even if they scream, even if they wail out loud, you must not look back behind you. (109) If the ogres close their eyes, that means they're not asleep, they're awake. They will notice you in no time, so you won't be able to get near them. Even if I try to get close to them, you must not try to approach them," the horse said.

(110) The horse had the 'boy' get on his back and then they set off for the big hill where the King had told them that the beautiful stone would be, near the ogres. (111) The 'boy' got down from the horse, and looking at the ogres from afar, saw that they had their eyes open, so he crawled along the ground and took the stone and ran off. (112) As he ran off, the ogres noticed him, and screamed and wailed. But his horse had him get on his back and they sped off with the stone.

(113) He took the stone over fields and across mountains. He took it to where the King was, and presented it to the King.

(114) "Look here. Now I have accomplished what your daughter asked of me. I will take her away," he said.

(115) The King took the stone that the 'boy' had brought him to his daughter's room, and gave it to his daughter, saying, "My dear daughter, go and marry him."

(116) "That is fine. I will marry him. I will not say anything more. But tonight, just once, please give me some time," the obstinate daughter asked her father again.

(117) "Oh well, all right," her father said.

(118) That night, when it got dark, the 'boy' who was supposed to take the daughter away, crept up as he had done before and spied on her. (119) The night passed in the same manner as it had previously. She brought out the golden washtub, placed it in the middle of her room and then poured water into it. (120) When she opened the window, a dove came flapping in. (121) When the dove went there, diving into the water in the golden washtub, it turned into a fine young man.

(122) The King's daughter sat there and cried bitterly.

(123) "What happened? Who has made you cry like this?" the young man who had been the dove asked her.

(124) "The boy who my father has asked me to marry has carried out the task that I set him and brought the stone back from the ogres," she told him.

(125) “In a certain place there are some ogres. At that place there is a mirror. Have him bring back that mirror. (126) Nobody will be able to help the person who brings back that mirror. Nobody will be able to help him,” said the young man who had come out of the dove. (127) Then he turned back into a dove and flew away.

(128) When they were talking with each other, the ‘boy’ who had killed the ogre was listening to all that they said.

(129) At dawn the next day, the daughter went to her father’s room.

(130) “In a certain place there are some ogres and they have a mirror. If he can take the mirror from them, then I will marry the boy you want me to marry,” the daughter said to her father.

(131) There was nothing that the father (the King) could do. The King called the ‘boy’ and told him what his daughter had said. “This is the way it is. This is a bitch. My daughter tells me ‘There are ogres who live in a certain place who have a mirror. If the boy can steal the mirror from them and bring it back, I will marry him. If he cannot, I will not marry him.’”

(132) “That is all right,” said the boy.

(133) When the ‘boy’ went away, he repeated what he had heard to his horse.

(134) “Oh no! Allah. The ogres we stole the stone from were strong. But now, the ogres with the mirror have a character even worse and are not like any other ogres. When we reach the place we must go to, as you did before, if the ogres’ eyes are open (if their eyes aren’t shut), take the mirror away from them quickly and run away with all your might. (135) The ogres may notice you and cry out and wail. They might start to curse you. But you must be patient and put up with whatever they say. Whatever happens, you must not turn around and look at them. You must not say even one word to them. (136) And listen. Please remember this. When the ogres start to curse you, please remember what they say,” said the horse.

(137) When the horse said this, the boy mounted the horse immediately and they left for the place where the ogres kept the mirror. (138) He got down from the horse at a distance from them and again he did what he had done to the ogres that he had stolen the stone from before. The ogres’ eyes seemed to be open, and he went there and stole the mirror and rushed off with it. (139) When he ran away, the ogres noticed and wailed, crying out aloud. They started to put a curse on him.

(140) “Hey! If the one who has come here and has our mirror is a man, he will be turned into a woman. If it’s a woman, she will be turned into a man,” the ogres said, putting a curse on him. (And in fact, they actually did put a real curse on

him). (141) When he took the mirror back to where the horse was, his horse asked him, “What did they say to you? How did they curse you?”

(142) He said, “They cursed me saying ‘If the one who has come here and has our mirror is a man, then he will turn into a woman, and if she is a woman, she will turn into a man.’” (This boy wore men’s clothes, but wasn’t he a girl? He didn’t want to turn into a man, did he? The ogres had indeed put a clever curse on him).

(143) Now he was a man. The ogres’ curse had come true. (144) He set out for the King’s place with the mirror he had stolen from the ogres, and presented it to the King. (145) The King called for his daughter once more and had her come to him. “Well, my daughter. He has brought you the mirror that you asked for. Well, if you are going to marry him, please marry him,” he said.

(146) “If it is possible, please give me some time tonight as well,” she said.

(147) “All right. I will give you time,” her father said. (148) That night, the dove came as usual and, as usual, turned into a young man. And then he talked with the girl.

(149) “The man that my father wants me to marry has brought me back the mirror from the ogres that you asked for,” she said.

(150) “Oh no. No one has ever succeeded in coming back from there alive. How on earth did this man manage to do it? How on earth did he get back?” asked the young man who had come out of the dove.

(151) “I do not know how he managed to do it. But he has,” she said.

(152) “If it is so, then you must go to your father’s place tomorrow and tell him this. (153) In the King’s garden there are roots of the quince tree, and also roots of the pomegranate tree. (154) If a person touches the quince tree, it will laugh. If they touch the pomegranate, it will cry. (155) Have him pull out these quinces and pomegranates and bring them to you,” he said.

(156) The next day at dawn, the girl went to her father and told him, “Have him bring me quince and pomegranate trees from a certain area in a certain place. If he can do this, then I will marry the boy that you want me to marry.”

