A North West Caucasian Reader:

phonemicized ,glossed, and translated texts in

East Circassian (Kabardian)
West Circassian (Bzhedukh)
Ubykh
Abaza (Tapanta)
Abzhwi Abkhaz* and
Bzyb Abkhaz

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Introduction

In the following I give whole texts which I have phonemicized at a fairly surface level, so that the page can be read off apart from zero morphemes. Deep structure is provided, word for word, in the following glossing and analysis sections. Usually I have glossed the morphemes for third person according to their actual referents, that is to say 'his,' 'her,''she,' and so forth with the sole exception of /-y-ah-/ which is -3-pl-. In this way the reader can keep track of the references of the pronouns and indices. Likewise, I have glossed the general verb of motion either as 'come' or 'go' in order to help the reader. To avoid the impression of excessive clutter on the page, I have often offset all punctuation, save commas, by one space.

The present texts are predominantly from the so-called "Nart Sagas." These are old myths of the North Caucasus which show fascinating parallels outside the region (Colarusso 1997; 1994, a; 1994, b; 1989, a; 1989, b; 1989, c; 1988; 1984, a; 1984, b).

The languages are presented in a geographic order, starting with Kabardian East Circassian in the eastern extremity of the homeland,(see map, p. 2), and extending west to the Black Sea with Bzhedukh West Circassian, then southward along the coast to

Ubykh, then Abaza, just over the mountains, and finally, Abkhaz.

Before each text I give the phonemic inventory of each language. Some texts are followed by grammatical comments.

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I. Kabardian (East Circassian)

Phonemic inventory

labial	p	b	p’	f	v	f’	m		w
dental (alveolar)	t	d	t’				n		
alveolar	c	ʒ	c’	s	z			r	
lateral				ɬ	ɮ	ɬ’			
alveolo-palatal				ś	ź	ś’			
palato-alveolar (laminal)				š	ž				
palatal	kʸ	gʸ	k’ʸ	x̂	ĝ				y
velar (rounded)	k˚	g˚	k’˚	x̂˚	-				
uvular	q	-	q’	x̌	ɣ				
(rounded)	q˚	-	q’˚	x̌˚	ɣ˚				
pharyngeal (epiglottal)				ḥ	ʕ				
laryngeal			ʔ	h					
rounded			ʔ˚						

vowels ə a

Note on the vertical vowel systems of the two Circassian languages:
The two vowels consist of an unspecified sonorant transition /ə/, the manifestation of the V slot of the word skeleton, and an open, front-central variant /a/, [ɛ]. In initial position /a/ fills syllable onset and has a more open variant. These two vowels assimilate in rounding and tongue position to the consonant or glide of their syllable coda. When a coda is absent, they assimilate to their syllable onset, with /ə/ often showing a nasalized allophone. A third vowel, /ɑ/, occurs in the surface, where it fills a syllable onset or coda,(a position otherwise occupied by a consonant) and hence shows only slight assimilation to syllable onset or to other coda consonants. It is not necessarily long. This third vowel can come from the sequence /aa/, (itself from a skeleton [CaCa] wherein the second /a/ is “back licensed” to yield [CaaCa]). A few words seem to be exceptions to this process, most notably those with initial /ʔ/, which suggest that a sequence of three [+low] segments in a syllable is not tolerated. On the

otherhand, the intimate prefix, found in the possessed forms for ‘father’ and ‘mother’, retains its long vowel as though it had an underlying initial [+low] consonant, which I have rendered with an /h/, thus /(yə-)ha+na/ (his-)intimate+mother, /(yə-)ha+da/ (his-)intimate+father. An initial [+low] segment alone is therefore not an impediment to the formation of [ɑ], but it nonetheless masks any potential back-copying of the second /a/. [ɑ] (/aa/) reduces to /a/ when unstressed. Next to a pharyngeal, however, [ɑ] persists unless the stress is further away than two syllables. Alternatively [ɑ] can come from /ah/,(itself usually from /ha/ by a metathesis rule). It is found in a few roots (mostly borrowings) and in verbal prefixes, where it indicates a plural third-person index (/-y-ha-/). [ɑ]s with these sources are stable even when unstressed (also true of [ɑ] of the intimate prefix).

Stress falls before the last consonant of the word in verbs (non-metrical) and of the stem in nouns (metrical)). The question suffix, /ɑ́/, attracts stress giving proof of its consonant-like coda-filling character: /-ah/ (Kuipers 1960). In the plural suffix /ha/ gives [hɑ] or [ɦɑ] (after voiced segments)(Kuipers 1960). /ə/ is not predictable since the skeleton of the word is not predictable, especially in core vocabulary. It is lost in vowel sequences. Even /a/ is lost when it is conjoined with /ɑ/, as occurs in the third-person plural subject index of present verbs: /-y-ha-a-/ > [yɑ]. Kabardian is unique in deriving some instances of stable /ɑ/ from the sonorization of /ɣ/ of the past tense: /-ɣa-/ > /-aɣ-/ > /-aɦ-/ > /ɑ̄/.

For most speakers the palatals can be randomly realized either as non-coronal [kˈʸ, gʸ, kʼʸ] or as coronals [ç, ɟ, çʼ] (similar to Hungarian ‘gy’) (Kuipers 1960).

Transliterated Text

[from Colarusso 1992, pp. 203-222; after Hadaghat'la 1968, 1: 263-265, no. 76]

[1] [1]ƛ̓ápśra [2]žəĝgˇɑ́śamra

[2] [1]nɑ́rthar [2]zəx̂ˇáy [3]psaw [4]yɑx̂ˇəyś'rə́y [5]ƛ̓apś [6]yəś'án [7]yəməɣˇatə́žəw [8]q'ɑ̀ narə́y [9]zaš [10]x̌ˇɑś . [3] [1]x̂ˇaməšak^{y}ə́ž [2]śə́x̌ˇəm, [3]satanaygˇɑ́śam [4]dayž [5]k'ˇˇarə́y [6]yaƛ̓aʔˇɑ́ś .

[4] " [1]satanaygˇɑ́śa, [2]sawzáš, [3]sś'án [4]zɣˇatərq'ə́m . [5] [1]səyq'ɑrə́wər [2]zasḥaƛ̓'án [3]səməɣˇatə́w, [6]ɣˇə́ś'əw [7]sə́yʔar [8]səwəp'aś'ɑ́ś . [6] [1]gˇɑ́šaw [2]śə́ʔam [3]wa [4]náx̌ra [5]nax̌ [6]ʔˇəś [7]yɑx̂amətə́w [8]žyɑ́ʔa, [9]sś'án [10]q'əsx̂ˇagˇəpsə́s !" [11]žəyʔarə́y .

[7] " [1]sət [2]q'əx̂ˇazgˇəpsəsə́n ?" [3]gˇəzavɑ́ś [4]satanaygˇɑ́śa, " [5]nɑ́rtha [6]ʔɑ́śa [7]x̂ˇáyəm [8]yɑx̂ˇapś'ɑ́ś, [9]nɑ́rtha [10]ɣˇə́bža [11]x̂ˇáyəm [12] yɑx̂ˇapś'ɑ́ś . [8] [1]c'əx̂° [2]zəx̂ˇáy [3]psawrə́y [4]pś'ɑ́ś . [9] [1]yə́g^{y}ə [2]yawə́y [3]yaźə́y [4]dəwnáy [5]q'ak'ˇə́ḥ, [6]ɑdráy [7]c'ə́x̂ˇhar [8]zarəpsáwər [9]zaɣaƛ̓ɑ̀ ɣˇə́y [10]nɑ́rtha [11]ś'anə́ɣa [12]q'ɑx̂ˇáḥ . [10] [1]tḥam [2]wəq'əymməwəžaɣˇəžɑ́ma [3]zəgˇár [4]q'abɣˇatə́nś ."

[11] " [1]dəwnayr [2]q'ask'ˇəḥə́n [3]śḥák'^{y}a [4]sət [5]səx̂ˇayənə́w !"

[12] " [1]zəyk'^{y} [2]wəzəx̂ˇayə́šx̂ˇa [3]śəwəvaq'ə́m . [13] [1]məlaźanáw [2]zəfayəƛ̓ḥáɣˇa [3]zaɣapaśə́y [4]yáźa . [14] [1]maš [2]zəś'án [3]f'ə́wa [4]wəq'ayƛ̓ɑ́ɣˇ, [5]ʔaś [6]zəɣáx̌ˇər [7]wəynəbźáɣˇəś, [8]ɑ́bəham [9]śḥák'^{y}a [10]wɑɣaƛ̓'anəq'ə́m ."

[15] [1]ƛ̓apś [2]yawəvɑ̀ ƛ̓'arə́y [3]nax̌ [4]žərbədadə́dam [5]q'əx̂əyx̂rə́y [6]žər [7]vɑ́q'a [8]yəś'rə́y [9]ɑr [10]ʔaś'aƛ̓ə́w [11]yaźɑ́ś . [16] [1]ƛ̓apś [2]ɑbx̂ˇadə́yzk'^{y}a [3]psə́nś'aw [4]k'ˇˇartə́y [5]zəmɑ̀ zaɣˇáɡˇər [6]zəmɑ́x̂ˇam [7]yək'ˇˇərt, [8]zəyəƛ̓ás [9]ɣˇáɡˇər [10]zəmɑ́zam [11]yək'ˇˇə́rt; [12]q'ˇˇərš [13]x̂ˇazam [14]yabɑ̀ q'ˇˇárt, [15]psə [16]x̂ˇázam [17]yaƛ̓árt . [17] [1]k'ˇˇà mƛ̓áym [2]k'ˇˇà mƛ̓áywəra [3]psəybƛ [4]zapəywəp'ś'rə́y [5]taynɡ^{y}ə́z [6]ʔˇə́fam [7]ʔˇəḥɑ́ś .
[18] [1]žəĝə́yśa [2]q'ərəyk^{y}ś, [3]yəwəx̌ˇánś'əś, [4]zarəypx̂rə́y [5]x̂əm [6]trəyɣaƛ̓adɑ́ś, [7]yázər [8]ɑ́bə [9]taywə̀ vamrə́y [10]taynɡ^{y}ə́zəm [11]yək'^{y}ɑ́ś . [19] [1]zarəyk'^{y}ə́w [2]psə [3]ʔˇə́fam [4]g^{y}agˇə́w [5]ʔˇəsə́w [6]yərəyḥaƛ̓'ɑ́ś [7]x̌əg^{y}ábz [8]gˇəp, [9]nɑ́bʒa [10]zətáyƛ̓əm [11]yɑnax̌ [12]dɑ́x̂ɑaw . [20] [1]ƛ̓apś [2]záns'aw [3]ḥaśə́q' [4]yɑx̂ˇax̌ˇɑ́ś [5]ɑ́bəham, [6]á́wa [7]yápx̌ˇa [8]patmə́y [9]zərə́y [10]q'əx̂ˇawəbədɑq'ə́m, [11]ɑbx̂ˇadə́yzk'^{y}a [12]c'ɑ̀ ƛ̓ahatə́y [13]ʔaś'ac'aftəžə́rt . [21] [1]yərəyx̂ˇəźarə́y [2]yɑś'arəḥɑq'ə́m .

[22] [1]yət’ɑ́na [2]ƛaʔᵊɑ́ś :

[23] “ [1]tḥar [2]fəzawɣaƛáʔᵊ, [3]fəzəyś’ə́sər [4]q’əzžə́fʔa . [24] [1]fa [2]fx̂ᵊáda [3]səynə́bźəm [4]sƛaɣᵊɑq’ə́m . [25] [1]sa [2]sƛaɣᵊɑ́m [3]ḥatə́r [4]q’əsx̂ᵊazməś’ɑ́ [5]q’ɑx̂ak’ʸɑq’ə́m,” [6]žəyʔarə́y .

[26] “ [1]žəĝgᵊɑ́śam [2]dərəytḥaʔᵊəx̂ᵊə́dś,” [3]žɑʔɑ́ś [4]x̌əgʸábz [5]gᵊəpəm . [27] “ [1]dəygᵊɑ́śam [2]wənəx̂ᵊaybƛɑ́ɣam [3]wəy [4]ḥatə̀ rə́y [5]q’əyƛɑ̀ ɣᵊə́nś .”

[28] “ [1]nɑkʼᵊa, [2]sə́fša,” [3]žəyʔarə́y [4]ƛapś [5]tḥaʔᵊəx̂ᵊə́dham [6]yɑwəź [7]yəwəvarə́y [8]kʼᵊɑś . [29] [1]nasma, [2]zəžəĝvarɑməś’áž [3]śətś, [4]žəĝəwə́y [5]məžəĝə́w, [6]cʼəx̂ᵊəwə́y [7]məcʼəx̂ᵊə́w, [8]zəy [9]ś’ə́sər [10]q’əpx̂ᵊaməś’anə́w . [30] [1]yəƛɑ́bźar [2]kᵊə́wa [3]ś’əm [4]x̂ɑ́təw, [5]yəśḥɑ́cər [6]pšam [7]x̂ᵊádaw [8]wɑ́gᵊəm [9]yə́təw, [10]yəʔə́yt’ər [11]cʼə́x̂ᵊʔaw, [12]yənɑ́kʼᵊər [13]dɑ́x̂am [14]yɑnax̌ [15]dɑ́x̂aw, [16]də́śamra [17]dəźə́nəmra [18]q’əx̂aś’ə́kʼʸahəwa . [31] [1]žəĝgᵊɑ́śar [2]ƛapś [3]q’əśəgᵊəf’əkʼʸrə́y [4]yərəyɣabƛaɣɑ́ś, [5]yəɣɑ́šx̂aś, [6]yərəyɣɑ̀ farə́y [7]yəɣaɣᵊaƛəžɑ́ś . [32] [1]žaśə́bĝəm [2]ƛapś [3]q’awəšrə́y " [4]zəzɣaɣᵊát [5]žəyʔarə́y [6]pəywəbədɑ́ś .

[33] “ [1]dɑ́wa [2]x̌ᵊən,” [3]yədɑq’ə́m [4]žəĝgᵊɑ́śam, “ [5]sa [6]səgᵊɑ́śaś, [7]cʼəx̂ᵊcʼə́kʼᵊ [8]yəgʸərə́y [9]q’as [10]q’əsƛaʔasɑq’ə́m .”

[34] “ [1]sa [2]tḥam [3]sɑśə́ś,” [4]žə́yʔaś [5]ƛapśə́y [6]tagʸərə́y [7]ƛ’ə̀ ɣᵊafəzə́ɣᵊa [8]yərəyx̂ɑ́ś .

[35] [1]gᵊɑ́śam [2]ɑr [3]yəgᵊ [4]yərəyḥrə́y [5]ƛápśəm [6]q’ayƛaʔᵊɑ́ś “ [7]wəməkʼᵊažə́w [8]q’ɑ́na,” [9]žəyʔarə́y .

[36] “[1]ḥáwa, [2]x̌ᵊənəwq’ə́m [3]sɑq’ɑ́na,” [4]yədɑq’ə́m [5]ƛapś, “ [6]sa [7]ś’əm [8]yəɣᵊə́nar [9]q’azɣᵊatə́w [10]nɑ́rtham [11]ś’anə́ɣa [12]yɑx̂ᵊasḥə́n [13]x̂ᵊayś .”

[37] “ [1]wəśəmə́wa, [2]ƛapś, [3]ś’anə́ɣa [4]wəx̂ᵊáym [5]sa [6]wastə́ńś, [7]sa [8]səyƛɑ́bźar [9]ś’əm [10]x̂atś, [11]ś’əm [12]ś’aƛ [13]psawrə́y [14]sáwś’a, [15]səyśḥácər [16]wɑ́gᵊəm [17]yətśə́y [18]wɑ́fam [19]yət [20]psawrə́y [21]sáwś’a . [38] [1]ś’əm [2]ɣᵊə́na [3]yəʔaq’ə́m,” [4]yəf’aś [5]x̌ᵊɑq’ə́m [6]ƛapś .

[39] “ [1]ś’əm [2]f’akʼʸɑ́ [3]ɣᵊə́na [4]zəymə́ʔa [5]śəʔaq’ə́m, [6]waymə́źa . [40] [1]sa [2]wɑ́gᵊəm [3]yət [4]vɑ́ɣᵊahar [5]wazɣac’əx̂ᵊə́ńś, [6]ś’əm [7]ś’aƛ [8]psawrə́y [9]wəyʔaməś’a [10]yəsƛḥáńś, [11]ś’əśḥáfam [12]taytrə́y [13]wastə́nəś .”

[41] [1]ɑ́rśḥakʼʸa [2]žəĝgᵊɑ́śam [3]žə́yʔar [4]yəf’aś [5]məx̌ᵊə́w, [6]ƛapś [7]yaźažɑ́ś .

[42] [1]yəvάq'ar [2]λὰ ź́áw [3]yəλάpam [4]q'əf'ax̌ažəhə́w, [5]yəbάšər [6]λὰ ź́áw [7]yəʔamə́ś'am [8]q'əymәśə́ž [9]x̌'əhə́w, [10]yəpə́ʔar [11]wənášx̂'əm [12]yəšhə́w [13]yəpśam [14]wardə́x̌'əw [15]q'əf'ax̂'əžəhə́w [16]q'əyk'ʷəḥrə́y [17]ś'əm [18]yəɣ'ə́nar [19]yəɣ'atɑq'ə́m . [43] [1]q'əyɣazažrə́y [2]žəĝg'ά́śam [3]dayž [4]q'ayk'ʷaƛ'ažά́ś.

[44] " [1]q'abɣ'atά́ [2]ś'əm [3]yəɣ'ə́nar ?" [4]q'aywəp'ś'ά́ś [5]žəĝg'ά́śar .

[45] " [1]ḥáwa ."

[46] " [1]ά́t'a [2]sət [3]q'abɣ'atά́ ?"

[47] " [1]zərə́yk'ʸ ."

[48] " [1]ά́t'a [2]sət [3]zabɣaś'ά́ ?"

[49] " [1]ś'əm [2]ɣ'ə́na [3]zaryəmə́ʔar [4]zazɣaś'ά́ś ."

[50] " [1]yət'ά́na [2]śa ?"

[51] " [1]c'ə́x̂'əm [2]yəʔà p'q'ƛáp'q'ər [3]ɣ'ə́ś'əm [4]náx̌ra [5]zarənáx̌ra [6]bə́dar [7]zazɣaś'ά́ś ."

[52] " [1]yət'ά́na [2]śa ?"

[53] " [1]zəy [2]zά́q'ʷa [3]ɣ'ag'ərə́k'ʷam [4]náx̌ra [5]nax̌ [6]g'əɣ' [7]zarəśəmə́ʔar [8]zazɣaś'ά́ś ."

[54] " [1]ɑpsawrə́y [2]x̌ɑrzə́naś," [3]žəyʔά́ś [4]žəĝg'ά́śam . [55] " [1]ά́wa [2]nά́rthar [3]yərəypsawənə́w [4]sət [5]q'ɑx̂'əpś'ά́, [6]sət [7]q'ɑx̂'abɣ'atά́ ?"

[56] " [1]zərə́yk'ʸ ."

[57] " [1]ά́t'a [2]ά́bə [3]śḥák'ʸa [4]q'əś'apk'ʷəḥə́n [5]śəʔɑq'ə́m . [58] [1]sa [2]žəsʔά́m [3]wəq'ayaʔ'ά́wa [4]śətά́m, [5]fəyƛáp'q'ər [6]psawəhə́w [7]yɑx̂'aməwəx̂ə́n [8]ś'anə́ɣaw [9]wastə́nt . [59] [1]nά́rthar [2]fəc'ə́x̂° [3]yərə́śś, [4]fəpà ĝά́śaś . [60] [1]ά́bə [2]fətayk'ʷadažə́nś . [61] [1]ά́wa [2]q'ά́nar [3]yərəypsawə́nəw [4]məys [5]mər [6]fəzáwt," [7]žəyʔarə́y [8]ƛapś [9]zəsɑbə́y [10]də́ɣa [11]q'əʔaś'əyƛḥά́ś .

[62] “ [1]mər [2]wa [3]wə́yq’ʷam [4]zdaḥə́ž . [63] [1]sa [2]ś’anə́ɣara [3]ʔaś’ɑ́ɣaw [4]sə́yʔar [5]ɑ́bə [6]x̂asƛḥɑ́ś .
[64] [1]q’ɑ́x̌ʷəma [2]zarə́x̌° [3]fƛɑ̀ ɣʷə́nq’a ?”

[65] [1]ƛapś [2]sɑbə́yər [3]q’əyḥrə́y [4]q’ak’ʷažɑ́ś . [66] [1]psɑ́ƛaw [2]yə́bzar [3]q’əśəywət’ə́pśəm [4]nɑ́rtham [5]q’ɑžərəyʔɑ́ś .

[67] “ [1]maw [2]wɑ́fam [3]yət [4]šəx̂ʷəƛɑ́ɣʷar [5]fƛɑ́ɣʷəra ?"

[68] “ [1]dawƛɑ́ɣ° .”

[69] “ [1]ɑ́t’a [2]zayk’ʷa [3]fəśək’ʷɑ́k’ʸa, [4]fəq’əśək’ʷɑ́žk’ʸa [5]ɑr [6]fəməɣaɣʷɑ́śama, [7]farə́y [8]fəɣʷaśanq’ə́m,” [9]žəyʔarə́y .

[70] “ [1]ɑƛə̀ ḥaƛə́ḥ, [2]mər [3]q’ɑ́x̌ʷəma [4]zə [5]baƛə́ḥər [6]q’əygʷəpsəsə́nś, [7]mər [8]x̂ʷasɑ̀ q’ə́w [9]p’ən [10]x̂ʷayś,” [11]žɑʔarə́y [12]fəzə́ybƛ [13]bɣʷadɑɣawəvɑ́ś [14]yɑp’ənə́w, [15]kʸaƛəpƛənə́w .

[71] [1]ɑ́rśḥak’ʸa [2]zəmɑ́x̂ʷagʷarəm [3]fəzham] [4]sɑbə́yər [5][ɑ]dak’ʷasək’ʸrə́y [6]gʸagʷə́wəra [7]ɣʷɑ̀ śarə́y [8]kʷadɑ́ś . [72] [1]fə́zham [2]sɑbə́yər [3]yɑgʷ [4]yərɑməɣɑ́ś’aw [5]zabĝərəžharə́y [6]ƛəx̌ʷɑ́ś, [7]ɑ́rśḥak’ʸa
[8]yɑɣʷətəžɑq’ə́m .

[73] [1]q’ax̌ʷɑ́r [2]nɑ́rtham [3]q’əśɑ́ś’am [4]šasharə́y [5]ƛəx̌ʷɑ́k’ʷa [6]yaźɑ́ś . [74] [1]x̂ʷazɑ́ra [2]zəƛaɣʷɑ́r [3]q’ɑɣʷɑ́t [4]məx̌ʷə́ma, [5]yázər [6]yɑɣʷatəžɑq’ə́m .

[75] “ [1]yəɑ́nam [2]dayž [3]kʷažɑ́ [4]x̌ʷənś,” [5]žɑʔarə́y [6]ƛapś [7]yɑɣak’ʷɑ́ś . [76] [1]ɑ́wa [2]sɑbə́yər [3]ɑ́bə [4]kʷažɑtaq’ə́m .

[77] “ [1]sət [2]tś’anə́w, [3]sət [4]dəyʔamɑ́ƛ ?” [5]yawəp’ś’ɑ́ś [6]ɑ́bə [7]ƛapś .

[78] “ [1]zəʔamɑ̀ ƛə́y [2]yəʔaq’ə́m . [79] [1]yəzamɑ́nər [3]q’ɑ́sma, [4]yázəm [5]q’əyɣazažɑ́nś . [80] [1]ɑ́wa [2]q’əśəyɣazažənə́wər [3]tḥam [5]yɑ́ś’a . [81] [1]fəpsɑ́wəwa [2]q’ak’ʷɑ́žma, [3]fəy [4]nɑsə́pś; [5]q’amək’ʷɑ́žma, [6]fəy [7]baƛəḥśə́y, [8]ɑ́bə [9]fətayk’ʷadažɑ́nś,” [10]q’əžərəyʔɑ́ś .

[82] [1]ƛapś [2]yəśḥar [3]f’ax̂ʷɑ́wa [4]q’ak’ʷažɑ́ś .

Phonemic Rendering, Glossing, and Analysis

[1] [1]/ƛ́apɬ́-ra/ Tlepsh (god of the forge)(henceforth Tl)-and; [2]/žəĝ-gˁáaśa-m-ra/ tree-princess, lady-obl-and.

[2] [1]/náhrt-ha-r/ Nart(a race of heroes)-pl-abs; [2]/ø-zə-x̂ˁá-y/ it-what-for-need; [3]/psa-w/ life-adj= alive; [4]/ø-y-ah-x̂ˁa-y-ə-ɬ́'ə-əy-ə́y/ it-3-pl-for-he-non.pr-do-even-and,(this text uses /-əy-ə́y/ (/-rə́y/) as a rhetorical 'and'); [5]/ƛapɬ́/ Tl; [6]/ø-y-ə-ɬ́'á-n/ it-he-non.pr-know-inf; [7]/ø-y-ə-mə-ɣˁatə́-žə-w/ it-he-non.pr-not-find-finally-that ['to find to know' = "to discover"]; [8]/ø-q'a-à -n+a-əy-ə́y/ he-hor-dat-remain+in-even-and; [9]/ø-zaš/ he-yearn; [10]/ø-x̌ˤ-ah-ɬ́/ it-happen-past-aff.

[3] [1]/ø-ø-x̂ˁa-mə-šakʸə́-ž/ he-it-for-not-endure-finally; [2]/ø-ɬ́ə́-x̌ˤə-m/ it-deixis-happen-adv; [3]/satanay-gˁáaśa-m/ Satanaya (all-knowing heroine)(henceforth S)-princess, lady-obl; [4]/ø-dayž/ her-near; [5]/ø-kˀ'ə+a-əy-ə́y/ he-go+intr-even-and; [6]/ø-y-a-ƛa-ʔˁa-áɣ-ɬ́/ he-her-dat-after-say-past-aff = he asked her for something,(note past tense /-aɣ-/ > /-ah-/).

[4] [1]/satanay-gˁáaśa/ S-princess; [2]/s-a-w-záš/ I-pres-prog-yearn; [3]/ø-s-ɬ́'á-n/ it-I-know-inf; [4]/ø-s-ɣˁatə-r-q'ə́m/ it-I-find-pres-not.

[5] [1]/s-əy-q'ahrə́w-ər/ my-poss-strength-abs; [2]/ø-z-a-s-ḥa+ƛ'+á-n/ it-self-dat-I-carry +near+in-inf; [3]/ø-sə-mə-ɣˁatə́-w/ it-I-not-find-that; [4]/ɣˁə́ɬ́'ə-w/ iron-pred; [5]/ø-s-ə́y-ʔa-r/ it-I-poss-have-abs; [6]/ø-sə-wə+p'aɬ́'-áɣ-ɬ́/ it-I-val+flatten-past-aff = I have flattened it out completely.

[6] [1]/gˁá+a+š+a-w/ heart+conn+lead+in-pred = generous; [2]/ø-ɬ́ə́-ʔa-m/ who-deixis-be-obl; [3]/wa/ you; [4]/náx̌-ra/ more-adv; [5]/nax̌/ than; [6]/ʔˁəɬ́/ clever; [7]/ø-y-ah-x̂a-mə-t-ə́w/ she-3-pl-among-not-stand-pred; [8]/ø-ž-y-áh-ʔa/ it-back-3-pl-say; [9]/ø-s-ɬ́'á-n/ it-I-know-inf; [10]/(w-)q'ə-s-x̂ˁa-gˁə+psə́s/ you(imp)-hor-me-for-heart+think = 'remember me', but here "think what I (am) to know"; [11]/ø-ž-y-ə-ʔa-əy-ə́y/ it-back-he-non.pr-say-even-and.

[7] [1]/sə-t/ what-pro afx ; [2]/ø-q'ə-ø-x̂ˁa-s-gˁə+psəsə́-n/ what-hor-(you)-for-I-heart+think-subj; [3]/ø-gˁə+zav-áɣ-ɬ́/ she-heart+narrow-past-aff; [4]/satanay-gˁáaśa/ S-princess; [5]/náhrt-ha/ Nt-pl; [6]/ʔáɬ́a/ weapons; [7]/ø-ø-x̂ˁá-yə-m/ they-it-for-need-obl; [8]/ø-y-ah-x̂ˁa-w-ɬ́'-áɣ-ɬ́/ it-3-pl-for-you-make-past-aff; [9]/náhrt-ha/ Nt-pl; [10]/ɣˁə́bža/ sickle; [11]/ø-ø-x̂ˁá-yə-

m/ them-it-for-need-obl; [12]/ø-y-ah-x̂ˁa-w-ś'-áɣ-ś/ it-3-pl-for-you-make-past-aff.

[8] [1]/c'əx̂ˁ/ people; [2]/ø-zə-x̂ˁá-y/ they-what-for-need; [3]/psa-w-əy-ə́y/ life-adj-even-and; [4]/ø-w-ś'-áɣ-ś/ it-you-make-past-aff.

[9] [1]/yə́-gʸə/ gen-now;[2]/(w-)y-a-w-ə́y/ you(imp)-dir-dat-hit (out)-and; [3]/(w-)y-a-ź-ə́y/ you(imp)-dir-dat-start-and; [4]/dəwná́y/ world; [5]/ø-q'a-(w-)k'ʷ́ə́+ḥ/ it-hor-you(imp)-go+around; [6]/a-d-rá́-y/ that-other-pro-and = and the other; [7]/c'ə́x̂ˁ-ha-r/ people-pl-abs; [8]/ø-z-a-rə-psá́+wə-r/ they-how-dat-inst-life+adj-abs; [9]/ø-z-a-(w-)ɣa-ƛ̂à aɣˁ-ə́y/ it-self-dat-you(imp)-caus-see-and; [10]/náhrt-ha/ Nt-pl; [11]/ś'a+nə́+ɣa/ know+inf+ness = knowledge; [12]/ø-q'-ø-ah-x̂ˁá-(w-)ḥ/ it-hither-3-pl-for-you(imp)-bring.

[10] [1]/tḥa-m/ god-obl; [2]/ wə-q'a-y-ə-mə-wə+žaɣˁə-ž-áɣ-ma/ you-hor-he-non.pr-not-val+find.odious-finally-past-if (past tense as a perfective precondition); [3]/zə-gˁá́r/ one-certain = something; [4]/ø-q'a-w-ɣˁatə́-n-ś/ it-hor-you-find-subj-aff.

[11] [1]/dəwnay-r/ world-abs; [2]/ø-q'a-s-k'ʷ́ə+ḥə́-n/ it-hor-I-go+around-inf; [3]/śḥá́-kʸa/ head-inst = at first; [4]/sə-t/ what-pro afx; [5]/sə-ø-x̂ˁa-yə-nə́-w/ I-it-for-need-fut-def.

[12] [1]/z-əy-kʸ/ what-obl (archaic)-inst (note Bzhedukh West Circassian /a-y/ 3-obl); [2]/wə-zə-x̂ˁa-yə́-šxˁa/ you-what-for-need-greatly; [3]/(w-)ø-śə-wəva-q'ə́m/ you(imp)-it-deixis-stop-not.

[13] [1]/(w-)mə-ƛaźa-ná́-w/ you(imp)-not-work-subjunctive-pred; [2]/zə/ one; [3]/fa-yə-ƛ+ḥá́+ɣˁa/ skin-dir-lie+act+companion = clothes; [4]/ø-z-a-(w-)ɣa-paś-ə́y/ it-self-dat-you(imp)-caus-form-and; [5]/(w-)y-á-ź́a/ you(imp)-dir-dat-start.

[14] [1]/maš/ millet; [2]/ø-zə-ś'á-n/ it-who-make-inf; [3]/f'ə́-wa/ good-adv; [4]/wə-q'a-y-a-ƛ́aɣˁ/ you-hor-he-pres-see; [5]/ʔaś/ cattle; [6]/ø-zə-ɣá-x̌ˁə-r/ it-who-caus-become-abs = who breeds them; [7]/w-əy-nəbźá+ɣˁə-ś/ you-poss-coeval+companion-aff; [8]/á-bə-ha-m/ that-obl-pl-obl(pleonastic); [9]/śḥá-kʸa/ head-inst = by this precondition (i.e., because); [10]/w-y-ah-ɣa-ƛ'a-nə-q'ə́m/ you-3-pl-let-die-fut-not.

[15] [1]/ƛapś/ Tl; [2]/ø-y-a-wəvà +a+ƛ'+a-əy-ə́y/ it-he-pres-stop+on+near+in-even-and; [3]/naž/ (more) than (to); [4]/žər-bəda-də́da-m/ steel-hard-most-obl; [5]/ø-q'ə-ø-x̂a-y-ə-x̂-əy-ə́y/ some-hor-it-among-he-non.pr-take-even-and; [6]/žər/ steel; [7]/váaq'a/ shoe(s); [8]/ø-y-

ə-ś'-əy-ə́y/ them-he-non.pr-make-even-and; [9]/a-r/ he-abs; [10]/ø-ʔa+ś'a-ƛ̓-əw/ he-hand+inst-lie-that; [11]/ø-y-a-ź-á ɣ-ś/ he-dir-dat-go-past-aff.

[16] [1]/ƛ̓apś/ Tl; [2]/a-b-x̂ˀa-d-ə́y-z-k'ʸa/ that-obl-for-be like-past.part-while-inst = thus, in this way; [3]/psə́nś'a-w/ quick-adv; [4]/ø-k'ˀə+a-r-t-ə́y/ he-go+intr-dist-stand-and = and he went (durative past); [5]/zə-mà aza-ɣˀá+gˀ-ər/ one-forest-road+surface-abs; [7]/zə-máax̂ˀa-m/ one-day-obl; [8]/ø-y-ə-k'ˀə-r-t/ it-he-non.pr-go-dist-stand; [9]/zə-yə-ƛ̓ás/ one-gen-year; [10]/ɣˀá+gˀ-ər/ road+surface-abs; [11]/zə-máaza-m/ one-forest-obl; [12]/ø-y-ə-k'ˀə́-r-t/ it-he-non.pr-go-dist-stand; [13]/q'ˀərš/ cliff; [14]/ø-ø-x̂ˀa-z+a-m/ he-it-for-turn+to-adv; [15]/ø-y-a-bà aq'ˀá-r-t/ he-it-dat-stride-dist-stand, [16]/psə/ river; [17]/ø-ø-x̂ˀá-z+a-m/ he-it-for-turn+to-adv; [18]/ø-y-a-ƛ̓á-r-t/ he-it-dat-jump-dist-stand.

[17] [1]/k'ˀ+à -m-ƛ̓á+y-m/ go+intr-adv-jump+prolonged-adv; [2]/k'ˀ+à -m-ƛ̓á+y-wə-ra/ go+intr-adv-jump+prolonged-pred-adv; [3]/ps-əy-bƛ/ river-num-seven; [4]/ø-za-pə-y-ə-wəp'ś'-əy-ə́y/ them-all-sever-he-non.pr-cross-even-and; [5]/tayngʸə́z/ Taingyiz (Sea of Azov ?); [6]/ʔˀə́-fa-m/ edge-skin-obl = shore; [7]/ø-ø-ʔˀə-ḥ-á ɣ-ś/ he-it-edge-enter-past-aff.

[18] [1]/žəĝ-ə́y-śa/ tree-num-hundred; [2]/ø-q'ə-yə-yə-kʸ-ś/ he-hor-path-dir-walk-aff; [3]/ø-y-ə-wəx̌ˀá+n+ś'ə-ś/ them-he-non.pr-limb+conn+make-aff = he cut them into logs; [4]/ø-z-a-rə-y-ə-px̂-əy-ə́y/ them-recip-dat-inst-he-non.pr-tie-even-and = and he made a raft of them; [5]/x̂ə-m/ sea-obl; [6]/ø-ø-t-y-a-y-ə-ɣa-ƛ̓ad-á ɣ-ś/ it-it-surf-dir-dat-he-non.pr-caus-run-past-aff (> /ø-ø-tə-ø-r-ə-y-ɣa-ƛ̓ad-áh-ś/); [7]/yáz-ər/ self-abs; [8]/á-bə/ it-obl; [9]/ø-ø-t-y-a-wə̀ va-m-əy-ə́y/ he-it-surf-dir-dat-stop-obl-even-and = and he remained on it; [10]/tayngʸə́z-əm/ T.-obl; [11]/ø-yə-k'ʸ-á ɣ-ś/ he-it(fom)-exit-past-aff.

[19] [1]/ø-za-rə-yə-k'ʸ-ə́w/ he-all-along-it(from)-exit-adv; [2]/psə/ water; [3]/ʔˀə́-fa-m/ edge-skin-obl; [4]/ø-gʸagˀ-ə́w/ they-play-that, [5]/ø-ø-ʔˀə-s-ə́w/ they-it-edge-sit-that; [6]/ø-yə-yə-ḥ+a+ƛ̓-á ɣ-ś/ they-cont-dir-carry+in+near-past-aff = they bore a trait (words 9-13); [7]/x̌əgʸá-bz/ girl-female; [8]/gˀəp/ group; [9]/ná-a-bʒa/ eye-conn-brow; [10]/ø-zə-t-y-á-ƛ̓-əm/ it-who-surf-dir-dat-lie-obl; [11]/y-ah-nax̌/ 3-poss.pl-(more) than; [12]/dáax̂a-ha-w/ beautiful-pl-pred.

[20] [1]/ƛ̓apś/ Tl; [2]/zánś'a-w/ straight-adv; [3]/ḥaśə́q'/ fascination; [4]/ø-y-ah-x̂ˀa-x̌ˀ-á ɣ-ś/ he-3-pl-for-happen-past-aff; [5]/á-bə-ha-m/ that-obl-pl-obl, postposed for emphasis; [6]/áwa/ but; [7]/ø-y-á-px̌ˀa/ he-dir-dat-grasp; [8]/ø-pat-m-ə́y/ it-strong(.be)-if-even; [9]/zə-əy-ə́y/ one-even-and; [10]/ø-q'-y-ə-x̂ˀa-wə+bəd-a ɣ-q'ə́m/ her-hor-he-non.pr-for(=able)-

val+hard-past-not = he was not able to seize one of them; [11]/a-b-x̂ˇa-d-ə́y-z-kʼʸa/ that-obl-for-be.like-past.part-while-inst = with things thus for a time; [12]/ø-cʼà aƛa-ha-t-ə́y/ they-slip-pl-stand-and; [13]/ø-ʔa-ś'a-cʼaftə-žə́-r-t/ they-hand-inst-dart.away-again-dist-stand.

[21] [1]/ø-yə-yə-x̂ˇə+ź́a-əy-ə́y/ he-cont-dir-white+colour-even-and = and he turned white; [2]/ø-y-ah-ś'a-rə-ḥ-aɣ-qʼə́m/ he-3-pl-earth-along-enter-past-not = he did not tackle them, bring them down.

[22] [1]/yə-tʼá-a-na/ gen-twice-conn-ordinal = then; [2]/ø-ø-ƛa+ʔˇ-áɣ-ś/ he-something-after+ask-past-aff.

[23] [1]/tḥa-r/ god-abs; [2]/ø-fə-s-a-w-ɣa-ƛá+ʔˇ/ it-you(pl)-me-pres-prog-let-after+ask; [3]/fəz-əy-ś'ə́+s-ər/ woman-poss-under+sit (= nature, type)-abs; [4]/ø-qʼə-s-žə́-f-ʔa/ it-hor-me-back-you(pl)-say.

[24] [1]/fa/ you(pl); [2]/ø-f-x̂ˇá-da/ someone-you(pl)-for-be like; [3]/s-əy-nə́bźə-m/ my-poss-coevals-obl; [4]/ø-s-ƛaɣˇ-aɣ-qʼə́m/ it-I-see-past-not.

[25] [1]/sa/ I, [2]/ø-s-ƛaɣˇ-áɣ-m/ what-I-see-past-obl = in my experience; [3]/ḥatə́r/ respect, esteem; [4]/ø-qʼə-s-x̂ˇa-s-mə-ś'-áɣ/ it-hor-me-for-I-not-do-past; [5]/ø-qʼ-ø-ah-x̂a-kʼʸ-aɣ-qʼə́m/ it-hor-3-pl-among-exit-past-not; (1-5 = in all my experience it has never happened that I have made such a fool of myself); [6]/ø-ž-y-ə-ʔa-əy-ə́y/ it-back-he-non.pr-say-even-and.

[26] [1]/žəĝ-gˇáaśa-m/ tree-princess, lady-obl; [2]/də-yə-yə-tḥa-ʔˇə-x̂ˇə́+d-ś/ we-cont-dir-god-before-bend+down-aff = we are the devotees, followers of a god; [3]/ø-ž-y-ah-ʔa-áɣ-ś/ it-back-3-pl-say-past-aff; [4]/x̌əgʸá-bz/ girl-female; [5]/gˇəp-əm/ group-obl (postposed because word three is normally used to mark direct discourse at end of quote).

[27] [1]/d-əy-gˇáaśa-m/ our-poss-princess-obl; [2]/ø-wənə-x̂ˇa-y-a-bƛá+a+ɣa-m/ she-house-for-dir-dat-pass+conn+ness-adv = (by) extending an invitation to (her) house; [3]/w-əy-ḥatə r-ə́y/ your-poss-esteem-and; [4]/ø-qʼa-y-ə-ƛà aɣˇ-ə́n-ś/ it-hor-she-non.pr-see-fut-aff.

[28] [1]/(f-)na-a-kʼˇ+a/ you(pl.imp)-thither-imp-go+int; [2]/sə́-f-š-a/ me-you(pl)-take-to; [3]/ø-ž-y-ə-ʔa-əy-ə́y/ it-back-he-non.pr-say-even-and; [4]/ƛapś/ Tl; [5]/tḥa-ʔˇə-x̂ˇə́+d-ha-m/

god-before-bend+down-pl-obl; [6]/y-ah-wəź/ 3-poss.pl-trail; [7]/ø-yə-wəva-əy-ə́y/ he-path-stay-even-and; [8]/ø-k'ʼ-aɣ-ś/ he-go-past-aff.

[29] [1]/ø-na-s-ma/ he-thither-reach-adv; [2]/zə/ one; [3]/žəĝ-v-a-r-y-ah-mə-ś'á-ž/ tree-you(pl)-dat-inst-3-pl-not-know-again = it is not recognizable by you(pl) (third person indefinite passive with pleonastic second person instrumental agent which has been postposed and reduced to an adjective-like status); [4]/ø-śə-t-ś/ it-deixis-stand-aff; [5]/ø-žəĝ-əw-ə́y/ it-tree-pred-and; [6]/ø-mə-žəĝ-ə́w/ it-not-tree-pred; [7]/ø-c'əx̂ˇ-əw-ə́y/ it-person-pred-and; [8]/ø-mə-c'əx̂ˇ-ə́w/ it-not-person-pred; [9]/z-əy/ one-even = not at all; [10]/ś'ə́+s-ər/ under+sit-abs = nature; [11]/ø-q'ə-p-x̂ˇa-mə-ś'a-nə́-w/ it-hor-you-able-not-know-subj(with reduced vowel)-def.

[30] [1]/ø-yə-ƛ́á+a+bźa-r/ hər-poss-leg+conn+horn-abs = root(s); [2]/kˇə́-wa/ deep-adv; [3]/ś'ə-m/ earth-obl; [4]/ø-ø-x̂á-t-əw/ they-it-into-stand-pred; [5]/ø-yə-śḥá+cə-r/ poss-head+hair-abs; [6]/pša-m/ cloud-obl; [7]/ø-ø-x̂ˇá-da-w/ it(hair)-it(cloud)-for-be like-pred; [8]/wá-gˇ-əm/ sky-locus-obl; [9]/ø-ø-yə́-t-əw/ it(hair)-it(sky)-dir-stand-pred; [10]/yə-ʔa-ə́y-t'(ʔˇ)ə-r/ its-arm-num-two-abs; [11]/c'ə́x̂ˇ-ʔa-w/ people-arm-pred; [12]/yə-ná+k'ʼˇə-r/ its-eye-slope-abs = cheeks; [13]/dáax̂a-m/ beautiful-obl; [14]/ø-y-ah-naǎ/ its-poss.pl-more; [15]/dáax̂a-w/ beautiful-pred, (12-15 = most beautiful); [16]/dəśa-m-ra/ gold-conn-and; [17]/dəźə́n-əm-ra/ silver-conn-and; [18]/ø-q'ə-x̂a-ś'ə́+k'ʼʸa-hə-wa/ they-hor-mass-under+exit-pl-pred = they were in evidence, they were to be found.

[31] [1]/žəĝ-gˇáaśa-r/ tree-lady-abs; [2]/ƛapś/ Tl; [3]/ø-q'ə-ø-śə-gˇə+f'ə+kʼʸ-əy-ə́y/ she-incept-him-deixis-heart+good+grow-even-and = and she fell in love with him; [4]/ø-y-a-y-ə-ɣa-bƛ+a+ɣ-á́ɣ-ś/ him-it-dat-she-non.pr-caus-pass+conn+ness-past-aff = she invited him in; [5]/ø-y-ə-ɣá-a-šx̂+a-ś/ him-she-non.pr-caus-conn-eat+intr-aff; [6]/ø-y-a-y-ə-ɣà -a-f+a-əy-ə́y/ him-it-dat-she-non.pr-caus-conn-drink+at-even-and; [7]/ø-y-ə-ɣa-ɣˇa+ƛə-ž-á́ɣ-ś/ him-she-non.pr-caus-purpose+lie.down-again-past-aff = she made him lie down to rest.

[32] [1]/žaś-ə́-bğə-m/ night-ep.v-waist-obl = midnight; [2]/ƛapś/ Tl; [3]/ø-q'a-wəš-əy-ə́y/ he-incept-awake-even-and; [4]/ø-zə-s-ɣa-ɣˇát/ something-self-I-caus-find; [5]/ø-ø-ž-y-ə-ʔa-əy-ə́y/ it-her-back-he-non.pr-say-even-and; [6]/ø-pə-y-ə-wə+bəd-á́ɣ-ś/ it-sever-he-non.pr-val+hard-past-aff = he resolved upon something.

[33] [1]/dá+a+w+a/ with+conn+strike+at = dispute; [2]/ø-x̌ˇə-n/ it-happen-fut; [3]/ø-y-ə-d-

aɣ-q'ə́m/ him-she-non.pr-agree-past-not; [4]/žəĝ-gˇáaśa-m/ tree-lady-obl; [5]/sa/ I; [6]/sə-gˇáaśa-ś/ I-princess-aff; [7]/c'əx̂ˇ-c'ə́k'°/ person-little; [8]/yə-gʸə-əy-ə́y/ gen-now-even-and; [9]/ø-q'a-s/ it-hither-reach = up until; [10]/ø-q'ə-s-ƛ̓a+ʔa+s-aɣ-q'ə́m/ he-hither-me-after+hand+reach-past-not.

[34] [1]/sa/ I, [2]/tḥa-m/ god(s)-obl; [3]/s-ø-ah-śə́-ś/ I-3-pl-deixis-belong; [4]/ø-ž-y-ə́-ʔa-ś/ it-back-he-non.pr-say-aff; [5]/ƛ̓apś-ə́y/ Tl-and; [6]/ø-tagʸə-əy-ə́y/ he-stand up-even-and; [7]/ƛ̓'ə̀ +ɣˇa-fəz+ə́+ɣˇa/ man+companion-woman+ep.v+companion; [8]/ø-yə-y-ə-x̂-áɣ-ś/ it-her(from)-he-non.pr-take-past-aff; (7-8 = he made love to her).

[35] [1]/gˇáaśa-m/ lady-obl; [2]/a-r/ him-abs; [3]/ø-yə-gˇ/ her-poss-heart (in); [4]/ø-y-a-y-ə-ḥ-əy-ə́y/ him-it-dat-she-non.pr-carry-even-and; [5]/ƛ̓ápś-əm/ Tl-obl; [6]/ø-q'-y-a-ƛ̓a+ʔˇ-áɣ-ś/ she-hor-him-dat-after+say-past-aff; [7]/wə-mə-k'°+a-žə́-w/ you-not-go+intr-again-pred; [8]/(w-)q'á-a-n+a/ you(imp)-hor-dat-stay+at; [9]/ø-ž-y-ə-ʔa-əy-ə́y/ it-back-she-say-even-and.

[36] [1]/ḥáwa/ no; [2]/ø-x̌ˇə-nə-w-q'ə́m/ it-happen-fut-def-not = it will not be possible; [3]/s-ø-ah-q'á-a-n+a/ I-3-pl-hor-dat-stay+at, (emphatic postposing of 3 over 2); [4]/ø-y-ə-d-aɣ-q'ə́m/ her-he-non.pr-agree-past-not; [5]/ƛ̓apś/ Tl; [6]/sa/ I; [7]/ś'ə-m/ earth-obl; [8]/ø-yə-ɣˇə́na-r/ its-poss-boundary-abs; [9]/ø-q'a-s-ɣˇatə́-w/ it-hor-I-find-pred; [10]/náhrt-ha-m/ Nart-pl-obl; [11]/ś'a+nə́+ɣa/ know+inf+ness; [12]/ø-y-ah-x̂ˇa-s-ḥə́-n/ it-3-pl-for-I-carry (off from there)-inf; [13]/ø-ø-x̂ˇa-y-ś/ it(dummy pro)-it-for-need-aff.

[37] [1]/wə-śə-mə́-w+a/ you-deixis-not-strike+at; [2]/ƛ̓apś/ Tl; [3]/ś'a-nə́-ɣa/ know-inf-ness; [4]/wə-ø-x̂ˇá-y-m/ you-it-for-need-obl; [5]/sa/ I; [6]/ø-w-a-s-t-ə́-n-ś/ it-you-dat-I-give+tr-fut-aff; [7]/sa/ I; [8]/s-əy-ƛ̓á+a+bźa-r/ my-poss-leg+conn+horn-abs = root(s); [9]/ś'ə-m/ earth-obl; [10]/ø-ø-x̂a-t-ś/ they-it-mass-stand-aff; [11]/ś'ə-m/ earth-obl; [12]/ø-ø-ś'a-ƛ̓/ which-3-under-lie; [13]/psa+w-əy-ə́y/ life-adj-even-and; [14]/ø-s-á-w-ś'a/ it-I-pres-prog-know; [15]/s-əy-śḥá+cə-r/ my-poss-head+hair-abs; [16]/wá+gˇ-əm/ sky-surface-obl; [17]/ø-ø-yə-t-ś-ə́y/ it(hair)-it(sky)-cont-stand-aff-and; [18]/wá+a+fa-m/ sky+conn+skin-obl; [19]/ø-ø-yə-t/ which (word 20)-it(sky)-cont-stand; [20]/psa+w-əy-ə́y/ life+adj-even-and; [21]/ø-s-á-w-ś'a/ it-I-pres-prog-know.

[38] [1]/ś'ə-m/ earth-obl; [2]/ɣˇə́na/ boundary; [3]/ø-ø-yə-ʔa-q'ə́m/ it(boundary)-it(earth)-poss-have-not; [4]/ø-yə-f'a+ś/ her-poss-good+aff = her beloved; [5]/ø-x̌ˇ-aɣ-q'ə́m/ he-become-past-not; [6]/ƛ̓apś/ Tl

[39] [1]/ś'ə-m/ earth-obl; [2]/ø-ø-f'a-k'^{y}-á ɣ/ you(imp)-it-detri-exit-past; [3]/ɣ˚ə́na/ boundary; [4]/ø-z-yə-mə́-ʔa/ it-which-poss-not-have; [5]/ø-śə-ʔa-q'ə́m/ it-deixis-exist-not; [6]/w-y-a-mə́-ź́a/you-dir-dat-not-go.

[40] [1]/sa/ I; [2]/wá+g˚-əm/ sky-surface-obl; [3]/ø-ø-yə-t/ which-it-cont-stand; [4]/váaɣ˚a-ha-r/ star-pl-abs; [5]/ø-w-a-s-ɣa-c'əx̂˚-ə́-n-ś/ them-you-dat-I-caus-be.acquainted-ep.v-fut-aff; [6]/ś'ə-m/ earth-obl; [7]/ø-ø-ś'a-ƛ̓/ under-lie; [8]/psa+w-əy-ə́y/ life-adj-even-and; [9]/w-əy-ʔa-m-ə́-ś'a/ your-poss-arm-obl-ep.v-inst = in the palm; [10]/ø-ø-yə-s-ƛ̓-ḥá-n-ś/ it-it(palm)-cont-I-lay-active-fut-aff; [11]/ś'ə-śḥá+fa-m/ earth-head+skin-obl = surface (of the earth); [12]/ø-ø-t-y-a-t-əy-ə́y/ it-it(earth)-surface-dir-dat-stand-even-and; [13]/ø-w-a-s-tə́-n-ə-ś/ it-you-dat-I-give-fut-ep.v-aff.

