

Abkhaz Text (12): The Man Who Carried Out Good Deeds For A Dead Man (III)

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(101) jə-š-ná-j-wa-z [a-]ákʷə-m-kʷan wamá-kʷ,
 they-when-Prev(thither)-go-Dyn-Impf.N.F it-be-Neg-Abs wonderful, surprising-one
 xəzámán-kʷ a-ħʷəntkár j-ájpš aʒʷ d-axʷə-nxa-wá-z
 unbelievable-one the-king him-like someone he-where-dwell-Dyn-Impf.N.F
 j-ášta j-á-kʷ-šʷ-tʷ.
 his-residence they-it-Prev-come across-(Aor)-Fin
 When they started their journey again, they came across an incredibly splendid
 mansion that was fit for someone like a king to live in.

(102) aréj a-nxára dəw, a-nxára bzəja [ø-]z-má-z
 this the-house big the-house good [it-]Rel-have-Stat.Past.N.F
 á-wajʷ j-ášta j-an-tá-la, áwma-šʷa jə-r-bá-jtʷ:
 the-person his-residence they-when-Prev-go into.Aor.N.F surprisingly-like it-they-see-(Aor)-Fin
 When they entered the owner's mansion, into his large and stately house, they
 were surprised.

(103) ámnəj á-šta šájbakʷəw-gʷə j-žʷaba-wá-jtʷ.
 that the-residence all-also it-mourn-Dyn-Fin
 The whole household was weeping mournfully.

[(104) á-mpar ajkʷa [ø-]r-xʷəxʷá jə-qʷa-wpʷ.]
 the-mourning dress(?) black [it-]they-wear (?) it-be-Stat.Pres.Fin
 It looked to be a house in mourning.

(105) árt [ø-]an-ná-j-z x^wəlpazə-n, «o, á-pš^wma?»
 these people [they-]when-Prev-go thither-Past.Ind.N.F evening-Stat.Past oh the-master
 [ø-]r-h^wá-n jə-l-k'əl-s-t'.
 [it-]they-say-Past.Ind.Fin they-Par-Prev-go through-(Aor)-Fin
 When they arrived there it was evening. (Feeling that they should not intrude),
 they said, 'Master!' and went past the place.

(106) wəj a-g^wára-č' ahá-s jə-q'a-z jə-ph^wəsə-j jará-j
 that the-residence-in king-INST Rel-be-Stat.Past.N.F his-wife-and he-and
 [ø-]j^w-d^wəl-c'-t', axá zənzá a-psrá j-á-k^w-š^wa-z,
 [they-]Par-Prev- go out of-Fin but quite the-death Rel-it-Prev-encounter-Past.Ind.N.F
 a-psə də-z-zə-k'č'á-w r-ájps j-ž^jaba-wá-jt',
 the-dead person he-Rel-for(?)-lie-Stat.N.F them-like they-mourn-Dyn-Fin
 a-š^wə [ø-]r-x^ləx^wx^wá jə-q'a-wp' árt á-pš^wma-c^wa.
 the-mourning dress [it-]they-wear (?) they-be-Stat.Pres.Fin these the-master-Pl
 The master of the place and his wife who were inside the building came outside,
 but they seemed very sad, as if there were a dead person in the house. The master
 and his wife were in mourning garments.

(107) á-pš^wma «bzəjala š^w-aabájt'!» [ø-lj-h^wá-n, «a-bzəjara [ø-]w-bá-[a]ajt',
 the-master welcome! [it-]he-say-Past.Ind.Fin the-good [it-]you-see-Subj
 x^wəlbzəja!» [ø-]r-h^wá-n, á-psš^wa-k^wa a[a]-ajbə-r-h^wa-n,
 good evening! [it-]they-say-Past.Ind.Fin the-Abkhaz-Pl Par-one another-they-say-Past.Ind.Fin
 rə-č-k^wá [ø-]n-č'a-h^wa-nə «aráx^j š^w-áa-j, dád-raa!»
 their-horse-Pl [it-]Par-Prev-tie-Abs hither you.Pl-Prev-come here.Imp you-and mates
 ø-j-h^wá-n j-lá-j-n j-l-ajba-rt'^wa-k^wá-jt'.
 [it-]he-say-Past.Ind.Fin they-Prev-go down-Past.Ind.Fin they-Par-one another-make sit down-Pl-(Aor)-Fin
 The master said, "Welcome!" and after saying, "Good evening," they exchanged
 greetings. After the master had tethered their horses, he said, "Come over here,
 strangers!" They went along with him and sat down.

(108) anəj á-č'k'^wən d-na-pšə-áa-pš-wa-jt', j-j^wəza-g'ə jar-g'ə
 that the-boy he-Prev(thither)-look-Prev(hither)-look-Dyn-Fin his-friend-and he-and
 [ø-]x^wəc-r-a-wp' jə-z-č'ə-w.
 [they-]think-must-be-Stat.Pres.Fin they-Rel-be engaged in-Stat.N.F

The boy looked here and there. He and his companion had to think about what to do.

- (109) — háj, šʷ-xac’k’ó, ak’azó s-šʷə-z-c’aa-wá-jt’,
in perplexity you.Pl-please! one I-you.Pl-Prev-ask-Dyn-Fin
— [ø-]j-hʷá-jt’ arój á-č’k’wəŋ.
[it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin this the-boy

The boy said, “Um . . . There is one thing that I would like to ask you”.

- (110) — j-zak’wəw-zej? — [ø-]j-hʷá-jt’ á-pšwma.
Rel-what is-Qu [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin the-master

“What is it?” asked the master.

- (111) — j-š-q’a-la-zaj, j-šʷó-xʲ-zaj, abrój šʷa šʷ-ájps
what-Prev-happen-(Aor)-Qu what-you.Pl-happen to-Qu this you.Pl you.Pl-like
a-nxámjʷa dəw [ø-]z-má-w, abrój ájps á-šta dəw j-ta-t’wə-w
the-residence big [it-]Rel-have-Stat.N.F this like the-residence big Rel-Prev-sit inside-Stat.N.F
a-ncʷá j-š-š-j-hʷa-ra, a-pħajmbar d-šʷó-kʷnəhʷa-nə šʷó-q’a-wp’,
the-god them-how-he-say-must(?) the-archangel he-you.Pl-bless-Abs you.Pl-be-Stat.Pres.Fin
šʷ-xata-kʷá pħajmbár ħasábla šʷó-q’a-wp’, aráxʲ šʷó-laxʲ
you.Pl-oneself-Pl archangel as, like you.Pl-be-Stat.Pres.Fin here = in actual fact your-brow
[ø-]z-ájkwə-w-zaj, šʷ-z-šʲaba-wa-zaj,

[they-]why-black-Stat.N.F-Qu you.Pl-why-mourn-Dyn-Qu
a-psrá šʷ-á-kʷ-šʷa-ma? — hʷa wəs d-r-a-z-c’áa-jt’.

the-death you.Pl-it-Prev-encounter-(Aor)-Qu SP thus he-them-it-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin
“‘What has happened? What has happened to all of you? People like you, with a big house, people with a house as big as this must surely be blessed by God. You are those who have been blessed by the Archangel. You yourselves are like the Archangel. In reality, why do you all look so sad? Why are you in mourning? Who has died here?’” he asked them.

- (112) — ha, ha, ha! — hʷa j-hʷá-jt’ á-pšwma.
ha-ha-ha! — SP he-say-(Aor)-Fin the-master

“Ha, ha, ha!” the master laughed.