(157) The boy (and he was in fact a boy, having been turned into one after he had stolen the mirror from, and been cursed by, the ogres) went outside and repeated what he had heard to his horse.

(158) “Oh no. This is really difficult. The quinces and pomegranates they are talking about are in the ogres’ garden. But let’s set off, shall we. Let’s see if we can bring them back. Let’s do our best,” said the horse.

(159) He mounted the horse right away and rushed off there. At that time three brothers were arguing about a dagger [Note: This speaker probably mistakes *a-q'áma* “a dagger” for *a-q'amč'ə* “a whip”. Cf. (161), (165), etc.], a fur hat and felt cloak their father had bequeathed them, and the boy arrived at the place where they were arguing.

(160) “What are you people doing?” he asked them.

(161) “This is what we are arguing about,” they said, showing him the whip, the fur hat and the felt cloak.

(162) “You people, please listen to what I have to say. Isn't it in vain to argue?  
(163) Better than that, if you do as I say, I will divide these up for you very easily,” the boy said.

(164) “How will you divide these up for us?”

(165) “This is how I will divide them up for you. I will shoot an arrow. Whoever brings me back the arrow first can have the whip, the fur hat and the felt cloak,” he said.

(166) “That is good. Let's do as you have said,” they responded. (167) They said, “When he shoots the arrow, we will bring it back to him” and ran off towards where the arrow had been shot. The boy didn't wait there until they brought the arrow back, but picked up the whip, fur hat and felt cloak and took them away.

(168) “Spread out the cloak, and get on it, hit it with the whip and it will take you to the place where you wish to go to. If you put on the fur hat, nobody will be able to see you,” the boy's horse said.

(169) The boy went to the place and approached the ogres' garden with the quince and pomegranate trees. (170) When he saw it, the King's daughter that he was to take away with him was also there and the ogre chief's son was there as well. The roots of the quince and pomegranate trees were encircled by a fence and were surrounded by soldiers. (171) The boy put on the fur hat and went there quietly. (When he was wearing the fur hat, no one could see him). And so he pulled out the laughing quince and the crying pomegranate, and there was laughter and crying but he took them away with him. He and his horse spread open the felt cloak and got on it, and then hit it with the whip. And so he went back to the King's place, to where the daughter he was to take away was.

(172) “Your Majesty, I have carried out all the things you said. I have brought you the laughing quince and the crying pomegranate,” he said.

(173) The King called his daughter and took her there and said to her, “Oh

daughter. The boy has brought back the trees you talked about.”

(174) “Oh dear. Now, I have nothing to say. I will marry him,” she said.

(175) They had a wedding ceremony, feasting and drinking, and the King gave his daughter to the boy. (176) At the wedding, the boy stood up and told the people who had come together and were seated there all the things he had experienced one by one. (177) His father-in-law sent the boy’s father a letter. It said: “Your son will come back to you, bringing a wife with him, and having made a great name for himself.” (178) The boy took his wife and went back to his father’s place. And they had a wedding ceremony there as well. (179) May you all also have good luck like this!

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## Notes

\* The text was taken from «Сергей Зыхуба (ed.), Аңысуа лакукуа, Акуа, Алашара», 1997. pp. 302-311.

(81) 1. *d-mə-c<sup>w</sup>a-ʒá-k<sup>w</sup>a* : masd. *á-c<sup>w</sup>a-ra* [intr.] “to sleep, to fall asleep.” 2. *maʒa-lá* : cf. *á-maʒa* [n.] “secret.” 3. *d-k<sup>w</sup>ʒl-pš-wa* : masd. *a-k<sup>w</sup>ʒl-pš-ra* [intr.] “to peep.”

(82) 1. *d-k<sup>w</sup>ʒl-pš-wa də-š-t<sup>w</sup>á-z ák<sup>w</sup>əmk<sup>w</sup>a* “at the time that he was sitting and was looking.” 2. *j-n-ajg<sup>w</sup>a-x<sup>w</sup>án* : masd. *ajg<sup>w</sup>a-ra* [intr.] “(of time) to pass.” 3. *j-la-lə-rgól[a-j]t<sup>w</sup> < j-la-lə-r-gól[a-j]t<sup>w</sup>* (it-Par-she-Caus-stand-(Aor)-Fin) “she placed it”: masd. *a-rgól-a-ra* [tr.] “to place, to put.” 4. *ə-n-a-nš-l-t<sup>w</sup>al[a-j]t<sup>w</sup>* ([it(= the water, C1)]-Par-it(= the washtub, C2)-Prev-she(C3)-pour into-(Aor)-Fin) “she poured it into it”: masd. *a-n-t<sup>w</sup>ála-ra* [tr.] “to pour into.”

(83) 1. *ə-aa-lə-r-t<sup>w</sup>ə-n* : masd. *áa-r-t<sup>w</sup>-ra* [tr.] “to open”; cf. *áa-t<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to open.” 2. *ə-pər-pər-wá* : masd. *á-pər-pər-ra* [intr.] “to fly; to flap one’s wings.” 3. *j-aa-j<sup>w</sup>na-šə[a-j]t<sup>w</sup>* : masd. *áa-j<sup>w</sup>na-šəla-ra* [intr.] “to go inside.”

(84) 1. *j-a-nš-z* (Rel(C1)-it(= the washtub, C2)-be on-Stat.Past.N.F) “that which was on it”: masd. *a-nš-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to be on.” 2. *a-čə-n-t-na-š<sup>w</sup>ə-n* “it(= the dove) dipped itself into it”: masd. *a-č-t-š<sup>w</sup>-rá* [tr.] “to dip oneself.” 3. *ə-an-á[a]-a-rəš<sup>w</sup>ə* : masd. *a-rš<sup>w</sup>ə-a-rá* [tr.] “to wave.” 4. *d-aa-tš-c<sup>w</sup>[ə-j]t<sup>w</sup>* : masd. *aa-tš-c<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to go out hither.”

