

## Abkhaz Text (3)

### —The Boy Brought Up by a Bull—

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(1) A-c<sup>w</sup>      j-áaʒa-z                      á-č'jk'wən  
           the-bull    Rel-bring up-Stat.Past .N.F    the-boy  
 The Boy Brought Up by a Bull

(2) Dó-q'a-n                      nxaʒwó-k'.  
           he-be-Stat.Past            peasant-one  
 There was once a peasant.

(3) Abróʒ    a-nxaʒwó      a-phwós    d-jó-ma-n,                      jó-č'jk'wən  
           this      the-peasant    the-wife    her-he-have-Stat.Past.Fin    his-boy  
 dó-q'a-n.  
 he-be-Stat.Past.Fin  
 This peasant had a wife and (he also had) a son.

(4) J-šó-q'a-z                      ák'wə-m-k'wa,    abróʒ    a-nxaʒwó      jə-phwós  
           they-how-be-Stat.Past.N.F    be-not-Abs      this      the-peasant    his-wife  
 də-psó-jt'.  
 she-die-(Aor)-Fin  
 One day, the man's wife died. (*As they were living their life*, the man's wife died).

(5) Jə-phwós    d-anə-psó                      á-š'taxʒ    ak'ór    áamta    d-ž'abá-jt',  
           his-wife    she-when-die-(Aor.N.F)    it-after    a long    time    he mourn-(Aor)-Fin  
 d-g'wəʒjwá-jt'                      eg'ójt',      axá    ac'əxwt'wán    áʒ<sup>w</sup>  
 he-grieve-(Aor)-Fin    and so on    but    after all      someone  
 d-aa-jə-m-gá-r                      ø-q'a-m-lá-zt',  
 her-Prev-he-Neg-bring-Cond.    [it]-Prev-Neg-be possible-Past.Ind.Fin

dačá ph<sup>w</sup>ás-k' d-aa-j-gá-jt'.  
 other wife-one her-Prev-he-bring-(Aor)-Fin

After his wife's death, for a long time the man mourned her and grieved for her, but finally he had to bring along another wife, so he brought along another wife.

(6) J-aa-j-gá-z a-ph<sup>w</sup>ás anój jǎ-č'jk'<sup>w</sup>ən  
 Rel-Prev-he-bring-Past.Ind.N.F the-wife that his-boy  
 d-aa-l-bá-r ø-q'a-m-la-zá-jt'.  
 him-Par-she-care for-Cond. [it]-Prev-Neg-become-Emph-(Aor)-Fin  
 The wife that he had brought along did not look after his son.

(7) — Wará abréj a-x<sup>w</sup>əč'jǎ da-h-š'ǎ-p', j-á-w-h<sup>w</sup>a-wa-j,  
 you this the-child him-we-kill-Fut.1 what-[him?]-to-you-say-Dyn-Qu  
 žǎará ha-n-tǎ-c'-nə h-ca-wá-zargǎ, wás-k'  
 somewhere we-Par-Prev-go out-Abs we-go-Dyn-even if work-one  
 ø-aa-w-[w]ǎ-zargǎ jará da-h-pərxága-wp', — h<sup>w</sup>a l-xác'a  
 [it]-we-do-Dyn-even if he he-us-disturb-Stat.Pres SP her-husband  
 j-a-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-wá d-á-la-ga-jt' lassǎ-lassǎ.  
 [it]-him-to-she-say-Abs she-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin often  
 “Hey! Let's kill this boy! What do you say to that? You see, wherever we go, whatever we do, he will only be a problem for us,” she started to ask her husband repeatedly.

(8) Arój znǎ jǎ-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt', j<sup>w</sup>ǎ-nt'<sup>w</sup> jǎ-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt', xǎ-nt'<sup>w</sup>  
 she once it-she-say-(Aor)-Fin two-times it-she-say-(Aor)-Fin three-times  
 jǎ-l-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt', axá a-nxaj<sup>w</sup>ǎ rǎcha jǎ-č'jk'<sup>w</sup>ən  
 it-she-say-(Aor)-Fin but the-peasant poor his-boy  
 dǎ-j-zǎ-g<sup>w</sup>ayǎ-wa-m, jǎ-q'a-j-c'a-rǎ-j, d-jǎ-m-g<sup>w</sup>ayǎ-rgǎ  
 he-him-Pot-dare-Dyn-Neg what-Prev-he-do-Fut.1-Qu him-he-Neg-dare-even if  
 jǎ-ph<sup>w</sup>ás d-jǎ-c'ǎ-c'-nə d-cá-r h<sup>w</sup>a d-š<sup>w</sup>a-wá-jt'.  
 his-wife she-him-Prev-go out from-Abs she-go-Cond. SP he-worry-Dyn-Fin  
 She said it once. She said it twice, she said it three times. But the poor peasant couldn't kill his son. What could he do? If he didn't do it, he was afraid that his wife would leave him.

(9) Aštax<sup>j</sup> j-g<sup>w</sup>ó ø-an-pó-l-c<sup>w</sup>a-za, «só-č<sup>j</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ən  
 After that his-heart [it]-when-Prev-she-break-Emph-(Aor.N.F) my-boy  
 zac<sup>w</sup>ó j-só-ma-w d-abá-s-taxə-w, də-s-š<sup>j</sup>ó-p',  
 single Rel-I-have-Stat.Pres.N.F him-where-I-want-Stat.Pres.N.F him-I-kill-Fut.1  
 sə-ph<sup>w</sup>ós só-mac' ø-l-w-[w]á-jt'» ø-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-n, arój  
 my-wife my-care [it]-she-do-Dyn-Fin [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Past.Ind this  
 a-nxaj<sup>w</sup>ó rócha jó-č<sup>j</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ən də-z-lá-j-š<sup>j</sup>ə-šaz á-h<sup>w</sup>əzba  
 the-peasant poor his-boy him-Rel-Instr-he-kill-Cond.2.N.F the-knife  
 a-x-rá d-á-la-ga-jt'.  
 the-sharpen-masd. he-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin

Afterwards, he got really fed up with her, and said to her, “I have only one son, why do I need him? I shall kill him. My wife will look after me.” Then the poor peasant started sharpening the knife that he was going to use to kill his son.

(10) A-h<sup>w</sup>əzba a-x-rá d-a-č<sup>j</sup>ó-wp' waž<sup>w</sup>ó  
 the-knife the-sharpen-masd. he-it-be engaged in-Stat.Pres now  
 a-š<sup>j</sup>aš<sup>w</sup>ór-a-č<sup>j</sup>ə d-t<sup>w</sup>a-nó.  
 the-shade-it-in he-sit-Abs

Now, he was sitting in the shade, sharpening the knife.

(11) A-mák<sup>j</sup>a jó-k<sup>w</sup>-š<sup>j</sup>-wa j-áh<sup>w</sup>əzba a-x-rá  
 the-whetstone it-Prev-rub-Abs his-knife the-sharpen-masd.  
 d-a-č<sup>j</sup>ó-wp'.

he-it-be engaged in-Stat.Pres

He sharpened the knife, rubbing it against a whetstone.

(12) Arój c<sup>w</sup>-k<sup>j</sup>ó jó-ma-n, a-x<sup>w</sup>əč<sup>j</sup>ó  
 he bull-one [it]-he-have-Stat.Past the-child  
 j-g<sup>w</sup>árə-j-x-la-wa-n, j-g<sup>w</sup>ára-j-c<sup>j</sup>'a-la-wa-n,  
 it-Prev-he-pasture-iterative-Dyn- Impf it-Prev-he-drive into the farmyard-iterative-Dyn- Impf  
 ak<sup>j</sup>'r-a-č<sup>j</sup>'á-j-c<sup>j</sup>'a-wa-n ak<sup>j</sup>'r-a-jó-r-ž<sup>w</sup>-wa-n.  
 something-it-Prev-he-feed-Dyn- Impf something-it-he-Caus-drink-Dyn- Impf  
 He had a bull. His child would often take the bull grazing, driving it into the farm,  
 feeding it and giving it water to drink.

(13) Arój ačnó a-x<sup>w</sup>əč'jǎ á-c<sup>w</sup> ak'r-a-č'a-c'a-nó,  
 this on that day the-child the-bull something-it-Prev-feed-Abs  
 jǎ-ma-nə a-š'jaš'wǎr-a-č'ə d-an-aá-j, «s-áb,  
 [it]-he-have-Abs the-shade-its-in he-when-Prev-come hither-(Aor.N.F) my-father  
 arój á-h<sup>w</sup>əzba jǎ-w-x-wa j-á-lə-w-xə-j,  
 this the-knife Rel-you-sharpen-Pres.N.F what-it-Prev-you-choose-Qu  
 j-zǎ-w-taxə-j?» h<sup>w</sup>a j-áb d-jə-z-c'aá-jt'.  
 it-why-you-want-Qu SP his-father he-him-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin  
 One day, the boy fed the bull and when he lead it into the shade, the boy saw his  
 father sharpening the knife and asked his father, “Father, why are you sharpening  
 the knife like that? What are you going to use it for?”

(14) — Há-c<sup>w</sup> [∅]-h-š'jǎ-p', a-k'<sup>w</sup>ác [∅]-h-fá-p', wəbrǎj  
 our-bull [it]-we-kill-Fut.1 the-meat [it]-we-eat-Fut.1 it  
 a-z-á-wp' á-h<sup>w</sup>əzba [∅]-zǎ-s-x-wa, — j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'  
 it-for-be-Stat.Pres the-knife [it]-why-I-sharpen-Pres.N.F [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin  
 áb, a-x<sup>w</sup>əč'jǎ də-j-ž'já-rc [∅]-á-wp'  
 [the]-father the-child him-he-deceive-in order to [∅]-be-Stat.Pres  
 j-zǎ-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-wa waž'wǎ.  
 it-why-he-say-Dyn.N.F now  
 “We are going to kill the bull and eat the meat. That’s why I’m sharpening the  
 knife.” He said it to fool the boy.

