

Appendix A.

Kabardian (East Circassian)Phonemic inventory

labial	p	b	p'	f	v	f'	m	w
dental	t	d	t'				n	
alveolar	c	ʒ	c'	s	z			r
lateral				ʎ	λ	ʎ'		
alveolo-palatal				ś	ź	ś'		
palato-alveolar (laminal)					š	ž		
palatal	k ^y	g ^y	k ^{'y}	χ	ġ			y
velar (rounded)	k ^o	g ^o	k ^{'o}	χ ^o	-			
uvular	q	-	q'	χ̣	ʁ			
(rounded)	q ^o	-	q ^{'o}	χ̣ ^o	ʁ ^o			
pharyngeal (epiglottal)				ħ	ʕ			
laryngeal			ʔ	h				
rounded			ʔ ^o					
vowels	ə	a						

Remarks

• On the vertical vowel systems of the two Circassian languages The two vowels consist of an unspecified sonorant transition /ə/, which is simply the manifestation of the V slot of the word skeleton (the abstract shape of the word), and an open, central to front variant /a/. This choice of notation goes back to Kuipers (1960) and was introduced by Vogt (1963) for Ubykh. In root 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 (the “rest position” of phonetics). A third vowel /a/ occurs in the surface, where it spills over into a syllable 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. The vowel system in Circassian languages and in Ubykh therefore has three degrees of openness, a neutral (/ə/), an open (/a/), and a low open (back) (/ɑ/). One may also represent these vowels as /ə, e, a/ (following Cyrillic /ы, э, а/) but this also obscures the origin of (most of) the /a/s. Most often this vowel has a derived source.

The third vowel /a/ can come from the sequence /aa/ (itself arising in a skeleton with [CaCa] wherein the second /a/ (often glossed as ‘connective’) is “back licensed” to yield [CaaCa]). It reduces to /a/ when unstressed. Other instances of /a/ never reduce. Some of these are “frozen” cases of earlier /aa/, as with /psáʎa/ ‘word,’ and /psaʎá-a-ʎ-a/ ([psaʎáʎε]) word-connective-lie-in, ‘dictionary’, where one expects */psaʎáʎa/. Alternatively, these /a/s can come from /ah/ (itself usually from /ha/ by a metathesis rule [switching of order]). It is found in a few roots (mostly borrowings, wherein some might wish to posit an underlying /a/) and in verbal prefixes, where it indicates a plural third-person index (/y-ha-). Vowels with these sources, seen in the prefixes of verbal inflection, are stable even when unstressed. In addition, the question suffix /-á/ attracts stress (which falls before the last consonant of the word in verbs [nonmetrical] and before the last consonant of the stem in nouns [metrical]), giving proof of its consonantlike coda-reaching character: /-ah/. The plural suffix /-ha/ gives /-x̣a/ in Bzhedukh West Circassian and /-ha/ or /-fia/ in Kabardian, especially as spoken in the diaspora.

Much debate has centered around whether the neutral vowel is predictable. The vowel /ə/ is not predictable simply because 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 /a/, as occurs in the third-person plural subject index of present verbs:

/-y-ha-a-/ → [ya]. Kabardian is unique in that it derives some instances of stable /a/ from the sonorization of /ɣ/ of the past tense: /-ɣa-/ → /-aɣ-/ → /-a-/.

Finally, one may note that in Kabardian some words are exceptions to the “back licensing” of /a/, for example, /adəɣá-bza/ ‘Circassian-tongue’ (contrast West Circassian /adəɣá-a-bza/). Conversely, loan words, such as /baš/ ‘gourd’ (Turkish) or /nart/ (Iranian) show exceptional /a/s. In Kabardian, however, all words beginning with the glottal stop /ʔ/ (a mere check made in the larynx, as in English “uh-oh”), are exceptions to back licensing of /a/, for example, /ʔáša/ ‘tool, weapon’ (contrast some West Circassian dialects with /ʔáaša/). This suggests that Kabardian has added a rule whereby a syllable can have no more than two [+low] or [+open] segments in it. Since /ʔ/ is [+low] ([+open]), this means that /a/ must be [+low] ([+open]) and that /a/ must be twice [+low], that is /a/ is underlyingly /aa/, which would be [+low][+low]. The same rule applies to the pharyngeal /ħ/ (actually an “adytal” made at the epiglottis-adytus juncture at the top of the larynx and hence [+constricted tongue root, +low]), but not to the rounded glottal stop /ʔ°/ (Bagov 1999).

- Vowel systems of the other languages It is noteworthy that Ubykh follows Circassian in the behavior and realization of its vowels, but Abaza and Abkhaz are somewhat different. In these last two closely related languages the neutral vowel is again a mere sonorant transition between consonants, but the open vowel is more central to back. It is noteworthy that these languages lack the /a/ seen in Circassian and Ubykh, and it is precisely these languages that have a rule simplifying sequences of /a-a/, as with the Abkhaz /a-áž°a/ → /áž°a/ ‘the-word’, “(a/the) word,” or /a-aħ/ → /aħ/ ‘the-prince’, “(a/the) prince.” Instances of orthographic “aa” in Abkhaz represent /ʂa/ or /aʃ/, realized for most speakers as [fia] or [aʃi], respectively (Nachq’yerbia-Ipa 1988).

- On stress Stress is predictable in the Circassian languages. It is “percussive,” or emphatic. Nouns have metrically assigned stress (alternating syllables), with the strongest stress before the last consonant of the stem, with affixes being ignored. Verbs

have non-metrically assigned stress, with a heavy stress on the vowel before the last consonant of the root. This can then be followed by a staccato string of such strong stresses if the root is suffixed. This unusual effect is prominent in Bzhedukh, but weaker in Kabardian. Kabardian verbs, especially in the old text here, even show some evidence for metrical stress assignment, with secondary stresses in the preceding portion of the verb just as in a noun. Because stress assignment is complex I have chosen to represent stress in the Kabardian analyzed forms and in the Bzhedukh West Circassian surface forms as an aid to anyone studying these texts.

- On syntax and verbal inflection In this and the following appendices one will find five basic types of sentence pattern and verb agreement or concord. The Circassian languages and Ubykh show the exact patterns set forth in (1) - (5). Abkhaz and Abaza show the same patterns of verbal agreement, but their nouns lack case markings.

The simplest concord is that of the intransitive. If S is a sentential subject and s- its “index” on the verb, then the pattern in Circassian and Ubykh is that in (1) (for example see lines 8 or.54).

(1) Intransitive concord: S-abs s-Verb

Most intransitives are modified by an indirect object, IO, which has a geometric or adverbial sense (for example, see lines 4, 6, 24, or 36). Many of these forms have a transitive equivalent in English, but in these languages they seem to constitute “indirect transitives” with a weak transitive force. The concord is shown in (2).

(2) Intransitive with indirect object: S-abs IO-obl s-io-Verb

Transitive concord occurs only when the action of the verb is fulfilled in some way upon the direct object, DO. Transitive concord is called in linguistics ergative, because

the subject is in the oblique case. The pattern, (3), appears to be the opposite of that in (2). For example, see lines 26, 32, 35, or 36.

(3) Transitives showing ergative concord: S-obl DO-abs do-s-Verb

Transitive reciprocals show the indirect transitive concord of in (2), as in line 52, while reflexives, as in 45, do not change. (The reciprocal verb in line 9 would be a clear example except that it belongs to concord type (2) even with ordinary nouns.)

Ergatives come in three-place forms, such as with “to give,” or “to demand something of some one,” “to invite some one to something,” and show the concord in (4). For example, see lines 1, or 97, or line 86 of Appendix B.

(4) Three-place ergatives: S-obl IO-obl DO-abs do-io-s-Verb

A few odd transitives seem to show the logical subject in an indirect object position within the verb, such as with “to have,” or “to be unable to do something,” with the subject index followed by a special affix. These verbs show a concord as in (5). For example, see lines 10 - 19, or lines 93 and 94.

(5) Odd transitives: S-obl DO-abs do-s-affix-Verb

These basic patterns serve as the foundations for causatives, as in line 34, benefactives, as in line 32, detrimentives, as in line 63, and numerous geometric and adverbial prefixes and suffixes. The resulting verb is a linguistic wonder of expressive power and flexibility.

Phonemicized and Glossed Text

The Ballad Of Soseruquo

(saga 23, part 1)

in Old Kabardian

From Hadaghatl'a, vol. 2: 106-17.

