

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

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- (1) háwa də-z-t'wə-da?
who among us she-whom-belong to-Qu
Which one among us does she belong to?
- (2) znə, maʒajwə-k' nəq'wa-ra d-ca-wá-n.
once upon a time carpenter-one journey-Masd he-go-Dyn-Impf
Long ago, a carpenter set out on a journey.
- (3) á-mjwa də-ø-k^w-nə də-š-ná-j-wa-z, á-matwa ʒaxjwə,
the-road he-[it]-be on-Abs he-how-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Impf.N.F the-clothes tailor
a-terazə d-aa-jə-k^wšwa-jt'.
the-tailor he-Par-him-come across-(Aor)-Fin
As he travelled, he came across a tailor.
- (4) — w-abá-ca-wa-j?
you.M-where-go-Pres.N.F-Qu
“Where are you going?”
- (5) — nəq'wa-ra s-ca-wá-jt'.
journey-Masd I-go-Dyn-Fin
“I’m going on a journey”.
- (6) — ħ-ajmjwála-c^wa-zaajt' sar-gjə nəq'wa-ra s-ca-wá-jt'.
we-fellow-traveller-Pl-Stat.Subjunc I-also journey-Masd I-go-Dyn-Fin
“Shall we not become travelling companions then? I am also on a journey”.

As they were travelling on together, they came across a Muslim. [lit. a Muslim came across them.]

- (13) — š^w-abá-ca-wa-j? — ħ^wa d-rə-z-c'áa-jt' a-x^wáǰja.
 you.PL-where-go-Pres.N.F-Qu SP he-them-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin the-Muslim
 “Where are you going?” the Muslim asked them.

- (14) — ħ-abá-ca-wa, wə-m-ba-wá-j nəq'^wa-ra ħ-ca-wá-jt',
 we-where-go-Pres.N.F you.M-Neg-see-Dyn-Qu journey-Masd we-go-Dyn-Fin
 — [ø-]r-ħ^wá-jt'.
 [it-]they-say-(Aor)-Fin
 “You ask us where we're going. Well, we are on a journey, you know,” they said.

- (15) — sar-g'ə s-nəq'^wajwə-wp', ħ-aj-j^wəz-c^wa-zaajt', — [ø-]j-ħ^wá-jt',
 I-also I-traveller-Stat.Pres.Fin we-one another-friend-Pl-Stat.Subjunc [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin
 a-x^wáǰja-g'ə d-rə-c-nə r-č'ə-na-r-xa-jt'.
 the-Muslim-also he-them-be with-Abs their-SV-Prev-they-set out-(Aor)-Fin
 “I am a traveler as well. Shall we all become friends together?” he said, and they
 all set off together with the Muslim.

- (16) j-aj-c^wáǰ^wa-wa ajc-nə jə-š-ná-j-wa-z
 they-one another-talk-Abs together-Adv they-how-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Impf.N.F
 [ø-]rə-k^w-x^wla-jt'.
 [it = night]-them-Prev-catch-(Aor)-Fin
 As they talked with each other and travelled, night fell.

- (17) [ø-]anə-x^wla ǰjará px^la-rá j-t'^wá-jt'.
 [it-]when-get dark.Aor.N.F somewhere pass the night-Masd they-sit-(Aor)-Fin
 As dusk fell, they stopped somewhere to spend the night.

- (18) awəxa á-bna-č'ə j-ax^l-px^lá-z j-č'^lapš^lá-r
 that night the-forest-in they-where-pass the night-Stat.Past.N.F they-keep watch-Masd
 á-k'^wə-n:
 it-copula-Stat.Past.Fin

That night someone had to keep watch at the place where they were staying, in the middle of the forest.

- (19) á-č'japšja-ra-zə á-c'x [ø-]anə-r-ša pšjbá-pšjbá
 the-keep watch-Masd-for the-night [it-]when-they-divide-(Aor.N.F) 4-Non.hum-4-Non.hum
 saát á-č'japšja-ra [ø-]rə-k^w-š^wa-jt'.
 hour the-keep watch-Masd [it-]they-Prev-fall to one's lot-(Aor)-Fin
 They divided the night up into four-hour watches, and drew lots to decide who would keep watch.

- (20) nas á-č'japšja-ra apxjá j-zə-k^w-š^wa-wá, áštaxj
 then the-keep watch-Masd at first it-Rel-Prev-fall to one's lot-Pres.N.F later
 j-zə-k^w-š^wa-wa, — [ø-]r-h^wá-n, a-c'wə [ø-]tá-r-psa-jt':
 it-Rel-Prev-allot-Pres.N.F [it]-they-say-Past.Ind the-stick [it]-Prev-they-pack into-(Aor)-Fin
 (= they decided by drawing lots)

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

- (21) a-c'wə [ø-]an-tə-r-x, r-ápxja á-č'japšja-ra a-mazajwə
 the-stick [it]-when-Prev-they-take out Aor.N.F them-before the-keep watch-Masd the-carpenter
 j-jə-k^w-š^wa-jt', wəj a-štaxj a-terazə, wəj jə-štaxj
 it-he-Prev-fall to one's lot-(Aor)-Fin that it-after (= after that) the-tailor he him-after
 a-xjəj, zagjə rə-štaxj a-x^wážja.
 the-silversmith all them-after the-Muslim

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

- (22) a-mazajwə d-č'japšja-wá-n agjərt ə-c^wa-jt'.
 the-carpenter he-keep watch-Dyn-Impf other they-fall asleep-(Aor)-Fin
 The carpenter kept watch, and the others fell asleep.

- (23) j-gwə č'əy^j-wa d-an-á-la-ga, d-ná-j-n, r-náj^ws
 his-be bored-Abs he-when-it-Prev-begin-(Aor.N.F) he-Prev-go thither-Past.Ind them-beside

á-c'la j-góla-z [∅-]jaa-pó-j-q'a-n, d-waj^wpsó-m-zar
 the-tree Rel-stand-Stat.Past.N.F [it-]Par-Prev-he-cut-Past.Ind she-person-Neg-as if
 ∅-w-zó-m-dər-wa á-zyab sáx'a [∅-]á-ta-nə j-q'a-c'a-nə
 [it]-you-Pot-Neg-know-Abs the-girl statue [it-]it-give-Abs it-Prev-do-Abs
 j-na-jə-rgól-t', jə-pšⁱ-saát-k'-g'ə [∅-]aa-n-c'^wá-jt',
 it-Par-he-make stand up-(Aor)-Fin his-4-hour-NS-collective [it-]Par-Prev-expire-(Aor)-Fin
 a-teraz-g'íó d-na-j-g^wó-c'a-s-nə d-aa-jə-rč'óxa-n jará
 the-tailor-also he-Par-him-breast-Prev-jog-Abs him-Par-he-wake-Past.Ind he/himself
 d-nəš'ta-la-nə dó-c^w[a-j]t'.
 he-lie down-Extension-Abs he-fall asleep-(Aor)-Fin

As he had become bored, he went over and cut down a tree that was nearby, and made a wooden statue of a girl that almost seemed alive (you would never think that she was not alive), and gave her a shape and form, and then made the statue stand up. When his four hours' watch was over, he jogged the tailor on the chest and woke him up, while he himself lay down, and fell asleep.