(15) Ab á-c<sup>w</sup> [∅]-h-š'j-wá-jt' [∅]-anǎ-j-h<sup>w</sup>a,  
 father the-bull [it]-we-kill-Dyn-Fin [it]-when-he-say-(Aor.N.F)  
 a-x<sup>w</sup>əč'jǎ ak'jáž'h<sup>w</sup>a a-c'<sup>w</sup>ǎwa-ra d-á-la-ga-jt'.  
 the-child bitter tears the-cry-masd. he-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin  
 When the father said, “We are going to kill the bull,” the boy burst out crying  
 uncontrollably.

(16) — Z-ak'<sup>w</sup>ǎ-w-zaj, wará w-zə-r-c'<sup>w</sup>ǎwa-wa, a-c'<sup>w</sup>ǎwa-ra  
 what-be-Stat.Pres.N.F-Qu you you-Rel-Caus-cry-Pres.N.F the-cry-masd.  
 w-a-q'<sup>w</sup>ǎ-c'-nə, w-ca-nǎ a-zarc'<sup>w</sup>ǎj [∅]-aa-gá,  
 you-it-Prev-stop-Abs you-go-Abs the-bent twig [it]-Prev-bring.IMP

— [∅]-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'                      áb.

[it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin [the]-father

“What’s wrong? Why are you crying? Stop crying. Come over here, bring me that bent twig,” his father said.

(17) J-áb                      d-an-jó-k<sup>w</sup>-c<sup>w</sup>q'ja,                      a-zárc'<sup>w</sup>əj  
his-father    he-when-him-Prev-shout at-(Aor.N.F)    the-bent twig

[∅]-aa-z-ga-wá-jt'                      h<sup>w</sup>a    a-x<sup>w</sup>əč'<sup>j</sup>ə    d-c'<sup>w</sup>əwa-wa

[it]-Prev-I-bring-Dyn-Fin    SP    the-child    he-cry-Abs

də-š-ná-j-wa-z                      á-c<sup>w</sup>                      d-a-bá-jt'.

he-how-Prev-go thither-Impf.N.F    the-bull    him-it-see-(Aor)-Fin

Because his father shouted at him, the boy said, “I will bring the bent twig with me,” and he walked over with the twig, crying. The bull saw him going there.

(18) — W-zə-r-c'<sup>w</sup>əwa-wa-zaj,    j-wó-x<sup>j</sup>-zaj?                      — [∅]-a-h<sup>w</sup>á-n  
you-what-Caus-cry-Dyn-Qu    what-you-happen to-(Aor)-Qu    [it]-it-say-Past.Ind  
á-c<sup>w</sup>                      j-a-z-c'<sup>w</sup>áa-jt'.

the-bull    [it]-him-to-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin

“Why are you crying? What has happened?” the bull said, asking him.

(19) — S-abá-m-c'<sup>w</sup>wa-wa,                      s-áb                      j-áh<sup>w</sup>əzba    a-mák'ja  
I-how-Neg-cry-Dyn.N.F    my-father    his-knife    the-whetstone

jó-k<sup>w</sup>-c'<sup>w</sup>a-nə                      a-x-rá                      d-a-č'<sup>w</sup>əwp',

[it]-him-Prev-put on-Abs    the-sharpen-masd.    he-it-be engaged in-Stat.Pres

a-zarc'<sup>w</sup>əj    [∅]-aa-gá,                      á-c<sup>w</sup>                      [∅]-h-š'<sup>j</sup>əp'    h<sup>w</sup>a

the-bent twig [it]-Prev-bring.IMP    the-bull    [it]-we-kill-Fut.1    SP

[∅]-s-á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt',                      — [∅]-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt'                      á-x<sup>w</sup>əč'<sup>j</sup>ə.

[it]-me-to-he-say-(Aor)-Fin    [it]-he-say-(Aor)-Fin    the-child

The boy said to the bull, “Why can’t I stop crying? My father is sharpening his knife on the whetstone. He said to me, ‘Bring me that bent twig. Let’s kill the bull.’”

(20) — Sará s-ák'<sup>w</sup>-za-m                      jó-r-š'<sup>j</sup>-wa,                      wə-j-ž'<sup>j</sup>á-jt'  
I    me-be-Emph-Neg    Rel-they-kill-Pres.N.F    you-he-deceive-(Aor)-Fin

ák'<sup>w</sup>əmzar    jó-j-š'<sup>j</sup>ə-rc                      jó-j-taxə-w                      wará

simply    Rel-he-kill-in order to    Rel-he-want-Stat.Pres.N.F    you

w-á-wp', w-ánəpsa táxa jə-lə-m-ta-jt',  
 you-be-Stat.Pres your-stepmother rest [it]-him-she-Neg-give-(Aor)-Fin  
 wará jə-w-xə-rq'ja-nə janáɡj a-təzšwá  
 you him-you-Prev-accuse-Abs always the-quarrel  
 [∅]-rə-ləjbax-wa-jt', w-xwəč'jə d-šjə hwa  
 [it]-they-quarrel with each other-Dyn-Fin your-child him-kill.IMP SP  
 j-á-l-hwa-wa-jžitaj a-k'ór [∅]-aa-c'-wá-jt'.  
 [it]-him-to-she-say-Dyn-since a long time [it]-Prev-pass-Dyn-Fin  
 "They aren't going to kill me. They have fooled you. You are the one that they  
 want to kill. Your stepmother has been hounding him a lot. She has been complaining  
 about you to him, and they have been arguing a lot with each other. It has been a  
 long time since she said to him: "Kill your child."

(21) «D-abá-h-taxə-w, d-ah-šjə-p', nas hará  
 him-where-we-need-Stat.Pres.N.F him-we-kill-Fut.1 then we  
 j-š-áh-taxə-w h-q'a-lá-p' » hwa  
 it-how-we-want-Stat.Pres.N.F we-Prev-become-Fut.1 SP  
 d-a[a]-a-q'wə-m-c'-za-k'wa w-áb  
 he-Par-it-Prev-Neg-stop-Emph-Abs your-father  
 d-anə-xtá-l-k'-za, jar-gjə j-gwə  
 him-when-Prev-she-insist-Emph.(Aor.N.F) he-also his-heart  
 anə-p-c'wa-za, d-á-kw-šahat-xa-jt',  
 [it]-when-Prev-be broken-Emph.(Aor.N.F) he-it-Prev-agree-become-(Aor)-Fin  
 wə-j-šjə-rc j-á-kwə-j-k'ə-jt', — [∅]-a-hwá-jt' á-cw.  
 you-he-kill-Purp it-it-Prev-he-decide-(Aor)-Fin [it]-it-say-(Aor)-Fin the-bull  
 The bull told him, "She said, 'Why do we need that child? Let's kill him. If we do  
 so, we'll be able to do whatever we like.' Your father couldn't stop her. She  
 demanded it of your father, it broke his heart, and finally he agreed to it. He decided  
 to kill you."

(22) — Nas jə-špá-sə-psəxwa-w, jə-špá-q'a-s-c'a-rə-j?  
 then it-how-my-possibility-Stat.Pres.N.F it-how-Prev-I-do-Fut.1.N.F-Qu  
 — j-hwá-n, jnajmatwanə jəjháɡjə a-c'wəwa-ra  
 [it]-he-say-Past.Ind with tears of grief even more the-cry-masd.  
 d-á-la-ga-jt' a-xwəč'jə.

he-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin the-child

“What can I do? What should I do?” the boy cried out aloud in tears of agony, crying even more.

- (23) — Jó-q'a-w-c'a-ra wəj [ø]-á-wp', s-ax-č'á-w-h<sup>w</sup>a-wa,  
 Rel-Prev-you-do-should that [it]-be-Stat.Pres me-where-Prev-you-tie-Pres.N.F  
 wbrá xah<sup>w</sup>á-k' [ø]-š'jtá-wp', xh<sup>w</sup>á-k'-g'jə wbrá  
 there stone-one [it]-be lying-Stat.Pres comb-one-also there  
 j-k'á-rš<sup>w</sup>ə-wp', patlók'a-k'-g'jə, a-č'arp'ón-g'jə wbrá  
 it-Prev-be thrown-Stat.Pres bottle-one-also the-flute-also there  
 jó-q'a-wp', wbart áa-š'itə-x-nə, j-wə-ma-nə  
 they-exist-Stat.Pres those [them]-Par-Prev-take up-Abs them-you-have-Abs  
 w-aá, nas w-ábə-j w-ánpsa-j  
 you-come hither.IMP then your-father-and your-stepmother-and  
 wə-r-š'j-áanʒa sa wə-r-c<sup>w</sup>á-z-ga-wa-jt',  
 you-they-kill-before I you-them-Prev-I-take away from-Dyn-Fin  
 wə-m-š<sup>w</sup>á-n, — [ø]-a-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' á-c<sup>w</sup>.  
 you-Neg-fear-IMP [it]-it-say-(Aor)-Fin the-bull

The bull told him, “This is what you must do. See the stone over there that you tied me to? There is a comb over there. There are also a bottle and a flute over there. Pick them up and bring them over here! And before your father and stepmother kill you, I will lift you up from them. Don't be afraid!”

- (24) A-c<sup>w</sup> d-n-[a]-a-pó-za-n, jó-ma  
 the-bull he-Par-[it]-Prev-lead-Past.Ind it-have.(Abs)  
 j-č'ə-na-j-xa-n, də-n-k'əl-sə-n, á-c<sup>w</sup>  
 his-SV-Prev-he-set out-Past.Ind he-Par-Prev-go out-Past.Ind the-bull  
 ax'j-č'j-á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-la-wa-z a-təp á-č'ə a-č'arp'ón-g'jə,  
 [it]-where-Prev-he-tie-Iterative-Impf.N.F the-place it-in the-flute-also  
 a-xáh<sup>w</sup>-g'jə a-xh<sup>w</sup>a-g'jə, a-patlók'a-g'jə áa-š'itə-j-xə-n,  
 the-stone-also the-comb-also the-bottle-also [them]-Par-Prev-he-take up-Past.Ind  
 də-j<sup>w</sup>-nə d-aa-k'əl-sə-n, d-an-n-á-d-gəla,  
 he-run-Abs he-Par-Prev-go through-Past.Ind he-when-Par-it-Prev-stand by-(Aor.N.F)  
 «wə-pa-nə w-sə-k<sup>w</sup>-t'w'a! » [ø]-a-h<sup>w</sup>á-n, a-c<sup>w</sup>  
 you-jump-Abs you-me-Prev(on)-sit down.IMP [it]-it-say-Past.Ind the-bull

á-bya d-j<sup>w</sup>-á-k<sup>w</sup>-t<sup>w</sup>a-jt'.  
the-back he-Par-it-Prev(on)-sit down-(Aor)-Fin

He led the bull and left, going outside. And then at the place where he used to tie the bull up, he picked up the stone and the flute and comb and bottle, ran outside, and when he stood beside the bull, the bull said, “Jump up on to my back!” and he got up onto the bull’s back.