Translated and analyzed by John Colarusso

With notes by Asker Hadaghatl'a

1. sosərəq'o i pšənaλem i q'edzəγwit'

1864-rε iλecəm q'əxawtəγ q'arbadəy tekst [1]

sawsərəq'°a	Soseruquo (I render here into English the Kabardian pronunciation)
yə-pšənáaλa-m	poss-pshinatla-obl, "ballad," (/pšəna-a-λ+a/ pshina-conn-lie+in, the <u>pshina</u> was an old violin-like instrument)
yə-q'a-y-zə-γ°-əy-t'	poss-ch.of.st-3-cut-character-pl.conn-two, "two fragments" (I give the first here.)
1864-ra	date-inst
yə-λácə-m	gen-year-obl (modern /λas/ "year")
ø-q'ə-ø-xa-y-ha-wə+tə-γ(a)-a	3(saga)-hor-3(year)-in-3-pl-val+give-past-adjoined.adj (adjoined to the seventh word)
q'arbadáy	Kabardian
tekst	text (Russian loan word)

2. armə sosərəq'oapc'ε,

ármə	Armi (filler word)
sawsərəq'°a	Soseruquo
á-p'c'a	the-dark

3. armε λ'əf'əc'ε γus'əne,

árma	Arma
λ'ə-f'əc'a	man-black
γ°əs'ə-na	iron-eye(d)

4. mada eməne šəw

má+da	this.near.speaker+other
ø-yə-má-n+a	who-in-not-remain, stay+in
šá+wə	horse+man

5. nart šəwχer šəšesmə,

nart Nart

šá+w-ha-r	horse+man-pl-abs
ø-šə-š+á+s-m-a	they-there-horse+on-sit-obl-pl

6. sosəraq'o q'ak'ərxuś;

sawsəraq'a Soseruquo

ø-q'-à h- k'y-a-rə-χ'ə-ś ← ø-q'-y-ha-k'y-a-rə-χ'ə-ś

3-ch.of.st-3-pl-behind-inst-fall-aff (historical present; The verbs in this text by and large show limited tense marks. The use of the affirmative suffix /-ś(a)/ here would be confined in the modern language to present stative verbs, or to future and past tense forms of all verbs.)

7. žesibλ maχwibl waemi nzaris'ek's,

ž'as-əy-bλ night-pl.conn-seven

maaχ'(a)-əy-bλ day-pl.conn-seven

wa+a+ya-m-əy sky+conn+bad-obl-and

ø-n-za-a-r-əy-ś'á+ k'y-ś ← ø-n-za-a-rə-yə-ś'+a+k'y-ś

3-thither-refl(?)-dat-inst-dir-down+to+exit-aff, "it stormed"

8. nartəžχeri byap'əs'əs;

nart-ə-ž-ha-r-əy Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs-and

ø-by-a-a-p'əs'a-ś 3.pl-stong.action-conn-freeze-aff (for /-by-a-a-/ compare modern /-byada-/ prefix denoting strong or effective action; This text shows

no plural suffixes on the verbs.)

9. wε ezəʒeri nzewpś'əžś:

wa there

yázə-ha-r-əy recip-pl-abs-and

∅-n-za-wəp's'ə-ž-ś 3.pl-thither- recip-ask- recip-aff

10. “wε, iməs, maf'ε wiʔε;

wa you

yəməs Yimis

máaf'a fire

∅-w-əy-ʔa ← ∅-w-yə-ʔa

3-you-poss-have (absence of affirmative mood /-ś/ implies a query)

11. wε, sosəm, maf'ε wiʔε;

wa you

sawsəm Sosem

máaf'a fire

∅-w-yə-ʔa 3-you-poss-have

12. zəndu zak'ε, maf'ε wiʔε;

zəndəw Zhyandew

zá+a+k'ya chin+conn+tail, “beard(ed)”

máaf'a fire

∅-w-yə-ʔa 3-you-poss-have

13. araq'šew, maf'ε wiʔε;

arahq'š'áw Araqshaw

máaf'a fire

∅-w-yə-ʔa 3-you-poss-have

14. ozərməs, maf'ε wiʔε;

wazərmás	Wazermes
máaf'a	fire
ø-w-yə-ʔa	3-you-poss-have

15. nəsrən zək'ε, maf'ε wiʔε

nasrán	Nasran
zá+a+k'yá	chin+conn+tail
máaf'a	fire
ø-w-yə-ʔa	3-you-poss-have

16. ašem i qo ašeməz, maf'ε wiʔε;

áš'yá-m	Asha-obl
ø-yə	3-poss
q'a	son
aš'yá+máz	Asha+forest(?) ("Ashamaz")
máaf'a	fire
ø-w-yə-ʔa	3-you-poss-have

17. xəməš i qo batərez, maf'ε wiʔε;

xəməš'y	Khimish
ø-yə	3-poss
q'a	son
batəráz	Bateraz
máaf'a	fire
ø-w-yə-ʔa	3-you-poss-have

18. səbəlši, maf'ε wiʔε;

səbəlš'y	Sebelshi
máaf'a	fire
ø-w-yə-ʔa	3-you-poss-have

19. αλβεκ ι qo totərəš, maf'ε wiʔε;

albák ^y	Albek
ø-yə	3-poss
q'°a	son
tawtəráš	Toterash
máaf'a	fire
ø-w-yə-ʔa	3-you-poss-have

20. nartə dzεgo eʒam

nárt-ə-ʒá+g°a	Nart-ep.v.-army+configuration, "troop"
ø-y-a-ʒ-áh-m ← ø-y-a-ʒ-γα-m	which-dir-dat-go-past-obl

21. maf'ε ziʔa q'aʔek'q'εm;

máaf'a	fire
ø-z-əy-ʔa	3-who-poss-have
ø-q'-ah-ʔa-y-k ^{'y} -q'ám ← ø-q'-y-ha-ʔa-y-k ^{'y} -q'am	3-hor-3-pl-among-dir-exit-not, (modern negative is /-q'əm/)

22. anem ι q'wit'ri [2] t̥awsəʔas :

á-na-m	int-mother-obl
ø-yə	3-poss
q'°(a)-əy-t'-r-əy	son-pl.conn-two-abs-and
ø-t̥a-a-w(ə)sə-ʔ-áh-ś ← ø-t̥a-a-wəsə-ʔ-γα-ś	3.pl-God-dat-pray-already-past-aff
	(The plural verb normally expected here would have been /ø-t̥a-a-wəsə-ʔ-γα-ha-ś/, probably written t̥awsəʔas, except that verbs have no plural suffixes in this text; see remark on line 8.)

23. "de dəmə deyλetemə

da we
 dǎ-mǎ-daylá-ø-ta-ma we-not-(suffer.)evil-be-dur-if

24. sosǎrǎq'o zǎemǎtmǎ
 sawsǎrǎq'°a Sosereuquo
 ø-z-ǎa-mǎ-t-ma 3-when-among-not-stand-adv

25. dǎri dq'adeyžentǎq'em, "
 da-r-ǎy we-abs-and
 d-q'a-d-a-y-ž+a-n-ta-q'ám ← d-q'a-d-y-a-ž+a-n-ta-q'am
 we-hor-out-dir-dat-go+into-fut-irreal-not,
 "we must not go farther"

26. ar žažǎrǎ zǎdǎpǎtǎgo,
 a-r 3-abs
 ø-ž-ǎh-žǎ-ra ← ø-ž-y-ha-žǎ-ra
 3(it)-back-3-pl-say-pres.part
 ø-za-dǎ-pǎt-g'ǎ 3.pl- recip-with-argue-still, as, adv

27. sosǎrǎq'o q'asaś :
 sawsǎrǎq'°a Soseruquo
 ø-q'a-a-s-ǎh-ś ← ø-q'a-a-s-ǎa-ś
 3-hor-dat-reach-past-aff

28. "mǎri di dǎśǎ ž'ǎuž,
 mǎ -r-ǎy this.near.speaker-abs-and
 d-ǎy ← d-yǎ we-poss, "our"
 dǎśǎ gold(en)
 ž'-a-wǎž(ǎ) man-conn-trace ("our golden male lineage")

29. armə di λ'eužəf',

ármə Armi!

d-əy ← d-yə we-poss

λ'-a-wəžə-f' man-conn-trace-good

30. maf'ε śha dzεteuλ'ε,"

máaf'a fire

śha(-a) head(-emph), "starting from (this), because of (this)"

d-za-t-a-y-wə+λ'a ← d-za-t-y-a-wə+λ'a

we-wholly-surface-flat.area-dat-val+die

31. " ay hay, se siʔε," žiʔeri

ay Ay!

hay Hay!

sa I

ø-s-əy-ʔa 3-me-poss-have

ø-ž-əy-ʔa-r-əy ← ø-ž-yə-ʔa-r-əy

3-back-3- say-pro.tns-and

(/-r-/ may also be an old present active suffix, revealed only in

suffixed verbs which lacks the present continuous prefixes /-a-w-/.)