(113) — a-psrá h-á-k^w-š^wa-r, a-psrá [∅-]psrá-wp', ak'ó [a-]ák^wə-n,
 the-death we-it-Prev-encounter-if the-death [it-]death-Stat.Pres.Fin one it-be-Stat.Past.Fin
 h-á-l-ga-wa-n, jə-n-xá-z ha-n-xa-wá-n, a-psrá
 we-it-Prev-finish-Dyn-Impf.Fin Rel-Prev-live-Past.Ind.N.F we-Prev-live-Dyn-Impf.Fin the-death
 h-á-k^w-š^wa-r j-a-barg^w-zəj, hará ha-ps-za-wá-m, axá a-nc^wá
 we-it-Prev-encounter-if what-it-is dangerous(?)—Qu we we-die-Emph-Dyn-Neg but the-god
 jə-[j]-g^wá-m-pxa-z ʒʏáb-k' ha d-há-ma-wp'.
 Rel-him-Prev-Neg-like-Past.Ind.N.F daughter-one we her-we-have-Stat.Pres.Fin
 “When we have to face death, death is death, that is one thing. We are used to
 living a long life. We, who live, expect to go on living. If we are to face death,
 what is the danger? We shall never die. But we have one daughter who does not
 please God.

(114) a-dəwnáj-a-č' w-axⁱ-áj-m-da-lak^{ʔi} wój l-ájps̃
 the-world-it-in you.M-where-Prev-walk all over/seek-Indefinite Suffix she her-like
 pšrá-j č'apášⁱa-j, č'á-bəzš^wa-j xáara-j [∅-]z-c'á-w
 appearances-and figure-and face-speech-and sweetness-and [they-]Rel-be under-Stat.N.F
 á-ʒʏab də-w-ba-za-wá-m.
 the-daughter her-you-see-Emph-Neg

You would never be able to find another girl as gentle as her, with a face and figure
 as beautiful as hers, nor as clever as she is, no matter where you might search in
 the whole wide world.

(115) abréj š^wa š^w-ájps̃ á-č'ík^wə-n-c^wa xazóna-k^wa j-aa-wá-jt',
 this you.Pl you.Pl-like the-boy-Pl charming-Pl they-come-Dyn-Fin
 d-ané-r-ba-lak^{ʔi}, rə-psó [∅-]ló-xa-wa-jt',
 her-when-they-see-Lak their-soul [it-]her-Prev-fall in love with-Dyn-Fin
 də-r-g^wa-pxa-wá-jt', də-n-z-aḥ-ta-wá, waxá də-ps-wá-jt'.
 she-them-Prev-like-Dyn-Fin her-Par-Rel-we-give-Dyn.N.F.Pres tonight he-die-Dyn-Fin
 When handsome young men such as you come here and see her, they end up
 falling in love with her. And then the man to whom we give her ends up dead that
 night.

(116) wəs jé-ps-wa l-xá-c^wa ró-ž-ra sa s-g^wó [∅-]p-na-c^wa-x'ájjt',
 thus Rel-die-Dyn.N.F her-man-Pl their-bury-Masd I my-heart [it-]Prev-it-break-Perf.Fin

s-mál [a]-ábža [∅-]a-ga-x'ájt', dará jə-ps-wa-g'jə
 my-property [its]-half [it-]it-take-Perf.Fin they Rel-die-Dyn-also
 rə-g'wnaha [∅-]c'wga-xa-jt'.
 their-sin [it-]bad-become-(Aor)-Fin

Having to bury the men who die in this way has broken our hearts. Half of my wealth has been taken away in this manner. I feel sorry for those who have died.

(117) abás s-q'a-lá-jt', abréj a-z-á-wp' h-zə-ž'aba-wa, dad!
 in this way I-Prev-happen-(Aor)-Fin this it-why-be-Stat.Pres.Fin we-why-mourn-Dyn you
 — [∅-]j-h'wá-jt' á-pš'wma.
 [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin the-master

That is what has happened to me. That is why we are all in mourning!” said the master.

(118) — wará jə-s-h'w-a-wa [∅-]w-a-ħa-wá-w? — [∅-]j-h'w-a-x-t' anój
 you.M Rel-I-say-Dyn.N.F [it-]you-to-be audible-Dyn-Qu [it-]he-say-Par-(Aor)-Fin that
 á-č'k'wən.
 the-boy

“Can you hear and understand what I say to you?” asked the boy.

(119) — aa! — [∅-]j-h'wá-jt' á-pš'wma.
 oh [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin the-master

“Oh!” said the master.

(120) — wəbrəj ájps̄ jə-q'a-w á-zyab, sə-ps-wá-zar-g'ə, sə-ps-áajt', aráxj
 it like Rel-be-Stat.N.F the-daughter I-die-Dyn-if-also I-die-Subjunc hither
 d-c'wə-rə-ž'w-ga, sa də-z-ga-wá-jt'.
 her-Prev-you.Pl-show.Imp I her-I-take-Dyn-Fin

“If I am to die, I shall die. Show me your daughter, I will take her away as my bride”.

(121) — ħaj, dad, zak'wəwzaj jə-w-h'w-a-wa? jə-ps-x'á-w h-g'wə
 oh you! what Rel-you-say-Dyn.N.F Rel-die-Perf.N.F our-heart
 j-á-la-wp', wərt [∅-]h-zə-x-gá-x-wa-m,
 they-it(our heart)-be in-Stat.Pres.Fin they [they-]us-Pot-Prev-endure-Par-Dyn-Neg

wará w-xó [ø-]zə-x-wə-rq^ja-wá-zaj?
 you your-head [it-]why-Prev-you-lead astray-Dyn-Qu
 “Young man! What are you saying? The dead are in our hearts. We cannot bear their deaths. Why are you exposing yourself to danger?”

(122) w-a-q^wó-c[’] ábaaps, s-wə-ḥ^wa-wa-jt[’], w-j^wəza-g[’]ə war-g[’]ə
 you-it-Prev-leave along please I-you-ask-Dyn-Fin your-friend-and you-and
 š^wə-mj^wás-c^wa-wp[’], ará š^wə-psó [ø-]a[a]-ajtá-š^w-k[’]ə-r,
 you.Pl-passer-by-Pl-Stat.Fin here your-soul [it-]Par-Prev-you.Pl-change/pour-if
 š^w-g[’]əž[’]-nó š^wə-mj^wa-[a]x[’] š^w-ca, — [ø-]j-ḥ^wá-jt[’] á-pš^wma.
 you.Pl-turn-Abs your-road-to you.Pl-go.Imp [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin the-master
 Please, leave matters alone. You and your friend are travelers. If you have rested here sufficiently, change your direction (right away) and go on your way,” said the master.

(123) — mawmáw, š^wó-zyab d-aa-s-š^w-mə-r-bá-r,
 no you.Pl-daughter her-Par-me-you.Pl-Neg-Caus-see(= show)-if
 d-só-š^wə-m-ta-r [ø-]zə-w-ra-nó só-q[’]a-m, — [ø-]j-ḥ^wá-jt[’] á-č[’]k^wən.
 her-me-you.Pl-Neg-give-if [it-]I-do-must-Abs I-be-Stat.Neg [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin the-boy
 “No. I will not permit that you do not show me your daughter and give her to me,” said the boy.