[41] [1]/á-r-śḥa-k'^{y}a/ that-inst-head-inst = with this having gone before; [2]/žəĝ-g˚áaśa-m/ tree-lady-obl; [3]/ø-ž-y-ə́-ʔa-r/ what-back-she-non.pr-say-abs; [4]/ø-yə-f'a+s/ her-poss-good+aff; [5]/ø-mə-x̌˚ə́-w/ he-not-become-pred; [6]/ƛ̓apś/ Tl; [7]/ø-y-a-ź́a-ž-á ɣ-ś/ he-dir-dat-go-again-past-aff.

[42] [1]/ø-yə-váaq'a-r/ his-poss-shoe(s)-abs; [2]/ø-ø-ƛ̓à aź́á-w/ which-he-make-pred; [3]/ø-yə-ƛ̓á+a+pa-m/ his-poss-leg+conn+tip-obl = foot; [4]/ø-q'a-y-ə-f'ax̂˚a-žə-hə́-w/ them-incept-he-non.pr-don-again-pl-pred; [5]/ø-yə-báašə-r/ his-poss-walking.stick-abs; [6]/ø-ø-ƛ̓à aź́á-w/ which-he-make-pred; [7]/ø-yə-ʔa-m-ə́-ś'a-m/ his-poss-arm-obl-ep.v-inst-obl; [8]/ø-q'a-y-ə-məśə́-ž/ it-incept-he-non.pr-fit(= grasp)-again; [9]/ø-x̌˚ə-hə́-w/ it-happen-pl-pred; [10]/ø-yə-pə́ʔa-r/ his-poss-hat-abs; [11]/wənə́-šx̂˚ə-m/ house-big-obl; [12]/ø-y-ə-š-hə́-w/ it(hat)-he-non.pr-bring(out)-pl-pred; [13]/ø-yə-pśa-m/ his-poss-neck-obl; [14]/wardə́x̌˚-əw/ hoop-pred; (13-14 = a torc); [15]/ø-q'a-y-ə-f'ax̂˚ə-žə-hə́-w/ them-incept-he-non.pr-don-again-pl-pred; [16]/ø-q'-yə-k'˚ə+ḥ-əy-ə́y/ he-hor-dir-go+around-even-and; [17]/ś'ə-m/ earth-obl; [18]/ø-yə-ɣ˚ə́na-r/ its-poss-boundary-abs; [19]/ø-y-ə-ɣ˚at-aɣ-q'ə́m/ it-he-non.pr-find-past-not.

[43] [1]/ø-q'a-y-ə-ɣa-z+a-ž-əy-ə́y/ (self)-incept-he-non.pr-caus-turn+to-again-even-and; [2]/žəĝ-g˚áaśa-m/ tree-lady-obl; [3]/ø-dayž/ her-near; [4]/ø-q'a-y-a-k'˚+a+ƛ̓'+a-ž-áɣ-ś/ he-hor-her-dat-come+intr+near+at-again-past-aff.

[44] /[1]ø-q'a-w-ɣ˚at-áɣ/ it-hor-you-find-past; [2]/ś'ə-m/ earth-obl; [3]/ø-yə-ɣ˚ə́na-r/ its-poss-boundary; [4]/ø-q'a-y-a-wəp'ś'-áɣ-ś/ she-hor-him-dat-ask-past-aff; [5]/žəĝ-g˚áaśa-r/

tree-lady-abs.

[45] [1]/ḥáwa/ no.

[46] [1]/át'a/ so; [2]/sə-t/ what-pro afx; [3]/ø-q'a-w-ɣˀat-áɣ/ what-hor-you-find-past.

[47] [1]/zə-əy-ə́y-kʼʸ/ one-obl-even-inst = nothing.

[48] /[1]át'a/ so; [2]/sə-t/ what-pro afx; [3]/ø-z-a-w-ɣa-ś'-áɣ/ what-self-dat-you-caus-know-past.

[49] [1]/ś'ə-m/ earth-obl; [2]/ɣˀə́na/ boundary; [3]/ø-z-a-r-ø-yə-mə-ʔa-r/ it(boundary)-how-dat-inst-it(earth)-poss-not-have-abs; [4]/ø-z-a-z-ɣa-ś'-áɣ-ś/ it-self-dat-I-caus-know-past-aff.

[50] [1]/yə-t'á-a-na/ gen-twice-conn-ord = then; [2]/śa/ what.

[51] [1]/c'ə́x̂ˀ-əm/ person-obl; [2]/ø-yə-ʔà +p'q'-ƛá+p'q'-ər/ his-poss-arm+frame-leg+frame-abs = body (as a framework); [3]/ɣˀə́ś'ə-m/ iron-obl; [4]/náx̌-ra/ than-adv; [5]/z-a-rə-náx̌-ra/ how-dat-inst-more-adv; [6]/bə́da-r/ hard-abs; (3-6 = how it is harder than iron); [7]/ø-z-a-s-ɣa-ś'-áɣ-ś/ it-self-dat-I-caus-know-past-aff.

[52] [1]/yə-t'á-a-na/ gen-twice-conn-ord ; [2]/śa/ what.

[53] [1]/z-əy/ one-and; [2]/záaq'ˀa/ alone; [3]/ø-ɣˀa+gˀə-rə́-k'ˀ+a-m/ who-road+surface-dist-go+intr-obl; [4]/náx̌-ra/ than-adv; [5]/nax̌/ more; [6]/gˀə-ɣˀ/ heart-dry = difficulty; [7]/ø-z-a-rə-ø-śə-mə́-ʔa-r/ it-how-dat-inst-him-deixis-not-exist-abs; [8]/ø-z-a-s-ɣa-ś'-áɣ-ś/ it-self-dat-I-caus-know-past-aff.

[54] [1]/a-psa+w-əy-ə́y/ the-life+adj-even-and; [2]/x̌ahrzə́na-ś/ good, beautiful-aff; [3]/ø-ž-y-ə-ʔa-áɣ-ś/ it-back-she-non.pr-say-past-aff; [4]/žəĝ-gˀáaśa-m/ tree-lady-obl.

[55] [1]/áwa/ but; [2]/náhrt-ha-r/ Nt-pl-abs; [3]/ø-yə-yə-psa+wə-nə́-w/ they-cont-dir-life+adj-inf-that; [4]/sə-t/ what-pro afx; [5]/ø-q'-ø-ah-x̂ˀa-w-ś'-áɣ/ what-hor-3-pl-for-you-know-past; [6]/sə-t/ what-pro afx; [7]/ø-q'-ø-ah-x̂ˀa-w-ɣˀat-áɣ/ what-hor-3-pl-for-you-find-past.

[56] [1]/zə-əy-ə́y-kʼ[y]/ one-obl-even-inst = nothing.

[57] [1]/átʼa/ so; [2]/á-bə/ that-obl; [3]/śḥá-kʼ[y]a/ head-inst = apart from; [4]/ø-qʼə-śʼa-w-kʼ°ə+ḥə́-n/ it-hor-earth-you-go+around-inf; [5]/ø-śə-ʔ-aɣ-qʼə́m/ it-deixis-exist-past-not.

[58] [1]/sa/ I; [2]/ø-žə-s-ʔa-áɣ-m/ what-back-I-say-past-obl; [3]/wə-qʼa-y-a-ʔ°-áɣ-wa/ you-hor-it-dat-listen-past-that; [4]/ø-śə-t-áɣ-m/ it-deixis-stand-past-obl(= if); [5]/f-əy-ƛá+pʼqʼ-ər/ you(pl)-poss-leg+bone-abs; [6]/ø-psa+wə-hə́-w/ it-life-adj-pl-that; [7]/ø-y-ah-x̂°a-mə-wəx̂ə́-n/ it-3-pl-for-not-finish-subj; [8]/śʼa+nə́+ɣa-w/ know+inf+ness-pred; [9]/ø-w-a-s-tə́-n-t/ it-you-dat-I-give-subj-stand.

[59] [1]/náhrt-ha-r/ Nart-pl-abs; [2]/fə-cʼə́x̂°/ you(pl)-people; [3]/yərə́ś-ś/ stubborn-aff; [4]/fə-pà +a+ĝá+a+śa-ś/ you(pl)-nose+conn+high+conn+defect-aff = you(pl) are woefully proud.

[60] [1]/á-bə/ that-obl; [2]/fə-ø-t-y-a-kʼ°+a+da-žə́-n-ś/ you(pl)-it-surf-dir-dat-go+intr+out-finally-fut-aff = you(pl) will perish from it.

[61] [1]/áwa/ but; [2]/qʼá-a-n+a-r/ hor-dat-remain+in-abs = survival; [3]/ø-yə-yə-psa+wə́-nə-w/ it-cont-dir-life+adj-inf-adv; [4]/ma-yə-s/ it-cont-sit; [5]/mə-r/ this(near to speaker)-abs; [6]/ø-fə-s-á-w-t/ it-you(pl)-I-pres-prog-give; [7]/ø-ž-y-ə-ʔa-əy-ə́y/ it-back-she-non.pr-say-even-and; [8]/ƛapś/ Tl; [9]/zə-sahbə́y/ one-baby; [10]/də́ɣa/ sun; [11]/ø-qʼə-ʔa-śʼ-y-ə-ƛ+ḥ-áɣ-ś/ it-hor-hand-inst-she-non.pr-lay+act-past-aff.

[62] [1]/mə-r/ this-abs; [2]/wa/ you; [3]/w-əy-qʼ°a-m/ your-poss-son-adv; [4]/ø-s-da-ḥə́-ž/ it-me-inside, with-carry-finally.

[63] [1]/sa/ I; [2]/śʼa+nə́+ɣa-ra/ know+inf+ness-adv; [3]/ʔa+śʼá+a+ɣa-w/ hand-inst-conn-ness-adv; [4]/ø-s-ə́y-ʔa-r/ it-me-poss-have-abs; [5]/á-bə/ that-obl; [6]/ø-ø-x̂a-s-ƛ+ḥ-áɣ-ś/ it(knowledge)-it(baby)-into-I-lay-act-past-aff.

[64] [1]/ø-qʼá-x̌°ə-ma/ it-incept-mature-if(= until); [2]/ø-z-a-rə́-x̌°/ it-how-dat-inst-maturing; [3]/ø-f-ƛà aɣ°-ə́n-qʼa/ it-you(pl)-see-subj-Q(counter to expectation of speaker).

[65] [1]/ƛapś/ Tl; [2]/sahbə́y-ər/ infant-abs; [3]/ø-qʼa-y-ə-ḥ-əy-ə́y/ it-hor-he-non.pr-carry-

even-and; [4]/ø-q'a-k'°+a-ž-á ɣ-ś/ he-hor-come+intr-back-past-aff.

[66] [1]/psáaƛa-w/ word-pred; [2]/ø-yə-bza-r/ his-poss-tongue-abs; [4]/ø-q'ə-śə-y-ə-wə+t'ə́pśə-m/ it-incept-deixis-he-non.pr-val+set free-adv; [5]/náhrt-ha-m/ Nart-pl-obl; [6]/ø-q'-y-ah-ž-y-ə-ʔa-á ɣ-ś/ it-hor-3-pl-back-he-non.pr-say-past-aff.

[67] [1]/m-aw/ this-pred; [2]/wá+a+fa-m/ sky+conn+skin-obl; [3]/ø-ø-yə-t/ which-it-cont-stand; [4]/šə+x̂ˇə-ƛá+a+ɣˇa-r/ milk+white-leg+conn+road-abs = the Milky Way (literally !); [5]/ø-f-ƛáaɣˇ-ə-ra/ it-you(pl)-see-ep.v-pres(Q).

[68] [1]/ø-d-a-w-ƛáaɣˇ/ it-we-pres-prog-see.

[69] [1]/át'a/ so; [2]/z-a-y-k'°+a/ when-dat(of when)-dir-go+intr; [3]/fə-ø-śə-k'°+á-k'ʸa/ you(pl)-it-deixis-go+intr-both; [4]/fə-q'ə-ø-śə-k'°+á-ž-k'ʸa/ you(pl)-hor-it-deixis-come+intr-back-and; [5]/a-r/ that-abs; [6]/ø-fə-mə-ɣa-ɣˇáaśa-ma/ it-you(pl)-not-let-get.lost-if; [7]/fa-əy-ə́y/ you(pl)-even-and; [8]/fə-ɣˇaśa-n-q'ə́m/ you(pl)-get-get.lost-fut-not; [9]/ø-ž-y-ə-ʔa-əy-ə́y/ it-back-he-non.pr-say-even-and.

[70] [1]/aλə̀ ḥ-aλə́ḥ/ Allah-Allah; [2]/mə-r/ this-abs; [3]/ø-q'á-x̌ˇə-ma/ it-incept-happen-if; [4]/zə/ one; [5]/baλə́ḥ-ər/ calamity-abs; [6]/ø-q'a-y-ə-gˇə+psəsə́-n-ś/ it-hor-one-non.pr-heart+think-fut-aff; [7]/mə-r/ this-abs; [8]/ø-ø-x̂ˇa-sà aq'ə́-w/ someone-him-for-care-that; [9]/p'ə-n/ rear (raise)-inf; [10]/ø-ø-x̂ˇa-y-ś/ he-it-for-need-aff; (8-10 = he needs someone to care for him and rear him); [11]/ø-ž-y-ah-ʔa-əy-ə́y/ it-back-3-pl-say-even-and; [12]/fəz-ə́y-bλ/ woman-num-seven = the Pleiades; [13]/ø-bɣˇa-də-a-y-ah-ɣa-wəv-á ɣ-ś/ him-side-zone-dat-3-pl-caus-stay-past-aff; [14]/ø-y-ah-p'ə-nə́-w/ him-3-pl-rear-fut-def; [15]/ø-ø-k'ʸa-ƛə-pƛə-nə́-w/ they-him-tail-after-look-fut-def.

[71] [1]/á-r-śḥa-k'ʸa/ that-obl-head-inst = after that; [2]/zə-máax̂ˇa-gˇar-əm/ one-day-certain-obl;[[3]/fəz-ha-m/ woman-pl-obl (omitted by the bard)]; [4]/sahbə́y-ər/ infant-abs ; [5]/ø-[ø-ha-]da-k'°+a+sə-k'ʸ-əy-ə́y/ he-[3-pl-]opening-go+intr+disappear-exhaustive-even-and = they went all over with him; [6]/ø-gʸagˇə́-wə-ra/ he-play-adv-distr; [7]/ø-ɣˇà aśa-əy-ə́y/ he-get.lost-even-and; [8]/ø-k'°+a+d-á ɣ-ś/ he-go+intr+out-past-aff = he disappeared.

[72] [1]/fə́z-ha-m/ woman-pl-obl; [2]/sahbə́y-ər/ infant-abs; [3]/ø-y-ah-gˇ/ 3-poss-pl-heart; [4]/ø-y-a-y-ah-mə-ɣá-a-ś'a-w/ him-it-dat-3-pl-not-caus-conn-know-adv = when they were no longer aware of him; [5]/ø-z-a-bĝə-rə-ž-ha-əy-ə́y/ they-recip-dat-middle-along-run-pl-

even-and = they scattered out; [6]/ø-ø-ƛə-x̌˚-áɣ-ś/ they-him-after-happen-past-aff = they searched for him; [7]/á-r-śḥa-kʾʸa/ that-obl-head-by = but after that; [8]/ø-y-ah-ɣ˚ətə-ž-aɣ-qʾə́m/ him-3-pl-find-again-past-not.

[73] [1]/ø-qʾa-x̌˚-á́ɣ-r/ it-hor-happen-past-adv; [2]/ná́hrt-ha-m/ Nart-pl-obl; [3]/ø-qʾə-śə-y-á́h-śʾa-m/ it-incept-deixis-3-pl-know-adv; [4]/ø-š-a-s-ha-əy-ə́y/ they-horse-dat-sit-pl-even-and; [5]/ø-ø-ƛə-x̌˚-á́ɣ-kʾ˚a/ they-him-after-happen-past-in order to; [6]/ø-y-a-ź-á́ɣ-ś/ they-dir-dat-go-past-aff.

[74] [1]/ø-ø-x̂˚a-z+a-á́ɣ-ra/ they-him-for-turn+to-past-adv; [2]/ø-zə-ƛaɣ˚-á́ɣ-r/ him-who-see-past-adv; [3]/ø-qʾa-y-ah-ɣ˚á́t/ him-hor-3-pl-find; [4]/ø-mə-x̌˚ə́-ma/ it-not-be possible-when; [5]/yá́z-ər/ self-abs, emphatic; [6]/ø-y-ah-ɣ˚atə-ž-aɣ-qʾə́m/ him-3-pl-find-again-past-not (a third person plural as a passive).

[75] [1]/ø-yə-há́-na-m/ his-poss-intimate-mother-obl; [2]/ø-dayž/ her-near; [3]/ø-kʾ˚+a-ž-á́ɣ/ he-go+intr-back-past; [4]/ø-x̌˚ə-n-ś/ it-happen-fut-aff; [5]/ø-ž-y-ah-ʔa-əy-ə́y/ it-back-3-pl-say-even-and; [6]/ƛapś/ Tl; [7]/ø-y-ah-ɣa-kʾ˚+a-á́ɣ-ś/ him-3-pl-caus-go+intr-past-aff.

[76] [1]/á́wa/ but; [2]/sahbə́y-ər/ infant-abs; [3]/á́-bə/ her-obl; [4]/ø-kʾ˚+a-ž-aɣ-ta-qʾə́m/ he-go+intr-back-past-stand-not, a stative past.

[77] [1]/sə-t/ what-pro afx; [2]/ø-t-ś'a-nə́-w/ what-we-do-fut-def; [3]/sə-t/ what-prof.afx; [4]/d-əy-ʔamáaƛ/ our-poss-remedy; [5]/ø-y-a-wəpʾś'-á́ɣ-ś/ he-her-dat-ask-past-aff; [6]/á́-bə/ her-obl; [7]/ƛapś/ Tl

[78] [1]/zə-ʔamà aƛ-ə́y/ one-remedy-even; [2]/ø-ø-yə-ʔa-qʾə́m/ it(remedy)-it(problem)-poss-have-not.

[79] [1]/yə-zamáhn-ər/ gen-time-abs; [2]/ø-qʾá́-s-ma/ it-hither-reach-if(= when); [3]/yá́z-əm/ self-obl, emphatic; [4]/ø-qʾa-y-ə-ɣa-z+a-žə́-n-ś/ self-hor-he-non.pr-caus-turn+to-again-fut-aff; (1-4 = in time he might return by himself).

[80] [1]/á́wa/ but; [2]/ø-qʾə-śə-y-ə-ɣa-z+a-žə-nə́-w-ər/ self-hor-deixis-he-non.pr-caus+turn-to-again-fut-def-abs; [3]/tḥa-m/ god-obl; [5]/ø-y-á́-śʾa/ it-he-pres-know.

[81] [1]/fə-psa+wə-wa/ you(pl)-life+adj-pred; [2]/ø-qʾa-kʾ˚+á́-ž-ma/ y'all(intimate deletion)-hor-come+intr-back-if; [3]/f-əy/ you(pl)-even; [4]/nahsə́p-ś/ happy-aff; [5]/ø-qʾa-mə-

k'°+á-ž-ma/ you(pl)-hor-not-come+intr-back-if; [6]/f-əy/ you(pl)-even; [7]/baλəḥ-ś-ə́y/ calamity-aff-and; [8]/á-bə/ it-obl; [9]/fə-ø-t-y-a-k'°+a+da-žə́-n-ś/ you(pl)-it-surface-dir-dat-go+intr+out-finally-fut-aff = you(pl) will perish from it; [10]/ø-q'ə-y-a-ž-y-ə-ʔa-á ɣ-ś/ it-hor-him-dat-back-she-non.pr-say-past-aff.

[82] [1]/ƛapś/ Tl; [2]/ø-yə-śḥa-r/ his-poss-head-abs; [3]/ø-ø-f'a-x̂°-á ɣ-wa/ it-him-detriment-bend-past-pred = with his head hanging down in dejection; [3]/ø-q'a-k'°+a-ž-á ɣ-ś/ he-hor-come+intr-back-past-aff.

Translation

[1] Tlepsh and Lady Tree

[2] Tlepsh[1] could not make those things for the Narts[2] that they needed in life. He could not find the necessary knowledge. He had remained in this quandary until he grew desperate. [3] When he could no longer bear this situation, he went to Lady Satanaya[3] and beseeched her:

[4] "Lady Satanaya, I am desperate. I cannot uncover what I need to know. [5] I cannot discover it by my own powers. I have pounded out flat all the iron that I have. [6] They say that there is no one who has even a part of your wisdom. Recall that knowledge which I must have."

[7] "What is there to recall?" said Lady Satanaya being selfish, "If the Narts need weapons, you make them for them; when the Narts needed a sickle, you made it for them. [4] [8] You have made what people need to live. [9] Now start to leave and travel the world. See how other peoples live and bring this knowledge back for the Narts. [10] If God does not find you utterly odious, you shall find something."

[11] "What will I need to travel the world?!"

[12] "Do not stop because you have some pressing need. [13] Merely take some clothes for yourself and set off. [14] He who grows millet will love you, and he who breeds cattle is your friend. Because of this, they will not let you die."

[15] Tlepsh tarried no longer. He took a pair of shoes that he had made from the hardest steel, and with these in his hand he set off. [16] Thus Tlepsh travelled swiftly for a long time. For one day he travelled along a forest road. For one year he travelled through a forest. When he came to cliffs, he strode over them. When he came to rivers, he leapt across them. [17] Bounding along, he crossed seven rivers and came to the shore of the Taingyiz Sea.[5] [18] He walked among a hundred trees. He cut them into logs and bound them together into a raft. He launched it into the water and stayed on

the Taingyiz Sea until he had crossed it. [19] He came ashore and saw playing and sitting on the beach, a group of girls with the most lovely eyes that he had ever seen. [20] Tlepsh was instantly enthralled with them, but although he tried hard to grasp one he was unable to catch a single one. While he pursued them, they slipped past him and darted away. [21] He did not tackle any of them and eventually he turned pale. [22] Then he asked them:

[23] "I enjoin you to swear by God. Tell me what manner of women you are. [24] I have never seen your like among my folk. [25] I have not made such a fool of myself in all my experience," he said.

[26] "We are the devotees of Lady Tree," the group of girls replied. [27] "Our Lady will invite you to her house and honour you."

[28] "Set forth! Lead me there!" replied Tlepsh, and he went along, following the path of the devotees. [29] When he reached the place, there stood a tree that you would not have recognised. It was a tree and yet not a tree, a person and yet not a person. You would not be able to comprehend its true nature. [30] Its roots ran deep into the earth. Its hair, like a cloud, rose high into the sky. Its two arms were like a person's, and the cheeks of its face were the loveliest of the lovely. Gold and silver were everywhere. [31] Lady Tree[6] fell in love with Tlepsh and invited him in. She let him eat and drink, and made him lie down to rest. [32] In the middle of the night, Tlepsh awoke and said to her, "I must seek something," and resolved to leave.

[33] "This will not do!" Lady Tree protested. "I am a princess. Up until now no mere person has reached me."

[34] "I am one of the gods," replied Tlepsh. He stood up and made love to her.

[35] The lady loved Tlepsh and beseeched him, "Don't go! Stay!"

[36] "No, I cannot stay," protested Tlepsh. "I must find the edge of the earth and from there bring back knowledge for the Narts."

[37] "Do not set off, Tlepsh. I shall give you the knowledge that you need. My roots run deep into the ground. I know the life that lies under the earth. My hair rises up into the sky and I know the life that is in the heavens. [38] The earth has no edge."[7] But Tlepsh would not be her beloved.

[39] "Would you set off into the world which doesn't have a boundary? It doesn't exist. Don't go! [40] I shall acquaint you with the stars of heaven. I shall place in your palm that life that lies beneath the earth, and I shall give you all that is on the surface of the earth."

[41] After all that Lady Tree had said, he still would not become her beloved. [42] He put the shoes that he had made on his feet, hefted in his palm the walking stick that he

had made, took his hat down from off the wall, and put his torques about his neck. He set off and travelled all over, but he did not find the edge of the earth. [43] He turned back and returned to Lady Tree.

[44] "Did you find the earth's edge?" asked Lady Tree.

[45] "No."

[46] "So, what did you find?"

[47] "Nothing."

[48] "So, what did you learn?"

[49] "I learned how the earth has no boundary."

[50] "Then what?"

[51] "I learned how a person's body is harder than iron."

[52] "Then what?"

[53] "I learned how there is no road more difficult than that which is travelled alone."

[54] "And that life is beautiful," replied Lady Tree. [55] "But what did you learn for the welfare of the Narts? What did you find for them?"

[56] "Not a thing."

[57] "So, there is nothing from your travelling about apart from that. [58] If you had stood and listened to what I said, I would have given you the knowledge so that the life in your limbs might not end. [59] You Narts are a stubborn people. You are proud. [60] You shall perish from this. [61] But, I give you this in which sits life and survival," she said and she placed in Tlepsh's arms a baby sun.[8] [62] "I carried this within me as your son. [63] The knowledge that I hold I have placed in it. [64] Will you not look after its growth until it matures?"

[65] Tlepsh returned carrying the infant. [66] He let loose the words of his tongue and said to the Narts:

[67] "Do you see the Milky Way in the sky above?"

[68] "We see it."

[69] "Then, when you go forth at night on a raid and when you return, if you do not lose him, you will not be lost," he said.

[70] "Lord! If that were to happen, it would be considered a calamity. He needs some one to rear him and take care of him," said seven women.[9] They stayed by his side and reared him, looking after him.

[71] After this, one day the infant went out and disappeared. He became lost while playing, and vanished. [72] The women no longer sensed the infant's presence, and scattered out to look for him. They could not find him.

[73] When the Narts learned that this had happened, they went out on horseback to

search for him. [74] They turned this way and that and looked about, but were unable to find him. He was not to be found.

[75] "He must have gone back to his mother," they said, and so they sent Tlepsh after him. [76] But the infant had not gone back to her.

[77] "What should we do? What is our remedy?" Tlepsh asked her.

[78] "There is no remedy. [79] A time may come when he returns on his own.[10] [80] But God knows if he will return. [81] If you all return alive from your raids, then you will be happy. If you do not return, then it will be your calamity and you will have perished because of this," she replied to him.

[82] Tlepsh returned home, his head hanging in dejection.

(analyzed and translated by John Colarusso)
(fall 1991)

Notes

[1]God of the forge and benefactor to the Narts.

[2]A race of heroes, the central characters of the sagas. There are one hundred of them.

[3]The central woman of the Nart sagas. She is mother to all the Narts. She is famed not only for her beauty and fertility, but also for her great wisdom. She has a volatile character and can be stingy or vindictive. In most of the other sagas she has a close relationship with Tlepsh.

[4]This refers to another saga in which Tlepsh invents the first sickle so that the Narts may harvest their grain.

[5]This may be the Sea of Azov, just to the northwest of the traditional home of the Circassians and Kabardians.

[6]This appears to be a female personification of a world tree, very similar to the Norse world tree, Yggdrasil.

[7]This appears to be a remarkable bit of folk-knowledge regarding the spherical geometry of the earth.

[8]This baby sun proves to be the Milky Way.

[9]These seven women may be the seven sisters of the Pleiades star cluster.

[10]The Milky Way may have proven useful as a guide on the moonless nights favoured in the past for cattle raids. The Milky Way is high in the night sky, however, only during the winter and summer months. This seasonal character is explained by this myth.

II. Bzhedukh West Circassian (Adyghey)

Phonemic inventory

labial	pʿ	p	b	p’		f		m	w
dental (alveolar)	tʿ	t	d	t’				n	
alveolar	cʿ	c	ʒ	c’		s	z		r
lateral fricatives						ɬ	ɮ	ɬ’	
alveolo-palatal						ś	ź	ś’	
rounded	ćʿ°	ć°	ʑ°	-		ś°	ź°	ś’°	
palato-alveolar(laminal)		čʿʸ	čʸ	ǯʸ	č’ʸ	šʿʸ	šʸ	žʸ	
retroflexed	čʿ	č	ǯ	č’	šʿ	š	ž		
palatal	-	-	-	-	(x̂ʿ)*	x̂	ĝ		y
velar (plain)	-	k	-	k’					
rounded	kʿ°	k°	g°	k’°		x̂°	-		
uvular	qʿ	q	-	-		χ	ɣ		
rounded	qʿ°	q°	-	-		χ°	ɣ°		
pharyngeal (epiglottal)						ḥ	ʕ		
laryngeal				ʔ		h			
rounded				ʔ°					
vowels	ə	a							

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* /-h(a)/ > /-x̂ʿ(a)/ at the end of verbs and nouns.

Transliterated Text,
With Phonemic Rendering, Glossing, and Analysis

(1) [1]x̌əməš^{ʸ}ə́q°a [2]p^{ʿ}ataráz
[3]k°ə́ba [4]š^{ʸ}aʕabɑ́na [5]qəʔ°at^{ʿ}ə́ɣa [6]nɑrt^{ʿ} [7]ʔ°ərəʔ°ə́pčax^{nʿ}ama [8]ɑš^{ʿʸ}ə́š^{ʿʸ}aw,
[9]bźadə́ɣ°bzəmʒ́^{ʸ}a, [10]zətx^{n}ə́ɣar [11]tḭɑrq°ɑ́x̌°a [12]ʕəysa (1981)

[1]/x̌əməš^{ʿʸ}-ə-q°a/ Khimish-his.inal(ienable)-son
[2]/p^{ʿ}ataraz/ Pataraz, originally */pat^{ʿ}araʒ/ compare Ossetian /batra /, from an East Circassian form */batara /
[3]/k°əba/ Kubé
[4]/š^{ʸ}aʕabaana/ Shaban
[5]/ø-q-ø-ə-ʔ°a+t^{ʿ}ə-ɣ-a/ it-hor(izon of interest)-3-non.pr(esent)-say+prol(onged)-past-adj(ective)
[6]/nahrt^{ʿ}/ Nart
[7]/ʔ°ə-rə-ʔ°ə+pča-ha-m-a/ mouth-instr(umental)-say+piece-pl(ural)-obl(ique)-pl
[8]/ø-ø-ha-š^{ʿʸ}ə-š^{ʿʸ}-a-w/ it-3-pl-there-be.there-th(ematic).v(owel)-pred(icative ending [often with adverbial force]) (= 'belonging to those [tales])
[9]/bźadəɣ°-bzə-m-ʒ́^{ʸ}a/ Bzhedukh-tongue-obl-instr
[10]/ø-zə-tx^{n}ə-ɣa-r/ it-who-write-past-abs
[11]/tḭa-a-r-q°a-a-x̌°a/ god-con(nective)-instr-son-con(nective.vowel)-breed (= 'dove breeder', "son of God" being a dove in old Christian symbology)
[12]/ʕə́ysa/ Hisa

(2) [1]yára, [2]x̌əməš^{ʿʸ}ə́q°a [3]p^{ʿ}ataráz,
[1]/yara/ yerey! (filler word)
[2]/x̌əməš^{ʿʸ}-ə-q°a/ Khimish-his.inal-son
[3]/p^{ʿ}ataraz/ Pataraz

(3) [1]p^{ʿ}atarázar [2]č'^{ʸ}à λazà q°azə́g°,
[1]/p^{ʿ}ataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v-abs(olutive case)
[2]/č'^{ʸ}aaλa-zaaq°a-zə-g°ə/ child-unique-one-heart (for 'unique' see Abaza /za-q̄°a/ one-head)

(4) [1]zə́ƛ'ə [2]zɑ́q°aw [3]ƛ'əx̌° [4]g°ə́yśa [5]zək'°ac'ə́ƛ,
[1]/zə-ƛ'ə/ one-man

[2]/zaaqˤa-w/ unique-pred
[3]/ƛ’ə-x̌ˤə/ man-hero
[4]/gˤ-əy-śa/ heart-pl.con-hundred
[5]/ø-zə-k’ʷˤac’ə-ƛ/ they-whom-inside-lie

(5) [1]nə́bam [2]yə́ƛaw [3]yɑ́ta [4]əƛ [5]əməɣáɣˤ.
[1]/nəba-m/ belly-obl
[2]/ø-yə-ƛ-a-w/ he-it(in)-lie-in-adv(erb)
[3]/ø-y-ah-ta/ his-poss(essive)-int(imate possession)-father
[4]/ə-ƛ/ his.inal-blood (possessed forms lack case endings and usually drop final vowels)
[5]/ø-y-ə-mə-ɣa-ɣˤə/ it-he-non.pr-let-dry.

(6) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́faw [3]x̌əməšᶜʸə́ź́əm
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-w/ one-day-pred
[3]/x̌əməšᶜʸ-ə-ź́ə-m/ Khimish-ep.v-old-obl(erg(ative))

(7) [1]ʔə́yspə [2]gˤɑ́šʸar [3]qəzɑś’ʷˤáyšᶜʸam
[1]/ʔəyspə/ Ispa
[2]/gˤaašʸa-r/ Lady-abs
[3]/ø-qə-z-ø-ha-ś’ʷˤə-y-a-šᶜʸ-a-m/ her-hor-when-3-pl-detri(ment)-he-when-lead-in-obl(adv)

(8) [1]nɑrtᶜə́ź́əxⁿᶜar [2]pəy [3]fax̌ˤ.
[1]/nahrtᶜ-ə-ź́ə-ha-r/ Nart-ep(enthetic).v(owel)-old-pl-abs
[2]/pəy/ enemy (generic nouns have zero absolutive and /-ə/ oblique case endings)
[3]/ø-ø-fa-x̌ˤə/ they-him-for-become

(9) [1]a [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]nɑrtᶜ [4]pᶜatarɑ́zar
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/nahrtᶜ/ Nart
[4]/pᶜataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v-abs

(10) [1]ʔə́yspə [2]gˤɑ́šʸa-m [3]ənə́ba [4]záyx̌ˤam
[1]/ʔəyspə/ Ispa
[2]/gˤaašʸa-m/ Lady-obl

[3]/ə-nəba/ her.inal-belly
[4]/ø-z-y-a-x̌ˤə-a-m/ he-when-it-in-become-in-obl.adv (“when he was conceived”)

(11) [1]x̌əməšˤʸə́ź̀ar [2]nɑ́rtˤə-m-a [3]qɑwə́čʼʸ.
[1]/x̌əməšˤʸ-ə-ź-a-r/ Khimish-ep.v-old-th.v-abs
[2]/nahrtˤ-ə-m-a/ Nart-ep.v-obl-pl
[3]/ø-qa-y-ha-a-wəčʼʸə-a/ him-hor(of.kinship)-3-pl-pres-kill-to(.kinship)

(12) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́faw [3]nɑrtˤ [4]pˤataráz̀ar
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-w/ one-day-pred
[3]/nahrtˤ/ Nart
[4]/pˤataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v-abs

(13) [1]ʔə́yspə [2]gˤɑ́šʸam [3]qəzáyƛ̀fəm
[1]/ʔəyspə/ Ispa;
[2]/gˤaašʸa-m/ Lady-obl(erg)
[3]/ø-qə-z-y-a-ƛfə-m/ him-ch(ange of).st(ate)-when-she-when-bear-obl(adv)

(14) [1]ƛawasapʼʔˤə́rəǯʸa [2]ɑśʼˤɑ́ḥ.
[1]/ƛə-a-wasa-pʼʔˤə+rə-ǯʸa/ blood-con-price-foster.child+st(ative).part(iciple)-instr(umental)
[2]/ø-ø-ha-śʼˤə-y-ha-a-ḥə/ him-3-pl-detri-3-pl-pres-carry.off [= They carried him off as a fosterling blood surety (against vendetta).]

(15) [1]yə́pʼʔˤərə [2]kˤə́ śarə́y [3]fɑɣačʸʼarɑ́čʼʸ :
[1]/ø-yə-pʼʔˤə+rə/ his-poss-foster.child+st.part
[2]/kˤəśa-r-əy/ crib-abs-and
[3]/ø-ø-fa-y-ha-ɣa-čʸʼa+ra+a+čʼʸa /it-him-for-3-pl-cause-cut+by+con+cut(= ‘decorate’)

(16) [1]ɑnɑ́yam [2]yəpə́taxⁿˤar [3]yəkˤəśanɑ́tʼ,
[1]/ana+a+ya-m/ mother(?)+con+one.of-obl (= ‘maple’)
[2]/ø-yə-pəta-ha-r/ its-poss-hard-pl-abs
[3]/ø-yə-kˤəśa-naatʼa/ its-poss-headboard-footboard

(17) [1]xⁿaśáyam [2]yədɑ́xⁿar [3]yəkˇəśacɑ́gⁿ,
[1]/xⁿaśa+a+ya-m/ boxwood+con+one.of-obl (or 'linden', Buxus sempervirens)
[2]/ø-yə-daaxⁿa-r/ its-poss-beauty-abs
[3]/ø-yə-kˇəśa-caagⁿa/ its-poss-crib-rib(s)

(18) [1]bλɑ́nam [2]ətxⁿəc'ɑ́śˇaxⁿˁar [3]yəkˇəśáps.
[1]/bλaana-m/ doe-obl
[2]/ə-txⁿəc'a-a-śˇa-ha-r/ its(inal.poss)-back-skin-pl-abs
[3]/ø-yə-kˇəśa-psə/ its-poss-crib-band(= strap to hold in the infant)

(19) [1]pˁatarázar [2]ź˚áqˇa [3]gˇɑ́šʸa-m [4]qəzəxⁿáypxⁿam
[1]/pˁataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v-abs
[2]/źˇaqˇa/ (foster)nurse
[3]/gˇaašʸa-m/ lady-obl
[4]/ø-qə-zə-xⁿ-y-a-pxⁿ-a-m/ him-ch.st-when-in-she-when-tie-in-obl(adv)

(20) [1]zayqˇədɑ́yś [2]kˇəśanɑ́t'axⁿˁar [3]xⁿaywɑ́t,
[1]/zə-y-a-qˇə+dəy-sʔ/ self-he-pres(ent)[historical]-flex+joint-then (= 'he stretched)
[2]/kˇəśa-naat'a-ha-r/ crib-board-pl-abs
[3]/ø-xⁿa-y-a-wətə/ them-he-pres-break

(21) [1]zayɣɑ́zaś [2]kˇəśacɑ́gⁿaxⁿˁar [3]zapˁáyč'ʸ,
[1]/z-y-a-ɣa-a-z-a-ś/ self-he-pres-let-con-turn-in-then (= then he rolled over)
[2]/kˇəśa-caagⁿa-ha-r/ crib-rib-pl-abs
[3]/ø-za-pˁə-y-a-č'ʸə/ them-wholly-sever-he-pres-cut

(22) [1]zəqayʔátˁəś [2]kˇəśápsəxⁿˁar [3]zapˁaywɑ́t,
[1]/zə-qa-y-a-ʔatˁə-sʔ/ self-ch.st-he-pres-raise-then
[2]/kˇəśa-psə-ha-r/ crib-band-pl-abs
[3]/ø-za-pˁə-y-a-wətə/ them-wholly-sever-he-pres-break

(23) [1]qatˁáǯʸəś [2]gˇɑ́t'am [3]qayk'ˇɑ́ƛ',
[1]/ø-qa-tˁaǯʸə-ś/ he-ch.st-stand.up-then
[2]/gˇə+t'a-m/ heart(=center)-dug.in-obl (= 'to the central pillar')
[3]/ø-qa-y-a-k'ˇa-a-ƛ'-a/ he-hor-it-to-come-con-near-up.to

(24) [1]nɑrtˁ [2]čˁʸɑ́taw [3]pˁəƛɑ́ɣam [4]qəƛaʔɑ́b.
[1]/nahrtˁ/ Nart
[2]/čˁʸaata-w/ sword-pred
[3]/ø-pˁə-ƛ-a-a-ɣa-m/ which(abs)-down-dangle-to-th.v-past-obl (= 'which hung down [there]')
[4]/ø-qə-ø-ƛa-ʔa+a+ba/ he-hor-it-after-hand+con+much [= reach out a hand])

(25) [1]dáya [2]g˚ɑ́šʸar [3]naźəɣˀə́rə́ś [4]gˀəƛáytˁ :
[1]/da+ya/ nut+one.of (= 'nut tree')[4]
[2]/gˀaašʸa-r/ lady-abs
[3]/naźə+ɣˀə-ø-rə-ś/ keen.witted+derv(ivational).suf(fix)[= 'resulting nature']-be-st.part-then
[4]/ø-gˀə-ƛə-y-a-tˁə/ him-heart-after-she-pres-stand ['Lady Nut Tree, being wise, devined his nature.']

(26) " [1]pˁataráz [2]qəzə́xˀəʒʸa [3]ƛ'əxˀ [4]xⁿačˀʸə́n,
[1]/pˁataraz/ Pataraz
[2]/ø-qə-zə-xˀə-ʒʸa/ he-ch.st-when-grows-instr
[3]/ƛ'ə-xˀə/ man-hero
[4]/ø-ø-xⁿa-čˀʸə-n/ he-it-in-exit(= 'turn into')-prox(imate).fut(ure)

(27) [1]nɑ́rtˁəźəxⁿˁar [2]ƛapqə́čˁa [3]yaxˀəƛ'án,"
[1]/nahrtˁ-ə-źə-ha-r/ Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
[2]/ƛ-a-pqə-čˁa/ blood-conn-frame-without
[3]/ø-y-a-xˀə-ƛ'-a-n/ they-it-to-happen-near-onto-prox.fut ["The old Narts will be left without descendants."]

(28) [1]yáʔˀáś [2]dayagˀɑ́šʸar [3]qagˀəzɑ́źˀa,
[1]/ø-y-a-ʔˀa-ś/ it-she-pres-say-then
[2]/da+ya-gˀaašʸa-r/ nut+one.of-Lady-abs
[4]/ø-qa-gˀə+zaaźˀa/ she-ch.st-heart+narrow [= 'grew frightened]', (/zaźˀə/ is the usual grade of this root)

(29) [1]pˁatarázar [2]yənʒʸə́ʒʸ [3]qəywə́ɣam [4]qəxⁿáyʒa.
[1]/pˁataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v-abs
[2]/yən+ʒʸəʒʸə/ big-shining[1]

[3]/ø-qa-yə-wə-ɣa-m/ it-hor-along-hit-past-obl [when said of water, 'rapids', i.e., "high, striking water"]
[4]/ø-qə-ø-xⁿa-y-a-ʒ-a/ him-hor-it-in-she-pres-throw-in

(30) [1]yənǯʸəǯʸə́ź́ar [2]psəqʿ°à ḥaq°ač'ʸə́b,
[1]/yən-ǯʸəǯʸə-ź-a-r/ big-shining
[2]/psə-qʿ°aḥa+q°a+č'ʸəb/ water[= river]-boat+inside.corner+outside.corner [lit., inside and outside for a boat = 'meandering']

(31) [1]pʿatará́zar [2]ḥə́rzaw [3]rayḥə́xⁿə,
[1]/pʿataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v.-abs
[2]/ḥə-r-z-a-w/ spiral-smooth.motion-turn-in-adv
[3]/ø-yə-y-a-ḥə-x̂ə/ him-along(.a.path)-it-pres-carry-down

(32) [1]nɑrtʿ [2]šʿɑ́x̌°ama [3]psəm [4]qəxⁿɑ́xⁿə,
[1]/nahrtʿ/ Nart
[2]/šʿa-a-x̌°a-m-a/ horse-con-herder-obl-pl
[3]/psə-m/ water-obl
[4]/ø-qə-ø-x̂ə-y-ha-a-x̂ə/ him-hor-it-mass(out.from)-3-pl-pres-take

(33) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]nɑrtʿ [4]šʿɑ́x̌°ama [5]šʿə́č'ʸa [6]qəfəxⁿɑ́šʿʸə,
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/nahrtʿ/ Nart
[4]/šʿa-a-x̌°a-m-a/ horse-con-herder-obl-pl
[5]/šʿə-č'ʸa/ horse-young
[6]/ø-qə-ø-fə-y-ha-a-šʸʿə/ it-hor-him-for-3-pl-(pres-)lead.out

(34) [1]šʿə́č'ʸaw [2]qəxⁿɑ́šʿʸəɣar [3]fɑ́raw [4]qəč'á́č'ʸə.
[1]/šʿə-č'ʸa-w/ horse-young-pred
[2]/ø-qə-ø-x̂a-y-ha-a-šʸʿə-ɣa-r/ which(abs)-hor-it-mass-3-pl-pres-lead.out-past-part(abs)
[3]/faara-w/ fara-pred (= 'thoroughbred')[2]
[4]/ø-qə-č'a-č'ʸə/ it-ch.st-under-exit [= 'The young horse which they lead out for him proved to be a thoroughbred <u>fara</u>.']

(35) [1]pʿatarázar [2]šʿɑ́x̌ˀama [3]yəƛasə́ybɣˀa [4]ɑɣɑ́sa.
[1]/pʿataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v-abs
[2]/šʿa-a-x̌ˀa-m-a/ horse-con-breeder-obl-pl
[3]/yə-ƛas-əy-bɣˀ-a/ gen(itive of time)-year-pl.con-nine-attr(ibutive)
[4]/ø-y-ha-a-ɣa-a-s-a/ him-3-pl-pr-cause-con-sit-in (= ‘they taught him’)

(36) [1]pʿatarázar [2]yəfɑ́ra [3]qayšʿasə́yáś
[1]/pʿataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v-abs
[2]/ø-yə-faara/ his-poss-fara
[3]/qə-y-a-šʿ-a-sə+yə-ś/ he-hor-out-to-horse-on-sit+prolonged-then [“He rode out on his fara.”]

(37) [1]bɑrsəgˀə́bɣˀam [2]qəzáyḥam
[1]/bahrs-ə-gˀə-bɣˀa-m/ Bars-ep.v-center-broad-obl (= ‘onto the plain’)
[2]/ø-qə-z-y-a-(a-)ḥa-m/ he-hor-when-it-in-(when-)enter-obl(adv)

(38) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]pšʸəmɑrə́qˀa [4]qəšʿʸəʔˀáčʼʸ.
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/pšʸə-mahr-ə-qˀa/ prince-Mar-his.inal-son[3]
[4]/ø-qə-šʿʸə-ø-ʔˀa-čʼʸ/ he-hor-there-him-before-cut.across (= ‘he encountered him there’)

(39) “ [1]wa [2]pšʸətɑ́t, [3]tʿáda [4]wəqačʼʸə́žʸə́ra,” [5]qərə́yʔˀ.
[1]/wa/ you
[2]/pšʸə-t-ah-t/ prince-father-poss.intim-father (= ‘Prince Grandfather’)
[3]/tʿa-da/ where-qu(estion.suffix)
[4]/wə-qa-čʼʸə-žʸə-ra/ you-hor-exit-finally-qu(polite)[“Where might it be that you are coming from?”]
[5]/ø-qə-y-a-y-a-ʔˀa/ it-hor-him-to-he-pres-say

(40) “ [1]ƛápśə [2]yəčʼʸə́šʸə [3]səqačʼʸə́žʸə, [4]səyśɑ́w,
[1]/ƛapś-ə/ Tlepsh-obl(of.names)
[2]/ø-yə-čʼʸə+šʸ-ə/ his-poss-hit+place-obl(of.possessed.forms)
[3]/sə-qa-čʼʸə-žʸə/ I-hor-exit-finally
[4]/s-yə-śaawa/ my-poss-page(.boy)

(41) [1]mɑfáyam [2]x̌əməšʿʸə́ź̌ar [3]zəsawə́čʾʸəm
[1]/maafa-ya-m/ day-dismal-obl (for expected /mafáyam/)
[2]/x̌əməšʿʸ-ə-ź̌-a-r/ Khimish-ep.v-old-abs
[3]/ø-zə-s-a-wəčʾʸə-m/ him-when-I-when-kill-obl(adv)

(42) [2]nɑ́rtʿə [2]kʿʷ́ápqəm [3]səyčʿʸatɑ́ca [4]qəʔʷəygʷɑ́ɣ,
[2]/nahrtʿ/ Nart
[2]/ə-kʿʷa-pq-əm/ his-thigh-bone-obl(for expected /-ə/)
[3]/s-yə-čʿʸaata+a+ca/ my-poss-sword+con+tooth (= 'sword edge')
[4]/ø-qə-ʔə-y-ə-gʷa-a-ɣa/ it-ch.st-edge-it-non.pres-dull-th.v-past

(43) [1]səymɑyə́sa [2]ƛ̓ápśə [3]qayzɣaƛ̓ə́ɣ,
[1]/s-əy-mahyə-sa/ my-poss-Mayi-sword (the sword has a name; its is the keenest sword)
[2]/ƛ̓apś-ə/ Tlepsh-obl
[3]/ø-qa-y-a-s-ɣa-ƛ̓ə-ɣa/ it-ch.st-he-pres-I-cause-sharpen-past

(44) [1]šʸapsɑḥə́ɣʷa [2]qayzɣaś'ə́ɣaw [3]qasaḥə́žʸə."
[1]/šʸ-a-psaaḥ-ə-ɣʷa/ three-times-hard-ep.v-ness (for /-aa-/ despite the absence of an /a/ for back-copying compare /šʸ-a-psaḥə-ɣʷa-pstɑ́w/ -all, 'hardened all over three times')
[2]/ø-qa-y-a-s-ɣa-ś'ə-ɣa-w/ it-ch.st-he-pres-I-cause-make-past-pred
[3]/ø-qa-s-a-ḥə-žʸə/ it-hor-I-pres-carry-back

(45) " [1]wəymɑyə́sa [2]za sayɣápƛ̓, [3]səypšʸətɑ́t."
[1]/w-yə-mahyə-sa/ your-poss-Mayi-sword
[2]/z-a/ one-time
[3]/s-y-a-w-ɣa-pƛ̓ə/ me-it-at-you.imp-let-look
[4]/s-yə-pšʸə-ta-ah-ta/ my-poss-prince-father-intim-father

(46) " [1]baw [2]wayzɣapƛ̓ə́n, [3]səyśɑ́w," [4]ə̀ ʔʷə́y
[1]/ba-w/ much-adv
[2]/w-y-a-s-ɣa-pƛ̓ə-n/ you-it-at-I-let-look-prox.fut
[3]/s-yə-śaawa/ my-poss-page(vocative)
[4]/ø-y-ə-ʔʷa-əy/ it-he-non.pres-say-and

(47) [1]pšʸəmɑŕqˀa [2]čˁʸatɑ́car [3]qəzayɣɑ́zam
[1]/pšʸə-mahrəqˀa/ prince-Maruquo
[2]/čˁʸaata+a+ca-r/ swor+con+tooth-abs
[3]/ø-qə-z-y-a-ɣa-a-z-a-m/ it-ch.st-when-he-when-cause-con-turn-to-obl(adv)

(48) [1]fɑ́rar [2]šˁəʔˀə šətɑ́y [3]pˁatarɑ́zar [4]qəbɣˀadə yxⁿɑ́y,
[1]/faara-r/ Fara-abs
[2]/šˁə-ʔˀəšə-t-əy/ horse-wise-stative.part-and
[3]/pˁataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v-abs
[4]/ø-qə-bɣˀa+da-y-ə-x̂ə-əy/ him-hor-side+out-it-non.pres-take-and (= 'it took him aside'),

(49) [1]pšʸəmɑrɑ́qˀa [2]mɑyɑ́samǯʸ [3]zəbλawɑ́čˀʸəm,
[1]/pšʸə-mahrəqˀa/ prince-Maruquo
[2]/mahyə-sa-m-ǯʸ/ Mayi-sword-obl-instr
[3]/ø-zə-bλa-wəčˀʸə-m/ it-when-go.by-kill-obl(adv) (= 'when it missed in its killing blow'),

(50) [1]fɑ́rar [2]šˁəʔˀəšə tɑ́y [3]qətˁərəyɣɑ̀ zɑ́y,
[1]/faara-r/ fara-abs
[2]/šˁə-ʔˀəšə-t-əy/ horse-wise-state.part-and
[3]/ø-qə-tˁ-y-a-y-ə-ɣa-a-zə-əy/ him(P.)-ch.st-surface-dir(ection)-on-it-non.pres-cause-con-turn-and

(51) [1]pšʸəmɑrɑ́qˀa [2]čˀʸáčˀʸaw [3]qəgˀaƛɑ́dɑ́ś
[1]/pšʸə-mahrəqˀa/ prince-Maruquo
[2]/čˀʸa-čˀʸa-w/ fast-fast-adv
[3]/ø-qə-ø-gˀa-ƛaada-ś/ it-hor-him-vicinity(beside)-bound.along-then

(52) [1]pˁatarɑ́zə [2]pšʸəmɑ́rəqˀa [3]yəmɑyɑ́sa [4]qəʔačˀʸáyxⁿə,
[1]/pˁataraz-ə/ Pataraz-obl
[2]/pšʸə-mahrəqˀa/ prince-Maruquo
[3]/ø-yə-mahyə-sa/ his-poss-Mayi-sword
[4]/ø-qə-ə-ʔa+čˀʸə-y-a-x̂ə/ it-hor-his.inal-hand+instr-he-pres-take

(53) [1]bɑrsəgˀə́bɣˀam [2]šˁʸərəyfə́žʸa,
[1]/bahrs-ə-gˀə-bɣˀa-m/ Bars-ep.v-center-wide-obl
[2]/ø-ø-šˁʸə-y-a-y-ə-fə-žʸ-a/ him-it-there-flat.area-in-he-non.pres-drive-back-into

(54) [1]xⁿət'ʔˀə̀ λamə́y [2]bλa [3]ɣˀagˀə́ɣˀ [4]dayɣazə́ḥa,
[1]/xⁿə-t'ʔˀə-λa-m-əy/ sea-two-sandspit-obl-and
[2]/bλ-a/ seven-times
[3]/ɣˀa-gˀ-a-ɣˀ/ road-zone-con-character (1-3 = 'seven times along the pathway formed by a spit of sand between two seas or lakes')
[4]/ø-ø-d-a-y-ɣa-zə-ḥa/ him-there-out-he-pres-cause-turn-about

(55) [1]pˁataráza [2]pšʸəmɑrə́qˀa [3]šˁʸəray'ə́xⁿə.
[1]/pˁataraz-ə/ Pataraz-obl(erg)
[2]/pšʸə-mahrəqˀa/ prince-Maruquo
[3]/ø-šˁʸə-y-a-y-a-'ə-x̂ə/ him-there-dir-to-he-pres-kill-down (= 'he struck him down there')

(56) [1]pˁataráz [2]ź́ˀaqˀagˀɑ́šʸam [3]qayk'ˀa'á'žʸə.
[1]/pˁataraz/ Pataraz
[2]/ź́ˀaqˀa-gˀaašʸa-m/ foster-lady-obl
[3]/ø-qa-y-a-k'ˀə+a-'-a-žʸə/ he-hor-her-to-come+intr(ansitive)-near-up.to-again.