32. maf'εr ingo q'aχwiś'ś;

máaf'a-r fire-ans

yón-g'a big-configuration

ø-q'-ah-χ°-əy-ś'ś ← ø-q'-y-ha-χ°-yə-ś'-ś

3-hor-3-pl-for-3-make-aff

33. dze psowri śəzεdeyk'om,

zà -psaw-r-əy army-all-abs-and

ø-śə -za-d-y-á-k'°+a-m 3-there-when-out-dir-dat-come+intr-adv

34. sosəɾəq'wi q'aɣɛgubz's.

sawsəɾəq'(a)-əy Soseruquo

ø-q'-ah-ɣa-g'ə+bz'-s ← ø-q'(a)-y-ha-ɣa-g'ə+bz'-s

3-ch.of.st-3-pl-cause-heart+melt-aff, "they infuriated him"

35. maf'ɛr zɛxɪdzri,

máaf'a-r fire-abs

ø-za-x-yə-ɜ-r-əy 3-wholly-among-3-throw.out-pro.tns-and

36. psəm xɪdzež's;

psə-m water, river-obl

ø-ø-x-yə-ɜ-r-á-ž'-s 3(fire)-3(water)-into-3(S.)-throw+in-finally-aff

37. wɛ nɛrtəžxɛr maf'ɛnʂɛgo q'əsənɛm:

wa those

nart-ə-ž-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs

maaf'a-nš'á-g'a fire-without-still

ø-q'ə-śə-n+a-m 3.pl-hor-there-remain+in-adv

38. "armə di sosəɾəq'o,

ármə Armi

d-yə we-poss

sawsəɾəq'a Soseruquo

39. mədə di dəsɛ λ'ɛwz,

mə+da this.near.speaker+other

d-yə we-poss

dásá gold(en)

λ'-a-wəž'(ə) man-conn-trace

40. arme di λ'ewzəf',

árma Arma

d-yə we-poss

λ'-a-wəzəf' man-conn-trace-good

41. maf'ε wiʔem, q'ədχos', "ziʔeri

máaf'a fire

ø-w-əy-ʔa-m 3-you-poss-have-adv

ø-q'ə-d-χ'á-ø-ś' 3-hor-us-for-you.imperative-make (the modern pronunciation would be /q'ətχos'/)

ø-ž-yə-ʔa-r-əy 3.pl-back-3-say-pro.tns-and

42. mər yet'ani q'ewλεʔu

mə-r this.near.speaker-abs

ya-t'a-a-n-əy gen-second-conn-ordinal-and,"again"

ø-q'-y-à -wə+λ'á+ʔ° 3-hor-dir-dat-val+after+speak, "it was requested"

43. "was'xo q'an, siməʔε,

wá-a-śχ'a sky-conn-great

ø-q'a-a-n 3-hor-dat-remain

ø-s-əy-mə-ʔa 3-me-poss-not-have

44. siməʔemi fχosś'əns', "ziʔeri

ø-s-əy-mə-ʔa-m(a)-əy 3-me-poss-not-have-if-even

ø-f-χ'a-s-ś'ə-n-ś 3-you.pl-for-I-make-fut-aff

ø-ž-yə-ʔa-r-əy 3-back-3-say-pro.tns-and

45. itχoʔey zridzri

ø-yə-tχ'a-žáy 3-poss-grey-little (Note modern /-žəy/ in line 57, first word)

z-r-əy-ʔ-r-əy ← z-y-a-yə-ʔ-r-əy

refl-dir-dat-3-throw-pro.tns-and,

“he jumped into the saddle.”

46. ḥareme ʔwaśhe dek'oyeri zepλeh

ḥárama Harama (exception to stress assignment)

ʔáaśha hill

∅-da-k'a+ya-r-áy 3-vertical-move+up-pro.tns-and

∅-z-a-y-pλ+áh ← ∅-za-y-a-pλ-ah

3-all-dir-dat-look+around

47. zə keśane[3] q'ogoźmə[4]

zə one

k'asáana tower

q'a-(a-)g'á-ź-m-a corner-(conn-)truncated-old-obl-pl

48. ʔugo t'ek'w q'əriḥugo,

ʔóg'a smoke

t'ak'° little

∅-q'ə-r-əy-ḥ'ə-g'a ← ∅-q'ə-y-(a)-yə-ḥ'ə-g'a

3-hor-dir-(to)-circle-smoke-as, “giving off wisps of smoke”

49. sosəraq'wi q'ilaγus;

sawsəraq'(a)-áy Soseruquo

∅-q'-əy-łáaγ'ə-ś ← ∅-q'a-yə-łaaγ'ə-ś

3(smoke)-hor-3(S.)-see-aff

50. λəs zis'ri dek'oaśes:

λə+s foot+set

z-yə-ś'-r-áy refl-3-make-pro.tns-and

∅-da-y-k'a-ha-śá-ś ← ∅-da-y-k'a-ya(?)-śa-ś

3-within-dir-move-past(?)-aff-then

(note the use of the past tense in lines 52 and 60 as well)

51. ar inmə i unəs,
 a-r that.far-abs
 yən-mə giant-obl (modern /yəna-m/)
 ø-yə 3-poss
 wəna-ø-ś house-be-aff

52. i śhamrɛ i λemrɛ zɛyɛq'was,
 ø-yə 3-poss
 śhám-ra head-obl-and
 ø-yə 3-poss
 lám-ra leg-obl-and
 ø-za-ɣa-q'°-áh-ś ← ø-za-ɣa-q'°-ɣá-ś
 3.pl-recip-cause-bend, lean-past-aff
 (with a dummy causative found in transitive reciprocals to mark an
 ergative personal inflection slot; the trace of an argument index)

53. maf'er ikum iλəžś;
 máaf'a-r fire-abs
 ø-yə-k°ə-m 3-poss-middle-obl
 ø-yə-λə-ž-ś 3-flat.area-lie-finally-stat (emphatic use of /-ž-/)

54. wɛ inri mɛžey
 wa that
 yən-r-əy giant-abs-even
 ma-(a-)žáy 3.pres.intrans-(pres-)sleep

55. sosərəq'wi q'ak'osɛžś,
 sawsərəq'(a)-əy Soseruquo
 ø-q'a-a-k'°a+sá-ž-ś 3-hor-dat-move+quietly-back-aff

56. ar inmə q'eupś'əžś;

a-r that.far-abs

yón-mə giant-obl

ø-q'a-y-wəp's'ə-ž-ś ← ø-q'a-y-a-wəp's'ə-ž-ś

3(Soseruquo)-hor-3(giant)-dat-ask-again-aff

57. " mərmə si tχoziaže,

mə-r-mə this.near.speaker-pro.-obl

s-əy my-poss

tχ°a-žáy grey-little

áž^ya billy.goat

58. žerχer zəs'eməħaž,

ž'ár-ha-r fast.leg-pl-abs

ø-zə-s'a-mə-ħ(a)-áh-ž ← ø-zə-s'a-mə-ħa-γα-ž

3.pl-refl-beside-not-enter-past-refl,"they cannot be overtaken"

59. mər inmə i unés,

mə-r this.near.speaker-abs

yón-mə giant-obl

ø-yə 3-poss

wóna-ø-ś house-be-aff

60. i śħa i λε zεγeq'waś.

ø-yə 3-poss

śħa head

ø-yə 3-poss

λa leg

ø-za-γα-q'°-γá-ś 3.pl-recip-cause-bend-past-aff

61. maf'er ikum iλəžś,

máaf'a-r	fire-abs
ø-yǎ-k°ǎ-m	3-poss-core-obl
ø-yǎ-ǎ-ǎ-ǎ-ś	3-flat.area-lie-finally-stat

62. wε inri mažey,

wa	that
yǎn-ǎr-ǎy	giant-abs-even
ma-a-žáy	3.pres.intran-pres-sleep

63. maf'er sǎtk'i f'edhǎn, ži."

máaf'a-r	fire-abs
sǎt-k'y-ǎy	what-instr-and
ø-ø-f'a-d-ǎǎ-n	3(fire)-3(giant)-detri-we-carry-fut, "how will we carry the fire off despite him?"
ø-ž-yǎ(-?a)	3-back-3(-say)

64. armǎ sosǎrǎq'ǎpc'ε,

ármǎ	Armi
sawsǎrǎq'ǎ	Soseruquo
ǎ-p'c'a	the-dark

65. armǎ ǎ'ǎf'ǎc'ε yǎśǎnε,

ármǎ	Armi
ǎ'ǎ-f'ǎc'a	man-black
y°ǎś'ǎ-na	iron-eye(d)

66. mǎdε emǎnε šǎw,

mǎ+da	this.near.speaker+other
ø-y-a-mǎ-n+a	3-dir-dat-not-remain+in
šǎ+w	horse+man

67. se si s'əb qaʃes

sa	I
s-əy ← s-yə	my-poss
s'əb	back
ø-q'a-a-š-á-s	you.imp-ch.of.st-dat-horse-dat-sit

68. se si šəʎe maq'em

sa	I
s-əy	my-poss
šə-ʎa	horse-leg
máaq'a-m	sound-obl

69. haʎe maq' zezγes'əns

há-a-ʎa	dog-conn-leg
máaq'a	sound
z-a-y-z-γa-s'ə-n-s ← z-y-a-s-γa-s'ə-n-s	refl-3-dat-I-cause-make-fut-aff

70. se si haʎe maq'em

sa	I
s-əy	my-poss
há-a-ʎa	dog-conn-leg
máaq'a-m	sound-obl

71. gedəw ʎe maq' zezγes'əns;

g'adəw	cat
ʎa	leg
máaq'a	sound
z-y-a-s-γa-s'ə-n-s	refl-3-dat-I-cause-make-fut-aff

72. $\hat{\chi}\circ\lambda\epsilon$ f'a λ i ziz γ eon \acute{s} i,

\emptyset - $\hat{\chi}$ 'a- λ +a 3-for-lie+in = "like this"

f'a-a- λ (a)- \acute{o} y front-conn-leg-and

z-y \acute{o} -s- γ a-w+ \acute{a} -n- \acute{s} - \acute{o} y refl-flat.area-I-cause-hit+at-fut-aff-and (Circassian verbs can bear several heavy stresses at their ends after a stressed tense suffix.)