(124) j-an-jó-m-w-za, nas á-zyab l-ábə-j l-ánə-j
 it-when-he-Neg-do-Emph then the-daughter her-father-and her-mother-and
 d-aa-r-gá-n də-j-də-r-bá-jt[’].
 her-Prev-they-bring-Past.Ind.Fin her-to him-they-Caus-see(= show)-(Aor)-Fin
 As he could not be dissuaded, the girl’s father and mother had her brought there and showed her to him.

(125) á-pš^wma áz^w də-n-čš^wə-j-c[’]a-n á-ž^wlar
 the-master one man him-Par-Prev-he-make (him) get on a horse-Past.Ind.Fin the-people
 də-n-ró-la-j-c[’]a-n, <wac^w-g[’]ə áz^w ž-t^wəs
 him-Par-them-Prev-he-put in-Past.Ind.Fin tomorrow-also one man bury-fall to the lot of (?)
 d-š^w-áw-x-wa-jt[’], axá dərj^wag[’]x máh^w d-s-áw-x-t[’] waxá,
 him-you.Pl-recv-Par-Dyn-Fin but again son-in-law him-I-recv-Par-(Aor)-Fin this evening

š^w-a[a]-ajzá!» ħ^wa a-dórra [ø-]rə-j-ta-n, a-g^wóla=á-zla,
 you.Pl-Par-gather.Imp SP the-information [it-]to them-he-give-Past.Ind.Fin the-neighbors
 á-wa, a-tənxá [ø-]a[a]-ajzə-j-ga-k^wa-n,
 the-relative the-near relative [them-]Par-Prev-he-gather-Pl-Past.Ind.Fin
 ak'ə [ø-]j-š'ə-n egləjn, jalahxəzəj, jə-phá-j j-mah^wə-j
 something [it]-he-kill-Past.Ind.Fin etc. "parenthesis" his-daughter-and his-"son-in-law"-and
 r-č'ára [ø-]q'a-j-c'á-jt'.
 their-wedding [it]-Prev-he-do-(Aor)-Fin

The master had a man mount a horse and sent him to the people's gathering place. "Tomorrow too, you will be burying a man. But I have also gained the girl's husband (my son-in-law). Please come together this evening!" he told them, and called together his neighbors, relations and close relatives. He slaughtered animals to make a feast, and held the wedding ceremony for his daughter and her husband.

(126) awəxa ánəj á-č'ik^wənə-j á-zyabə-j [ø-]ajbə-ta-nə,
 that night that the-boy-and the-girl-and [they-]Prev(each other)-join-Abs
 wáž^w lará l-wáda á-q'a-wp', a-báa á-k^wc^wa-č', wa
 now she her-room it-be-Pres.Stat.Fin the-fortress the-top-in there
 j-ga-nə j-rə-rjá-jt'.
 them-take-Abs them-they-lay-(Aor)-Fin

That night, the boy and the girl became one. Now, her room was at the top of the palace. They were brought there to spend the night together.

(127) árəj á-č'ik^wən j-j^wəza aráx^j də-q'a-wp'.
 this the-boy his-friend hither he-be-Stat.Pres.Fin
 The boy's friend was there also.

(128) á-č'ik^wən n-ajk^wč'ə-j-tə-n wəs j-á-j-ħ^wa-jt'
 the-boy Par-Prev-he-call.to.one.another thus him-to-he-say-(Aor)-Fin
 (j-j^wəza j-á-wp' č'ə-z-t-wa):
 his-friend him-be-Stat.Pres.Fin Prev-Rel (C3)-call-Dyn.N.F
 When he called to the boy, he said this:

(129) — wará jə-s-ħ^wa-wa [ø-]w-a-ħa-wá-w?
 you Rel-I-say-Dyn.Stat.N.F [it-]you.M-to-be audible-Dyn-Qu

— áa!

yes

“Can you hear me?” “Yes”.

(130) — wə-ph^wə-sə-j wará-j š^w-ná-j-nə š^w-ja-wá-jt',
 your-wife-and you-and you.Pl-Prev-go thither-Abs you.Pl-lie-Dyn-Fin
 axá á-š^w é-c'arbaq'a j-a-w-mə-rk'ə-n.

but the-door it-tightly(?) it-Prev(?)—you-Neg-shut-Imp

“You and your wife, please go over there and lie down. But do not close the door firmly.

(131) wará-j sará-j h-ajj^wəz-c^wa-nə h-ajcə-məj, sə-g^wrá [ø-]w-ga-wá-zar,
 you-and I-and we-friend-Pl-as we-be together-Emph my-heart [it-]you-take-Dyn-Deon
 wə-g^wrá [ø-]z-ga-wá-zar, ha-g^wrá ajba-ga-wá ha-q'a-zár [a-]á-wp',
 your-heart [it-]I-take-Dyn-Deon our-heart each other-take-Abs we-be-Deon be(= must)-Stat.Fin
 j-ájba-h-h^wa-z, ajbá-h-h^wa-x'ajt' jə-w-dór-wa-jt'.

Rel-each other-we-talk with-Past.Ind.N.F each other-we-talk with-Perf.Fin it-you-know-Dyn-Fin
 You and I are together as friends. You have to trust me. I have to trust you. We have to trust each other. You know what we have talked about together. We have discussed this together.

(132) á-š^w [ø-]a-w-mə-rk'ə-n, á-š^w s-á[a]-a-xa-r,
 the-door [it]-Prev(?)—you-Neg-shut-Imp the-door I-Par-it-pull-if
 j-a-t'—ra-t'^wə j-q'a-c'á, wará w-ná-j-nə w-já,
 it-Prev(?)—open-Masd-in order to it-Prev-do.Imp you you-Prev-go thither-Abs you-lie.Imp
 w-g^wə [ø-]k'á-rš^w-nə wə-c^w jarbanzáalak'-g'ə ak'ə
 your-heart [it]-Prev-throw-Abs you-sleep.Imp nothing (+Neg)-also
 w-a-c^wə-m-š^wa-n.

you-it-Prev-Neg-be afraid of-Imp

Please do not lock the door. If I have to open the door, please leave it so that I can open it. Move over there and lie down. Sleep quietly. Please do not worry about anything.

(133) jzak^wzáalak'^j ak'-g'ə [ø-]wə-x^j-wa-m, ak'-g'ə [ø-]há-x^j-wa-m,
 nothing (+Neg)-also [it]-you-happen to-Dyn-Neg something [it]-us-happen to-Dyn-Neg

wə-ph^wəs-g^{iə} d-ca-wá-jt', də-w-ga-wá-jt', ámala, jə-w-dér-wa-z,
 your-wife-also she-go-Dyn-Fin her-you-take-Dyn-Fin only Rel-you-know-Dyn-Impf.N.F
 á-š^w s-á[a]-a-xa-r, jə-s-z-a-mə-rt-wá j-q'a-w-c'á-r,
 the-door I-Par-it-pull-if it-me-Pot-Prev(?)-Neg-open-Abs it-Prev-you-do-if
 w-ta-xa-wá-jt', — [ø-]j-h^wá-jt'.

you-Prev-perish-Dyn-Fin [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin

Nothing will happen to you. Nothing will happen to us. Your wife will go with you too, you will take her away. But please remember this. When I pull the door open, if you try to stop me from opening the door, you will die," he said.