(57) " [1]tḥɑ [2]qəsà tˁə́y, [3]səyśɑ́w, [4]wəqak'ˀažʸəɣɑ́!"
[1]/tḥa-a/ god-emph(atic)
[2]/ø-qə-s-a-a-tˁ-əy/ it-hor-me-to-he(archaic)-give-and [1 and 2 are an old formula for "God grants me it [that] …". The expected verb would be /ø-qə-s-a-y-tˁ-əy/]
[3]/s-yə-śaawa/ my-poss-page
[4]/wə-qa-k'ˀ+a-žʸə-ɣ-ah/ you-hor-come+intr-again-past-qu(= emph)![= "Have you come back?!"]

(58) [1]ź́ˀɑ́qˀa-gˀɑ́šʸam [2]pˁataráza [3]qəráyʔˀa,
[1]/ź́ˀaqˀa-gˀaašʸa-m/ foster-lady-obl
[2]/pˁataraz-ə/ Pataraz-obl
[3]/ø-y-a-y-a-ʔˀa/ it-her-to-he-pres-say

(59) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]pʿataráz [4]qayɣɑ́ś’ʿa.
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/pʿataraz/ Pataraz
[4]/ø-qa-y-a-ɣa-a-ś’ʿa/ him-ch.st-she-pres-cause-con-be.good (= ‘she comforted him’).

(60) “ [1]nɑ́na [2]gʿɑ́šʸ, [3]nɑrtʿə́źəxᵚar [4]səyƛaɣʿə́n,
[1]/na-na/ mother-mother (= ‘grandma’)
[2]/gʿaašʸa/ lady(voc(ative))
[3]/nahrtʿ-ə-ź́ə-ha-r/ Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
[4]/s-yə-ƛaɣʿə-ø-n/ my-poss-see(= ‘goal’)-be-prox.fut

(61) [1]nɑ́rtʿ [2]sanɑ́śʿama [3]sɑxⁿaḥɑ́n,
[1]/nahrtʿ/ Nart
[2]/saana+a+śʿ+a-m-a/ wine+con+drink+to-obl-pl (= ‘drinking parties’)
[3]/s-y-ha-x̂a-ḥa-a-n/ I-3-pl-mass-enter-in-prox.fut

(62) [1]səynɑrtʿə̀ bź́əy [2]qɑʔəsxⁿə́nə [3]qəšʿʸəysśʿə́n,
[1]/s-yə-nahrtʿ-ə-bź́a-əy/ my-poss-Nart-ep.v-horn-and
[2]/ø-q-ø-ha-ʔə-s-xⁿə-n-ə/ it-hor-3-pl-hand-I-take-prox.fut-and.so
[3]/ø-qə-šʿʸə-yə-s-śʿə-n/ it-hor-there-container-I-drink-prox.fut

(63) [1]x̌əməšʿʸə́źəm [2]yəƛawà sə́y [3]šʿʸyɑsʔʿatʿán.”
[1]/x̌əməšʿʸ-ə-ź́ə-m/ Khimish-ep.v-old-obl
[2]/ø-yə-ƛə+a+waasa-əy/ his-poss-blood+con+price-and
[3]/ø-šʿʸ-y-ha-s-ʔʿa+tʿa-n/ it-there-3-pl-I-say+prolonged(= ‘stand’)-prox.fut

(64) “ [1]ɑ [2]səyśɑ́w, [3]sanɑ́śʿam [4]wəmə́k’ʿ.”
[1]/a/ O
[2]/s-əy-śaawa/ my-poss-page
[3]/saana+a+śʿ+a-m/ wine+con+drink+to-obl
[4]/wə-mə-k’ʿa/ you-not-go

(65) [1]yáʔʿaś [2]daya-gʿɑ́šʸam [3]pʿatarázar
[1]/ø-y-a-ʔʿa-ś/ it-she-pres-say-then
[2]/da+ya-gʿaašʸa-m/ nut+one.of-lady-obl

[3]/pʿataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v-abs

(66) [1]dɑrə́ya [2]pʾʔ̊ašə́ɣam [3]šʿʸayɣačə́y.
[1]/dahrəya/ thistle[5]
[2]/pʾʔ̊a-šə+ɣa-m/ bed-fluff+ness-obl [1 and 2 = 'bed of thistle down']
[3]/ø-ø-šʿʸə-y-a-ɣa-čəya/ him-it-there-she-pres-make-sleep

(67) [1]gʷ̊ɑ́šʸar [2]nɑrtʿ [3]sanɑ́śʷ̊ama [4]qɑxⁿɑ́ḥa:
[1]/gʷ̊aašʸa-r/ lady-abs
[2]/nahrtʿ/ Nart
[3]/saana̲+a+śʷ̊+a-m-a/ wine+con+drink+to-obl-pl
[4]/ø-qə-y-ha-x̂a-a-ḥa/ she-hor-3-pl-mass(= 'group')-press-enter

(68) " [1]nɑrtʿə́źəxⁿʿaǯʸa [2]śʷ̊əyyà škayáśʷ̊,
[1]/nahrtʿ-ə-źə-ha-ǯʸa/ Nart-ep.v-old-pl-instr
[2]/śʷ̊-yə-y+a+šk+a-y+a+śʷ̊(+a)/ you(pl)-poss-it+at+eat+intr-it+at+drink+at (= 'your party')

(69) [1]ś'ɑ́ɣʷ̊aw [2]x̌ʷ̊ə̀ ɣaməý [3]śʷ̊əšʿʸəməɣɑ́z,
[1]/ś'a+a+ɣʷ̊a-w/ know+con+effect(= 'wonder')
[2]/ø-x̌ʷ̊ə-ɣa-m-əy/ it-happen-past-if(= when)-even
[3]/śʷ̊ə-ø-šʿʸə-mə-ɣa-a-z/ you(pl)-it('the wonder')-there-not-let-con-turn (= '[you are unaware' or 'you are unheeding')

(70) [1]ƛ'əx̌ʷ̊ [2]gʷ̊ə́yśaw [3]səynafə́na [4]qasəžʸə́ɣ
[1]/ƛ'ə-x̌ʷ̊ə/ man-hero
[2]/gʷ̊ə-əy-śa-w/ heart-pl.con-hundred-pred
[3]/s-yə-na+fə-na/ my-poss-eye+white(= 'light')-eye
[4]/ø-qa-s+ə-žʸə-ɣa/ he-hor-sit+dyn-again-past (= 'he has returned')

(71) [1]nɑrtʿə́źəxⁿʿaǯʸa [2]ƛapqə́čʿa [3]śʷ̊ayx̌ʷ̊əƛ'án."
[1]/nahrtʿ-ə-źə-ha-ǯʸa/ Nart-ep.v-old-pl-instr
[2]/ƛ+a+pqə-čʿa/ blood+con+frame-without
[3]/ø-śʷ̊-y-a-x̌ʷ̊ə-ƛ'-a-n/ it-you(pl)-dir-to-happen-near-onto-prox.fut [1 - 3 = "As to you old Narts, you will soon be left without kinsmen."]

(72) [1]ź̌ʕaqʕag̊ʕáš^{y}am [2]nɑrtˁə́źəma [3]qəzɑráyʔʕa-m
[1]/ź̌ʕaqʕa-gʕaaš^{y}a-m/ foster-lady-obl
[2]/nahrtˁ-ə-źə-m-a/ Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
[3]/ø-qə-z-y-ha-a-y-a-ʔʕa-m/ it-hor-when-3-pl-to-she-pres-say-obl(adv)

(73) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]nɑrtˁə́źəx^{nˁ}ar [4]zadaywəsáx^{nˁ},
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/nahrtˁ-ə-źə-ha-r/ Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
[4]/ø-z-a-də-y-a-wəsə-a-ha/ they-recipr(ocal)-to-with-it-on-compose-in-pl

(74) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]šx̌ʕaḥəɣɑ̂ bə́y [4]qəzadɑwə́sə:
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/šx̌ʕa+a+ḥə+ɣa+a+ba-əy/ trick+con+carry+ness+con+much-and (= 'treachery')
[4]/ø-qə-z-a-də-y-ha-wəsə/ it-hor-recipr-with-3-pl-compose

(75) " [1]pˁataráz [2]faraʔáλəm [3]yadɣašˁasə́n,
[1]/pˁataraz/ Pataraz
[2]/faara-ʔaλə-m/ fara-wild-obl
[3]/ø-y-a-t-ɣa-šˁə+a+s+ə-n/ it-him-to-we-cause-horse+on+sit+dyn(amic)-prox.fut

(76) [1]wɑrpə́źəm [2]psəx^{n}aɣɑ́ḥa [3]yadɣaš^{ˁy}án.
[1]/wahrpə-źə-m/ Warp-old-obl
[2]/psə+x^{n}a+ɣa+a+ḥa/ water+mass+let+con+enter (= 'watering an animal')
[3]/ø-y-a-t-ɣa-š^{ˁy}-a-n/ it-he-obl-pres-we-cause-lead-in-prox.fut

(77) [1]pˁataráz [2]bɑrsə-gʕə́bɣʕa [3]zə́yḥaǯ^{y}a
[1]/pˁataraz/ Pataraz
[2]/bahrs-ə-gʕə-bɣʕa/ Bars-ep.v-center-wide
[3]/ø-z-əy-ḥa-ǯ^{y}a/ he-when-flat-enter-instr

(78) [1]fɑ́ram [2]č'^{y}ápš^{y}ə [3]waɣ° [4]š^{ˁy}ərəyx^{n}ə́naw [5]yatʔʕán,
[1]/faara-m/ fara-obl
[2]/č'^{y}apš^{y}ə/ riding.crop
[3]/w+a+ɣʕə/ hit+con+character

[4]/ø-šˁʸə-y-a-yə-w-x̂ə-n-a-w/ it-there-it(horse)-to-dir-you(imp)-go.down-prox.fut-th.v-pred (= ‘you deliver it (a blow) down there’)
[5]/ø-y-a-t-ʔ˚a-n/ it-him-to-we-say-prox.fut

(79) [1]faraʔáλar [2]śḥakʾ˚ɑ́šˁtˁáś
[1]/faara-ʔaλə-a-r/ fara-wild-th.v-abs
[2]/ø-śḥaakʾ˚a-a-šˁtˁa-ś/ it-anger-pres-take-then

(80) [1]xⁿətʾʔ˚ɑ́λam [2]zapˁərəyxⁿə́nə́ś [3]qəčʾəyʒə́n.
[1]/xⁿə-tʾʔ˚-a-a-λa-m/ sea-two-times-con-sand.spit-obl
[2]/ø-za-pˁə-y-a-y-ə-x̂ə-nə-ś/ him-wholly-sever-dir-to-it-non.pres-take-prox.fut-then (= ‘it will carry him completely across it and then…’)
[3]/ø-qə-čʾə-y-ə-ʒə-n/ him-hor-earth-it-non.pres-throw-prox.fut.

(81) [1]qəčʾəymə́ʒaw [2]pˁatarázə [3]qəɣazážʸəma,
[1]/ø-qə-čʾə-y-ə-mə-ʒ-a-w/ him-hor-earth-it-non.pres-not-throw-th.v-pred
[2]/pˁataraz-ə/ Pataraz-obl
[3]/ø-qə-ɣa-z-a-žʸə-ma/ he-hor-let-turn-to-again-if

(82) [1]mə [2]wɑrpə́ź́ar [3]qˁ˚aḥaq˚ačʾʸə́ybλ,
[1]/mə/ this
[2]/wahrp-ə-ź́-a-r/ Warp-ep.v-old-th.v.abs
[3]/qˁ˚aḥa+q˚a-čʾʸ-əy-bλ/ boat-inside-exit-pl.con-seven (= ‘seven windings (for a boat)’)

(83) [1]psəwə́x̌˚a [2]pˁə́ybλaw [3]zabgⁿəráčʾʸ,
[1]/psə-wə+x̌˚a/ water-val(ence)+flow
[2]/pˁa-əy-bλ-a-w/ nose-pl.con-seven-th.v-pred (= ‘seven deltas’)
[3]/ø-z-a-bgⁿə-r-a-čʾʸə/ it-self-to-mid-instr-pres-exit (= ‘divided’)

(84) [1]psə́pˁa [2]pˁápčə [3]ʒa [4]pˁadɣawəć˚ə́n,
[1]/psə-pˁa/ water-nose (= ‘tip of the delta’)
[2]/pˁapčə/ every
[3]/ʒa/ army
[4]/ø-pˁa-t-ɣa-wəć˚ə-n/ it-nose-we-cause-halt-prox.fut (= ‘we will station at the deltas’)

(85) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]pʿataráz [4]rɑƛ̓ʼəxʷə́n,” [5]à ʔ°ə́y
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/pʿataraz/ Pataraz
[4]/ø-y-a-y-ha-ƛ̓ʼə-x̂ə-n/ him-dir-to-3-pl-kill-down-prox.fut
[5]/ø-y-ha-a-ʔ°a-əy/ it-3-pl-pres-say-and

(86) [1]nɑrtʿə́ź́əma [2]sanɑ́ś°am [3]rɑɣabƛɑ́ɣa,
[1]/nahrtʿ-ə-ź́ə-m-a/ Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
[2]/sana+a+ś°+a-m/ wine+con+drink+to-obl
[3]/ø-y-a-y-ha-a-ɣa-bƛa+a+ɣa/ him-it-to-3-pl-pres-pass.by+con+ness(= ‘invite’)

(87) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]ƛ̓ʼəx̌°ə̀ bź́arə́y [4]qəšʿʸərɑ́tʿə
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/ƛ̓ʼə-x̌°ə-bź́a-r-əy/ man-hero-horn-abs-and
[4]/ø-qə-šʿʸə-y-a-y-ha-a-tʿə/ it-hor-there-him-to-3-pl-pres-give

(88) [1]ƛ̓ʼəx̌°ə́bź́aw [2]qərɑtʿə̀ ɣrə́y [3]qəšʿʸərɑ́yś°.
[1]/ƛ̓ʼə-x̌°ə-bź́a-w/ man-hero-horn-pred
[2]/ø-qə-y-a-y-ha-tʿə-ɣa-ra-əy/ it-hor-him-to-3-pl-give-past-past.part-and
[3]/ø-qə-šʿʸə-yə-y-a-ś°ə/ it-hor-there-container-he-pres-drink(.dry).

(89) “ [1]wa [2]nɑrtʿ [3]pʿataráz, [4]fɑ́ram [5]yašʿà sərə́y
[1]/wa/ you
[2]/nahrtʿ/ Nart
[3]/pʿataraz/ Pataraz
[4]/faara-m/ fara-obl
[5]/ø-y-a-šʿ+a+s+ə-əy-əy/ you(imp)-it-to-horse+on+sit+dyn-and-even

(90) [1]wɑrpə́ź́əm [2]psəxʷaɣɑ́ḥa [3]tfɑšʿʸ,
[1]/wahrp-ə-ź́ə-m/ Warp-th.v-old-obl
[2]/psə+xʷa+ɣa+a+ḥa/ water+mass+let+con+enter (= ‘watering’)
[3]/ø-t-fa-a-ø-šʿʸə/ it-us-for-imp-you(imp)-lead.out

(91) [1]bɑrsəgˤə́bɣˤam [2]wəqəzə́yḥaǯʸa
[1]/bahrs-ə-gˤə-bɣˤa-m/ Bars-ep.v-center-wide-obl
[2]/wə-qə-z-əy-ḥa-ǯʸa/ you-hor-when-flat-enter-instr

(92) [1]fɑ́ram [2]čʼʸápšʸə [3]waɣˤ [4]šˁʸayxⁿ,″ [5]qərɑ́ʔˤa.
[1]/faara-m/ fara-obl
[2]/čʼʸapšʸə/ riding.crop
[3]/w+a+ɣˤə/ hit+con+character
[4]/ø-šˁʸə-y-a-w-x̂ə/ it-there-it-to-you.imp-go.down
[5]/ø-qə-y-a-y-ha-a-ʔˤa/ it-hor-him-to-3-pl-pres-say

(93) [1]pˁataráz [2]faraʔáλəm [3]qayšˁásə,
[1]/pˁataraz/ Pataraz
[2]/faara-ʔaλə-m/ fara-wild-obl
[3]/ø-qa-y-a-šˁə+a+s+ə/ he-ch.st-it-on-horse+on+sit+dyn

(94) [1]bɑrsəgˤə́bɣˤam [2]qəzə́yḥam
[1]/bahrs-ə-gˤə-bɣˤa-m/ Bars-ep.v-center-wide-obl
[2]/ø-qə-z-y-a-ḥa-m/ he-hor-when-it-in-enter-obl(adv)

(95) [1]fɑ́ram [2]čʼʸápšʸə [3]waɣˤ [4]šˁʸərə́yxⁿə́ś
[1]/faara-m/ fara-obl
[2]/čʼʸapšʸə/ riding.crop
[3]/w+a+ɣˤə/ hit+con+character
[4]/ø-šˁʸə-y-a-y-a-x̂ə-ś/ it-there-it-to-he-pres-go.down-then

(96) [1]bɑrsəgˤə́bɣˤar [2]λɑ́bźaǯʸa [3]rayɣɑ́źˤa.
[1]/bahrs-ə-gˤə-bɣˤa-r/ Bars-ep.v-center-wide-abs
[2]/λa+a+bźa-ǯʸa/ leg+con+horn-instr (= ‘with hooves’)
[3]/ø-y-a-y-a-ɣa-a-źˤa/ it-it(horse)-obl-he-pres-cause-con-plough

(97) [1]wɑrpə́źəm [2]psəxⁿaɣɑ́ḥa [3]qəzə́səm
[1]/wahrp-ə-źə-m/ Warp-ep.v-old-obl
[2]/psə+xⁿa+ɣa+a+ḥa/ water+mass+let+con+enter
[3]/ø-qə-z-a-s+ə-m/ he-ch.st-when-when-sit+dyn-obl(adv) (= ‘when he arrived’)

(98) [1]psə́x̌ˤa pˤə́ybλəm [3]šˤə̀ wəʒə́ybλar [4]qədáčʼʸə.
[1]/psə-x̌ˤa/ water-flow (= ‘river’)
[2]/pˤa-əy-bλə-m/ nose-pl.con-seven-obl
[3]/šˤə+wə-ʒa-əy-bλə-a-r/ horse+man-army-pl.con-seven-th.v-abs
[4]/ø-qə-da-čʼʸə/ they-hor-out-exit

(99) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]šˤə̀ wəʒə́ybλar [4]šˤʸərayƛ̓ə́xⁿə.
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/šˤə+wə-ʒa-əy-bλ-a-r/ horse+man-army-pl.con-seven-th.v-abs
[4]/ø-šˤʸə-y-a-y-a-ƛ̓ə-x̂ə/ them-there-dir-to-he-pres-kill-down

(100) [1]pˤatarázar [2]xⁿaɣˤɑ́śḥam [3]qəzasə́žʸəm
[1]/pˤataraz-a-r/ Pataraz
[2]/xⁿa+ɣˤa+a+śḥa-m/ zone+character+con+head-obl (= ‘on the outskirts’)
[3]/ø-qə-z-a-s+ə-žʸə-m/ he-hor-when-when-sit+dyn-again-obl(adv) (= ‘when he arrived back’)

(101) [1]ɑ [2]č’ɑ́p’am [3]faraʔáλəm [4]qaypsəxⁿə́žʸə.
[1]/a/ that
[2]/č’a-a-p’a-m/ earth-con-place-obl
[3]/faara-ʔaλə-m/ fara-wild-obl
[4]/ø-qa-y-a-psə-x̂ə-žʸə/ he-ch.st-dir-to-dismount-down-again

(102) [1]faraʔáλar [2]wanág° [3]náčʼʸaw [4]qəzasə́žʸəm
[1]/faara-ʔaλ-a-r/ fara-wild-th.v-abs
[2]/wana-g°/ saddle-zone
[3]/ø-na-čʼʸ-a-w/ he-thither-exit-th.v-pred [2, 3 = ‘with an empty saddle’]
[4]/ø-qə-z-a-s+ə-žʸə-m/ it-hor-when-when-sit+dyn-obl(adv)

(103) [1]nɑrtˤə́źəma [2]sanafə́bźar [3]zadɑʔátˤə,
[1]/nahrtˤ-ə-źə-m-a/ Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
[2]/saana-fə-bźa-r/ wine-white-horn-abs
[3]/ø-z-a-də-y-ha-a-ʔa+tˤə/ it-recipr-with-3-pl-pres-hand+prolonged (= ‘they toasted one another’)

(104) [1]ʔà šaśˤə́šaxⁿᶜar [2]gˤəś’ˤɑ́p’č’ʸaw [3]šᶜʸəzaʔɑ́xⁿə.
[1]/ʔa+ša-śˤə+ša-ha-r/ hand+weapon-skin+weapon-pl-abs (= ‘weapons and armor’)
[2]/gˤə-ś’ˤa-a-p’č’ʸa-w/ heart-good-con-gift-pred
[3]/ø-šᶜʸə-z-a-ʔa-y-ha-a-x̂ə/ them-hor-recipr-to-hand-3-pl-pres-take (= ‘they exchanged them’)

(105) [1]pᶜatarázə [2]śˤà yacᶜə́ya [3]zəqáyś’ə́ś
[1]/pᶜataraz-ə/ Pataraz-obl
[2]/śˤa-ya-cᶜə-ya/ skin-bad-hair-bad (= ‘decomposed’)[6]
[3]/zə-qa-y-a-ś’ə-ś/ self-ch.st-he-pres-make-then

(106) [1]nɑrtᶜ [2]sanɑ́śˤama [3]ɑmə́ś’aw [4]qɑxⁿaḥɑ́žʸə,
[1]/nahrtᶜ/ Nart
[2]/saana+a+śˤ+a-m-a/ wine+con+drink+to-obl-pl
[3]/ø-y-ha-mə-ś’a-w/ him-3-pl-not-know-pred
[4]/ø-qə-y-ha-x̂a-a-ḥa-a-žʸə/ he-hor-3-pl-mass-to-enter-in-again

(107) [1]pčaqˤɑ́xⁿam [2]qˤawə́cˤáś [3]qɑxⁿadɑ́ʔˤa.
[1]/pča-qˤa-a-xⁿa-m/ door-shelter-con-zone-obl (= ‘in the sheltered triangle formed behind an open door’)
[2]/ø-ø-qˤa-wəcˤa-ś/ he-it-lee-stop-then
[3]/ø-qə-y-ha-x̂a-a-da+a+ʔˤa/ he-hor-3-pl-mass-pres-with+con+be.audible(= ‘listen’)

(108) [1]nɑrtᶜə́źəxⁿᶜar [2]č’ʸɑ́dam [3]śḥɑšᶜʸətᶜə́xⁿᶜaw
[1]/nahrtᶜ-ə-źə-ha-r/ Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
[2]/č’ʸaada-m/ barrel-obl
[3]/ø-ø-śḥa-a-šᶜʸə-tᶜə-ha-w/ they-it-head(= ‘above’)-to-there-stand-pl-pred

(109) [1]tḥɑɣaλáǯʸəm [2]məx̌ˤənə́ba [3]tᶜərɑ́ʔˤa:
[1]/tḥa-a-ɣaλaǯʸ-əm/ god-con-bounty-obl (T’haghalaj, god of the harvest)
[2]/mə+x̌ˤə+nə-ba/ not+happen+inf(initive)-many (= ‘many blasphemies’)
[3]/ø-ø-tᶜ-y-a-y-ha-a-ʔˤa/ it-him-surf-dir-to-3-pl-pres-say

(110) [1]ɑλaǯʸápšʸə [2]yaməkˤ’ˤə́ba [3]qayʔˤɑ́tᶜa,
[1]/aλaǯʸa-pšʸə/ Alaja-prince
[2]/y+a+mə+kˤ’ˤə-ba/ dir+to+not+come-many (= ‘many slanders, lies’)

[3]/ø-qa-y-a-ʔ̓a+a+tˤa/ it-hor-he-pres-say+con+prolonged

(111) [1]warzamásə [2]śə́pqaǯʸa [3]dərayɣúšˤtˤa,
[1]/warzamas-ə/ Warzamas-obl
[2]/śə+pqa-ǯʸa/ measure+frame-instr (= 'as though the standard/truth')
[3]/ø-ø-də-y-a-y-a-ɣa-a-šˤtˤa/ it-him-with-dir-to-he-pres-let(= transitifizer)-con-take (= 'he agreed with him about it')

(112) [1]yəmə́sə [2]śḥɑšˤʸətx̌ʷə́žʸar [3]yəčʼʸɑ́s,
[1]/yəməs-ə/ Yimis-obl
[2]/śḥa-a-šˤʸə-tx̌ʷə-žʸə-a-r/ head-con-there-butter.up-final-th.v-ger(und) (= 'utterly flattered head', that is, 'utterly vain')
[3]/ø-yə-čʼʸa+a+s+a/ he-on-behind+con+sit+in (= 'swagger', verb originally used to refer to a prisoner sitting behind a rider on horseback)

(113) [1]sɑwsərə́qʷa [2]šx̌ʷaɣə́yśa [3]šˤʸəzaxⁿáyƛ̓ḥa,
[1]/sahwsərəqʷa/ Sawseruquo
[2]/šx̌ʷa+ɣa-əy-śa/ sorcery+ness-pl.con-hundred (= 'a hundred treacheries')
[3]/ø-šˤʸə-z-a-x̂a-y-a-ƛ̓+ḥa/ it-there-self-in-mass-he-pres-lie+active

(114) [1]nɑrtˤ [2]čʸəƛ̓axstán [3]ƛ̓ʼə́ɣʷam [4]čʼʸanác'a,
[1]/nahrtˤ/ Nart
[2]/čʸəƛ̓axstan/ Chilakhstan
[3]/ƛ̓ʼə+ɣʷa-m/ [4] man+character-obl (= 'courage')
[4]/ø-ø-čʼʸa-a-nac'a/ he-it-behind(= 'after')-pres-brag

(115) [1]sanafà rə́y [2]čʼʸadɑ́čʼam [3]rɑfə́xⁿə.
[1]/saana-fə-a-r-əy/ wine-white-th.v-abs-and
[2]/čʼʸaada-a-čʼa-m/ barrel-con-bottom-obl
[3]/ø-ø-y-a-y-ha-a-fə-x̂ə/ it(wine)-it(barrel.bottom)-dir-to-3-pl-pres-drive-down

(116) [1]pˤatarə́z [2]pčʸaqʷɑ́xⁿam [3]qəqʷáčʼʸə,
[1]/pˤataraz/ Pataraz
[2]/pčʸa-qʷa-a-xⁿa-m/ door-lee-con-zone-obl
[3]/ø-qə-ø-qʷa-čʼʸə/ he-ch.st.it-lee-exit

(117) [1]ə́bɣˤəǯʸa [2]šˤʸə́tˤəm [3]əcɑ́gⁿaxᵑˤar [4]yaɣatˤɑ́qˤa,
[1]/ə-bɣˤə-ǯʸa/ his.inal-side-instr(= 'by')
[2]/ø-šˤʸə-tˤ-əm/ who(abs)-there-stand-obl
[3]/ə-caagⁿa-ha-r/ their.inal-rib-pl-abs
[4]/ø-y-a-ɣa-tˤaaqˤa/ them-he-pres-cause-smash

(118) [1]zətˤayʔˤə́čʼaram [2]ətxⁿəʔˤə́pʼčʼʸa [3]rayčʼʸəčʼʸáxⁿə,
[1]/ø-zə-tˤ-y-a-ʔˤəčʼa-ra-m/ he-whom-surf-dir-to-hew-ger-obl
[2]/ə-txⁿə-ʔˤəpʼčʼʸa/ whose-back-articulations (= 'whose back vertebrae')
[3]/ø-y-a-y-a-čʼʸəčʼʸa-x̂ə/ it-dir-to-he-pres-break-down

(119) [1]zəyɣačʸarázaw [2]ǯʸaxⁿaśˤə́gˤəm [3]qətˤáyḥa.
[1]/z-y-ə-ɣa-čʸa+ra+z+a-w/ self-he-non.pres-let-round+loc(ative)+turn+in-pred (= 'he turned himself abut in a circle')
[2]/ǯʸaxⁿa-śˤa-gˤ-əm/ floor-skin(= 'surface')-center-obl
[3]/ø-qə-tˤ-y-a-ḥa/ he-hor-surf-dir-to-enter [1-3 = "He entered the middle of the floor and gazed about."]

(120) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]pˤatarázə [4]nɑrtˤə́źəma [5]qɑráyʔˤa:
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-dau-obl
[3]/pˤataraz-ə/ Pataraz-obl
[4]/nahrtˤ-ə-źə-m-a/ Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
[5]/ø-qə-y-ha-y-a-ʔˤa/ it-hor-3-pl-he-pres-say

(121) " [1]nɑrtˤə́źəxᵑˤar [2]sanáf [3]čʼʸɑ́dam [4]śˤəśḥɑšˤʸə́tˤ,
[1]/nahrtˤ-ə-źə-ha-r/ Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
[2]/saana-f/ wine-white
[3]/čʼʸaada-m/ s-barrel-obl
[4]/śˤə-śḥa-a-šˤʸə-tˤ/ you(pl)-head-on-there-stand(stative)

(122) [1]tḥɑɣaλáǯʸəm [2]məx̌ˤənə́ba [3]tayśˤaʔˤɑ́tˤ:
[1]/tḥaaɣaλaǯʸ-əm/ God-harvest-obl[7]
[2]/mə+x̌ˤə+nə-ba/ not+happen+inf-many
[3]/ø-ø-tˤ-y-a-śˤ-a-ʔˤa+a+tˤa/ it-him-surf-dir-to-you(pl-pres-say+con+prolonged

(123) [1]ɑλaǯ^{y}ápš^{y} [2]yaməkʼ˚́əba [3]əʔ˚atʿɑ́ɣ,
[1]/aλaǯ^{y}a-pš^{y}ə/ Alaja-prince
[2]/y+a+mə+kʼ˚ə-ba/ dir+to+not+come-many
[3]/ø-y-ə-ʔ˚a+tʿa-a-ɣa/ it-he-non.pres-say+con+prolonged-th.v-past

(124) [1]warzamásə [2]śə́pqaǯ^{y}a [3]dərəyɣašʿtʿɑ́ɣ,
[1]/warzamas-ə/ Warzamas-obl
[2]/śə+pqa-ǯ^{y}a/ measure+frame-instr
[3]/ø-ø-də-y-a-y-ə-ɣa-šʿtʿa-a-ɣa/ it-him-with-dir-to-he-non.pres-take-th.v-past

(125) [1]nɑrtʿ [2]yəmə́s [3]yə́naw [4]śḥɑšʿʸətx˚ə́ž^{y},
[1]/nahrtʿ/ Nart
[2]/yəməs/ Yimis
[3]/yənə-a-w/ giant-th.v-pred
[4]/śḥa-a-šʿʸə-tx˚ə-ž^{y}ə/ head-on-there-butter.up-final (= ‘acting utterly vain’)

(126) [1]sɑwsərə́q˚a [2]mə́ɣ˚a [3]šx˚azax^{n}ɑ́ƛḥ,
[1]/sahwsərəq˚a/ Sawseruquo
[2]/məɣ˚a/ wretched
[3]/ø-šx˚a-z-a-x^{n}a-a-ƛ+ḥa/ he-sorcery-self-in-mass-press-lie+active (= ‘he schemes wickedness in himself’)

(127) [1]nɑrtʿ [2]čʸəλaxstánə́ś [3]ƛ’ə́ɣa [4]x^{n}aməƛə́x^{nʿ}.”
[1]/nahrtʿ/ Nart
[2]/čʸəλaxstan-əś/ Chilakhstan-then
[3]/ƛ’ə+ɣa/ man-ness (inherent plural?)
[4]/ø-ø-x̂a-mə-ƛə-ha/ they-him-mass-not-lie-pl

(128) [1]pʿataráz [2]č’ʸɑ́dam [3]č’ʸaƛəráḥáś:
[1]/pʿataraz/ Pataraz
[2]/č’ʸaada-m/ barrel-obl
[3]/ø-ø-č’ʸa-ƛə-r-a-ḥa-ś/ he-it-side-after-instr-pres-enter-then (= ‘he went up beside it’)

(129) “ [1]mə [2]gʷ˚əšʸɑ́ʔaw [3]qɑ́sʔ˚arar [4]p’c’ə́ma
[1]/mə/ this
[2]/gʷ˚ə+šʸaaʔa-w/ heart+saying-pred

[3]/ø-qə-y-ha-a-s-ʔ°a-ra-r/ which(abs)-hor-3-pl-to-I-say-ger-abs
[4]/p'c'ə-ø-ma/ lie-be-if

(130) [1]mə [2]č'ʸɑ́dar [3]tḥɑm [4]rayɣaɣ°ə́č'ʸ!
[1]/mə/ this
[2]/č'ʸaada-r/ barrel
[3]/tḥa-a-m/ god-emph-obl
[4]/ø-yə-y-a-ɣa-ɣ°ə-č'ʸa/ it-container-he-emp-cause-dry-completely

(131) [1]mə [2]g°əšʸɑ́ʔaw [3]qɑ́sʔ°arar [4]śə́pqama
[1]/mə/ this
[2]/g°ə+šʸaaʔa-w/ heart+saying
[3]/ø-qə-y-ha-a-s-ʔ°a-ra-r/ which(abs)-hor-3-pl-to-I-say-ger-abs
[4]/śə+pqa-ø-ma/ measure+frame-be-if (= 'if it be true')

(132) [1]mə [2]č'ʸɑ́dar [3]tḥɑm [4]qərayɣabaɣ°ə́č'ʸ!
[1]/mə/ this
[2]/č'ʸaada-r/ barrel-abs
[3]/tḥa-a-m/ god-emph-obl
[4]/ø-qə-yə-y-a-ɣa-ba+ɣ°ə-č'ʸa/ it-hor-container-he-emph-cause-much+character-utmost (= 'may he make it overflow completely (toward me)!')

(133) [1]səywə́na [2]tḥɑtˁáys [3]ʔ°ɑ́śḥa [4]šˁʸyɑzɣáś',
[1]/s-yə-wəna/ my-poss-house
[2]/tḥa-a-tˁ-y-a-s/ god-emph-surf-dir-to-sit
[3]/ʔ°aaśḥa/ mountain
[4]/ø-ø-šˁʸə-y-ha-s-ɣa-ś'ə/ it(house)-it-surf-dir-to-3-pl-I-cause-build

(134) [1]səywənɑ́śḥa [2]yənəźə́ś°aǯʸa [3]qasábɣ
[1]/s-yə-wəna-a-śḥa/ my-poss-wouse-con-top
[2]/yənə-źə-ś°a-ǯʸa/ giant-evil-skin-instr
[3]/ø-qa-s-a-bɣa/ it-hor-I-pres-cover

(135) [1]yənə́ź [2]kˁ°ápqəxⁿˁar [3]səywə́na [4]pχać°,
[1]/yənə-zʔ/ giant-evil
[2]/kˁ°a-pqə-ha-r/ thigh-bone-pl-abs

[3]/s-yə-wəna/ my-poss-house
[4]/pǔaćˇə/ beams (note /pǔa/ ‘wood’)
[5]/ø/ are

(136) [1]yənə́ź [2]cɑ́gⁿax^{nˤ}ar [3]səywə́na [4]śḥɑpǔ,
[1]/yənə-zʔ/ giant-evil
[2]/caagⁿa-ha-r/ rib-pl-abs
[3]/s-yə-wəna/ my-poss-house
[4]/śḥa-a-pǔa/ head-con-wood (= ‘roof truss’)
[5]/ø/ are

(137) [1]səywə́na [2]ƛ̓ag° [3]sanáf [4]yasaɣɑ́śˇa.
[1]/s-yə-wəna/ my-poss-house
[2]/ƛ̓a-gˇ/ foot-zone (= ‘floor’)
[3]/saana-fə/ wine-white
[4]/ø-y-a-s-a-ɣa-a-śˇ-a/ it(floor)-it(wine)-to-I-pres-let-con-drink-to [1-4 = “I wash the floor of my house with white wine.”]

(138) [1]yənə́źəma [2]mɑ́fara [3]səymáš^{ʕy} [4]yɑsaɣɑ́ʔˇa,
[1]/yənə-źə-m-a/ giant-old-obl-pl
[2]/maafa-ra/ day-by
[3]/s-yə-maš^{ʕy}ə/ my-poss-millet
[4]/ø-y-ah-s-a-ɣa-a-ʔˇa/ it-3-pl-I-pres-cause-con-thresh

(139) [1]səyḥɑ́sa [2]ʔap’c’ɑ́naǯ^{y}a [3]yɑsaɣɑ́źˇa,
[1]/s-yə-ḥaasa/ my-poss-field
[2]/ʔa-p’c’aana-ǯ^{y}a/ hand-bare-instr
[3]/ø-y-ah-s-a-ɣa-a-źˇa/ it-3-pl-I-pres-cause-con-plough

(140) [1]č^{y}áš^{y}əra [2]śḥɑ́ʔˇam [3]dasaʔˇəƛ̓’áx^{nˤ}.
[1]/č^{y}aš^{y}ə-ra/ night-by
[2]/śḥa-a-ʔˇa-m/ head-con-(to)stick(in)-obl
[3]/ø-ø-da-s-a-ʔˇə-ƛ̓’-a-ha/ them-it-with-I-pres-stick-near-in-pl (= ‘I hold them fast with it’)

(141) [1]xⁿət’ʔˤə́λam [2]sənə́səma [3]səqəzač’ʸamə́k’ˤ,
[1]/xⁿə-t’ʔˤə-λa-m/ sea-two-sand.spit-obl
[2]/sə-ø-na-s+ə-ma/ I-it-thither-sit+dyn-when
[3]/sə-qə-z-a-č’ʸa-mə-k’ˤa/ I-hor-self-in-back-not-go

(142) [1]pčʸəč’ʸaλə́dar [2]səyƛaməźʸaw [3]səráyč’ʸ.
[1]/pčʸəč’ʸa-λədə-a-r/ lightening-glittering-th.v-abs
[2]/s-yə-ƛaməźʸ-a-w/ my-poss-bridge-th.v-pred
[3]/s-yə-y-a-č’ʸə/ I-path-dir-to-cut.across

(143) [1]səqayč’ʸə́žʸə́ś [2]bɑrs [3]gˤə́bɣˤar [4]səyzayk’ˤɑ́p’.
[1]/sə-qa-y-a-č’ʸə-žʸə-ś/ I-hor-dir-to-cut.across-back-then
[2]/bahrs/ Bars
[3]/gˤə-bɣˤa-r/ center-wide-abs
[4]/s-yə-z-y-a-k’ˤa-a-p’a/ my-poss-self-dir-to-play-con-place (= ‘my playground’)

(144) [1]wɑrpə́źar [2]psə́x̌ˤa [3]qˁˤà ḥaqˤač’ʸə́ybλ,
[1]/wahrp-ə-ź-a-r/ Warp-th.v-old-th.v-abs
[2]/psə-x̌ˤa/ water-flow
[3]/qˁˤa+ḥ+a+qˤa+č’ʸ-əy-bλ/ boat+enter+in+lee+exit-pl.con-seven (= ‘with seven windings’)

(145) [1]faraʔáλar [2]psəxⁿaɣɑ́ḥa [3]zəsášˁʸam,
[1]/faara-ʔaλ-a-r/ thoroughbred-wild-th.v-abs
[2]/psə+xⁿa+ɣa+a+ḥa/ water+in+let+con+enter (= ‘watering’)
[3]/ø-zə-s-a-šˁʸ-a-m/ it-when-I-when-lead-in-obl(adv)

(146) [1]psəpˁə́ybλəm [2]šˁəwəʒə́ybλ [3]qəsfəqˤáč’ʸ.
[1]/psə-pˁa-əy-bλə-m/ water-nose-pl.con-seven-obl
[2]/šˁə+wə-ʒa-əy-bλə/ horse+man-army-pl.con-seven
[3]/ø-qə-s-fə-qˤa-č’ʸə/ they-hor-me-for-lee-exit (= ‘they came out against me’)

(147) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]šˁəw [4]č’ʸafə́yśa [5]šˁʸaysƛ’ə́xⁿ,
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/šˁə-wə/ horse-pred

[4]/č’ʸa-fə-əy-śa/ tail-white-pl.con-hundred
[5]/ø-šˤʸ-y-a-s-ƛ’ə-xʷə/ them-there-dir-to-I-kill-down

(148) [1]ɑ [2]zəmáfam [3]p’č’ʸaɣˀaλáyśa [4]ḥam [5]yazɣášk,
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/p’č’ʸaɣˀa-λə-əy-śa/ charger-flesh-pl.con-hundred
[4]/ḥa-m/ wolf-obl
[5]/ø-y-a-s-ɣa-šk/ it-it(wolf)-to-I-let-eat

(149) [1]ɑ [2]zəmáfam [3]ɑśˀafáyśa [4]psəm [5]yazɣáḥ,
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/aśˀa-fə-əy-śa/ chainmail.armor-white-pl.con-hundred
[4]/psə-m/ water-obl
[5]/ø-y-a-s-ɣa-a-ḥə/ them-it(water)-to-I-ley-con-carry.away

(150) [1]ɑ [2]zəmáfam [3]šˤəwáyśama [4]tḥɑ [5]yɑzɣáʔˀ.
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/šˤə+w-əy-śa-m-a/ horse+man-pl.con-hunred-obl-pl
[4]/tḥa-a/ god-emph
[5]/ø-y-ha-s-ɣa-a-ʔˀa/ him-3-pl-I-let-con-pray(= ‘say’)

(151) [1]səyɣáś’am [2]nártˤaw [3]səzəʔˀəč’ʸáɣama
[1]/s-yə-ɣa+a+ś’a-m/ my-poss-cause+con+pass(of.time)-obl
[2]/nahrtˤ-a-w/ Nart-th.v-pred
[3]/sə-zə-ʔˀə-č’ʸa-a-ɣa-m-a/ I-whom-before-exit-to-past-obl-pl

(152) [1]nɑrtˤ [2]pšʸəmɑráqˀa [3]ɑnáḥ [4]yɑbgʷ.”
[1]/nahrtˤ/ Nart
[2]/pšʸə-mahrəqˀa/ prince-Maruquo
[3]/ø-ha-naaḥ/ 3-pl-than
[4]/yaabgʷa/ fierce
[5]/ø/ be

(153) “ [1]nɑrtˤ [2]pšʸəmɑrə́q̓a [3]tˤáda [4]qapxⁿə́n,
[1]/nahrtˤ/ Nart
[2]/pšʸə-mahrəq̓a/ prince-Maruquo
[3]/tˤa-da/ where-qu
[4]/ø-qa-w-xⁿə-n/ him-hor-you-take-subjunctive(= ‘if’)

(154) [1]x̌əmə́šˤʸə [2]wərə́yq̓ama [3]wəč’ʸaλɑ́šˤʸ,” [4]qərɑ́ʔ̓.
[1]/x̌əməšˤʸ-ə/ Khimish-obl
[2]/w-yə-yə-q̓a-ø-ma/ you-container-poss-son-be-if
[3]/wə-č’ʸaaλa-a-šˤʸ/ you-youth-con-too.much
[4]/ø-qə-y-a-y-ah-ʔ̓a/ it-hor-him-to-3-pl-say

(155) “[1]pšʸəmɑrə́q̓a [2]bɑrs [3]gˤ̓ə́bɣ̓am [4]səšˤʸəʔ̓á č’ʸ,
[1]/pšʸə-mahrəq̓a/ prince-Maruquo
[2]/bahrs/ Bars
[3]/gˤ̓ə-bɣ̓a-m/ center-broad-obl
[4]/sə-ø-šˤʸə-ø-ʔ̓a-č’ʸə/ I-it-there-him-before-cut.across (= ‘I met him there’)

(156) [1]səbɣ̓adɑ́ḥə [2]yəmɑyə́sa [3]qəʔač’ʸásxⁿ,
[1]/sə-ø-bɣ̓a-da-a-ḥə/ I-him-side-aside-to-carry.out
[2]/ø-yə-mahyə-sa/ his-poss-Mayi-sword
[3]/ø-q-ə-ʔa-č’ʸa-s-xəⁿ/ it-hor-his.inal-hand-instr-I-take

(157) [1]pšʸəmɑrə́q̓a [2]bɑrsəgˤ̓ə́bɣ̓am [3]šˤʸaysafə́žʸ,
[1]/pšʸə-mahrəq̓a/ prince-Maruquo
[2]/bahrs-ə-gˤ̓ə-bɣ̓a-m/ Bars-ep.v-center-broad-obl
[3]/ø-ø-šˤʸə-y-a-s-a-fə-žʸə/ him-it-there-dir-to-I-pres-drive-back

(158) [1]xⁿət’ʔ̓ɑ́λam [2]faməx̌ˤ̓ə́žʸəw [3]bλa [4]dasáf.
[1]/xⁿə-t’ʔ̓-a-a-λa-m/ sea-two-times-con-sand.spit-obl
[2]/ø-ø-fa-mə-x̌ˤ̓ə-žʸə-w/ it-him-for-not-happen-again-adv (= ‘against his will’)
[3]/bλ-a/ seven-times
[4]/ø-ø-da-s-a-f/ him-it-out-I-pres-drive

(159) [1]qətˤərayɣɑ́zaś [2]yəpčʸəšʸɑ́q̓a [3]qəsaɣáq̓,
[1]/ø-qə-tˤ-y-a-y-a-ɣa-a-z-a-ś/ self-ch.st-surf-dir-to-he-pres-cause-con-turn-in-then

[2]/ø-yə-pčʸə-šʸ-a-a-qˀa/ his-poss-lance-three-times-con-ravine(= ‘groove’)
[3]/ø-qə-s-a-ø-ɣa-qˀə/ it-hor-me-to-(he-)cause-push.pull(= ‘point’)

(160) [1]cˤəƛəɣˀarə́ma-r [2]spˤabzəžʸə́nə [3]qərərayɣɑ́ḥ,
[1]/cˤə-ƛə+ɣˀa+rə+ma-r/ hair-burn+effect+st.part+deriv.sfx-abs (= ‘stench of scorched hair’)
[2]/s-pˤa-bzəžʸən-ə/ my-nose-nostril-obl(of inalienably possessed nouns)
[3]/ø-qə-ø-rə-y-a-y-a-ɣa-a-ḥa/ it(stench)-hor-it(nostril)-loc-dir-to-he-pres-let-con-enter

(161) [1]tə́ɣar [2]śaw [3]zaxⁿáčʼʸaw [4]sayɣaƛáɣˀ,
[1]/təɣa-r/ sun-abs
[2]/śa-w/ hundred-pred
[3]/ø-z-a-xⁿa-čʼʸə-a-w/ it-self-to-mass-exit-th.v-pred
[4]/ø-s-a-y-a-ɣa-ƛaɣˀə/ it-me-to-he-pres-cause-see

(162) [1]sƛačʼʸapʼə́ytʼʔˀ [2]sfamə́x̌ˀaw [3]əɣačʼʸazə́zaw,
[1]/s-ƛa-čʼʸaapʼa-əy-tʼʔˀ/ my-leg-shin/calf-pl.con-two (= ‘my two knees’)
[2]/ø-s-fa-mə-x̌ˀ-a-w/ it-me-for-not-happen-th.v-pred (= ‘without my control’)
[3]/ø-y-ə-ɣa-čʼʸa+za+za-w/ them-he-non.pres-cause-side+shake+shake-pred

(163) [1]sənə́ytʼʔˀ [2]əɣawəśʼˀə́čʼʸaw [3]qəzəsɑ́wam
[1]/sə-n-əy-tʼʔˀ/ my-eye-p.con-two
[2]/ø-ø-ə-ɣa-wə+śʼˀəčʼʸa-w/ them-he-non.pres-cause-val+becloud-th.v-pred
[3]/ø-qə-zə-s-a-a-w-a-m/ he-hor-when-me-to-when-strike-at-obl(adv)

(164) [1]ɑ [2]čʼɑ́pʼam [3]zəgˀəšʸɑ̂ ʔə́y [4]qasəmə́ʔˀ.
[1]/a/ that
[2]/čʼa+a+pʼa-m/ earth+con+place-obl
[3]/zə-gˀə+šʸaaʔa-əy/ one-heart+say-even
[4]/ø-qa-sə-mə-ʔˀa/ it-hor-I-not-say

(165) [1]pšʸəmɑrə́qˀa [2]yəpčʸ [3]psə́nčʼʸaw [4]yasaʒáčʸə,
[1]/pšʸə-mahrəqˀa/ prince-Maruquo
[2]/ø-yə-pčʸa/ his-poss-lance
[3]/psənčʼʸ-a-w/ quick-th.v-pred
[4]/ø-y-a-s-a-ʒ-a-čʸə/ it-dir-to-I-pres-throw-to-aside

(166) [1]yə́šʿə [2]əwə́žə [3]zəqà sś’ə́y [4]səqəzə́ywam,
[1]/ø-yə-šʿə/ his-poss-horse
[2]/ə-wəžə/ its.inal-track (= ‘behind it’)
[3]/zə-qa-s-ś’-əy/ self-ch.st-I-make-and
[4]/sə-qə-z-y-a-w-a-m/ I-hor-when-him-to-strike-at-obl(adv)

(167) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]pšʸəmɑrə́qˁa [4]yasƛ’əxⁿə́ɣ.″
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/pšʸə-mahrəqˁa/ prince-Maruquo
[4]/ø-y-a-s-ƛ’ə-xⁿə-ɣa/ him-dir-to-I-kill-down-past

(168) [1]pʿatarə́zə [2]yəgˁəšʸɑ́ʔa [3]qəzawə́xⁿəm
[1]/pʿataraz-ə/ Pataraz-obl
[2]/ø-yə-gˁə+šʸaaʔa/ his-poss-heart+word
[3]/ø-qə-z-a-wəxⁿə-m/ it-ch.st-when-when-finish-obl(adv)

(169) [1]sanə́f [2]č’ɑ́dar [3]qəśḥɑšʿʸə́č’ʸaw [4]qaybaɣˁə́č’ʸ.
[1]/saana-f/ wine-white
[2]/č’aada-r/ barrel-abs
[3]/ø-qə-śḥa-a-šʿʸə-č’ʸə-a-w/ it-ch.st-head-con-there-exit-th.v-pred
[4]/ø-qa-y-a-ba+ɣˁə+č’ʸə/ it-hor-dir-to-much+character+utmost (= ‘it overflowed’)

(170) [1]pʿatarə́zə [2]nɑrtʿə́źəma [3]zɑfayɣɑ́za,
[1]/pʿataraz-ə/ Pataraz-obl
[2]/nahrtʿ-ə-źə-m-a/ Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
[3]/z-ø-ah-fa-y-a-ɣa-a-z-a/ self-3-pl-for-he-pres-let-con-turn-to

(171) [1]x̌əməšʿʸə́źəm [2]yəƛawɑ́sa [3]qɑrayʔˁɑ́tʿa:
[1]/x̌əməšʿʸ-ə-źə-m/ Khimish-ep.v-old-obl
[2]/ø-yə-ƛə-a-waasa/ his-poss-blood-con-price
[3]/ø-qə-y-ha-a-y-a-ʔˁa+a+tʿa/ it-hor-3-pl-to-he-pres-say+con+prol