(25) A-x<sup>w</sup>əč'jə d-an-j<sup>w</sup>-á-k<sup>w</sup>-t<sup>w</sup>a, á-c<sup>w</sup>  
the-child he-when-Par-it-Prev(on)-sit down-(Aor.N.F) the-bull  
j<sup>w</sup>á-c'q'ja-n jə-j<sup>w</sup>-t'.  
[it]-Prev-leap-Past.Ind it-run-(Aor)-Fin

When the boy sat down there, the bull rose up and flew away.

(26) A-c<sup>w</sup> [ø]-j<sup>w</sup>á-c'q'ja-n jə-j<sup>w</sup>-nə j-an-d<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>-la,  
the-bull [it]-Prev-leap-Past.Ind it-run-Abs it-when-Prev-set out-(Aor.N.F)  
arəj á-č'jk<sup>w</sup>ən j-ánəpsa j-a-x<sup>w</sup>tá-mə-z  
this the-boy his-stepmother Rel-it-be necessary-Neg-Stat.Past.N.F  
ax'ə-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-x'ja-z a-zə d-h<sup>w</sup>a-xá-jt', j-áb a-h<sup>w</sup>á  
[it]-that-she-say-Pluperf.-N.F it-for she-pig-become-(Aor)-Fin his-father the-pig  
d-á-k<sup>w</sup>-t<sup>w</sup>a-nə d-d<sup>w</sup>ək<sup>w</sup>-la-jt'.

he-it-Prev(on)-sit down-Abs he-Prev-set out-(Aor)-Fin

The bull rose up and flew away. The boy’s stepmother turned into a pig because she had some something that she shouldn’t have said. The boy’s father sat down on the pig’s back and set out.

(27) A-č'jk<sup>w</sup>ən j-áb a-h<sup>w</sup>á d-á-k<sup>w</sup>-t<sup>w</sup>a-nə á-c<sup>w</sup>  
the-boy his-father the-pig he-it-Prev(on)-sit down-Abs the-bull  
d-á-š'ta-la-n d-a-x<sup>j</sup>-za-wá d-á-la-ga-jt'.

he-it-Prev-track-Past.Ind he-it-Prev-catch up with-Abs he-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin

The boy’s father sat down on the pig’s back and chased after the bull, and started to catch up with the bull.

(28) — Háj, w-ánəpsa á-[a]ž<sup>w</sup>ra-c<sup>w</sup>gja d-h<sup>w</sup>a-xá-n, a-h<sup>w</sup>á  
oh your-stepmother the-old age-bad she-pig-become-Past.Ind the-pig  
w-áb d-á-k<sup>w</sup>-t<sup>w</sup>a-nə d-há-š'ta-la-nə

your-father he-it-Prev(on)-sit down-Abs he-us-Prev-track-Abs  
 d-aa-wá-jt', abár, abár waž<sup>w</sup>əš<sup>j</sup>tá d-ha-x<sup>i</sup>-za-wá-jt'.  
 he-come hither-Dyn-Fin look look now he-us-Prev-catch up with-Dyn-Fin  
 The bull said, "Yes. Your old stepmother has turned into a pig. And your father has  
 sat down on the back of that pig and has come looking for us. Look! Look! He is  
 just about to catch up with us."

(29) W-patlók'a j-tá-w a-3ó [ø]-k'a-t<sup>w</sup>á  
 your-bottle Rel-[it]-be in-Stat.Pres.N.F the-water [it]-Prev-sprinkle.IMP  
 há-š<sup>j</sup>tax<sup>i</sup>q'a, — [ø]-a-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' á-c<sup>w</sup>.  
 us-behind [it]-it-say-(Aor)-Fin the-bull  
 "Sprinkle the water in your bottle behind us," said the bull.

(30) A-c<sup>w</sup> as [ø]-an-a-h<sup>w</sup>á, j-patlók'a j-tá-z  
 the-bull thus [it]-when-it-say-(Aor.N.F) his-bottle Rel-[it]-be in-Stat.Past.N.F  
 a-3ó jó-š<sup>j</sup>tax<sup>i</sup>q'a j-k'á-j-t<sup>w</sup>a-jt' á-č'ik<sup>w</sup>ən.  
 the-water him-behind it-Prev-he-sprinkle-(Aor)-Fin the-boy  
 And just as the bull was saying this, the boy sprinkled the water that was in the  
 bottle behind him.

(31) Ró-š<sup>j</sup>tax<sup>i</sup>q'a [ø]-mšón-xa-jt' j-patlók'a j-tá-z  
 them-behind [it]-sea-become-(Aor)-Fin his-bottle Rel-[it]-be in-Stat.Past.N.F  
 a-3ó [ø]-an-k'á-j-t<sup>w</sup>a.  
 the-water [it]-when-Prev-he-sprinkle-(Aor.N.F)  
 As he sprinkled the water that was in the bottle, it turned into a sea.

(32) Jə-mšón-xa-jt' axá jə-z-x<sup>w</sup>artá-w-zaj, a-h<sup>w</sup>á-ž<sup>w</sup>  
 it-sea-become-(Aor)-Fin but it-what-aid-Stat.Pres.N.F-Qu the-pig-bad  
 a-mšón a-č'ó j-aan-góla-wa jó-q'a-w-ma,  
 the-sea it-in it-Prev-stop-Abs it-be-Stat.Pres.N.F-Qu  
 a-č-ta-ná-ž<sup>j</sup>ə-n jə-3sa-nó j-d<sup>w</sup>ók<sup>w</sup>-la-jt'.  
 its-self-Prev-it-throw-Past.Ind it-swim-Abs it-Prev-set out-(Aor)-Fin  
 It turned into a sea. But what help would that be to them? Would the evil pig be  
 stopped at the sea? The pig flung itself into the sea and started to swim.

(33) A-mšón [ø]-a[a]-ajmg<sup>w</sup>-h<sup>w</sup>a-nó jə-rə-n, á-c<sup>w</sup>  
 the-sea [it]-Par-Prev-go through-Abs it-[it]-cross-Past.Ind the-bull  
 j-a-x<sup>j</sup>-za-wá j-á-la-ga-jt'.  
 it-it-Prev-catch up with-Abs it-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin  
 The pig crossed the sea and started to catch up with the bull.

(34) — Arəj a-h<sup>w</sup>á-ž<sup>w</sup> [ø]-ha-x<sup>j</sup>-za-wá-jt' wəmbawá,  
 this the-pig-bad [it]-us-Prev-catch up with-Dyn-Fin look  
 wə-xh<sup>w</sup>á [ø]-k'á-rš<sup>w</sup> wə-š'itax<sup>j</sup>q'a! — [ø]-a-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' á-c<sup>w</sup>.  
 your-comb [it]-Prev-throw.IMP you-behind [it]-it-say-(Aor)-Fin the-bull  
 “Will this evil pig really be able to catch up with us? Throw your comb down behind  
 you!” the bull said.

(35) A-c<sup>w</sup> as [ø]-an-a-h<sup>w</sup>á, a-č'jk'<sup>w</sup>ən jə-xh<sup>w</sup>á jə-š'itax<sup>j</sup>q'a  
 the-bull thus [it]-when-it-say-(Aor.N.F) the-boy his-comb him-behind  
 j-k'a-jə-rš<sup>w</sup>ə-jt', jə-xh<sup>w</sup>á [ø]-an-k'a-jə-rš<sup>w</sup>,  
 it-Prev-he-throw-(Aor)-Fin his-comb [it]-when-Prev-he-throw-(Aor.N.F)  
 jə-š'itax<sup>j</sup>q'a jaxabalák'<sup>j</sup> [ø]-bnara-xá-jt', axá  
 him-behind everywhere [it]-luxuriant forest-become-(Aor)-Fin but  
 a-h<sup>w</sup>á-ž<sup>w</sup> á-bna-č' j-aan-góla-wa, á-bna jə-n-na-k'óla-wa  
 the-pig-bad the-forest-in it-Prev-stop-Abs the-forest it-Prev-it-detain-Abs  
 jə-q'a-z-ma, á-bnara j-l-á-sə-n, naq'  
 it-be-Stat.Past.N.F-Qu the-luxuriant forest it-Par-it-rush into-Past.Ind there  
 j-j<sup>w</sup>ə-l-sə-n, á-c<sup>w</sup> j-a-x<sup>j</sup>-za-wá  
 it-Par-Prev-pass through-Past.Ind the-bull it-it-Prev-catch up with-Abs  
 j-á-la-ga-jt'.  
 it-it-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin

Just as the bull was saying that, the boy threw the comb behind him. When he  
 tossed his comb away behind him, the whole area behind turned into a luxuriant  
 forest. Do you think the forest was able to stop the evil pig? The pig dashed into  
 the forest and passed through it, and started to catch up with the bull.