(134) árt a-j^wəz-c^{wa} nas rə-g^wrá [ø-]ajbá-m-ga-wa-zəj,
 these the-friend-Pl then their-heart [they]-each other-Neg-take-Dyn-Qu
 j-j^wəza j-h^wa-t^wə [ø-]aw-xá-jə-m-c'a-wa-z, jə-ph^wəsə-j jará-j
 his-friend he-say-derivative suffix [it-]how(?)-Prev-he-Neg-believe-Dyn-Qu his-wife-and he-and
 a-mhara-č'š j-ná-j-nə j-anə-j^wa-ja-wa-z,
 the-house for a newly-married couple-to they-Prev-go thither-Abs they-when-Par-lie-Dyn-Impf.N.F
 á-š^w a-capxá [ø-]aa-x-jə-rš^wá-n, wáj^w d-n-á-xa-r,
 the-door its-key [it-]Par-Prev-he-take off-Past.Ind.Fin person he-Par-it-pull-if
 j-aa-t'-ra-t^wə j-nə-q'a-j-c'a-n, jə-ph^wəsə-j jará-j
 it-Prev-open-Masd-in order to it-Par-Prev-he-do-Past.Ind.Fin his-wife-and he-and
 j-j^wa-já-n jə-c^w-t'.

they-Par-lie-Past.Ind.Fin they-fall asleep-(Aor)-Fin

Were not these friends able to trust each other? How could he ever not trust his friend? He and his wife went to the room for the new couple, and lay down, after removing the key from the door, and leaving things so that if someone opened the door a little, it would open. And then he and his wife lay down and fell asleep.

(135) árt [ø-]anə-c^{wa}-c^wq^ja j-á-k^wə-rš^wa-nə á-č'k^wən j-j^wəza
 they [they-]when-fall asleep-just/as soon as at the time the-boy his-friend
 ášərh^{wa} də-l-kəl-sə-n, á-š^w d-á[a]-a-xa-n j-a-r-t'-nə,
 rapidly he-Par-Prev-go out-Past.Ind.Fin the-door he-Par-it-pull-Past.Ind it-Prev(?)-Caus-open-Abs
 á-č'k^wən jə-ph^wəsə-j jará-j [ø-]ax^j-já-z d-ná-j-n
 the-boy his-wife-and he-and [they-]where-lie-Past.Ind.N.F he-Prev-go thither-Past.Ind.Fin
 d-na-r-xa-góla-n, á-ʒʏab l-č'-ax^j
 he-Par-them-Prev-stand over-Past.Ind.Fin the-girl her-face-to

j-áh^wa [ø-]tə-ø-x-nə j-na-jə-xjá-jt'.

his-sword [it-]Prev-[he]-take out-Abs it(?)-Par-he(?)-strike(?)-(Aor)-Fin

As soon as they had fallen asleep, the boy's friend ran quickly outside and pulled the door open, went to the place where the boy and his wife were lying down and stood above them. Taking out his sword, he struck it down onto the girl's head.

(136) lará d-axiś-c^wa-z a-xər=xər-ħ^wa ló-x^wda a-bž'íś

she she-where-sleep-Stat.Past.N.F the-wheeze-saying his-neck the-sound/voice

[ø-]š-ga-wá-z á-c^wərth^wa á-mat á-šš'í

[it]-when-be heard-Dyn-Impf.N.F instantly having appeared the-snake the-red-brown

[ø-]j^wa-l-č'ə-c^wraa-jt'.

[it-]Par-her-mouth-fall out of-(Aor)-Fin

When he heard a wheezing voice come out of her neck, a brown-colored snake crawled out of her, the sleeping girl, out of her mouth.

(137) arəj á-mat [ø-]an-l-č'ə-c^wraa, arəj j-áh^wa [ø-]k^w-nó

this the-snake [it]-when-her-mouth-fall out of-(Aor.N.F) he his-sword [it-]hold-Abs

d-góla-mzəj j-čə-rxja-nó, at'áx-h^wa j-áh^wa [ø-]aa-mj^wanó-j-c'a-n,

he-stand-Emph his-Self-prepare for-Abs quickly his-sword [it-]Par-Prev-he-raise overhead

á-mat a-xó at'áxh^wa j-aa-xó-j-c^wa-jt'.

the-snake its-head quickly it-Par-Prev-he-cut-(Aor)-Fin

When the snake crawled out of her mouth, he raised high the sword that he had prepared and quickly cut the snake's head off in an instant.

(138) á-mat a-xó [ø-]áa-š'itə-j-xə-n, a-kl'aád

the-snake its-head [it-]Par-Prev-he-take up-Past.Ind.Fin the-paper

j-nó-ø-la-ħ^wa-nə j-ž'íśba jə-n-ø-tá-j-c'a-jt'.

it-Par-[it]-Prev(with)-wrap-Abs his-pocket it-Par-[it]-Prev-he-put into-(Aor)-Fin

He picked up the snake's head, wrapped it in paper, and put it in his pocket.

(139) dərj^wág'í ló-x^wda á-xər=xər=xər-h^wa a-bž'íś [ø-]š-ga-wá-z,

again her-neck the-wheeze-saying the-sound/voice [it-]when-be heard-Dyn-Past.Ind.N.F

ajtá j-lə-č'ə-c^wrāa-x-t' dačá matə-k^w-g'íə.

again it-her-mouth-fall out of-Par(again)-(Aor)-Fin another snake-one-also

When he heard another wheezing sound coming out from her neck again, another snake came out of her mouth.

(140) arəj l-xác'a j-j^wəza ajtáx j-áh^wa [ø-rəxxá á-mat a-xə
 this her-husband his-friend again his-sword [it]-raise overhead-(Abs) the-snake its-head
 d-n-a-c'a-sə-n j-aa-xə-j-c'^wa-n, a-xə [ø]-an-k'a-š^wá
 he-Par-it-Prev-hit-Past.Ind.Fin it-Par-Prev-he-cut-Past.Ind.Fin the-head [it]-when-Prev-fall.Aor.N.F
 j-j^wə-š'^{tə}-j-xə-n, a-k'aád jə-[ø]-la-h^wa-nə j-ž'^əba
 it-Par-Prev-he-take up-Past.Ind.Fin the-paper it-[it]-Prev-wrap-Abs his-pocket
 jə-n-[ø]-tá-j-c'^wa-jt'^ə.
 it-Par-[it]-Prev-he-put into-(Aor)-Fin

Her husband's friend raised his sword up again, hit its head and cut it off. When the head fell off, he picked it up, wrapped it in paper, and put it in his pocket.

(141) dərj^wəg'əx arəj wa d-góla-nə, á-zyab d-šə-c^wa-z, dərj^wəg'əx
 again he there he-stand-Abs the-girl she-when-sleep-Stat.Past.N.F again
 lará d-ax'ə-š'^{tə}-z lə-x^wda xər=xər-h^wa [ø]-š-a-h^wa-wá-z
 she she-where-lie-Stat.Past.N.F her-neck wheeze-saying [it]-how-it-say-Dyn-Past.Ind.N.F
 j-ajta-j^wá-l-č'^ə-c'^wra-jt'^ə dačá mat-ápš'^j-k'^ə.
 it-again-Par-her-mouth-fall out of-(Aor)-Fin another snake-red-brown-one

He stood up again, and when the girl was lying down asleep, her neck made a wheezing sound, and another brown-colored snake crawled out of her mouth.

(142) wəj-g'ə a-xə d-n-á-c'a-sə-n j-áa-x-c'^wa-nə, a-k'aád
 he-also the-head he-Par-it-hit-Past.Ind.Fin it-Par-Prev-cut-Abs the-paper
 j-aa-[ø]-lá-h^wa-nə j-ž'^əba jə-l-ø-tá-j-c'^w-t'^ə.
 it-Par-[it]-Prev-wrap-Abs his-pocket it-Par-[it]-Prev-he-put into-(Aor)-Fin

Again, he struck it on the head and cut its head off, wrapped it in paper and put it in his pocket.