(86) 1. *j-bš-x<sup>w</sup>-zaj* “what happened to you?”: masd. *á-x<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to happen to.” 2. *bə-z-c<sup>w</sup>əwa-wa-zaj*

- “why are you crying?”: masd. *a-c* <sup>w</sup>*šwa-ra* [intr.] “to cry.” 3. *j-á-l-c’ə-z* (Rel(C1)-it(= the dove, C2)-Prev-go out of-Past.Ind.N.F) “the one who came out of it”: masd. *á-l-c’-ra* [intr.] “to go out of.”
- (87) 1. According to V. A. Chirikba (personal communication), č’k’<sup>w</sup>*šna* “boy” is etymologically derived from \*č’k’<sup>w</sup>*š-na* with a diminutive suffix *-na*. See also Note (157)-1. 2. *də-z-fá-rc jš-q’a-z* “the one who must have eaten him.”
- (88) 1. *sə-j-tax-xa-jt’* : masd. *a-tax-xa-rá* [intr. inverse] “to want.” 2. *jə-špá-zə-w-rə-j* “how will I do it?”, i.e. “what should I do?”: masd. *a-w-rá* [tr.] “to do.”
- (89) *ʔoh* “oh” is written as *q’oh* in the original text, but Chirikba (personal communication) points out that the glottal stop [ʔ] is heard in the word. According to Chirikba (1996:15), Abkhaz has, at least on the periphery of the system, such minimal pairs as *ʔaj* “no” : *aj* “yes”, *ʔaj* “no” : *haj* “oh”, *ʔaj-ʔaj* “no” : *haj-haj* “interjection of encouragement”, *ʔaj-ʔaj* “no” : *aj-aj* [ajej] “yes”, *ʔah* “no” : *ah* “oh”, *ʔah* “no” : *hah* “our prince”. Chirikba’s keen observation raises the possibility that the glottal stop is a phoneme in Abkhaz. See also Hewitt (To appear. *Abkhaz*. Introduction).
- (91) 1. *bə-špa-s-c* <sup>w</sup>*š-j-ga-wa* (you.F(C1)-how-me(C2)-Prev-he(C3)-take away from-Pres.N.F) “how can he take you away from me?”: masd. *a-c* <sup>w</sup>*ga-rá* [tr.] “to take away from.” 2. *də-s-šš-r-a-wp’* : masd. *a-š’-rá* [tr.] “to kill.” 3. *də-špa-s-zš-m-š’-wa-j* (he(C1)-how-me(C2)-Pot-Neg-kill-Pres.N.F-Qu) lit. “how can’t I kill him?”
- (92) 1. *ə-aa-šá-r* : masd. *a-ša-rá* [intr.] “to dawn,” cf. *j-ša-wá-jt’* “the morning dawns.” 2. *[a-jaták’ ə-r-á-s-h* <sup>w</sup>*a-r-a-wp’* “I must answer them”: masd. *a-h* <sup>w</sup>*a-rá* [tr.] “to say.”
- (94) 1. *abršjg’i, abršjg’i a-tšp a-č’š* “на таком-то месте.” 2. *jš-ə-k* <sup>w</sup>*ə-wp’* (it(= a big stone, C1)-[it(= a big hill, C2)]-on-Stat.Pres.Fin) “there is a big stone on a big hill”: masd. *á-k* <sup>w</sup>*zaa-ra* [intr.] “to exist on (*the surface*).”
- (95) 1. *ə-s-z-aa-j-gá-[a]ajt’* ([it(C1)]-me(C2)-OV(for)-Prev-he(C3)-bring-Subjunctive) “let him bring it to me!”: masd. *aa-ga-rá* [tr.] “to bring.” 2. *ə-j-á-h* <sup>w</sup>*a* “say it to him!”
- (96) 1. *j-ajbš-r-h* <sup>w</sup>*a-k* <sup>w</sup>*a-z* : masd. *ájə-h* <sup>w</sup>*a-ra* [tr.] “to talk with one another/each other.” 2. *ə-j-a-há-jt’* ([it(C1)]-him(C2)-to-be audible-(Aor)-Fin) “he heard it”: masd. *a-ha-rá* [intr. inverse] “to hear.” 3. *də-k’šl-praa-n* : masd. *a-k’šl-praa-ra* [intr.] “to fly out.”
- (97) 1. *j-an-áa-ša*, cf. (92)-1. 2. *d-ná-j-t’ < d-ná-j-jt’*.
- (98) 1. *s-a-z-x* <sup>w</sup>*šcə-n* (I-it-Prev(about)-think-Past.Ind) “I thought about it ...”: masd. *a-z-x* <sup>w</sup>*šc-ra* [intr.] “to think about.” 2. *s-á-k* <sup>w</sup>*šahatə-wp’* : masd. *á-k* <sup>w</sup>*šahat-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to consent to.” 3. *sə-z-w-ta-ranš* (me(C1)-Rel(C2)-you.M(C3)-give-must) *jš-q’a-w* (Rel(C1)-be-Stat.Pres.N.F) “the one to whom you must give me.” 4. *jš-š’ta-w* : masd. *á-š’ta-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to lie; to be situated.” 5. *sə-z-jš-c-ca-wa-m* (I(C1)-Pot-him(C2)-with-go-Dyn-Fin) “I cannot marry him.”
- (99) 1. *jš-q’a-j-c’a-x-wa-z* “what should he have done?”: masd. *á-q’a-c’a-ra* [tr.] “to do.” The suffix/particle *-x-* is added to a verbal root and expresses “emphasis,” “surprise,” etc. 2. *d-jš-px’a-n* (he(C1)-him(C2)-call-Past.Ind) “he called him and ...”: masd. *á-px’a-ra* [intr.] “to call.”
- (100) 1. *dádxajt’* [interjection] “обращение, выражающее недовольство, порицание” (Kaslandzija (2005), ARD). 2. *w-lš-x* <sup>w</sup>*a-wa-m* (you(C1)-her(C2)-manage-Dyn-Neg) “you cannot manage her”: masd. *á-x* <sup>w</sup>*a-ra* [intr.] “to manage.” 3. *wə-l-q’* <sup>w</sup>*á-c’* (you(C1)-her(C2)-leave alone.Imp) “leave her alone!”: masd. *a-q’* <sup>w</sup>*šc’-ra* [intr.] “to leave alone.” 4. *ə-zə-w-á-s-h* <sup>w</sup>*a-zabršj á-[a]k’* <sup>w</sup>*ə-n* “this is why I told you that ...”