(36) — W-ánəpsa a-h<sup>w</sup>á-ž<sup>w</sup>ə-j w-ábə-j  
 your-stepmother the-pig-bad-and your-father-and  
 ha-x<sup>j</sup>-za-wá-jt' ajtáx wəmbawá, wə-š'itax<sup>j</sup>q'a

[they]-us-Prev-catch up with-Dyn-Fin again look you-behind  
 w-x'á-h<sup>w</sup>-nə w-xáh<sup>w</sup> [∅]-k'á-žj! — h<sup>w</sup>a á-c<sup>w</sup>  
 you-Prev (back)-turn-Abs your-stone [it]-Prev (on)-throw.IMP SP the-bull  
 a-x<sup>w</sup>əč'jə wəs j-á-na-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt'.  
 the-child thus [it]-him-to-it-say-(Aor)-Fin  
 “Look. Your stepmother, the evil pig and your father are catching up with us again.  
 Turn around and throw the stone out!” the bull said to the boy.

(37) A-c<sup>w</sup> as [∅]-an-a-h<sup>w</sup>á, á-č'jk'<sup>w</sup>ən x<sup>w</sup>əč'jə j-xáh<sup>w</sup>  
 the-bull thus [it]-when-it-say-(Aor.N.F) the-boy little his-stone  
 jə-š'itax'iq'a j-k'a-jə-žj-t'.  
 him-behind it-Prev-he-throw down-(Aor)-Fin  
 And just as the bull was speaking, the little boy threw the stone away down behind  
 him.

(38) Jə-š'itax'iq'a a-xáh<sup>w</sup> [∅]-an-k'a-jə-žj,  
 him-behind the-stone [it]-when-Prev-he-throw down-(Aor.N.F)  
 a-xah<sup>w</sup>-g<sup>w</sup>ára dów-k<sup>w</sup>a [∅]-q'a-lá-jt'.  
 the-stone-fence big-Pl [they]-Prev-become-(Aor)-Fin  
 When he threw the stone down behind him, it turned into many big stone walls.

(39) A-h<sup>w</sup>á [∅]-aj-xá-jt', [∅]-aj-xá-jt', axá  
 the-pig [it]-each other-pull-(Aor)-Fin [it]-each other-pull-(Aor)-Fin but  
 a-xah<sup>w</sup>-g<sup>w</sup>ára-k<sup>w</sup>a j-zə-r-xə-m-c'ə-jt'.  
 the-stone-fence-Pl it-Pot-them-Prev-Neg-cross-(Aor)-Fin  
 The pig tried desperately to pull them, but it couldn't cross over the large stone  
 walls.

(40) Wa jə-n-xá-jt', a-x<sup>w</sup>əč'j j-áb-g'jə nas  
 there it-Prev-remain-(Aor)-Fin the-child his-father-also then  
 d-abá-wə-š'it-wa-z, wa d-aan-xá-jt'.  
 him-where-Prev-let go-Imperf.-N.F there he-Prev-remain-(Aor)-Fin  
 The pig stopped there. Where do you think the boy's father could have gone at that  
 time? He remained there as well.

(41) A-č'jk'wən x<sup>w</sup>əč'jə á-c<sup>w</sup> d-á-ma-nə j-ca-wá, j-ca-wá,  
 the-boy little the-bull him-it-have-Abs it-go-Abs it-go-Abs  
 j-ca-wá, j-ax'ənzə-[a]-l-ša-wa-z j-cá-jt'.  
 it-go-Abs it-until-it-Prev-be able to-Impf.N.F it-go-(Aor)-Fin  
 The bull led the boy, walking as far as it was able to.

(42) J-an-áapsa, pstá g<sup>w</sup>áj<sup>w</sup>a-k' a-č'ə j-aan-gól-t'.  
 it-when-get tired-(Aor.N.F) valley deep-one it-in it-Prev-stop-(Aor)-Fin  
 When the bull got tired, it stopped in a deep valley.  
 (To be continued)

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## Notes

(1) In this analysis, the class-personal prefixes occupying the actant slots are referred to as 'columns' (hereafter marked as *C*), following Hewitt (1989). Abkhaz does not have a case marking system, but uses an alternative strategy for the distribution of columns indicating the relation of both the subject and the object in the verbal complex. Abkhaz has three basic columns. Column I (hereafter marked as *C1*) represents both an intransitive subject and a transitive object, and is placed in the first actant slot. Column II (hereafter marked as *C2*) represents an oblique of both intransitive and transitive verbs, and is placed in the actant slot between *C1* and *C3*. The appearance of *C2* depends on whether or not the verb can take the actant. Column III (hereafter marked as *C3*) represents a transitive subject (agent), and is placed in the actant slot before a root. For details of the columns in Abkhaz, see Hewitt (1989) and Yanagisawa (2004:35-72). 1. *j-áa3a-z* (Rel(*C1*)-bring up-Stat.Past.N.F) "the one who was brought up (by a bull)": masd. *áa3a-ra* [tr.] "to bring up", cf. *d-s-aa3a-wá-jt'* (him/her(*C1*)-I(*C3*)-bring up-Dyn-Fin) "I bring him/her up". Because there is no passive voice in Abkhaz, the alternative constructions are used, that is, if the notional passive represents a state of affairs, the intransitive stative form derived from the relevant transitive is used.

- (2) **1.** *dš-q'a-n* (he(C1)-be-Stat.Past): masd. *á-q'a-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to exist, to be”.
- (3) **1.** *d-jš-ma-n* (she(C1)-him(C2)-have/be-Stat.Past.Fin) lit. “she was by him,” i.e. “he had her”.  
masd. *á-ma-zaa-ra* [intr. inverse] “to have”. For the inversive verbs see Yanagisawa (2004:89-91).
- (4) **1.** *j-šš-q'a-z ák'wə-m-k'wa* “they were living like this”: masd. *ák'w-zaa-ra* “to be”. This copular root *-ák'w-* is complementary to the copula *-a-*, the former being used in the past and the negative present, the latter only in the non-negative present. The sole argument of these copular roots is marked by a column II (C2) prefix. For the copular root *-a-* see (14)-5, (23)-2 below. **2.** *də-psš-jt' < də-psš-φ-jt'* (she(C1)-die-Aor-Fin) “she died”: masd. *a-ps-rá* [intr.] “to die”.
- (5) **1.** *d-anə-psš < d-anə-psš-φ* (she(C1)-when-die-Aor.N.F) “when she died, ...”, for the masd. see (4)-2. **2.** *d-ž'abá-jt'*: masd. *á-ž'aba-ra* [intr.] “to mourn”. **3.** *d-g'wəřj'á-jt'*: masd. *a-g'wəřj'a-rá* [intr.] “to grieve”. **4.** *d-aa-jə-m-gá-r* (her(C1)-Prev(hither)-he(C3)-Neg-take (i.e. bring)-Cond.) “he could not bring her”: masd. *aaga-rá* [tr.] “to bring”. **5.** *φ-q'a-m-lá-zt'* ([it(C1)]-Prev-Neg-be possible-Past.Ind.Fin) “it was impossible that ... and”: masd. *á-q'ala-ra* [intr.] “to be possible”. **6.** *d-aa-j-gá-jt' < d-aa-j-gá-φ-jt'* (her(C1)-Prev-he(C3)-bring-Aor-Fin) “he brought her”. For the masdar, see 4 above.
- (6) **1.** *j-aa-j-gá-z* (Rel(C1)-Prev-he(C3)-bring-Past.Ind.N.F) “the one whom he brought”. **2.** *d-aa-l-bá-r* (him(C1)-Par-she(C3)-care for-Cond.): masd. *a-ba-rá* [tr.] “to care for; to see”. The element *-aa-* is one of the prefixal particles (Par) which were outlined first by Yanagisawa (2005b), who wrote: “Abkhaz has several prefixal particles which express a variety of nuances for an action or a mood. The prefixal particles *n*, *l*, *aa*, *j<sup>w</sup>*, *j<sup>wa</sup>*, *na*, which are often found in the Abkhaz folktale texts, are not preverbs but a unique grammatical category. Grammatically, Abkhaz can do without these particles when building a sentence, therefore, in standard literary Abkhaz they are rarely found. They are inserted after C1 or the relative adverbial prefix in the verbal complex, and they are mainly used in the forms of Past Indefinite and Absolutives. The basic purpose of the particles used in these forms is to connect more than two clauses closely by intensifying an action. From this basic purpose several individual meanings then stem, e.g. quickness of an action, rapid completion of an action, a mood of contentment as the result of an action, etc. However, most of the examples in the folktale texts indicate that an action has been performed quickly”. **3.** *φ-q'a-m-la-žá-jt' < [j]-q'a-m-la-žá-φ-jt'* ([it(C1)]-Prev-Neg-become-Emph-Aor-Fin) “it did not become”, i.e. “she stopped caring for him”: masd. *á-q'ala-ra* [intr.] “to become; to begin”.
- (7) **1.** *da-h-š'š-p' < də-h-š'š-p'* (him(C1)-we(C3)-kill-Fut.1) “let’s kill him”: masd. *a-š'j-rá* [tr.] “to kill”. **2.** *j-á-w-h<sup>wa</sup>-wa-j < j-[j]-á-w-h<sup>wa</sup>-wa-j* (what-[him(C2)]-to-you(C3)-say-Dyn-Qu) lit. “what do you say to him?”: masd. *a-h<sup>wa</sup>-rá* [tr.] “to say”. **3.** *ha-n-tš-c'-nə* “we having gone out”: masd. *a-tšc'-ra* [intr.] “to go out”. **4.** *h-ca-wá-zarg'ə*: masd. *a-ca-rá* [intr.] “to go”. **5.** *φ-aa-w-[w]á-zarg'ə < j-aa-w-wá-zarg'ə* ([it(C1)]-we(C3)-do-Dyn-even if) “even if we do it”: masd. *a-w-rá* [tr.] “to do”. **6.** *da-h-pəřxága-wp' < də-h-pəřxága-wp'* (he-us-disturb-Stat.Pres) “he disturbs us”: masd. *a-pəřxága-ra* [intr.] “to disturb”. **7.** *j-a-l-h<sup>wa</sup>-wá < j-j-a-l-h<sup>wa</sup>-wá* (it(C1)-him(C2)-to-she(C3)-say-Pres.Abs) lit. “she saying it to him”: masd. *a-h<sup>wa</sup>-rá* [tr.] “to say”. **8.** The *h<sup>wa</sup>* is a particle often found in Abkhaz and is usually called “the speech-particle” (Hewitt) or “the quotative particle” (Chirikba). Here we also call it *SP* (*speech-particle*), following Hewitt. According to Chirikba’s explanation,