(24) a-terazó d-anó-na-pš j-náj^wsan zyáb-k' d-q'iant'ázza
 the-tailor he-when-Prev-look thither.Aor.N.F him-beside girl-one she-in the nude
 d-ajló-x-nə d-góla-n.

her-Prev-strip-Abs she-stand-Stat.Past.Fin

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

(25) c'xəbž'ón arój d-abá-[a]a-na-ga-j jə-j-g^wá-x^w-t',
 in the middle of the night she her-whence-Prev-it-bring.Aor.N.F-Qu it-him-Prev-seem-(Aor)-Fin
 — só-la s-a-ž'á-ma anaž'álbajt', — [∅-]j-ħ^wá-n d-g^wəry^jac'^wá
 my-eye me-it-deceive-(Aor.N.F)-Qu really? [it-]he-say-Past.Ind he-very merrily
 d-j^wá-c'q'^ja-n d-na-lə-dxxóla-zar wa á-zyab
 he-Prev-jump-Past.Ind he-Par-her-come running up to-as soon as there the-girl
 d-abá-q'a-xə-z, mč'ó-n.

she-where-be-Par.Emph-Stat.Past.N.F wood-Stat.Past.Fin

He wondered where this girl had come from in the middle of the night. "Are my eyes deceiving me? Can this be true?" he said, getting up joyfully. But when he rushed over to where she was, it was a wooden statue.

(26) — háj, arój a-mazaj^{wə} j-á-wp' j-q'a-z-c'á, alláh
 oh! this the-carpenter him-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin it-Prev-Rel-make-(Aor.N.F) Allah
 də-j-bl-áajt', — [ø-lj-h^wá-n, d-aa-pxa-š'á-jt'.
 him-he-burn-3.Imp [it]-he-say-Past.Ind he-Par-be ashamed-Extension-(Aor)-Fin
 “Oh no! The carpenter must have made it. Allah! Burn him to death!” he said,
 feeling embarrassed.

(27) d-aa-xən-h^w-nó d-la-t'^wa-n də-š-x^wəc-wa-z
 he-Prev-Prev-come to oneself-Abs he-Prev-sit down-Past.Ind he-how-think up-Dyn-Impf.N.F
 ak'ə [ø-]aa-j-g^wála-š^wa-jt':
 something [it-]Par-him-Prev-remember-(Aor)-Fin
 When he came back to his senses, he sat down and thought about it. And he hit
 upon a good idea.

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

(29) a-x'ój d-na-j-g^wtá-s-nə d-aa-jə-rč'əxa-n jará
 the-silversmith he-Par-him-Prev-push-Abs him-Par-he-wake-Past.Ind he/himself
 d-na-já-n d-ə-c'^wa-jt'.
 he-Par-lie-Past.Ind.Fin he-fall asleep-(Aor)-Fin
 He jogged the silversmith on the chest and woke him up, and then he himself lay
 down and fell asleep.

(30) a-x'ój d-nək^w-t'^wa-nə d-na-pšə-zar r-náj^wsan
 the-silversmith he-Prev-sit down-Abs he-Prev-look thither-as soon as them-beside

зҮ́áb-k' d-ajxəšš^waš^wa-wa də-š-gə́la-z [ø-lj]-bá-jt'.
 girl-one she-be slender-Abs she-how/that-stand-Stat.Past.N.F [it-]he-see-(Aor)-Fin
 When the silversmith sat up and looked about, he saw a slender girl standing next
 to them.

(31) pxə́zə-w-ma jə́-z-ba-wa, — [ø-lj]-h^wá-n, j-xə́ a-g^wra
 dream-Stat.Pres.N.F-Qu Rel-I-see-Pres.N.F [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin his-Self its-heart
 jə́-m-ga-wá, jə́-la-k^wa j-napə́ [ø-x-š'ə́]la-wa d-j^wa-gə́la-nə́
 he-Neg-believe-Abs his-eye-Pl his-hand [them-]Prev-rub-Abs he-Prev-stand up-Abs
 a-spə́č'k'a [ø-]jaa-jə́-x'šj-nə́ d-na-lə́-d-gə́la-zar:
 the-match [it-]Par-he-strike-Abs he-Prev-her-Prev-approach-as soon as
 “Is what I am seeing a dream?” he said, not being able to believe what he saw.
 Rubbing his eyes, he got up, lit a match, and went over to where she was:

(32) — a-mč't'^wə́ зҮ́áb-k'! — ħajót', báša sə-špa-g^wə́ry^{ja}-j,
 the-wooden girl-one damn in vain I-how-rejoice-(Aor.N.F)-Qu
 jə́-q'a-š^w-c'a-wa-g^{ja} š^war-g^{ja} ... [ø-lj]-h^wá-n,
 Rel-Prev-you.Pl-make-Pres.N.F-even you.Pl-even [it-]he-say-Past.Ind
 d-aa-xə́n-h^wə́-jt'.
 he-Prev-Prev-come to oneself-(Aor)-Fin
 “It’s a girl of wood! Damn! How I rejoiced too soon! They made it...” he said, and
 came back to his senses.

(33) — á-maʒaj^w á-mč' sáx^{ja} [ø-]q'a-j-c'á-jt', a-teráz
 the-carpenter the-wood statue [it-]Prev-he-make-(Aor)-Fin the-tailor
 j-ajlá-j-h^wa-jt', sará a-x'ə́-mat^wa [ø-]a-zə́-q'a-s-c'a-p'
 it-Prev-he-dress-(Aor)-Fin I the-gold-clothes [it-]it-for-Prev-I-make-Fut.I.Fin
 [ø-lj]-h^wá-n d-la-t'^wá-n, a-x'ə́-maq'a jnark'nə́
 [it-]he-say-Past.Ind.Fin he-Prev-sit down-Past.Ind.Fin the-gold-belt starting with
 j-á-gə́-m-k'^wa, зҮ́áb-k' j-lə́-k^wnaga-xa-šaz
 Rel-it-lack-Neg-Abs girl-one Rel-her-be due-become-Cond.II.N.F
 a-x'ə́-ma (= a-x'ə́-mat^wa) [ø-l]-zə́-q'a-c'a-nə́ j-na-l-š^wə́-j-c'á-jt'.
 the-gold-clothes [it-]her-for-Prev-make-Abs it-Par-her-Prev-he-dress-(Aor)-Fin

“The carpenter made the statue from wood, and the tailor put clothes on it. I shall make it a golden dress to wear,” he said, and sat down, starting with a golden belt, and without anything at hand, made a golden dress for it to wear, and put the garment on it.