- (101) 1. *map' lə-m-k'ə-jt'* “she did not refuse”: masd. *máp'-k'-ra* [tr.] “to refuse.”
- (102) 1. *jə-z-zə-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-z* “(the stone) that she speak of”: masd. *a-z-h<sup>w</sup>a-rá* [tr.] “to speak of”; cf. Note (77)-1.
- (103) 1. *ə-z-wə-sə-m-ta-wa-zaj* “why don't I give it to you?”. 2. *ə-wadáj<sup>w</sup>ə-wp'*, cf. *á-wadaj<sup>w</sup>* [adj.] “difficult.”
- (104) 1. *j-[j]-a-há-z* (Rel(C1)-[him(C2)]-to-be audible to-Past.Ind.N.F) “that which he heard.” 2. *ə-[a]-á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt'* ([it(= the story, C1)]-[it(= the horse, C2)]-to-he(C3)-say-(Aor)-Fin) “he told the horse the story.”
- (105) 1. *j-wadáj<sup>w</sup>ə-w* “difficult”. 2. *wə-sə-wp'*: cf. *a-wəs* [n.] “work.” 3. *ə-a-xəla-pš-wa-jt'* ([they(C1)]-it(C2)-Prev-watch-Dyn-Fin) “they watch it”: masd. *a-xəla-pš-ra* [intr.] “to watch.”
- (106) 1. *w-aa-lá* “let's go.” The suffix *-la* indicates the hortative marker. See also Chirikba (2003:54). 2. *h-á-la-ga-p'* (we(C1)-it(C2)-Prev-begin-Fut.I.Fin) “let's begin it!” 3. *j-ah-z-aa-ga-wá-zar* (it(C1)-us(C2)-Pot-Prev-bring-Dyn-if) “if we can bring it”; for *-z-* see Hewitt (1989:195).
- (107) 1. *ə-x-t'ə-zar* ([they(C1)]-Prev-open-if) “if they(= their eyes) are open”: masd. *a-x-t'-rá* [intr.] “to open.” 2. *jə-c<sup>w</sup>a-wp'* “they are sleeping”: masd. *á-c<sup>w</sup>a-ra* [intr.] “to sleep.” 3. *j-áa-na-ga-wa*: masd. *áa-na-ga-ra* [intr.] “to mean.” 4. *ə-áaš't-paa-nə*: masd. *aaš't-paa-ra* [tr.] “to take up.” 5. *w-d<sup>w</sup>əkw-la*: masd. *a-d<sup>w</sup>əkw-la-ra* [intr.] “to set out.”
- (108) 1. *w-g<sup>w</sup>á-r-ta-r* (you.M(C1)-Prev-they(C3)-notice-if) “if they notice you”: masd. *a-g<sup>w</sup>á-ta-ra* [tr.] “to notice.” 2. *j-q'áa-št'* “they may cry out”: masd. *á-q'aa-ra* [intr.] “to cry out.” 3. *jə-h<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>á-št'* “they may bawl”: masd. *á-h<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>a-ra* [intr.] “to bawl; to shout.” 4. *jag'á jə-h<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>á-rg'ə jag'á j-q'áa-rg'ə* “even if they cry out, even if they bawl.” 5. *w-x'á-m-pšə-n* “don't look back!”: masd. *a-x'á-pš-ra* [intr.] “to look back.”
- (109) 1. *ə-x-j'á-zar* ([they(C1)]-Prev-be closed-if) “if they are closed”: masd. *a-x-j'a-rá* [intr.] “to be closed.” 2. *j-áa-pšə-wp'* “they are awake”: masd. *áa-pš-ra* [intr.] “to wake up.” 3. *wə-z-ná-j-za-wa-m* “you cannot reach”: masd. *a-ná-j-ra* [intr.] “to reach; to go thither.”
- (111) 1. *də-l-čšž<sup>w</sup>-pa-n*: masd. *a-čšž<sup>w</sup>-pa-ra* [intr.] “to leap down from a horse.” 2. *d-an-rə-x<sup>w</sup>á-pš* (he(C1)-when-them(C2)-Prev-look at-(Aor.N.F)) “when he looked at them”: masd. *á-x<sup>w</sup>a-pš-ra* [intr.] “to look at.” 3. *d-lš-š'ta-sə-n*: masd. *a-š'tá-s-ra* [intr.] “to touch the ground.” 4. *ə-mc'á-rs-nə* ([it(C1)]-Prev-snatch-Abs) “having snatched it”: masd. *á-mc'a-rs-ra* [tr.] “to snatch.” 5. *dš-j<sup>w</sup>[ə-j]t'*: masd. *á-j<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to run.”
- (112) 1. *d-áaš't-na-paa-n* (him(C1)-Prev-it(C3)-pick up-Past.Ind) “it picked him up”: masd. *aaš't-paa-ra* [tr.] “to pick up.” 2. *jə-l-tak<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>á j-cá-jt'* “they ran down”; cf. *a-la-k<sup>w</sup>á tak<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>á j-cá-jt'* “собаки быстро побежали вниз” (Kaslandzija (2005), ARD).
- (113) 1. *d-aa-k'əl-sə-n*: masd. *a-k'əl-s-ra* [intr.] “to go through; to go out.” 2. *d-j<sup>w</sup>a-x<sup>w</sup>ná-n*: masd. *a-x<sup>w</sup>na-rá* [intr.] “to climb.” 3. *jš-j-ta-jt' < j-jš-j-ta-jt'* (it(C1)-to him(C2)-he(C3)-give-(Aor)-Fin) “he gave it to him.”
- (114) 1. *ə-na-sə-gzá-jt'*: masd. *á-na-gza-ra* [tr.] “to carry out.”
- (115) 1. *j-na-lš-j-ta-n*: masd. *á-ta-ra* [tr.] “to give.”
- (116) 1. *ə-sš-š<sup>w</sup>-t* ([it(= time, C1)]-to me(C2)-you.[formal/polite PI](C3)-give.Imp) “give it to me!”: masd. *á-ta-ra* [tr.] “to give.”
- (118) 1. *j-anš-x<sup>w</sup>la*: masd. *á-x<sup>w</sup>la-ra* [intr.] “to get dark.” 2. *də-z-ga-ranš jə-q'a-z* “the one who