(172) ″[1]šʿʸə́bzaǯʸa [2]psə [3]qəfaśˁḥə́za
[1]/šʿʸəbza-ǯʸa/ sieve-instr
[2]/psə/ water

[3]/ø-qə-ø-fa-ś°-ḥə-za/ it-hor-him-for-you.pl-bring-all

(173) [1]səyfɑ́ra [2]zayź°ɣaɣaś°ač'ʸə́n,
[1]/s-əy-faara/ my-poss-thoroughbred
[2]/zə-y-a-ś°-ɣa-ɣa-ś°-a-č'ʸə-n/ self-him-to-you.pl-cause-cause-drink-in-utmost-prox.fut

(174) [1]wɑ́ś°am [2]ƛawáyǯʸa [3]ś°ədač'ʸə́n,
[1]/wa-a-ś°a-m/ sky-con-skin-obl
[2]/ƛa-way-ǯʸa/ leg-step-instr (= 'ladder')
[3]/ś°ə-ø-da-č'ʸə-n/ you.pl-it-out-exit-prox.fut

(175) [1]nɑrtʿə [2]dɑráyaw [3]yə́ƛar [4]zafaś°ḥəsə́y
[1]/nahrtʿ-ə/ Nart-obl
[2]/dahrəya-w/ thistle.down-pred
[3]/ø-yə-ƛ-a-r/ which(abs)-flat.area-lie-th.v-abs
[4]/ø-za-fa-ś°-ḥəs-əy/ it-all-for-you.pl-gather-and

(176) [1]ḥaźə́č'ʸə [2]yəʔ°ɑ́śḥa [3]qəšʿʸəź°ɣást,
[1]/ḥa+źə+č'ʸ-ə/ dog+old+tail-obl[8]
[2]/ø-yə-ʔ°aaśḥa/ its-poss-hill
[3]/ø-qə-ø-šʿʸə-ś°-ɣa-sta/ it-ch.st-it-there-you.pl-cause-burn

(177) [1]dɑráya [2]stɑ́fa [3]qaś°əwəɣ°à yərə́y
[1]/dahrəya/ thistle.down
[2]/sta-a-fa/ burn-con-white (= 'ashes')
[3]/ø-qa-ś°ə-wə+ɣ°ayə-əy-əy/ it-hor-you.pl-val+collect-and-even

(178) [1]tyɑ́ta [2]yəć°aqə́yt'ʔ° [3]qaś°əwə́ś,
[1]/t-y-ah-ta/ our-poss-int-father
[2]/ø-yə-ć°aaqa-əy-t'ʔ°/ his-poss-shoe-pl.con-two
[3]/ø-qa-ś°ə-wəśa/ them-ch.st-you.pl-fill

(179) [1]ɑ́śḥa [2]ś'°ə́c'aw, [3]ɑpq [4]fə́žʸaw
[1]/ø-ha-śḥa/ 3-pl.inal-head
[2]/ś'°əc'a-w/ black-pred
[3]/ø-ha-pq/ 3-pl.inal-leg

[4]/fə-ž^{y}ə-a-w/ white-color-th.v-pred

(180) [1]ḥɑq$^{\circ}$əmə́yśa [2]qəsfaź$^{\circ}$ɣ$^{\circ}$át$^{\varsigma}$,
[1]/ḥa-a-q$^{\circ}$əma-əy-śa/ dog-con-hound-pl.con-hundred
[2]/ø-qə-s-fa-ś$^{\circ}$-ɣ$^{\circ}$at$^{\varsigma}$/ them-hor-me-for-you.pl-find

(181) [1]š$^{\varsigma y}$ambɑ́r-a-w [2]k$^{\circ}$əƛaməž^{y} [3]qəsfəč'ɑ́ś$^{\circ}$ƛḥ,
[1]/š$^{\varsigma y}$ambahr-a-w/ bulrush-th.v-pred
[2]/k$^{\circ}$ə-ƛaməž^{y}/ cart-axel
[3]/ø-qə-s-fə-č'a-a-ś$^{\circ}$-ƛ+ḥa/ it-hor-me-for-under-to-ypu.pl-lie+active

(182) [1]ḥɑ̀ məš'k'$^{\circ}$ə́t'am [2]x^{n}awəʔ$^{\circ}$əč'əč'^{y}ə́ɣaw
[1]/ḥahmə-š'k'$^{\circ}$ət'a-m/ hawthorn-thorn-obl
[2]/ø-ø-x^{n}a-wə+ʔ$^{\circ}$əč'ə-č'^{y}ə-ɣa-w/ which(abs)-it-mass(in)-val+hew-utmost-past-pred

(183) [1]pčə [2]pxà bɣ$^{\circ}$əzɑ́k'$^{\circ}$a [3]qəsfəʔ$^{\circ}$ə́ś$^{\circ}$ƛḥ,
[1]/pčə/ door
[2]/pxa-bɣ$^{\circ}$ə-zaak'$^{\circ}$a/ wood-side-full (= 'full sized wooden door)
[3]/ø-qə-s-fə-ʔ$^{\circ}$ə-ś$^{\circ}$-ƛ+ḥa/ it-hor-me-for-opening-you.pl-lie+active

(184) [1]tyɑ́ta [2]yəpsə́ƛa [3]ɑrɣ$^{\circ}$ayə́ƛ [4]yə́zə [5]qaś$^{\circ}$ś',
[1]/t-y-ah-ta/ ouy-poss-int-father
[2]/ø-yə-psə-ƛ-a/ his-poss-water-lie-in (= 'his water barrel')
[3]/arɣ$^{\circ}$ayə-ƛə/ mosquito-blood
[4]/yə-zə/ its-all
[5]/ø-qa-ś$^{\circ}$-ś'ə/ it-ch.st-you.pl-make

(185) [1]tx̌$^{\circ}$ar [2]c$^{\varsigma}$ɑ́c$^{\varsigma}$amž^{y}a [3]qəsfaź$^{\circ}$ɣɑ́ź,
[1]/tx̌$^{\circ}$ə-a-r/ butter-th.v-abs
[2]/c$^{\varsigma}$aac$^{\varsigma}$a-m-ž^{y}a/ spear.point-obl-instr
[3]/ø-qə-s-fa-ś$^{\circ}$-ɣa-a-ź́a/ it-hor-me-for-you.pl-cause-con-grill

(186) [1]ɑ [2]zapstɑ́war [3]x̌əməš$^{\varsigma y}$ə́ź́əm [4]yəƛawɑ́s!"
[1]/a/ that
[2]/za-pstaw-a-r/ whole-all-th.v-abs
[3]/x̌əməš$^{\varsigma y}$-ə-ź́ə-m/ Khimish-ep.v-old-obl

[4]/ø-yə-ƛə-a-waasa/ his-poss-blood-price
[5]/ø/ is

(187) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]nɑrtˁə́ź́əxⁿˁar [4]zaxⁿazəɣá́s,
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/nahrtˁ-ə-ź́ə-ha-r/ Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
[4]/ø-z-a-xⁿa-zə-ɣa-s/ they-recipr-to-mass(in)-who(obl)-cause-sit

(188) [1]ɑ [2]zəmɑ́fam [3]nɑrtˁə́ź́əxⁿˁar [4]zaxⁿazəɣɑ́ɣ,
[1]/a/ that
[2]/zə-maafa-m/ one-day-obl
[3]/nahrtˁ-ə-ź́ə-ha-r/ Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
[4]/ø-z-a-xⁿa-zə-ɣa-a-ɣə/ they-recipr-to-mass-who(obl)-cause-con-cry

(189) [1]yára [2]x̌əməšˁʸə́ź́əm [3]ə́qˁaw [4]pˁataráz,
[1]/yara/ yerey
[2]/x̌əməšˁʸ-ə-ź́ə-m/ Khimish-ep.v-old-obl
[3]/ə-qˁa-w/ his.inal-son-pred
[4]/pˁataraz/ Pataraz

(190) [1]pˁatarázar [2]č’ʸà λazà qˁazə́gˁ,
[1]/pˁataraz-a-r/ Pataraz-th.v-abs
[2]/č’ʸaaλa-zaaqˁa-zə-gˁə/ youth-unique-one-heart

(191) [1]zəƛ’əzɑ́qˁa [2]ƛ’ə x̌ˁəgˁə́yśa [3]zək’ˁac’ə́ƛ,
[1]/zə-ƛ’ə-zaaqˁa/ one-man-unique
[2]/ƛ’ə-x̌ˁə-gˁə-əy-śa/ man-hero-heart-pl.con-hundred
[3]/ø-zə-k’ˁac’ə-ƛ/ it-whom-inside-lie

(192) [1]nə́bam [2]yə́ƛaw [3]yɑ́ta [4]əƛ [5]zəməɣá́ɣˁ.
[1]/nəba-m/ belly-obl
[2]/ø-ø-yə-ƛ-a-w/ who(abs)-it-container-lie-th.v-pred
[3]/ø-y-ah-ta/ his-poss-int-father
[4]/ə-ƛə/ his.inal-blood
[5]/ø-zə-mə-ɣa-ɣˁə/ it-who-not-let-dry

Translation

[1] Khimishuquo Pataraz
Part of the Nart oral recounting told by Kube Sha'abana
recorded in Bzhedukh language by Hisa T'harquakho (1981)

[reworking of a poem in Shapsegh by Ali Sh'halakhwo (born 1881), recorded by Asker Hadaghatl'a in 1958 (Gadagatl' Asker, 1967, Geroicheskij Épos Narty i ego genezis, Krasnodarskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, pp. 336-340)]

[2] Yerey, Pataraz son of Khimish,
[3] Pataraz one youth with one heart,
[4] One man in whose heart lay the valour of a hundred heroes,
[5] He in the womb swore vengeance for his father's blood.
[6] On that same day when Old Khimish
[7] Wed Lady Isp against their wishes
[8] The old Narts swore vengeance against him.
[9] On that same day when Nart Pataraz
[10] In the belly of Lady Isp was conceived
[11] Old Khimish was by those Narts cruelly slain.
[12] On that same day Nart Pataraz
[13] When the Isp lady bore him
[14] They carried him off despite his mother and nurse
As a fosterling to weigh against a blood price.
[15] For him they decorated his fosterling crib:
[16] Of the maple's hardness were his crib's head and foot,
[17] Of the linden its beauty were his crib's side slats,
[18] Of the doe's back skin was his crib's restraining band.
[19] When his foster nurse laid him down and bound him in his crib,
[20] Pataraz stretched himself and smashed through its head and foot,
[21] Pataraz turned himself and broke off its side slats,
[22] Pataraz raised himself and tore through the restraining band,
[23] Pataraz rose up and strode to the great central pillar,
[24] To the Nart sword that hung thereon he stretched out his hands.

[25] His foster nurse being wise then did divine his destiny:
[26] “This Pataraz will grow into a valiant man,
[27] The old Narts will be rendered without kin at his hands,”
[28] So saying his foster nurse grew frightened,
[29] And Pataraz in Shining Yinjij's[1] high water did throw him.
[30] The Old Yinjij, a river of many turnings,
[31] Whirled Pataraz about and carried him down,
[32] Where those tending the Nart horses saw him
And from the bright waters lifted him out.
[33] On that same day they took from out herd a pony for him
[34] A pony from the herd in every way a fara.[2]
[35] For nine years the horsemen trained Pataraz.
[36] On that same day Pataraz mounted his fara and rode off.
[37] On that same day astride it he entered Bars field
[38] On that same day Pshimaruquo[3] he did meet there.
[39] “O father and leader, whence come you,” said Pataraz.
[40] “From the smithy of Tlepsh come I, my boy,
[41] On that dismal day when I killed Old Khimish
[42] His thigh bone dulled the edge of my keen sword.
[43] I set Tlepsh to sharpen it once,
[44] I set him to harden it thrice,
And now I am bringing it home.”
[45] “O my leader, my father let me look at your keen sword.”
[46] “O my boy, one good look I shall grant you,”
[47] But when Pshimaruquo turned the sword's edge
[48] Good fara, a wise horse, took Pataraz aside,
[49] But when Pshimaruquo struck,
When his keen sword missed its mark
[50] Good fara, a wise horse, turned back and
[51] To Pshimaruquo’s side quickly drew nigh and,
[52] Pataraz wrenched from his hand that sword,
[53] Then in Bars field did he chase him,
[54] Between two seas and seven times he drove him on,
[55] There did Pataraz strike Pshimaruquo down.
[56] Pataraz to his own lady nurse[4] did return.
[57] “God gave you back to me, my boy,

To your own home you have returned!"
[58] Lady nurse thus spoke to Pataraz,
[59] On that same day she comforted him.
[60] "Lady Mother, to pay a visit to the old Narts is my goal,
[61] Among the Nart wine drinkers shall I enter.
[62] The Nart drinking horn will I take from them
And there before them will I drain it dry.
[63] There Old Khimish's blood price will I set to them."
[64] "O my boy, to such wine drinking do not go,"
[65] So spoke his nurse to Pataraz
[66] And in a bed of thistle down[5] set him to sleep.
[67] The Lady among the Nart wine drinkers:
[68] "For you, Old Narts, this is your eating and drinking feast,
[69] But with the wonder that has come to pass you are ignorant.
[70] With the valour of a hundred heroes my light has returned home.
[71] You, Old Narts, will be rendered without kin at his hands."
[72] When the nurse to the Narts spoke thus
[73] On that same day the old Narts came together in consul,
[74] On that same day great treachery they together composed:
[75] "On a savage fara we shall set Pataraz,
[76] For water to Old Warp we shall let him lead it.
[77] In Bars field when he enters there
[78] 'To the fara give the lash' we shall tell him.
[79] The wild fara will grow angry,
[80] Between two seas it will carry him and across it will throw him.
[81] If it does not throw him and Pataraz turns back,
[82] Old Warp, seven times twisting and seven times forking,
[83] Into seven deltas is divided,
[84] By every delta an army shall we set in place against him,
[85] On that same day they will spear down him," they said.
[86] The Old Narts to the wine drinking invited him.
[87] On that same day the drinking horn of valour they gave there to him.
[88] The horn of valour they gave to him and he drained it there.
[89] "You, Nart Pataraz, on this fara you are to sit.
[90] To Old Warp for water you are to lead it for us.
[91] When you enter Bars field

[92] To the fara give the lash," they said.
[93] Pataraz sat upon the wild fara.
[94] As he entered Bars field
[95] To the fara he gave the lash.
[96] With its hooves he let it plough Bars field.
[97] As he arrived to Old Warp for water
[98] From seven deltas seven armies of horsemen emerged.
[99] On that same day seven armies of horsemen he struck down.
[100] When Pataraz drew nigh to the Narts
[101] There from the wild fara he dismounted.
[102] When the wild fara arrived with empty saddle
[103] The Old Narts toasted together with drinking horns of white wine.
[104] Their weapons and armour as gifts of gladness together they exchanged.
[105] Pataraz set to hiding himself with dirty skin and messy hair[6]
[106] Then unbeknownst he entered among the Nart wine drinkers.
[107] Behind a door he stood and listened to the crowd.
[108] The old Narts stood over their wine barrel.
[109] They uttered many blasphemies against the God of the Harvest.[7]
[110] The leader Alij told many slanderous stories.
[111] Warzamas, as though they were true, agreed.
[112] Yimis boasted shamelessly.
[113] Sawseruquo plotted a hundred treacheries.
[114] The Nart Chidlakhstan bragged about his manhood,
[115] And the white wine they drained down toward the barrel's bottom.
[116] Pataraz emerged from behind the door,
[117] He smashed the ribs of those who were still in his sight.
[118] He broke the backs of those he pressed down.
[119] He strode to the center of the room and turned his gaze about.
[120] On that same day Pataraz said to the old Narts:
[121] "You old Narts stand over the white wine barrel.
[122] You have uttered many blasphemies against the God of the Harvest.
[123] The leader Alij has told many slanderous stories.
[124] Warzamas, as though they were true, has agreed.
[125] The Nart Yimis is a shameless braggart.
[126] Sawseruquo has plotted wretched treacheries.
[127] The Nart Chidlakhstan is indeed without any manhood."

[128] Pataraz drew nigh to the barrel :
[129] “If my words are untrue,
[130] May God dry out this barrel.
[131] If my words are true,
[132] May this barrel overflow!
[133] I have let them build my house on God’s own hill.
[134] I have let them cover its roof with the skins of giants.
[135] Its rafters and beams are the thigh bones of giants.
[136] Its roof trusses are the ribs of giants.
[137] My house’s floor is awash in white wine.
[138] By day I make the giants thresh my harvest.
[139] With their bare hands I make them plough my fields.
[140] At nighttime I hold them fast in a yoke.
[141] I did not turn back when I came between the two seas.
[142] Bright lightning was my bridge for the crossing.
[143] Back I crossed on it to Bars Field, my playground.
[144] To Old Warp, seven times twisting and seven times forking,
[145] For water I led the savage fara,
[146] From its seven deltas seven armies of horsemen rode out against me.
[147] On that same day I struck down a hundred white tailed horses.
[148] On that same day I let the wolves eat the flesh of a hundred white chargers.
[149] On that same day I let the waters wash away a hundred white chain mail tunics.
[150] On that same day I made a hundred horsemen pray to God.
[151] During my life many Narts have I met.
[152] Of them Pshimaruquo was the fiercest one.”
[153] “Wherever you encountered Nart Pshimaruquo,
[154] If you are Khimish's son, you are too young,” they said.
[155] “I met Pshimaruquo there, in Bars field.
[156] Drawing up to his side, I took his keen sword from his hand.
[157] Into Bars field I drove Pshimaruquo back.
[158] Seven times I drove him between the two seas.
[159] He turned and pointed his trefoil lance at me.
[160] He penetrated my nostrils with the smell of scorched hair.
[161] He made the sun seem to me a hundredfold divided.
[162] He made my two legs to shake without my doing.

[163] He beclouded my eyes when he struck at me.
[164] During that I said not one word.
[165] I threw Pshimaruquo's sword quickly to one side.
[166] I took up position behind his horse to strike.
[167] On that same day Pshimaruquo I did strike down."
[168] When Pataraz finished his words,
[169] The white wine barrel surged up and overflowed.
[170] Pataraz then turned to the old Narts,
[171] And the blood price of Old Khimish he told:
[172] "With a sieve bring water for him
[173] And let my savage fara drink its fill.
[174] Across the sky on a ladder must you go.
[175] Gather the thistle down that lies across Nart land
[176] And on the Old Dog's Tail[8] hill burn it there.
[177] The ash of this down you must collect,
[178] Khimish's two shoes you must fill up.
[179] With black heads and white bodies
[180] A hundred hounds you must find for me.
[181] From a bulrush you must make an axle for my wagon.
[182] From hawthorn barbs you must hew a solid board
[183] And set it as a door for me.
[184] With mosquito's blood fill up our father's water barrel.
[185] And for me grill some butter on the point of a spear.
[186] All that is the blood price of Old Khimish."
[187] On that same day who made the old Narts sit down together.
[188] On that same day who made the old Narts weep together.
[189] Yerey, Khimishuquo Pataraz,
[190] Pataraz a lone youth with one heart,
[191] One man in whose heart lay the valour of a hundred heroes,
[192] Who in the womb swore vengeance for his father's blood.

(analyzed and translated by John Colarusso)
(July 1981)

Notes

[1] /yən-ǯʸəǯʸ/ giant-clear, shiny, 'large clear glittering rive'', compare /aśˇa-ǯʸəǯʸ/ chain mail-shining, name of a god of war, /a-śˇa/ may also mean 'the-skin')

[2] A beautiful, spirited horse used in war and on quests, with good breeding, a thoroughbred war horse.

[3] This name can be etymologized as /pšʸə-mahr-ə-qˇa/ prince-death-his-son, 'the Prince of Death,' with the stem /mahr/ coming from an Indo-European language, compare English murder, (night)mare, Latin mortuis, Serbian Mara name of a female water sprite, etc.

[4] The term is /daya-gˇaašʸa/ with the second term meaning 'Lady', as a title of respect, and the first term apparently /da-ya/ nut-one of, 'nut tree'. The use of this term for 'nurse' may be linked with the old custom of planting a tree, preferably a walnut, for each child. The nurse may be a personification of the vitality embodied in the nut tree.

[5] This word, /dahrəya/, is obscure. My informants, Rashid T'haghapsaw and Hisa T'harquakhwa, claim that it denotes the light fluff given off by a plant that grows fairly high, like a thistle, and in fact may be a Caucasian thistle, so it might be analyzed as /dahrə+ya/ thistle-one of.

[6] The term is /śˇa-ya-cʿə-ya/ and literally means 'skin-bad-hair-bad.' It is as though Pataraz returns from his defeat of the Prince of Death looking like a rotten corpse. This, of course, would accord well with the notion that he is a resurrected hero.

[7] /tḫa-ɣaλaǯʸ/ god-harvest.

[8] /ḫa-źə-čʸ/ dog-old-tail, suggesting a ridge where winds would sweep away any ashes from a fire.

III. Ubykh

Phonemic inventory

labials	p	b	p’	f	-	m	w
---, pharyngealized	p̄	b̲	p̄’	-	v̲	m̲	w̲
alveolars	t	d	t’			n	r
---, labialized [pˤtˤ, bd, p’t’]	t°	d°	t’°				
---, affricates/spirants, laminal	c	ʒ	c’	s	z		
---,laminal, labialized [cˤɸ, …, sɸ, zβ]	c°	ʒ°	c’°	s°	z°		
---,---/---, apical	c˙	ʒ˙	c˙ ’	s˙	z˙		
---, ---/---, lateral	-	-	ƛ’	ɬ	l		
palato-alveolars, rounded	-	-	-	š°	ž°		
---, laminal	č^{y}	ǯ^{y}	č’^{y}	š^{y}	ž^{y}		
---, apical (retroflexed)	č	ǯ	č’	š	ž		
palatals		k^{y}	g^{y}	k’^{y}	x̂	ĝ	
y							
velars, rounded	k°	g°	k’°	x̂° [x̂ɸ]	-		
uvulars		q	-	q’	x̌	ɣ	
---, palatalized ([+ATR])	q^{y}	-	q’^{y}	x̌^{y}	ɣ^{y}		
---, rounded	q°	-	q’°	x̌°	ɣ°		
---, pharyngealized	q̄	-	q̄’	x̄	ɣ̄		
---, ---, rounded	q̄°	-	q̄’°	x̄°	ɣ̄°		
laryngeal			-	h	-		

vowels ə a ạ (< a + a) stress (unpredictable)

Comment on stress in Ubykh, and in Abaza and Abkhaz (following three sections):
Stress is unpredictable and complex in these languages. It is determined by a dominant morpheme. If a root of any category is dominant, then it retains stress at all times. Verb roots are the most complex, some being dominant, and therefore always stressed. Others show stress in pre-root position, sometimes one, sometimes two syllables before the root. In such verbs a negative prefix does not count as a syllable, apparently being moved by a morphological tranformation after stress assignment. Others verbs show stress in a post-root position. These verbs typically have stressed tense suffixes. Interrogative or attitudinal prefixes typically are dominant and attract stress to the beginning of a verbal complex. In some cases, however, tense suffixes seem to win out. Some iunstances of imperatives or exhortations seem to show stress on the root. Furthermore, there seem to be exceptional examples to all cases, perhaps reflecting dialect differences or simple lapses on the part of the speaker in coping with this bewildering system.

Note on the vertical vowel system of Ubykh:
The system is much like that of the Circassian languages, save that the open vowel is more back. A more open, coda-filling vowel [ạ] appears to occur, perhaps unpredictably, and has been the topic of some dispute among specialists and Ubykhs alike.

Phonemicized text 1

Translated into French by Dumézil

Rephonemicized and glossed by John Colarusso

[1] fą́x̌ʸa marčʸą́n šą́ɣə ɣap'c'ánə zax̂ˀą́k'ʸa lát̓ˀq'a

fa-a-x̌ʸa	nose(= front)-con-time.loc(us)
marčʸą́n	Marchan
šą́ɣə	Shaghi
ø-ɣa-p'c'a-nə	his-poss-name-pres.pt
za-x̂ˀa-a-k'ʸa	one-hunt-con-agent
ø-lá-t̓ˀ-q'a	he-there-be-past

[2] ałáx̂an wátənə záłə yək'ˀq'a.

a-łáx̂a-n	the-montane.forest
ø-ø-wá-tə-nə	he-it-in-be-pro.tense (takes its sense from the tense of a dominant verb, has an adverbial or complementizer role in subordinations, or a conjunctive role in conjoined phrases)
zá-łə	one-buck
ø-yə́-k'ˀ-q'a	it-he-kill-past

[3] ázˀapsən aɣˀadan ášˀwa ałáx̂aɣa alagʸə́tˀq'a.

á-zˀapsə-n	the-evening-obl(ique.case)
a-ɣˀada-n	it-come.to.pass-pro.tense
a-šˀwa	the-night
a-łáx̂a-ɣa	the-montane.forest-loc
a-la-gʸə+tˀ-q'a	he-there-on+be-past

[4] məǯʸá caɣan ałə́ ɣacˀagʸəcˀˀą̣́ba yəžˀágʸə zaq'ák'ʸa ɣą́q'ˀq'a.

məǯʸá	fire
ø-ø-cá+ɣa-n	it-he-burn+start-pro.tense
a-łə́	the-buck
ø-ɣa-cˀa-gʸə-cˀˀą̣́ba	its-poss-hide-heart-liver(= sweet meats)
ø-yə-žˀá-gʸə	it-he-roast-and(= then)
za-q'á-k'ʸa	one-say-agent (= voice)
ø-ø-ɣá-a-qˀ-q'a	it-him-to-dat(ive)-be.audible-past

[5] yə́žˀangʸə q'ą́ɣənə zaɣˀə́nən k'ʸáƛ'aq'a.

ø-yə́-žˀa-n-gʸə	which-he-roast-supr-and
ø-ø-q'á-a-ɣə-nə	it-him-hand-in-belong-pro.tense

za-ɣˀə́nə-n	one-tree-obl
ø-ø-kʼʸá-ƛ̓ʼa-qʼa	he-it-go-near-past

[6] ɣágʸa dəqárdaqʼa.

ø-ɣá-gʸa	his-poss-self
ø-ø-də-qárda-qʼa	self-he-cause-hide-past

[7] ɣačʼʸáḳʼˀa ʒamá zaɣˀənə́žˀgˀaran bɣʸánčʼʸatˀqʼa.

ø-ɣa-čʼʸáḳʼˀa	his-poss-cloak
ʒamá	other
za-ɣˀənə́-žˀ-gˀara-n	one-tree-old-certain-obl
ø-ø-bɣʸá-n-čʼʸa+tˀ-qʼa	it-it-on-he-side+be(= drape)-past

[8] q̄ʼˀəzáčʼʸən azawałənə́ załaχ̂atə́tgˀara áykʼʸaqʼa.

q̄ʼˀə-zá-čʼʸə-n	hair(curl)-all-side-obl
a-za-wa-łə-nə́	it-all-on-lie-pro.tense
za-łaχ̂a-tə́t-gˀara	one-montane.forest-man-certain
á-y-kʼʸa-qʼa	he-hither-come-past

[9] azápłatʼˀqʼa.

a-zá-pła-tʼˀ-qʼa	he-all-look-around-past

[10] ačʼʸáḳʼˀa dəbɣʸáłqʼa ɣˀə́nə tə́t ɣˀán ɣágʸa bɣʸánčʸawqʼa.

a-čʼʸáḳʼˀa	the-cloak
ø-də-bɣʸá-ɬ-qʼa	it-which-on-lie-past
ɣˀə́nə	tree
tə́t	man
ɣˀa-́n	it-he-believe-pro.tense
ø-ɣa-́gʸa	his-poss-self
ø-ø-bɣʸá-n-čʸa+w-qʼa	self-it-on-he-lean+active-past

[11] wanán bɣʸátən áɣˀan ɣatawp šánəɣan ałaχ̂atə́tən yə́yaqʼa.

wa-na-́n	that-sg-obl (= ‘in that tree’)
ø-ø-bɣʸa-́tə-n	he-it-on-be(stative)-pro.tense
á-ɣˀa-n	he-pro.sfx-obl
ø-ɣa-top [ø-ɣa-tʼaq̄ʼ]	his-poss-gun (Turkish top ‘cannon’)
ø-šá-nə-ɣa-n	it-preverb-he-load.a. gun-pro.tense
a-łaχ̂a-tə́t-ən	the-montane.forest-man-obl
ø-yə́-ya-qʼa	he-him-hit(= fire)-past

[12] ámžʸa fạ́tənə áłaχ̂an wạ́wən ákʼʸaqʼa.

á-mǯʸa	the-fire
ø-fá-a-tə-nə	it-down-to-be-pro.tense
á-ɬaχa-n	the-montane.forest-obl
ø-ø-wá-a-wə-n	he-it-in-dat-enter-pro.tense
á-kʼʸa-qʼa	he-go-past

[13] wanaɬaqʼáɺla marčʸáɺn šáɺɣə ámǯʸalaq áyǯʸən wacˀagʸəcʼˀáɺ̲ba yə́žˀan fáɺyqʼa.

wa-na-ɬa-qʼá-a-la	that-sg-foot-trace-con-adv
marčʸáɺn šáɺɣə	M. Sh.
á-mǯʸa-laq	the-fire-near
á-y-ǯʸə-n	he-toward-return-pro.tense
wa-cˀa-gʸə-cʼˀáɺ̲ba	that-hide-heart-liver
ø-yə́-žˀa-n	it-he-roast
ø-ø-f-áɺy-qʼa	it-he-eat-finally-past

[14] “sədyaqʼá macʼˀ maɺ́kʼʸašʸagʸə azɣˀáɺyaw” yə́qʼaqʼa,

ø-sə-dya-qʼá	whom-I(cause)-die(= wound)-past
macʼˀ	morning
maɺ́-ø-kʼʸa-šʸagʸə	where-he-go-ever
a-z-ɣˀa-áɺy-aw	him-I-find-again-future
ø-yə́-qʼa-qʼa	it-he-say-past

[15] dɣáχˀtʼən ɣáɬaqʼan gʸə́wqʼa.

dɣá-ø-χˀ-tʼə-n	as-it-dawn-when-adv
ø-ɣá-ɬa-qʼa-n	his-poss-leg-trace-obl
ø-ø-gʸə́-w-qʼa	he-it-on-enter-past

[16] akʼʸámsala zádˀə anəχˀášˀən ɣáɺlaqʼa.

a-kʼʸa-́msa-la	he-go-durative-exhaustive
zá-dˀə	one-plane(= meadow)
a-nəχˀa-́šˀə-ø-n	it-beautiful-small-be-pro.tense
ø-ø-ɣá-a-la-qʼa	he-it-loc-to-reach(= ‘there’ as a verb)-past

[17] dɣázapɬatʼˀtʼən “sạwə́šˀwan wə́ykʼʸaqʼay?” qʼágʸə záqʼakʼʸa ɣáɺqʼˀqʼa.

dɣá-ø-za-pɬa-tʼˀ-tʼə-n	as-he-all-look-around-when-adv
sạ-wə́-šˀwa-n	what-you-do-infinitive
wə́-y-kʼʸa-qʼa-y	you-hither-come-past-question
ø-ø-qʼá-gʸə	it-it-say-and
za-́qʼa-kʼʸa	one-say-agent
ø-ø-ɣá-a-qʼˀ-qʼa	it-him-to-dat-be.audible-past

[18] dɣázapɬatʼˀtʼən zayanə́żgˀara fabżátˀqʼa yə́byaqʼa.

dɣá-ø-za-pła-t’˚-t’ə-n	as-he-all-look-around-when-adv
za-yanə́ż-g˚ara	one-gaint-certain
ø-fa-bża-t˚-q’a	he-down-tie+be-past
ø-yə́-bya-q’a	him-he-see-past

[19] wábżaq’an “lą́la wəyk’ʸa!” q’an mə́śaq’a.

wa-bża-q’a-n	that-tie-past-obl
lá-a-la	there-to-there
wə́-y-k’ʸa	you-hither-come
ø-ø-q’a-n	it-he-say-pro.tense
ø-ø-mə́śa-q’a	he-him(to)-call-past

[20] “ánc’˚ən aǩ˚ás˚agʸə áłaq’ą́la ašʸą́yən nąnkʸa zaɣ̄ą́nca asǩʸawə́!” q’áq’a.

ánc’˚-ən	first-adv
a-ǩ˚ás˚a-gʸə	it-bloom-and
á-ła-q’a-a-la	its-leg-trace-con-after (= last)
a-šʸ-ą́y-ən	it-ripen-final-pro.tense
ø-na-a-nkʸa-ø	it-them-dat-among-be
za-ɣ̄ą́nca	one-digging.stick
a-s-ǩʸa-ø-w-ə́	it-me-for-you(imp)-bring-polite
ø-ø-q’a-q’a	it-he-say-past

[21] ák’ʸan aɣ˚ádan ʒamaɣ̄ą́nca q’ą́ɣəgʸə xʸánəwq’a.

á-k’ʸa-n	he-go-pro.tense
a-ɣ˚áda-n	it-happen-pro.tense
ʒama-ɣ̄ą́nca	other-digging.stick
ø-ø-q’á-a-ɣə-gʸə	it-him-hand-dat-belong-and
ø-ø-xʸá-nəw-q’a	it-him-for-he-bring-past

[22] “ášʸq’ama” yə́q’aq’a.

á-šʸ-q’a-ma	it-do-past-not (= ‘it did not suffice’)
ø-yə-q’a-q’a	it-he-say-past

[23] wanałaq’ą́la ak’ʸán zaməcánə afanq’áwtən amɣʸą́wq’a.

wa-na-ła-q’á-ala	that-sg-leg-trace-and (= after that)
a-k’ʸá-n	he-come-pro.tense
za-məcánə	one-dogwood
a-fa-n-q’-áw-t-ən	it-sever-he-cut-fut-gen(eral)-inf
a-mɣʸá-a-w-q’a	he-road-to-strike-past (= he started [as though] to cut it)

[24] ʒamá zaq’ak’ʸág˚arangʸə “afáwq’ə(gʸə) šʸáwmət!”

ʒamá	other
za-q'a-k'ʸá-gˤara-n-gʸə	one-say-agent-certain-obl-and (= and another voice)
a-fá-w-q'ə(-gʸə)	it-sever-you-cut(-and)
ø-šʸ-áw-mə-t	it-happen-fut-not-sg

[25] azápłat'ˤq'a adəq'aq'á yəbyaq'áma.

a-zá-pła-t'ˤ-q'a	he-all-look-around-past
a-də-q'a-q'á	it-who-say-past
ø-yə-bya-q'á-ma	it-he-see-past-not

[26] "azɣˤáwq'ama" q'an ayánəżlaq áyžʸq'a.

a-s-ɣˤá+w-q'a-ma	it-I-find+active-past-not
ø-ø-q'a-n	it-he-say-pro.tense
a-yánəz̈-laq	the-giant-near
á-y-žʸ-q'a	he-direction-return-past

[27] "awɣˤáwgʸə asx̌ʸáwməwq'adan wədəgʸətə́n wan wəgʸənəmdət'ˤádax̌!" yə́q'aq'a.

a-w-ɣˤá+w-gʸə	it-you-find+active-and
a-s-x̌ʸá-w-mə-w-q'a-da-n	it-me-for-you-not-bring-past-if(presumptive)-adv
wə-də-gʸə-t-ə́n	you-where-on-stand-obl
wa-n	God-obl
wə-gʸə-nə-m-də-t'ˤ+á+da-x̌	you-on-He-not-cause-move+con+out(?)-may [old oath with complex frozen stem]
ø-yə́-q'a-q'a	it-he-say-past

[28] "yəšˤabláwn salátəy?

yə-šˤablá-w-n	this-land-instr-obl
sa-lá-t-əy	what-there-be-question

[29] abə́yə abə́yəšˤə azašat'ˤą́nəś?

a-bə́yə	the-sheep
a-bə́yə-šˤə	the-sheep-little
a-za-ša-t'ˤá-a-n-əs	they-self-head(?)-increase-pl-pres-whether

[30] aʒáʒ azašat'ˤą́nəś yəšˤax̌ʸáx̌awn?"

a-ʒáʒ	the-bee [perhaps also /ʒą́ʒ/]

a-za-ša-t'ʼ́a-a-n-əṡ they-self-head(?)-increase-pl-pres-whether
yə-šʼa-x̌ʸa-́x̌-aw-n this-year-time.loc-ordinal-instru-adv

[31] "áš́ʸnawt, ná yada ná máč'ʸ aš́ʸáwt.

á-šʸ-na-(á)w-t it-happen-pl-fut-gen
ná neither
yada much
ná neither
máč'ʸ little
a-šʸ-áw-t it-happen-fut-general.sg
[32] sá̱ba wəx̌ʸaʒɣáq'ay?"

sá̱-ba why-pro.sfx
wə-ø-x̌ʸa-ʒɣá-q'a-y you-it-for-ask-past-question

[33] "aɣ̄á̱nca azɣʼ́awq'ayt'əba səcánə fá̱səwt'ʼawtʼq'a, anán səɣʼ́á dásq'anən səɣʼ́á sə́šʼwa
aš́ʸáwtʼq'a."

a-ɣ̄áanca the-digging.stick
a-s-ɣʼ́á+w-q'a-y-t'ə-ba it-you-find+active-past-stative-sg-if.hypothetical
sə-cánə my-sword
ø-fá̱-sə-w-t'ʼ-aw-tʼ-q'a it-down-to-I-active-dig- subj(unctive)-be-past (= I would have dug down to it)
a-na-́n it-sg-obl (= 'then' or 'with it')
sə-ɣʼ́á I-pro.sfx
dá-ø-s-q'a-nə-n adv-it-I-say-pro.tense-obl (= 'as I said')
sə-ɣʼ́á I-pro.sfx
sə-́šʼwa my-business
a-šʸ-áw-tʼ-q'a it-happen-subj-be-past (= 'it would have happened')

[34] ɣacánə daɣʼ́awṡa ášʼabla ɣaɣʼərdá̱yəžʸ dɣašʸáwtə yə́ċ'anayt'.

ø-ɣa-cánə his-poss-sword
da-ø-ø-ɣʼ́á+w-ṡa adv-it-he-find+active-when
a-́šʼabla the-land
ø-ɣa-ɣʼərdá-a̱y-əžʸ its-poss-destruction-final-again [last two suffixes are emphatic "iteratives"]
dɣa-ø-šʸ-áw-tə adv-it-happen-fut-gen
ø-yə́-ċ'a-na-y-t' it-he-know-pres-stative-sg

[35] ayánəż ɣašán yəšx̌ʼáma, ɣacánə daɣʼ́á̱yṡa q'ášaɣə áynšʸawtən dɣašʸə́ṡa̱la aš́ʼábla
ɣak'ʼačʸá aċə́ċana aɣawadyá̱yəžʸ dɣašʸáwtəż.

a-yánəż the-giant

ø-ɣa-šá-n	his-poss-head (= 'his own')
yə-šx̌˚á-ø-ma	he-strong-be-if.conditional (= 'if he had his own strength')
ø-ɣa-cánə	his-poss-sword
da-ø-ø-ɣ˚á-ạy-ṡa	adv-it-he-find-final-when
ø-ø-q'áša-ɣə	it-him-desire-belong (= 'his wishes')
a-́y-n-šʸ-aw-t-ən	it-dir-he-do-fur-gen-adv
dɣa-ø-šʸə́-ṡa-ala	adv-it-happen-when-and
a-š˚ábla	the-land
ø-ɣa-kˀ˚ačʸá	its-poss-end
a-ċə́ċa-n-a	the-people-obl-pl
a-ɣa-wadyá-ạy-əžʸ	their-poss-doom-final-back
	dɣa-ø-šʸ-áw-t-əž adv-it-happen-fut-gen-be

[After Dumézil (1955) "Récits oubykhs," Journal asiatique, vol. 243, pp. 30-33, tale V, with stress therein, and with revisions from Dumézl (1960) Documents anatoliens sur les languages et les traditions du Caucase, I, p. 74, and for the split of "s˚" into /s˚/ and /x̂˚/ Colarusso (1992) "How Many Consonants does Ubykh Have?," in George Hewitt (ed.) Caucasian Perspectives, pp. 145-155.]

Translation

The Adventure of Marchan Shaghy

Long ago there was a hunter called Marchan Shaghy.[1] He killed a buck when he was in the mountain forests.[2] Evening have fallen he spent the night on the mountain. He lit a fire and was roasting the inner organs[3] when he heard a voice. He climbed up into a nearby tree and hid himself, taking with him the innards he had been roasting. He draped his cloak over another old tree.

A wild man, covered all over with hair, approached. The wild man looked all around. He mistook the tree on which the cloak was draped for a man and threw himself upon it.[4] The hero, seeing this from where he was sitting up in the tree, primed his pistol and shot at the wild man. The wild man caught fire and went off, running into the woods.

After this Marchan Shaghy returned to his fire, roasted, and ate the organs. He said to himself "In the morning I shall find this creature whom I have wounded, wherever he may have gone to."

At dawn he set off after him. He travelled far and wide and came upon a beautiful small plain. When he looked all around he heard a voice saying "What did you come here to do?"

When he looked all around again he saw a giant who had been tied down. The bound giant called to him "Come here! Bring me a digging stick[5] made from the plant that blooms first but brings forth fruit last."

Marchan Shaghy went and brought back with him other sorts of digging sticks for the giant.

"These won't do," the giant said.

The he set out again and began to cut off part of a dogwood. Another voice said "You must not cut this off!" He looked all around, but could not see who had said this. He returned to the giant and said "I did not find it."

"If you found it and did not bring it back to me, then may God turn you to stone right where you stand!" roared the giant. "How are things in this land?" the giant went on. "Do the sheep bring forth lambs? Do the honey bees multiply this year?"

Marchan Shaghy replied "They are reproducing, but it will be neither much nor little. Why do you ask?"[6]

"If I had gotten hold of the digging stick, I would have dug up my sword," the giant replied. "Then it would have been possible for me to do that which I promised."

Marchan Shaghy knew that when the giant found his sword, it would have been the country's destruction. The giant was not free.

If he had gotten back his sword, he would have done whatever he wanted, and when that happened it would be the end of the world and the final doom of humankind.

[Teller, Tevfik Esenç from Haji Osman köy. This tale is called "Un Prométhé oubykh" and it certainly does recall a variant of the giant atop the mountain, such as Circassian saga 37. It is coupled, however, to an odd account of an encounter with a wild man of the Caucasus. For an account of such lore in the Caucasus see Colarusso (1980). Generally such lore is non-mythical, the creature being known only to huntsmen, who consider it rare and dangerous.]

_____

Notes:

[1] Ubykh /marčaáⁿ šá(a)ɣə/. The Marshans are the Abkhazian royal family.

[2] He is said to be on a /ɬaχ̂á/ 'montane forest' (Vogt 1963, p. 144), as opposed to a mountain pasture /səpqʸə́/, which can also mean simply a 'large (bare) mountain' when suffixed with /gʸəʒa/ 'big' (as opposed to /x̄ə-š˚á/ 'grazing-place', 'pasture' from /-x̄-/ 'to graze').

[3] /c˚a-gʸə-cˀ˚aáb̲a/ skin-heart-liver, considered a delicacy,(compare West Circassian /g˚ʔaśˀ˚əʔa/ a "rhyming compound" dervied from */g˚ə-śˀ˚əʔa/ heart-liver).

[4] Perhaps the wild man (/ɬaχ̂a-tə́t/ montane.forest-man) mistakes the cloak for another of his kind since it is a /čˀʸaákˀ˚a/, the shaggy and wide cloak made of sheep's wool, often called burka.

[5] The term /ɣ̄aáⁿca/ now means 'fishhook'. It must have originally have been a curved digging tool. The (West) Circassian cognate /ḥaáⁿcʿa/ means 'wooden spade' (Kuipers 1975, p. 80, § 113).

[6] The bound giant is an anti-fertility figure, a personification of nature's destructive forces. The hero appears to mollify him by his non-committal answer to the question about the world's abundance.

Phonemicized text 2

[after Hans Vogt (1963) Dictionnaire de la langue oubykh (Oslo) p. 60]

Rephonemicized and glossed by John Colarusso

I. nə́ṛtłamsana wašáʒaq'ayt'

nə́ṛt-ła-msa-n-a Nart-blood-dur(ative)-obl-pl (/-m-s-a/ -oblique-sit-in)
w-a-ša-ʒa-q'a-yt' you-it-remain.preV-exist-past-dur (sg)

wə́sšʸəšʸəmsa wəgʸəʒə́səšʸq'ayt'

wə́-s-šʸə+šʸə-msa you-I(cause)-big+big-dur
wə-gʸəʒə́-sə-šʸ-q'a-y+t' you-big-I(cause)-do-past-prog(ressive.aspect)+sg

sə́q°a zə́ṛq̄a səyarəčʸx̌ə́ṛw

sə́-q°a my-son
zə́ṛq̄a unique (from Abaza /zə́-q̄a/ one-head)
sə-yarəčʸx̌ə́ṛw my-Yarichkhyaw

Refrain [də́wšaq'agʸə satanə́y aha·hahə́·, hə́y hə́y sarasə́nə satanə́y aha·haha·

ø-də́wša-q'a-gʸə she-poor(= Turkish loan)-past-and
satanə́y Satanay

II.

wəčʸə́bɣʸasən wəgʸəsə́t'°q'ayt'

wə-čʸə́-bɣʸa-sə-n your-horse-on-sit-adv
wə-gʸə-sə́-t'°-q'a-y+t' you-out-I-drive-past-prog+sg

wəcanə́ wgʸət'°ə́ wfə́səłq'ayt'

wə-canə́ your-sword
w-gʸət'°ə́ your-lance
ø-w-fá-sə-ł-q'a-y+t' them-you-down-I-hang(coll)-past-prog+sg

g°ənd°ə̣nəx̂°an wəbɣʸə́wadəyayt'

g°ənd°a-̣nəx̂°a-n Gundwa-beautiful-obl

wə-ø-bɣʸə́-wadəya-y+t' you-her-on-a.corpse-stat.past+sg

———

III. wəcán wəgʸə́t’ʿ əwfasəɬq’ayt’

wə-cán your-sword

wə-gʸə́t’ʿ=əw-fa-sə-ɬ-q’a-y+t’
your-lance=you-down-I-hang(coll)-past-prog+sg

nə́rtɬamsana wašáʒaq’ayt’

nə́rt-ɬa-msa-n-a Nart-blood-dur-obl-pl
w-a-šá-ʒa-q’a-y+t’ you-it-remain.preV-exist-past-dur (sg)

sə́qʷa zə́q̄a səyarəčʸxə̀w

sə́-qʷa my-son
zə́q̄a unqiue
sə-yarəčʸxə̀w my-Yarichkhyaw

IV. ɣáqʷa zə́q̄a dəwádəyə̀yəq’a

ɣáqʷa
zə́q̄a
dəwádəyə̀yəq’a

ɣáša ɣálakʸ dəfačʸə́yəq’a

ɣá-ša her-head
ɣá-lakʸ its-hair
ø-ø-də-fačʸá-ə̀yə-q’a it-she-cause(abs.sg)-repeat(ed.action)-past

ɣat’qʷ’ʿa ǯʸágʸa dəṡaṡáyəq’a

ɣa-t’qʷ’ʿa her-two
ǯʸágʸa thigh(s)
ø-ø-də-ṡa+ṡá-ə̀yə-q’a them-she-trans(itive)-beat+beat-repeat-past

ɣáqʷa zə́q̄a dəwádəyə̀yəq’a

ɣá-qʷa her-son
zə́q̄a unique
ø-ø-də-wádəy-ə̀yə-q’a him-she(G.)-cause(abs.sg)-repeat(= finally)-past

Translation

I. You remained the last of the Nart race.
I made you grow big (with) always caressing you.
My unique son, my Yarichkhaw.
[Poor Satanay ahaha, no! no! Remaining my (?) Satanay, ahahaha]

II. Seated upon (your) horse I made you go out.
I hung down from you your sword and your lance.
On Gunda the beautiful you became a corpse.

III. I hung down from you your sword and your lance.
You remained the last of the Nart race.
My unique son, my Yarichkhaw.

IV. Her unique (= only) son was killed (= made into a corpse).
She tore again and again her hair.
She beat again and again her two thighs.

Phonemicized text 3

[after Hans Vogt, 1962, pp. 56-58]

Rephonemicized and glossed by John Colarusso

[1]č'ʸa“pšʸá

[1] [1]fa“x̌ʸa [2]adəĝaɣá [3]zaya [4]áyna“šʸəgʸə [5]azáyanaba“la [6]ášʸx̂aq'a [7]áyna“ɣakʸaǯʸnaṡa“la [8]č'ʸa“pšʸá [9]tx̌ʸána“q'an [10]q˚əmą́la-gʸə [11]áyna“šʸənayt'.

[2] [1]ášʸx̂alaq [2]azax̌ʸabzə́naṡa [3]nə́čʸ [4]ak'˚ə́ṡa“la [5]č'ʸaˇpšʸá [6]wárada [7]áq'anayt'.

[3] [1]aq'án [2]wáradagʸə [3]yənaǯayt':

[4] [1]q̄aṡəcacá-n, [2]ya [3]wárada, [4]yadá [5]čʸap'ċ'aq'á [6]gʸə́t'˚q'ayt' [7]wárada [8]raˇ [9]waráydara [10]warád· [11]waráydaraˇ

[5] [1]sə́k˚abžʸag˚əšʸan, [2]ya [3]wárada, [4]bləc˚ałábžʸa [5]x̌ʸázd˚əq'ag˚əšʸ [6]wárada [7]raˇ [8]waráydaraˇ [9]wasə́· [10]ya [11]waradá“"

[6] [1]awápłag˚əšʸan, [2]ya [3]wárada, [4]załádəɣaǯa [5]wanəw+t'˚q'a [6]wárada [7]raˇ [8]waráydara [9]wasə́· [10]waráydaraˇ

[7] [1]áyda [2]fəłádəɣaǯagʸə, [3]ya [4]wárada, [5]at'˚áss̆˚abaċ'aɣa baċ'aṡaq'á

[8] [1]ɣaṡáx̌ax̌an, [2]ya [3]wárada, [4]ś́ʸəẇánǯaž˚ə [5]dətx̌ážʸq'a

[9] [1]ačʸá“x̌ʸaɣa [2]sək'ʸág˚əšʸan, [3]ya [4]wárada, [5]ačʸətx̌ážʸq'a [6]wásəwt'˚q'a

[10] [1]ác˚əyaɣagʸə [2]səṡáwəg˚əšʸan, [3]ya [4]wárada, [5]at˚át˚awaˇwa bɣʸásəłq'a

[11] [1]sə́k˚abžʸag˚əšʸa [2]ačʸábɣʸaswəsən [3]ag˚á“ɣan [4]gʸəsə́t'˚q'ag˚əšʸ

[12] [1]ɣáłaq'awnə [2]dasəɣá“pładag˚əšʸat'ən [3]ya [4]wárada [5]ałá“p'ana [6]blapłáčʸax̂agʸə [7]na“mət˚ən

[13] [1]ačʸə́n [2]ɣalá“žʸada [3]ya [4]wárada [5]ačʸaǯápsq'an [6]šáłatax̌ !

[14] [1]sə́k˚abžʸag˚əšʸan [2]ɣalá“žʸada [3]ya [4]wárada ˇ [5]sədəɣəcafaċ'án [6]šáłatax̌ !

Glossing and Analysis

[1]č'ʸaapšʸá uanalyzable name of the song, it was sung by the wife to keep herself awake while attending to a wounded husband.

[1] [1]fá-a-x̌ʸa front-conn(ective)-for; [2]a-dəĝa-ɣá the-people-loc(ative), 'Circassia'; [3]za+ya recipr(ocal)+strike, 'war'; [4]á-y-na-a-šʸə-gʸə it-there-3-pl-make-and; [5]a-zá+ya-n-a-ba-ala the-recipr+strike-obl(ique)-pl(ural)-hypo(thetical)-adv; [6]á-šʸx̂a-q'a the-wound-perf(ective); [7]á-y-na-a-ɣa-kʸa-ǯʸ-na-ṡa-ala they-there-3-pl-cause-come-action-pl-then-adv; [8]č'ʸaˇpšʸá insomnia song; [9]ø-t-x̌ʸá-na-a-q'a-n it-which-for-3-pl-say-ger; [10]q˚əmá·la-gʸə dance (ritual?)-and; [11]á-y-na-a-šʸə-na-y-t' it-there-3-pl-do-pl-dyn(amic), past-sg.

[2] [1]á-š[y]x̂a-laq the-wound(ed)-after; [2]a-za-x̌[y]a-bzə́-na-ṡa they-recipr-for-reunite-pl-sequ, ger; [3]nə́č[y] animal; [4]ø-a-k'ʼ°ə́-ṡa-ala it-3-kill-then-adv; [5]č'[y]a˘pš[y]á insomnia song; [6]wárada song; [7]ø-á-q'a-na-y-t' it-3-say-pl-dyn, past-sg.