(34) wəs jə-pšⁱ-saát-k’-g^{iə} [ø-]aa-n-c’wá-n, a-x^wáž^{ja}
 thus his-4-hour-NS-collective [it-]Par-Prev-expire-Past.Ind.Fin the-Muslim
 d-n-jə-g^wtá-sə-n d-aa-jə-rč’óxa-nə jará
 he-Par-him-Prev-push-Past.Ind.Fin him-Par-he-wake-Abs he/himself
 də-š^{tá}-la-n dó-c’wá-jt’.

he-Prev-lie down-Past.Ind.Fin he-fall asleep-(Aor)-Fin

As his four hours had passed in this way, he then tapped the Muslim on the chest and woke him up, and lying down he fell asleep.

(35) a-x^wáž^{ja} jó-la až^wž^wá d-tóxa-wa á-c^wa d-an-áa-[a]-l-c’,
 the-Muslim his-eye strongly he-wipe-Abs the-dream he-when-Par-[it]-Prev-go out of.Aor.N.F
 ʒyáb-k’ d-ajxóš^waš^wa-wa də-xⁱ-psárxaxa, d-nask’^{ja}-š^wá
 girl-one she-be slender-Abs she-gold-all over he-move a little thither-slightly
 də-š^{-góla}-z [ø-lj]-bá-jt’, l-nap’-g^{iə}
 she-how/that-stand-Stat.Past.N.F [it-]he-see-(Aor)-Fin her-hand-even
 [ø-]aa-l-q’^{ja}-z-š^wa-g^{iə} j-lápš j-aa-c’^{ja}-š^wa-jt’,
 [it-]Par-she-wave-Past.Ind.N.F-as if-even his-look it-Par-Prev-fall down-(Aor)-Fin
 d-an-áa-pš d-agⁱ-j-a-lac^wq’^wés-z-š^wa-g^{iə}
 she-when-Prev-look hither.Aor.N.F she-even-him-to-wink at-Past.Ind.N.F-as if-even
 [ø-lj]-bá-jt’.

[it-]he-see-(Aor)-Fin

The Muslim rubbed his eyes hard, waking from his dreams, and saw a slim girl standing before him with gold all over her. It seemed to him as if she had waved her hands and winked at him.

(36) — haj, anaž^{ja}álbajt’, áj^wstaa d-sə-la-x^wmár-wa-ma,
 oh really? devil he-me-Prev-play with-Pres.N.F-Qu
 ja alláh zag^{iə} zə-mč^{iə}-w, d-aj^wstáa-zar də-blé,
 oh Allah all Rel-ability-Stat.Pres.N.F she-devil-if her-burn.Imp

jáša-nə də-3ʏáb-zar s-razq'ə́ d-á-la-c'a, — [ø-lj-ħʷá-n
 really she-girl-if my-fortune her-it-Prev-put in.Imp [it]he-say-Past.Ind.Fin
 j-nap'-kʷá d-jʷa-rə-xa-n á-žʷjʷan [a]-axʲ
 his-hand-Pl he-Prev-them-pull up/raise-Past.Ind.Fin the-sky it-to
 j-jʷa-rxa-xá-nə a-namáz [ø-]aa-j-k'ə́-jt',
 them-Prev-turn up-towards(?)-Abs the-prayer [it-]Par-he-seize(?)-(Aor)-Fin (= he prayed)
 nas j-xə́ j-á-c'a-z jə-k'ítáp [ø-]áa-š'ítə-j-xə-n
 then his-head Rel-it-be under-Stat.Past.N.F his-Koran [it-]Par-Prev-he-pick up-Past.Ind.Fin
 d-an-pšə́, də-3ʏábə-wp', a-ncʷá wə-j-gʷa-pxá-n
 he-when-look.Aor.N.F she-girl-Stat.Pres.Fin the-God you-him-Prev-please-Past.Ind.Fin
 də-w-zə́-j-ša-jt' ħʷa [ø-]j-á-na-ħʷa-jt'.
 her-you-for-he-create-(Aor)-Fin SP [it-]him-to-it (= the Koran)-say-(Aor)-Fin
 “Oh no, what is this? Is the devil making fun of me? All-powerful Allah! If she is
 a devil, burn her! If she is a girl, place her fate with together with mine!” he said,
 lifting both his hands, and praying with his hands facing towards the sky. And
 then he picked up the Koran that was under his pillow [Note: lit. "under his head"],
 and when he looked into it, what was written on that page of the Koran was “She
 is a girl. God favors you, and God made her for you”.

(37) wəs, a-k'ítáp [ø-]nə-š'íta-c'a-nə d-ná-j-n j-nap'-kʷá
 thus the-Koran [it-]Par-Prev-put down-Abs he-Prev-go thither-Past.Ind.Fin his-arm-Pl
 [ø-]áa-[a]-k'ʷ-rša-nə, — sə-laxʲ j-a-nə-zaj, a-ncʷá də-lbaa-pš-nə
 [them-]Par-[it]-Prev-wrap-Abs my-brow what-it-be on-Qu the-God he-Prev-look down-Abs
 b-abá-s-z-aa-j-gá-j arə́j ájpš á-xazəna jə-q'a-z
 you.F-where-me-for-Prev-he-bring-(Aor.N.F)-Qu this so the-harming Rel-be-Stat.Past.N.F
 ø-j-ħʷá-n, d-sə-gʷəʒ-wá-jt' ħʷa l-č'ə́ j-k'íšʷ
 [it]-he-say-Past.Ind.Fin her-I-kiss-Dyn-Fin SP her-mouth his-lip
 ø-an-n-á-də-j-k'ə́la, a-mč'ə́ x'šʷášʷa-za j-k'íšʷ
 [it]-when-Par-it-Prev-he-press against.Aor.N.F the-wood cold-Emph his-lip
 ø-n-á-d-k'šal[a-j]-t'.
 [it]-Par-it-Prev-knock-(Aor)-Fin

And so, he put the Koran down, and went over to the statue, and turned it around with both hands, and said, “How happy I am! God has looked down upon me from on high, and has brought you, this very charming you, from somewhere, for me.” “I shall kiss her”, he thought. And so, when he put his lips against her mouth, his lips touched a very cold tree.