“in the absence of complementizers in Abkhaz, for the purpose of Indirect speech reporting the non-finite forms with the conjunctive prefix  $\text{-}\check{s}(\text{ə})\text{-}$  ‘how’ are used. Alternatively, Indirect speech can be expressed by the combination of a finite verb with the quotative particle and the introductory verb”. (Chirikba, 2003:69) “The postposed quotative particle  $h^w a$ , which is used to mark indirect statements, often acquires an additional meaning of ‘a certain’, ‘one’ and, being put after the word in focus, accentuates or explicitly marks the latter’s focus status”. (ibid. 73) The SP  $h^w a$  is also found in the components of onomatopoeic words and adverbs, such as  $axərxə-r-h^w a$  “wheeze-saying”,  $ag^w ə-r-g^w ə-r-h^w a$  “din-din-saying”,  $áfə-r-h^w a$  “quickly”. These functions of SP resemble remarkably those of the postpositional word *to* in Japanese, which is used as the quotative word and is put after the word in focus, and is also used with an onomatopoeic word. Cf. the following onomatopoeic word of Japanese: *koto ga surasura-to hakonda* “things went off *swimmingly*”. 9.  $d-á-la-ga-jt' < d-á-la-ga-φ-jt'$  (she(C1)-it(C2)-Prev-begin-Aor-Fin) “she began it”: *masd. á-laga-ra* [intr.] “to begin”.

(8) 1.  $jə-l-h^w á-jt' < jə-l-h^w á-φ-jt'$  (it(C1)-she(C3)-say-Aor-Fin) “she said it”: *masd. a-h^w a-rá* [tr.] “to say”. 2.  $də-j-zš-g^w aγ^l-wa-m$  (he(= the peasant, C1)-him(= his boy, C2)-Pot-dare-Dyn-Neg) “he can not dare [to kill him]”: *masd. á-g^w aγ^l-ra* [tr.] “to venture”. 3.  $jš-q'a-j-c'a-rə-j$  (what-Prev-he(C3)-do-Fut.1-Qu) “what should he do?”: *masd. á-q'ac'a-ra* [tr.] “to do”. 4.  $d-jə-m-g^w aγ^l-rg^b$  (him(C1)-he(C3)-Neg-dare-even if) “if he does not dare [to kill him]”: *á-g^w aγ^l-ra* [tr.] “to venture”. 5.  $d-jš-c'ə-c'-nə$  (she(C1)-him(C2)-Prev-go out-Past.Abs) “she having left him”: *á-c'(ə)c'-ra* [intr.] “to go out from under”. 6.  $d-cá-r$  : *masd. a-ca-rá* [intr.] “to go”. 7.  $d-š^w a-wá-jt'$  (he(C1)-worry-Dyn-Fin) “he worries”: *masd. a-š^w a-rá* [intr.] “to worry”.  $d-cá-r h^w a d-š^w a-wá-jt'$  “he worries that she might leave”.

(9) 1.  $φ-an-pš-l-c'^w a-za < [j]an-pš-l-c'^w a-za-φ$  ([it(C1)]-when-Prev-she(C3)-break-Emph-Aor. N.F) “when she broke it”: *masd. a-pc'^w a-rá* [tr.] “to break”.  $j-g^w š$  (his-heart)  $φ-an-pš-l-c'^w a-za$ : lit. “when she broke his heart”, i.e. “when he got fed up with her”. 2.  $j-sš-ma-w$  (Rel(C1)-I(C2)-have-Stat.Pres.N.F) lit. “the one whom I have”: *masd. á-ma-zaa-ra* [intr. inverse] “to have”. 3.  $d-abá-s-taxə-w$  (him(C1)-where-I(C2)-want-Stat.Pres.N.F) lit. “where do I want him?”, i.e. “why do I need him?”: *masd. a-taxš-zaa-ra* [intr. inverse] “to want”. 4.  $də-s-š^b-p$  (him(C1)-I(C3)-kill-Fut.1) “I’ll kill him”, cf. (7)-1. 5.  $sš-mac' φ-l-w-[w]á-jt'$  ([it(C1)]-she(C3)-do-Dyn-Fin) lit. “she will do my care”, i.e. “she will care for me”: *masd. a-w-rá* [tr.] “to do”. 6.  $də-z-lá-j-š^b-šaz$  (him(C1)-Rel(C2)-Instr.-he(C3)-kill-Cond.2.N.F) “the one which he might kill him with”: *masd. a-š^l-rá* [tr.] “to kill”. 7.  $á-[a]h^w əzba a-x-rá d-á-la-ga-jt'$  (he(C1)-it(C2)-Prev-begin-(Aor)-Fin) “he started sharpening the knife”: *masd. á-laga-ra* [intr.] “to begin”.

(10) 1.  $d-a-č'š-wp'$  (he(C1)-it(C2)-be engaged in-Stat.Pres) “he is engaged in it (= sharpening the knife)”: *masd. a-č'š-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to devote oneself to”. 2.  $d-t'^w a-nə$  (he-sit-Abs) “having sat down”: *masd. a-t'^w a-rá* [intr.] “to sit down”.

(11) 1.  $a-mák^j a jš-k^w š^j-wa$  (it(C1)-Prev-rub-Abs) “rubbing it with a whetstone”: *masd. á-k^w-š^j-ra* [tr.] “to rub”. Cf. *и-ахызыба а-макья и-кэ-и-шь-ит* “он провел свой нож по точильному камню” (ARD).

(12) 1.  $j-g^w á-rə-j-x-la-wa-n$  (it(C1)-Prev-he(C3)-pasture-iterative-Dyn+Impf) “he used to pasture it”:

- masd. *a-g<sup>w</sup>á-r-x-ra* [tr.] “to pasture”. **2.** *j-g<sup>w</sup>ára-j-c’a-la-wa-n* (it(C1)-Prev-he(C3)-drive into the farmyard-iterative-Dyn+Impf) “he used to drive it into the farmyard”: masd. *a-g<sup>w</sup>ára-c’a-ra* [tr.] “to drive into the farmyard”. **3.** *ak’r-a-č’a-j-c’a-wa-n* (something-it(= the bull, C2)-Prev-he(C3)-feed-Dyn+Impf) “he used to feed it”: masd. *a-č’ac’a-rá* [tr.] “to feed”. **4.** *ak’r-a-jš-r-ž<sup>w</sup>-wa-n* (something-it(C2)-he(C3)-Caus-drink-Dyn+Impf) lit. “he used to make it drink something”, i.e. “he used to water it”: masd. *á-rž<sup>w</sup>-ra* [tr.] “to make *sb.* drink”. Cf. *á-ž<sup>w</sup>-ra* [tr.] “to drink”.
- (13) **1.** *ak’r-a-č’a-c’a-nə* (something-it(C1)-Prev-feed-Past.Abs) “having fed it”: masd. *a-k’rač’ac’a-rá* [tr.] “to feed”. In the positive transitive absolutive marked by *-nə* the agent marker, i.e. the class-personal prefix of C3, is obligatorily deleted. Cf. such an example as the intransitive absolutive given above (8)-4. In the negative transitive/intransitive absolutive marked by *-k’wa*, on the other hand, the presence or absence of the agent marker is optional. **2.** *jš-ma-nə < [j]-jš-ma-nə* ([it(C1)]-he(C2)-have-Abs) lit. “he having had it”, i.e. “he ... with it”. **3.** *d-an-aá-j < d-an-aá-j-ø* (he(C1)-when-Prev-come hither-Aor.N.F) “when he came hither”: masd. *aá-j-ra* [intr.] “to come hither”. **4.** *jš-w-x-wa* (Rel(C1)-you.M(C3)-sharpen-Pres.N.F) “the one which you are sharpening”: masd. *a-x-rá* [tr.] “to sharpen”. **5.** *j-á-lə-w-xə-j* (it-it(C2)-Prev-you(C3)-choose-Qu) “what do you need it for?”: masd. *á-lx-ra* [tr.] “to choose”. **6.** *j-zš-w-taxə-j* (it(C1)-why-you(C2)-want-Qu) “why do you want it?”: masd. *a-taxə-zaa-ra* [intr. inverse] “to want”. **7.** *d-jə-z-c’aá-jt’ < d-jə-ø-z-c’aá-ø-jt’* (he(C1)-him(C2)-[it]-Prev (about)-ask-Aor-Fin) “he asked him (about it)”: masd. *a-z-c’aa-rá* [intr.] “to ask”.
- (14) **1.** *h-fá-p’ < [ja]-h-fá-p’ < \*[jə]-h-fá-p’* ([it(C1)]-we(C3)-eat-Fut.1) “let’s eat it”: masd. *á-fa-ra* [tr.] “to eat”. **2.** *wəbrəj a-z-á-wp’... < a-z-a-á-wp’* (it-for-it(C2)-copula-Stat.Pres) “that is the reason why ...”, cf. *wəbrəj a-zə* “therefore”. For the copular root *-a-* see the above-mentioned note (4)-1. **3.** *zš-s-x-wa < [j]-zš-s-x-wa* ([it(C1)]-why-I(C3)-sharpen-Pres.N.F) “why I sharpen it”: masd. *a-x-rá* [tr.] “to sharpen”. **4.** *də-j-ž’á-rc* (him(C1)-he(C3)-deceive-in order to) “in order that he deceives him”: masd. *a-ž’á-rá* [tr.] “to deceive”. **5.** *[ø]-á-wp’ < a-á-wp’* (it(C2)-copula-Stat.Pres) “it is”. **6.** *j-zš-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-wa* (it(C1)-why-he(C3)-say-Dyn.N.F) “(the reason) why he says it”: masd. *a-h<sup>w</sup>a-rá* [tr.] “to say”.
- (15) **1.** *h-š’l-wá-jt’ < [ja]-h-š’l-wá-jt’* ([it(C1)]-we(C3)-kill-Dyn-Fin) “we’ll kill it”: masd. *a-š’l-rá* [tr.] “to kill”. **2.** *anə-j-h<sup>w</sup>a < [j]-anə-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-ø* ([it(= that we’ll kill it, C1)]-when-he(C3)-say-Aor.N.F) “when he said that ...”.
- (16) **1.** *z-ak’š-w-zaj* (what(C2)-be-Stat.Pres.N.F-Qu) “what happened?”: masd. *ák’š-w-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to be”. For *-ak’š-* see (4)-1. **2.** *w-zə-r-c’šwa-wa* (you(C1)-Rel(C3)-Caus-cry-Pres.N.F) lit. “the one who makes you cry”. Such an interrogative pronoun as *dárban* “who” may be omitted here. If so, this means “who makes you cry?”: masd. *a-r-c’šwa-ra* [tr.] “to make *sb.* cry”. **3.** *w-a-q’š-c’-nə* (you(C1)-it (C2)-Prev-stop-Abs) “you having stopped it”: masd. *a-q’š-c’-ra* [intr.] “to stop; to leave alone”. **4.** *aa-gá < [j]-aa-gá* ([it(C1)]-Prev-bring.IMP) “bring it!”: masd. *aaga-rá* [tr.] “bring”.
- (17) **1.** *d-an-jš-k<sup>w</sup>-c<sup>w</sup>q’ja < d-an-jš-k<sup>w</sup>-c<sup>w</sup>q’ja-ø* (he (= his father, C1)-when-him (= the child, C2)-Prev-shout at-Aor.N.F) “when he (= his father) shouted at him”: masd. *á-k<sup>w</sup>-c<sup>w</sup>q’ja-ra* [intr.] “to shout at”. **2.** *aa-z-ga-wá-jt’ < [j]-aa-z-ga-wá-jt’* ([it]-Prev-I-bring-Dyn-Fin) “I’ll bring it”. For the masdar see (16)-4. **3.** *d-c’šwa-wa* (he(C1)-cry-Abs) “he crying”: masd. *a-c’šwa-ra* [intr.] “to