[3] [1]a-q'á-n the-say-ger; [2]wárada-g[y]ə song-and; [3]yə+na-ʒa-y-t' this+sg-be-dyn, past-sg:

[4] [1]q̄aṡə-ca+cá-n village-small+small-obl; [2]ya O; [3]wárada song; [4]yadá very; [5]č[y]-a-p'ċ'a-q'á horse(men)-conn-pure, noble-past; [6]ø-g[y]ə́-t'ʼ°-q'a-y-t' 3-out-exit-perf-past-sg; [7]wárada [8]ra˘ [9]waráydara [10]wará“ [11]waráydara˘ (7-11) refrain.

[5] [1]sə́-k°abž[y]a-g°əš[y]a-n my-husband-poor, pitiable-obl;, [2]ya [3]wárada, [4]blə-c°a-ɬá+bž[y]a seven-leather-foot+shoe; [5]ø-ø-x̌[y]á-z-d°ə-q'a-g°əš[y] 3-him-for-I-sew-perf-pityingly, sorrowfully; [6]wárada [7]ra˘ [8]waráydara˘ [9]wasə́· [10]ya [11]waradá“ (6-11) refrain.

[6] [1]ø-a-wá-pɬa-g°əš[y]a-n he-them-among-look-sorrowful-ger, [2]ya [3]wárada, [4]za-ɬá+də+ɣa+ʒa one-leg+cause+loc+be, 'one pair of boots';[5]ø-wa-nə-w+t'ʼ°-q'a he-among-it-def(inite) asp(ect)-choose-perf; [6]wárada [7]ra˘ [8]waráydara [9]wasə́· [10]waráydara˘ (6-10) refreain.

[7] [1]áy-da other-sg(collective); [2]fə-ɬá+də+ɣa+ʒa-g[y]ə six-leg+cause+loc+be, 'six-pairs'; [3]ya [4]wárada, [5]a-t'ʼ°á-s-š°a-baċ'a-ɣa the-down-sit-place-under-loc, 'underneath area of the sofa'; ø-baċ'a-ṡa-q'á 3-under-rot-perf

[8] [1]ɣa-ṡá-x̌a+x̌a-n (3)poss(essive)-rot-much+much-ger, [2]ya [3]wárada, [4]ś[y]ə-w̲ánʒa-ž°ə our-dog-old; [5]ø-ø-də-tx̌áž[y]-q'a it-they-cause-be.satisfied/nourished-perf

[9] [1]a-č[y]á-a-x̌[y]a-ɣa the-horse-con-place-loc, 'the horse stable'; [2]sə-k'ʼ[y]á-g°əš[y]a-n I-go-sorrowfully-ger; [3]ya [4]wárada, [5]a-č[y]ə-tx̌áž[y]-q'a the-horse-nourish-perf; [6]ø-wá-s-w+t'ʼ°-q'a it-among-I-def, asp+choose-perf.

[10] [1]á-c°əya-ɣa-g[y]ə the-house-loc-and; sə-ṡá-wə-g°əš[y]a-n I-inside-lead-sorrofully-ger; [3]ya [4]wárada, [5]a-t°át°a-wa˘wa the-golden-saddle; ø-ø-bɣ[y]á-sə-ɬ-q'a it(saddle)-it(horse)-on-I-lay-perf.

[11] [1]sə́-k°abž[y]a-g°əš[y]a my-husband-pitiable; [2]a-č[y]-á-bɣ[y]a-s-wə-sə-n him-horse-dat(ive)-on-I-cause-sit-ger; [3]a-g°áaɣa-n the-paddock-obl (g°á+a+ɣa outside-conn-loc ?); [4]ø-ø-g[y]ə-

sə́-t’˚-q’a-g˚əšʸ him-it-out-I (cause)-exit-perf-sorrowfully.
[12] [1]ɣá-łaq’a-wnə poss-trace-adv; [2]d(ɣ)a-sə-ø-ɣá-a-pła+da-g˚əšʸa-t’ə-n when-I-3-on-at-look+prolonged-sorrowfully-temporal-adv, with (1) 'when I gaze sorrowfully after him'; [3]ya [4]wárada [5]a-łá+a+p’a-n-a the-leg+conn+tip-obl-pl, 'the pedestrians';[6]bla+płá+čʸa+x̂a-gʸə eye+gaze+far+act-and, 'deference'; [7]ø-ø-na-a-mə-t˚ə-n it-him-3-pl-not-give-ger.

[13] [1]a-čʸə́-n the-horse-obl; [2]ɣa-láažʸa-da poss-fault-if; [3]ya [4]wárada [5]a-čʸaʒá-ps-q’a-n the-spit-sharp-perf-obl; ø-ø-šá-ø-łat-ax̌ it(horse)-it(spit)-on-3(indef)-stick (through)-opta(tive)!

[14] [1]sə́-k˚abžʸa-g˚əšʸa-n my-husband-poor-obl; [2]ɣa-láažʸa-da poss-fault-if; [3]ya [4]wárada˘ [5]sə-dəɣəca-faċ’a-́n my-scissors (note /ca/ tooth)-tip-obl; [6]ø-ø-šá-ø-łat-ax̌ it(horse)-it(scissors)-on-3(indef)-stick (through)-opta(tive)!

Translation

(an "insomnia" song)

[1] Long ago, when they made war in Circassia, and if they brought back the wounded from the battle, they then performed a ritual, which they called /čʸa˘pšʸá/. [2] When they were reunited with the wounded, they would then kill an animal and then sing the song /čʸa˘pšʸá/. [3] The song which they sang was this:

[4] From the small village many of the noble horsemen have parted [refrain].
[5] For my poor husband I have saddly sewn seven (pairs of) leather boots [refrain].
[6] He has saddly looked among them, and chosen one pair [refrain].
[7] The other six pairs lie rotting under the sofa.
[8] Those which were very rotten have nourished our old dog.
[9] I have gone saddly to the stable and chosen a well fed horse.
[10] Saddly I have led it into the house and set the golden saddle upon it.
[11] I have set my poor husband upon the horse and saddly I have led him out to the paddock.
[12] When saddly I gaze after him [I see that] the pedestrains do not give to him deference (lit., gazing away past him, i.e., turning their heads away from him).

[13] If this be the fault of the horse, then may it be run through with a sharp spit!
[14] If this be the fault of my poor husband, may he be run through with the tip of my scissors!

(analyzed and translated by John Colarusso, after Hans Vogt)
(November 1996)

IV Abaza (Tapanta dialect) ("Northern Abkhaz")

Phonemic inventory

labial	p	b	p'	f	v		m			w
dental (alveolar)	t	d	t'				n			
alveolar	c	ʒ	c'	s	z			r		
lateral				(ɬ	ɮ	ɬ')		l		
palato-alveolar(laminal)	č^{y}	ǯ^{y}	č'^{y}	š^{y}	ž^{y}					
(apical/retroflex)	č	ǯ	č'	š	ž					
(round)	č$^{\circ}$	ǯ$^{\circ}$	č'$^{\circ}$	š$^{\circ}$	ž$^{\circ}$					
palatal	k^{y}	g^{y}	k'^{y}	x̂						y
velar	k	g	k'							
(round)	k$^{\circ}$	g$^{\circ}$	k'$^{\circ}$	(x̂$^{\circ}$)[x̂$^{\phi}$]	-					
uvular ("palatalized")	-	-	q'^{y}	x̌^{y}	ɣ^{y}					
(plain)	-	-	q'	x̌	ɣ					
(round)	-	-	q'$^{\circ}$	x̌$^{\circ}$	ɣ$^{\circ}$					
(pharyngealized)	q̄	-	-	-	-					
(pharyngealized, round)	q̄$^{\circ}$	-	-	-	-					
pharyngeal (epiglottal)				ḥ	ʕ					
(round)				ḥ$^{\circ}$	ʕ$^{\circ}$					
laryngeal			ʔ							
rounded			(ʔ$^{\circ}$)							
vowels	ə	a		stress (unpredictable)						

Note on the vowel systems of Abkhaz and Abaza:

The open vowel is like its correlate in Ubykh,.more back than those in Circassian. Coda-filling vowels do not exist because of a general rule $V_1 + V_2 > V_2$. Abaza is

unique in the preservation of both vowels before /a/ in certain juncture phenomena.

(C) means a consonant is found in loans from Circassian (usually Kabardian).

Abaza text

(Where my meager knowledge of Abaza fails me I have used Abkhaz cognates to determine stress. For many forms stress therefore remains provisional and for a few it is absent altogether.)

[1] sawsrə́q'ºəy sə́wtrašəy

sawsrə́q'ºa-əy	Sosruquo-and
sə́wtraš-əy	Sotrash-and

[2] atəwrə́xkºa yəšə́rḥºawala, nə́rtərʕa sawsrə́q'ºa saws də́ypan.

a-təwrə́x-kºa	the-history-pl(ural)
yə-šə́-r-ḥºa-wa-la	it-how-they-say-(continuous.)asp(ect)-by
nə́rt-ərʕa	Nart-race
sawsrə́q'ºa	Sosreuquo
saws	Sos
d-ə́y-pa-ø-n	he(= 3.abs(olute))-his(= obl(ique))-son-be-past.indef

[3] saws nə́rtərʕa drə́žºxčʸan.

saws	Sos
nə́rt-ərʕa	Nart-race
d-rə́-žº+xčʸa-n	3.abs-3.pl.obl-cow+herder-past.indef

[4] abarə́y aq̄ázla nə́rtərʕa zə́mʕºa sawsrə́q'ºa "tə́wma" ḥºa yə́pxəwn, yargʸə́y ášʸata dəgʸráčºarəmšʸəwzt.

a-ba-r-ə́y	3-non.rat(ional)(?)-near-sg
a-q̄á-z-la	its-head-past.pt-by
nə́rt-ərʕa	Nart-race

zə́-mʕˤa	one-road (= all of the …)
sawsrə́q’ˤa	Sosruquo
tə́wma	mongrel
ḥˤa	call\say
yə́-pxə-ø-w-n	it-disgrace-be-asp-pro.tense (takes its sense from the tense of a dominant verb)
ya-r(a)-gʸə́y	they-pro(.noun).sfx-and
á(y)šʸ(a)-ta	brother-adj(ective) (= ‘as a brother’)
də-gʸ-r-áčˤa-rə-m-šʸ(a)-w-zt’	him-not-them(.for)-preV(erb)-they-not-recognize-asp-neg(ative tense suffix) (= ‘they would not consider him as a brother’)

[5] awásа sawsrə́q’ˤa qác’ara də́wta yə́lazəy šˤará-qə́xčʸarata awə́y yə́mazəy yəʕálc’la
nártərʕa awə́y danə́rbara p’át’əw dəw yəkˤə́rc’əwn.

a+wá-sa	3+dist.invis-adv(erb) = ‘then’ or ‘but’
sawsrə́q’ˤa	Sosruquo
qác’a-ra	man-ly
də́w-ta	great-adv
yə́-l-a-ø-z-əy	which-inside-in-be-past.pt-and
šˤa+rá-qə́+xčʸa+ra-ta	frighten-inf(initive)-head+herd-inf-adj (= “frightening and attention-grabbing quality”)
a-wá-əy=yə́-ma-z-əy	3-dist(al).invis(ible)-sg=him-belong-past.pt-and
yə-ʕá-l-c’(a)-la	which-hither-inside-set-by
nárt-ərʕa	Nart-race
a-wá-əy	3-dist.invis-sg
d-an-ə́r-ba-ra	him-when-they-see-adv
p’át’əw	honor
dəw=yə-kˤə́-r-c’(a)-w-n	great-him-on-they-set-asp-past.indef

[6] yəpáxʸla p’át’əw yəkˤə́rc’a čə́rčʸpazt’ḥˤa, yə́šʸtaxʸla awə́y dšə́ršˤaš, də́šdrəʒwaš ámʕˤakˤa yərzə́pšʕəyn.

yə-pá+xʸ-la	his-nose+zone-by (= 'his front')
p'át'əw=yə-kˀə́-r-c'a	honor=him-on-they-set
čə́-r-čʸpa-z-t'-ḥˀa	self-they-make-past.pt-aor(ist)-though
yə́-šʸta+xʸ-la	his-foot+zone-by (= 'his back')
a-wə́-əy	3-dist.invis-sg
d-šə́-r-šʸ-wa-š	him-how-they-kill-asp-subjunc(tive)
də́-š-r-rə-ʒ(a)-wa-š	him-how-they-cause-reach-asp-subjunc
á-mʕˀa-kˀa	the-way-pl
yə-r-zə́-pš+ʕa-əy-n	them-they-can-look+postV-even-past.indef (= 'they sought')

[7] znə nártərʕa abadə́rən sawsrə́qˀˀa də́ršʸra məwrə́d rə́mata də́zč'ərtt'.

z-nə	one-time
nárt-ərʕa=aba-də́r-ən	Nart-race=recip(rocal)-know-past (= 'they agreed')
sawsrə́qˀˀa	Sosruquo
d-ə́r-šʸ-ra	him-they-kill-to
məwrə́d	target
rə́-mata	their-among
də́-zč'ə-r-t-t'	him-invitation.preV-they-give-aor (= 'invited')

[8] sawsrə́qˀˀa yə́zč'əztəz nártərʕa rpnə́ dcat'.

sawsrə́qˀˀa	Sosruquo
yə́-zč'ə-z-tə-z	whom-invitation.preV-who-give-past.pt
nárt-ərʕa	Nart-race
r-pnə́	their-place
d-ca-t'	he-go-aor

[9] q'awmrák' dáʔan , šˀabə́žta yə́laxʸ akˀə́ta, dalapčə́ta rpnə́ dʕayxt'.

q'awm+rə́-k'	some+ness-whole (stress ?)
d-á-ʔa-n	he-it.to-be.there-past.nondef
šˀabə́ž-ta	great-ly
yə́-la-xʸ	his-eye-bad
a-kˀə́-ø-ta	it-on-be-adj (= "he showed a bad (= sad) eye")

d-a-l-a-pčə́-ta	he-it-inside-dat-smash-adj (= ‘devastated’)
r-pnə́	their-place
d-ʕa-y-x-t’	he-hither-go-back-aor

[10] sawsrə́q’wa yan satanáy sawsrə́q’ʷa yəšʸagašʸá gʸlə́ngʷapxat’.

sawsrə́q’ʷa	Sosruquo
y-an	his-mother
satanáy	Satanay
sawsrə́q’ʷa	Sosruquo
yə-šʸagašʸá=gʸ-lə́-n-gʷa+px-t’	
	his-manner=not-her-it-heart+please-aor
	(= “the way he looked did not please her”)

[11] awə́y zak’ šyə́znəyəz ldə́rən dəyc’ʕawa dálagat’:

a-wə́-əy	3-dist.invis-sg
za-k’	one-whole (= ‘something’)
š-yə́-z-nə-yə́-z=l-də́r-ən	
	how-him-for-it-go-past.pt=she(.obl)-know-past.indef
	(= “she [asked to] know how things went for him”)
d-ə́y-c’ʕa-wa	she(.abs)-him-question-asp
d-á-l-a-ga-t’	she-it-inside-in-enter-aor

[12] “sará sə́q̄ʷpḥa ssawsrə́q’ʷa,

sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
sə́-q̄ʷəpḥa	my-foster.child
s-sawsrə́q’ʷa	my-Sosruquo

[13] sawsrə́q’ʷa sará sə́lašara,

sawsrə́q’ʷa	Sosruquo
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
sə́-la+ša-ra	my-eye+light-n(oun).sfx

[14] áfər šˀagá zbžʸəw ssawsrə́qˀˀa!

áfə(r)	lightning
šˀagá	frightening
z-bžʸə-ø-w	whose-voice-be-stat.pt
s-sawsrə́qˀˀa	my-Sosruquo

[15] yacə́ yə́wzčʼəztəz yəʕaywárḥˀya?

ya+cə́	time.prfx+yesterday
yə́-w-z+čʼə-z-tə-z	it-you.masc(uline)-invitation-who-give-past.pt
yə-ʕa-ay-w-á-r-ḥˀa-ya	what-hither-together-you-to-they-say-what

[16] yəwbayá? yərxayá, yə́rḥˀaya?"

yə-w-ba-yá	what-you.masc-see-what
yə-r-xa-yá	what-them(.to)-happen-what
yə́-r-ḥˀa-ya	what-they-say-what

[17] "spsə yapšə́w satanáyta, san,

s-psə	my-soul
y-a-pšə́-ø-w	which-it-like-be-stat.pt
satanáy-ta	Satanay-emph(atic)
s-an	my-mother

[18] q̄ác'a wəs bášʸtamlən, bázəmcʼʕan!

q̄ác'a	man
wəs	affair
b-á-šʸta-m-lə-n	you.fem(inine)-it-after-not-be.inside-past.indef
b-á-zə-m-cʼʕa-n	you.fem-it-for-not-ask-past.indef

[19] apḥ̓ə́s q̄ác'a wəs dgʸázc'ʕəwm,

a-pḥ̓ə́s	the-woman
q̄ác'a	man
wəs	affair
d-gʸ-á-z-c'ʕə-w-m	she-not-it-for-ask-asp-not

[20] apḥ̓ə́s c'ʕas gʸlədə́rgalwam."

a-pḥ̓ə́s	the-woman
c'ʕa+s=gʸ-lə-rə́-r-ga+l-wa-m	ask+ness=not-(from)inside-they-cause-enter+iter(ative)-asp-not (= "there are no answers for a woman")

[21] "yəwə́znəyəz ʕasáwmḥ̓kʷ̓a gʸəzə́wrəm,

yə-wə́-z-nə-yə-z	what-you.masc-for-it-go-past.pt
=ʕa-s-á-w-m-ḥ̓(a)-kʷ̓a	=hither-me-to-you.masc-not-say-pl
=gʸə-zə́-w-ø-rə-m	=not-for-you.masc-be-if-not (= 'if you are not so disposed')

[22] sə́ḥatər wə́mbəwzt'ən wə́gʸspam."

sə́-ḥatər	my-good.efforts
wə́-m-bə-ø-w(a)-zt'-ən	you.masc-not-much-be-asp-neg-if
wə́-gʸ-s-pa-ø-m	you.masc-not-my-son-be-not

[23] "yəsə́mḥ̓akʷ̓a bə́mwazt'ən, yəbáshḥ̓p'……

yə-sə́-m-ḥ̓a-kʷ̓a	that.which-I-not-say-pl
bə́-m-ø-wa-zt'-ən	you.fem-not-be-asp-neg-if
yə-b-á-s-ḥ̓a-p'	it-you.fem-to-I-say-pres.stat

[24] "yəsəznəyəz pxašʸaráp', gʷ̓ásra dəwp'…

yə-sə́-z-nə-yə-z=pxašʸa+rá-ø-p’
what-me-for-it-go-past.pt= shy+abstr(act).n.sfx-be-pres.stat
(= ‘[it] was a shame’)
gˤá+s+ra=dəw-ø-p’ heart+bad+abstr.n.sfx (= ‘insult’)=big-be-pres.stat

[25] yacə́ sará nártərʕa səźč’ərtt’,

ya+cə́	time.prfx+esterday
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
nárt-ərʕa	Nart-race
sə́-z+č’ə-r-t-t’	me-invitation-they-give-aor

[26] nártərʕa rgˤáran sará snátardat’,

nart-ərʕa	Nart-race
r-gˤáran	their-courtyard
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
s-ná-t-a-r-da-t’	me-thither-down-to-they-fall(= set.in)-aor

[27] awáʔa anárt ləgažˤkˤa álačˤan,

a-wá-ʔa	3-dist.invis-be.standing (= ‘there’)
a-nárt	the-Nart
ləga-žˤ-kˤa=á-la-čˤa-n	
	man-old-pl=it-there-in-sit-past

[28] awáʔa “čə́la šʕaqˤmar!” rḥˤan,

a-wá-ʔa	3-dist.invis-be.standing (= ‘there’)
čə́-la	horse-with
šˤ-ʕa-qˤ+ma-r=r-ḥˤa-n	
	you.pl-hither-portion+have-subj(unctive)(?)=they-say-past (= “may you apportion the horses!”)

[29] agˤáran dəw ákˤta snátalt’,

a-gˇáran	the-circle
dəw	huge
á-kˇ-t-a	its-center-down-to
s-ná-t-a-l-t’	I-thither-down-to-be.inside-aor

[30] af čˇgʸa bžʸáta saŕá sə́ḥˇḥˇat’,

af	lightning\thunder
čˇgʸa	loud
bžʸə́-ta	voice-adv
sa-ŕá	I-prof.sfx
sə́-ḥˇ(a)+ḥˇa-t’	I-say+say-aor (= ‘I cried’)

[31] sq̄ác’ara awát awáʔa yə́dsərbat’.

s-q̄ác’a-ra	my-man-ly
a-wá-t	3-dist.invis-pl
a-wá-ʔa	3-dist.invis-be.standing (= ‘there’)
yə́-r-sə-r-ba-t’	it-them-I-cause-see-aor

[32] batər č’ágʸəy awáʔa yəʕasə́rtt’,

batər	knight(= “bogatyr”)
č’á-gʸəy	cup-and
a-wá-ʔa	3-dist.invis-be.standing
yə-ʕa-sə́-r-t-t’	it-hither-me-they-give-aor

[33] nártərʕa p’át’əwla sʕardasxt’.

nárt-ərʕa	nart-race
p’át’əw-la	honor-instr
s-ʕa-r-das-x-t’	me-hither-they-regard-again-aor

[34] arəq’ə́žˇ tə́nčʸta sʕatə́st’,

arəq’-ə́žˇ	Aryq-old

tə́nčʸ-ta	quiet-adv
s-ʕa-tə́-s-t’	I-hither-down-drag-aor (= “I descended”)

[35] sʕáywamca arə́q’ ac’ə́q̄ʿa sʕáʒat’,

s-ʕa-y-wa-mca	I-hither-go-prog-durative.sfx
arə́q’	Aryq
a-c’ə́q̄ʿa	its-end
s-ʕá-ʒa-t’	I-hither-reach-aor

[36] sápq̄ala kʿayč’ʿarák’ názbat’,

s-a+pq̄a-la	my-it.to+front-instr
kʿayč’ʿa+rá-k’=ná-s-ba-t’	
	black+ness-one\whole=thither-I-see-aor

[37] ákʿayč’ʿara yə́zbaz snayə́kʿḥʿḥʿat’.

á-kʿayč’ʿa+ra	that-black+ness
yə́-s-ba-z	which-I-see-past.pt
s-na-yə́-kʿ-ḥʿ(a)+ḥʿa-t’	
	I-thither-him-on-say+say-aor (= ‘I called to him’)

[38] awásaḥʿagʸəy sbžʸə gʸə́ymaʕat’,

a-wá=s-a-ḥʿa-gʸəy	3-dist.invis=I-it-call-and
s-bžʸə=gʸə́-y-ma-ʕa-t’	my-voice=not-he-not-be.audible-aor

[39] awə́y syə́šʸtalən sgʸə́yxʸəmʒat’.

a-wá-əy	3-dist.invis-sg
s-yə́-šʸt-a-lə-n	I-him-after-to-enter-past.indef
s-gʸə́-y-xʸə-m-ʒa-t’	I-not-him-toward-not-reach-aor

[40] sʕaq̄ə́nḥʿəxən bzə́yʒʒa ʕaməzdat’…([sic!] = ? ʕaməzʒat’)

s-ʕa-q̄ə́-n-ḥˀə-x-ən I-hither-top-out.from-turn-back-past.indef
bzə́y-ʒ(a)+ʒa=ʕa-mə́-s-ʒa-t’
good-reach+reach=hither-not-I-reach-aor (= “I did not attain a significant distance”)

[41] dʕácapšən awə́y sará sʕáybat’,

d-ʕá-capš-ən he-chg.of.st-begin(= awaken)-past.indef
a-wá-əy 3-dist.invis-sg
sa-rá I-pro.sfx
s-ʕá-y-ba-t’ me-hither-he-see-aor

[42] awə́y sará dʕasə́kˀḥˀḥˀan yəsáʕat’,

a-wá-əy 3-dist.invis-sg
sa-rá I-pro.sfx
d-ʕa-sə́-kˀ-ḥˀ(a)+ḥˀa-n
he-hither-me-on-say+say-past.indef (= ‘“he yelled at me”)
yə-s-á-ʕa-t’ it-me-to-hear-aor

[43] dʕasə́šʸtalən awə́y dʕasxʸə́ʒat’.

d-ʕa-sə́-šʸta-lə-n he-chg.of.st-me-after-enter-past.indef
a-wá-əy 3-dist.invis-sg
d-ʕa-s-xʸə́-ʒa-t’ he-hither-me-toward-reach-aor

[44] dʕáʒaztən nártərʕa də́rčəʕˀp’.

d-ʕá-ʒa-ztən he-hither-reach-if(= when)
nárt-ərʕa Nart-race
də́-r-čə+ʕˀ-ø-p’ he-their-horse+man-be-past.stat

[45] nártərʕa yə́zbaz ačə́ʕˀkˀa drə́wap’.

nárt-ərʕa Nart-race
yə-s-bá-z whom-I-see-past.pt

a-čə́+ʕˤ-kˤa the-horse+man-pl
d-rə́-wa-ø-p’ he-them-in.among-be-past.stat
(for /-wa-/note Ubykh /-wa-/ in.among)

[46] ypəmčə́xwa áḥˤaps čˤ’ˤər yə́map’.

y-pə-m-čə́-x-wa which-sever-not-break-again-pres.pt
áḥˤa-ps sword-sharp (glossed as ‘long’ in Russian, but suggesting a spear with a sharp sword-like blade)
čˤ’ˤər=yə́-ma-p’ spear-him-belong-pres.stat

[47] sčə azə́kˤ áḥˤaps čˤ’ˤər ʕakˤə́yrxxt’,

s-čə my-horse
a-zə́kˤ its-spine
áḥˤa-ps sword-sharp
čˤ’ˤər=ʕa-kˤə́-y-r-x-x-t’ spear-hither-on-he-cause-press-back-aor

[48] sə́ʒa c’ə́q̄ˤa awə́y ʕatayrgə́lt’,

sə́-ʒa my-rib
c’ə́q̄ˤa end\tail
a-wə́-əy=ʕa-t-a-y-r-gə+́l-t’
3-dist.invis-sg-hither-down-to-he-cause-stand+at-aor

[49] lasarákʸta ážˤʕˤand sə́nq’ˤəyḥˤat’,

lasa-rə́-kʸ-ta wool-ness-ball.of.yarn(?)-adv
á-žˤʕˤand the-sky
sə́-nq’ˤə-y-ḥˤa-t’ me-behind-he-drag-aor

[50] sʕalbʕə́ygaxən ádgʸəl ʕasə́yrawt’.

s-ʕa-l+bʕə́-y-ga-x-ən me-hither-loc(us)+down-he-enter(= ‘carry’)-again-past.indef (note /á-l-bʕa-ra/ ‘it-loc-spread.out-inf’)
ádgʸəl=ʕa-sə́-y-r-aw-t’ earth-hither-me-he-cause-find-aor

[51] nártərʕa rádgʸəl səyrə́čˤaɣˤat’,

nárt-ərʕa	Nart-race
r-ádgʸəl	their-earth (= ‘their field’)
sə-y-rə́-čˤaɣˤa-t’	me-he-cause-plough-aor

[52] bə̀ žʸq’ə́žk’ žʔˤaq̄ála yə́tsəyrgat’.

bə̀ žʸ-q’ə́ž-k’	seven-furrow-whole
žʔˤa+q̄á-la	shoulder+head-instr (= “top of the shoulder”)
yə́-t-s-əy-r-ga-t’	them-down-me-he-cause-enter(= ‘plough’)-aor

[53] aʕˤčˤaɣˤáčˤk’ rpxʒə ʕasə́ləycat’,

a-ʕˤ-čˤaɣˤá-čˤ-k’	the-two-plough-ox-whole
r-pxʒə=ʕa-sə́-lə-y-ca-t’	their-sweat=hither-me-out.from-he-beat-aor

[54] xən aq̄ˤlásra sará sʕaq̄ˤlayrə́st’,

xə-n	three-times
a-q̄ˤ+l+á+s-ra	the-bent+there+in+hit-abstract.noun (= ‘feeling sick’)
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
s-ʕa-q̄ˤ+l+a-y-rə́-s-t’	me-chg.of.st-bent+there+in-he-cause-hit-aor (= ‘he made me feel sick’, “he made me bent over”)

[55] k’ə̀ k’axə́ta yəsə́žˤəz ʕasəyrǯˤáxt’,

k’ə̀ k’a-xə́-ta	breast.milk-all-adv
yə-sə́-žˤə-z=ʕa-sə-y-r-ǯˤá-x-t’	which-I-drink-past.pt-hither-me-he-cause-vomit-back-aor

[56] spc’akˤá nə́šˤčˤa sábala yə́szəyšˤt’,

s-pc’a-kˤá	my-moustache-pl

nə́š°-č°a	earth-excess
sə́ba-la	dust-instr
yə́-s-zə-y-š°-t’	them-me-for-he-color\paint-aor

[57] ac’ə́q̄°ala yə́ḥ°agʸəy dsə́zʕaq̄xt’,

a-c’ə́q̄°a-la	its-end-instr
y-ə́ḥ°a-gʸəy	his-sword-and
d-sə́-z-ʕa+q̄-x-t’	he-me-for-hither+head-take-aor (= “he raised it up against me”)

[58] aq̄ə́ q̄ə́xra danə́zca syə́ḥ°at’:

a-q̄ə́	the-head
q̄ə́-x-ra	head-take
d-an-ə́-z-ca	he-when-it-for-go
s-yə́-ḥ°a-t’	I-him(.to)-say-aor (= “I pleaded with him”)

[59] “wəyt’, nart čə́ʕ°ta yə-k’°adə́-m,

wə-ø-yt’	you.masc-be-pres.dyn(amic) (= ‘you being …’)
nart	Nart
čə́+ʕ°-ta	horse+herder-adj
yə-k’°adə́-m	who-weak-be-not

[60] swə́mšʸən, sšʸa zə́ngʸəy wəgʸə́c’c’xrəm!

s-wə́-m-šʸ-ən	me-you.masc-not-kill-prohibitive.imperative
s-šʸa	my-blood
zə́-n-gʸəy	one-time-and
wə-gʸ-ə́-c’-c’-x-rə-m	you.masc-not-it-out.from.under-go.out-again-if(= will)-not

[61] wač’°ə́ mšk’ p’ə́ƛata yəʕasə́wtp’.

wač’°ə́	tomorrow

mš-k’	day-one
p’áƛa-ta	delayed.duel-adv (a reprieve from combat with an agreed upon date for resumption of battle)
yə-ʕa-sə́-w-t-p’	it-hither-me-you.masc-give-past.stat

[62] ḥárama átawbagʸəy azə́ḥp’aƛap’.

ḥarama	Harama
á-tawba-gʸəy	its-summit-and
a-zə́-ḥ-p’aƛa-ø-p’	it-for-we-delayed.duel-be-pres.stat

[63] aḥayλara sázcan arə́la syə́ḥ°at’,

aḥayλa-ra	shrewd-adv
s-a-z-ca-n	I-it-for-go-past.indef
a-rə́-la	3-proximal-instr (= ‘with it’)
s-yə́-ḥ°a-t’	I-him(.to)-say-aor (= “I beseeched him about it”)

[64] sə̀ zlayə́ḥ°az nayax°ən sbə́zʕayxt’.

sə̀ -z-l-a-yə́-ḥ°a-z=na-y-a-x°-ən	my-which-interior-to-him-say-past.pt=thither-him-to-be.acceptable-past.pass.pt (= “he accepted my entreaty”)
s-bə́-z-ʕa-y-x-t’	I-you.fem-for-hither-come-back-aor

[65] “ey, sə́la yápšəw ssawsrə́q’°a,

ey	eh,
sə́-la	my-eye
y-á-pš-əw	who-it-be.like-pres.pt
s-sawsrə́q’°a	my-Sosruquo

[66] sawsrə́q’°a q’°áʕ°ta ayxála!

sawsrə́q’°a	Sosruquo
q’°áʕ°-ta	sinew-adj

ayxá-la	iron-eye

[67] awə́y albák^{y} yəpá sáwtraš yak’ʼp’.

a-wá-əy	3-dist.invis-sg
albák^{y}	Albek
yə-pá	his-son
sáwtraš	Sotrash
y-a+k’ʼ-p’	he-it.to+be-pres.pt

[68] ḥzə́rš ̊awa ačə́ʕ ̊ zaǯ ̊ə́k’ yak’ʼp’.

ḥ-zə́-r-š ̊a-wa	we-whom-cause-fear-pres.pt
a-čə́+ʕ ̊	the-horse+man
za-ǯ ̊ə́-k’	one-some-whole (= ‘only one’)
y-a+k’ʼ-p’	he-it.to+be-pres.stat

[69] də́zk ̊č’ʼəw yəčə́ š ̊araxq̄áp’,

d-ə́z-k ̊-č’ʼ-əw	he-which-on-sit-pres.pt
yə-čə́	his-horse
š ̊ara-x-q̄á-ø-p’	deer-male-head-be(= ‘have’)-pres.stat

[70] awə́y aq̄á ážʕ ̊and yanə́ḥap’.

a-wá-əy	3-dist.invis-sg
a-q̄á	its-head
á-žʕ ̊and	the-sky
y-a-nə́-ḥa-p’	it-it-out.to-extend.across(?)-pres.stat

[71] awát žʕ ̊áyš^{y}č ̊a yənáʒəyt’,

a-wá-t	3-dist.invis-pl
ž ̊-ʕ ̊-ayš^{y}-č ̊a	nine-hum(an).count(er)-brother-human.pl (root /a(y)š^{y}(a)/ ‘brother’)
yə-ná-ʒ(a)-yt’	they-thither-reach-pres.dyn

[72] aʕə́ʕˀ rq̄á warə́ yəʕawəsrə́gxʸat’.

a-ʕə́-ʕˀ	the-eight-hum.count (for expected /a-ʕ-ʕˀə́/)
r-q̄á	their-head
wa-rə́	you.masc-pro.sfx
yə-ʕa-wə-s-rə́-ga-xʸa-t’	them-hither-you.masc-I-cause-carry-already-aor

[73] sə́wtraš žˀʕˀə́ta dḥə́maxp’,

sə́wtraš	Sotrash
žˀ-ʕˀə́-ta	nine-hum.counter-adv
d-ḥə́-ma-x-p’	he-us.to-have-still-pres.stat

[74] yə́šʸčˀakˀa rə́mʕˀa yərawərə́ atə́q̄əp’.

y-ə́šʸ+čˀa-kˀa	his-brother+pl.hum-pl
rə́-mʕˀa=yə-r-awə-rə́	their-road\path=he-cause(= let)-find-inf
a-tə́q̄ə-p’	it-be.necessary-pres.stat

[75] ažʸəykˀə́ awadgʸə́na ʕadrə́čʸpa!

a-žʸəy-kˀə́	the-smith-pl
awadgʸə́na=ʕa-r-w-rə́-čʸpa	bell-hither-they-you.masc-cause-make

[76] yəmač’ʸə́mk’ˀa, šʸə́rdata yədrə́čʸpa!

yə-mač’ʸə́-m-k’ˀa	their-little-not-be
šʸə́rda-ta	many-adv
yə-r-w-rə́-čʸpa	them-they-you.masc-cause-make

[77] awə́t wəčə́ ac’ə́q̄ˀa yadḥˀə́l,

a-wə́-t	3-dist.invis-pl
wə-čə́	your.masculine-horse

a-c'ə́q̄ˇa its-tail
y-a-d-w-ḥˇá-l them-it-close-you.masc-tie-iter

[78] p'áƛata yaməšˇxəz wadgə́l,

p'áƛa-ta delayed.duel-adv
y-a-mə́-šˇ-x-əz which-reciprocal-before-you.pl-take-past.pt
(= 'which you both agreed upon')
w-a-d-gə́l you.masc-it-close-stand (= 'you observe it')

[79] danə́wbara zə́nla wəyə́žˇəl!

d-anə́-w-ba-ra him-when-you.masc-see-inf
zə́-n-la one-time-by (= 'at once')
wə-yə́-žˇə-l you.masc-him-attack-iter(= 'again')

[80] yəčə́ rḥáp'ta dǯˇə́kˇnagap',

yə-čə́=w-r-ḥáp'-ta his-horse=you.masc-cause-afraid-adj
d-ǯˇə́-kˇ-na-ga-p' he-outside.preV-inside(.from)-thither-enter-
immed(iate).fut (= 'he will bolt right away')

[81] ánčˇa wəyə́q̄ˇpḥəwzt'ən dʕawə́ytp'.

ánčˇa God
wə-yə́-q̄ˇəpḥə-ø-w(a)-zt'-ən you-his-foster.child-be-asp-neg-if
d-ʕa-wə́-y-t-p' him-hither-you.masc-he-give-immed.fut

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[82] sáwtraš átawba dxˇə́ngə̀ lap',

sáwtraš Sotrash
á-tawba the-summit
d-xˇə́-n-gə̀ la-p' he-atop-on-stand-aor

[83] sawsrə́q'ˤa də́yzpšwa dgə́lap',

sawsrə́q'ˤa	Sosruquo
d-ə́y-z-pš-wa	he-him-for-look-pres.pt
d-gə́la-p'	he-stand-pres.stat

[84] ápstḥˤa kˤayč'ˤa də́lagə̀ lap'.

á-pstḥˤa	the-cloud
kˤayč'ˤa	black
də́-l-a-gə̀ la-p'	he-inside-to-stand-pres.stat

[85] sawsrə́q'ˤa átawba dnaq̄axxə́lt'

sawsrə́q'ˤa	Sosruquo
á-tawba	the-knoll
d-n-a-q̄a-xxə́-l-t'	he-on-to-head-jump-iter(= 'again')-aor

[86] sáwtraš yəčə́ rḥan yəʒˤə́kˤxxt',

sáwtraš	Sotrash
yə-čə́=r-ḥa-n	his-horse=they-frighten-past.indef
yə-ʒˤə́-kˤ-x-x-t'	it-outside.preV-inside(.from)-jump-back-aor

[87] sáwtraš dgˤə́žˤk'ən dʕač'atást'

sáwtraš	Sotrash
d-gˤə́+žˤk'-ən	he-heart+melt-past.indef (= 'he grew angry')
d-ʕa-č'a-t-á-s-t'	he-hither-mouth-down-to-hit-aor

[88] ačə́ ač'á dʕáq̄ən yəč'əyžˤát',

a-čə́	the-horse
a-č'á	its-mouth
d-ʕá-q̄-ən	he-hither-split-past.indef

yə-č'ə-y-ž˚á-t'	it-jaw-he-tear-aor

[89] yarg^{y}ə́y ará?a zə́k˚q̄a dʕák˚š˚at'.

ya-ra-g^{y}ə́y	he-pro.sfx-and
a-rá-?a	this-prox.vis(ible)-be.standing (= 'here', from point of view of the narrator)
zə́-k˚q̄a	own-back
d-ʕá-k˚-š˚a-t'	he-ch.of.st-on-lie-aor

[90] sawsrə́q'˚a dčə́ž˚pan dnayg˚ə́k˚č'˚at'

sawsrə́q'˚a	Sosruquo
d-čə́+ž˚pa-n	he-self+leap-past.indef
d-na-y-g˚ə́-k˚-č'˚a-t'	he-thither-him-heart-on-sit-aor

[91] "way, q̄ác'a q'˚áʕ˚ta ayxála,

way	O
q̄ác'a	man
q'˚áʕ˚-ta	sinew-adj
ayxá-la	iron-eye

[92] ǯər ləc' čə́ʕ˚ta sawsrə́q'˚a!

ǯər	steel
lə-c'	there-exit (= 'coming from' or 'made of')
čə́+ʕ˚-ta	horse+man-adj
sawsrə́q'˚a	Sosruquo

[93] yacə́ sará wará p'áƛa wə́stat',

ya+cə́	time.prfx+yesterday
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
wa-rá	you.masc-pro.sfx
p'áƛa=wə́-s-t-a-t'	delayed.battle-you.mas-I-give-to-aor

[94] yax^{y}č’$^{\circ}$á warά́ p’aƛ̓a ʕasə́t!”

ya+x^{y}č’$^{\circ}$á	time.prfx+today
wa-rά́	you-pro.sfx
p’áƛ̓a=ʕa-sə́-w-t	delayed.duel=hither-me-you.masc-give

[95] “warά́ sarά́ p’áƛ̓ak’ ʕasə́wtwa,

wa-rά́	you-pro.sfx
sa-rά́	me-pro-sfx
p’áƛ̓a-k’=ʕa-sə́-w-t-wa	
	delayed.duel-one-hither-me-you.masc-give-pres.pt

[96] sarά́ warά́ p’áƛ̓ak’ wə́stwa,

sa-rά́	I-pro.sfx
wa-rά́	you-pro.sfx
p’áƛ̓a-k’=wə́-s-t-wa	delayed.duel-one-you-I-give-pres.pt

[97] nártərʕa rə́tawba ḥx$^{\circ}$ə́ngə̀ lazlarma!”

nárt-ərʕa	Nart-race
rə́-tawba	their-summit
ḥ-x$^{\circ}$ə́-n-gə̀ la-z-larma	
	we-atop-on-stand-subjunctive(?)-forever (for the suffix perhaps /l-a-r-ma/ inside-in-cause-have?)

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[98] sawsrə́q’$^{\circ}$a yáḥ$^{\circ}$a arάʔa yʒəyrə́ž$^{\circ}$t’,

sawsrə́q’$^{\circ}$a	Sosruquo
y-áḥ$^{\circ}$a	his-sword
a-rά́-ʔa	this-prox.vis(ible)-be.standing (= ‘there’)
y-ʒə-y-rə́-ž$^{\circ}$-t’	it-preV-he-cause-harden-aor

[99] sawsrə́q'ᵒa anárt yəq̄á ʕaq̄ə́yčᵒt'.

sawsrə́q'ᵒa	Sosruquo
a-nárt	the-Nart
yə-q̄á=ʕa-q̄ə́-y-čᵒ-t'	his-head=hither-head.preV-he-cut-aor

[100] sawsrə́q'ᵒa aq̄á ʕaygən dʕayxt',

sawsrə́q'ᵒa	Sosruquo
a-q̄á=ʕa-y-g(a)-ən	the-head=hither-he-carry-past.indef
d-ʕa-y-x-t'	he-hither-come-back-aor

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[101] "sə́č'k'ᵒənta sə́lašara yə́wčʸpaya?

sə́-č'k'ᵒən-ta	my-child-adv
sə́-la-ša-ra	my-eye-light-adj
yə́-w-čʸpa-ya	what-you.masc-do-what

[102] yəwbayá? yəwḥᵒayá? yəwʕayxšʸayá?"

yə-w-ba-(ø-)yá	which-you.masc-see-(be-)what
yə-w-ḥᵒa-(ø-)yá	which-you.masc-say-(be-)what
yə-w-ʕa-y-x-(ø-)šʸa-yá	which-you.masc-hither-come-back-(be-)how-what

[103] "sʔácaz sbač'ᵒə́ sə́rq̄yat'

s-ʔá-ca-z	I-there-come-past.pt
s-ba-č'ᵒə́	I-see-pl.human (= "I saw many people")
sə́-r+q̄ya-t'	I-cause+be.ready-aor (= "I did my duty")

[104] sáwtraš yəq̄á bará ybə́zʕazgt'!"

sáwtraš	Sotrash
yə-q̄á	his-head
ba-rá	you.fem-pro.sfx
y-bə́-z-ʕa-s-g(a)-t’	it-you.fem-for-hither-I-carry-aor

[105] “yəxač’ʷə́məz wəxaməʔʷan wəsə́zʕayxt’.”

yə-xač’ʷə́-mə-ø-z	which-proper-not-be-past.pt (= ‘which is impossible or unseemly’)
wə-xa-mə́-ʔʷa-n	you.masc-preV-not-set.out(.an.ambush)-past.pass.pt
wə-sə́-z-ʕa-y-x-t’	you.masc-me-for-hither-come-back-aor

[106] “yə́zzəwda? ‘yəʕág’ sábḥʷən ybə́zʕazgt’,

yə́-z-zəw-da	whom-for-interrogative.be-who (= ‘whose [fault] is it?’)
yə-ʕá-ga=s-á-b-ḥʷ(a)-n	it-hither-carry=me-to-you.fem-say-past.indef
yə-bə́-z-ʕa-s-ga-t’	it-you.fem-for-hither-I-carry-aor

[107] wəžʷə́gʸəy ‘yəgáx!’ sábḥʷəma yə́zgaxp’,

wəžʷə́-gʸəy	now-and
yə-w-gə́-x=s-á-b-ḥʷ(a)-ma	it-you.masc-carry-back=me-to-you.fem-say-if
yə́-s-ga-x-p’	it-I-carry-back-immed.fut

[108] aq̄á aq̄aryə́xra baŕá yəbwə́sp’.”

a-q̄á=a-q̄a-r-yə́-x-ra	the-head=it-head-cause-attach-back-inf
ba-rá	you-pro.sfx
yə-b-wə́s-ø-p’	it-your-deed-be-pres.stat

[109] “sáwtraš yəq̄á saŕá sgʸazə́mbžam.

sáwtraš	Sotrash
yə-q̄á	his-head
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx

s-gʸ-a-zə́-m-bža-m I-neg-it-for-not-have.need-not

[110] awə́y zbarágʸəy yəsaʕarágʸəy gʸəstaq̄ə́m,

a-wə́-əy=s-ba-rə́-gʸəy 3-dist.invis-sg-I-see-inf-and
yə-s-a-ʕa-ra-gʸəy=gʸə-s-taq̄-ə́m
it-me-to-be.audible-inf-and-neg-I-want-not

[111] sə́wtraš yan yəlzəgatə́ yələ́tx!

sə́wtraš	Sotrash
y-an	his-mother
yə-l-zə-w-ga-tə́	it-her-for-you.masc-carry-adv
yə-lə́-w-t-x	it-her-you.masc-give-back

[112] lpazaǯ̊ə́k’ yəq̄ə́ awə́y yələrbə́x!”

l-pa-za+ǯ̊ə́-k’	her-son-one-human.counter-whole (= ‘her last son’)
yə-q̄ə́	his-head
a-wə́-əy	3-dist.invis-sg
y-əl-wə-r-bə́-x	it-her-you-cause-see-again

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[113] sawsrə́q’̊a sə́wtraš yan dlə́zcat’,

sawsrə́q’̊a	Sosruquo
sə́wtraš	Sotrash
y-an	his-mother
d-lə́-z-ca-t’	he-her-for-go-aor

[114] sə́wtraš yəq̄ə́ lbžʸa yanə́yrəš̊əlt’.

sə́wtraš	Sotrash
yə-q̄ə́	his-head
l-bžʸa	her-skirt

y-anə́-y-rə-šˀə-l-t’ it-when-he-let-fall-iter(= ‘again’)-aor

[115] “wəy, yaməna čə́ʕˀta, ážˀxčʸa yəpá,

wəy	O
yaməna	plague (in Circassian /y+a+mə́+n+a/ it+in+not+stay+in= ‘cholera’)
čə́+ʕˀ-ta	horse+rider-adj
á-žˀ-xčʸa	the-cattle-herder
yə-pá	his-son

[116] satanáy zə́ngʸəy yə́lpam ámaxagʸa.

satanáy	Satanaya
zə́-n-gʸəy	one-time-and (= ‘once’)
yə́-l-pa-ø-m	which-she-son-be-not
á-maxa+gʸa	the-arm+manner(?) (= ‘murderer’)

[117] alá tə́wma támcax sq̄wə rčˀ’ˀagˀə́šʸat’,

a-lá	the-dog
tə́wma=t-á-m-ca-x	mongrel-down-in-not-go-back
s-q̄-wə -r-čˀ’ˀa+gˀə+šʸa-t’	
	my-head(= ‘self’)-you-cause-detriment+heart+kill-aor
	(= “you have caused me to be grief stricken”)

[118] sʕawə́fat’, wəžʸə́ aš°ágala yə́rfat’!”

s-ʕa-wə́-fa-t’	me-ch.of.st-you.masc-eat-aor
wə-žʸə́	your.masc-flesh
a-šˀága-la	the-killers(= ‘wolf.pack’)-instr
yə́-r-fa-t’	them-let-eat-aor

[119] dʕašʸt’čˀ’ˀan ažʸə́xč’wa ʕawə́lšʸtt’,

d-ʕa-šʸt’čˀ’ˀa-n	she-ch.of.st-jump.up-indef.past
a-žʸə́xčˀ’ˀa=ʕa-wə́-l-šʸt-t’ [usually /žʸə́xʸčˀ’ˀa/]	

the\a-spit-hither-into.preV-she-throw.after-aor

[120] awə́y akʸašána ašˤq'ə́c arə́q̄ˤašat'.

a-wá-əy 3-dist.invis-sg
a-kʸašána the-target
a-šˤ-q'ə́c=a-rə́-q̄ˤaša-t'
its-door-jamb=it-cause-shatter-aor

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[121] "aǯə́r sšʸap', ǯə́rta sálarčˤap',

a-ǯə́r the-steel
s-šʸa-ø-p' my-blood-be-pres.stat
ǯə́r-ta steel-adj
s-álarčˤa-p' I-alloy-be-pres.stat (/á-l-a-r-čˤa/ it-inside-in-cause-melt)

[122] nártərʕa sawsrə́q'ˤa sará sák'ˤp',

nárt-ərʕa Nart-race
sawsrə́q'ˤa Sosruquo
sa-rá I-pro.sfx
s-á-k'ˤ-p' I-it(.to)-be-pres.stat

[123] yə́zzəwda šˤará aq̄ˤə́mgara álašˤc'at',

yə́-z-zəw-da whom-for-interrogative.be-who
šˤa-rá you.pl-pro.sfx
a-q̄ˤə́mga-ra=á-l-a-šˤ-c'a-t'
the-sorcery-abstract.noun.sfx=it-inside-in-you.pl-set-aor

[124] yálašˤc'az aq̄ˤə́mgara šˤará šˤágaxt'."

y-á-l-a-šˤ-c'a-z which-it-inside-in-you.pl-set-past.pt
a-q̄ˤə́mga-ra its-sorcery-abstract.noun.sfx
šˤa-rá you.pl-pro.sfx

š°-á-ga-x-t’ you.pl-it-enter-back-aor (= “it rebounded against you”)

[tawbə́l tawlə́stan, 9 March 1941, Cherkess Qapsh, 30 (425). Collected in Merekulov and Salakaja 1975, pp. 106-9.]

———————

[*] s-na-pšə́-yd-ta, yə́-ḥ°a-d ʂawsrə́q’°a,
I-thither-look-pres-adv, he-say-past S.,

yə́-la-k°a a-yač’°á á-pš-ta
his-eye-pl the-star it-look-adv

y-k’az+k’az-ə́yd,
they-shine+shine-pres.dyn,

a-šə́-yač’°a y-ʕa-y-wá a-wə́-y
the-white-star it-ch.of.st-grow-prog.pt 3-dist.invis-and

a-ʔá-ra lá tab yə́-la-k°a, yə́-ḥ°a-d
3-so.much-adv dog pan his-eye-pl, he-say-past

(Meremkulov and Salakaja 1975, pp. 103-6)

The eyes of this figure, called Tutaresh in this variant as in most, are seen as two stars, shining like the morning star (or the Dog Star, Sirius). I have attempted to restore some stress in the original passage.

[From Meremkulov, Vladimir and Shota Kh. Salakaya, (1975), Nartərʕa, Abaza waʕa répos, {Narty, Abazinskij narodnej épos}, Karachajevo-Cherkesskoe otdelenie Stavoropol’skogo knizhnogo izdatel’stva, Cherkessk, pp. 106-9, Russian version pp. 244-247.]

Translation

Sosruquo and Sotrash

As legends say, Sosruquo of the Narts was the son of Sos.[1] Sos was the cow herder of the Narts. That is why all the Narts called Sosruquo Tuma.[2] They considered it a source of shame to call him 'brother'. But because of the great courage which Sosruquo possessed, because of his frightening and attention-grabbing quality, all the Narts, when they saw him, showed him great honor and respect. Although they showed him their respect to his face, behind his back they were seeking ways to kill him, to get rid of him. Finally Narts agreed among themselves to give Sosruquo an invitation and then kill him.