(38) — alláh s-róča-š'ja jǒ-z-ba-wa zak'wǒzaj h'wa a-spǒč'k'a
 Allah me-Prev-pity.Imp Rel-I-see-Pres.N.F what SP the-match
 [ø-]aa-jǒ-x'š'i-nǒ d-na-lǒ-x'wa-pšǎ-zar, á-3ʏab d-abá-q'a-xǎ-w
 [it-]Par-he-strike-Abs he-Par-her-Prev-look at-as soon as the-girl she-where-be-Emph-Stat.Pres.N.F
 á-mč' sáx'ja alah'wá-elacá j-áp'x'ja j-gǒla-wp'.

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

(39) arǒj [ø-]q'a-z-c'á-z s-j'wǒz-c'wa r-á-wp', a-mazaj'wǒ
 this [it-]Prev-Rel-make-Past.Ind.N.F my-friend-Pl them-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin the-carpenter
 á-mč' sáx'ja [ø-]q'a-j-c'á-jt', a-terazǒ j-ajlǎ-j-h'wa-jt',
 the-wood statue [it-]Prev-he-make-(Aor)-Fin the-tailor it-Prev-he-dress-(Aor)-Fin
 a-x'ǒj a-x'ǒ-mat'wa [ø-]a-zǒ-q'a-j-c'á-jt', sará
 the-silversmith the-gold-ornament [it-]it-for-Prev-he-make-(Aor)-Fin I
 j-q'a-s-c'a-rǒ-zaj h'wa d-x'wǒc-wa dǎ-š-t'wá-z x-sáat-k'
 what-Prev-I-make-Fut.I.N.F-Qu SP he-think-Abs he-how-sit-Stat.Past.N.F 3-hour-NS
 ø-cá-jt'.

[it]-pass-(Aor)-Fin

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

(40) a-pš'i-ba r-zǒ wǎs [ø-]jǒ-3bǎ-jt', a-psǒ [ø-]l-xá-s-c'a-p' h'wa.
 the-4-Non.hum them-at thus [it-]he-decide-(Aor)-Fin the-spirit [it-]her-Prev-I-fit-Fut.I.Fin SP

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

(41) a-nc^{wá} d-jǝ-^hwá-wá d-á-la-ga-jt' a-psǝ [ǝ-]l-xa-c'á ^hwá.
 the-god he-him-ask-Abs he-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin the-spirit [it]-her-Prev-fit.Imp SP
 He started to pray to God. He asked, 'Please breathe life into her'.

(42) wǝs a-nc^{wá} dǝ-š-j-^hwá-wá-z jǝ-pšj-sáatk'-gǝ
 thus the-god he-how-him-ask-Dyn-Impf.N.F his-4-hour-even
 [ǝ-]áa-n-c'^wa-jt' j-agǝ-áa-ša-jt':
 [it/they-]Par-Prev-finish-(Aor)-Fin Dummy-even-Par-dawn-(Aor)-Fin
 As he was praying to God, his four hours came to an end, and it was already dawn.

(43) á-3γab sáxǝ [ǝ-]z-ma-nǝ j-gǝla-z-gǝ a-psǝ
 the-girl statue [it-]Rel-have-Abs Rel-stand-Stat.Past.N.F-even the-spirit
 [ǝ-]áa-xa-la-n, zdáq'am 3γáb-xa d-áa-q'a-l[a-jt'].
 [it-]Par-Prev-go up-Past.Ind.Fin very good girl-as she-Par-Prev-become-(Aor)-Fin
 A spirit rose up into the thing that stood there in the shape of a girl, and it changed into a very beautiful girl.

(44) jará wǝj áamta-zǝ, a3^{wá} d-nǝ-r-g^wtá-s-nǝ
 just at that moment someone he-Par-them-Prev-push-Abs
 j-aa-jǝ-rč'ǝxa-z-š^wa agǝrt-gǝ [ǝ-]aa-č'ǝ-xa-jt'.
 them-Par-he-wake-Past.Ind.N.F-as if others-also [they]-Par-Prev-wake up-(Aor)-Fin
 Just at that moment, just as if someone had pricked them, the other people woke up.

(45) j-j^wǝz-c^wa j-ajxapsǝ, a-x^wáǝǝa-gǝ jǝ-j-g^wá-m-pxa-jt',
 his-friend-Pl they-dispiritedly the-Muslim they-him-Prev-Neg-like-(Aor)-Fin
 pǝteak' j-m-áa-pšǝ-r d-sǝ-ma-nǝ s-cá-p' ^hwá
 a little while they-Neg-Prev-wake up-if she-me-have-Abs I-go-Fut.1.Fin SP
 ǝ-jǝ-3b-xǝán, axá jǝ-q'a-j-c'a-x-wa-z.
 [it]-he-decide-Plupf.Fin but what-Prev-he-do-Emph-Dyn-Impf.N.F(Qu)
 It seemed as if his friends had turned to stone. The Muslim hadn't liked them. If they hadn't woken up in a short while, he would take her away, he had decided. But what could he have done?

(46) nas j-aa-jó-d-gəla-n á-3b-ra
 then they-Prev-him-Prev-come near-Past.Ind.Fin the-decide-Masd
 j-á-la-ga-jt' háwa də-z-ga-rə-da h^wa.
 they-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin who of us her-who-take-Fut.1.N.F-Qu SP
 After that, they came up to him, and started to decide which of them would take her away.

(47) a-mazaj^wə d-aa-gəla-n, — sará s-á-wp'
 the-carpenter he-Par-stand up-Past.Ind.Fin I me-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin
 də-z-t'^wə-w š^wárt jə-š^w-wəs-x^w-zaj
 she-Rel-belong to-Stat.Pres.N.F you.Pl what-you.Pl-business-bear a relation to-Qu
 [ø-lj-h^wá-jt'.
 [it-]he-say-(Aor)-Fin
 The carpenter stood up, and said, “She belongs to me. It has nothing to do with you”.

(48) — mamáw, sará s-á-wp' də-z-x^wtá-w, wará
 no I me-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin she-Rel-be necessary for-Stat.Pres.N.F you.M
 mč't'^w-sáx^la-k' [ø-]q'a-w-c'á-zar jə-n-k'á-ž^l-nə w-c'a-wá-n,
 wooden-statue-one [it-]Prev-you-make-if it-Par-Prev-throw down-Abs you.M-go-Dyn-Impf.Fin
 á-mat^wa [ø-]z-3axə-z-g^lə wə-x^wrž^lón j-n-ø-ta-c'a-nə
 the-clothes [it-]Rel-sew-Past.Ind.N.F-also your.M-saddle bag it-Par-[it-]Prev-put into-Abs
 wə-zk^wa jə-n-kád-c'a-nə w-c'a-wá-n, a-x^lə-mat^wa
 your-back it-Par-Prev-hang-Abs you.M-go-Dyn-Impf.Fin the-gold-ornament
 ø-l-zə-q'a-z-c'a-z sará s-á-wp', sará
 [it]-her-for-Prev-Rel-make-Past.Ind.N.F I me-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin I
 də-s-t'^wə-wp' h^wa d-gəl[a-j]t' a-x^ləj!
 she-me-belong to-Stat.Pres.Fin SP he-stand and say-(Aor)-Fin the-silversmith
 “No. Who she needs is me. Even though you did make a wooden statue, you would just throw it away on to the ground and go away. You too, who made the clothes, you should put them in your pack and put it on your back and go away. I am the one who made her golden clothes. She belongs to me,” announced the silversmith.