(143) nas jará (anəj á-č'^ək'^wən j-j^wəza) á-mat-k^wa á-xpa-g'ə rə-x-k^wá
 then he that the-boy his-friend the-snake-Pl the-3-also their-head-Pl
 [ø]-an-xə-j-sa át'əq'-h^wa də-n-d^wəl-c'^ə-n j-təp ax'^j
 [it]-when-Prev-he-cut down.Aor.N.F quickly he-Par-Prev-go out-Past.Ind.Fin his-place to

d-cá-n d-já-jt'.
 he-go-Past.Ind.Fin he-lie-(Aor)-Fin

And then, when the boy's friend had cut off another three snakes' heads, he rushed outside, and went to his own room and lay down.

(144) ánt wa j-já-n, a-dəwnáj jə-kʷə-r-c'a-z lará
 they there they-lie-Past.Ind.Fin the-world Rel-Prev-they-put on-Past.Ind.N.F she
 egʲ-lə-z-dór-a-m, jará egʲ-jə-z-dór-a-m.
 nothing-her-Pot-know-Dyn-Neg he nothing-him-Pot-know-Dyn-Neg
 The young couple were lying down there. She knew nothing at all about what had happened, and no more did he.

(145) anój lará də-z-ga-wá-zaalakʲ abáns j-an-ájçə-šʲtá-la-lakʲ,
 that she her-Rel-marry-Dyn-anyone in this way he-when-together-Prev-lie-when-ever
 abáns lará l-čʲə á-mat [ø-]aa-ø-tə-cʲ-nə d-á-fa-wa-zaarən,
 like this she her-mouth the-snake [it-]Par-[it]-Prev-go out of-Abs him-it-bite-Dyn-Evidentiality
 nas á-mat a-təp axʲ j-ca-wá-n, lará wa də-cʷa-wpʲ,
 then the-snake its-place to it-go-Dyn-Past.Ind.Fin she there she-sleep-Stat.Pres.Fin
 akʲəmzarakʲ [ø-]lə-z-dór-za-wa-m.
 nothing (+ Neg) [it-]her-Pot-know-Emph-Dyn-Neg
 With every man that she had married the same thing had taken place: a snake would come out of her mouth when they lay down together, and bite the man. Then the snake would go back whence it came, and she would continue to sleep, unaware of anything.

(146) arój waxatʷəj l-xácʲa də-r-fá-rc l-čʲə
 this tonight's her-husband him-they-bite-in order to her-mouth
 j-[ø-]tə-cʲə-z á-mat-kʷa rə-x-kʷá [ø-]xə-jə-cʲwə-a-jtʲ
 Rel-[it-]Prev-go out of-Past.Ind.N.F the-snake-Pl their-head-Pl [them-]Prev-he-cut-(Aor)-Fin
 l-xácʲa j-jʷəza.
 her-husband his-friend

This night, the one who had cut off the heads of the snakes that had come out of her mouth to bite her husband was her husband's friend.

(147) áš'ž'əmtan j-an-áapš, á-č'k'wən d-zamána-xa,
 in the morning they-when-wake up Aor.N.F the-boy he-fine-become
 jə-ph^wəsə-j jará-j [ø-lj^wa-gól-t'.
 his-wife-and he-and [they-]Par-get up-(Aor)-Fin
 When they woke in the morning, the boy was unharmed. And then he and his wife
 got up.

(148) — q'ájh, á-wama [ø-lj^wa-lá-jt' abaak^wá, há-zyab á-nasəp
 eh the-miracle [it-]Prev-happen-(Aor)-Fin you all! our-daughter the-happiness
 l-á-wp', waž^wštá j-há-bərg^w-zaj? — [ø-r-h^wá-n á-zyab
 her-be-Stat.Pres.Fin now Rel-we-happy-Qu [it-]they-say-Past.Ind.Fin the-daughter
 l-ábə-j, l-ánə-j, l-áš'c^wa-j, jə-z-lá-z á-ž^wlarə-j
 her-father-and her-mother-and her-brothers-and they-Rel-be in-Stat.Past.N.F the-people-and
 j-g^wəry^ja-n j-ajzá-jt', a-č'ára dəw [ø-r-wə-jt'
 they-rejoice-Past.Ind.Fin they-gather-(Aor)-Fin the-wedding big [it-]they-do-(Aor)-Fin
 j-rč'əcnə, mč'əbz'ə-k' wax-g'ə čən-g'ə j-n-aj-pənk'əla-nə, a-k'rá-fa-ra,
 they-anew week-one night-and day-and in succession the-eating
 a-k'rá-ž^w-ra, a-g^wəry^ja-ra, a-č'ára [ø-r]ə-ma-n.
 the-drinking the-rejoicing the-wedding [them-]they-have-Stat.Past.Fin
 “Listen, everybody! A miracle has happened! Our daughter is happy. How happy
 we are now!” they all said, as the daughter’s father and mother, brothers and
 sisters, and the people around them came together and rejoiced. They held another
 grand wedding ceremony for them. For one week, day and night, they ate and
 drank and enjoyed themselves over and over, celebrating the wedding.

(149) — nas waž^wštá sar-g'ə s-ánə-j s-ábə-j ə-q'a-wp',
 then now I-also my-mother-and my-father-and they-be-Stat.Pres.Fin
 j-sə-š^w-ta-z d-sə-š^w-t, s-ca-wá-jt' sə-j^wə-q'a,
 Rel-to me-you.Pl-give-Past.Ind.N.F her-to me-you.Pl-give.Imp I-go-Dyn-Fin my-house-towards
 — [ø-lj-h^wá-jt' á-č'k'wən.
 [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin the-boy
 “Now, I also have a father and a mother. Please give me your daughter [lit. Please
 give me the one whom you gave me]. I wish to go home,” the boy said.

(150) — á-mj^wa á-lpxa [ø-]w-áwə-t', wə-mj^wa wə-k^w-la,
 the-road the-better [it-]you-receive-(Aor)-Fin your-road you-Prev-set out.Imp
 — [ø-r-h^wá-n, á-ɣab l-áb jə-phá-j j-mah^wə-j a-pára
 [it-]they-say-Past.Ind.Fin the-girl her-father his-daughter-and his-“son-in-law”-and the-money
 [ø-rə-j-t-t', a-mál [ø-rə-j-t-t', čc^wa-š^w-j^wə-k'
 [it-]to them-he-give-(Aor)-Fin the-wealth [it-]to them-he-give-(Aor)-Fin knight-100 person-some
 [ø-rə-cə-j-c'-t', «j-nask'^já-ga-nə j-d^wək^wə-š^w-c'a»
 [them-]them-Prev(with)-he-send-(Aor)-Fin them-Prev-see off-Abs them-Prev-you.Pl-send.Imp
 — [ø-j-h^wá-n, ag^wák^hwa j-rə-ma-n
 [it-]he-say-Past.Ind.Fin at once them-they-have-Stat.Past.Fin
á-mj^wa j-áa-k^w-la-n j-ax^jənɜa-rə-k^wnaga-wá-z
 the-road they-Par-Prev-set out-Past.Ind.Fin Rel-till-they-are determined-Dyn-Impf.N.F
 j-an-[n]á-[a]a-sk'^ja-r-ga, «waž^wš^jtá š^wa š^w-g^jəž^jə»
 them-when-Prev-Par-Prev-see off.Aor.N.F now you.Pl you.Pl-return.Imp
 [ø-r-h^wá-n, á-nask'^jaga-c^wa [ø-g^jəž^jə-jt' š^jtax^jq'á.
 [it-]they-say-Past.Ind.Fin the-“people at a send-off”-Pl [they-]return-(Aor)-Fin back
 “Take care on your way home, be careful,” they said, and the girl’s father gave
 money to his daughter and to his son-in-law, giving them great wealth. He sent
 them off with a guard of one hundred knights. ‘See them off, go with them,’ the
 girl’s father said, and they left together right away. They protected them until a
 predetermined point, and there they said, ‘Well, both of you, return home safely!’
 and then they came back.