- must have taken her.” 3. *d-k'ólə-pš-nə* : masd. *a-k'ól-pš-ra* [intr.] “to peep.” 4. *də-z-č'ə-z* (she(C1)-Rel(C2)-be engaged in-Stat.Past.N.F) “that which she was engaged in”: masd. *a-č'ə-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to be engaged in.”
- (119) 1. *ø-n-ajg<sup>wa</sup>-wá-n* : cf. (82-2). 2. *ø-aa-c'wérə-l-ga-jt'* : masd. *a-c'wér-ga-ra* [tr.] “to bring out.” 3. *ø-n-a-nš-l-t'wála-jt'* : cf. (82-4).
- (120) 1. *j-aa-j'wná-l[a-j]t'* : masd. *aa-j'wná-la-ra* [intr.] “to go inside.” 2. *bzəja-xa* : the suffix *-xa* is used to derive adverbs.
- (121) 1. *a-čə-j<sup>w</sup>-t-ná-š'ə-n* : cf. (84-2). 2. *d-áa-k<sup>w</sup>-gəl[a-j]t'* : masd. *á-k<sup>w</sup>-gəla-ra* [intr.] “to stand; to make a speech.”
- (122) 1. *a-k'jažə-h<sup>wa</sup>* = *a-k'jažə-h<sup>wa</sup>*.
- (123) 1. *j-bə-x<sup>i</sup>-zaj* : masd. *á-x<sup>i</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to happen to.” 2. *b-zə-r-c'wəwa-wa-zaj* (you.F(C1)-Rel(C3)-Caus-cry-Dyn-Qu), lit. “what makes you cry?”, i.e. “who makes you cry?”: masd. *a-rc'wəwa-ra* [tr.] “to make *sb.* cry.”
- (125) 1. *ø-rš-ma-wp'* ([it]-them-have-Stat.Pres.Fin) “they have it”: masd. *á-ma-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to have.”
- (126) 1. *ø-jš-x<sup>w</sup>a-wa-m* ([it(C1)]-him(C2)-help-Dyn-Neg) “it does not help him”: masd. *á-x<sup>w</sup>a-ra* [intr.] “to help.”
- (127) 1. *d-nš-k<sup>w</sup>-praa-n* : masd. *á-k<sup>w</sup>-praa-ra* [intr.] “to fly away.”
- (128) 1. *d-ax'š-žəj<sup>w</sup>-wa-z* : masd. *a-žəj<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to listen.” 2. *ø-j-a-há-jt'* ([it(C1)]-him(C2)-to-be audible-(Aor)-Fin) “he heard it”: masd. *a-ha-rá* [intr. inverse] “to hear.”
- (129) 1. *j-an-áa-ša* : masd. *a-ša-rá* [intr.] “to dawn.”
- (130) 1. *ø-n-xa-wá-jt'* ([they]-Prev-live-Dyn-Fin) “they live”: masd. *a-n-xa-rá* [intr.] “to live.” 2. *ø-rš-m-x-nə* ([it]-them-Prev(from)-take-Abs) “taking it from them”: masd. *á-m-x-ra* [tr.] “to take from.” 3. *sə-z-w-tá-rc jə-w-taxə-w* “the one whom you want to give me to.”
- (131) 1. *d-aa-jš-px'a-n* (him(C1)-Prev-he(C3)-invite-Past.Ind) “he invited him”: masd. *áá-px'a-ra* [tr.] “to invite.” 2. *a-daw-c<sup>w</sup>á* : cf. *a-daw-k<sup>w</sup>á* (130).
- (133) 1. *j-[a]-á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt'* (it(= the story, C1)-[it(= his horse, C2)]-to-he(C3)-say-(Aor)-Fin) “he said it to his horse.”
- (134) 1. *ø-z-m-ah-xə-z* ([it]-Rel-Prev(from)-we-take-Past.Ind.N.F) “the one whom we took it from”: masd. *á-m-x-ra* [tr.] “to take *sth.* from *sb.*” 2. *ø-γ<sup>w</sup>γ<sup>w</sup>á-n* : cf. *á-γ<sup>w</sup>γ<sup>w</sup>a* [adj.] “strong.” 3. *h-ax'<sup>i</sup>-ná-j-ra* “куда мы должны прийти.” 4. *j-šə-r-zə-w-wə-z* (it(C1)-how-them(C2)-for-you(C3)-do-Past.Ind.N.F) “how you did it for them”: masd. *a-zə-w-rá* [tr.] “to do for.” 5. *ø-x-t'-nš* ([they/them]-Prev-open-Abs) “they opening/opening them”: masd. *a-x-t'-ra* [tr./intr.] “to open.” 6. *ø-aa-rš-m-c'-paa-nə* ([it(C1)]-Par-them(C2)-Prev(from)-Prev-take-Abs) “taking it from them”: masd. *á-m-c'-paa-ra* [tr.] “to take.” 7. *w-ajxa-nš* : masd. *ájxa-ra* [intr.] “to be dying to go.” 8. *wš-j<sup>w</sup>* : masd. *á-j<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to run.”
- (135) 1. *a-š<sup>w</sup>jə-pš'jə-ra* : masd. *á-š<sup>w</sup>jə-pš'jə-ra* [intr.] “to curse.” 2. *jə-č'ha-nš* : masd. *á-č'ha-ra* [tr.] “to endure.” 3. *j-zák'wzaa-lak'<sup>j</sup>* (= *j-zak'wzaa-lak'<sup>j</sup>*) “ни за что.” 4. *w-x'<sup>i</sup>a-pš-nə* : masd. *a-x'<sup>i</sup>a-pš-ra* [intr.] “to look back.” 5. *w-rš-x<sup>w</sup>a-m-pšə-n* : masd. *á-x<sup>w</sup>a-pš-ra* [intr.] “to look at.”
- (136) 1. *w-žəj<sup>w</sup>-lá* : masd. *á-žəj<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to listen.” 2. *jə-w-xá-w-mə-r-štə-n* (it(C1)-you(C2)-Prev-you.M(C3)-Neg-Caus-forget-Imp) lit. “don't make you forget it,” i.e. “don't forget it!”: masd. *a-xá-*