Sosruquo went to the Narts who had invited him. He was there a long time and returned very sad and tired. His mother, Satanaya, having seen him, did not like the way he looked. She suspected that something had happened to him and she began to question him:

"My adopted child, my Sosruquo,
Sosruquo, light of my eyes,
My Sosruquo who is like the lightning.
What did they say yesterday, they, who invited you?
What did you see? What have they done? What did they say?"
"O, like my soul, Satanaya, my mother!
Don't intervene into man's affairs! Don't ask!
A woman does not ask about a man's affairs.
There is no answer for a woman."
"If you will not tell me what happened to you,
If my concern seems a trifle, then you are not my son."
"Well, if you insist, then I will tell you what happened to me.
It is a shame and a great insult.
The Narts invited me yesterday.
They introduced me into the Narts' circle.
The Nart elders were sitting there.
'Go play with the horses!' they said there.
I stepped into the center of a huge circle.
I shouted loudly the sounds of thunder.[3]

I showed them my courage there.
They presented to me the hero's cup.
Afterwards the Narts gave me signs of high esteem.
Then I quietly descended into the old Aryq.[4]
I went far 'till at last I reached evil Aryq's end.
Something black saw I in front of me.
I called that black, whom I had seen,
But he heeded neither my voice nor me.
I started to chase him -- could not catch him.
I turned back then but did not go far.
He turned about and spied me.
He called to me and I heard him.
He pursued me and caught me.
This rider was the horseman of the Narts,
One of those I saw among the Narts.
He carried a long unbreakable lance,
With which he goaded my horse along, beating on its back.
Then he put it against my ribs.
He set my arse upon the ground.
He furrowed the sky with me, lifting me like a felt ball.
He snatched me down again and set me to the ground.
He forced me to plough the Narts' ground.
He forced me with my shoulder to make seven furrows.
I sweated like two ploughing oxen.
Then he forced me to vomit three times.
All the breast milk which I have drunk he made me vomit up.
He covered my moustaches in dust.
At last he grabbed his sword.
He prepared to cut my head off, and I began to beg
'O, you, the Narts' fearless horseman,
Don't kill me for you will never again be free of my blood.
Give me just one day - tomorrow - as a reprieve!
Harama Summit will suffice for our resumption.'
I decided to be shrewd and I begged him about it.
He listened to my request and so I have returned to you."
"Ey, Sosruquo! Like my eyes!

Sinewy Sosruquo, iron eyed!
That was Albayk's son, Sotrash.
The only rider of whom we are afraid.
The horse under him has a deer's head.
Its head hangs in the sky.[5]
They were nine brothers.
That is their number.
Eight of their heads have I made you fetch already.
Sotrash is the ninth.
It is necessary that he go the way of his brothers.
Force the smiths to make little bells.
Not few, but many.
Then tie them to the tail of your horse.
Arrive on time as you have agreed upon.
As soon as you see him rush upon him!
His horse will become scared and will bolt.
If you are God's adopted son, He will give him to you.

* * *

Sotrash stood upon the mountain.
Sosruquo stood and waited.
He was wrapped in a black cloud.[6]
Sosruquo jumped onto the summit.
The clangor frightened Sotrash's horse and it bolted.
Sotrash became angry and hit his horse on the muzzle.
Then he pulled his horse's jaw backwards and tore it off.
He pulled the bridle up through its ears
And he himself fell down on his back.
Sosruquo dismounted and sat down on him.
"Hey, sinewy man with iron eyes!
A rider made from steel, Sosruquo!
I granted you a reprieve yesterday.
Today, grant me a reprieve likewise!"
"You grant me a reprieve, then I grant you a reprieve.
So we shall be staying here on the Narts' mountain forever."

* * *

Sosruquo had hardened his sword.
Sosruquo cut off the Nart's head.
Sosruquo returned and brought his head home.

* * *

"O, my little boy, my light, how have you been?
What have you seen? What have you said? How did you come back?"
"I went there; I saw; and I won.[7]
Sotrash's head I have brought to you."
"You did the unseemly and returned to me."
"Whose fault is it? You said 'bring it,' and so I brought it.
Now if you say 'carry it back,' I will carry it back.
To attach the head again, that is your problem."
"I have no need of Sotrash's head.
I do not want to hear about it or see it.
Go and give it to Sotrash's mother!
Show her the head of her last son!"

* * *

Sosruquo went to Sotrash's mother.
He threw the head into her lap.
"O, you horseman's plague, the cowherd's son!
Never were you Satanaya's son.
You have brought grief to me, you stray dog.
You have eaten me. Let wolves eat your flesh!"
She jumped to her feet and hurled a spit at him.
It utterly shattered her door.

* * *

"Steel is my blood. I am steel alloy. I am Sosruquo of the Narts."
You yourselves made a miracle. Whose fault is it now?

Your miracle has come back to scatter you.[8]

_____

Notes:

[1] Here is a continuation of the Indo-Iranian stem for 'breath', *šwasa-, seen in Sosran, Sosranpa, Sosruquo, and in Ossetic Soslan. The variant of Tutarash used here, Sotrash, also shows this word.

[2] Abaza /təwma/ 'hybrid, cross-breed, hodgepodge.'

[3] This feature survives from the much older storm god form of this hero (see note 6).

[4] This is the gorge of a river. One should note that Abaza /-ž°/ can mean 'evil' as well as 'old', so this gorge is a forbidding place.

[5] Many of the Iranian ("Scythian") burials of southern Siberia have revealed horse head dresses sporting reindeer antlers. This myth now offers an interpretation of the cultic lore underlying these otherwise enigmatic trappings. The reference to this deer head hanging in the sky is a survival of the original celestial nature of Sotrash/Tutarash (see note 1 of myth 90), as is the amorphous black form in which Sosruquo first encounters him. The reference to nine brothers in the next line also suggests a possible celestial referent, such as a constellation.

[6] As with his thunder (note 3) this is an old legacy of Sosruquo's storm god origins.

[7] With such an echo of Caesar's veni, vidi, vici,(Abaza /s-ʔa-ca-z, s-ba-č'°ə, sə-r-q̄-y-a-t[7]/ I-there-go-past,participle, I-see-exhaustively/properly, I-their-head(s)-go-on-past), it is tempting to see here as well as in the Roman, an ancient and widespread warrior's formulaic declaration of victory. Note the plural reference to 'their heads' in the third Abaza verb, suggesting the formulaic nature of this utterance, which is otherwise at odds with the single enemy of this story.

[8] The 'you' (plural) here seems to refer to the Narts or perhaps even the listeners. The quizzical ending is the bard's way of denouncing the catastrophic consequences of

pursuing the warrior ethic to its conclusion. This warrior ethic is still very much alive in the Caucasus, as its recent tragic history has once again shown.

V. Abkhaz

Phonemic inventory

Abzhwi Abkhaz (or Southern Abkhaz)

labial	p	b	p’	f	v	f’			m			w
dental	t	d	t’						n			
(labialized) [pʿtʿ, …]	t˚	d˚	t’˚									
alveolar (laminal)	c	ʒ	c’	s	z					r		
(labio-dentalized, apical)	ċ˚	[ċʿ f]		ʒ̇˚	[ʒ̇ v]		ċ’˚	[ċ’ f]		-		-
lateral										l		
palato-alveolars	č y	ǯ y	č’y	š y	ž y							
(apical/retroflex)	č	ǯ	č’	š	ž							
(round)	-	-	-	š˚	ž˚							
palatal	k y	g y	k’y	-	-							y
velar	k	g	k’	-	-							
(round)	k˚	g˚	k’˚	-	-							
uvular (“palatalized”)	-	-	q’y	x̌ y	ɣ y							
(plain)	-	-	q’	x̌	ɣ							
(round)	-	-	q’˚	x̌˚	ɣ˚							
pharyngeal				ḥ	ʕ							
(round)				ḥ˚	ʕ˚							

vowels ə a

stress (unpredictable)

Also / ʕ / is realized as / ɦ / (a low open glide), while / ʕ˚ / is usually realized as / y˚/ (/ ɥ/, glide ü), often with some pharyngealization.

A note on tense in Abkhaz:

Tense in Abkhaz is complex and, judging by Abaza, has undergone some recent levelling and reworking. Statives are distinguished from dynamics, with the latter showing a suffix /+t'/ in most forms of the positive and in subordinated negatives (Hewitt's "second screve", Hewitt [1989:54-55]). In main verbs this dynamic suffix is present only in the past and perfect negatives, that is, where the negative /-m/ is not itself verb final. It is absent from the subordinated positives (again Hewitt's "second screve") because in these forms the pro-tense /-n/ (often possessing an antecedent nuance, and not to be confused with the homonymous past stative) occupies verb final position. It is absent from all non-finite forms, whether those acting as heads for headless relative clauses (lacking any suffix), or those embedded with an adverbial sense, which how only /-z/ throughout. For this reason Hewitt has glossed it as 'finite', but since it is absent from the stative present and past, and has clearly been generalized from the dynamic to the stative negative past (dynamic /-m-R-z+t'/ -not-root-participle+dynamic; stative /-m-R-z+t'/ -root-not-participle+dynamic) without the root preposing morphological transformation of the dynamic, I have preferred to see in it an originally dynamic element, that itself may have come from a reworking of an earlier past dynamic still seen in Abaza and some older forms within Abkhaz. Crucially, this suffix is distinct from the tense suffix itself.

As to tense proper, a distinction is made between a certain (volitional or immediate) future (Hewitt's future I) (/-p'/ in the positive, but /-rə-/ in the negative and in all pro-tense forms) and a general (probabilistic or possible) future (Hewitt's future II)(/-š(a)-/). These endings have spread from the dynamic to the future statives, via a suffix: /-root-z+ʕa-dynamic.future.tense/, and are used in both positives and negatives as well as in participial forms. An imminent future is expressed by the dynamic present in /-wa-y+t'/ (much as in English 'I am going [right away]'), which itself seems to be based upon a progressive aspect suffix, /-wa-/, preceding the past, /-y+/, much as though the present were pegged to the past through durational aspect /-wa-/. Since Abaza uses /-yt'/ for the present and /-t'/ for the past (which still occurs in some Abkhaz forms), this present seems to be a recent reworking. The perfect is simply the past preceded by the adverb /-xʸa-/ 'already' in positives, with the suffix, /-c/ 'goal', following it or replacing it in a few forms (/-c/ in perfect stative participles, /-c(-t')/ in the negative dynamic with /-cə-z+t'/ as its pro.tense form, and /-xʸa-(c)/ in dynamic headless relatives, i.e., 'the one who had …').

Abzhwi (Literary) Abkhaz text

translated by B. George and Zaira Khiba Hewitt
(edited by John Colarusso)

[1] sasrə́q'ᵒa afərxác'a yəyrá

sasrə́q'ᵒa Sosruquo
a-fər-xác'a the-lightning-man (= 'the valiant man')(/a-fə́/ old storm god)
yə-y-rá his-be.born-inf(initive)

[2] ləmz aayg°awá yanálaga, satanáy g°ášʸa dáak°əgʸəžʸən yəyranə́ yə́q'az ləč'ʸk'ᵒən

lə-mz=ʕa-y-g°a-wá
her-month=hither-move-as-prog(ressive)(.present.participle)
y-an-á-l-a-ga it-when-it-inside-to-enter
satanáy Satanay
g°ášʸa Lady
d-áʕ-k°ə-gʸəžʸ-ən
she-ch(ange).of.st(ate)-on-turn-pro.tense
(This links the tense of a verb to that of a dominant verb, often the last of a sentence. It has both a conjunctive sense and often an antecedent, almost perfect aspect. It replaces the finite affix.)
yə-y-ra+nə́ who-be.born-immed(iate).fut(ure).participle(= pt)+purp(osive)
[the immediate future, Hewitt's 'future I', can also be volitional, i.e., it is a "certain" future, as opposed to a probable future, Hewitt's 'future II'; I shall gloss them by sense.]
yə́-q'a-z who-be.past-pt(this can also have a complementizer function)
lə-č'ʸk'ᵒən her son

x̌°əč'ʸ yə́mat°a lərx̌əyáyt' yəzə́lsəyt' x̌°əc áyk°aċ'ᵒa zláməz awasá yák°əc'əz álasa

x̌°əč'ʸ little.one
yə́-mat°a=lə-r-x̌əyá-y+t'
his-clothing=she-make-ready-past+dyn
=yə-zə́-l-sə-y+t' him-for-she-weave-past+dyn
x̌°ə-c hair-one
áyk°aċ'ᵒa black
z-l-á-mə-ø-z which-mass.in-to-not-be-pt
a-wasá the.a-sheep
y-á-k°ə-c'ə-z which-it-on-come-pt
á-lasa the wool

yálx̌nə ak'ᵒəmž°ə́.

y-á-l-x̌-nə which-it-mass.from-take-past.pass(ive).pt(or "absolutive")
a-k'ʷəmžʷə́ the.a-cherkesska

[3] wəy anə́lswaz, ádəx̌ḥʷa lsə́ga danač'áswaz, nárt-aa rbaa x̌əʒx̌ə́ʒwan.

wə-y=a+nə́-l-s-wa-z
that.3rd(.person).deixis(= dx)-singular=it+when-she-weave-prog-pt
á-dəx̌+ḥʷa the-loud(= "dekh")+sound.adv(erb)
l-sə́+ga her-weaving+instrument
d-a+n-á-č'a-s-wa-z
she-it+when-it-on.front-hit-prog-pt
(/á-s-ra/ 'to hit', /a-s-rá/ 'to weave')
nárt-ʕa Nart-race
r-bʕa their-castle
x̌əʒ+x̌ə́ʒ-wa-n shudder+shudder-prog-pt

[4] astʼʷə́ lsəytʼ yəlgə́bəytʼ, yəlx̌ʷáytʼ.

a-s+tʼʷə́=l-s-əy+tʼ the-weave+stuff=she-weave-past+dyn
yə-l-gə́b-əy+tʼ it-she-wash(.by.beating.on.stones)-past+dyn
yə-l-x̌ʷá-y+tʼ it-she-pound-past+dyn

[5] x̌ʷəntʼʷ, ʒ̇ʷʒ̇ʷará qʼʷəbə́yna apšaḥʷá yəlbáalgaytʼ.

x̌ʷə-ntʼʷ five-times
ʒ̇ʷʒ̇ʷa-rá wash-inf
qʼʷəbə́yna Kuban
a-pšaḥʷá its-bank
yə-l+báʕ-l-ga-y+tʼ it-there+down-she-take-past+dyn
(note /á-l+baʕ-ra/ the-there-spread.out-inf)

[6] akʼʷməzċʷá ʒ̇ʷʒ̇ʷanə́ yəšʷtə́šx̌a aqʼʷará yanə́kʷləpsa, awáa gə́lan yáx̌ʷapšwan,

a-kʼʷməz-ċʷá the-cherkesska-material (note dissimilated root from /kʼʷməžʷə́/)
ʒ̇ʷʒ̇ʷa-nə́ wash-past.pass.pt
yə-šʷtə́-š-x̌a which-flower-white-colour.adj(ective)
a-qʼʷará the-stoney.bank
y-a+n-ə́kʷ-lə-psa it-it+when-on-she-spread.out
a-wáʕ the-people (possibly /wa+áʕ/ that.3rd.dx+collective)
gə́+la-n stand+at-pro.tense (possibly /gə̲́+la/ stand+in\at)
y-á-x̌ʷa-pš-wa-n
they-it-at-look-prog-pro.tense

yəzak’ˇə́zay ḥˇa ayzc’aawá.

yə-z-a+k’ˇə́-za+y
it-which-it.to+be-what+Q(uestion)
ḥˇa whether (subordinator for queries, ?Abaza /-rḥˇ(a)/‘ ‘although’)
y-ay-z-c’ʕa-wá
they-reciprocal-for-ask-prog.pt
[H. possibly /c’(a)+ʕa/ ask+outward]

[7] abás yək’ˇəmžˇə́, yək’ába, yəxtarpá zlə́c’šaz ak’ˇməzċˇá anlərxəyá, čnak’ šʸəžʸə́

abás thus
yə-k’ˇəmžˇə́ his-cheresska
yə-k’ába his-shirt
yə-x-t-a-r-pá his-head-inside-in-cause-jump(= ‘cover’) (= “his-hat”)
z-lə́-c’-ša-z which-in.from-exit-subjunct(ive)-pt
a-k’ˇməz-ċˇá=a+n-lə-r-xəyá
the cherkesska-material=it+when-she-cause-be.ready(.past.pt)
čna-k’ day(.adv)-one
šʸəžʸə́ morning(.adv) (= “in the morning”)

rəpq’ará, rə́ʒaxra nap’ alərk’ə́yt’.

rə-p-q’a-rá their-sever-cut-inf
rə́-ʒax-ra their-sew-inf
nap’=a-lə-r-k’ə́-y+t
hand-it-she-cause-seize-past+dyn

[8] satanáy gˇášʸa lə́šˇyˇəčˇʸk’ˇənċˇa rə́matˇa məšk’ála yəsnə́, məšk’ála yəzʒaxwáz, ásabəy

satanáy Satanay
gˇášʸa Lady
lə́-šˇ-ʕˇə-čˇʸk’ˇən-ċˇa
her-one.hundred-hum(an).counter-child-pl(ural).hum
rə́-matˇa their-clothing
məš-k’-á-la day-one-it-by
yə-s-nə́ it-weave-past.pass.pt
məš-k’-á-la day-one-it-by
yə-z-ʒax-wá-z it-who-sew-prog-pt
á-sabəy the-baby

yə́matˇa wəy áq’ara dawadxálaxwaz, axá ásabəy yəyášʸa šánanə yaxʸə́q’az

yə́-matˇa his-clothings
wə-y that.3rd.dx-sg(= ‘that amount’)
a-áq’ara it-as.much.as
d-aw-a-d-xa+la-x-wa-z

she-really-it-with-spend.time+at-still-prog-pt
axá but
á-sabəy the-baby
yə-yə́-šʸa=šána-nə
his-be.born(= 'birth')-manner=be.a.surprise-adv
y-a+xʸə́-q'a-z it-it+toward(= 'that')-be.past-pt

yaxq'ʸanə́ ləxʷə́cərta raċ'ʷán.

y-a-x-q'ʸa-nə́ it-it-head.preV(erb)-result.from-past.pass.pt (= "because of")
lə-xʷə́cə-r+ta=raċ'ʷá-n
her-think-loc(ative)+standing(= 'place')=be.many-pro.tense
(= "her thoughts were many")

[9] wəy wəbrə́y áq'ara dəzč'ə́z awə́s dalaxálan də́q'an, šʸəbžʸ anxálawazgʸə

wə-y that.3rd.dx-sg (= 'she')
wə-brə́y that.3rd.dx-pro.sfx-sg
a-áq'ara it-as.much.as
də-z-č'ə́-ø-z she-which-in-be-pt
a-wə́s the-work
d-a-l-a-xá+la-n she-it-in-to-spend.time+at-pro.tense
də́-q'a-n she-be.past-pro.tense
šʸə+bžʸ=a+n-xá+l+a-wa-z-gʸə
day+mid=it+when-top+(be.)inside+in-prog-pt-and
(= "and when midday rose")
[/xá+l+a/ top+(be.)inside+in = 'to rise', note /xə́/ 'head']

ləzgʷámtayt', lə́č'ʸk'ʷən yə́matʷa ʒaxnə́ ak'ák'ala yəšʸtə́lxwan, ak'k'áḥʷagʸə

ø-lə-z-gʷá-m-ta-y+t'
it-she-can-heart.preV-not-notice-past+dyn
(/a-gʷə́/ the-heart, /á-ta-ra/ the-give-inf)
lə́-č'ʸk'ʷən her-child
yə́-matʷa his-clothing
ʒax-nə́ sew-past.pass.pt (= "being sewn")
a-k'á-(a-)k'a-la the-one-(the-)one-by (= "one by one")
yə-šʸtə́-l-x-wa-n them-after-she-take-prog-pro.tense
(= "she was preparing them")
a-k'k'á+ḥʷa-gʸə the-gay+sound.adv-and

ášʷa=rə́kʷəlḥʷawan.

á-šʷa=rə́-kʷə-l-ḥʷa-wa-n.
the-song-them-on-she-say-prog-pro.tense
(= "she was singing")

[10] axá wə́sgʸə raċʷák' dadəmxálak'ʷa, sasrə́q'ʷa yə́zənmatʷak' aykʷərč'ʸáb yəʒaxnə́

axá́ but
wə́+s-gʸə that.3rd.dx-and (= “however”)
raċ°á-k’ much-one
d-a-də-m-xá+la-k’°a
she-it-with-not-spend.time+on-without
sasrə́q’°a Sasruquo
yə́-zə+n+mat°a-k’
his-one+time+cothing-one (= “his one outfit of clothes”)
ay-k°ə-r-č’ʸáb reciprocal-on-cause-adhere (= “elegant”)
yə-ʒax-nə́ it-sew-past.pass.pt

yənək’nálḥayt’.

yə-nə-k’+n+á́-l-ḥa-y+t’
it-on.flat-down+inside+to-she-hang-past+dyn
(= “she suspended sewing it”)

[11] satanáy g°ášʸa agʸə́rt ləč’ʸk’°ənċ°a zlálaaʒaz agára sasrə́q’°a yát°aləmšʸayt’.

satanáy Satanay
g°ášʸa Lady
agʸə́+rt other-pl
lə́-č’ʸk’°ən-ċ°a her-child-pl
z-lá-l-ʕaʒa-z whom-instr(ument)-she-rear-pt
a-gára the-cradle
sasrə́q’°a Sasruquo
ø-y-á-t°a-lə-m-šʸa-y+t’
it-him-to-fitting-she-not-consider-past+dyn

[12] sasrə́q’°a waċ’°ə́ dəyranə́ waxá́ aypš, áfərḥ°a yənə́k°ərš°nə maʒalá́ satanáy g°ášʸa

sasrə́q’°a Sasruquo
waċ’°ə́ tomorrow
də-y-ra+nə́ he-be.born-immed.fut.pt+purp
waxá́ tonight
a-aypš its-like (/ay+pš/ reciprocal+look.at?)
á+fər+ḥ°a it+quick+sound.adv(?)
yə-nə́-k°ə-r-š°-nə
it-on.flat-on-cause-throw-past.pass.pt (= “with determination”)
maʒa-lá́ secret-instr
satanáy Satanay
g°ášʸa Lady

aynaržʸə́y yəč’ə́ dnáyt’.

aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith
yə-č’ə́ him-to
d-na-́y-y+t’ she-thither-go(.and.reached)-past+dyn

[13] “aynaržʸə́y, wánažʸalbayt’, szaypšrakˀáw warά yəwdə́rwayt’, warά wə́dagʸə wáḥa

aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith
w-án-a-ʒʸa-l-ba-y+t’
your-mother-the-toil-she-see-past+dyn
(= “your mother saw toil”, a form of address for asking favors)
s-z+aypš+ra-kˀá-w
my-which+like+abstr.n(act).n(oun)(.to)-pl.non.hum-stat(ive).pt
(= “my affairs,” “my circumstances”)
wa-rά you.masc(uline)-pro(noun).suffix (= sfx)
yə-w-də́r-wa+yt’
them-you.masc-know-prog+past(= ‘pres(ent))
wa-rά you.masc-pro.sfx
wə́-da-gʸə you.masc-without-and
wáḥa other\more

aʒˀgʸə́ yəzdə́rwam, wəmčʸ aasə́rxˀa, ak’ə́ smáwər xˀartά sə́mam.”

a-ʒˀ-gʸə́ the-one.hum-and
yə-z-də́r-wa-m it-who-know-prog-not
wə-mčʸ=ʕa-sə́-w-r-xˀa
your-strength\power-hither-me-you-cause-help
a-k’ə́=s-m-áw-ər
a-one-I-not-find-if (= “if I do not find something”)
xˀa-r+tά=sə́-ma-m
help-loc+stand=I-have-not
(= “I [will] not have assistance”)

[14] yə́bwazay, gˀášʸa axʸə́šʸərgˀəc’a, wəs bgˀə rmáč’ʸnə bəšpaċˀážˀaʒaway, barά

yə́-b-w-wa-za+y
what-you.fem(inine)-do-prog-who+Q(uestion)
gˀášʸa Lady
a-xʸə́+šʸə+r+gˀə+c’a
the-gold+foot+their+sole(?)+under
(“one who walks on gold”?, a form of address for aristocrats)
wə+s that.3rd.dx+adv (= ‘thus’)
b-gˀə your.fem-heart
ø-r-máč’ʸ-nə it-cause-small-past.pass.pt
bə-š+ba-ċˀážˀa-ʒa-wa-y
you.fem-how+qu(estion.affix)-talk-emph(atic)-prog-Q

ba-rá you.fem-pro.sfx

adəwnáy yə́kˇəw áḥˇsakˇa zagʸ ráyḥa bgˇə́rɣʸarat’ˇə bə́q’awp’ay!

a-dəwnáy the-world
yə́-kˇə-ø-w who-on-be-stat.pres.pt
á-ḥˇsa-kˇa the-women-coll(ective)
(/pḥˇəs/ ‘woman’, /-kˇa/ also pl. non.hum)
zagʸ all
r-áyḥa them-more.than
b-gˇərɣʸa-ra+t’ˇə
you.fem-rejoice-subjunc+goal (= “you should rejoice”)
[note /gˇə+r+ɣʸa/ heart+cause(=’let’)+rejoice(?)]
bə́-q’a-wp’-ay you.fem-be(.past)-stat.pres-rather(.emph)

[15] ak’ə́ bargˇáq’zar, aynaržʸə́y yəmaxˇč’á dáygʒawam, yəžʸaḥˇá dáygʒawam,

a-k’ə́ a-one (= ‘something’)
b-a-r-gˇáq’-za-r you.fem-it-cause-upset-pt-if
aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith
yə-maxˇč’á his-arm
d-a-áy+gʒa-wa-m
he-it-recipr+stretch-prog-not
[The image perhaps is of folding the arms, hence H.’s gloss of ‘to spare’.]
yə-žʸaḥˇá his-hammer
d-a-áy+gʒa-wa-m
he-it-recipr+stretch-prog-not

yəpsəngʸarə́y ák’ˇəzar, aykˇəxáps yəgə́lawp’, yáɣa ažˇáypšʸaa rə́mca ač’əddwáyt’.

yəpsəngʸarə́y
a-á+k’ˇə-za+r it-it.to+be-stat+if
aykˇəxáps ready
yə-gə́la-wp’ it-stand-stat.pres
y-áɣa his-bellows
a-žˇáypšʸ-ʕa the-smith-race
rə́-mca=a-č’ə-dd-wáyt’
their-flame=it-out.of-shoot-pres.dyn(amic)

[16] yə́btaxxazay, sázc’aawayt’, gˇášʸa?

yə́-b-tax-xa-za+y
which-you.fem-want-active-what+Q
s-á-z-c’ʕa-wa-y+t’

	I-it-for-ask-prog-past+dyn(= pres(ent.dyn))
gˀášʸa	Lady

[17] “sará yəstaxə́wp’ agára!

sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
yə-s-taxə́-wp’	it-I-want-pres.stat
a-gára	the-cradle

[18] axá wəy agára gára áypšəmzarawp’, yəgarlaranə́ yə́q’aw wayˀə́ dəšəyáypšəm aypš.

axá	but
wəy	that
a-gára	the-cradle
gára	cradle
a-áypšə-m-za+r-a-awp’	
	its-like-not-stat+if-it.to-must.be-pres.stat
	(= “it must not be like any other cradle”)
yə-gar-l+a-ra+nə́	
	who-cradle-in+to-immed.fut.pt+purp
	(= “who is to lie in the cradle”)
yə́-q’a-w	who-be.hypoth(etical)-pres.pt
wa+ʕˀə́	that.3rd.dx+hum(an).counter
də-šə-y-áypš-əm	
	he-how-him-like-not
a-aypš	its-like

[19] wəy agára ayxartˀá yalxzaráwp’, násgʸə agˀədə́ḥˀa axála yəc’əswázarawp’,

wə-y	that-sg
a-gára	the-cradle
a-ayxa-r+tˀá	the-iron-cause+melt (= “the molten iron”)
y-a+l-x-za+r-a-á-wp’	
	it-it+from-take(= derive)-stat+if-it.to-must.be-pres.stat
nás-gʸə	then-and
a-gˀədə́-ḥˀa	its(?)-rocking.sound-adv.sound
a-xá-la	its-head-instr (note /a-xə́/ the-head)
yə-c’əs-wá-za+r-a-a-wp’	
	it-rock-prog-stat+if-it.to-must.be-pres.stat

axá yanc’əswá ášʸtəbžʸ yəgáraw yəmaḥawázarawp’.”

axá	but
y-a+n-c’əs-wá	it-it+when-rock-pres.pt
a-́šʸtə+bžʸ	its-emit+voice

yə-gə́ra-ø-w who-cradle-be-stat.pres.pt
ø-yə-m-aḥa-wə́-za+r-a-a-wp'
it-him-not-be.audible-prog-stat+if-it.to-must.be-pres.stat

[20] "yəbzə́yawp', wəy aypš yə́q'aw agə́ra áq'ac'ara sarə́ sčazə́sk'əp'" yəḥˀáyt' aynaržʸə́y.

yə-bzə́ya-wp' it-good-pres.stat
wə-y that-sg
a-aypš its-like
yə́-q'a-w which-be.hypoth-stat.pres.pt
a-gə́ra the-cradle
á-q'a-c'a-ra its-preV(erb)-set-inf (= "its making")
[for /-q'a-/, note Circ. /ʔa/' 'hand', 'to set hand to' = 'to make, do']
sa-rə́ I-pro.sfx
s-ča-zə́-s-k'ə-p' me-self-for-I-hold-vol(itional).fut
yə-ḥˀə́-y+t' he-say-past+dyn
aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith

[21] axə́ yabə́q'aw, ač'ḥˀarə́ zənʒə́k' yəbərə́aygˀaċˀayt'; yəsə́t dačə́ yˀəmš ač'ḥˀarə́.

axə́ but
y-axʸ+bə́-q'a-w it-where+Q-be.hypoth-stat.pres.pt
a-č'ḥˀarə́ the-deadline
zənʒə́-k' utterly-one.whole
yə-bə-r-ə́ʕ+y+gˀa-ċˀa-y+t'
it-you.fem-cause-hither+come+still(?)-excess-past+dyn
yə-sə́-b-t it-me-you.fem-give
dačə́ other
ʕˀə-mš two-day
a-č'ḥˀarə́ its-deadline

[22] barə́ yəbtaxə́w agə́ra áq'ac'ara marəyə́m, zagʸ rə́yḥagʸə yə́wadayˀəw ayxə́

ba-rə́ you.fem-pro.sfx
yə-b-taxə́-w which-you.fem-want-stat.pres.pt
a-gə́ra the-cradle
á-q'a-c'a-ra its-preV-set-inf
ø-marəyə́-ø-m it-easy-be-not
zagʸ all
r-ə́yḥa-gʸə their-more.than-and
yə́-wadaʕˀə-ø-w
which-difficult-be-stat.pres.pt
a-ayxə́ the-iron

artˀaráawp', wəy ayxá áɣa mcála yəwtˀár q'alawám.

a-r-tˀa-rá-a-a-wp'
its-cause-melt-inf-it.to-must.be-pres.stat
wəy that
a-ayxá the-iron
a-áɣa-mcá-la its-bellows-fire-instr (= 'intense fire')
yə-w-tˀá-r it-you.masc-melt-if
ø-q'a-la-wá-m it-preV-enter.in(= happen)-prog-not
[for /-q'a-/, note Circ. /ʔa/' 'hand', 'to enter into hand' = 'to happen, befall']

[23] "wálaga, nas, yəwəlšalakʼʸ zbap'," -- lḥˀayt' satanáy gˀášʸa lč'ə́naxamtaz,

w-á-l-a-ga you.masc-it-in-to-enter
nas in.that.case
yə-wə́-l+ša-lak'=s-ba-p'
what-you.masc-preV+be.able-immed.fut.sfx=I-see-vol.fut
l-ḥˀa-y+t' she-say-past+dyn
satanáy Satanay
gˀášʸa Lady
l+č'ə́-na-xa-mta-a-z
her+face-thither-turn-time-its-for (= "as she turned away")

axá dəmcák'ˀa dáakˀgʸažʸən wəs dnayázc'aayt' :

axá but
də-m-cá-k'ˀa she-not-go-neg(ative).absol(utive) (= 'withoit leaving')
d-áʕ-kˀə-gʸəžʸ-ən
she-change.of.state-on-turn-pro.tense
wə+s that.3rd.dx+adv (= 'thus')
d-na-y-á-z-c'ʕa-y+t'
she-thither-him-it-for-ask-past+dyn

"aynaržʸə́y, yəsáwḥˀaz sgˀapxáyt', axá ak'ə́ wəxáštzar hˀa sšˀawáyt'!"

aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith
yə-s-á-w-ḥˀa-z what-me-to-you-say-pt
s-gˀa-pxá-y+t' my-heart-warm-past+dyn
axá but
a-k'ə́=wə+xa-́št-zar
the-one.non.hum=your+head.preV-forget-if
hˀa whether (subordinator for queries)
s-šˀa-wá-y+t' I-fear-prog-past+dyn(= pres)

[24] "mamáw axʸə́šʸargˀəc'a, aynaržʸə́y wəs alamála ak'əgʸə́ yəxaštlawám!"
m+a-m+á-w not+be-not+be-stat.pres.pt (= 'no')

a-xʸə́+šʸə+r+gˤə+c'a
the-gold+foot+their+sole(?)+under
("one who walks on gold"?, a form of address for aristocrats)
aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith
wə+s that.3rd.dx+adv (= 'thus')
a-la-m-á-la it-instr-not-it-instr (= "with it or not with it," i.e., "easily")
a-k'ə-gʸə́ its-one.non.hum-and (= 'even')
ø-yə+xa-št-la-wá-m
it-his+head-forget-iter(ative)-prog-not
(= "he generally does not forget")

yəḥˤayt' aynaržʸə́y.

yə-ḥˤa-y+t' he-say-past+dyn
aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith

[25] "wəs awp', axá wəzázəmc'aazay yə́q'awc'aran yə́q'aw agára yáwtaša áwra,

wə+s that.3rd.dx+adv (= 'thus')
a-a-wp' it-must.be-pres.stat
axá but
wə-z-á-zə-m-c'ʕa-za+y
you.masc-why-it-for-not-ask-what+Q
yə́-q'a-w-c'a-ra+n
which-preV-you.masc-set-immed.fut.pt+purp
(= "what you are to do")
yə́-q'a-w which-be.hypoth-stat.pres.pt
a-gára the-cradle
y-á-w-ta-ša which-it.to-you.masc-give-subjunc
(= "which you should give")
a-áw+ra its-long+abstr.n

átbaara, agə́lara!" lḥˤayt' satanáy gˤášʸa.

á-tbaʕ+ra its-wide+abstr.n
a-gə́la+ra its-stand+abstr.n (= 'its height')
l-ḥˤa-y+t' she-say-past+dyn
satanáy Satanay
gˤášʸa Lady

[26] ḥay, axʸášʸargˤəc'a satanáy gˤášʸa, -- č'áaytəyt' ažʸə́y, -- yəyranə́ yə́q'aw nártaa rašʸá,

ḥay hey!
a-xʸə́+šʸə+r+gˤə+c'a
the-gold+foot+their+sole(?)+under
("one who walks on gold"?, a form of address for aristocrats)

satanáy Satanay
g°ášʸa Lady
č’-áʕ-y-tə-y+t’ yell-prolonged-he-give-past+dyn
a-žʸáy the-smith
yə-y-ra+nə́ who-be.born-immed.fut.pt+purp
yə́-q’a-w who-be.hypoth-pres.stat.pt
nárt-aʕ Nart-race
r-ašʸá their-brother

nártaa aǯ°gʸə́ dəyáypšxawam.

nárt-aʕ Nart-race
a-ǯ°-gʸə́ its-one.hum-and
də-y-áypš-xa-wa-m
he-his-be.like-active-prog-not (= “no one will be like him”)

[27] wəy yəyə́šʸa way° yəyə́šʸa áypšxawam, yəxác’ašʸa -- xác’ašʸa áypšxawam!

wə-y that-singular(= sg)
yə-yə́+šʸa who-be.born-manner
wa+ʕ° that.3rd.dx+pl.hum
yə-yə́+šʸa=a-áypš-xa-wa-m
who-be.born-manner-its-like-active-prog-not
yə-xác’a+šʸa his-man+manner
xác’a+šʸa=a-áypš-xa-wa-m
man+manner=its-like-active-prog-not

[28] wəbrə́y aq’ə́nt’° wəy agára, gára áypšəmxarawp’, yəgára áwragʸə,

wə-brə́-y that-sfx-sg
a-q’ə́-nt’° its-near-from
wə-y that-sg
a-gára the-cradle
gára cradle
a-áypšə-m-xa-r-a-a-wp’
its-like-not-happen-if-it.to-must.be-pres.stat
yə-gára his-cradle
a-áw+ra-gʸə its-long+abstr.n-and

agə́laragʸə, átbaaragʸə way° yə́ybac gárak’ áypšəmxarawp’.

a-gə́la+ra-gʸə its-stand+abstr.n-and
á-tbaʕ+ra-gʸə its-wide+abstr.n-and
wa+ʕ° that.3rd.dx+pl.hum
yə́-y-ba-c which-he-see-perf(ect).pt
gára-k’ cradle-one

a-ápšə-m-xa-r-a-a-wp’
its-like-not-happen-if-it.to-must.be-pres.stat

[29] wəs anák’ʷxa, yará ápška dəyáanʒa yəgára zaypšraxawá ḥzalaċˀažˀarázay,

wə+s=a+n-a-á+k’ʷ-xa
that.3rd.dx=it+when-it-it.to+be(.past)-become (= “since”)
ya-rá he-pro.sfx
á-pška the-baby
də-y-áʕ+n+ʒa he-be.born-change.of.state(= ch.of.st)+on(.flat)+reach(= “until”)
yə-gára=z-aypš+ra-xa-wá
his-cradle=which-be.like+abstr.n-become-prog
ḥ-z-a-la-ċˀažˀa-rə́-za+y
we-why-it-about-talk-vol.fut-what+Q

ḥšalaċˀážˀawa aʒˀə́ yaḥárgʸə -- zak’ʷə́zay, ǯʸawk’ə́, rašʸá dəyáanʒa,

ḥ-š-a-la-ċˀážˀa-wa
we-how-it-about-talk-prog
a-ʒˀə́ the-one.hum
ø-y-aḥá-r-gʸə it-him-be.audible-if-and
z-a+k’ʷə́-za+y what-it.to+be(.past)-what+Q
ǯʸawk’ə́ some
r-ašʸá their-brother
də-y-áʕnʒa he-be.born-ch.of.st+on(.flat)+reach(= “until”)

ačc’ə́s yə́myəc yəzə́rbžʸawan, ḥˀa awáagʸə ḥaxnárčʸčʸap’ay!

a-č-c’ə́+s the-horse-exit+pred(icative)(= ‘offspring’)(= “foal”)
[H. /c’ə́+s/ ‘bird’, /c’-ára/ bird-coll(ective); but this is just ‘offspring’ specialized to ‘bird’ much as English <u>bird</u> is derived from *<u>brid</u>, ‘the breed(er)’.]
yə́-m-yə-c=yə-zə́-r-bžʸa-wa-n
which-not-be.born-perf.pt=him-for-they-break.in-prog-pro.tense
ḥˀa whether
a-wáʕ-gʸə=ḥa-x-na-r-čʸčʸa-p’-ay
the-people-and=us-at-it-cause-laugh-immed.fut-emph

[30] “sará snap’ə́ yanə́bc’azar, sará yəsáwžʸ, sará yəsə́lšalak’ʸ bəbáp’” yəḥˀayt’ aynaržʸə́y.

sa-rá I-pro.sfx
s-nap’ə́ my-hand
y-a-nə́-b-c’a-za+r

	it-it-on.flat-you.fem-set-stat+if
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
yə-s-áw-žʸ	it-me-free-leave (?note Abaza /áw-ra/ find-inf)
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
yə-sə́-l-ša-lakʼʸ=bə-bá-pʼ	
	what-me-preV+be.able-immed.fut.Q=you.fem-see-immed.fut
	[The suffix seems to be a complementizer for indirect questions with immediate future force.]
yə-ḥˤa-y+tʼ	he-say-past+dyn
aynar-žʸə́y	Aynar-smith

[31] “wəy bzə́yawpʼ” lḥˤaytʼ satanáy gˤášʸa “warə́ wəxʸə́napʼ agˤrá səmgawá sə́qʼam,
.

wə-y	that.3rd.dx-sg
ø-bzə́ya-wpʼ	it-good-pres.stat
l-ḥˤa-y+tʼ	she-say-past+dyn
satanáy	Satanay
gˤášʸa	Lady
wa-rá	you.masc-pro.sfx
wə-xʸə́-napʼ	your-golden-hand
a-gˤ+rá	its-heart+abstr
sə-m-ga-wá	I-not-enter-prog (= “I do not trust you”)
sə́-qʼa-m	I-be.hypoth-not (= “I am not untrusting of you”)

wəy sará maw, nártaa raɣaċˤagʸə́ yəǯʸáršʸaxʸaytʼ

wə-y	that-sg
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
ma-w	not-adv
nárt-aʕ	Nart-race
r-aɣa-ċˤa-gʸə́	their-enemy-pl.hum-and
yə-ǯʸá-r-šʸa-xʸa-y+tʼ	
	it-marvel-they-view.with.surprise-perf-past+dyn

[32] axá, aynaržʸə́y, sará dačakʼgʸə́ wásḥˤarc staxə́n.”

axá	but
aynar-žʸə́y	Aynar-smith
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
dača-kʼ-gʸə́=w-á-s-ḥˤa-rc=s-tax-ə́n	
	other-one-also=you-to-I-say-purp=I-want-stat.past

[33] “yanbáqʼalaxʸay, satanáy gˤášʸa, sará bará yə́bḥˤawa smaḥawá.”

y-a+n+bá-qʼa-la-xʸa-y	
	it-it+when+Q-preV-enter.in-perf-Q

(= “when has it happened to me?”
satanáy Satanay
gˀášʸa Lady
sa-rá I-pro.sfx
ba-rá you.fem-pro.sfx
yə́-b-ḥˀa-wa=s-m-aḥa-wa
what-you-say-prog=me-not-be.audible-prog

[34] “wará wažˀə́ agára q’asc’awáyt’ ḥˀa ažʸə́yra wálagawayt’, waxgʸə́ čəngʸə́ wáɣa

wa-rá you.masc-prof.sfx
wažˀə́ tomorrw
a-gára=q’a-s-c’a-wáyt’
the-cradle-preV-you-set-pres
ḥˀa whether (H. ‘saying’)
a-žʸə́y+ra the-smith+abstr
w-á-l-a-ga-wa-y+t’
you-it-inside-to-enter-prog-past+dyn(= pres)
wax-gʸə́ night-and
čən-gʸə́ day-and
w-áɣa your-bellows(.and.furnace)

xˀažžaʒá yak’ə́zaašt’ áɣa yətə́c’wa apsə́p apšayˀá aypš arə́y apšaḥˀá

xˀažža-ʒá glowing.burning-greatly
y-a-k’ə́+zʕa-št’ it(= fire)-it.to-take.hold+stat.sfx-fut (/z+ʕa/ stative+hither?)
(= “your furnace will probably be aglow brightly”)
a-áɣa the-bellows
yə-tə́-c’-wa which-out.from-emanate-prog
a-psə́p the-air
a-pša-ʕˀá the-wind-dry
a-aypš its-like
ar-ə́y this-sg
a-pšaḥˀá the-meadow.bank

yanə́slalašt’, wəžaḥˀá abžʸə́macara ádədmaċˀəs aypš žˀlarə́ yəraḥaláp’.”

y-a-nə́-s+la-la-št’
it-it-on.flat-hit+onto-iter-fut
(= “it will repeatedly hammer down upon it”)
wə-žaḥˀá your.masc-hammer
a-bžʸə́-macara its-voice\noise-only
á-dəd-maċˀəs the-thunder-lightning
a-aypš its-like
žˀlarə́ people
yə-r-aḥa-lá-p’ it-they-be.audible-iter-immed.fut

[35] ‘yəzak’ʼə́zay áaryʼara ḥzəq’alawáma?’ ḥʼa žʼlar ayzc’aalá́p’.

yə-z+a+k’ʼə́-za+y
what-what+to+be-what+Q
a-áʕ-r-ʕʼa-ra=ḥ-zə-q’a-la-wá-ma
the-ch.of.st-cause-dry-gerund (= “the cause of draught”)
= us-for-preV-be.inside-prog-Q(yes\no)
(= “what has caused the draught to befall us?”)
ḥʼa whether [H. “say”]
žʼlar(ə)= ay-z-c’ʕa-lá́-p’
people-recipr-for-ask-iter-immed.fut

[36] arə́y aypš anə́q’ala, sə́č’^{y}k’ʼənċʼa nártaa x^{y}əʒracará[nt’ʼ] yəxənḥʼnə́ yaná́aylak’

ar-ə́y this-sg
a-aypš its-like
ø-a+nə́-q’a-la it-it+when-preV-be.in (= “when\since it is like this”)
sə́-č’^{y}k’ʼən-ċʼa my-child-pl.hum
nárt-aʕ Nart-race
x^{y}əʒ+ra-ca-rá[-nt’ʼ]
name+abstr-go-gerund[-from] (= “back from seeking fame”)
[H.: The postposition is asbent from oral original.]
yə-xən-ḥʼ-nə́ they-preV-return(= ‘turn’)-past.pass.pt
y-a+n-áʕ-y-lak’^{y} they-it+when-hither-come-immed.fut.Q [original has /-lak’/]

‘yəzak’ʼə́zay, aynarž^{y}ə́y, wəzč’ə́w?’ -- ḥʼa yəlawə́snə wərk’ə́p’!

yə-z+a+k’ʼə́-za+y
what-what+it.to+be-what+Q
aynar-ž^{y}ə́y Aynar-smith
wə-z-č’ə́-w you.masc-what-sit.in-pres.stat.pt
ḥʼa say
yə-la-wə́-s-nə they-there-you.at-hit-pro.tense
wə-r-k’ə́-p’ you.masc-they-seize-immed.fut (these two verbs are an idiom for ‘to pester’, ‘to ply with questions’)

[37] wə́sq’an yəráwḥʼawazay? ‘šʼašʸá xʼəč’^{y}ə́k’ dəywáyt’, wəbrə́y yəzə́ agára sač’ə́wp’!’

wə́s-q’a-n thus-be.hypoth-pro.tense (= “in that case”)
yə-r-á-w-ḥʼa-wa-za+y
which-them-to-you.masc-say-prog-what+Q
š°-ašʸá your.pl-brother
xʼəč’^{y}ə́-k’ little.one-a
də-y-wáyt’ he-be.born-pres
wə-br-ə́y that-pro.sfx-sg
yə-zə́ him-for

a-gára the-crib
s-a-č'ə́-wp' I-it-sit.in-pres (= 'I am busy with it.")

wəḥˀášama?

wə-ḥˀá-ša-ma you.masc-say-fut-Q(yes\no)

[38] wə́sq'an, -- 'ḥan, axˀəč'ʸə́ dabáabgay?' -- ḥˀa sárḥˀar, yəšpásḥˀarəy?

wə́s-q'a-n thus-be.hypoth-pro.tense
ḥ-an our-mother
a-xˀəč'ʸə́ the-little.one
d-a+ba-áʕ-b-ga-y
him-it+Q(where)-hither-you.fem-start(= conceive)-Q
ḥˀa whether
ø-s-á-r-ḥˀa-r it-me-to-they-say-if
yə-š+bá-s-ḥˀa-rə-y
it-how+Q-I-say-fut-Q

[39] dəyáayt' axˀəč'ʸə́, dərbáayt' axˀəč'ʸə́, wáanʒa yəsə́rʒarc staxə́m!"

də-y-áʕ-y+t' he.be.born-subjunc(tive)-past+dyn
a-xˀəč'ʸə́ the-little.one
də-r-ba-áʕ-y+t' him-they-see-subjunc-past+dyn
a-xˀəč'ʸə́ the-little.one
wa-áʕ+n+ʒa there-hither+on.fkat+reach (= 'until that')
yə-sə́-r+ʒa-rc=s-taxə́-m
it-I-cause+reach(= 'reveal')-goal-I-want-not

[40] "aḥaḥáy, ak'ə́ baċˀmšˀan, satanáy gˀášʸa, aynaržʸə́y, ažʸə́yšʸa šəydə́rwa aypš,

aḥaḥáy aha!
a-k'ə́ the-one
b-a-ċˀə́-m-šˀa-n you-it-detrimentive-not-fear-proh(ibitive.sfx)
satanáy Satanay
gˀášʸa Lady
aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith
a-žʸə́y+šʸa=šə-y-də́r-wa
the-smith+place=how-he-know-prog
a-ayps its-like

ámaʒa áċ'ˀaxəšʸagʸə yədə́rwayt'.

á-maʒa the-secret
á-ċ'ˀaxə+šʸa-gʸə=yə-də́r-wa-y+t'
its-hide+place-and-he-know-prog-past+dyn

[41] sará ažʸə́yra sálagawayt', axá sə́šʸtəbžʸ wayˀə́ yaḥaranə́ də́q'am;

sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
a-žʸə́y+ra	the-smith-abstr
s-á-l-a-ga-wa-y+t'	
	I-it-inside-to-enter-prog-past+dyn(= pres)
axá	but
sə́-šʸtə-bžʸ	(by.)me-emit(ted)-sound
wa+ʕˀə́	that.3rd.dx+hum.count (= 'anyone')
y-aḥa-ra+nə́	whom-be.audible-immed.fut.part+purp
də́-q'a-m	he-be.hypoth-not

áɣa apšayˀá tə́c'rəm, sžʸaḥˀá abžʸə́ ažʸə́yra yədˀə́ləyˀrəm.

a-áɣa	the-bellows
a-pša-ʕˀá=tə́-c'-rə-m	
	its-breath-dry=out.of-exit-immed.fut-not
s-žʸaḥˀá	my-hammer
a-bžʸə́	its-voice
a-žʸə́y+ra	the-smith+abstr
yə-dˀə́-lə-ʕˀ-rə-m	
	it-open.space-inside.out-run-immed.fut-not

[42] aʒə́r sará snap'ač'ə́ ácxaċˀa aypš yət'əwáyt'," yəḥˀáyt' aynaržʸə́y.

a-ʒə́r	the-steel
sa-rá	I-pro.sfx
s-nap'ə-a-č'ə́	my-arm-it-in
á-cxa-ċˀa	the-honey-skin (= 'wax')
a-aypš	its-like
yə-t'əy-wáyt'	it-flow-pres
yə-ḥˀá-y+t'	he-say-past+dyn
aynar-žʸə́y	Aynar-smith

[43] satanáy gˀášʸa lgˀə rtənčʸnə́ dnaxənḥˀə́yt' ayˀnə́q'a.

satanáy	Satanay
gˀášʸa	Lady
l-gˀə	her-heart
ø-r-tənčʸ-nə́	it-cause-calm-past.pass.pt
d-na-xən-ḥˀə́-y+t'	
	she-thither-preV-return-past+dyn
a-ʕˀnə́-q'a	the-house-toward

[44] awə́xa šáanʒa awə́rt áswan, ak'ə́rcx aq'ˀq'ˀáḥˀa axə́brakˀa yərəkˀpə́xxaawan.

a-wə́xa	the-night

ša-áς+n+ʒa	dawn-hither+on.flat+reach (= 'until dawn')
a-wə́rt	the-snowstorm
á-s-wa-n	it.to-hit-prof.pro.tense
a-k'ə́rcx	the-hail
a-q'$^{\circ}$q'$^{\circ}$á+ḥ$^{\circ}$a	its-rattle+sound
a-xə́b+ra-k$^{\circ}$a	the-cover+gerund-pl (= 'the rooves')
yə-rə-k$^{\circ}$-pə́-xx+ςa-wa-n	it-them-onto-sever-shatter+out-prog-pro.tense (= 'it was shattering upon them and scattering outward')

[45] ádədmaċ$^{\circ}$əs ayxsə́ɣ^{y}rak' ámaməzt'.