73. z \acute{o} p \acute{x} edzak'i q'add \acute{o} yus';

z \acute{o} one

p \acute{x} a-z \acute{a} ak' \acute{o} (a)- \acute{o} y wood-edge-and, "piece of kindling from the edge of a stock of wood," here an ember

\emptyset -q'a-a-d-d \acute{o} $\acute{\gamma}$ ' \acute{o} - \acute{s} ← \emptyset -q'a-y-ha-d-d \acute{o} $\acute{\gamma}$ ' \acute{o} - \acute{s}
3-hor-3-pl-we-steal-aff

74. sos \acute{e} r \acute{e} q'wi q' \acute{o} \acute{s} es,

saws \acute{e} r \acute{e} q' \acute{o} (a)- \acute{o} y Soseruquo-and

\emptyset -q'a-(a)-w- \acute{s} \acute{a} +s 3-hor-(pres-)aspect-horse+sit

75. m \acute{e} r ke \acute{s} an \acute{e} m \acute{e} q'ewk' \acute{o} $\acute{\lambda}$ 'eri,

m \acute{e} -r this.near.speaker-abs

k' \acute{y} a \acute{s} \acute{a} ana-m-a tower-obl-pl

\emptyset -q-ay-w-k' \acute{o} a+a+ $\acute{\lambda}$ 'a-r- \acute{o} y ← \emptyset -q'-y-a-a-w \acute{o} -k' \acute{o} a+a+ $\acute{\lambda}$ 'a-r- \acute{o} y
3-hor-dir-dat-pres-asp-come+conn+near-pro.tns-and

76. z \acute{o} p \acute{x} edzak'i q'ad \acute{o} yun \acute{s} ,

z \acute{o} one

p \acute{x} a-z \acute{a} ak' \acute{o} (a)- \acute{o} y wood-edge-and

\emptyset -q'-ah-d \acute{o} $\acute{\gamma}$ ' \acute{o} -n- \acute{s} ← \emptyset -q'a-y-ha-d \acute{o} $\acute{\gamma}$ ' \acute{o} -n- \acute{s}
3-hor-3-pl-steal-fut(!)-aff (one expects the past instead of the future)

77. \acute{z} esib λ ma \acute{x} wib λ q'a \acute{z} ago,

\acute{z} 'a \acute{s} - \acute{o} y-b λ night-pl.conn-seven (for / \acute{z} a \acute{s} /, see line 7)

maaχ̂(a)-ǎy-bλ day-pl.conn-seven
 ø-q'-ah-ž-áh-g°a ← ø-q'a-y-ha-ž-γa-g°a
 3-hor-3-pl-run-past-adv

78. zə tɛp q'əχezri

zə one
 tap ember, lump.of.coal (Indo-European loan, compare Latin tepidus)
 ø-q'ə-ø-χa-z-r-ǎy 3-hor-3-mass-turn.out-pro.tns-and

79. inmə i ko afɛ triḡas,

yǎn-mə giant-obl
 ø-yə 3-poss
 k°a thigh
 á-fa int-skin,(the original may also be simply the expected /k°a-a-fa/
 thigh-conn-skin. Note the sequence -oa- in line 50, third word)
 ø-t-r-ay-ḡá-(ah)ś ← ø-t-y-a-y-a-ḡa-(γa-)ś
 3-surface-flat.area-dat-dir-dat-enter-(past-)aff
 (It is not clear if the /a/ of /triḡas/ has been misheard because of
 the pharyngeal or if it is in fact a past tense.)

80. wɛ inri q'əzśəwri

wa that
 yǎn-r-ǎy giant-abs-and
 ø-qə-z-śə-w-r-ǎy 3-hor-refl-there-hit-pro.tns-and

81. i pχɛdzak'ɛχɛr q'ibžəžri

ø-yə 3-poss
 pχa-záak'°a-ha-r wood-edge-pl-abs
 ø-q'-əy-bžə-ž-r-ǎy ← ø-q'a-yə-bžə-ž-r-əy
 3.pl-hor-he-count-again-pro.tns-and

82. zə pʃε dzak^ʸε q^ʷəʃotś.

zə one

pʃa-záak^ʸa wood-edge

∅-q^ʷə-ʃ(a-)-á-w-t-ś 3-hor-mass.out-pres-asp-stand-aff = “one is missing”

(/-ʃa-/ means “in a mass,” but more rarely “out from a mass”)

83. “si adem q^ʷraħak^ʷaśεε,

s-əy my-poss

a-da-m int-father-obl

∅-q^ʷ-r-ah-ħaak^ʷ-áh-śara ← ∅-q^ʷ-y-a-y-ha-ħaak^ʷa-γa-śara

3-hor-3(father)-dat-3-pl-disgrace-past-opt,

“would they bring disgrace to my father!”

84. ʃətʃə ya bzaĝε q^ʷəzεdəy[°]w,” ʒeʔeri

ʃət-ha who-pl

∅-y-ha 3-poss-pl

bzāaĝa wicked.person

∅-q^ʷə-z-a-dəy[°] ← ∅-q^ʷə-s-a-dəy[°]

3-hor-me-dat(from)-steal(intr)

∅-ʒ-y-a-ʔa-r-əy 3-back-3-pres-say-pro.tns-and

85. zdesəsəm mʃeygo,

∅-z-da-śá-sə-m 3-refl-in-there-sit-obl.adv

∅-m-ʃáy-g[°]a 3-not-stir-still

86. γoguśhibλ q^ʷəzεpiʔabəħri, qewbədəʒ

y[°]à +g[°]-śħ-əy-bλ road+configuration-head-pl.conn-seven

∅-q^ʷə-z-a-p-yə-ʔa+a+bə-ħ-r-əy

3-hor-refl-dat-tip-3-arm+conn+big-around-pro.tns-and,

“he reached out all around to his bodily limits”

∅-q-a-y-wə+bədə-ʒ ← ∅-q^ʷa-y-a-wə+bədə-ʒ

3-hor-3-pres-val+catch-finally = “he tried to catch him”

87. žεšibλ meχwibλ žaar.

ž^vaś-óy-bλ night-pl.conn-seven (/žaš/ is probably an error, see lines 7 and 76)

ma(a)χ^o(a)-óy-bλ day-pl.conn-seven

ø-ž+á-a-ha-r ← ø-ž+a-a-γa-r

where-run+to-conn-past-ger, “where they had run to”

88. “wa nartχε śao,

wa O

nárt-ha Nart-pl

śáawa page, warrior

89. c’əneɣore usšχəŋq’ε,

c’óna-g^oara raw-referential(“truly”)

wə-s-šχə-n-q’a you-I-eat-fut-contrary.Q

90. sosəɣəq’o zdeśəʔe q’əsžuməʔem.”

sawsəɣəq’^oa Soseruquo

ø-z-da-śə-ʔa 3-what-within-there(of properties)-be, “what kind he is”

ø-q’ə-s-žə-w-mə-ʔa-m 3-hor-me-back-you-not-say-if

(modern /ø-q’ə-z-ž-y-a-w-mə-ʔa-ma/

3-hor-me-back-dir-dat-you-not-say-if)

91. “sosəɣəq’wi sλεγwaq’em,

sawsəɣəq’^o(a)-óy Soseruquo-and

ø-s-λa(a)γ^o-ah-q’ám ← ø-s-λaaγ^o-γa-q’am

3-I-see-past-not

92. i χebari zεχesχas,

ø-yə 3-poss

ǰabar-ǰy news-and
 ø-z-a-ǰa-s-ǰ-ǰá-ś 3-refl-dat-mass.out-I-take-past-aff, "I have heard"
 (literally, "I have taken it from within myself")

93. zδεśǰi[5] sǰomǰś'ε."
 ø-z-da-śǰ-ǰ(a)-ǰy 3-what-within-there(of properties)-be -and
 ø-s-ǰ°a-mǰ-ś'a 3-I-for-not-know,"I am unable to determine"

94. "zδεśǰa pǰomǰś'εmi,
 ø-z-da-śǰ-ǰa 3-what-within-there(of properties)-be
 ø-p-ǰ°a-mǰ-ś'a-m(a)-ǰy ← ø-w-ǰ°a-mǰ-ś'a-ma-ǰy
 3-you-for-not-know-if-even

95. i geguk'ε σεǰaś'ε."
 ø-yǰ 3-poss
 g°ag°ǰ+k°ya play+inst,"game, amusement"
 ø-s-a-ø-ǰá-a-ś'a 3-I-dat-you.imp-cause-conn-know,"teach me his games"

96. "ay, ǰay, i geguk'ε ozǰaś'an," ǰiǰeri
 ay Ay!
 ǰay Hay!
 ø-yǰ 3-poss
 g°ag°ǰ+k°ya play+inst
 ø-w-a-z-ǰa-a-ś'á-n ← ø-w-a-s-ǰa-a-ś'a-n
 3-you-dat-I-cause-conn-know-fut
 ø-ǰ-yǰ-ǰa-r-ǰy 3-back-3-non-say-pro.tns-and

97. wε inri q'riśaǰś,
 wa that
 yǰn-r-ǰy giant-abs-even
 ø-q'-r-ǰy-śáaǰa-ś ← ø-q'ǰ-y-a-yǰ-śaaǰa-ś

3-hor-3-dat-3-command-aff

98. "sosərəq'o ž̌loaʔem

sawsərəq'°a Sosreruquo

ø-ž̌-ø-ž̌°a-há-ʔa-m ← ø-ž̌-ø-ž̌°a-y-ha-ʔa-m

3-back-3-for-3-pl-say-obl.adv, "they say this about him"

99. q'apśəq'ay λape q'ayevəřti,

q'apśəq'áay broken, full of potholes,(modern /q'apśəq'ay/)

λá+a+pa leg+conn+lower.part, "foothills"

ø-q'a-ha-γa-wəvə-rt-əy ← ø-q'a-y-ha-γa-wəvə-rt-əy

3-hor-3-pl-cause-stop-habitual-and,"they would halt."