(49) — š^wə-zən-t'^wə-k'-g^lə jə-š^w-h^wa-wa [ø-]psá-ž^wa-wp',
 you.Pl-all-belonging-one-also (= you all) Rel-you.Pl-say-Pres.N.F [it-]dead-word-Stat.Pres.Fin

a-mč' sáx'á [∅-]q'a-z-c'á-z-g'ə jə-n-k'á-ž'í-nə
 the-wood statue [it]-Prev-Rel-make-Past.Ind.N.F-also it-Par-Prev-throw down-Abs
 w-c'a-wá-n, á-mat^wa [∅-]z-3axə-z-g'ə wə-x^wrž'ón
 you.M-go-Dyn-Impf.Fin the-clothes [it]-Rel-sew-Past.Ind.N.F-also your.M-saddle bag
 j-n-∅-ta-c'a-nə wə-zk^wa j-áa-k^w-c'a-nə w-c'a-wá-n.
 it-Par-[it]-Prev-put into-Abs your.M-back it-Par-Prev-put on-Abs you.M-go-Dyn-Impf.Fin
 “What you are saying is all nonsense. The one who made the wooden statue
 should throw it onto the ground and go away. You who made the clothes too, put
 them in your pack, put that on your back, and go away.

(50) a-psə [∅-]l-xá-z-c'a-z sará s-á-wp', sara
 the-spirit [it]-her-Prev-Rel-fit-Past.Ind.N.F I me-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin I
 də-s-t'^wə-wp', š^wárt h^wárta
 she-me-belong to-Stat.Pres.Fin you.Pl opportunity to express one's opinion
 [∅-]š^wə-ma-3a-m [∅-]j-h^wá-n, a-x^wáž'á j-nap'-k^wá
 [it]-you.Pl-have-Emph-Neg [it]-he-say-Past.Ind.Fin the-Muslim his-arm-Pl
 [∅-]lə-k^w-rša-nə d-gól[a-j]t'.
 [them]-her-Prev-wrap around-Abs he-stand up-(Aor)-Fin
 I am the one who breathed life into her. She belongs to me. You have no right to
 express your opinion,” said the Muslim, standing with one arm around her.

(51) axá agl'ərt də-r-š'í-wá j-á-la-ga-jt'.
 but others him-they-kill-Pres.N.F they-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin
 However, the other people started trying to kill him.

(52) j-an-aj-nə-m-aa-la-3a wəš
 they-when-Reciprocal-Prev-Neg-Prev-come to an agreement-Emph.Aor.N.F thus
 [∅-]r-3bə-jt', r-ápx'á j-na-zə-k^w-š^wa-wá
 [it]-they-decide-(Aor)-Fin them-before (= first) they-Par-Rel-Prev-come across-Pres.N.F
 a-wəšh^warta-č'ə j-ná-j-nə r-wəs [∅-]r-é-r-ta-ranə, wa
 the-public office-to they-Prev-go thither-Abs their-affairs [it]-to them-they-give-must there
 j-é-r-h^wa-wa zag'íə a-zərazxa-ranə.
 Rel-they-say-Pres.N.F all it-agree with-must

They just could not reach agreement with each other, and so they decided this: they would go to the town hall, and would pose their question to the first people that they met. And they must obey whatever the people said.

- (53) wəs j-ajbó-ħ^wa-nə j-š-ná-j-wa-z
 thus they-one another-talk with-Abs they-how-Prev-go thither-Dyn-Impf.N.F
 wəsh^warta-k' j-ná-[a]-d-gəl[a-j]-t'.
 public office-one they-Prev-[it]-Prev-approach-(Aor)-Fin
 They discussed this together, and walked on until they came up to the town hall.

- (54) j-nə-j^wná-la-n — ħ-wəs zajpšrá-w abás á-[a]-wp',
 they-Par-Prev-come in-Past.Ind.Fin our-affairs such it-copula-Stat.Pres.Fin
 š^wará jə-š^w-ħ^wa-wá ħ-a-zərazə-wp' ħ^wa r-wəs
 you.Pl Rel-you.Pl-say-Pres.N.F we-it-be agreement with-Stat.Pres.Fin SP their-affairs
 [∅-]rə-r-ta-jt'.
 [it-]to them-they-give-(Aor)-Fin
 They went in, and posed their question to the people there: “Our problem is this. We will do as you say”.

- (55) a-wəsh^wa-c^wa r-wəs j-an-á-x^wa-pš a-x^wážja
 the-judge-Pl their-affairs they-when-it-look at.Aor.N.F the-Muslim
 d-jə-x^wta-nə [∅-]r-px^lažá-jt': a-x^wážja
 she-him-be necessary for-Abs [it-]they-consider-(Aor)-Fin the-Muslim
 d-jə-r-tá-n, d-jə-ma-nə d-cá-jt'.
 her-to him-they-give-Past.Ind.Fin she-him-have-Abs (= with her) he-go-(Aor)-Fin
 The judges considered their problem well, and decided that the one that she needed most was the Muslim: they awarded her to the Muslim, they said. So it was he who went off with her.

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Notes

* The text is taken from «Сергей Зыхуба (ed.) , Аҟсуа лакукуа, Аҟуа, Алашара», 1997. pp. 157-159.