- cry”. **4.** *də-š-ná-j-wa-z* (he-how-Prev-go thither-Impf.N.F) lit. “(it saw) how (that) he was going thither”, i.e. “it saw him going there”: masd. *a-náj-ra* [intr.] “to go thither”. **5.** *d-a-bá-jt' < d-a-bá-φ-jt'* (him(C1)-it(C3)-see-Aor-Fin) “it saw him”: *a-ba-rá* [tr.] “to see”.
- (18) **1.** *w-zə-r-c' wəwa-wa-zaj* (you(C1)-what(C3)-Caus-cry-Dyn-Qu) lit. “what makes you cry?”: For the masdar see (16)-2. **2.** *j-wə-x<sup>l</sup>-zaj < j-wə-x<sup>l</sup>-φ-zaj* (what(C1)-you(C2)-happen to-Aor-Qu) “what happened to you?”: masd. *á-x<sup>l</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to happen to”. **3.** *j-a-z-c' áa-jt' < [j]-j-a-z-c' áa-jt'* ([it (= the bull, C1)]-him(C2)-to-Prev-ask-(Aor)-Fin) “it (the bull) asked him (about it)”: masd. *a-z-c' aa-rá* [intr.] “to ask”.
- (19) **1.** *s-abá-m-c' wwa-wa* (I(C1)-where/how-Neg-cry-Dyn.N.F) “how can't I cry?”. **2.** *jə-k<sup>w</sup>-c' a-nə < [j]-jə-k<sup>w</sup>-c' a-nə* ([it(C1)]-him(C2)-Prev-put on-Abs) lit. “having put it on him”: masd. *á-k<sup>w</sup>-c' a-ra* [tr.] “to put on”. **3.** *s-á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt' < [j]-s-á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-φ-jt'* ([it]-me-to-he-say-Aor-Fin) “he said it to me”: masd. *a-h<sup>w</sup>a-rá* [tr.] “to say”. **4.** *j-h<sup>w</sup>á-jt' < [jə]-j-h<sup>w</sup>á-φ-jt'* ([it]-he-say-Aor-Fin) “he said it”.
- (20) **1.** *s-ák<sup>w</sup>-za-m* (me(C2)-be-Emph-Neg): masd. *ák<sup>w</sup>-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to be (copula)”. *Sará s-ák<sup>w</sup>-za-m jə-r-š<sup>l</sup>-wa* “It is not me that they will kill”. **2.** *wə-j-ž<sup>l</sup>á-jt' < wə-j-ž<sup>l</sup>á-φ-jt'* (you(C1)-he(C3)-deceive-Aor-Fin) “he deceived you”: masd. *a-ž<sup>l</sup>a-rá* [tr.] “to deceive”. **3.** *jə-j-taxə-w* (Rel(C1)-he(C2)-want-Stat.Pres.N.F) “the one that he wants”: masd. *a-taxə-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to want”. **4.** *w-á-wp' (you(C2)-be-Stat.Pres). jə-j-š<sup>l</sup>ə-rc jə-j-taxə-w wará w-á-wp'* “it is you that he wants to kill”. **5.** *táxa jə-lə-m-ta-jt' < táxa [j]-jə-lə-m-ta-φ-jt'* ([it(C1)]-him (C2)-she(C3)-Neg-give-Aor-Fin) “she followed him round”: masd. *á-ta-ra* [tr.] “to give”. **6.** *jə-w-xə-rq<sup>l</sup>á-nə* (him (C1)-you(C2)-Prev-accuse-Abs) “having accused him of your behavior”: masd. *a-xərq<sup>l</sup>á-rá* [tr.] “to accuse”. **7.** *rə-ləjbax-wa-jt' < j-rə-ləjbax-wa-jt'* ([it(C1)]-they (C3)-quarrel with each other-Dyn-Fin) “they quarrel with each other”: masd. *á-ləjbax-ra*. **8.** *d-š<sup>l</sup>š* (him(C1)-kill.IMP) “kill him!”: masd. *a-š<sup>l</sup>-rá* [tr.] “to kill”. **9.** *j-á-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-wa-jž<sup>l</sup>ta-j < [j]-j-á-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-wa-jž<sup>l</sup>ta-j* ([it(C1)]-him(C2)-to-she(C3)-say-Dyn-since) “since she has been saying it”: masd. *a-h<sup>w</sup>a-rá* [tr.] “to say”. **10.** *aa-c'-wá-jt' < [j]-aa-c'-wá-jt'* ([it]-Prev-pass-Dyn-Fin) “it has passed”: masd. *áac'-ra* [intr.] “to pass”.
- (21) **1.** *d-abá-h-taxə-w* (him(C1)-where-we(C2)-need-Stat.Pres.N.F) “why do we need him?”: masd. *a-taxə-zaa-ra* [intr. inverse] “to want”. **2.** *h-q'a-lá-p'* (we(C1)-Prev-become-Fut.1): masd. *á-q'ala-ra* [intr.] “to become; to be possible”. **3.** *d-a[a]-a-q' wə-m-c'-za-k' wa* (he(C1)-Par-it(C2)-Prev-Neg-stop-Emph-Abs) lit. “he not having stopped it”: masd. *a-q' wəc'-ra* [intr.] “to stop”. **4.** *d-anə-xtá-l-k'-za < d-anə-xtá-l-k'-za-φ* (him(C1)-when-Prev-she (C3)-insist-Emph-Aor.N.F) “when she insisted on it to him”: masd. *a-xtak'-rá* [tr.] “to insist”. **5.** *anə-p-c' wa-žá < [j]-anə-p-c' wa-žá-φ* ([it(C1)]-when-Prev-be broken-Emph-Aor.N.F) lit. “when it (= his heart) was broken”, i.e. “when he was disgusted”: masd. *a-pc' wa-rá* [labile] “to be broken; to break”. **6.** *d-á-k<sup>w</sup>-šahat-xa-jt' < d-á-k<sup>w</sup>-šahat-xa-φ-jt'* (he(C1)-it(C2)-Prev-agree-become-Aor-Fin) “he agreed to it”: masd. *á-k<sup>w</sup>šahatxa-ra* [intr.] “to agree to”. **7.** *wə-j-š<sup>l</sup>ə-rc* (you(C1)-he(C3)-kill-Purp) *j-á-k<sup>w</sup>ə-j-k'ə-jt'* (it(C1)-it?(C2)-Prev-he(C3)-decide-(Aor)-Fin) “he decided to kill you”: masd. *á-k<sup>w</sup>(ə)k'-ra* [tr.] “to decide”.
- (22) **1.** *jə-špá-sə-psəx<sup>w</sup>a-w* (it(C1)-how-my-possibility-Stat.Pres.N.F) “how should I do it?”. **2.** *jə-špá-q'a-s-c'a-rə-j* (it(C1)-how-Prev-I(C3)-do-Fut.1.N.F-Qu) lit. “how shall I do it?”, i.e. “what am I to do?”: masd. *á-q'ac'a-ra* [tr.] “to do”.
- (23) **1.** *jə-q'a-w-c'a-ra* (Rel(C1)-Prev-you(C3)-do-should) “what you should do”: masd. *á-q'ac'a-ra*