This is the habitual form of a verb,

with /-rt-/ probably from /-r-t/ -continuous.action-stand.

100. abre məve q'raγežexəřti,

ábra Abra,(from an Iranian language, "heaven(ly)," therefore a
nickel-iron meteorite)

məva stone

ø-q'-r-ha-γa-ž̌(°)+a-ž̌ə-rt-əy ← ø-q'-y-a-y-ha-γa-ž̌+a-ž̌ə-rt-əy

3-hor-dir-dat-3-pl-cause-run+to-down-habitual-and

101. nət'apək'ε pś'εwrti[6]

na+t'áapa-k'°a eye+top-inst

ø-p'ś'a-wə-rt-əy 3-brow-strike-habitual-and

102. než̌ ž̌oabž̌əž̌ego diž̌oež̌ərt.

naž̌ more

ø-ž̌°aabž̌ə-ha-g°a 3-strong, quick-pl-as (modern ž̌°aabž̌)

ø-d-əy-ž̌°a-ya-ž̌ə-rt ← ø-da-yə-ž̌°à -ya-ž̌ə-rt

3-vertical-3-force,push-up-again-habitual

103. “seri ago[7] sq’as’,” ži.

sa-r-áy I-pro-and
 á-g°a that.far-as
 ø-s-q’a-a-ø-ś’ 3-me-hor-dat-you.imp-do
 ø-ž-yə(-ʔa) 3-back-3(-say)

104. “sosərəq’o dažieri,

sawsərəq’°a Soseruquo
 ø-da-a-ž’ə-ya-r-áy 3-vertical-dat-run.out-up-pro.tns-and

105. abre məve q’riγεžεxś;

ábra Abra
 məva stone
 ø-q’-r-əy-γa-ž’+á-x-ś ← ø-q’-y-a-y-ə-γa-ž’+a-x-ś
 3-hor-dir-dat-3-cause-run+to-down-aff

106. nət’apək’ε ps’εwri

na+t’áapa-k’°a eye+top-inst
 ø-p’ś’a-w-r-áy 3-brow-hit-pro.tns-and

107. nεx̄ x̄obžəx̄ego dix̄oežś,

nax̄ more
 ø-x̄°ábž’ə-ha-g°a ← ø-x̄°aabž’ə-ha-g°a
 3-strong, quick-pl-as
 ø-d-yə-x̄°a-yá-ž-ś 3-vertical-3-drive-up-again-aff

108. p̄x̄e h̄ambəti q’riγaós[8]

p̄x̄a back.part
 h̄ambət-áy haunch-and (modern /h̄ambəʔ°-əw/ haunch-adv).
 ø-q’-r-əy-γá-a-w+a-ś ← ø-q’-y-a-yə-γa-a-w+a-ś

3-hor-dir-dat-3-cause-conn-hit+in-aff,
 “he squatted back down on his haunches”

109. wε inər q'əzśəwžri,

wa that

yón-ər giant-abs

∅-q'ə-z-śə-w-ž-r-áy 3-ch.of.st-refl-there-hit-refl-pro.tns-and, “that giant began”

110. “məri geguk'ε ś'aγos,

mə-r-áy this.near.speaker-abs-and

g^yag^oə+k^ya play+inst

∅-ś'áaγ^a-∅-ś 3-wonderful-be-aff,(probably /ś'a+a+γ^a/ know+conn+character)

111. nεχ ś'aγo pś'emi saγas'ε,

naχ more

ś'áaγ^a wonderful

∅-p-ś'a-m-áy ← ∅-w-ś'a-ma-əy

3-you-know-if-and

∅-s-a-a-∅-γá-a-ś'a 3-me-dat-emph-you.imp-cause-conn-know

112. nεt'apε i χu ibž ireχu,” ži.

na+t'áapa eye+top

∅-yə 3-poss

χ^oə wrong (now used only as a suffix)

∅-yə-bž 3-poss-pain (/bžə/ now 'itch')

∅-yə-r-á-y-χ^oə ← ∅-yə-y-a-χ^oə

3-dir.from-3-pres-drive

∅-ž-yə-(ʔa) 3-back-3(-say)

113. sosərəq'wi tɰam i uk'ś,

sawsərə q'(a)-áy Soseruquo-and

tḥa-a-m God-emph-obl
 ø-yə 3-poss
 wək^{ʔy}-ø-ś kill-be-aff

114.inmə i uk'ik'ε̄ x̄oməs'ε̄

yən-mə giant-obl
 ø-yə 3-poss
 wək^{ʔy}-k^{ʔya} kill-inst
 ø-ø-x̄^oa-mə-ś'a 3(kill)-3(Soseruquo)-for-not-know
 (Sentences 113 and 114 mean “[It would] be God’s killing or
 vengeance, [because] Sosruquo did not know how to kill the gaint.”)

115.“ nε̄x̄ ś'aγwi ozγas'ε̄nś,” žiʔari,

naḥ more
 ś'aaγ^o(a)-əy wonderful-and
 ø-w-a-z-γa-a-ś'a-n-ś ← ø-w-a-s-γa-a-ś'a-n-ś
 3-you-dat-I-cause-conn-know-aff
 ø-ž-yə-ʔa-r-əy 3-back-3-say-pro.tns-and

116.wε̄ inri q'rišažε̄ś;

wa that
 yən-r-əy giant-abs-and
 ø-q'-r-əy-šáaž'a-ś ← ø-q'-y-a-yə-šaaž'a-ś
 3-hor-dir-dat-3-command-aff

117. “sosərəq'o žx̄oaʔε̄m

sawsərəq'a Soseruquo
 ø-ž-ø-x̄^oa-há-ʔa-m ← ø-ž-ø-x̄^oa-y-ha-ʔa-m
 3-back-3-for-3-pl-say-obl.adv

118. λεgwaζε məśhago q'aγet'əsərti,

λα-g'áaζa leg-knee

mə-śhá-a-g'a this-head-conn-configuration, "first"

ø-q'a-ah-γa-t'ə+sə-rt-əy ← ø-q'a-y-ha-γa-t'ə+sə-rt-əy

3-hor-3-pl-cause-down+sit-habitual-and

119. šexuζgo šesés'xer

š'a-x'ə+z-g'a arrow-white+color-adv, "white hot arrows"

š'a-śáaś'(a)-ha-r arrow-short-pl-abs

120. ζedez xuxu ζedadzert;

ζa+(a)dá-z jaw+(conn+)cavity-whole, ("jaw-cavity" is the word for "mouth")

x'əx' wide

ø-ζa+(a)da-ha-ζ+á-rt ← ø-ζa+a+da-y-ha-ζ+a-rt

3.pl-jaw+conn+cavity-3-pl-throw, shoot+in-habitual

121. šaśhar f'iγenəśk'uk'irti,

š'á-a-śha-r arrow-conn-head-abs

ø-f'yə-γa-nəś'k'ə -k'yə-rt-əy

3(.pl)-detri-3-cause-chew-intense-habitual-and

122. šek'er q'əzzədizəžərt.

š'á-k'y-a-r arrow-tail-abs

ø-q'ə-z-ζa+d(a)-ə y-ζə-žə-rt ← ø-q'ə-z-ζa+a+da-yə-ζə-žə-rt

3(.pl)-hor-own-jaw+conn+cavity-3-throw(spit).out-again-habitual

123. "seri ago sq'aś'," žižeri.

sa-r-əy I-pro-and

á-g'a the-like

ø-s-q'a-a-ø-ś' 3-me-hor-dat-you.imp-do

ø-ž-yə-ʔa-r-əy 3-back-3-say-pro.tns-and

124. wε inəʒri q'at'əsś,

wa that

yənə-ž-r-əý giant-evil-abs-and

ø-q'a-(a-)t'ə+s-ś 3-ch.of.st-(dat-)down+sit-aff

125. i žε q'riγewś'ri

ø-yə 3-poss

ža jaw

ø-q'-r-əy-γa-wəs'-r-əý ← ø-q'-yə-yə-γa-wəs'-r-əý

3-ch.of.st-dir.out-3-cause-open-pro.tns-and

126. šεxūžgo šε śés'xer

š'ya-x'ə+ž-g'a arrow-white+color-as

š'ya-śás'-ha-r arrow-short-pl-abs

127. žεdez xūxū žεdidzεś.

ža+(a+)dā-z jaw+(conn+cavity-whole

x'əx' wide (x'əx', line 120, second word)

ø-ža+(a+)d(a)-əý-ž+a-ś ← ø-za+a+da+yə-ž+a-ś

3.pl-jaw+conn+cavity+3-throw+into-aff

128. šaśher f'iγenəśk'uk'ri

š'á-a-śha-r arrow-conn-head-abs

ø-f'-y-ə-γa-nəs'k''ə-k''-r-əý 3(.pl)-detri-3-cause-chew-intense-pro.tns-and

129. šek're q'əzzadidzəžś;

š'á-k''-r-a arrow-tail-abs-pl(?)