- (1) 1. də-z-t'wə-da (she(C1)-whom(C2)-belong to-Qu) 'whom she belongs to?': masd. a-t'wə-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to belong to'.
- (2) 1. nəq'w-a-ra d-ca-wá-n 'he went on a journey'. Cf. ныкэарá дцеит 'он отправился в путешествие' (ARD (= Касландзия, Абхазско-русский словарь. 2005): Том 2, 32).
- (3) 1. də-φ-k'w-nə (he(C1)-[it(= a road, C2)]-be on-Abs) 'по дороге': masd. á-k'w-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to be on'. 2. d-aa-jə-k'wš'a-jt' (he(= a carpenter, C1)-Par-him(= a tailor, C2)-come across-(Aor)-Fin) 'he came across him': masd. á-k'w-š'a-ra [intr.] 'to come across'.
- (6) 1. h-ajmj'ála-c'w-a-zaajt': cf. ájmaj'wala-j'w sg. 'a fellow-traveller'.
- (7) 1. w-aa-lá 'let's go!': cf. b-aa-lá (you.f.-let's go).
- (8) 1. n-ajbə-r-h'w-a-n: masd. ájbə-h'w-a-ra [tr.] 'to talk with each other'. 2. d-aa-rə-k'w-š'a-jt' (he(C1)-Par-them(C2)-Prev-come across-(Aor)-Fin): masd. á-k'w-š'a-ra [intr.] 'to meet by chance'.
- (11) 1. s-nəq'waj'wə-wp': cf. a-nəq'waj'w(ə) [n.] 'traveller'. 2. r-č'ə-na-r-xa-jt' (their(Poss)-SV(face)-Prev-they(C3)-set out-(Aor)-Fin) 'they set out': masd. a-č'ə-na-xa-ra [tr.] 'to start'.
- (12) 1. x'wáž'a-k' : cf. a-x'wáž'a 'ходжа'.
- (14) 1. wə-m-ba-wá-j 'you see?'.
 (15) 1. d-rə-c-nə (he-them-be with-Abs) lit. 'he being with them', i.e. 'he ... together with them': masd. á-c-zaa-ra [inst.] 'to be with'.
- (16) 1. j-aj-c'wáž'a-wa: masd. áj-c'wáž'a-ra [intr.] 'to talk together'. 2. φ-rə-k'w-x'w-la-jt' ([night(C1)]-them(C2)-Prev-catch-(Aor)-Fin) lit. 'the night caught them', 'they were caught by the night': masd. á-k'w-x'w-la-ra [intr.] 'to catch'.
- (17) 1. φ-anə-x'w-la: masd. á-x'w-la-ra [intr.] 'to get dark'. 2. px'a-rá : masd. a-px'a-rá [intr.] 'to pass the night'.
- (18) 1. j-č'apš'á-r á-k'wə-n 'they had to keep watch': masd. á-č'apš'a-ra [intr.] 'to keep watch'.
- (19) 1. φ-anə-r-ša 'when they divided it': masd. a-ša-rá [tr.] 'to divide'. 2. φ-rə-k'w-š'a-jt' 'they allotted it': masd. á-k'w-š'a-ra [tr.] 'достаться; to fall to one's lot'.
- (20) 1. φ-tá-r-psa-jt': masd. a-ta-psa-rá [tr.] 'to fill'.
- (21) 1. φ-an-tə-r-x ([it(C1)]-when-Prev-they(C3)-take out-(Aor.N.F)) 'when they took it out': masd. a-tə-x-ra [tr.] 'to take out'.
- (22) 1. ə-c'w-a-jt': masd. á-c'w-a-ra [intr.] 'to sleep, to fall asleep'.
- (23) 1. j-g'wə č'əy'j-wa 'he being bored': cf. a-g'wə č'əy'j-ra [n.] 'boredom'. 2. j-g'wə č'əy'j-wa d-an-á-la-ga 'when he became bored': masd. á-la-ga-ra [intr.] 'to begin'. 3. φ-aa-pš-j-q'a-n: masd. a-p-q'a-rá [tr.] 'to cut'. 4. d-waj'wpsə-m-zar: cf. a-waj'wpsə = a-waj'wə 'a person'. 5. d-waj'wpsə-m-zar φ-w-zə-m-dər-wa 'as if she were alive': masd. a-dər-ra [tr.] 'to know'. 6. φ-á-ta-nə ([it(= exterior, C1)]-it(= the girl, C2)-give-Abs): masd. á-ta-ra [tr.] 'to give'. 7. j-na-jə-rgəl-t' < j-na-jə-r-gəla-jt' (it(C1)-Par-he(C3)-Caus-stand up-(Aor)-Fin) 'he made it stand up': masd. a-rgəla-ra [tr.] 'to make ... stand up'. 8. φ-aa-n-c'wá-jt' : masd. a-n-c'w-a-rá [intr.] 'to expire'. 9. d-na-j-g'wə č'a-s-nə (he(= the carpenter, C1)-Par-