- [tr.] “to do”. **2.** *wəj á-wp’* < *wəj a-á-wp’* ([it(C2)]-copula-Stat.Pres) “(what you should do) is that”. Cf. *wəj K’áma l-á-wp’* (her(C2)-copula-Stat.Pres) “that is Kama”. **3.** *s-ax-č’á-w-h<sup>w</sup>a-wa* (me-where-Prev-you-tie-Pres.N.F) “(the place) where you tie me”: masd. *a-č’ah<sup>w</sup>a-rá* [tr.] “to tie”. The prefix *-ax-* “where” is the Bzyp dialect form. (I owe this observation to Dr. Chirikba). Also for the Abzhwa dialect form *-ax<sup>i</sup>*, cf. (24)-5. **4.** *š’ítá-wp’* < [*jə*]-*š’ítá-wp’* ([it(C1)]-be lying-Stat.Pres) “it is lying”: masd. *á-š’íta-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to lie”. **5.** *j-k’á-rš<sup>w</sup>ə-wp’* (it(C1)-Prev-be thrown-Stat.Pres) “it is thrown”: masd. *a-k’árš<sup>w</sup>-ra* [tr.] “to throw”. **6.** *jə-q’á-wp’* (they-exist-Stat.Pres) “they are”: masd. *á-q’á-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to exist, to be”. **7.** *áa-š’ítə-x-nə* ([them(C1)]-Par-Prev-take up-Abs) “having taken them up”: masd. *á-š’ítəx-ra* [tr.] “to take up”. For Par[title] see (6)-2. **8.** *j-wə-ma-nə* (them-you-have-Abs) lit. “you having had them”, i.e. “with them”: masd. *á-ma-zaa-ra* [intr. inverse] “to have”. **9.** *w-aá* (you(C1)-come hither.IMP) “come hither!”: masd. *aa-rá* [intr.] “to come hither”. **10.** *wə-r-š’l-áanʒa* < *wə-r-š’l-ə-áanʒa* (you(C1)-they(C3)-kill-Aor.N.F-before) “before they kill you”: masd. *a-š’l-rá* [tr.] “to kill”. **11.** *wə-r-c<sup>w</sup>š-z-ga-wa-jt’* (you(C1)-them(C2)-Prev-I(C3)-take away from-Dyn-Fin) “I’ll take you away from them”: masd. *a-c<sup>w</sup>ga-rá* [tr.] “to take away from”. **12.** *wə-m-š<sup>w</sup>á-n* (you(C1)-Neg-fear-IMP) “don’t be afraid!”: *a-š<sup>w</sup>a-rá* [intr.] “to fear”.
- (24) **1.** *d-n-[a]-a-pš-za-n* (he(C1)-Par-[it (= the bull, C2)]-Prev-lead-Past.Ind) “he led it and ...”: masd. *a-pš-za-ra* [intr.] “to lead”. **2.** *jə-ma* (it(C1)-have.Abs) lit. “having it”, i.e. “with it”: masd. *á-ma-zaa-ra* [intr. inverse] “to have”. **3.** *j-č’ə-na-j-xa-n* (his(Poss)-SV-Prev-he(C3)-set out-Past.Ind) “he set out and ...”: masd. *a-č’əna-xa-ra* [tr.] “to set out thither”. **4.** *də-n-k’əl-sə-n* (he-Par-Prev-go out-Past.Ind) “he went out and ...”: masd. *a-k’əls-ra* [intr.] “to go out; to go through”. **5.** *ax<sup>i</sup>-č’á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-la-wa-z* < [*j*]-*ax<sup>i</sup>-č’á-j-h<sup>w</sup>a-la-wa-z* ([it(C1)]-where-Prev-he (C3)-tie-Iterative-Impf.N.F) “(the place) where he used to tie it”: masd. *a-č’ah<sup>w</sup>a-rá* [tr.] “to tie”. **6.** *áa-š’ítə-j-xə-n* < [*j*]-*áa-š’ítə-j-xə-n* ([them(C1)]-Par-Prev-he(C3)-take up-Past.Ind) “he took them up and ...”: masd. *á-š’ítəx-ra* [tr.] “to take up”. **7.** *dš-j<sup>w</sup>-nə* (he(C1)-run-Abs) “he having run”: masd. *á-j<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to run”. **8.** *d-aa-k’əl-sə-n* (he-Par-Prev-go out-Past.Ind) “he went out and ...”: masd. *a-k’əls-ra* [intr.] “to go out; to go through”. Cf. (24)-4. **9.** *d-an-n-á-d-gəla* < *d-an-n-á-d-gəla-ə* (he(C1)-when-Par-it(C2)-Prev-stand by-Aor.N.F) “when he stood by it”: masd. *á-dgəla-ra* [intr.] “to stand by”. **10.** *wə-pa-nə* (you(C1)-jump-Abs) “you having jumped”: masd. *á-pa-ra* [intr.] “to jump”. **11.** *w-sš-k<sup>w</sup>-t<sup>w</sup>a* (you(C1)-me(C2)-Prev(on)-sit down.IMP) “sit down on me!”: masd. *á-k<sup>w</sup>t<sup>w</sup>a-ra* [intr.] “to sit down on”. **12.** *d-j<sup>w</sup>-á-k<sup>w</sup>-t<sup>w</sup>a-jt’* < *d-j<sup>w</sup>-á-k<sup>w</sup>-t<sup>w</sup>a-ə-jt’* (he(C1)-Par-it (C2)-Prev(on)-sit down-Aor-Fin) “he sat down on it”. For Par[title] *-j<sup>w</sup>-* see (6)-2.
- (25) **1.** *d-an-j<sup>w</sup>-á-k<sup>w</sup>-t<sup>w</sup>a* < *d-an-j<sup>w</sup>-á-k<sup>w</sup>-t<sup>w</sup>a-ə* (he(C1)-when-Par-it(C2)-Prev(on)-sit down-Aor. N.F) “when he sat down on it”. **2.** *j<sup>w</sup>á-c’q’ja-n* < [*j*]-*j<sup>w</sup>á-c’q’ja-n* ([it]-Prev-leap-Past.Ind) “it leaped and ...”: masd. *a-j<sup>w</sup>ác’q’ja-ra* [intr.] “to leap”. **3.** *jš-j<sup>w</sup>-t’* = *jš-j<sup>w</sup>ə-jt’* < *jš-j<sup>w</sup>ə-ə-jt’* (it(C1)-run-Aor-Fin) “it ran”.
- (26) **1.** *jš-j<sup>w</sup>-nə j-an-d<sup>w</sup>šk<sup>w</sup>-la* < *jš-j<sup>w</sup>-nə j-an-d<sup>w</sup>šk<sup>w</sup>-la-ə* (it(C1)-when-Prev-set out-(Aor.N.F) “when it started running”: masd. *a-d<sup>w</sup>šk<sup>w</sup>-la-ra* [intr.] “to set out”. **2.** *j-a-x<sup>w</sup>tá-mə-z* (Rel(C1)-it(C2)-be necessary-Neg-Stat.Past.N.F) “the one which was not necessary for it”: masd. *a-x<sup>w</sup>ta-rá* [intr.] “to be necessary”. **3.** *ax<sup>i</sup>-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-x<sup>i</sup>a-z* < [*j*]-*ax<sup>i</sup>-l-h<sup>w</sup>a-x<sup>i</sup>a-z* ([it(C1)]-that-she(C3)-say-Pluperf.N.F) “(for the reason) that she had said it”. **4.** *d-h<sup>w</sup>a-xá-jt’* < *d-h<sup>w</sup>a-xá-ə-jt’* (she(C1)-pig-become-Aor-Fin)