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Notes

* The text is taken from «Сергей Зыхуба: Аӡсуа лакукуа. Аӡиа, Алашара», 1997. pp. 325–334.

(101) 1. jə-š-ná-j-wa-z á-k^wə-m-k^wan ‘когда они шли по дороге’. 2. d-ax^ə-nxa-wá-z: masd. a-n-xa-rá [intr.] ‘to live’. 3. иакушəт = иакушəeit, j-á-k^w-š^wa-jt’ (they(C1)-it(C2)-Prev-come across-(Aor)-Fin) ‘they came across it’: masd. á-k^w-š^wa-ra [intr.] ‘to come across’.

(102) 1. ø-z-má-z: masd. á-ma-zaa-ra [intr. inverse] ‘to have’. 2. j-an-tá-la < j-an-ø-tá-la (they-when-[it =his residence]-Prev(into)-go-(Aor.N.F)) ‘when they went into it’: masd. a-tá-la-ra [intr.] ‘to go

- into'. **3.** áwma-š^wa jə-r-bá-jt' 'they were surprised at it'.
- (103) **1.** амни = абни́. **2.** j-ž^laba-wá-jt': masd. á-ž^laba-ra [labile] 'to mourn'.
- (104) **1.** ø-r-x^ləx^wx^wá: masd. a-x^ləx^wx^wa-rá (?).
- (105) **1.** x^wəlpazə-n: cf. á-x^wəlpaz 'in the evening'. **2.** jə-l-k'əl-s-t': masd. a-k'əl-s-ra [intr.] 'to go through'.
- (106) **1.** a-g^wára-č': a-g^wára [n.] 1) 'fence', 2) [bz. dial.] 'residence, двор'. **2.** øдэытцт = øдэытцит, ø-j^w-d^wəl-c'ə-jt': masd. a-d^wəl-c'-ra [intr.] 'to go out'. **3.** də-z-zə-k'č'á-w: masd. a-k'č'á-zaa-ra = a-gč'á-zaa-ra '(of a dead person) to lie'. Cf. a-psə də-k'č'á-wp' 'покойник лежит в доме'.
- (107) **1.** á-psš^wa-k^wa a[a]-ajbə-r-h^wa-n: 'they exchanged greetings and ...'. **2.** ø-n-č'á-h^wa-nə: masd. a-č'á-h^wa-rá [tr.] 'to tie'. **3.** илеин = инеины. j-lá-j-n: masd. a-lá-j-ra [intr.] 'to go down'. **4.** j-l-ajba-rt^wa-k^wá-jt': masd. ájba-rt^wa-ra [intr.] 'усаживать друг друга'.
- (108) **1.** d-na-pšə-áa-pš-wa-jt': masd. á-na-pš-ra [intr.] 'to look thither', áa-pš-ra [intr.] 'to look hither'. **2.** ø-x^wəc-r-a-wp': masd. a-x^wəc-ra [intr.] 'to think'. **3.** jə-z-č'ə-w: masd. a-č'ə-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to be engaged in'. ø-x^wəc-r-a-wp' jə-z-č'ə-w 'they think'.
- (111) **1.** jə-q'á-la-zaj: masd. áq'á-la-ra [intr.] 'to happen'. **2.** j-š^wə-x^l-zaj (what(C1)-you.Pl(C2)-happen to-(Aor)-Qu) 'what happened to you?': masd. á-x^l-ra [intr.] 'to happen to'. **3.** j-ta-t^wa-w: masd. a-ta-t^wá-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to sit inside'. **4.** a-nc^wá j-šə-j-h^wa-ra 'God must bless them'. **5.** аҧхаимбар = а-пҧаимбар. **6.** d-š^wə-k^wnəh^wa-nə (he(C1)-you.Pl(C2)-bless-Abs): masd. á-k^wnəh^wa-ra [intr.] 'to bless'. **7.** š^wə-lax^l ø-z-ájk^wə-w-zaj 'why are you mournful?'. **8.** š^w-zə-ž^laba-wa-zaj: masd. á-ž^laba-ra [intr.] 'to mourn'. **9.** a-psrə š^w-á-k^w-š^wa-ma 'у вас кто-то умер?'.
- (113) **1.** jə-n-xá-z: masd. a-n-xa-rá [intr.] 'to live'. **2.** h-á-k^w-š^wa-r j-a-barg^w-zəj 'если бы у нас кто-то умер, это было бы еще хорошо'. **3.** ha-ps-za-wá-m: masd. a-ps-rá [intr. dynamic] 'to die'. **4.** j-ø-g^wá-m-pxa-z < jə-j-g^wá-m-pxa-z (Rel(C1)-him(= God,C2)-Prev-Neg-please/like-Past.Ind.N.F) lit 'the one who pleases him', i.e. 'the one whom he likes': masd. a-g^wa-pxa-rá [intr. inverse] 'to like'.
- (114) **1.** w-ax^l-áj-m-da-lak^l (we(C1)-where-Prev-walk all over-Ind.Suffix): for this masdar cf. áj-m-da-ra [tr.] 'to walk all over'. Also for -lak^l, see Hewitt (2005:300). **2.** č'á-bəžš^wa-j xáara-j 'smooth-spoken-and'. **3.** ø-z-c'á-w ([they(C1)]-Rel(C2)-be under-Stat.N.F): masd. á-c'á-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to be under'.
- (115) **1.** ø-lə-xa-wa-jt' ([it(= their soul, C1)]-her(C2)-Prev-stick in-Dyn-Fin): masd. á-la-xa-ra [intr.] 'to stick in'. rə-psə ø-lə-xa-wa-jt' 'they fall in love with her'. **2.** də-n-z-ah-ta-wa (her(C1)-Par-Rel(C2)-we(C3)-give-Dyn.N.F.Pres.) lit. 'the one to whom we give her (in marriage)': masd. á-ta-ra [tr.] 'to give'.
- (116) **1.** rə-ž^l-ra: masd. a-ž^l-rá [tr.] 'to bury'. **2.** ø-p-na-c^wa-x^lájt': masd. a-p-c^wa-rá [tr.] 'to break'. s-g^wə ø-p-na-c^wa-x^lájt' 'мне уже надоело, I am tired of burying them'. **3.** ø-c^wg^la-xa-jt': masd. á-c^wg^la-xa-ra [intr.] 'to go bad'. rə-g^wnaħa ø-c^wg^la-xa-jt' 'жалко их'.
- (117) **1.** abrəj a-z-á-wp' 'therefore'.
- (120) **1.** wəbrəj ájps jə-q'á-w 'such'. **2.** d-c^wərə-ž^w-ga: masd. a-c^wər-ga-ra [tr.] 'to show, to bring out'. **3.** də-z-ga-wá-jt' lit. 'I will take her', i.e. 'I will take her to wife, я возьму ее в жены'.
- (121) **1.** j-á-la-wp' (they(C1)-it(= our heart, C2)-be in-Stat.Pres.Fin) 'they are in our hearts': masd. á-la-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to be in'. **2.** ø-h-zə-x-gá-x-wa-m ([they(C1)]-us(C2)-Pot-Prev-endure-Par-Dyn-Neg) 'we can not endure them': masd. a-x-ga-rá [tr.] 'to endure'. **3.** ø-zə-x-wə-rq^la-wá-zaj: masd. a-xə-