- r-št-ra* [tr.], cf. *a-xá-št-ra* [intr. inverse] “to forget.” 3. *ø-g<sup>w</sup>ən-k’ólá* : masd. *a-g<sup>w</sup>ən-k’ólá-ra* [tr.] “to remember, to memorize.”
- (137) 1. *də-j<sup>w</sup>-čšž<sup>w</sup>-la-n* : masd. *a-čšž<sup>w</sup>-la-ra* [intr.] “to mount a horse.”
- (138) 1. *də-j<sup>w</sup>-čšž<sup>w</sup>-c’ə-n* : masd. *a-čšž<sup>w</sup>-c’-rá* [intr.] “to get down from a horse.”
- (139) 1. *á-š<sup>w</sup>əj-ra* [tr.] “to curse.”
- (140) 1. *d-xác’a-zar* “if he is a man,” cf. *a-xác’a* [n.] “a man.” 2. *də-ph<sup>w</sup>əs-xa-[a]ajt’* “let him become a woman!,” “make him a woman!,” cf. *a-ph<sup>w</sup>əs* [n.] “a woman.”
- (141) 1. *j-w-á-r-ḥ<sup>w</sup>a-zaj* (what(C1)-you.M(C2)-to-they(C3)-say-(Aor)-Qu) “what did they say to you?” 2. *wə-špá-r-š<sup>w</sup>əjə-j* (you.M(C1)-how-they(C3)-curse-(Aor)-Qu) “how did they curse you?”
- (143) 1. *ø-na-zá-jt’* : masd. *á-na-za-ra* [intr.] “to reach.”
- (144) 1. *jə-r-c<sup>w</sup>š-j-ga-z* (Rel(C1)-them(C2)-Prev-he(C3)-take away from-Past.Ind.N.F) “that which he took away from them”: masd. *a-c<sup>w</sup>-ga-rá* [tr.] “to take away from.” 2. *j-č’š-la-j-xa-n* (his(Poss)-SV-Prev-he(C3)-set out thither-Past.Ind) “he set out thither”: masd. *a-č’š-na-xa-ra* [tr.] “to set out thither.”
- (145) 1. *d-lš-px’a-n* (he(C1)-her(C2)-call-Past.Ind) “he called her”: masd. *á-px’a-ra* [intr.] “to call.” 2. *bə-z-č’š-z-g’ə* lit. “that which you were engaged in”, i.e. “that which you spoke about”: masd. *a-č’š-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to be engaged in.”
- (148) 1. *ø-aj-c<sup>w</sup>áž<sup>w</sup>a-jt’* : masd. *áj-c<sup>w</sup>áž<sup>w</sup>a-ra* [intr.] “to talk together.”
- (150) 1. *ajbgá-la* “in safety.” 2. *d-m-aa-zá-cəzt’* : masd. *aa-rá* [intr.] “to come hither.” 3. *jə-zla-jš-l-ša-zaj* (it(C1)-how-him(C2)-Prev-be possible-Qu) “how he could do it?": masd. *á-l-ša-ra* [intr. inverse] “to be able to.” 4. *d-ajbga-nš* “in safety.”
- (151) 1. *ø-sə-z-dšr-[w]ja-m* : masd. *a-dšr-ra* [tr.] “to know.”
- (152) 1. *wəs ák<sup>w</sup>zar* “if so.”
- (154) 1. *w-n-a-k’š-sə-r* (you.M(C1)-Par-it(C2)-Prev-touch-if) “if you touch it”: masd. *a-k’š-s-ra* [intr.] “to touch.” 2. *jə-č’č’á-wá-jt’* : masd. *á-č’č’á-ra* [intr.] “to laugh.” 3. *j-c<sup>w</sup>šwa-wa-jt’* : masd. *a-c<sup>w</sup>šwa-ra* [intr.] “to cry.”
- (155) 1. *š-c’-x-nə* (them(C1)-Prev-pull out-Abs) “having pulled them out”: masd. *á-c’-x-ra* [tr.] “to pull out.”
- (156) 1. *sə-j-t<sup>w</sup>š-wp’* (I(C1)-him(C2)-belong to-Stat.Pres.Fin) “I belong to him”: masd. *a-t<sup>w</sup>š-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to belong to.”
- (157) 1. *də-č’jk<sup>w</sup>šna-xa-x’an = də-č’jk<sup>w</sup>šn-xa-x’an*. 2. *j-[a]-á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt’* (it(C1)-it(= the horse, C2)-to-he(C3)-say-(Aor)-Fin) “he said it to his horse.”
- (158) 1. *ḥ-č-a-z-áh-š<sup>w</sup>a-p’* (our(Poss)-Self-it(C2)-for-we(C3)-do one’s best-Fut.I.Fin) lit. “we shall attempt it,” i.e. “let’s try!": masd. *a-č-a-zš<sup>w</sup>a-ra* [tr.] “to do one’s best.”
- (159) 1. *də-š-ná-j-wa-z ák<sup>w</sup>əmk<sup>w</sup>a* “вот он шел и в это время.” 2. *ájš<sup>i</sup>-c<sup>w</sup>a* : cf. *ájša* [sg.] “brother.” 3. *jə-j-tə-nxá-z* (Rel(C1)-him(C2)-Prev-remain after-Past.Ind.N.F) “that which remained after him”: masd. *a-tə-nxa-rá* [intr.] “to remain after.” 4. *ø-ájma-k’-nə* : masd. *ájma-k’-ra* [tr.] “to argue.” 5. *rš-la-k<sup>w</sup>a ø-š-təjbax-wa-z* “how they quarreled”: masd. *a-təjbax-ra* “to quarrel.”
- (160) 1. *jš-q’a-š<sup>w</sup>-c’a-wa zak<sup>w</sup>šwzaj* “what are you (pl.) doing?”
- (161) 1. *a-q’amčə-j* : cf. (159) *q’áma-k’ə-j*. 2. *ø-j-də-rbá-jt’ < ø-j-rə-r-bá-jt’* ((them(C1))-to him(C2)-they(C3)-Caus+see(= show)-(Aor)-Fin) “they showed them to him”: masd. *a-rba-rá* [tr.] “to show.”