- “she turned into a pig”; see *a-h<sup>wá</sup>* “a pig”. **5.** *d-á-k<sup>w-t'</sup>wa-nə* (he(C1)-it(= the pig, C2)-Prev(on)-sit down-Abs) “he having sat down on it”: *masd. á-k<sup>w-t'</sup>wa-ra* [intr.] “to sit down on”. **6.** *d-d<sup>wə</sup>šk<sup>w</sup>-la-jt'* < *d-d<sup>wə</sup>šk<sup>w</sup>-la-φ-jt'* (he(C1)-Prev-set out-Aor-Fin) “he set out”.
- (27) **1.** *d-á-š<sup>i</sup>ta-la-n* (he(= his father, C1)-it(= the bull, C2)-Prev-track-Past.Ind) “he tracked it and ...”: *masd. á-š<sup>i</sup>tala-ra* [intr.] “to track”. **2.** *d-a-x<sup>i</sup>-za-wá* (he(= his father, C1)-it(= the bull, C2)-Prev-catch up with-Abs) lit. “he catching up with it”: *masd. a-x<sup>i</sup>za-rá* [intr.] “to catch up with”. **3.** *d-á-la-ga-jt'* < *d-á-la-ga-φ-jt'* (he-it-Prev-begin-Aor-Fin) lit. “he began it”, i.e. “he began to (catch up with it)”: *masd. á-laga-ra* [intr.] “to begin”.
- (28) **1.** *d-h<sup>w</sup>a-xá-n* (she(C1)-pig-become-Past.Ind) “she turned into a pig and ...”. **2.** *d-há-š<sup>i</sup>ta-la-nə* (he(C1)-us(C2)-Prev-track-Abs) “he having tracked us”. **3.** *d-aa-wá-jt'* (he(C1)-come hither-Dyn-Fin) “he’ll come hither”: *masd. aa-rá* [intr.] “to come hither”. **4.** *d-ha-x<sup>i</sup>-za-wá-jt'* (he(C1)-us(C2)-Prev-catch up with-Dyn-Fin) “he’ll catch up with us”.
- (29) **1.** *j-tá-w* < *j-φ-tá-w* (Rel(C1)-[it (= your bottle, C2)]-be in-Stat.Pres.N.F) “the one which is in it”: *masd. a-tá-zaa-ra / a-ta-rá* [intr.] “to be in”. *w-patlš<sup>k</sup>a j-φ-tá-w a-3š* “the water which is in your bottle”. **2.** *k'a-t<sup>wá</sup>* < *[j]-k'a-t<sup>wá</sup>* ([it]-Prev-sprinkle.IMP) “sprinkle it!”: *masd. a-k'at<sup>w</sup>-rá* [tr.] “to sprinkle”. **3.** *a-h<sup>wá</sup>-jt'* < *[j]-a-h<sup>wá</sup>-φ-jt'* ([it(C1)]-it (= the bull, C3)-say-Aor-Fin) “it said it”.
- (30) **1.** *an-a-h<sup>w</sup>a* < *[j]-an-a-h<sup>w</sup>a-φ* ([it(= the bull, C1)]-when-it(C3)-say-Aor.N.F) “when it (the bull) said that”. **2.** *j-tá-z* < *j-φ-tá-z* (Rel(C1)-[it (= your bottle, C2)]-be in-Stat.Past.N.F) “the one which was in it”. **3.** *j-k'á-j-t<sup>w</sup>a-jt'* < *j-k'á-j-t<sup>w</sup>a-φ-jt'* (it(C1)-Prev-he(C3)-sprinkle-Aor-Fin) “he sprinkled it”: *masd. a-k'at<sup>w</sup>-rá* [tr.] “to sprinkle”.
- (31) **1.** *mšón-xa-jt'* < *[jə]-mšón-xa-φ-jt'* ([it(= everything behind them, C1)]-sea-become-Aor-Fin) “it turned into a sea”; cf. *a-mšón* “the sea”. **2.** *an-k'á-j-t<sup>w</sup>a* < *[j]-an-k'á-j-t<sup>w</sup>a-φ* ([it(= water, C1)]-when-Prev-he (C3)-sprinkle-Aor.N.F) “when he sprinkled it”.
- (32) **1.** *jə-z-x<sup>w</sup>artá-w-zaj* (it(= the sea, C1)-what-aid-Stat.Pres.N.F-Qu) lit. “what help is it? ”, i.e. “it will not be of any help”. **2.** *j-aan-gšla-wa* (it(= the pig, C1)-Prev-stop-Abs) lit. “it stopping”: *masd. áangšla-ra* [intr.] “to stop”. **3.** *jš-q'a-w-ma* (it(C1)-be-Stat.Pres.N.F-Qu) lit. “is it? ”: *masd. á-q'a-zaa-ra* [intr.] “to be”. *j-aan-gšla-wa jš-q'a-w-ma* “can it stop? ”. **4.** *a-č-ta-ná-ž<sup>i</sup>ə-n* (its(= pig’s, Poss)-self-Prev-it(= the pig, C3)-throw-Past.Ind) lit. “it (the pig) threw itself and ...”, i.e. “it plunged into the sea and ...”: *masd. a-čtáž<sup>i</sup>-ra* [tr.] “to throw oneself into”. **5.** *jə-3sa-nš* (it(= the pig, C1)-swim-Abs) lit. “it having swum”: *masd. á-3sa-ra* [intr.] “to swim”. *jə-3sa-nš j-d<sup>wə</sup>šk<sup>w</sup>-la-jt'* “it started to swim”.
- (33) **1.** *a[a]-ajmg<sup>w</sup>-h<sup>w</sup>a-nš* < *[j]-a[a]-ajmg<sup>w</sup>-h<sup>w</sup>a-nš* ([it(= the sea, C1)]-Par-Prev-go through-Abs) “having gone through”: *masd. ájmg<sup>w</sup>h<sup>w</sup>-ra* [tr.] “to go through”. **2.** *jš-rə-n* < *j-[φ]š-rə-n* (it(= the pig, C1)-[it(= the sea, C2)]-cross-Past.Ind) “it (the pig) crossed it (the sea) and ...”: *masd. á-r-ra* [intr.] “to cross”. **3.** *j-a-x<sup>i</sup>-za-wá* (it(= the pig, C1)-it(= the bull, C2)-Prev-catch up with-Abs) “it (the pig) catching up with it (the bull)”. *j-a-x<sup>i</sup>-za-wá j-á-la-ga-jt'* “it (the pig) started to catch up with it (the bull)”.
- (34) **1.** *ha-x<sup>i</sup>-za-wá-jt'* < *[j]-ha-x<sup>i</sup>-za-wá-jt'* ([it(= the bad pig, C1)]-us(C2)-Prev-catch up with-Dyn-Fin) “it will catch up with us”. **2.** *k'á-rš<sup>w</sup>* < *[j]-k'á-rš<sup>w</sup>* ([it (= your comb, C1)]-Prev-throw.IMP) “throw it! ”: *masd. a-k'árš<sup>w</sup>-ra* [tr.] “to throw something light”.

- (35) 1. *j-k'a-jš-ršwə-jt'* < *j-k'a-jš-ršwə-φ-jt'* (it(= his comb, C1)-Prev-he(C3)-throw-Aor-Fin) “he threw it”. 2. *an-k'a-jš-ršw* < [*j]-an-k'a-jš-ršw-φ* ([it(= his comb, C1)]-when-Prev-he(C3)-throw-Aor.N.F) “when he threw it”. 3. *bnara-xá-jt'* < [*jə]-bnara-xá-φ-jt'* ([it]-luxuriant forest-become-Aor-Fin) “it turned into a luxuriant forest”. 4. *jə-n-na-k'šla-wa* (it(= the pig, C1)-Prev-it(= the forest, C3)-detain-Abs) lit. “it (the forest) keeping it (the pig)”: masd. *an-k'šla-ra* [tr.] “to detain”. *jə-n-na-k'šla-wa jš-q'a-z-ma* lit. “could it (the forest) keep it (the pig)?”. 5. *j-l-á-sə-n* (it(= the pig, C1)-Par-it(= the forest, C2)-rush into-Past.Ind) “it (the pig) rushed into it and ...”: masd. *á-s-ra* [intr.] “to rush”. For Par[article] *-l-* see (6)-2. 6. *j-jwš-l-sə-n* (it(= the pig, C1)-Par-Prev-pass through-Past.Ind) “it (the pig) passed through it”: masd. *á-l-s-ra* [intr.] “to pass through”. 7. *j-a-x<sup>l</sup>-za-wá* (it(= the pig, C1)-it(= the bull, C2)-Prev-catch up with-Abs) lit. “it (the pig) catching it (the bull)”. *á-c<sup>w</sup> j-a-x<sup>l</sup>-za-wá j-á-la-ga-jt'* “it began to catch up with the bull”.
- (36) 1. *ha-x<sup>l</sup>-za-wá-jt'* < [*j]-ha-x<sup>l</sup>-za-wá-jt'* ([they(C1)]-us(C2)-Prev-catch up with-Dyn-Fin) “they will catch up with us”. 2. *w-x<sup>l</sup>á-h<sup>w</sup>-nə* (you-Prev(back)-turn-Abs) “you having turned back”: masd. *a-x<sup>l</sup>áh<sup>w</sup>-ra* [intr.] “to turn back”. 3. *k'á-žj* < [*j]-k'á-žj* ([it(= your stone, C1)]-Prev(on)-throw.IMP) “throw it on it!”: masd. *a-k'ážj-ra* [tr.] “to throw on”. 4. *j-á-na-h<sup>w</sup>a-jt'* < [*j]-j-á-na-h<sup>w</sup>a-φ-jt'* ([it(C1)]-him(C2)-to-it(= the bull, C3)-say-Aor-Fin) “it (the bull) said to him that ...”.
- (37) 1. *j-k'a-jš-žj-t'* = *j-k'a-jš-žjə-jt'* < *j-k'a-jš-žjə-φ-jt'* (it(C1)-Prev-he(C3)-throw down-Aor-Fin) “he threw it down”.
- (38) 1. *an-k'a-jš-žj'* < [*j]-an-k'a-jš-žj-φ* ([it(= your stone, C1)]-when-Prev-he(C3)-throw down-Aor.N.F) “when he threw it down”. 2. *q'a-lá-jt'* < [*j]-q'a-lá-φ-jt'* ([they(= the big stone fences, C1)]-Prev-become-Aor-Fin) “they was formed”: masd. *á-q'ala-ra* [intr.] “to become, to happen”.
- (39) 1. *aj-xá-jt'* < [*j]-aj-xá-φ-jt'* ([it(= the pig, C1)]-each other-pull-Aor-Fin) “it pulled each other”: masd. *á-[a]j-xa-ra* [intr.] “to pull each other”. 2. *j-zə-r-xš-m-c'ə-jt'* < *j-zə-r-xš-m-c'ə-φ-jt'* (it(= the pig, C1)-Pot-them(= the stone fences, C2)-Prev-Neg-cross-Aor-Fin) “it (the pig) could not cross them”: masd. *a-xšc'-ra* [intr.] “to cross”. For the Pot[ential] prefix that usually means an action is not possible, see Yanagisawa (2004: 91-96).
- (40) 1. *jə-n-xá-jt'* (it(= the pig, C1)-Prev-remain-Aor-Fin) “it remained”: masd. *a-nxa-rá* [intr.] “to remain, to stay”. 2. *d-abá-wə-št-wa-z* < *d-abá-w-[w?]ə-št-wa-z* (him-where-Prev-[you?]-let go-Impf.N.F) “where did you let him go?”: masd. *á-wəšt-ra* [tr.] “to let sb. go”. 3. *d-aan-xá-jt'* < *d-aan-xá-φ-jt'* (he(C1)-Prev-remain-Aor-Fin) “he remained”: masd. *áanxa-ra* [intr.] “to stay here”.
- (41) 1. *d-á-ma-nə* (him(C1)-it(= the bull, C2)-have-Abs) lit. “it having had him”, i.e. “with him”: masd. *á-ma-zaa-ra* [intr. inverse] “to have”. 2. *j-ca-wá* (it(= the bull, C1)-go-Abs) “it going”: masd. *a-ca-rá* [intr.] “to go”. 3. *j-ax<sup>l</sup>šnza-[a]-l-ša-wa-z* (it(= going, C1)-until-it(= the bull, C2)-Prev-be able to-Impf-N.F) “as far as it could go”: masd. *á-lša-ra* [intr. inverse] “to be able to”. 4. *j-cá-jt'* < *j-cá-φ-jt'* (it(= the bull, C1)-go-Aor-Fin) “it went”.
- (42) 1. *j-an-áapsa* < *j-an-áapsa-φ* (it(= the bull, C1)-when-get tired-Aor.N.F) “when it got tired”: masd. *áapsa-ra* [intr.] “to get tired”. 2. *j-aan-gól-t'* = *j-aan-góla-jt'* < *j-aan-góla-φ-jt'* (it(= the bull, C1)-Prev-stop-(Aor)-Fin) “it stopped”: masd. *áangəla-ra* [intr.] “to stop”.

## **Abbreviations**

Abs = absolutive

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

Fin = finite

IMP = imperative

Impf = imperfect

Ind = indefinite

Instr = instrumental

intr. = intransitive

masd. = masdar

Neg = negative

N.F = non-finite

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

SP = speech-particle

Stat = stative

SV = subjective version

tr. = transitive

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