- rq³ia-rá [tr.] ‘to lead astray’. w-xó ϕ -zə-x-wə-rq³ia-wá-zaj: lit. ‘why are you letting your head lead you astray?’, i.e. “ради чего ты рискуешь?”.
- (122) **1.** w-a-q³wó-c³: masd. a-q³wó-c³-ra [intr.] ‘to leave alone’. **2.** š^wə-mj^wás-c^wa-wp³: cf. á-mj^was-j^wə sg. ‘a passer-by’, Pl. á-mj^was-c^wa. **3.** ϕ -a[a]-ajtá-š^w-k³ə-r : masd. ajta-k³-ra [tr.] ‘to change; to pour’. š^wə-psé ϕ -a[a]-ajtá-š^w-k³ə-r lit. ‘if you change your soul’, i.e. “as soon as you take a rest”. **4.** š^w-g³əž³-nó: masd. á-g³əž³-ra [intr.] ‘to turn’.
- (123) **1.** d-aa-s-š^w-mə-r-bá-r : masd. a-rba-rá [tr.] ‘to show’. **2.** d-só-š^wə-m-ta-r: masd. á-ta-ra [tr.] ‘to give’. **3.** ϕ -zə-w-ra-nó: masd. a-w-rá [tr.] ‘to do’. ϕ -zə-w-ra-nó só-q³a-m ‘I do not allow you to ..., я не позволяю ...’.
- (124) **1.** j-an-jó-m-w-za: masd. a-w-rá [tr.] ‘to do’. **2.** d-aa-r-gá-n: masd. aa-ga-rá [tr.] ‘to bring’. **3.** də-j-də-r-bá-jt³ < *də-j-r-r-bá-jt³ (her(C1)-to him(C2)-they(C3)-Caus-see-(Aor)-Fin) ‘they showed her to him’: a-rba-rá [tr.] ‘to show’.
- (125) **1.** də-n-čš^wə-j-c³a-n: masd. a-čš^w-c³a-ra [tr.] ‘to make sb get on a horse’. **2.** də-n-ró-la-j-c³a-n: masd. á-la-c³a-ra [tr.] ‘to put in’. **3.** ž-t³wós: cf. a-ž-rá [tr.] ‘to bury’. **4.** d-š^w-áw-x-wa-jt³: masd. á-w-ra [intr. inverse] ‘to receive’. ž-t³wós d-š^w-áw-x-wa-jt³ ‘вам придется хоронить его’. **5.** š^w-a[a]-ajzá: masd. ájza-ra [intr.] ‘to gather’. **6.** a-dórra ϕ -ró-j-ta-n ([it(C1)]-to them(C2)-he(C3)-give-Past.Ind.Fin) ‘he gave information to them’: masd. a-dórra-ta-ra [tr.] ‘to give information to’. **7.** ϕ -a[a]-ajzó-j-ga-k^wa-n: masd. ájz-ga-ra [tr.] ‘to gather’. **8.** ϕ -j-š³í-š³-n: masd. a-š³í-rá [tr.] ‘to kill’. **9.** jalaxhážəj ‘что там говорить?’.
- (126) **1.** ϕ -ajbó-ta-nə: masd. ájbə-ta-ra [tr.] ‘to join each other’. **2.** akoyp = ы́коуп, ó-q³a-wp³: masd. á-q³a-zaa-ra [intr.] ‘to be’. **3.** j-rə-rjá-jt³: masd. a-rja-rá [tr.] ‘to lay’.
- (128) **1.** n-ajk^wč³ə-j-tə-n: masd. ájk^wč³ə-t-ra [tr.] ‘to call to one another’. **2.** č³ə-z-t-wa: masd. a-č³ə-t-rá [tr.] ‘to call’.
- (130) **1.** š^w-ja-wá-jt³: masd. a-ja-rá [intr.] ‘to lie’. **2.** j-a-w-mə-rk³ə-n: masd. a-rk³-ra [tr.] ‘to shut’. cf. á-шə ы́-царбака и-а-рк-уп ‘дверь наглухо закрыта’.
- (131) **1.** h-ajcə-məj: cf. ájc-zaa-ra [intr.] ‘to be together’. **2.** sə-g^wrá ϕ -w-ga-wá-zar ‘if you believe me’. **3.** wə-g^wrá ϕ -z-ga-wá-zar ‘if I believe you’. **4.** ha-g^wrá ajba-ga-wá ha-q³a-zár á-wp³ ‘we must believe each other’: masd. ájba-ga-ra [intr.] ‘to take one another’. **5.** j-ájba-h-h^wa-z: masd. ájbə-h^wa-ra [tr.] ‘to talk with each other’.
- (132) **1.** s-á[a]-a-xa-r (I(C1)-Par-it(C2)-pull-if) ‘if I pull it’: masd. á-xa-ra [intr.] ‘to pull’. **2.** j-a-t³-ra-t³wó: masd. a-t³-rá [intr.] ‘to open’. **3.** w-g^wó ϕ -k³á-rš^w-nə ‘calmly, спокойно’: masd. a-k³á-rš^w-ra [tr.] ‘to throw’. **4.** wó-c^w: masd. á-c^wa-ra [intr.] ‘to sleep’. **5.** jarbanzáalak³-g³í ak³ə ‘ничего’. **6.** w-a-c^wó-m-š^wa-n: masd. a-c^w-š^wa-rá [intr.] ‘to be afraid of’.
- (133) **1.** jzak^wzáalak³ ak³-g³í ‘ничего’. **2.** ϕ -wó-x³-wa-m: masd. á-x³-ra [intr.] ‘to happen to’. **3.** ak³-g³í ϕ -há-x³-wa-m ‘с нами ничего не случится’. **4.** jə-w-dór-wa-z ‘знай’. **5.** jə-s-z-a-mə-rt-wá: masd. a-rt³-rá [tr.] ‘to open’, cf. 132-2. **6.** w-ta-xa-wá-jt³: masd. a-ta-xa-rá [intr.] ‘to perish, to die’.
- (134) **1.** rə-g^wrá ϕ -ajbá-m-ga-wa-zaj: cf. 131-2, 3. **2.** j-h^wa-t³wó : cf. a-h^wa-rá ‘to say’. **3.** ϕ -aw-xá-jə-m-c³a-wa-z ‘как же он не послушался бы’: masd. a-xa-c³a-rá [tr.] ‘to believe’. **4.** j-anó-j^wa-ja-wa-z: for the masdar see 131-1. **5.** ϕ -aa-x-jə-rš^wá-n: masd. a-xə-rš^wa-rá [tr.] ‘to take off’. **6.** j-aa-t³-ra-t³wó: masd. áa-t³-ra [intr.] ‘to open’. **7.** ицəт = ы́-цəе-ит: for the masdar see 132-4.
- (135) **1.** árt ϕ -anó-c^wa-c³w³q³ja j-á-k^wə-rš^wa-nə ‘as soon as they fell asleep’. **2.** j-á-k^wə-rš^wa-nə ‘как