ø-q'ə-z-ža+a+d-əy-ž'ə-ž-ś ← ø-q'ə-z-ža+a+da-yə-žə-ž-ś

3.pl-hor-own-jaw+conn+cavity-3-throw.out-again-aff

130. "wε nartxə yaśao,

wa you
 núr-t-ha Nart-pl
 ø-y-ha-śáawa 3-poss-pl-page, warrior

131. məri geguk'ε śaγos,

mə-r-əy this.near.speaker-pro-and
 g^yag'ə+k^ya play+instr
 ø-ś'aaγ'a-ø-ś 3-wonderful-be-aff

132. ʔuk'oc' iχw ibz i reχw,

ʔə-k'ac' mouth, throat-inside
 ø-yə-χ'ə 3-poss-wrong
 (modern possessive form; contrast with second and third words of
 line 112,)
 ø-yə-bz 3-poss-pain (/bzə/ now 'itch')
 ø-yə-r-á-y-χ'ə ← ø-yə-y-a-χ'ə
 3-dir.from-3-pres-drive

133. nəχ ś'aγo ps'emi saγas'ε."

naχ more
 ś'aaγ'a wonderful
 ø-p-ś'à -m-əy ← ø-w-ś'a-m-əy
 3-you-know-if-even
 ø-s-a-a-ø-γá-a-ś'a 3-me-dat-emph-you.imp-cause-conn-know

134. sawsəraq^oa tham i uk'ś,

sawsəraq^o(a)-əy Soseruquo-and
 t̥a-a-m God-emph-obl
 ø-yə 3-poss
 wək^y-ø-ś kill-be-aff

135. inmə i uk'ik'e xoməs'e.

yón-mə giant-obl

ø-yə 3-poss

wák^{'y}ə-k^{'y}a kill-inst

ø-ø-x̂^oa-mə-ś'a 3(kill)-3(Soseruquo)-for-not-know (see lines 113-114 for sense)

136. "nəx̂ ś'aγwi ozγes'ens," ži,

nax̂ more

ś'aaγ^o(a)-əy wonderful-and

ø-w-a-z-γα-ś'á-n-ś ← ø-w-a-s-γα-ś'a-n-ś
3-you-dat-I-cause-know-fur-aff

ø-ž-yə(-ʔa) 3-back-3(-say)

137. "sosərəq'o žx̂oaʔem, i žε q'iuś'ərti

sasərəq^o'a Soseruquo

ø-ž-ø-x̂^oa-há-ʔa-m ← ø-ž-ø-x̂^oa-y-ha-ʔa-m
3-back-3(S.)-for-3-pl-say-obl.adv

ø-yə 3-poss

ža jaw

ø-q-əy-wəs'ə-rt-əy ← ø-q'a-yə-wəs'ə-rt-əy
3-ch.of.st-3-open-habitual-and

138. vabdze f'əbz q'aγepλərti, žadadzerti,

váabza plow

f'ábz(ə) share(s)

ø-q'-ha-γα-pλə-rt-əy ← ø-q'a-y-ha-γα-pλə-rt-əy
3.pl-ch.of.st-3-pl-cause-redden-habitual-and

ø-ža+a+d-ha-ž+a-rt-əy ← ø-ža+a+da-y-ha-ž+a-rt-əy
3.pl-jaw+conn+cavity-3-pl-throw+in-habitual-and

139. inəbe síγeus'əʔurti

ø-yə-nəba 3-poss-belly

ø-ś-yə-γa-wə+s'əʔə-rt-əy

3.pl-there-3-cause-val+cool-habitual-and

140. ip̄xεmk'ε q'əzzadidzəʒərt."

ø-y'á-p̄xa-m-k''a 3-poss-back.part-obl-inst

ø-q'ə-z-za+a+d-əy-ʒə-ʒə-rt-əy ← ø-q'ə-z-za+a+da-yə-ʒə-rt-əy

3.pl-hor-own-jaw+conn+cavity-3-throw.out-habitual-and

("he vomits them back up," or less likely "he shits them out")

141. "seri ago sq'as, " ži:

sə-r-əy I-pro-and

á-g'a the-like

ø-s-q'a-a-ø-ś'(ə) 3-me-hor-dat-you.imp-do

ø-ž-yə(-ʔa) 3-back-3-say

142. vabdze f'εbz q'aγap̄ləri,

váabza plow

f'abz(ə) share(s)

ø-q'-ah-γa-a-p̄lə-r-əy ← ø-q'a-y-ha-γa-a-p̄lə-r-əy

3.pl-ch.of.st-3-pl-cause-conn-redden-pro.tns-and

143. wε inəzəm i žem žedidzεś;

wa that

yənə-žə-m giant-evil-obl

ø-yə 3-poss

ža-m jaw-obl

ø-ža+d-əy-ʒ+a-ś ← ø-ža+a+da-yə-ʒ+a-ś

3.pl-jaw+conn+cavity-3-throw+in-aff

144. i nəbɛm síyɛwś'əʔuri,

ø-yə 3-poss
nəbə-m belly-obl

ø-ś-yə-ɣa-wə+ś'əʔ°-r-əy
3.pl-there-3-cause-val+cool-and-even

145. i pʰɛmk'ɛ q'əzzɛdidzəʒś,

ø-yə 3-poss
pʰá-m-k'ya back.side-obl-inst (compare line 140, first word)

ø-q'ə-z-za+d-əy-ʒə-ʒ-ś ← ø-q'ə-z-za+a+da-yə-ʒə-ʒ-ś
3.pl-hor-own-jaw+conn+cavity-3-throw.out-again-aff

146. "wɛ nartxə ya śao,

wa O
nárt-ha Nart-pl
ø-y-ha 3-poss-pl
śáawa page, warrior

147. məri geguk'ɛ ś'aγos,

mə-r-əy this.near.speaker-pro-suffix-and
g^yag^oə+k'ya play+inst
ø-ś'áaγ^a-ø-ś 3-wonderful-be-aff

148. nəx ś'aγwi saγas'ɛ."

nəx more
ś'aaγ^(a)-əy wonderful-and
ø-s-a-a-ø-γá-a-ś'a 3-me-dat-emph-you.imp-cause-conn-know

149. sosərəq'wi tɰam iwkw'ś,

sawsərəq^o(a)-əy Soseruquo
tɰa-a-m God-emph-obl

ø-yə-wák^y-ø-ś 3-poss-kill, vengeance-be-aff

150. inmə i uk'ik'ε xoməs'ε.

yán-mə giant-obl

ø-yə 3-poss

wák^y-k^ya kill-inst

ø-ø-x^oa-mə-ś'a 3-3(S.)-for-not-know

151. "śət, śət, inəž,

ø-śət-t 3-there-stand,"wait"

ø-śət-t 3-there-stand

yənə-ž giant-venerable

152. zə geguk'i q'enaś,

zə one

g^yag^o-k^ya play+inst

ø-q'a-n+a-áh-ś ← ø-q'a-n+a-γa-ś
3-hor-remain+in-past(?) -aff

153. sosərəq'o žxoa?er

sawsərəq^o'a Soseruquo

ø-ž-ø-x^oa-há-?a-r ← ø-ž-ø-x^oa-y-ha-?a-r
3-back-3(S.)-for-3-pl-say-pres

154. xəqopsibλ[9] zεprašerti,

xə-q^a+ps-áy-bλ sea-boat+water(flood)-pl.conn-seven

ø-za-p-r-ah-š^yə-rt-áy ← ø-za-p-yə-y-ha-š^yə-rt-əy
3(S.)-wholly-across-dir.out-3-pl-lead.out-habitual-and

155. anah kuum xayewvert,

a-náh the-most (WCirc form for expected /a-naħ/)

k'əwə-m deep-obl
 ø-χ-ha-γα-wəvá-rt ← ø-χə-y-ha-γα-wəva-rt
 3-in-3-pl-cause-stop-habitual

156. i λερ ś'əm nēməsgo,
 ø-yə 3-poss
 λa-r leg(s)-abs
 ś'ə-m earth-obl
 ø-na-má-s-g'a 3-thither-not-reach-as

157. i ζem psə zedeməogo,
 ø-yə 3-poss
 ζa-m jaw-obl
 psə water
 ø-ζa+da-mə-w+á-g'a ← ø-ζa+a+da-mə-w+a-g'a
 3-jaw+conn+cavity-not-hit+in-as

158. ζεσίβλ maχwibλk'ε χεγαστῆarti
 ζ'as-əy-bλ night-pl.conn-seven
 maaχ°(a)-əy-bλ day-p.conn-seven
 ø-ø-χα-γα-a-στ-ῆa-(ah)-rt-əy ← ø-ø-χα-γα-a-στ-ῆa-(γα)-rt-əy
 3(S.)-3(sea)-mass.in-cause-conn-freeze-active-(past-)habitual-and

159. q'əʔem, q'əχek'izərt."
 ø-q'-á-y-ʔa-m ← ø-q'-y-a-ʔa-m
 3-hor-dir-dat-heave-obl.adv
 ø-q'ə-χα-k'yə-(yə-)žə-rt
 3-hor-mass-exit-(up-)again-habitual