- him(= the tailor, C2)-breast-Prev-jog-Abs): masd. a-g^wó-c'a-s-ra [intr.] 'to jog'. 10. d-aa-jə-rč'óxa-n < d-aa-jə-r-č'óxa-n (him-Par-he-Caus-wake up-Past.Ind.) 'he wakened him ...': masd. a-rč'óxa-ra [tr.] 'to waken'. 11. d-nóš'ta-la-nə: masd. a-nóš'ta-la-ra [intr.] 'to lie down'. 12. dó-c^w-t' = dó-c^wa-jt', cf. (22)-1.
- (24) 1. d-anó-na-pš: masd. á-na-pš-ra [intr.] 'to look thither'. 2. d-ajló-x-nə: masd. ájlə-x-ra [tr.] 'to strip'.
- (25) 1. d-abá-[a]a-na-ga-j (her(C1)-whence-Prev-it(C3)-bring-(Aor.N.F)-Qu) 'where did it bring her from?': masd. aa-ga-rá [tr.] 'to bring'. 2. jə-j-g^wá-x^w-t' (it(C1)-him(C2)-Prev-seem-(Aor)-Fin) 'he thought so': masd. a-g^wá-x^w-ra [intr.] 'to seem, to think'. 3. s-a-ž'á-ma: masd. a-ž'a-rá [tr.] 'to deceive'. 4. anaž'álbajt' 'неужели' < an-až'á-l-ba-jt' (mather-labor-she-see-(Aor)-Fin). 5. d-j^wá-c'q'^ja-n: masd. a-j^wá-c'q'^ja-ra [intr.] 'to jump'. 6. d-na-lə-dxxóla-zar: masd. á-dxxəla-ra [intr.] 'to come running up to'. 7. mč'ó-n: cf. a-mč'ó 'tree'.
- (26) 1. də-j-bl-áajt' (him(= the carpenter, C1)-he(= Allah, C3)-burn-3.Imp) 'let Allah burn him': masd. a-bəl-rá [tr.] 'to burn'. 2. d-aa-pxaš'á-jt': masd. a-pxaš'a-rá [intr.] 'to be ashamed'.
- (27) 1. d-aa-xən-h^w-nó: masd. áa-xən-h^w-ra [intr.] 'to come to oneself'. 2. d-la-t'^wa-n: masd. á-la-t'^wa-ra [tr.] 'to sit down in'. 3. də-š-x^wó-c-wa-z: masd. a-x^wó-c-ra [intr.] 'to think up'. 4. ə-aa-j-g^wála-š^wa-jt' ([it(C1)]-Par-him(C2)-Prev-remember-(Aor)-Fin) 'he remembered': masd. a-g^wála-š^wa-ra [intr. inverse] 'вспомниться, to remember'.
- (28) 1. j-ajlá-s-h^wa-p': masd. ájla-h^wa-ra [tr.] 'to dress'. 2. a-ph^wós mat^wá 'the-woman's clothes'. 3. ə-na-zó-j-za-xə-n ([it(C1)]-it(= the exterior, C2)-for-he(C3)-sew-Past.Ind.) 'he sewed it for it': masd. á-za-x-ra [tr.] 'to sew'. 4. j-na-[a]-š^w-c'a-nó d-an-áa-[a]-l-ga lit. 'when he finished clothing it in it': masd. a-š^w-c'a-rá [tr.] 'to clothe', á-l-ga-ra [intr.] 'to finish'.
- (29) 1. d-na-j-g^wtá-s-nə (he(C1)-Par-him(C2)-Prev-push-Abs): masd. a-g^wtá-s-ra [intr.] 'to push', cf. (23)-9.
- (30) 1. d-nók^w-t'^wa-nə: masd. a-nók^w-t'^wa-ra [intr.] 'to take a seat'.
- (31) 1. pxəzə-w-ma: cf. a-pxəz [n.] 'dream'. 2. j-xó a-g^wra jə-m-ga-wá 'not believing himself': masd. a-g^wra-ga-rá [tr.] 'to believe'. 3. ə-x-š'óla-wa: masd. a-x-š'óla-ra [tr.] 'to rub'. 4. ə-aa-jə-x'š'i-nó: masd. a-x'š'i-rá [tr.] 'to rub, to strike'. 5. d-na-ló-d-gəla-zar (he(C1)-Prev-her(C2)-Prev-approach-as soon as) 'as soon as he approached her': masd. a-ná-d-gəla-ra [intr.] 'to approach'.
- (32) 1. sə-špa-g^wəry^ja-j: masd. a-g^wəry^ja-ra [intr.] 'to rejoice'. 2. d-aa-xən-h^wó-jt': masd. áa-xən-h^w-ra [intr.] 'to come to oneself'.
- (33) 1. ə-a-zó-q'a-s-c'a-p' ([it(= gold clothes, C1)]-it(= the statue, C2)-for-Prev-I(C3)-make-Fut.I.Fin) 'I will make it for it': masd. á-q'a-c'a-ra [tr.] 'to make'. 2. d-la-t'^wa-n: masd. á-la-t'^wa-ra [tr.] 'to sit down (in)'. 3. j-á-gə-m-k'^wa (Rel(C1)-it(= the statue, C2)-lack-Neg-Abs) 'without that which it lacks': masd. á-g-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to be short of, to lack'. 4. j-ló-k^wnaga-xa-šaz 'все, что полагалось': masd. á-k^wnaga-ra [intr.] 'to be due'. 5. ax^wyma = ax^wymatəa. 6. j-na-l-š^wó-j-c'a-jt' (it(C1)-Par-her(C2)-Prev-he(C3)-dress-(Aor)-Fin) 'he dressed her in it': masd. a-š^w-c'a-rá [tr.] 'to dress sb. in sth.'.
- (35) 1. jə-la až^wž^wá d-tóxa-wa 'сильно-сильно протирая его глаза'. 2. á-c^wa d-an-áa-[a]-l-c' 'when he woke up': masd. á-l-c'-ra [intr.] 'to go out of'. 3. də-x'i-psáraxa 'вся в золоте'. 4. ə-aa-l-q'^já-z-š^wa-gə 'as if she had waved her hand': masd. a-q'^ja-rá [tr.] 'to wave'. 5. j-lápš j-aa-c'a-š^wa-jt' 'it