- (162) 1. *š<sup>w</sup>ə-s-zš-ʒəɾj<sup>w</sup>ə* (you.Pl(C1)-me(C2)-Prev-listen to.Imp) “listen to me!”: masd. *a-zš-ʒəɾj<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to listen to.” 2. *š<sup>w</sup>ə-la-k<sup>w</sup>a ø-tšj<sup>bax</sup>-wa-jt<sup>ʼ</sup>* “you are quarreling.” 3. *š<sup>w</sup>-nšq<sup>ʼ</sup>wa-r* (you.Pl(C1)-act-if) “if you act”: masd. *a-nšq<sup>ʼ</sup>wa-ra* [intr.] “to act.”
- (163) 1. *š<sup>w</sup>-nšq<sup>ʼ</sup>wa-r*: masd. *a-nšq<sup>ʼ</sup>wa-ra* [intr.] “to act.” 2. *jə-š<sup>w</sup>-zš-s-šə-wa-jt<sup>ʼ</sup>* (them-you.Pl-for-divide-Dyn-Fin) “I will divide them for you”: masd. *a-šə-rá* [tr.] “to divide.”
- (165) 1. *ø-d<sup>w</sup>šk<sup>w</sup>ə-s-c<sup>ʼ</sup>a-wa-jt<sup>ʼ</sup>*: masd. *a-d<sup>w</sup>šk<sup>w</sup>-c<sup>ʼ</sup>a-ra* [tr.] “to draw; to stretch.” 2. *jə-j-t<sup>ʼ</sup>wš-wp<sup>ʼ</sup>* (they(= the whip, the hat and the felt cloak, C1)-him(C2)-belong to-Stat.Pres.Fin) “they belong to him”: masd. *a-t<sup>ʼ</sup>wš-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to belong to.”
- (167) 1. *ø-ajbár-j<sup>w</sup>-nə*: masd. *ájbar-j<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to race with one another.” 2. *də-pšš-z-ma*, lit. “was he waiting?,” i.e. “he was not waiting there”: masd. *a-pšš-rá* [intr.] “to wait.” 3. *jə-j-má-n* (they(C1)-him(C2)-have-Past.Ind) “he had them ... ” 4. *ø-aa-š<sup>tə</sup>-j-xə-n*: masd. *á-š<sup>tə</sup>-x-ra* [tr.] “to pick up.”
- (168) 1. *ø-a[a]-ajc<sup>ʼ</sup>ə-x-nə*: masd. *ájč<sup>ʼ</sup>ə-x-ra* [tr.] “to stretch.” 2. *w-nš-la-t<sup>ʼ</sup>wa-nə*: masd. *á-la-t<sup>ʼ</sup>wa-ra* [intr.] “to sit down in.” 3. *w-an-á-s-lak<sup>ʼj</sup>* (you.M(C1)-when-it(= the felt cloak, C2)-hit-Lak) “when you hit it”: masd. *á-s-ra* [intr.] “to hit.” 3. *ø-na-w-xá-w-c<sup>ʼ</sup>a-r* ([it(= the hat, C1)]-Par-your.M(Poss)-SV-you(C3)-put on-if) “if you put on the hat”: masd. *a-xa-c<sup>ʼ</sup>a-rá* [tr.] “to put on.”
- (169) 1. *d-a-z-áa-[a]jg<sup>w</sup>-xa-jt<sup>ʼ</sup>*: masd. *a-záajg<sup>w</sup>axa-ra* [intr.] “to come near.”
- (170) 1. *də-pšš-n*: masd. *a-pšš-rá* [intr.] “to look”. 2. *rš-k<sup>ʼ</sup>-w-rša-nə* (them(C2)-Prev-fence-Abs) “fencing them”: masd. *á-k<sup>ʼ</sup>-w-rša-ra* [tr.] “to fence.” 3. *j-q<sup>ʼ</sup>a-c<sup>ʼ</sup>á-wp<sup>ʼ</sup>* (they(C1)-Prev-be done-Stat.Pres.Fin) “they are done”: masd. *á-q<sup>ʼ</sup>a-c<sup>ʼ</sup>a-ra* [tr.] “to do.”