160. "seri ago sq'as'," śəziʔem
 sa-r-əy I-por.suffix-and

166. ?əbʒε-nabʒε ɣabədəsi,

?a+bʒʸa-ná+a+bʒʸa ← ?a+a+bʒʸa-λa+a+bʒʸa

arm(hand)+conn+nail-leg(foot)+conn+nail, "from head to toe"

∅-∅-ɣa-a-bədə-ś-əy 3-you.imp-cause-conn-strong-then-and

167. zεrubədəm pśhəpəns, " ži?eri

z+a+rə-wə+bədə-m how+dat+inst-val+strong-obl.adv

∅-pśhəpə-ń-ś 3-be.effective-fut-aff

∅-ž-yə-?a-r-əy 3-back-3-say-pro.tns-and

168. psəs'a ɣελade q'xwiś'ri,

psə-ś'a+a+ɣa-λáada

water-bottom+conn+ness-rush, run

∅-q'-∅-x°-əy-ś'-r-əy ← ∅-q'-∅-x°-yə-ś'-r-əy

3(the.rush)-hor-3(bottom)-for-3-do-pro.tns-and

169. nəx bədəgo xiɣástħás.

naħ more

∅-bədə-g°a 3-strong-as

∅-x-əy-ɣa-a-śt-ħá-(ah)-ś ← ∅-xa-yə-ɣa-a-śt-ħa-(ɣa)-ś

3-in-3-cause-conn-freeze-active-(past-)aff

170. "q'e?a igi," śəži?em; wε inəzəm

∅-q'-y-a-?á-a you.imp-hor-dir-dat-heave-emph.imp

yá-gʸə gen-now

∅-śə-ž-yá-?a-m 3-there-back-3-say-obl.adv

wa that

yəná-žə-m giant-evil-obl

171. "seʔe śha, səxužərq'əm," ži

s-á-y-ʔa ← s-y-a-ʔa I-dir-dat-heave

śha head, "already"

sə-ǰ°əž'ə-r-q'ám I-improve-pres-not

ø-ž-yə(-ʔa) 3-back-3(-say)

172. mər i gate q'ripǰotri,

mə-r this.near.speaker-abs

ø-yə 3-poss

g'áata sword

ø-q'-r-əy-pǰ°at-r-éy ← ø-q'-yə-yə-pǰ°at-r-əy

3(sword)-hor-dir.out-3-seize-pro.tns-and

173. sosərəq'wi teladés

sawsərəq'°(a)-éy Soseruquo-and

ø-ø-t'-y-a-łáada-ś 3(S.)-3(phrase 172)-surface-flat.area-dat-rush-aff

174. "əf" žiʔeri, q'əsəpśəm

əf uff!

ø-ž-yə-ʔa-r-éy 3-back-3-say-pro.tns-and

ø-q'ə-ś-a-pśə-m 3-hor-there-dat-heave-adv

175. šegeyoak'o q'riyaḥś,

š'ag'y+a+ǰ'á-a-k'°a noon+time-conn-time (for /-a-k'°a/, note modern /k'°a+ǰ'a/ 'time')

ø-q'-r-əy-ǰ'á-a-ḥ-ś ← ø-q'-yə-yə-ǰ'a-a-ḥ-ś

3-hor-dir.out-3-cause-conn-carry, go-aff

176. dame tetti nesəžś,

dáama wing(ed)

t-y-a-t-t(-a)-éy surface-flat.area-dat-stand-dur("stand-in")-and,"(his) mount"

ø-na-sá-ž-ś 3-thither-reach-back-aff

177. wε i gate q'riχri

wa that

∅-yə 3-poss

g^yáata sword

∅-q'-r-əy-χ-r-əy ← ∅-q'-yə-yə-χ-r-əy

3-hor-dir.out-3-take.out-pro.tns-and

178. śha f'ixəngo śχoyk'om,

śha head

∅-∅-f'-yə-χá-n-g^a 3(head)-3(giant)-detri-3-take.off-fut-as

∅-ś-∅-χ^a-y(ə)-k[']a-m 3(S.)-there-3(first and second words)-for-dir-come-obl.adv

179. "seri səmə inəz deletem

sa-r-əy I-pro-and

sə-mə-yənə-z-∅ I-no-giant-evil-be

∅-daλά-ta-m ← sə-daλα-ta-m

I-fool-dur-obl.adv (deletion of repeated pronominal index)

180. ori uzeri sosərəq'or

wa-r-əy you-pro-suffix-and

wə-za-r-əy you-refl-pro.-even

sawsərəq[']a-r Soseruquo-abs

181. wi λεκ'amp'ek'ε usc'əχupχet,"

w-əy you-poss

λa+k^{'y}á+a+m+pa-k^{'y}a leg+end(?)+conn+obl.conn+tip-inst,"by (your) knees"

(perhaps /λak^{'y}a+a+m+pa/ short+conn+obl.conn+tip, "tip of the short (part of the leg or thighs), that is, "knees," with /λa(a)k^{'y}a/ for modern /λaag^ya/)

wə-s-c'əχ[']ə+pχá-t(a) you-I-person+guess-irreal,"I should have recognized you"

182. inmə i śha q'əf'iħri,

y'ən-mə giant-obl

ø-yə 3-poss

śha head

ø-q'ə-ø-f'-yə-ħ-r-əy 3-hor-3-detri-3-take-pro.tns-and

183. maf'eri q'əħri, q'ak'ožś.

maaf'a-r-əy fire-abs-and

ø-q'ə-ħ-r-əy ← ø-q'a-y-ə-ħ-r-əy (WCirc for expected ø-q'-əy-ħ-r-əy ← ø-q'a-yə-ħ-r-əy) 3-hor-3-non.pres-carry-pro.tns-and

184. nartədzego q'əzħok'ožar, zetepśhari

nart-ə-zá-g'a Nart-ep.v-troop-configuration

ø-q'ə-z-ħ'a-k'a-ž-áh-r ← ø-q'ə-z-ħ'a-k'a-ž-ya-r

3-hor-whom-for-come-back-past-ger

ø-za-t-y-a-pśha-r-əy 3(S.)-all-surface-flat.area-dat-help-pro.tns-and

185. ħet ś'ə?em iyελ'ás,

ħat who, some

ś'ə?a-m cold-obl

ø-yə-ya-λ'-ya-ś 3(some)-3(cold)-cause-die-past-aff

186. ħet ħwabem iyελ'ás,

ħat who.some

ħ'áaba-m heat-obl

ø-yə-ya-λ'-áh-ś ← ø-yə-ya-λ'-ya-ś

3(some)-3(heat)-cause-die-past-aff

187. ya ku deλgo q'ana t'ek'um

ø-y-ha 3-poss-pl

k°ə middle
 ø-ø-dá-λ-g°a 3(some)-3(middle)-inside-survive-adv
 ø-q°a-a-n+a-á-ah ← ø-q°a-a-n+a-γ(a)-a
 3-hor-dat-remain+in-past-adjoined (to next word)
 t°ák°-ə-m few-obl

188. maf°er ingo yaχwis°s,

máaf°a-r fire-abs
 yón-g°a giant-adv
 ø-y-ha-χ°-yə-ś°-ś 3(fire)-3-pl-for-3(S.)-make-aff

189. et°anə χuns°eri kodgo q°ariγas°ri.

ya-t°á-a-na ordinal-second-conn-ordinal.suffix, "then"
 χ°əns°a-r-əy raid-abs-and
 k°ád-g°a much-adv
 ø-q°-ah-r-əy-γà -a-ś°-r-əy ← ø-q°-y-ha-yə-γa-a-ś°-r-əy
 3(raids)-hor-3-pl-3(S.)-cause-conn-do-pro.tns-and

190. wə yadəži q°išežas° sosəraq°o.

wa that
 y-ha-daž-əy 3-pl-near-and
 ø-q°-əy-š°+a-ž-áh-ś ← ø-q°a-yə-š°+a-ž-γa-ś
 3-hor-3-lead+in-back-past-aff
 sawsəraq°a Soseruquo

Notes by Asker Hadaghatl'a:

[1] The text has been rendered into the modern Adyghey (West Circassian - JC) alphabet, save that a contrast between /š/ ~ /š°/, and /ž/ ~ /ž°/ [retroflexed vs. laminal - JC] has been preserved. (Modern Kabardian dialects have lost this contrast. - JC) The teller was Qazi Hat°akhwushwoquo /q°azəy haat°aχ°əs°aq°a/ (a West Circassian name -

JC), 105 years old at the time.

[2] The original is light here and cannot be reliably read.

[3] /kɛ́sánɛ/ - /čɛ́sánɛ/ “tower” (modern form - JC)

[4] /q'ogozmə/ - /q'ak'až/ “ruined, lopsided” (modern form - JC)

[5] “Whereabouts, near what” - /zadaśəʔəy/(modern form - JC)

[6] “He hit it with his forehead and eyebrow (area).”