- caught his eye': masd. á-c' a-šw'a-ra [intr.] 'to fall down'. 6. d-ag^l-j-a-lac^wq'wəs-z-šw'a-g^lə 'даже ему показалось, что она ему моргнула': masd. á-lac^wq'wəs-ra [intr.] 'to wink at'.
- (36) 1. d-sə-la-x^wmár-wa-ma: masd. á-la-x^wmar-ra [intr.] 'to play with'. 2. zag^lə zə-mč'š-w 'Almighty'. 3. də-blə (him(C1)-burn.Imp) 'burn her!': a-bəl-rá [tr.] 'to burn'. 4. s-razq'ə d-á-la-c'a: lit. 'put her in my fortune!', i.e. 'пусть будет моей судьбой!'. 5. d-j^wa-rə-xa-n (he(C1)-Prev-them(= his hands, C2)-pull up-Past.Ind.), lit. 'he pulled his hands up', i.e. 'he raised his hands': masd. a-j^wá-xa-ra [intr.] 'to pull up'. 6. j-j^wa-rxa-xá-nə (them(= his hands, C1)-Prev-turn up-towards(?)-Abs) 'having turned his hands up': masd. á-j^wa-rxa-ra (?) [tr.] 'to turn up'. 7. a-namáz ə-aa-j-k'ə-jt' 'he prayed': masd. a-namáz-z-k'-ra [tr.] 'to pray'. 8. j-á-c'a-z (Rel(C1)-it(C2)-be under-Stat.Past.N.F) 'that which was under it': masd. á-c'a-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to be under'. j-xə j-á-c'a-z: lit. 'under his head', i.e. 'under his pillow'. Cf. и́парақәа и́хы и́ацоуп 'деньги лежат у него под подушкой (головой)' (Kaslandzija, 2005). 9. ə-áa-š'tə-j-xə-n: masd. á-š'tə-x-ra [tr.] 'to pick up'. 10. a-nc^wá wə-j-g^wa-pxá-n (you(C1)-him(= God, C2)-Prev-please-Past.Ind.) 'God liked you': masd. a-g^wa-pxa-rá [intr. inverse] 'to like'. 11. də-w-zə-j-ša-jt' (her(= the girl, C1)-you(C2)-for-he(= God, C3)-create-(Aor)-Fin) 'God created her for you': masd. a-ša-rá [tr.] '(of God) to create'.
- (37) 1. ə-nə-š'ta-c'a-nə: masd. á-š'ta-c'a-ra [tr.] 'to put down'. 2. ə-áa-[a]-k'^w-rša-nə ([them(= his hands, C1)]-Par-[it(= the statue, C2)]-Prev-wrap-Abs) 'having wrapped his arms around it': á-k'^w-rša-ra [tr.] 'to wrap around'. 3. sə-lax^l j-a-nə-zaj lit. 'what is on my brow?', i.e. 'how lucky!': masd. a-nə-zaa-ra [intr.] 'to be on'. 4. də-lbaa-pš-nə: masd. á-lbaa-pš-ra [intr.] 'to look down'. 5. b-abá-s-z-aa-j-gá-j (you.f.(C1)-where-me(C2)-for-Prev-he(= God, C3)-bring-(Aor.N.F)-Qu) 'whence did he bring you for me?': masd. aa-ga-rá [tr.] 'to bring'. 6. d-sə-g^wəz-wá-jt' (her-I-kiss-Dyn-Fin) 'I will kiss her': masd. á-g^wəz-ra [intr./tr.] 'to kiss'. 7. ə-an-n-á-də-j-k'əla ([it(= his lip, C1)]-when-Par-it(= her mouth, C2)-Prev-he(C3)-push on-(Aor.N.F) 'when he pressed his lip against her mouth': masd. á-d-k'əla-ra [tr.] 'to press against'. 8. ə-n-á-d-k'šal[a-j]t' ([it(= his lip, C1)]-Par-it(= the cold wood, C2)-Prev-knock against-(Aor)-Fin) 'his lip knocked against the cold wood': masd. a-d-k'šála-ra [intr.] 'to knock on'.
- (38) 1. s-rəcha-š'ja: masd. a-rəcha-š'ja-ra [tr.] 'to pity'. 2. jə-z-ba-wa zak'^wəzaj 'what am I seeing?'. 3. d-na-lə-x^wa-pšə-zar: masd. á-x^wa-pš-ra [intr.] 'to look at'.
- (39) 1. ə-a-zə-q'a-j-c'a-jt' ([it(C1)]-it(= the statue, C2)-for-Prev-he(C3)-make-(Aor)-Fin) 'he made it for the statue'. 2. d-x^wəc-wa: masd. a-x^wəc-ra [intr.] 'to think'.
- (40) 1. ə-jə-ʒbə-jt': masd. á-ʒ(ə)b-ra [tr.] 'to decide'. 2. a-psə ə-l-xá-s-c'a-p' 'I will animate her': masd. a-xa-c'a-rá [tr.] 'to fit; to put on'.
- (41) 1. d-jə-h^wa-wá: masd. á-h^wa-ra [intr.] 'to ask'.
- (42) 1. ə-áa-n-c'^wa-jt': masd. a-n-c'^wa-rá [intr.] 'to finish'. 2. j-ag^l-áa-ša-jt' : masd. a-ša-rá [intr.] 'to dawn', for -ag^lə see (35).
- (43) 1. ə-áa-xa-la-n: masd. a-xá-la-ra [intr.] 'to ascend'. 2. ʒyáb-xa = ʒyáb-nə. 3. ʒyáb-xa d-áa-q'a-l[a-j]t' 'she became a girl': masd. á-q'a-la-ra [intr.] 'to become'.
- (44) 1. d-nə-r-g^wtá-s-nə: masd. a-g^wtá-s-ra [intr.] 'to push'. 2. j-aa-jə-rč'əxa-z-šw'a: masd. a-rč'əxa-ra [tr.] 'to wake'. 3. ə-aa-č'ə-xa-jt' : masd. a-č'ə-xa-ra [intr.] 'to wake up'.
- (45) 1. jə-j-g^wá-m-pxa-jt' (they(C1)-him(C2)-Prev-Neg-like-(Aor)-Fin) 'he did not like them'. 2. j-m-áa-pšə-r : masd. áa-pš-ra [intr.] 'to wake up'. 3. d-sə-ma-nə (she(C1)-me(C2)-have-Abs) lit. 'I having her', i.e. 'with her': masd. á-ma-zaa-ra [intr. inverse] 'to have'.

- (46) 1. j-aa-jǝ-d-gəla-n: masd. aá-d-gəla-ra [intr.] ‘to approach’. 2. də-z-ga-rǝ-da ‘who will take her?’: masd. a-ga-rá [tr.] ‘to take’.
- (47) 1. də-z-t’wǝ-w (she(C1)-Rel(C2)-belong to-Stat.Pres.N.F) ‘the one she belongs to’: masd. a-t’wǝ-zaa-ra [intr.] ‘to belong to’. 2. šwárt ‘exclusive you (pl.)’. 3. jǝ-šw-wǝs-xw-zaj ‘that’s none of your business.’
- (48) 1. də-z-xwta-w: masd. a-xwta-rá [intr.] ‘to be necessary’. 2. jǝ-n-k’á-žj-nǝ : masd. a-k’á-žj-ra [tr.] ‘to throw down’. 3. j-n-ǝ-ta-c’a-nǝ (it(= the clothes, C1)-Par-[it(= your saddle bag, C2)]-Prev-put into-Abs) ‘having put it into your saddle bag’: masd. a-ta-c’a-rá [tr.] ‘to put into’. 4. wǝ-zk’w a jǝ-n-kǝd-c’a-nǝ ‘having carried it on your back’: masd. a-k’ǝd-c’a-ra [tr.] ‘to hang’.
- (49) 1. jǝ-šw-h’w a-wa ǝ-psá-žw a-wp’ ‘what you all say is empty’: cf. иухэо псажаэоуп ‘поздно, не стоит уже оправдываться, ты не постоял за себя тогда, когда нужно было’ (ARD).
- (50) 1. ǝ-lǝ-k’w-rǝa-nǝ: masd. á-k’w-rǝa-ra [tr.] ‘to wrap around’.
- (52) 1. j-an-aj-nǝ-m-aa-la-za ‘когда они никак не смогли договориться друг с другом’: masd. áj-naa-la-ra [intr.] ‘to make peace with’. 2. j-na-zǝ-k’w-šw a-wá : masd. á-k’w-šw a-ra [intr.] ‘to come across’. 3. a-zǝrazxa-ranǝ: masd. a-zǝraz-xa-ra [intr.] ‘to agree with’.
- (53) 1. j-ajbǝ-h’w a-nǝ: masd. ájbǝ-h’w a-ra [tr.] ‘to talk with each other’. 2. j-ná-[a]-d-gəl[a]-j-t’ (they(C1)-Prev-[it(= a public office, C2)]-Prev-approach-(Aor)-Fin) ‘they approached it’: masd. a-ná-d-gəla-ra [intr.] ‘to approach’.
- (54) 1. h-a-zǝrazǝ-wp’ (we(C1)-it(C2)-be agreement with-Stat.Pres.Fin) ‘we will agree to it’: masd. a-zǝraz-ra [intr.] ‘to be agreement with’.
- (55) 1. j-an-á-x’w a-pš: masd. á-x’w a-pš-ra [intr.] ‘to look at, to observe’. 2. r-px’azá-jt’ (they(C3)-consider-(Aor)-Fin): masd. á-px’azá-ra [tr.] ‘to consider’.

Abbreviations

Abs = absolutive

Adv = adverb

Aor = aorist

ARD = Kaslandzija (2005)

C1 = the first column

C2 = the second column

C3 = the third column

Cond = conditional

Dyn = dynamic

Emph = emphasis

F = feminine

Fin = finite

Fut = future

hum = human

Imp = imperative

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

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