- раз в это время'. 3. də-l-kəl-sə-n: masd. a-k'əl-s-ra [intr.] 'to go out'. 4. d-na-r-xa-góla-n (he(C1)-Par-them(C2))-Prev-stand over-Past.Ind.Fin) 'he stood over them': masd. a-xa-góla-ra [intr.] 'to stand over'. 5. ø-tə-ø-x-nə: masd. a-tə-x-ra [tr.] 'to take out'. 6. j-na-jə-xjá-jt': for this masdar cf. a-xj-a-rá [intr.] '(об оружии) бить без промаха в цель' (AAD).
- (136) 1. d-ax'í-ç-wa-z: masd. á-ç-wa-ra [intr. stative] 'to sleep'. 2. a-xəg=xəg-h'wa [onomatopoeia] 'храня', for -h'wa cf. h'wa [speech-particle], a-h'wa-rá [tr.] 'to say'. 3. ø-š-ga-wá-z: masd. a-ga-rá [intr.] 'to be heard'. 4. ø-j'wa-l-č'ó-c'wə-raa-jt' : masd. a-č'ó-c'wə-raa-ra [intr.] 'to fall out of one's mouth'.
- (137) 1. ø-k'-nə: masd. a-k'-rá [intr.] 'to hold'. 2. j-čə-ø-rxja-nó (his(Poss)-Self-[he(C3)]-prepare for-Abs): masd. a-čə-rxja-rá [tr.] 'to prepare oneself'. 3. at'áx-h'wa [onomatopoeia] 'быстро', cf. (136)-2. 4. ø-aa-mj'wanó-j-c'a-n: masd. á-mj'wan-c'a-ra [tr.] 'to wave'. 5. j-aa-xó-j-c'wə-a-jt': masd. a-x-c'wə-a-rá [tr.] 'to cut'.
- (138) 1. ø-áa-š'itə-j-xə-n: masd. á-š'itə-x-ra [tr.] 'to take up'. 2. j-nó-ø-la-ø-h'wa-nə (it(C1)-Par-[it (= the paper, C2)]-Prev(with)-[he(C3)]-wrap-Abs) 'having wrapped it in the paper': masd. á-la-h'wa-ra [tr.] 'to wrap'. 3. jə-n-ø-tá-j-c'a-jt' (it(C1)-Par-[it (= his pocket, C2)]-Prev-he(C3)-put into-(Aor)-Fin) 'he put it into his pocket': masd. a-ta-c'a-rá [tr.] 'to put into'.
- (139) 1. дырəəгъ = дырəəгъ. 2. илығьцəраахт = илығьцəраахит.
- (140) 1. ø-rəxxá: masd. a-rəxxa-rá [tr.] 'to stretch'. 2. d-n-a-c'a-só-n: masd. á-c'a-s-ra [intr.] 'to hit'. 3. ø-an-k'a-šwá: masd. a-k'a-šwə-a-rá [intr.] 'to fall'.
- (141) 1. d-ax'í-š'itə-z: masd. a-š'itə-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to lie'.
- (143) 1. ø-an-xó-j-sa: masd. a-x-sa-rá [tr.] 'to cut down'. 2. át'əq'-h'wa [onomatopoeia] 'быстро', cf. 137-3. 3. də-n-d'wəl-c'ə-n: masd. a-d'wəl-c'-ra [intr.] 'to go out'.
- (144) 1. a-dəwnáj jə-k'wə-r-c'a-z 'ничего на свете': masd. á-k'w-c'a-ra [tr.] 'to fix, to set'. 2. егылыздырам = егылыздыруам. egi-lə-z-dəg-a-m: masd. a-dəg-ra [tr.] 'to know'. 3. егылыздырам = егылыздыруам.
- (145) 1. də-z-ga-wá-zaalak'^j 'все, кто на ней женится': masd. a-ga-rá [tr.] 'to marry'. 2. j-an-ájçə-š'itə-la-lak'^j: masd. a-š'itə-la-ra [intr.] 'to lie down'. 3. ø-aa-ø-tó-c'-nə: masd. a-tó-c'-ra [intr.] 'to go out of'. 4. d-á-fa-wa-zaarən: á-fa-ra [tr.] 'to bite'.
- (146) 1. ø-xó-jə-c'wə-c'wə-a-jt': masd. a-xó-c'wə-c'wə-a-rá [tr.] 'to cut'.
- (147) 1. j-an-áapš : masd. áa-pš-ra [intr.] 'to wake up'. 2. d-zamána-xa : cf. á-zamana [adj.] 'fine'. 3. əəгылт = əəгылеит. ø-j'wa-gól-t': masd. a-góla-ra [intr.] 'to get up'.
- (148) 1. l-á-wp': see 62-1. 2. j-há-bərg^w-zaj 'какие мы счастливые'. 3. jə-z-lá-z: masd. á-la-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to be in'. 4. j-g'wəryja-n: masd. a-g'wəryja-ra [intr.] 'to rejoice'. 5. ø-r-wó-jt': masd. a-w-rá [tr.] 'to do'. 6. j-n-aj-rənk'óla-nə 'подряд'.
- (149) 1. d-só-šw-t (her(C1)-to me(C2)-you.Pl(C3)-give.Imp) 'give her to me!': masd. á-ta-ra [tr.] 'to give'.
- (150) 1. á-mj'wa á-lpxa ø-w-áwə-t' 'доброй тебе дороги!, bon voyage!': masd. á-w-ra [intr.] 'to receive'. Also cf. 155-2. Амəа альха уоу-ааит. 2. wó-k^w-la: masd. á-k^w-la-ra [intr.] 'to set out'. 3. ритт = ригьит. 4. çə-wa-š'wə-k': cf. a-čə-wajwə [sg.] 'a knight', a-č-c'wá [Pl.]. 5. рышицт = рышитцeit. ø-rə-cə-j-c'-t': masd. á-c-c'a-ra [tr.] 'to send sb with sb'. 6. j-nask'^já-ga-nə: masd. á-nask'^ja-ga-ra [tr.] 'to see off'. 7. j-d'wək'wə-šw-c'a: masd. a-d'wək'w-c'a-ra [tr.] 'to send'. 8. ag'wáki-h'wa [onomatopoeia] 'спразу'. 9. j-áa-k^w-la-n: masd. á-k^w-la-ra [intr.] 'to set out'. 10. j-ax'ónza-rə-k^wnaga-wá-z: masd. á-k^wnaga-ra [intr.] 'полагаться'.

Abbreviations

Abs = absolutive

Aor = aorist

C1 = the first column

C2 = the second column

C3 = the third column

Caus = causative

Cond = conditional

Deon = deontic

Dyn = dynamic

Emph = emphasis

Evid = evidential

F = feminine

Fin = finite

Fut = future

Imp = imperative

Impf = imperfect

Ind = indefinite

Instr = instrumental

INTER = interjection

intr. = intransitive

M = masculine

masd. /Masd = masdar

Neg = negative

N.F = non-finite

NS = numeral suffix

OV = objective version

Par = prefixal particle

Past.Ind = past indefinite

Perf = perfect

Pl = plural

Plupf = pluperfect

Poss = possessive

Pot = potential

Pres = present

Prev = preverb
Purp = purpose
Qu = question
Rel = relative prefix
Self = reflexive
SP = speech-particle
Stat = stative
Sub = subjunctive
SV = subjective version
tr. = transitive

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