á-dəd-maċ$^{\circ}$əs	the-thunder-lightning
ay-x-sə́ɣ^{y}+ra-k'=á-ma-mə-z+t'	reciprocal-at-cease+abstr-one (= 'a pause in its [routine]') =it.to-have-not-pt+dyn(amic)

[46] nartkə́t yənxawáz awáa zag^{y}ə́ wəy awə́xa rg$^{\circ}$ə rtənč^{y}nə́ yə́ċ$^{\circ}$an.

nart-kə́t	Nart-village
yə-n-xa-wá-z	who-on.flat-dwell-prog-pt
a-wáς	the-people
zag^{y}ə́	all
wə-y	that-sg
a-wə́xa	the-night
r-g$^{\circ}$ə	their-heart
ø-r-tənč^{y}-nə́	it-cause-calm-past.pass.pt
yə-́ċ$^{\circ}$a-n	they-sleep-stat.past

[47] axá y$^{\circ}$ə́ʒ^{y}a awáa laċ$^{\circ}$áyx^{y}š^{y} q'arc'awáməzt'.

axá	but
ς°ə́-ʒ^{y}a	two-hum.count
a-wáς	the-people
la+ċ$^{\circ}$a-áy+x^{y}-š^{y}=q'a-r-c'a-wá-mə-z+t'	eye+skin-recipr+against(?)-close-preV-they-set-prog-not-neg.dyn

[48] wərt satanáy g$^{\circ}$áš^{y}ay aynarž^{y}əyəy rák'$^{\circ}$ən.

wə-r-t	that-pro.sfx-pl
satanáy	Satanay
g$^{\circ}$áš^{y}a-y	Lady-and
aynar-ž^{y}əy-əy	Aynar-smith-and
r-á+k'$^{\circ}$ə-n	they-it.to+be-stat.past

[49] satanáy gˀášʸa ċˀášʸa ləmaməzt’, lxˀəcrakˀa raċˀán.

satanáy Satanay
gˀášʸa Lady
ċˀá+šʸa=lə-ma-mə-z+t’
sleep+place(= ‘condition’)-her-have-not-pt+dyn
l-xˀəc+ra-kˀa her-think+gerund-pl (= ‘her thoughts’)
(y-)raċˀá-ø-n (they-)man-be-stat.past

[50] wažˀə wəšʸtán “ásabəy yəpsə́ anbatálaway” ḥˀa dəpšə́n.

wažˀə́ now (and)
wəšʸtán then
á-sabəy the-baby
yə-psə́=a+n+ba-t-á-l+a-wa-y
his-soul-it+when+Q-down-in-be.inside+to-prog-Q
ḥˀa say(ing)
də-pšə́-n she-expect-stat.past

[51] wəy apḥˀə́s pšʸənyˀažˀəyzáyžˀyˀək’ awáa ləxšaxʸán,

wə-y that-sg
a-pḥˀə́s the-woman
pšʸə+n-ʕˀa+žˀə-y-žˀá+y+žˀ-ʕˀə-k’ (note dissimilation of /žˀa/ ‘ten’ to /za/)
four+times-two+ten(s)-and-ten+and+none-hum.counter-one
a-wáʕ the-people
ø-lə-x-ša-xʸá-n they-her-self-dawn(= ‘be born’)-perf-pro.tense

axá abasq’ák’ gˀámc’ray gˀəryˀáy ləmbácəzt’.

axá but
abas-q’á-k’ so-much-whole
gˀ-á-m-c’-ra-y heart-it-from-exit-gerund-and (= ‘heartache’)
gˀə-r-ʕˀá-y=lə-m-bá-cə-z+t’
heart-cause-dry.out-and-she-not-see-perf-pt+dyn
(= “She had not seen so much heartache and grief.”)

[52] wərt anyə́ygʸə wəy áq’ara drəċˀšˀawá drəxʒə́ʒawa də́q’aməzt’.

wə-r-t=a+n-yə́+y-gʸə
that-pro.sfx-pl=it+when-be.born+be.born-and
wə-y that-sg (= ‘she’)
a-áq’ara its-so.much
d-rə-ċˀ-šˀa-wá she-them-for-fear-prog

d-rə-x-ʒə́+ʒa-wa
she-them-at(= about)-worry+worry-prog
də́-q'a-mə-z+t' she-be.hypoth-not-pt+dyn

[53] wəy wəs də́q'azar, áaʒarag^{y}ə yəltəyrə́məzt'.

wə-y that-sg
wə+s that.3rd.dx+adv (= 'thus')
də́-q'a-za+r she-be.hypoth-stat+if
a-áʕ+ʒa+ra-g^{y}ə the-ch.of.st+reach+gerund-and (= 'the raising')
yə-l-təy-rə́-mə-z+t'
them-she-sell-vol.fut-not-pt+dyn
(= "she would not have sent them away into fosterage")

[54] pš^{y}əny˚až˚əyzáyž˚y˚ək' lə́č'^{y}k'˚ənċ˚a lará yələxšáyt',

pš^{y}ə+n-ʕ˚a+ž˚ə-y-zá+y+ž˚-ʕ˚ə-k'
four+times-two+ten(s)-and-ten+and+none-hum.counter-one
lə́-č'^{y}k'˚ən-ċ˚a her-child-pl.hum
la-rá her-pro.sfx
yə-lə-x-šá-y+t' they-her-self-dawn-past+dyn

axá zag^{y}ə́ ǯ^{y}arǽ-ǯ^{y}arǽ yəganə́ yəraaʒáyt'.

axá but
zag^{y}ə́ all
ǯ^{y}arǽ-ǯ^{y}arǽ somewhere-somewhere (= "different places")
yə-ga-nə́ they-take-past.pass.pt
yə-r-aʕ-ʒá-y+t' them-they-ch.of.st+reach-past+dyn (= "they raised them")

[55] waxá yəyyranə́ yə́q'aw ásabəy zənʒák' dačak'ála dəlbawán satanáy g˚áš^{y}a.

waxá tonight
yə-y+y-ra+nə́ who-be.born+be.born-immed.fut+purp
yə́-q'a-w who-be.hypoth-pres.stat.pt
á-sabəy the-baby
zə-n-ʒá-k' one-time-emph-whole (= 'at once')
dača-k'-á-la ther-one-its-instr (= 'differently')
d-əl-ba-wá-n him-she-see-prog-pro.tense
satanáy Satanay
g˚áš^{y}a Lady

[56] wəy dšə́myəycəzg^{y}ə wəbrə́y áq'ara bzə́ya dəlbawán, zac'á ǯ^{y}arǽ dləmtəyrǽ,

wə-y that-sg
d-šə́-m-yə+y-cə-z-g^{y}ə

	him-how-not-be.born+be.born-perf-stat-and
	(= “although he had not yet been born”)
wə-brə́-y	that-pro.sfx-sg
a-áq’ara	it-as.much.as
bzə́ya	good
də-l-ba-wá-n	him-she-see-prog-pro.tense (= “she loved him so much that”)
zac’á	far.from (= ‘rather than’)
ǯ^{y}ará	anywhere
d-lə-m-təy-rá	him-she-not-sell-vol.fut

amalaxázg^{y}ə aǯ̊ə́ yənap’ə́ nark’ʒanə́ dəyk’^{y}ə́sərg^{y}ə lzə́č^{y}ḥawaməzt’.

a-mala-xáz-g^{y}ə	the-alone-apart-and
a-ǯ̊ə́	the-one.hum (= ‘anyone’)
yə-nap’ə́=na-r-k’ʒa-nə́	
	his-hand-thither-cause-extend-past.pass.pt
də-y-k’^{y}ə́sə-r-g^{y}ə=l-zə́-č^{y}ḥa-wa-mə-z+t’	
	him-he-touch-if-even=she-can-endure-prog-not-pt+dyn

[57] awə́xa dg̊aq’ċ’̊áq’wa, dšaq’^{y}awá aẙnə́ dax^{y}əẙnáz satanáy g̊áš^{y}a

a-wə́xa	that-night
d-g̊aq’+ċ’̊áq’-wa	
	she-tormented+tormented-prog
d-šaq’^{y}a-wá	she-be.anxious-prog
a-ʕ̊nə́	the-house
d-a+x^{y}ə-ʕ̊ná-ø-z	
	she-it+where-house-be-stat.pt
satanáy	Satanay
g̊áš^{y}a	Lady

dazx̊ə́cəyt’ lə́č’^{y}k’̊ən x̊əč’^{y}[ə́] yə́yx^{y}ʒəlc’arəz ax^{y}ʒ.

d-a-z-x̊ə́cə-y+t’	she-it-for-think-past+dyn
lə́-č’^{y}k’̊ən	her-child
x̊əč’^{y}[ə́]	little.one
yə́-y-x^{y}ʒə-l-c’a-rə-z	
	it-his-name-she-set-vo.fut-stat.pt
a-x^{y}ʒ	the-name [potsposed over verb for emphasis]

[58] wəy zaq’á x^{y}ʒə aylə́lxəz zdə́rxwada, axá ac’əx̊t’̊anə́ daagə́lt’ x^{y}ʒək’ ač’ə́ .

wə-y	that-sg
z-aq’á	how-many
x^{y}ʒə	name
ø-ay-lə́-l-xə-z=z-də́r-x-wa-da	

	it-recipr-inside-she-take-pt=who-know-still-prog-who
axá	but
a-c'əx°-t'°a-ná	the-tail+ness-adv (= 'in the end')
d-aʕ-gə́l-t'	she-ch.of.st-settle-past (cf., Abaza /-t'/ past tense marker)
	[H. /-aʕ-/ makes action abrupt.]
xʸʒə-k'	name-one
a-č'ə́	it-sit.on

[59] wəy sasrə́q'°a ák'°ən.

wə-y	that-sg
sasrə́q'°a	Sasruquo
a-á+k'°ə-n	it-it.to+be-stat.past

[60] aynaržʸə́y yák'°əzar, awə́xa šáanʒa, yáɣa caḥ°cáḥ° daxágʸažʸwa,

aynar-žʸə́y	Aynar-smith
y-a+k'°ə-za+r	he-it.to+be-stat+if (= "as to Aynar the smith")
a-wə́xa	that-night
ø-ša-áʕ+n+ʒa	it-dawn-hither+on.flat+reach
y-áɣa	his-bellows
ca+ḥ°-cá+ḥ°	hot+mighty(?)-hot+mighty
	(for /-ḥ°/, cf., Circassian /-x̌°/ 'manly, great')
d-a-xá-gʸažʸ-wa	he-it-head.at-move.around-prog
	(= 'he moved around above it")

yəpsəngʸarə́y ayxart°á ak°ayc'ə́xwa, yəžʸaḥ°á ámcabz ač'əddwá ažʸə́yra dač'ə́n .

yə-psəngʸarə́y	his-anvil
a-ayxa-r+t°á=a-k°-ay-c'ə́-x-wa	
	the-iron-cause+melt=it-onto-recipr-out-take-prog
	(= "the molten iron [pieces] were drawn out against each other on the anvil")
yə-žʸaḥ°á	his-hammer
á-mca-bź	the-fire-tongue (= 'flame')
ø-a-č'ə-dd-wa	it(flame)-it(hammer)-from-shoot.forth-prog
a-žʸə́y+ra	the-smith+abstr
d-a-č'ə́-n	he-it-sit.in-stat.past

[61] wəy yəq'ayc'awə́n yəyyranə́ yə́q'aw ásabəy yəgára.

wə-y	that-sg
yə-q'a-y-c'a-wə́-n	
	which-preV-he-set-prog.pro.tense
yə-y+y-ra+nə́	who-be.born+be.born-immed.fut+purp
yə́-q'a-w	who-be.hypoth-stat.pt

á-sabəy the-baby
yə-gára his-cradle

[62] yəšark'k'awá yanálaga, ámšċˀgʸa axnagáyt'.

yə-ša-r+k'k'a-wá it-dawn-cause+be.pellucid-prog
[H., note /a-šá-ra/ the-light+abstr, 'the dawn', vs. /a-ša-rá/ the-dawn-inf, 'to dawn', cf., Circassian /ƛa(aɣˀə)/' 'to see'.]
y-a+n-á-l-a-ga it-it+when-it-inside-to-enter (= 'when it began')
ámš-ċˀgʸa=a-x-na-gá-y+t'
the-day-bad (= 'the bad weather')=it-at-it(dawn)-take-past+dyn

[63] ámra ašʸxará yənəkˀčˀʸčˀʸáanʒa, áḥˀsakˀa gˀášʸa lášʸtalartačˀə,

á-mra the-sun
a-šʸxa+rá the-mountain+coll(ective) (= 'the mountain range')
yə-nə-kˀ-čˀʸčˀʸa-áʕ+n+ʒa
it-on.flat-onto-illuminate-hither+on/flat+reach
(= 'before it cast light across the mountains')
á-ḥˀsa-kˀa the-women-coll
gˀášʸa Lady
lá-šʸt+a+la+rta-a-čˀə
her-bottom+to(= down)+lie+place-it-sit.in

"axˀəčˀʸó dəyyóyt', axˀəčˀʸó dəyyóyt'!" ḥˀa yaaylált'!

a-xˀəčˀʸó the-little.one
də-y+yó-y+t' he-be.born+be.born-past+dyn
a-xˀəčˀʸó the-little.one
də-y+yó-y+t' he-be.born+be.born-pas
ḥˀa say(ing)
y-ʕa-ay-l-á-l-t' they-hither-recipr-inside-in-move.inside-past
(= "they rushed at each other, saying …")

[64] adˀnáq'a yóq'az agˀólaḥˀsakˀagʸə waxʸ yənəyˀnált'.

a-dˀ+nó-q'a the-plane+adv-toward (= 'outside')
yó-q'a-z who=be(.hypoth)-stat.past
a-gˀó+l+a-ḥˀsa-kˀa-gʸə
the-heart+inside+in(= 'neighboring')-women-coll-and
wa-a-xʸ there-its-at
yə-nə-ʕˀná-l-t' they-interior-house-move.inside-past (Abaza /-n-/ 'interior')

[65] abár axˀəčˀʸó!

abár lo!

a-xˤəčʼʸə́ the-little.one

[66] axá yəzxˤartáwzay, napʼə́kʼ nargʒanə́ dazkʼwám.

axá but
yə-z-xˤa+rtá-w-za+y
what-what-be.fitting+place(= advantage)-stat-stat+Q
(= ‘but what is the advantage in this?’)
napʼə́-kʼ=na-r-gʒa-nə́
hand-one=thither-cause-extend-past.pass.pt (cf., /-ay+gʒa/ (15))
d-a-z-kʼ-wá-m he-it-for-(take.)hold-prog-not

[67] apərɣə́ aypš yəcˤayžʸə́ qʼapšʸə́wpʼ, ámca ácʼkʼʸəs yəcˤáy yəžʸə́y cawpʼ !

a-pərɣə́ the-fire.brand
(cf., Ubykh /-pa-/ ‘to descend, as with fire or lightning’)
a-aypš it-like
yə-cˤa-y-žʸə́ his-skin-his-flesh
ø-qʼa+pšʸə́-ø-wpʼ
it-so+red-be-stat.pres (= ‘bright red’)?)
(for /qʼa+/, cf., /-áqʼara/ ‘so much’)
á-mca the-fire
a-ácʼkʼʸəs its-than
yə-cˤá-y his-skin-and
yə-žʸə́-y his-flesh-and
ø-ca-ø-wpʼ they-hot-be-stat.pres

[68] áḥˤsakˤa ans rḥˤayt’, ars rḥˤayt’, axá yəzxˤartáwzay, šʸtə́xšʸa rzə́qʼacʼawam.

á-ḥˤsa-kˤa the-women-coll
a+n+s=r-ḥˤa-y+t’ this-second..dx+adv-they-say-past+dyn
a+r+s=r-ḥˤa-y+t’ this-first..dx+adv-they-say-past+dyn
axá but
yə-z-xˤa+rtá-w-za+y
what-what-be.fitting+place(= advantage)-stat-what+Q
(= ‘but what is the advantage in this?’)
šʸtə́+x+šʸa=r-zə́-qʼa-cʼa-wa-m
bottom(.from)+take+abstr-them-for(= can)-preV-set-prog-not
(= “they were not able to lift him up.”)[for expected final stress]

[69] áḥˤsakˤa naycˤážʸan, ápška yəqʼərqʼə́ dərxˤxˤə́rc yənákˤərkʼəyt’:

á-ḥˤsa-kˤa the-women-coll
ø-na-ay-cˤážʸa-n
they-thither-recipr-talk-pro.tense
á-pška the-infant
yə-qʼərqʼə́=rə-r-xˤxˤə́-rc

his-throat=they-cause-break-goal
(= “to open his throat with his first suckling”, i.e.,
“to break in his throat”)

yə-na-á-kˀə-r-kˀə-y+tˀ
it-thither(= suddenly)-it-on.down-they-seize-past+dyn
(= ‘they suddenly conceived of …’)

pḥˀəskˀ ábɣʸaaḥˀa lgˀəpḥˀə́ nayčˀálkˀəytˀ, axá yəlzə́mčʸḥaztˀ

pḥˀəs-kˀ woman-one
á-bɣʸaʕ+ḥˀa its-flash+sound(?).adv
(adverb used mainly for the action of quickly exposing a breast)
l-gˀə+pḥˀə́ her-heart+female (= ‘woman’s breast’)
ø-na-y-čˀá-l-kˀə-y+tˀ
it-thither(= suddenly)-his-mouth-she-seize-past+dyn
(= “she suddenly thrust it inot his mouth”)
axá but
yə-l-zə́-m-čʸḥa-z+tˀ
it-her-for(= can)-not-endure-pt+dyn

“səblə́ytˀ səblə́ytˀ” ḥˀa árċˀˀaaḥˀa dəḥˀḥˀanə́ dəndˀˀə́lqˀʸaytˀ.

sə-blə́-y+tˀ I-burn-past+dyn
sə-blə́-y+tˀ I-burn-past+dyn
ḥˀa say(ing)
a-́r+ċˀˀ+ʕa+ḥˀa the-cause+cry+suddenly+sound.adv
də-ḥˀ+ḥˀa-nə́ she-say+say-adv (= ‘she was made to cry out’)
də-n-dˀˀə́-l-qˀʸa-y+tˀ
she-interior-outside-she-rush-past+dyn

[70] dáčaƶˀ daargán, wə́ygʸə wəbás lə́xʸəytˀ.

dáča-ƶˀ other-one.hum
d-ʕa-r-gá-n her-hither-they-bring-pro.tense
wə́-y-gʸə that-sg-and
wə-bá+s=lə́-xʸə-y+tˀ
that-pro.sfx+adv=her-befall-past+dyn

[71] axyˀˀə́kˀgʸə wəbás, ápšʸyˀəkˀgʸə wəbás.

a-x-ʕˀˀə́-kˀ-gʸə the-three-hum.counter-one-and
wə-bá+s that-pro.sfx+adv
á-pšʸ-ʕˀə-kˀ-gʸə the-four-hum.counter-one-and
wə-bá+s that-pro.sfx+adv

[72] arə́y wamaxáytˀ.

a-rə́-y this-first..dx-sg
ø-wama-xá-y+t' he-miracle-become-past+dyn

[73] áḥˇsakˇa yə́rwa yakˇəmšˇawá ayk'ˇšanə́ ápška yəxagə́lawp',

á-ḥˇsa-kˇa the-women-coll
yə́-r-w-wa what-they-do-prog
y-a-kˇə-m-šˇa-wá
they-it-on.down-not-meet(= understand)-prog
ø-ay-k'ˇ-ša-nə́ they-recipr-around-stand-adv (for /-ša-/, cf. Circassian /ƛa/ 'leg')
á-pška the-infant
ø-yə-xa-gə́+la-wp'
they-his-head-stand+at-stat.pres

rə́bla yabawá ǯʸšʸaxˇə́s yək'nə́.

rə́-bla their-eye
y-a-ba-wá which-it-see-prog
ǯʸ(a)+šʸa-xˇə́-s marvel+be.amazed.at-part-adv (= 'as a thing of wonder')
yə-k'-nə́ it-hold-past.pass.pt (= "it was held as …")

[74] yará dək'áršˇəwp', dəċ'ˇə́wam, dəxʸwám, ak'ə́ dazəpšə́wšˇa.

ya-rá he-pro.sfx
də-k'á-r-šˇə-wp' him-down-they-drop-stat.pres
də-ċ'ˇə́+wa-wa-m
he-cry+prolonged-dyn-not
də-xʸ-wá-m he-hurting-dyn-not
a-k'ə́ the-one.non.hum (= 'something')
d-a-zə-pšə́-w-šˇa
he-it-for-wait-stat.pres.pt-as.if

[75] abás ásabəy danyə́yz awə́xa, agˇə́laḥˇsakˇa aylágʸažʸwa yangə́laz,

a-bá-s that-pro.sfx+adv
á-sabəy the-baby
d-a+n-yə́+y-z he-it+when-be.born+be.born-pt
a-wə́xa the-night
a-gˇə́+l+a-ḥˇsa-kˇa
the-heart+inside+in(= 'neighboring')-women-coll
ø-ay-l-á-gʸažʸ-wa
they-recipr-inside-in-mill.about-prog
(= "they were fussing around one another")
y-a+n-gə́+la-z they-it+when-stand+in-pt

ǯʸawk'ə́ aayn gˇášʸa adə́rra lə́rtayt': agˇə́lara čank' čc'əsk' aryyə́yt',

ǯʸawk’ə́ some.people
ø-ʕa-y-n they-hiter-come-pro.tense
gˤášʸa lady
a-də́r+ra=lə́-r-ta-y+t’
the-know+abstr(= information)-her-they-give-past+dyn
a-gˤə́+l+a+ra the-heart+inside+in-asbtr (= ‘the neighbouring’)
č-an-k’ horse-mother-one
č-c’ə+s-k’ horse-exit+pred(= offspring)-one (= “a foal”)
ø-a-r-y+yə́-y+t’ it-it(mare)-cause-be.born+be.born-past+dyn

axá wəy ačc’ə́skˤa zagʸə́ yəráypšəm, yək’ʸərk’ʸə́rwayt’ yəšʸamxə́swayt’ wamalá,

axá but
wə-y that-sg
a-č-c’ə́+s-kˤa the-horse-exit+pred-pl
zagʸə́ all
yə-r-áypšə-m it-they-like-not
yə-k’ʸər+k’ʸə́r-wa-y+t’
it-neigh+neigh-prog-past+dyn(= pres)
yə-šʸa+m+xə́-s-wa-y+t’
it-leg+connective+head(= knee)-hit-prog-past+dyn(= pres)
wama-la miracle-instr

ámpənq’a yənáywa dnanášʸtwam, áaygˤara yənáyz dašʸwáyt’, dənnážʸwam!

a-́m+pə+n-q’a its-from+front+adv(?)-to (= ‘’in front of, facing’)
yə-ná-y-wa who-thither-go-prog (= “who goes before it”)
d-na-ná-šʸt-wa-m
him-thither-it-send-prog-not (= “it chases him away”)
a-áʕ+y+gˤa+ra it-hither+go+still+abstr (= ‘near it’)
yə-ná-y-z who-thither-go-pt (= “who went near it”)
d-a-šʸ-wáyt’ him-it-kill-pres
də-n-ná-žʸ-wa-m
him-interior(?)-it-leave.alone-prog-not
(= “he does not leave him alone”, “it harries him”)

[76] “ámašˤər ɣˤɣˤa q’anac’ár ḥˤa ḥšˤawáyt’, wa, yəšpáawrəy, gˤášʸa axʸə́šʸərgˤəc’a?!”

a-́mašˤər-ɣˤɣˤa=q’a-na-c’á-r
the-defeat-great=hand-it-sit-if (= “if it inflicts a great defeat”)
ḥˤa whether
ḥ-šˤa-wáyt’ we-fear-pres
wa woe!
yə-š+bá-ḥ-w-rə-y
it-how+Q-we-do-immed.fut-Q
gˤášʸa Lady

a-x^{y}ə́+š^{y}ə+r+gˀə+c'a
the-gold+foot+their+sole(?)+under
("one who walks on gold"?, a form of address for aristocrats)

[77] "yəx^{y}č^{y}at'ˀə́wp', yaaʒat'ˀə́wp' wəy ačc'ə́s, arə́y yə́cyyəyt' pa yáypšəm sará spa!

yə-x^{y}č^{y}a+t'ˀə́-wp'
it-guard+gerund-stat.pres (= "it is to be guarded")
y-aʕ+ʒa+t'ˀə́-wp'
it-hither+reach+gerund-stat.pres (= "it is to be raised")
wə-y that-sg
a-č-c'ə́+s the-horse-exit+pred (= 'foal')
a-rə́-y this-first..dx-sg
ø-yə-́c-y+yə-y+t'
it-him-with-be.born+be.born-past+dyn
pa son
y-y-áypšə-m whom-him-like-not
sa-rá me-pro.sfx
s-pa my-son

[78] wəy aypš wáḥa dačá čc'əsk' yəywám!

wə-y that-sg
a-aypš its-like
wáḥa again
dačá other
č-c'ə+s-k' horse-exit+pred-one (= 'a foal')
ø-yə+y-wá-m it-be.born+be.born-prog-not (= "it will not be born")

[79] wəy áda čə šə́ymatˀam žˀdə́rwaz!

wə-y that-sg
á-da it-without
čə horse
ø-šə́-y-matˀa-m=šˀ-də́r-wa-z
it-how-him-clothe(= be.fitting.for)-not
=you.pl-know-prog(= pres)-subjunc

[80] yəšˀəmš^{y}ə́n, yəšˀəx^{y}č^{y}á wəy ačc'əs!

yə-šˀə-m-š^{y}ə́-n it-you.pl-not-kill-proh
yə-šˀə-x^{y}č^{y}á it-you.pl-guard
wə-y that-sg
a-č-c'ə+s the-horse-eixt+pred [postposed for emphasis]

[81] abás ráḥˀan[ə] yaayz ndˀə́kˀəlc'ayt'.

a-bá+s=r-á-ḥˀa-nə
this-first..dx+adv=them-to-say-past.pass.pt
y-ʕa-y-z=n-dˀə́-kˀə-l-cʼa-y+tʼ
who-hither-come-pt-interior(.from)-plane-out-she-send-past

[82] nas daagʸažʸə́n satanáy gˀášʸa, áḥˀsakˀa aylágʸažʸwa yəgə́laz,

nas then
d-aʕ-gʸažʸ-ə́n she-ch.of.st-turn-pro.tense
satanáy Satanay
gˀášʸa Lady
á-ḥˀsa-kˀa the-women-coll
ø-ay-l-á-gʸažʸ-wa
they-recipr-there-in-turn-prog (= ‘fussing among themselves’)
yə-gə́+la-z who-stand+in-pt

daarə́lgəlan wəs naráḷḥˀayt’: “zəyyə́šʸa yə́yšʸa yáypšəmxaz abrə́y axˀəčʼʸə́,

d-aʕ-rə́-l-gə+la-n
she-ch.of.st-them-among-stand+in-pro.tense
wə+s=na-r-á-l-ḥˀa-y+tʼ
that.3rd.dx+adv=thither-them-to-she-say-past+dyn
zə-y+yə́+šʸa who-be.born+be.born+abstr (= ‘whose birth’)
yə́+y+šʸa be.born+be.born+abstr
y-a-áypšə-m-xa-z
it-its-like-not-become-pt
a-brə́-y this.1st.dx-pro.sfx-ag
a-xˀəčʼʸə́ the-little.one

xʸʒəs yəmazáayt’ sasrə́qʼˀa!

xʸʒə+s=yə-ma-z+áʕ-y+tʼ
name-pred=-he-have-stat+subjunc-past+dyn
sasrə́qʼˀa Sasruquo

[83] šˀəzgə́lawzay, šˀəyə́pxʸa aynaržʸə́y, aynaržʸə́y yə́qʼayc’aša yará yədə́rwayt’.”

šˀə-z-gə́+la-w-za+y
you.pl-what(.for)-stand+in-prog-what+Q
šˀə-yə́-pxʸa you.pl-him-call.to (= ‘summon him’)
aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith
aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith
yə́-qʼa-y-cʼa-ša what-preV-he-set-immed.fut
ya-rá he-pro.sfx
ø-yə-də́r-wa-y+tʼ
it-he-know-prog-past+dyn(= pres)

[84] ábɣʸaaḥˤa aʒˤ dədə́ryˤəyt’ aynaržʸə́y yaxʸ.

á-bɣʸaʕ+ḥˤa	its-flash+sound(?).adv
a-ʒˤ	the-one.hum
də-rə́-r-ʕˤə-y+t’	him-they-cause-run-past+dyn
aynar-žʸə́y	Aynar-smith
y-axʸ	him-to

[85] aynaržʸə́y, yəčərxəyanə́ dt’ˤázšˤa, axˤəč’ʸə́ daxʸyə́yz ašˤ daalagə́layt’.

aynar-žʸə́y	Aynar-smith
yə-čə-r-xəya-nə́	he-self-make-ready-past.pass.pt
d-t’ˤá-z-šˤa	he-sit-pt-as.if
a-xˤəč’ʸə́	the-little.one
d-a+xʸ-yə́+y-z	he-where+to-be.born+be.born-pt
a-šˤ	the-door
d-aʕ-a-l-a-gə́+la-y+t’	he-hither(= suddenly)-it-inside-in-stand+in-past+dyn

[86] nas dnə́yasən ápška dnayə́xˤapšəyt’.

nas	then
d-nə́-ya-sə-n	he-on.flat-along-cross.over-pro.tense
a-́pška	the-infant
d-na-yə́+xˤa-pšə-y+t’	he-thither-his+throat(?)-look.at-past+dyn
	(= “he looked at the infant”) [H. /á-xˤ(da)/ the-neck]

[87] “nártaa šˤə́žˤla yazərḥá!”yəḥˤán, yərə́tˤa ayc’ə́xnə, axˤəč’ʸə́ dəbžʸak’nə́ dáašʸtəyxəyt’

nárt-aʕ	Nart-race
šˤə́-zla	your.pl-surname
y-a-zə-r-ḥá	it-it-for-they-increase (third person plural passive)
yə-ḥˤá-n	he-say-pro.tense
yə-rə́tˤa	his-tongs
ay-c’ə́-x-nə	recipr-away-take-past.pass.pt (= ‘opened’)
a-xˤəč’ʸə́	the-little.one
də-bžʸa-k’-nə́	him-between-hold-past.pass.pt
d-áʕ-šʸtə-y-xə-y+t’	him-hither-upward-he-take-past+dyn (= ‘he riased him up’)

[88] ášərḥˤa də́yma dənd’ə́lq’ʸan, ažʸə́yrač’ə dnayt’.

á-šər+ḥˤa	the-quick+adv

d-ə́y-ma him-he-have
də-n-dˤə́-l-qʼʸa-n
he-on.flat(out.of)-plane-into-rush-pro.tense
a-žʸə́y+ra-a-čʼə the-smith+abstr-it-in
d-na-y-y+tʼ he-thither-go-past+dyn

[89] wáqʼa aččáḥˤa aǯə́r šnə áylatˤara yačʼə́n.

wá-qʼa there-to
a-čča+́ḥˤa the-hiss+adv.sound
a-ǯə́r the-steel
ø-š-nə it-boil-past.pass.pt (= ‘the boiling steel’)
a-áy-l-a-tˤa-ra the\a-recipr-inside.to-pour-gerund (= ‘a seething mass’)
y-a-čʼə́-n it(steel)-it(smithy)-sit-stat.past

[90] aynaržʸə́y yərə́tˤa nayc’ə́xnə axˤəčʸə́ aǯə́r aylašə́ra dnálayršˤəytʼ.

aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith
yə-rə́tˤa his-tongs
na-ay-c’ə́-x-nə thither-recipr-away-take-past.pass.pt
a-xˤəčʸə́ the-little.one
a-ǯə́r the-steel
a-ay-l-a-šə́-ra the-recipr-inside-to-boil-gerund (= ‘a boiling mass’)
d-na-á-l-a-y-r+šˤə-y+tʼ
him-thither-it-inside-to-he-cause+immerse-past+dyn
(frozen causative)

[91] ášʸžʸəmtan yálayršˤəz, abár ášʸəbžʸ áayra yálagayt’.

a-́šʸ+žʸə-mta-n the-day+start(?)-time-adv
y-á-l-a-y-r+šˤə-z
whom-it-inside-to-he-cause+immerse-pt
abár lo!
á-šʸə+bžʸ the-day+mid
a-áʕ+y+ra it-hither+come+gerund
y-á-l-a-ga-y+tʼ it(time)-it(mid-morning)-inside-to-enter-past+dyn
(= “He immersed him in the morning and, lo, noon arrived!”)

[92] axˤəčʼʸə́ aʒərqʼˤánda dʒáawšˤa dnaḥˤáaḥˤwa ayxaršə́ dʒaawpʼ,

a-xˤəčʼʸə́ the-little.one
a-ʒə-r+qʼˤánda the-water-cause+warm
d-ʒ-áʕ-ø-w-šˤa he-water-hither-be-stat.pres.pt-as.if
d-na-ḥˤ-áʕ-ḥˤ-wa he-thither-turn-hither-turn-prog (= ‘he was frolicking’)
a-ayxa-r+šə́ the-iron-cause+boil (= ‘the boiling iron’)
d-ʒ-aʕ-ø-wpʼ he-water-hither-be-stat.pres

aynarž^{y}ə́y waž^{ʕ}š^{y}tá yazxawázarg^{y}[ə], yazxáwp’ anəyg^{ʕ}áx^{ʕ},

aynar-ž^{y}ə́y Aynar-smith
waž^{ʕ}-š^{y}tá́ now-after (= ‘already’)
y-a-z-xa-wá-za+r-g^{y}[ə]
it(time)-it(tempering)-for-suffice-prog(= ever)-stat+if-and
y-a-z-xá-wp’=a+nə-y-g^{ʕ}áx^{ʕ}
it-it-for-suffice-stat.pres=it+when-he-think (note /g^{ʕ}ə/ ‘heart’)

yərə́t^{ʕ}a dáaxan ápška daatə́yxəyt’.

yə-rə́t^{ʕ}a his-tongs
d-áʕ-a-x-n he-ch.of.st-it-pull-pro.tense
á-pška the-infant
d-aʕ-tə́-y-xə-y+t’
him-ch.of.st-inside.from-he-take-past+dyn

[93] naq’áaq’ až^{ʕ}t’^{ʕ} axk^{ʕ}á arə́t^{ʕ}a yax^{y}əbž^{y}ak’ə́z wəs yəʒrə́ž^{ʕ}əmk’^{ʕ}a yaanxáyt’.

na+q’-áʕ+q’ thither+to-hither+to (= ‘on both sides’)
a-ž^{ʕ}+t’^{ʕ} the-shoulder+blade
a-x-k^{ʕ}á the-head-pl.non.hum
a-rə́t^{ʕ}a the-tongs
y-a+x^{y}ə-bž^{y}a-k’ə́-z
they-it+where-between-hold-pt
wə+s that.3rd.dx+adv
yə-ʒ-rə́-ž^{ʕ}ə-m-k’^{ʕ}a
they-water-cause-drink-not-be (= ‘they were not tempered’)
y-aʕ-n-xá-y+t’ it-hither-on.flat-remain-past+dyn

[94] aynarž^{y}ə́y yərə́t^{ʕ}a sasrə́q’^{ʕ}a dnəbž^{y}ak’nə́ ayxart^{ʕ}á danə́y^{ʕ}təygawaz

aynar-ž^{y}ə́y Aynar-smith
yə-rə́t^{ʕ}a his-tongs
sasrə́q’^{ʕ}a Sasruquo
d-nə-bž^{y}a-k’-nə́ he-on.flat-between-hold-past.pass.pt
a-ayxa-r+t^{ʕ}á́ the-iron-cause+melt
d-a+nə́-ʕ^{ʕ}-tə-y-ga-wa-z
him-it+when-upward-inside.from-he-take-prog-pt

áamtazə ax^{ʕ}əč’^{y}ə́ árċ’^{ʕ}aaḥ^{ʕ}a daay^{ʕ}nə́c’^{ʕ}aayt’ “san ámla, ámla!” ḥ^{ʕ}a.

a-áʕ+mta-a-zə the-hither+time-it-at
a-x^{ʕ}əč’^{y}ə́ the-little.one
a-́r+ċ’^{ʕ}+ʕa+ḥ^{ʕ}a the-cause+cry+suddenly+sound.adv (= ‘raucously’)
d-aʕ-ʕ^{ʕ}nə́-c’^{ʕ}+aʕ-y+t’
him-ch.of.st(= suddenly)-house-cry+sudden-past+dyn

s-an my-mother
á-mla the-hunger
á-mla the-hunger
ḥ°a say(ing)

[95] aynaržʸə́y ayxat'°ə́ ǯʸam áak°əypaan, ayxart°á yənác'əyšʸən

aynar-žʸə́y Aynar-smith
a-ayxa-t'°ə́ the-iron-belong.to
ǯʸam=áʕ-a-k°ə-y-p+ʕa-n
bow=ch.of.st(sudn)-it-on.from-he-snatch+hither-pro.tense
(Georgian /ǯʸam-i/ bowl-nominative)

a-ayxa-r+t°á the-iron-cuase+melt
yə-ná-a-c'ə-y-šʸə-n
it-thither-it-under-he-dip-pro.tense

yərq'asq'asawá ápška yəkʸə́š° yənádəyk'əlt'.

yə-r-q'as+q'asa-wá
it-cause-splash+splash-prog
á-pška the-infant
yə-kʸə́+š° his-lip+face.sfx (H. /a-pə́+š°/ the-nose+sfx = 'snout')
yə-na-á-də-y-k'ə+l-t'
it-thither-it-against-he-lie+on-past

[96] ásabəy dəblaq'ə́blać'°wa də́q'azš°a, aq'°ərkʸq'°ə́rkʸḥ°a ayxaršə́ albáadara

a-sabəy the-baby
də-blaq'ə́+blać'°-wa
he-be.ravenous+be.ravenous-prog
də́-q'a-z-š°a he-be.hypoth-pt-as.if
a-q'°ərkʸ+q'°ə́rkʸ-ḥ°a
the-gulp+gul-adv.sound
a-ayxa-r+šə́=a-lbáʕ-ø-da-ra
the-iron-cause+boil-it-down.and.spread.out-swallow-he-swallow-inf

dnálagayt'.

d-na-á-l-a-ga-y+t'
he-thither-it-inside-to-enter-past+dyn

[97] xǯʸamk' tə́yt'ayt' aynaržʸə́y, xǯʸamk' yəž°ə́yt' ax°əč'ʸə́.

x-ǯʸam-k'=tə́-y-t'a-y+t'
three-bowl-whole=inside.from-he-draw.up-past

aynar-ž^{y}ə́y Aynar-smith [postposed for contrast]
x-ǯ^{y}am-k'=yə-ž$^{\circ}$ə́-y+t'
three-bowl-whole=he-drink-past+dyn
a-x$^{\circ}$əč'^{y}ə the-little.one [postposed for contrast]

[98] nas aynarž^{y}ə́y dnəčḥ$^{\circ}$ásən t$^{\circ}$ərɣ$^{\circ}$ə́k' ázna apərɣə́ ax$^{\circ}$əč'^{y}ə́ yənayə́x$^{\circ}$lapsayt'.

nas then
aynar-ž^{y}ə́y Aynar-smith
d-nə-čḥ$^{\circ}$á-sə-n he-on.flat-mouth.of.forge-hit-pro.tense
(= "he stooped down to the opening of the forge")
t$^{\circ}$ərɣ$^{\circ}$ə́-k' shovel-one
á-z-na its-one-time (= 'its full')
a-pərɣə́ the-embers
a-x$^{\circ}$əč'^{y}ə́ the-little.one
yə-na-yə́-x$^{\circ}$+la-psa-y+t'
he-thiether-his-throat+instr-pour-past+dyn

[99] áɣ$^{\circ}$ərǯɣ$^{\circ}$ərǯḥ$^{\circ}$a wəy yəfáyt' ax$^{\circ}$əč'^{y}ə́.

á-ɣ$^{\circ}$ərǯ+ɣ$^{\circ}$ərǯ-ḥ$^{\circ}$a
the-clunk+clunk-adv.sound
wə-y=yə-fá-y+t'
that.3rd.dx-sg=he-eat-past+dyn
a-x$^{\circ}$əč'^{y}ə́ the-little.one [postposed for emphasis]

[100] wəbrə́y ə́fan danálga "san, áċ$^{\circ}$a sak'wáyt', áċ$^{\circ}$a sak'wáyt'" --

wə-brə́-y=ə́-fa-n
that.3rd.dx-pro.sfx-sg=he-eat-pro.tense
d-a+n-á-l-ga he-it+when-it-inside.from-bring (= 'when he finished eating')
s-an my-mother
á-ċ$^{\circ}$a the-sleep
s-a-k'-wáyt' me-it-(take.)hold-pres
á-ċ$^{\circ}$a the-sleep
s-a-k'-wáyt' me-it-(take.)hold-pres

yəḥ$^{\circ}$án, dnəy$^{\circ}$náċ'$^{\circ}$aaxt' yará.

yə-ḥ$^{\circ}$á-n he-say-pro.tense
d-nə-ʕ$^{\circ}$ná-ċ'$^{\circ}$+aʕ-x-t'
he-flat.on-house-cry+sudden-again-past
ya-ra he-pro.sfx

[101] satanáy g$^{\circ}$áš^{y}a, waž$^{\circ}$ráanʒa áɣamca yák'$^{\circ}$šaq'^{y}awa yaxagə́laz,

satanáy Satanay
gˇášʸa Lady
wažˇ-ra-áʕ+n+ʒa
now-abstr-hither+on.flat+reach
a-áɣa-mca the-bellows-fire
y-á-kˇ’-šaqˇ’ʸa-wa
who-it-around-bustle-prog
y-a-xa-gə́+la-z who-its-head-stand+at-pt

axˇəčˇ’ʸə́ dəlgˇədəḥˇḥˇála lwádačˇ’ə dnayyt’.

a-xˇəčˇ’ʸə́ the-little.one
də-l-gˇə-də-ḥˇḥˇá+la
him-her-bosom-against-clutch+in (unmarked past.pass.pt)
l-wáda-a-čˇ’ə her-room-it-to
d-na-y-y+t’ she-thither-go-past+dyn

[102] daxʸə́lk’əz yəžʸálšʸawan: wažˇráanʒa ámca aypš dqˇ’apšʸə́n, ámca áyḥa dcan,

d-a-xʸə́-l-k’ə-z him-it-where-she-hold-pt
yə-žʸá-l-šʸa-wa-n
it-suprise-she-view-prog-pro.tense
wažˇ-ra-áʕ+n+ʒa
now-abstr-hither+on.flat+reach
á-mca the-fire
a-aypš its-like
d-qˇ’a+pšʸə́-ø-n he-so+red-be-pred
á-mca the-fire
a-áyḥa it-than
d-ca-n he-be.hot-stat.past

wažˇə́ dəxʸšˇášˇam, dagʸcam, wayˇətˇ’ˇə́yˇsakˇ’ yəpxára yəpxárawpˇ’.

wažˇə́ now
də-xʸ+šˇášˇa-ø-m
he-cold+adj(ective).sfx-be-not
d-agʸ-ca-ø-m he-and-hot-be-not
wa+ʕˇə-tˇ’ˇə́-ʕˇ+sa-kˇ’
that.3rd.dx+hum-belong.to-hum+sfx(= ‘ordinary’)-one
yə-pxa+́ra his-heat+abstr (= ‘his temperature’)
ø-yə-pxá+ra-ø-wpˇ’
it-his-heat+abstr-be-stat.pres

[103] awáda dlə́manə danə́nəyˇnala “san, sababə́ryawa, sgára zbaʒawám!”

a-wáda the-room

d-lə́-ma-nə him-she-have-past.pass.pt
(= ‘the room in which she [now] had him’)
d-a+nə́-nə-ʕˤna-l+a
she-it+when-on.flat-house-be.inside+to
s-an my-mother
s-a-ba-bə́-r-ya-wa
I-it-where-you.fem-cause-lie.down-prog(= fut)
s-gə́ra=s-ba-ʒa-wə́-m
my-cradle-I-see-emph-prog-not

yəḥˤə́yt’ axˤəč’ʸə́.

yə-ḥˤə́-y+t’ he-say-past+dyn
a-xˤəč’ʸə́ the-little.one

[104] “warə́ wəyyə́anʒagʸə wəgə́ra q’aḥc’axʸə́n, wažˤə́ċ’ˤq’ʸa yaargawə́yt’!”

wa-rə́ you.masc-pro.sfx
wə-y+y-ə́ʕ+n+ʒa-gʸə
you-be.born+be.born-hither+on.flat+reach-and(= ‘even’)
wə-gə́ra=q’a-ḥ-c’a-xʸə́-n
your.masc-cradle=hand-we-set-already-plu.perf
wažˤə́-ċ’ˤq’ʸa now-just
y-aʕ-r-ga-wə́yt’ it-hither-they-bring-pres

lḥˤayt’ satanə́y gˤə́šʸa.

l-ḥˤa-y+t’ she-say-past+dyn
satanə́y Satanay
gˤə́šʸa Lady

[105] dnə́gan axˤəč’ʸə́ aċˤartaɣˤə́ dnə́kˤərəyanə, larə́ ə́fərḥˤa dəndˤə́lq’ʸan

d-nə́-ga-n him=thither-take-pro.tense (= pro.participle)
a-xˤəč’ʸə́ the-little.one
a-ċˤa-rta-ɣˤə́ the-sleep-place-plank (= ‘the bed’)
d-nə́-kˤə-rə-ya-nə
him-on.flat-on.down-cause-lie.down-past.pass.pt
la-rə́ she-pro.sfx
ə́-fər+ḥˤa the-quickly+adv.sound
də-n-dˤə́-l-q’ʸa-n
she-flat.on-plane.out-she-rush.out-pro.tense

aʒˤə́ dədˤə́kˤəlc’ayt’ aynaržʸə́y yaxʸ, sasrə́qˤa yəgə́ra aaytəyracə́.

a-ʒˤə́ the-one.hum
də-dˤə́-kˤə-l-c’a-y+t’

him-outside-on.down-she-set-past+dyn (= ‘she sent some one’)
aynar-ž^{y}ə́y Aynar-smith
y-ax^{y} him-to
sasrə́q’ˤa Sasruquo
yə-gə́ra=ʕa-y-təy-ra+cə
his-cradle=hither-he-send-immed.fut.pt+goal

[106] axə́ wəy yələ́š^{y}təz lassə́ dxənḥˤə́yt’, apxʒə́ yəx^{y}šə́ dk’aḥabɣə́lawa:

axə́ but
wə-y that.3rd.dx-sg
yə-lə́-š^{y}tə-z whom-she-(send.)after-pt
lassə́ quickly
d-xə+n-ḥˤə́-y+t’ he-head+on.flat-turn-past+dyn (= ‘he returned’)
a-pxʒə́ the-sweat (cf., /a-ʒə́/ the-water)
ø-yə-x^{y}-šə́ it-him-to\on-boil
d-k’a-ḥa=bɣə́-la-wa
he-down-stumble=spine-dangle-prog
(= ‘he was ready to collapse’)

“satanə́y gˤə́š^{y}a x^{y}ə́š^{y}argˤəc’a, yarə́ agə́ra sə́xayt’, sə́xayt’,

satanə́y Satanay
gˤə́š^{y}a Lady
x^{y}ə́+š^{y}ə+r+gˤə+c’a
gold+foot+their+sole(?)+under
ya-rə́ it-pro.sfx
a-gə́ra the-cradle
s-ə́-xa-y+t’ I-it-drag-past+dyn
s-ə́-xa-y+t’ I-it-drag-past+dyn

axə́ yax^{y}gə́lazg^{y}ə yəsəzmərc’əsə́yt’ !”

axə́ but
y-a-x^{y}-gə́+la-z-g^{y}ə
it-it-where-stand+in-pt-even
yə-sə-z-mə-r-c’əsə́-y+t’
it-I-able-not-cause-move-past+dyn

[107] “ḥayt’, warə́ apsxabə́ažˤ !”

ḥayt’ hah!
wa-rə́ you-pro.sfx
a-ps+xa-bə́ʕ-žˤ the-soul+head-rotten-bad

[108] “wəs špə́wx^{y}əy!” lḥˤan, ə́bɣ^{y}aaḥˤa dačaʒˤə́ dlə́ryˤəyt’,

wə+s=š-bá-w-xʸ-əy
that.3rd.dx-how-Q-you.masc-happen-Q
l-ḥˀa-n she-say-pro.tense
á-bɣʸaʕ+ḥˀa the-flash+adv(.sound)
dača-ʒˀə́ other-one.hum
d-lə́-r-ʕˀə-y+t' him-she-cause-run-past+dyn

áləypsəy rəbžʸára agára abra yəq'alárawp', ḥˀagʸə́ nayə́šʸtalḥˀayt'.

á-la-əy-ps-əy the-eye-and-soul-and
rə-bžʸá+ra their-between+abstr (= 'their middle')
a-gára the-cradle
abra here
yə-q'a-l+á-ra-a-wp'
it-preV-be.inside+to-if-must.be-stat.pres
(= 'it must appear here')
ḥˀa-gʸə́ say(ing)-and
ø-na-yə́-šʸta-l-ḥˀa-y+t'
it-thither-him-after-she-say-past+dyn

[109] wə́ygʸə agʸə́yləmšak'ˀa dxənḥˀə́yt'.

wə́-y-gʸə that.3rd.dx-sg-and
agʸə́-y-lə-m-ša-k'ˀa
anything-him-preV-not-be.possible-neg.past.pass.pt
d-xə+n-ḥˀə́-y+t' he-head+on.flat-turn-past+dyn (= 'he returned')

[110] "ḥayt', warə́ afəyˀq'áražˀ, ak'amərššə́ aypš wáḥa bayˀ wə́laʒaməy,

ḥayt' pooh!
wa-rə́ you.masc-pro.sfx
a-fəʕˀ+q'ára-žˀ the-odor+black(?)-bad (cf., Turkish /kara/ 'black')
a-k'amə+r+ššə́ the-dill+cause+vegetable.grease (= 'stinking snail')
[H. The snail is associated with the dill plant (Georgian /k'ama/), its trail of slime being likened to one of oil or grease.]
a-aypš its-like
wáḥa more
baʕˀ bone
ø-wə́-l-a-ø-ʒa-mə-y
it-you-inside-to-be-emph-not-Q

axˀəč'ʸə́ yəgára wəzə́šʸtəmxwa," lḥˀan satanáy gˀášʸa

a-xˀəč'ʸə́ the-little.one
yə-gára=wə-zə́-šʸtə-m-x-wa
his-cradle-you-for-up-not-lift-prog
[H., a negative consequential, 'you are a stinking snail for

failing to lift it']
l-ḥˀa-n she-say-pro.tense
satanáy Satanay
gˀášʸa Lady

lgˀaxə́ pəžˀžˀawá dačaʒˀə́ daayə́pxʸayt'.

l-gˀ+a+xə́ her-heart+its+head [H. 'the fiber(s)(?) of her heart']
ø-pə-žˀ+žˀa-wá it-sever-solit+split-prog
dača-ʒˀə́ other-one.hum
d-aʕ-yə́-pxʸa-y+t'
she-hither-him-summon-past+dyn

[111] axá wəbráy áamtazə ləšʸtaxʸq'a axˀəčˀʸə́ yəbžʸə́ wəbás yaagáyt':

axá but
wə-brə́-y that.3rd.dx-pro.sfx-sg
a-áʕmta-a-zə the-time-it-at
lə́-šʸta-a-xʸ-q'a her-track-its-behind-to (= 'behind her')
a-xˀəčˀʸə́ the-little.one
yə-bžʸə́ his-voice
wə-bá+s that.3rd.dx-how(?)+adv
y-aʕ-gá-y+t' it-ch.of.st(= suddenly)-sound-past+dyn

"san, bərq'ˀác' wərt, bərq'ˀác'!"

s-an my-mother
bə-r-q'ˀá-c' you.fem-them-leave.alone-hortative(?)
wərt
bərq'ˀác'

[112] "yərə́lšawam, yərəmabk'wázay!"

yə-rə́-l-ša-wa-m
it-them-preV-be.possible-prog-not
yə-rə-ma-b-k'-wá-za+y
it-their-belong(ings)(?)-you.fem-(take.)hold-prog-what+Q
(= 'what are you arguing with them about?', for /-ma-/ cf.,
/á-ma-ra/ the-have-inf))

[113] "sará scawáyt', agára sará yaazgawáyt',

sa-rá I-pro.sfx
s-ca-wáyt' I-go-pres
a-gára the-cradle
sa-rá I-pro.sfx
y-aʕ-s-ga-wáyt' it-hither-I-bring-pres

adˤə́ snə́kˤlar xˤəčʼʸə́kʼgʸə sšapʼə́ naycʼə́sxəpʼ!″

a-dˤə́ the-plane (= ‘the outside’)
s-nə́-kˤ-l+a-r I-on.flat-onto-be.in+to-if (= ‘if I go out onto it’)
xˤəčʼʸə́-kʼ-gʸə little-one-and (= ‘a little bit’)
s-šapʼə́=na-ay-cʼə́-s-xə-pʼ
my-leg-thither-recipr-reV-I-stretch-vol.fut

[114] satanáy gˤášʸa danáaxʸapš, ayˤnə́ aš° qʼʸaqʼʸazə́ yaartʼnə́ ašˤxə́ms sasrə́qʼˤa xˤəčʼʸə́

satanáy Satanay
gˤášʸa Lady
d-a+n-áʕ-xʸa-pš she-it+when-hither-preV-look
(= ‘when she looked behind her’)
a-ʕˤnə́ the-house
a-š° its-door
qʼʸaqʼʸa-zə́ flat-emph
y-aʕ-r-tʼ-nə́ it-ch.of.st-cause-open-past.pass.pt
a-š°+xə́+m+s the-door+head+not+pass.over (= ‘the threshold’)
sasrə́qʼˤa Sasruquo
xˤəčʼʸə́ little

dəkˤgə́lawpʼ, yəkʼábaykʼˤəmžˤə daylfačʼʸá daylaḥˤáwpʼ ;

də-kˤ-gə+́la-wpʼ
he-onto-stand+in-stat.pres
yə-kʼába-y-kʼˤəmžˤə
his-cherkesska-his-shirt
d-ay-l-fačʼʸá him-recipr-in(= on)-be.elegant(?) [H., a deverbal adverb]
[Clothing terms seem to have a frozen reciprocal prefix.]
d-ay-l-a-ḥˤá-wpʼ
him-recipr-inside-to-be.dressed-stat.pres

yaymsə́y yáymaay ayvcʼapáx yə́šʸawpʼ, yəbarfə́n xtarpá yə́žˤyˤa yəkˤəršˤə́wpʼ.

y-ay+msə́-y his-recipr+soft.leather.boots-and
y-áy+mʕa-y his=recipr+
ay+v+cʼapá+x recipr+close.beside+tight.fitting+adv (= ‘tightly fitting’)
yə́-šʸa-wpʼ they-be.on.leg-stat.pres (for /-šʸa-/ note Circassian /ƛa/ ‘leg’)
yə-barfə́n his-silken
xtarpá hat
yə́-žˤʕˤa his-shoulder
yə-kˤə-r+šˤə́-wpʼ
it-on.down-cause+rest\lie-stat.pres

[115] “ḥay, nan, nan, wəs ak’ə́ yakʷəwəmk’áayt’ !”