- (171) 1. *ø-j<sup>w</sup>a-j-xá-j-c<sup>ʼ</sup>a-n* ([it(C1)]-Par-his(Poss)-SV-he(C3)-put on-Past.Ind) “he put it on ...”: masd. *a-xa-c<sup>ʼ</sup>a-rá* [tr.] “to put on.” 2. *jš-č<sup>č</sup>ía-wa-z*: masd. *á-č<sup>č</sup>ía-ra* [intr.] “to laugh.” 3. *j-č<sup>ʼ</sup>wšwa-wa-z*: masd. *a-č<sup>ʼ</sup>wšwa-ra* [intr.] “to cry.” 4. *ø-anš-j<sup>w</sup>a-[a]-xə-j-q<sup>ʼ</sup>ja* ([it(= the whip, C1)]-when-Par-it(= the felt cloak, C2)-Prev-he(C3)-lash-(Aor.N.F)) “when he lashed the felt cloak with the whip”: masd. *a-x-q<sup>ʼ</sup>a-rá* [tr.] “to lash.”
- (172) 1. *ø-na-sə-gšá-jt<sup>ʼ</sup>*: masd. *á-na-gša-ra* [tr.] “to carry out.”
- (174) 1. *ak<sup>ʼ</sup>agš<sup>š</sup> ø-sə-z-ħ<sup>w</sup>a-wá-m* ([it(C1)]-me(C2)-Pot-say-Dyn-Neg) “I cannot say anything.”
- (175) 1. *ø-r-wš-n* ([it]-they-do-Past.Ind) “they did it”: masd. *a-w-rá* [tr.] “to do.”
- (176) 1. *j-aa-j-xš-j-ga-z* (Rel-Par-his-SV-he-experience-Past.Ind.N.F) “that which he experienced”: masd. *a-x-ga-rá* [tr.] “to experience, to feel.” 2. *j-ajza-nš*: masd. *ájza-ra* [intr.] “to gather.”
- (177) 1. *ø-d<sup>w</sup>šk<sup>w</sup>ə-j-c<sup>ʼ</sup>a-jt<sup>ʼ</sup>* ([it(C1)]-Prev-he(C3)-send-(Aor)-Fin) “he sent it”: masd. *a-d<sup>w</sup>šk<sup>w</sup>-c<sup>ʼ</sup>a-ra* [tr.] “to send.” 2. *d-jš-ma-nə*, lit. “he, having her.” 3. *xšz-la-pšá-la* “с почетом.” 4. *d-wə-z-ná-j-wa-jt<sup>ʼ</sup>* (he(C1)-you.M(C2)-for-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Fin) “he will go back to you.”
- (178) 1. *j-pš-la-jt<sup>ʼ</sup>*: masd. *a-pš-la-ra* [intr.] “to meet.”
- (179) 1. *ø-š<sup>w</sup>-zš-q<sup>ʼ</sup>a-la-šə* ([they(C1)]-you.Pl(C2)-for-Prev-happen-Fut.II.N.F) lit. “may they happen for you!”: masd. *á-q<sup>ʼ</sup>a-la-ra* [intr.] “to happen, to become.”

## Abbreviations

Abs = absolutive

adj = adjective

adv = adverb

Aor = aorist

ARD = Kaslandzija, V. A. 2005. *Abxazsko-russkij slovar'*.

C1 = the first column

C2 = the second column

C3 = the third column

Caus = causative

Cond = conditional

Dyn = dynamic

Emph = emphasis

F = feminine

Fin = finite

Fut = future

Hum = human

Imp = imperative

Impf = imperfect

Ind = indefinite

Instr = instrumental

intr. = intransitive

Lak = *-lak'* suffix

M = masculine

masd. /Masd = masdar

Neg = negative

N.F = non-finite

non.Hum = non-human

OV = objective version

Par = prefixal particle

Past.Ind = past indefinite

perf = perfect

Pl = plural

Pluperf = pluperfect

Poss = possessive

Pot = potential

Pres = present

Prev = preverb

Purp = purpose

Qu = question  
Rel = relative prefix  
Self = reflexive  
SP = speech-particle  
Stat = stative  
SV = subjective version  
tr. = transitive

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