ḥay	hey!
nan	Mommy
nan	Mommy
wə+s	that.3rd.dx+adv
a-k’ə́	the-one.non.hum
y-a-kʷə-wə-m-k’-áʕ+yt’	it(dummy)-it-onto-you.masc[!]-not-(take.)hold-subjunc+past (= ‘you need not latch on to it’, i.e., “you need not conceive such a desire”)

[116] “nártaa yašʸá danráw agára rmáwəyt’,” ḥʷa xʸʒək’ ḥáwəmtan,

nárt-aʕ	Nart-race
y-ašʸá	its-brother
d-a+n-r-áw	him-it+when-they-find
a-gára=r-má-wəyt’	the-cradle-they-have-pres
ḥʷa	say(ing)
xʸʒə-k’=ḥ-á-wə-m-ta-n	name-one.non.hum (= ‘a reputation’)=us-to-you.masc-not-give-proh

“warά waagə́l, agára aazgáša dq’aláp’.”

wa-rά	you.masc-pro/sfx
w-aʕ-gə́+l	you-hither-stand+in (= ‘halt!’)
a-gára=ʕa-z-gá-ša	the-cradle=hither-who-bring-fut
d-q’a-l+á-p’	he-preV-be.inside+to-immed.fut (= ‘he will soon appear’)

[117] axά wəy ážʷa ḥʷanə́ dalgáanʒa, sasrə́qʷ’a ášta ayyʷə́yšaxʸan.

axά	but
wə-y	that.3rd.dx-sg
a-ážʷa	the-word
ø-ḥʷa-nə́	its-say-past.pass.pt
d-a-l-ga-áaʕ+n+ʒa	she-it-inside-reach-hither+on.flat+reach (= ‘before she finished’)
sasrə́qʷ’a	Sasruquo
á-šta	the-yard
ø-ay-ʕʷə́-y-ša-xʸa-n	it-recipr-two-he-divide-perf-pro.tense (= ‘he had split the yard in two’, i.e., “he had already crossed the yard quickly”))

[118] dcawan wəy dḥˀarsḥˀárswa, aḥask’ʸə́n yaċ’ˀára də́lməḥˀḥˀawa.

d-ca-wa-n he-go-prog-pro.tense
wə-y that.3rd.dx-sg
d-ḥˀars+ḥˀárs-wa
he-toddle+toddle-prog
a-ḥask’ʸə́n the-grass
[a-]yaċ’ˀa+́ra [its-}green+abstr (= “the green mass of the grass”)
də́-l-mə-ḥˀḥˀa-wa
he-inside-not-be.visible-prog

[119] satanáy gˀášʸagʸə yáarccak’nə dnayə́šʸtalayt’, wažˀə́mzarwažˀə́ yə́maxċˀə

satanáy Satanay
gˀášʸagʸə Lady
y-áʕ+r+ccak’+nə
it-ch.of.st(= suddenly)+cause+be.quick-adv
d-na-yə́-šʸta-l+a-y+t’
she-thither-him-after-be.in+to-past+dyn
(= “she set off after him”)
wažˀə́-m-za+r-wažˀə́
now-not-stat+if-now (= ‘now and again’)
yə́-ma+x[a]+ċˀə his-hand+head+skin (= “the skin of his hand\arm”)
[H. equivalent to Engish “the scruff of his neck”]

snamc’asnə daanəsk’ə́lap’ ” ḥˀa dəyə́šʸtan larə́.

s-na-a-m+c’a-s-nə
I-thither-it-front+under-hit-pro.tense
(= “I will come up under him\behind him”)
d-aʕ-nə-s-k’ə́+la-p’
him-ch.of.st-on.flat-I-hold+in-vol.fut
(= “I shall stop him in his tracks”)
ḥˀa say(ing)
də-yə́-šʸta-ø-n she-his-tracks-be-pro.tense
la-rə́ she-pro.sfx

[120] axə́ agʸalwə́ndazgʸə wəy dzəyxʸə́mʒayt’.

axə́ but
agʸa-l-wə́-nda+z-gʸə
anything-she-do-optative+what(?)-even
(= ‘do whatever she might nevertheless…’)
wə-y that.3rd.dx-sg
d-zə-y-xʸə́-m-ʒa-y+t’
she-able-him-at-not-reach-past+dyn

[121] wəs dayxʸəsaypə́swa dəšyə́šʸtaz, áxəɣˀḥˀa sasrə́qˀˀa yəgə́ra dnə́dgəltˀ.

wə+s	that.3rd.dx+adv
d-ay-xʸə-s=ay-pə́+s-wa	
	she-recipr-at-hit(= catch)=recipr-sever(= across)+hit-prog
	(= ‘thus she was overtaking him and cutting him off’)
də-š-yə́-šʸta-z	she-as-him-behind-pt (= ‘as she came up behind him’)
a-xəɣˀ+ḥˀa	the-sudden.unexpected+adv(.sound)
sasrə́qˀˀa	Sasruquo
yə-gə́ra	his-cradle
d-na-á-d-gə+l-tˀ	he-thither-it-against-stand+at-past

[122] nas áfərḥˀa yəgə́ra dyˀaxʸənpašálan, dəyˀxálan aššʸə́ḥˀa dnanyálaytˀ.

na+s	thus+adv
á-fər+ḥˀa	the-sudden+adv(.sound)
yə-gə́ra	his-cradle
d-ʕˀa-a-xʸə+n-paša+la-n	
	he-upwards-it-at+on.flat-lunge+at-pro.tense
də-ʕˀ-xá-l+a-n	he-upwards-top-inside+to-pro.tense
a-šʸšʸə́+ḥˀa	the-quiet+adv.sound
d-na-a-n-yá+la-y+tˀ	
	he-thither(= suddenly)-it-on.flat-lie.down+inside-past+dyn

[123] dšənanyálazċˀˀqʸa, agə́ra agˀədə́ḥˀa axála acˀəsrá yálagaytˀ.

d-šə-na-a-n-yá+la-z-ċˀˀqʸa	
	he-as-thither-it-on.flat-lie.down+inside-pt-just
a-gə́ra	the-cradle
a-gˀədə+ḥˀa	the-creak+adv.sound [H. sound made by a cradle]
a-xá-la	its-head-instr (= ‘on its own’)
a-cˀəs-rá	the-rock-inf
y-á-l-a-ga-y+tˀ	it(cradle)-it(rocking)-inside-to-enter-past+dyn

Translation

The Birth of the Valiant Sasruquo

When her month began to draw near, Lady Satanay busily prepared the clothing of her little son who was about to be born. She wove for him a cherkesska made of wool coming from a sheep on which there was not a single black hair. When she was weaving it, when she was noisily beating at the front of her loom, the Narts' castle used to shudder violently. That which was to be woven, she wove, washed it in the river, and pounded it to soften it. Five times she took it down to the shores of the Kuban to wash it. When she had laid the cherkesska material, washed and white as a flower, on the stony bank, the people would stand and stare at it, asking themselves "What is it?"

One day in the morning, when she had thus prepared the material from which the cherkesska, shirt, and hat would come, she set her hand to the task of cutting and sewing them. Lady Satanay, who had woven and sewn on a single day the clothes of her ninety-nine sons, would she really have spent so much time on the clothes of her baby? But, because the manner of the baby's birth was to be something wonderful, her thoughts were many. She was so heavily engrossed in her work she did not notice when mid-day approached. Having sewn her son's clothes she was sorting them out, one by one, and gaily singing over them. Without spending much further time on it, however, she elegantly sewed and hung up Sasruquo's suit of clothes.

Lady Satanaya did not deem as fitting for Sasruquo the cradle which she had used to rear her other sons. On the evening before Sasruquo's birth, quickly, with her best foot forward, Lady Satanay secretly went to Aynar the smith's.

"Smith Aynar, my good man, you know, and no one other than you knows, what I'm like. Give me the help of your strength. If I don't obtain a certain something, I'm lost!"

"What is the matter my dear Lady? How on earth can you speak with a sorrowing heart? Surely you of all the women on the earth have every reason to rejoice. If anything has upset you, the smith Aynar will not spare his arms. He'll not spare his hammer. If it is a question of his anvil, it stands ready. The flame of the hunting god shoots forth from his bellows. What desire have you conceived, my Lady? I am asking."

"I want a cradle by tomorrow. But that cradle must not be like any other cradle, just as he who is to lie in it is not like any other man. That cradle must be made of molten iron. It must rock to and fro on its own, but he who is lying in it must not hear its

sound."

"Fine, I shall then try to make a cradle which is like that," said Aynar the smith. "But what can I do? You have set the finish too utterly close. The making of such a cradle is not easy. That which is hardest is the melting of the iron. You cannot melt that iron with bellows and fire."

"Begin then! I'll see what you are able to do," said Lady Satanay turning away, but before she could take a step she spun around and said "Smith Aynar, what you just said to me pleased me, but I fear that you have forgotten something."

"No, your Lady, Aynar the smith does not so easily forget anything as a rule," he replied.

"So it may be, but why did you not ask about the length, width and height of the cradle which you are to make?" said Lady Satanay.

"Ah, my Lady Satanay," cried the smith, "the Narts' brother who is about to be born will not be like any other of the Narts. The manner of his birth will not be like that of anyone else. His manliness will not be like that of any other Nart. For those reasons the cradle must not be made like any other. Its length, width and height must also not be like those of any other cradle which man has yet seen. Since this is so, before he, the baby, is born why should we talk about what size his cradle will be? If anyone hears that we are talking about it, it will certainly make the people laugh at us, saying 'What's all this? Some people, before their brother has been born, are breaking in a foal for him which itself has not yet been born.' If you wish to place this matter in my hands, then leave it to me. You will then see what I am capable of," said Aynar the smith.

"Fine," replied Lady Satanay. "It is not that I have no faith in your golden hand. Not only I, but also the enemies of the Narts have already looked upon it with amazement. But, smith Aynar,. I wanted to say to you one other thing."

"Whenever has it happened, Lady Satanay, that I do not listen to what you say?"

"You are now setting to work with your smith craft to make my cradle. Night and day your forge will be aglow. The air issuing from your bellows will again and again wash over this meadow like a dry wind. The people will again and again hear the blows of your hammer like claps of thunder. 'What is it? Are we suffering a drought?' the people will ask one another. Under these circumstances, when my sons, the Narts come, having returned from their exploits, they will repeatedly ply you with questions, perhaps seizing you and even striking you, saying 'What is this, Aynar the smith, in which you are engaged?' Then what will you say to them? 'Your little brother, the one hundredth, is about to be born. I am making the cradle for him,' will you say this? In

that case, if they say to me 'Mother of ours, where did you bring the child from?' how shall I tell them? Let the child be born. Let them see the child. Until that time, I do not want to reveal one word about it."

"Ah, don't be afraid of anything, Lady Satanay. Aynar the smith, just as he knows the art of the smithy, knows also the way to keep a secret. I shall begin my smith's work, but there is not a man who will hear any noise from me. No dry wind will issue from my bellows. The sound of my hammer will not escape from the smithy. The steel will be as malleable as wax in my hand," said Aynar the smith.

Lady Satanay, having calmed her heart, set off back home.

Throughout that night, up until the coming of dawn, there was a great snowstorm. Hail fell upon the roofs with a constant drumming. The thunder and lightning had no respite. Yet all the people who lived in that Nart village were sleeping that night with tranquil hearts. But two people did not allow their eyes to close. They were Lady Satanay and smith Aynar. Lady Satanay was unable to sleep. Many were her thoughts. She was waiting and saying over and again to herself "When will the baby's soul enter into him?"

That woman had borne ninety-nine sons, but she had not known so much worry and anxiety. When they had been born, she had not worried so much for them, tremble so much for them. Had she been as she was now, she would never have sent them away to trusted friends for their upbringing either.* She bore her ninety-nine sons at home, but she took them all off to different places to be reared. Lady Satanay looked upon the baby who was to be born that night completely differently from the others. Even though he was not yet born, she loved him so much that far from sending him away anywhere, she could not bear the thought that some one might stretch out their hand and even touch him. As she lay at home that night, tormented and restless, Lady Satanay pondered what name she should give her little son. Who on earth knows how many names she mulled over, but at last she settled upon one. It was 'Sasruquo'.

As for Aynar the smith, throughout the night he was engaged in the art of being a smith, moving around his bellows and blazing forge, drawing out the hot iron on his anvil, making flames shoot forth from his hammer. He was fashioning the cradle for the babe who was about to be born.

When day began to dawn, the storm abated. Before the sun cast its first ray of light across the range of mountains the women in Lady Satanay's bedroom began to rush about, saying "The child has been born! The child has been born!" The women neighbors who had been outside rushed in. Lo, there was the child! But what good could they be when no hand could be stretched out to hold him? His body was red like

a fire brand. His skin and flesh were hotter than fire. The women tried this and that, but could not manage to pick him up. The women spoke among themselves and hit upon the idea of wetting the baby's throat. Quickly one woman offered the babe her breast, but she could not bear his heat and shrieking "I'm burned! I'm burned!" rushed out the door. They fetched another nurse, but the same thing happened to her too. So it went with a third, one and a fourth. This was a miracle. The women, not understanding what they were doing, gathered around the baby in a circle, and regarded the wonder of what they saw. He had to be left lying where he was, but he did not cry. He lay silently, as thought waiting for something.

When the babe was born that night, as the neighboring women stood about the room fussing, some people came and brought this news to Lady Satanay. "Nearby a mare has given birth to a foal, but it is unlike other foals. It neighs and its paws the earth wonderfully. It lets no one approach it, but has killed a few who have drawn near. We are frightened lest in inflict upon us a great defeat some day. Alas, what should we do, our Lady?"

"It is to be guarded. It is to be raised. It was born together with my son, who is like no other son. No other foal will ever be born like that one! Know that apart from that foal no other is worthy of my new son! Do not kill it, but keep guard over it instead!" So saying she sent them away.

Then Lady Satanay turned around, stood among the gathered women, and addressed them thus, "Let this child whose birth came about unlike that of any other have the name 'Sasruquo'! Why are you all standing around? Call the smith Aynar! Aynar the smith knows what he must do."

At once they sent some one to smith Aynar. Smith Aynar, as though he had been sitting at the ready, in a flash appeared standing at the door of the room where the baby had been born. Then he entered and peered at the baby.

"Narts! May God multiply your name!" So saying, he took out his tongs, opened them, gripped the babe between them and lifted him up. Then he rushed outside with the child and carried him thus back to his smithy. There, seething, the molten steel was glowing in its cauldron. There smith Aynar held out his tongs with the child in them and plunged the babe into the seething mass of steel. He had plunged the child into the cauldron in the morning and, lo, it was midday and the child was splashing about and frolicking in the glowing metal, as though swimming in warm water. Then Aynar the smith concluded "He's already had enough if he's ever going to have enough," and withdrew the child with his tongs. On both sides, at the tips of his shoulder blades, where the child had been held between the tongs, the skin remained untempered. Just

as Aynar the smith was lifting the babe out of the molten steel with his tongs baby Sasruquo suddenly called out "Mother! I'm hungry! Hungry!"

Smith Aynar quickly snatched up an iron bowl, dipped it into the molten steel, causing the surface to ripple, and brought it up to the baby's lips. The baby, as though he were ravenously hungry, began to swallow the molten steel, gulp after gulp. Smith Aynar drew up three bowls. Three bowls the baby drank. Then smith Aynar stooped down to the fire and scooped up a shovel full of burning embers. These he poured down the baby's throat. The baby ate them with a crunching and clunking noise. When he had thus finished drinking and eating the baby called out from with the smithy, "Mother! I'm tired! Tired!"

Lady Satanay, who up to that point had busied herself around the forge, clutched the child to her bosom and returned to her home. When she picked him up, she was astonished for up until that time he had been as red as fire, he had been hotter than fire, but now he was neither cold nor hot. He was the temperature of an ordinary person.

When she entered the bedroom with him he said "mother, where are you going to lay me down? I don't see my cradle."

"Even before you were born we had made your cradle. They will bring it this instant," said Lady Satanay. She took him and laid him on her bed. Then she hurriedly sent some one to Aynar the smith's to fetch the cradle.

But the man she had sent quickly returned, almost collapsing and with sweat pouring off him. "My Lady, Satanay, I pulled and pulled on the cradle, but I could not move it from the spot where it stood."

"Alas, you rotten soul! How could this happen to you thus?" and so saying she sent some one else and called after him "In the twinkling of an eye the cradle must be here!" But he too returned, having been unable to budge the cradle.

"Alas, you stinking soul, is there no more bone in you than in a snail that you can't lift the child's cradle? said Lady Satanay, and with her heart nearly bursting she summoned another.

But at that instant the child's voice was heard behind her , saying "Mother, leave them alone! Leave them alone! They cannot do it. What are you arguing with them about? I shall go. I shall bring the cradle. If I go out, I will stretch my legs a bit."

Then Lady Satanay looked and the child, Sasruquo had opened wide the door and was standing on the threshold, elegantly dressed in his cherkesska and shirt. he had on his tight, light boots, and his silken hat hung from his shoulder.

"O, my dear, my dear! Don't even think of such a thing! Don't give anyone the excuse to say to us 'When the Narts gained a brother, they didn't gain a cradle.' The

one who will fetch the cradle is sure to come soon.," but before she had finished saying this Sasruquo had already split the yard in two. He was making his way across with a baby's uncertain gait, not visible in the mass of green grass. Lady Satanay set off after him, thinking to herself "Now I'll grab him by the arm and stop him." But, do what she might she couldn't catch up with him. As she was about to come up to him and overtake him, Sasruquo drew up to his cradle and stopped, suddenly and unexpectedly. Then in a flash he lunged at his cradle, climbed up into it, and lay down quietly in it. As soon as he lay down in it, the cradle began to rock to and fro all on its own.

[From Inal-Ipa et al., 1962, Nart Sasruquo and his Ninety-Nine Brothers, saga 4, pp. 34-43, trans. B. George and Zaira Kh. Hewitt, 1981, ed. by JC.]

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Note:

* Because the verb /a-təy-rá/ 'to sell' is used for fosterage many of the neighbours of the Abkhaz slandered them by characterizing the custom of fosterage as the selling of children into slavery.

Bzyb Abkhaz

labial	p		b		p’		f		v			m				w
dental	t		d		t’							n				
(labialized)[pʿtʿ,…]	t˚		d˚		t’˚											
alveolar (laminal)	c		ʒ		c’		s		z					r		
(apical)	c̣		ʒ̣		c̣ ’		ṣ		ẓ							
(apical, labio-dentalized)	ċ˚	[ċʿ f]			ʒ̇˚	[ʒ̇ v]			ċ’˚	[ċ’ f]		ṡ˚	[ṡf]	ż˚	[ż v]	
lateral														l		
palato-alveolars	č y		ǯ y		č’y		š y		ǯ y							
(apical/retroflex)	č		ǯ		č’		š		ǯ							
(round)	-		-		-		š˚		ǯ˚							y˚
palatal	k y		g y		k’y		-		-							y
velar	k		g		k’		-		-							
(round)	k˚		g˚		k’˚		-		-							
uvular (“palatalized”)	-		-		q’y		x̌ y		ɣ y							
(plain)	-		-		q’		x̌		ɣ							
(round)	-		-		q’˚		x̌ ˚		ɣ˚							
(pharyngealized)	-		-		-		x̄		-							
(pharyngealized, round)	-		-		-		x̄˚		-							
pharyngeal (epiglottal)							ḥ		ʕ							
(round)							ḥ˚		-							

vowels ə a

stress (unpredictable)

Phonological comment:

The rounded voiced pharyngeal /ʕ˚/ appears in the surface in Abaza and sometimes in Abzhwi and Ashkharawa Abkhaz, alternating with a rounded-y̲, /ʕ˚/ vs /y˚/ (/ɥ/ or glided /ü/). In Bzyb, however, the latter allophone seems to have become the underlying form, since in some words rounding is lost through assimilation and the result is a simply /y/: general Abkhaz /á-żʕ˚an/ > Bzyb /á-ż˚y˚an/ > /á-ż˚yan/' the-sky, or /á-żʕ˚a/ > Bzyb /á-ż˚y˚a/ > /á-ż˚ya/ the-wing, paddle, shoulder blade'. Therefore, I have represented this sound as /y˚/ in the glosses.

Also /ʕ/ is realized as /ɦ/ (a low open glide).

The "dark" palato-alveolar series is frequently velarized in Bzyb rather than retroflexed.

Bzyb Abkhaz text

translated by John Colarusso
[stress is provisional]

[1] nártaa rə́ʒbaχ̄˚.

nárt-(r)aʕ	Nart-race
rə́-ʒbaχ̄˚	their-account

[2] nártaa bžy˚-áyšʸċ˚a yə́q'an, ráḫ˚šʸa g˚ə́nda ləx́ʸʒən, ráyċ'bʒa xməšʸ yə́xʸʒən,

nárt-(r)aʕ	Nart-race
bž-y˚-áy+(a)šʸ-ċ˚a	seven-hum(an).count(er)-recipr(ocal)+brother-hum.pl(ural)
yə́-q'a-n	they-exist-pro.tense(temporal sense determined by that of a dominant verb, usually final; it sometimes has a nuance of a preceeding action)* [/-q'a-/ also copula for hypothetical or irrealis conditions]
r-áḫ˚šʸa	their-sister (/ay+áḫ˚šʸa/ extended root recipr+sister) [for /ḫ˚/ note /pḫ˚ə́sʊ̈(s̈)ba/ 'woman', /áḫ˚sʊ̈(s̈)a/ 'women']
g˚ə́nda	Gunda
lə́-xʸʒə-n	her-name-pred(icative)
r-áy+ċ'-bʒa	their-recipr+young-superl(ative) [Abzh. /a-bʒə́c'ašʸa/]
xməšʸ	Khmish
yə́-xʸʒə-n	his-name-pred

dlə́šʸtan aċ'án raḫ yarčʸxʸáw yáḫ˚šʸa, aχ̄ dyəytwámzt' sasrə́q'˚a yədə́rwan,

d-lə́-šʸta-n	he-her-after-pred
aċ'án	Atsan [a race of little people, perhaps water sprites]
r-aḫ	their-prince
yarčʸxʸáw	Yarchkhyaw
y-áḫ˚šʸa	his-sister
a-χ̄	its-top (= "given these conditions, [but] then …")
d-yə-y-t-wá-m-z+t'	her-him-he-give-prog(ressive.aspect)-not-participle (= pt)+dyn(amic)
sasrə́q'˚a	Sasruquo
yə-də́r-wa-n	he-know-prog(ressive.aspect)-pred

aχ̄á yəčaláygalwamzt'.

aχ̄á	but
yə-č-a-l-á-y-ga-l-wa-m-z+t'	them-self-in-inside-to-he-enter-iter(ative)-prog-not-pt+dyn (= 'he was not usually going among them', i.e. "he did not intervene in this")

[3] znə xməšʸə́y yarčʸxʸawə́y šˀarа́ċara yа́yċċayt'.

z-nə	one-time
xməšʸ-ə́y	Khimish-and
yarčʸxʸaw-ə́y	Yarchkhyaw-and
šˀa+rа́-ċa+ra	hunt+inf(initve)-go+inf (= 'to go hunting')
y-а́y-ċ+ċa-y+t'	they-recipr-with+go-past+dyn(amic)

[4] áxrak' abənčа́kˀa yəżač'áz rbə́yt'.

áxra-k'	rock.face-one
a-bənčа́-kˀa	the-deer-pl(ural).non.hum
yə-ż-a-č'а́-z=r-ba-ə́y+t'	they-for-on-hang.down(= 'cling')-pt=they-see-past+dyn

[5] yarčʸxʸа́w daaráyxṡən ak'ə́ yəšʸə́yt'.

yarčʸxʸа́w	Yarchkhyaw
d-aʕ-r-а́y+xṡə-n	he-hither-them-recipr(?)(= among)+shoot-pro.tense (/a-xə́ṡ-ra/ the-shoot-inf)
a-k'ə́=yə-šʸə́-y+t'	the-one.non.hum-he-kill-past+dyn

[6] xməšʸ igˀə́ yálsən, uṡ yа́yḥˀt' yarčʸxʸа́w.

xməšʸ	Khmish
(ə)y-gˀə́	his-heart (perhaps cliticized to its preceeding governor)
y-álsə-n	it-take.offense-pro.tense [Abzh. /a-gˀáls-ra/ the-take.offense-inf]
w(ə)+ṡ=y-а́-y-ḥˀa-t'	that.3rd(.person).deixis(= dx)+adv-him-to-he-say-past (for /-t'/ 'past', note Abaza /-t'/ 'past')
yarčʸxʸа́w	Yarchkhyaw (postposed for emphasis)

[7] "warа́ ḥarа́ ńartaa ḥzа́ypšraz, wədə́rwan,

wa-rа́	you.masc(uline)-pro.suffix(= sfx)
ḥa-rа́	we-pro.sfx
nа́rt-(r)aʕ	Nart-race
ḥ-z-а́ypš-ra-z=wə-də́r-wa-n	we-whom-be.like-vol(itional).fut(ure)-pt=you.masc-know-prog-pro.tense (= "you knew how we imagined ourselves")

ḥapxʸ aʒˀə́ ak'ə́ żəq'а́ymc'wáz а́ylk'aanə wə́q'an, abrə́y sа́pxʸa yəxbа́wšʸwaz?"

ḥ-apxʸ	our-before (/a+p+xʸ/ its+nose\front+at)
a-ʒˀə́	the-one.hum
a-kʼə́=żə-qʼa-y-m-cʼ-wá-z	
	the-one.non.hum-able-preVerb-he-not-set-prog-(past.)participle(= pt)(for actions antedating main verb) [for /-qʼa-/, note Circ. /ʔa/‘ ‘hand’, ‘to set hand to’ = ‘to make, do’]
áy+lkʼ+aʕ-nə	recipr+find.out+active-adv(erb)
wə́-qʼa-n	you.masc-be.in.hand-adv (= “you realizing [this]”)
a-br-ə́y	this-1st.dx-singular(= sg)
s-ápxʸa	me-before (/á+p+xʸa/ its+front+location (= ‘at’ as an a-grade))
y-əx+bá-w-šʸ-wa-z	it-why+Q(uestion)-you.masc-kill-prog-pt

[8] “yəsżəmdə́rtʼ, warə́ arə́xʸ aə́ygˀa wə́qʼawpʼ ḥˀa sə́qʼamztʼ,

yə-s-żə-m-də́r-tʼ	it-I-for\able-not-know-past
wa-rə́	you.masc-pro.sfx
a-r-á-xʸ	this-1st.dx-its-at (= ‘here’) [Abzh. a-br-á-xʸ]
ʕá+y+gˀa	hither+come+still (= ‘until’)
wə́-qʼa-wpʼ	you.masc-be.hypoth(etical)-pres(sent).stat(ive)
ḥˀa	whether (literally ‘saying’)
sə́-qʼa-m-z+tʼ	I-be.in.hand-not-pt+dyn (= “I had not realized”)

aχ̄á waay ayˀə́zaχ̄ˀə wə́-s-ta-pʼ,” ḥˀa yayḥˀtʼ.

aχ̄á	but
w-ʕa-y	you.masc-hither-come
a-yˀə́za+χ̄ˀə=wə́-s-ta-pʼ	
	the-companion+portion=you-I-give-vol.fut (/a-yˀə́+za/ the-companion, cf., /a-wa+yˀə́/ the-that.3rd.dx+hum, “people”)
ḥˀa	saying
y-á-y-ḥˀa-tʼ	him-to-he-say-past

[9] “ḥaytʼ, warə́ yəwšʸə́z sarə́ ayˀə́zaχ̄ˀəs yəżbazgwə́,

ḥaytʼ	hey!
wa-rə́	you.masc-pro.sfx
yə-w-šʸə́-z	which-you.,masc-kill-pt
sa-rə́	I-pro.sfx
a-yˀə́za+χ̄ˀə-s	the-companion+portion-bit
yə-ż+bə́-s-ga-wa	it-able+Q-I-take-prog (= ‘I take it against my will’)

nártaa yərə́məwʒaċ sarə́ yəswə́rwama?” yə́ḥˀəytʼ.

nárt-(r)aʕ	Nart-race
yə-rə́-mə-w(a)-ʒa-ċ	it-they-not-do-emph(atic)-perf(ect)
sa-rá	me-pro.sfx
yə-s-wə́-r-wa-ma	it-me-you.masc-cause-do-Q(yes/no)
yə́-ḥ˚(a)-əy+t’	he-say-past

[10] “ḥay, ṡ˚ará nártaaž˚ g˚áy˚araa yəṡ˚át˚ṡ˚əmšʸaxwazəy,”

ḥay	hah!
ṡ˚a-rá	you.pl-pro.sfx
nárt-(r)aʕ-ž˚	Nart-race-bad
g˚áy˚a-raʕ	deep-race (= “a lazy lot”)
yə-ṡ˚-á-t˚-ṡ˚ə-m-šʸa-x-wa-zə+y	whom-you.pl-to-below-you.pl-not-evaluate\look.upon-again-prog-what+Q (= “Whom do you not once again hold in contempt?”)

anə́yḥ˚a yarčʸxʸáw, áfərḥ˚a xməšʸ dnayn, “ḥará ḥg˚áy˚azargʸə wəsərbáp’” yə́ḥ˚an.

ø-a+nə́-y-ḥ˚a	it-it+when-he-say
yarčʸxʸáw	Yarchkhyaw
á-fər+ḥ˚a	the-flash+adv
xməšʸ	Khmish
d-na-y-n	he-thither-go-pro.tense
ḥa-rá	we-pro.sfx
ḥ-g˚áy˚a-za+r-gʸə	we-deep-stat+if-and
wə-sə-r-bá-p’	you.masc-cause-see-immed(iate).fut
yə́-ḥ˚a-n	he-say-pro.tense

[11] yənaċ˚k’˚ə́s návc’arpanə aċ˚á laχ̄əyk’˚ə́ċ˚aan,

yə-naċ˚(a)+k’˚ə́s	its-toe+little [Abzh. /naċ˚(a)+kʸ’ə́s/]
n+á+v-c’arpa-nə	flat.on+to+close.by-grip\hook-adv
a-ċ˚á=l-a-χ̄ə-y-k’˚ə́ċ˚+ʕa-n	its-skin=inside-to-top-he-take.off+hither-pro.tense (= “he quickly, impetuously took it off”)

ášʸtaxʸt’˚əy yəlabášʸa yəχ̄ərkʸ’ákʸ’anə yəč’ə́neyxt’.

á-šʸta+xʸ+t’˚-əy	its-after+at+stuff-and (= ‘its hind quarters’)
yə-labášʸa	his-pike

yə-x̄ə-r-k'ʸá+k'ʸa-nə it-top-cause-hard+hard(= impale)-past.pass(ive).pt
yə-č'ə́-na-y-x-t' it(dummy)-from.under-he-go-again(= back)-past
(homonymous with the dynamic suffix, cf., Abaza /-t'/ past)
(= 'he started to go back')

[12] áš^{y}ta danə́ntala, sasrə́q'ºa asáwf daxəkºt'ºáz danə́napš^{y} dəybə́yt'.

a-́š^{y}ta its-track (= 'after')
d-a+nə́-n-t-a-l+a he-it+when-flat.on-within-to-(go.)inside+in
sasrə́q'ºa Sasruquo
a-sáwf the-balcony
d-a-x̄ə-kº-t'ºá-z he(S.)-it-atop-down.on-sit-pt [text has /-xə-/]
d-a+nə́-na-pš^{y} he(S.)-it+when-thither-look
də́-y-ba-ə́y+t' him(Kh.)-he(S.)-see-past+dyn

[13] "ḥay warə́ ánasəpda arə́y warə́ yəwməš^{y}ʒə́yt', warə́ yəwš^{y}ə́zar ax̄ə́

ḥay hey!
wa-rə́ you.masc-pro.sfx
á-nasəp-da the-luck-less
a-rə́-y this.1st.dx-pro.sfx-and
wa-rə́ you.masc-pro.sfx
yə-w-mə-š^{y}-ʒ(a)-ə́y+t' it-you.masc-not-kill-emph-past+dyn
wa-rə́ you.masc-pro.sfx
yə-w-š^{y}ə́-za+r it-you.masc-kill-stat+if
a-x̄ə́ the-head

áx̄ºda aawmgəwázəy, ḥará ayºə́zax̄ºə żaaḥəmgwáz wəżəmdə́rwazəy,

á-x̄ºda=ʕa-w-m-g(a)-wá-zə+y
the-neck=hither-you.masc-not-take-prog-what+Q
ḥa-rə́ we-pro.sfx
a-yºə́za+x̄ºə=ż-aʕ-ḥə-m-g(a)-wá-z=wə-żə-m-də́r-wa-zə+y
the-companion+portion=for-hither-we-not-take-prog-past.pt=you.masc-able-not-know-prog-what+Q

ḥcºa wərʒt',″ yə́ḥºəyt'.

ḥcºa=wə́-r-ʒ(a)-t' disgrace=you.masc-cause-arrive-past
yə́-ḥº(a)-əy+t' he-say-past

[14] "arə́y sarə́ yəsəmš^{y}ə́yt', yəzš^{y}ə́zg^{y}ə yarč^{y}x^{y}áw yawp',

a-rə́-y this-1st.dx-pro.sfx-sg
sa-rə́ I-pro.sfx

yə-sə-m-šʸ-ə́y+t’ it-I-not-kill-past+dyn
yə-z-šʸə́-z-gʸə it-who-kill-pt-and
yarčʸxʸáw Yarchkhjaw
y-a-wp’ it-must.be-stat.pres

s-ápxʸa yəżəwšʸə́zəy ḥˀa ányasḥˀa,

s-ápxʸa me-before
yə-żə-w-šʸə́-zə+y it-able-you.masc-kill-what+Q
ḥˀa saying
ø-á+n-y-a-s-ḥˀa it-it+when-him-to-I-say

x̄áala dəsmaċˀáżˀayt’, násgʸə nártaa agˀáyˀažˀkˀa sáḥšˀa dəżbáṡˀəstwa ḥˀa sayḥˀt’,″

x̄á-a+la head-it+by (= ‘straight off’)
də-s-ma-ċˀ-áżˀa-y+t’ he-me-at-detrimentive-word(.say)-past+dyn
nás-gʸə thus-and
nárt-(r)aʕ Nart-race
a-gˀáyˀa-žˀ-kˀa the-deep(= lazy)-bad-coll(ective)
s-áḥšˀa my-sister
də-ż+bá-ṡˀə-s-t(a)-wa
her-for+Q-you.pl-I-give-prog
(= ‘why should I be giving her to you?″)
ḥˀa saying
ø-s-á-y-ḥˀ(a)-t’ it-me-to-he-say-past

yə́ḥˀəyt’.

yə́-ḥˀ(a)-əy+t’ he-say-past

[15] sasrə́qˀˀa anə́y ányaḥa daagə́lwazma, yərášʸ akˀˀadə́r akˀc’ánə dċayt’.

sasrə́qˀˀa Sasruquo
a-nə́-y=á+n-y-aḥa this-2nd.dx-sg-it+when-him-be.audible
d-aʕ-gə́+l-wa-z-ma he-hither-stan+at-prog.past.pt-Q(yes/no)
yə-rášʸ his-steed (mythical, firey horse)
a-kˀˀadə́r its-saddle
a-kˀ-c’á-nə he-it-down.in-set-adv
d-ċa-y+t’ he-go-past+dyn

[16] yarčʸxʸáw sasrə́qˀˀa dzáypšʸraz yəmdə́rwazəy yə́yḥˀaz żəynamxwáz awəymdə́rxwaz,

yarčʸxʸáw Yarchkhyaw
sasrə́qˀˀa Sasruquo

d-z-ápš^{y}-ra-z=yə-m-də́r-wa-zə+y
he-what-be.like-gerund(?)-pt=he-not-know-prog-what+Q
yə́-y-ḥ^{ʷ}a-z=żə-y-na-m-x-wə́-z=awə-y-m-də́r-x-wa-z
what-he-say-pt=for-him(Y.)-he(S.)-not-take-prog-past.pt(= 'he would not forgive him what he said')=(narrator's.)incredul(ity)-he-not-know-again(=still)-prog-past.pt (= 'did he really not know that…')

yáḥ^{ʷ}š^{y}a "bčərx̄yanə́ bə́q'az" ḥ^{ʷ}a layḥ^{ʷ}t'.

y-áḥ^{ʷ}š^{y}a his-sister
b-čə-r-x̄ya-nə́ you.fem(inine)-self-cause-be.ready-adv
bə́-q'a-z you.fem-be.hypoth-pt
ḥ^{ʷ}a saying
ø-l-a-y-ḥ^{ʷ}-t' it-her-to-he-say-past

[17] sasrə́q'^{ʷ}a yərášʸ ákʸəš^{ʷ} apsə́p yətq'^{y}əwáz apšáypš yarč^{y}x^{y}áw yášta yaatáṡ^{ʷ}ṡ^{ʷ}əyt'.

sasrə́q'^{ʷ}a Sasruquo
yə-ráš^{y} his-steed
á-kʸəš^{ʷ} its-top
a-psə́p its-breath
yə-tq'^{y}(a)-wá-z its-shoot.out-prog-pt
a-pš-áypš the-wind-like
yarč^{y}x^{y}áw Yarchkhyaw
y-ášta his-yard
y-aʕ-t-á-ṡ^{ʷ}ṡ^{ʷ}-əy+t' it-ch(ange).of.st(ate)-within-to-whistle=past+fin

[18] yawəymdə́rxwaz sasrə́q'^{ʷ}a dżaawáz, agʷáš^{ʷ} áayart'ən dəyżə́pšnə dgə́lan.

y-awə-y-m-də́r-x-wa-z
it-incredul-he-not-know-still-prog-pt
sasrə́q'^{ʷ}a Sasruquo
d-ż-ʕa-wá-z he-for-(come.)hither-prog-pt
a-gʷáš^{ʷ}=ʕá-y-a-r-t'ə-n the-gate-ch.of.st-him-to(?)-cause-open-pro.tense
də-y-żə́-pš-nə he-him-for-look-adv
d-gə́+la-n he-stand+in-pro.tense

[19] dáatalt' ášta.

d-áʕ-t-a-l-t' he-hither-within-in-go.inside-past
á-šta the-yard

[20] "wáa bzə́yala wáabəyt'," yə́ḥ^{ʷ}əyt' yarč^{y}x^{y}áw.

wáʕ	wah!
bzə́y-a-la	good-its-instr
w-ʕa-(s-)b(a)-ə́y+t’	you.masc-hither-(I-)see-past+dyn
	(= ‘I look upon you with favor!’)
	[optional deletion of 1st or 2nd person in direct exchange]
yə́-ḥ˚(a)-əy+t’	he-say-past
yarč^{y}x^{y}áw	Yarchkhyaw

[21] “bzə́yala səwbá, ċ˚g^{y}a səmbá saayt’,” yə́ḥ˚an, dəžyášaz axán də́x˚nayt’ yəráš^{y}ala.

bzə́y-a-la	good-its-instr
sə-w-bá	me-you.masc-see
ċ˚g^{y}a	very(.much)
sə-(w-)m-bá	me-(you.masc-)not-see
	[optional deletion of 1st or 2nd person in direct exchange]
s-ʕa-y-t’	I-hither-come-past
yə́-ḥ˚a-n	he-say-pro.tense
də-ż-yáša-ø-z	he-for-straight-be-pt
a-xán	the-palace
də́-x˚na-y+t’	he-rise.up-past+dyn
yə-ráš^{y}-a-la	his-steed-its-instr

[22] “sabáwərt’˚wa warə́ ánasəpda yarč^{y}x^{y}áw?”

s-a+bá-wə-r-t’˚-wa	me-it+where-you-let-sit-prog
wa-rə́	yo-pro.sfx
á-nasəp-da	the-luck-less
yarč^{y}x^{y}áw	Yarchkhyaw

[23] “wəx̄áċ’k’ə sċayt’, yəwtax̄ə́zar arə́ wəsərt’˚áp’, ma aš^{y}aṡ˚ə́rc’a.”

wə-x̄áċ’-k’ə=s-ċa-y+t’	your.masc-masculinity-one=I-go-past+dyn
	(= ‘I defer to you’)
yə-w-tax̄ə́-za+r	it-you.masc-want-stat+if
a-rə́	this.1st.dx-pro.sfx
wə-sə-r-t’˚á-p’	you-I-let-sit-immed.fut [text has /-t˚a-/ for ‘sit’]
ma	or
a-š^{y}aṡ˚ə́rc’a	the-shade [Abzh. /a-š˚š^{y}ə́ra/]

[24] yáargt sk’amk’, dlək˚t’˚án dažə́š^{y}təmxt’, dačak’ə́ aargán wə́g^{y}ə dažə́š^{y}təmxt’,

y-áʕ-r-g(a)-t	it-hither-they-bring-past
sk’am-k’	bench-one.non.hum
d-lə-k˚-t’˚á-n	he-there-down.on-sit-pro.tense
d-a-żə́-š^{y}tə-m-x-t’	him-it-able-upward-not-lift-past
dača-k’ə́=ʕa-r-gá-n	other-one.non.hum-hither-they-bring-pro.tense

wə́-gʸə that.3rd.dx-and
d-a-żə́-šʸtə-m-x-t' him-it-able-upward-not-lift-past

dəryˤagʸə́x dačak'ə́, aχ̄á ak'ə́ dawə́šʸtnaxwaz.

də-r-yˤa-gʸə́-x him-they-(hold.)up-and-three
dača-k'ə́ other-one.non.hum
aχ̄á but
a-k'ə́ the-one.non.hum
d-awə́-šʸt-na-x-wa-z him-incredul-upwards-it-lift-prog-pt

[25] "sčə ləbaaganə ačχ̄ərpárta yəχ̄ə́rpa," yə́ḥˤəyt'.

s-čə=(śˤ-)ləbʕa+ga-nə my-horse=(you.pl-)release+enter(?)-adv
a-č-χ̄ərpə́-rta the-horse-tether-place
yə-(śˤ-)χ̄ə́rpa it-(you.pl-)tether
yə́-ḥˤ(a)-əy+t' he-say-past

[26] yarčʸxʸáw dnayn áɣˤra k'nə daáχ̄ayt', aχ̄á yawə́[i]żəżəryˤəxwaz,

yarčʸxʸáw Yarchkhyaw
d-na-y-n he-thither-go-pro.tense
á-ɣˤra=k'-nə the-bridle=seize-adv
d-ʕá-χ̄a-y+t' he-ch.of.st-pull-past+dyn
aχ̄á but
y-awə́-y-żə-żəryˤə-x-wa-z
it-incredul-he-able-extract.obedience-again-prog-pt

"čʸəw" íḥˤan sasrə́qˤ'a, ačə́yˤḥˤa yəlk'ápayt' yərášʸ.

čʸəw well
yə́-ḥˤa-n he-say-pro.tense
sasrə́qˤ'a Sasruquo
a-čə́+yˤ-ḥˤa the-horse+run(ner)-adv (= 'with all swiftness')
ø-yə-l-k'á+pa-y+t' he-it-there.from-up.on+jump-past+dyn
yə-rášʸ his-steed

[27] "warə́ xməšʸ yəżbáyəwḥˤaz?" [dċ'aayt' sasrə́qˤ'a].

wa-rə́ you.masc-pro.sfx
xməšʸ Khmish
yə-ż+bə́-yə-w-ḥˤa-z it-for+Q-him-you.masc-say-pt
d-ċ'ʕa-y+t' he-ask-past+dyn
sasrə́qˤ'a Sasruquo

[28] "yəżbáyasḥˤaz?

yə-ż+bá-y-a-s-ḥˀa-z it-for+Q-him-to-I-say-pt

[29] šˀaráċara ḥayċə́qˀan, yará dsəmbákˀˀa bəncˀák' səmχ̄ášʸt'; 'yəżəwšʸə́zəy' anə́yḥˀa,

šˀa+rá-ċa+ra	hunt+inf-go+inf
ḥ-ay-ċə́-qˀa-n	we-recipr-with-be(.hypoth)-pro.tense
ya-rá	him-pro.sfx
d-sə-m-bá-kˀˀa	him-I-not-see-at.all
bəncˀá-k'=s-əmχ̄á-šʸ-t'	deer-one=I-by.chance-kill-past
yə-żə-w-šʸə́-zə+y	it-for-you.masc-kill-what+Q
a+nə́-y-ḥˀa	it+when-he-say

'warά aaygˀά wə́qˀowp' ḥˀa sə́qˀamzt'' sḥˀəyt',

wa-rά	you.masc-pro.sfx
ʕa+y+gˀά	hither+come+still (= 'nearby')
wə́-qˀa-wp'	you-be.hypoth-stat.pres
ḥˀa	whether
sə́-qˀa-m-z+t''=s-ḥˀ(a)-əy+t'	I-be.in.hand(= 'realize')-not-pt+dyn=I-say-past

nas yənaċˀkˀʸə́s alά aċˀά aaχ̄əyxə́n ábža yəgə́yt'.

nas	thus
yə-naċˀ(a)+kˀˀə́s	its-toe+little
a-lά	the-dog
aċˀά=ʕa-χ̄ə-y-xə́-n	its-skin=ch.of.st-top-he-take-pro.tense (= "he quickly, impetuously took it off")
á-bža=yə-g(a)-ə́y+t'	the-half-he-take-past+dyn

[30] "agʸə́y yə́wḥˀaz arbán?"

a-gʸə́-y	it-and-even
yə́-w-ḥˀa-z	him-you.masc-say-pt
arbán	again

[31] "nártaa agˀáyˀažˀkˀa səmχ̄áḥˀt', aχ̄á áżˀa də́wk'nə yəsə́mḥˀəyt',

nárt-(r)aʕ	Nart-race
a-gˀáyˀa-žˀ-kˀa	the-deep-bad-coll
sə-mχ̄á-ḥˀ(a)-t'	I-inadvertantly-say-past
aχ̄á	but
a-áżˀa	the-word

də́wk'-nə	not.much-adv
yə-sə́-m-ḥˤ(a)-əy+t'	it-I-not-say-past

yəsč'aṡˤášˤa yə́sḥˤəyt'."

yə-s-č'a-ṡˤá-šˤa	it-me-from.out.of-escape-as.if
yə́-s-ḥˤ(a)-əy+t'	it-I-say-past

[32] "wáys aráxʸ " yə́ḥˤan sasrə́q'ˤa yarčʸxʸáw dbaandayˤəyt'ˤə́yt',

w-á-y(a)-s	you-it-along-cross.over
a-r-á-xʸ	this-1st.dx-its-at (= 'here')
yə́-ḥˤa-n	he-say-pro.tense
sasrə́q'ˤa	Sasruquo
yarčʸxʸáw	Yarchkhyaw
d-bʕanda+yˤə-y-t'ˤ-ə́y+t'	him-prisoner+human-he-take.possession-past+dyn

yará sasrə́q'ˤa yəq'nə́ wayˤə́ awəyəżč'ətəxwaz.

ya-rá	he-pro.sfx
sasrə́q'ˤa	Sasruquo
yə-q'nə́	him-back.to
wa+yˤə́=awə́-yə-ż-č'ətə-x-wa-z	person+human=incredul-him-for-say-again-prog-pt

[33] yarčʸxʸáw yáḥˤšʸa lżə́ "bnay" yə́ḥˤan, dəyˤčə́żˤc'anə dəygə́yt'.

yarčʸxʸáw	Yarchkhyaw
y-áḥˤšʸa	his-sister
l-żə́	her-as.goal
b-na-y	you.fem-thither-go
yə́-ḥˤa-n	he-say-pro.tense
də-yˤ-čə́-żˤ-c'a-nə	her-up-horse-quickly.upon-set-past.pass.pt [stress?] (/-żˤ-/ used in verbs of attacking to govern indirect object)
də-y-g(a)-ə́y+t'	her-he-take-past+dyn

[34] abáṡ yə́wəyt' sasrə́q'ˤa.

abá+ṡ=yə́-w-əy+t'	this+adv=he-do-past+dyn
sasrə́q'ˤa	Sasruquo

Translation

An Account of the Narts

Among the Narts were seven brothers. Their sister was by name Gunda. Their youngest was by name Khmish. While he sought the sister of Yarchkhyaw, Lord of the Atsan,* he, alas, would not give her to him. Sasruquo knew of this, but he did not meddle in their affairs.

Once Khmish and Yarchkhyaw set off together on a hunt. They spotted some deer clinging to a craggy slope. Yarchkhyaw shot at them and killed one. Khmish took offence and spoke to Yarchkhyaw thus:

"You know how we Narts regard ourselves, that before us no one did anything. Why did you kill it before me?"

"I did not know that. I had not realized that you were. But, come here! I offer the companion's share to you," he said.

"Hey! Should I take against my will the bit of companion's share of that which you killed?! Are you forcing me to do what no Nart has done?" he said.

"Hah! You wicked Narts are a low-down race! Whom do you not once again hold in contempt?"

When Yarchkhyaw said this Khmish drew up to him in a flash and said "I shall show you if we are lazy!" and he grabbed a fetlock of the deer in a tight grip, impetuously flayed the carcass to the head and stuck the hindquarters on the point of his pike. Then he set off back.

Later when he entered the compound, Sasruquo, who was sitting atop the balcony, looked and saw him.

"Hey, you luckless one! Surely you did not kill this. If you had killed it, would you not have brought the head and neck? Why don't you know that we do not settle for bringing the companion's share? You have brought disgrace!" he said.

"I did not kill this. The one who killed it is Yarchkhyaw. When I said to him 'Why did you kill this before me?' right off he did not say good words to me, but instead said to me thus 'Why is it that I should give my sister to the lazy Narts?'" Khmish said.

Would Sasruquo stand about when he heard this? He climbed into the saddle of his fiery steed and set off. Did Yarchkhyaw not know what Sasruquo was like? Could he not have known that he would not forgive him what he had said to Khmish?! He said to his sister "You should be ready."

The breath shooting out from the the top of Sasruquo's steed began to blow like the wind into his yard. Could he not have known why Sasruquo was coming? He opened the gate and stood waiting for him. Sasruquo entered the yard.

"Wah! I look upon you with favor!" said Yarchkhyaw.

"Whether you regard me with favor or you do not regard me with much, I have come!" he said and he road his steed straight up to the palace.

"Where would you seat me, luckless Yarchkhyaw?"

"I defer to your valour. If you wish, I can seat you here, or in the shade.

They brought a bench, but as he sat down it could not support him. They brought another one, but that one could not support him either. A third was brought, but how could that one hold him?!

"Release my horse and tether it to the hitching post," he said.

Yarchkhyaw drew up to it, seized the bridle and pulled, but how could he make the horse obey?! "Well!" said Sasruquo, and then he jumped back up onto his steed in one smooth. powerful bound as though he himself were a race horse.

"What did you say to Khmish?" asked Sasruquo.

"What did I say? We were together, hunting. I did not see him and inadvertently I killed a deer. When he said 'Why did you kill it?' I said 'I had not realized that you were nearby.' Thus, from its fetlock to its head the dog flayed it and took half."

"Then what did you say?"

"I blurted out 'the Narts are a lazy bunch', but I did not mean much by the phrase. It escaped from me."

"Cross over to here!" said Sasruquo, and he took Yarchkhyaw prisoner. What person could possibly talk back to him, Sasruquo?!

Setting his sights upon Yarchkhyaw's sister he said "Come here!" Swiftly seating her upon his horse, he carried her off.

In this way behaved Sasruquo.

[Told in 1928 by Bartsets Shulayman, 52 years old, of Barmesh to A. N. Genko and published by Khukhut Suleymanovich Bghazhwba [Bgazhba] (1964) Bzybskij dialekt abxazskogo jazyka, Tbilisi: Georgian Academy of Sciences Publisher, pp. 379-380.]

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Note:

*A race of magical dwarves, sometimes represented as dwelling beneath the earth.

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Appendix

Orthographies and Original Texts

for

Kabardian East Circassian

Bzhedukh West Circassian

Abaza

Abzhwi Abkhaz

Bzyb Abkhaz