[7] /a-g'a/ thus, like that

[8] They [now] say:

/ø-q'ə-z-a-ɣa-yə-ɣa-t'ə+s-ɣa-a-ɣ(a)/

[3-ch.of.st-refl-dat-in-3-cause-down+sit-act-conn-past, “he sat down in on himself,” that is, “he squatted down”]

[9] For /ɣə-q'a+ps-əy-bλ/ WCirc has /ɣə-q'a+č+a-əy-bλ/ sea-boat+flow+in-pl.conn-seven (“seven boat-swamping seas” -JC)

Remark (JC) - I have assigned stress where possible based upon modern Kabardian and evidence from within the text, chiefly upon the retention of /aa/, which is some times retained for apparent etymological reasons, compare modern /psaaɣá-a-ɣ+a/ word-conn-lie+in, “dictionary.” This text also tends to show a deep vowel after a pharyngeal, as in “God.” This is perhaps a misperception due to the pharyngeal. Modern Kabardian in fact prohibits such a “doubling” of the open vowel after a pharyngeal (as with /ʔ/), having only :/tha/ God,” /ha/ “dog, etc. (see Bagov 1999).

1. Two Fragments of the Epic of Soseruquo

a Kabardian text given in 1864

2. Armi, dark Soseruquo,
3. Armi a black man with iron eyes,
4. This horseman apart, who would not stay!
5. From the mounted Nart horsemen,
6. Soseruquo fell behind;
7. Seven nights and seven days the sky stormed,
8. The old Narts began really to freeze;
9. These asked one another:
10. "You, Yimis, do you have fire?"
11. "You, Sosem, do you have fire?"
12. "Bearded Zhyandew, do you have fire?"
13. "Araqshaw, do you have fire?"
14. "Wazermas, do you have fire?"
15. "Bearded Nasran, do you have fire?"
16. "Asha's son Ashamaz, do you have fire?"
17. "Khimish's son Bataraz, do you have fire?"
18. "Sebelshey, do you have fire?"
19. "Albek's son Toterash, do you have fire?"
20. Of the Nart troop that was traveling
21. None came forth from among them with fire.
22. Mother's two sons prayed to God
23. "If evil is not to befall us,
24. And if Soseruquo is not to ride among us,
25. Then we ought not to go farther."
26. Just as they spoke and argued
27. Soseruquo arrived among them:
28. "For this our golden lineage,
29. Armi, our goodly lineage,
30. For fire shall we die out!"
31. "Ay hay! I have some," he said.
32. Then he kindled a great fire for them,
33. But when the whole troop went to him

34. Soseruquo grew angry.
35. He threw away the fire,
36. Threw it into the water;
37. Now the old Narts remained without fire:
38. "Armi, our Soseruquo,
39. For this other our golden lineage,
40. Armi, our goodly lineage,
41. You have fire. Make it for us!" they said,
42. Thus then did they beseech him;
43. "May the great sky stay in its place! I have none,
44. But even if I have none, I shall make some for you," he replied.
45. Upon Little Grey he leaped,
46. He ascended Harama Mountain and peered about:
47. Some ruined towers,
48. From which a little smoke curled upward,
49. This Soseruquo saw;
50. He crept up on foot and stole within.
51. This was the house of a giant,
52. His head leaned upon his legs,
53. And a fire burned nigh his middle;
54. This giant was sleeping.
55. Soseruquo quietly went back.
56. About this giant he asked:
57. "Truly, my Little Grey Ram,
58. Whose legs cannot be beaten,
59. Over there is a giant's house,
60. His head leans upon his legs,
61. And a fire burns nigh his middle.
62. That giant is sleeping.
63. How will we take his fire?" said he.
64. Armi, dark Soseruquo,
65. Armi, a black man with iron eyes,
66. This horseman apart, who would not stay,

67. "Sit on my back.
68. The sound of my horse's hooves
69. I shall make like the sound of a dog's paws,
70. The sound of my dog's legs
71. I shall make like the sound of a cat's paws.
72. In such fashion I shall start to run
73. And we shall steal one fire brand."
74. Soseruquo mounted
75. And approached those towers.
76. They stole one firebrand.
77. For seven days and seven nights they galloped,
78. But one ember had fallen from the fire,
79. Had alighted upon the skin of the giant's thigh,
80. And the giant awoke with a start.
81. As he had before he counted his firebrands.
82. One was missing!
83. "Would they bring disgrace to my father!
84. What wicked wretch of theirs has stolen it from me?" he said.
85. Not moving, sitting where he was,
86. He stretched himself out to the ends of seven roads to try to catch them
87. Where they had run to after seven days and seven nights.
88. "O warrior of the Narts!
89. Won't I surely eat you raw
90. If you do not tell me what manner of man is Soseruquo?"
91. "I have not seen him,
92. But I have heard about him.
93. I do not know what manner of man he is."
94. "But even if you do not know him,
95. teach me his amusements!"
96. "Ay, hay! I shall tell you of his games!"
97. He proceeded as this giant had commanded,
98. "Soseruquo, they say,
99. Stops at the weathered foothills

100. And makes them throw down to him a stone of heaven.
101. This he butts with his forehead
102. So that it flies up more swiftly than it fell down."
103. "Do likewise with me!" said the giant.
104. Soseruquo climbed a nearby hill,
105. And threw down an iron meteorite that he found there.
106. The giant butted this with his forehead
107. And it flew back up more swiftly than it had fallen down.
108. Then the giant squatted down on his haunches.
109. He started again,
110. "That is a wonderful game!
111. And if you know it, teach me a more wondrous one.
112. This one will drive away any ache from your forehead."
113. The giant's death would be God's vengeance,
114. Because Sosruquo did not know how to kill the gaint.
115. "Tell me a more wonderful game!"
116. Commanded this giant.
117. "Soseruquo, they say,
118. Kneels on his knees
119. While white-hot arrowheads
120. Are shot into his wide-open mouth.
121. He chews the heads up
122. And then spits out the shafts."
123. "Do likewise to me!" said he
124. And the giant knelt down
125. And opened his mouth wide.
126. Sosruquo took short white-hot arrows
127. And shot them into his mouth,
128. But the giant chewed them up
129. And then spat out the shafts.
130. "O warrior of the Narts,
131. That is a wonderful game!
132. It has driven away my sore throat."

133. "If you know one, teach me yet a more wondrous game."
134. The giant's death would be God's vengeance,
135. Because Sosruquo did not know how to kill the gaint.
136. "Teach me a yet more wonderful game!" said he.
137. "Soseruquo, they say, opens his mouth,
138. And they throw in ploughshares that are red hot.
139. His stomach cools them off,
140. And he vomits them back up.
141. "Do likewise to me!" said he.
142. Soseruquo gathered up plough shares and heated them to a red heat,
143. He threw them into the giant's mouth.
144. But the giant's stomach cooled them
145. And he vomited them out again.
146. "O warrior of the Narts,
147. That was a wonderful game!
148. Show me something yet more wonderful!"
149. The giant's death would be God's vengeance
150. Because Sosruquo did not know how to kill the gaint.
151. "Wait! Wait, giant!
152. One game yet remains.
153. Soseruquo, they say,
154. Is led to seven turbulent seas
155. And stops at the deepest spot
156. Where his legs cannot touch bottom,
157. But where the water does not touch his mouth.
158. For seven days and seven nights he lets the water freeze
159. And then with a heave he comes back out again.
160. And when the giant said, "Do likewise with me!"
161. Soseruquo let him freeze in the sea.
162. "Now give a heave," he said,
163. And the giant heaved,
164. And broke the ice to pieces.
165. "Wait! Wait, giant!

166. To grow strong from head to toe
167. It will be useful to have the ice freeze harder."
168. The giant rushed to stand on the sea bottom
169. And let the ice freeze more solidly.
170. And when Soseruquo said, "Give a heave now!" that wicked giant
171. Replied, "I have, but cannot free myself!"
172. To seize that giant's sword
173. Soseruquo then dashed off on his horse.
174. "Uff!" grunted the giant as he continued to heave.
175. It was nearly noon
176. When his winged mount returned,
177. And Soseruquo drew forth the sword.
178. As he stepped forward to strike off the giant's head,
179. The giant said "I am no giant! I am a fool!
180. You yourself are Soseruquo.
181. I should have recognized you by your knees! "
182. He cut off that giant's head
183. And returned, bringing fire.
184. He brought fire back to the Nart troop and offered help to all.
185. Some there had died of cold.
186. Some there had died of heat.
187. A few had survived in the middle.
188. For these he made a great fire.
189. Then Soseruquo sent them out on a raid
190. And he led them back again.

Appendix B.

Bzhedukh West Circassian (Adyghey)Phonemic inventory

labial	p [˘]	p	b	p'	f		m	w
dental	t [˘]	t	d	t'			n	
alveolar	c [˘]	c	ʒ	c'	s	z	r	
lateral fricatives					ʃ	ʒ	ʃ'	
alveolo-palatal					ʃ	ʒ	ʃ'	
rounded	č [˘]	č [˚]	ʒ [˚]	-	ʃ [˚]	ʒ [˚]	ʃ' [˚]	
palato-alveolar(laminal)	č ^y	č ^y	ʒ ^y	č ^y '	ʃ ^y	ʒ ^y		
retroflexed	č [˘]	č	ʒ	č'	ʃ [˘]	ʒ		
palatal	-	-	-	-	(x [˘]) [*]	x̂	ġ	y
velar (plain)	-	k	-	k'				
rounded	k [˘]	k [˚]	g [˚]	k' [˚]	x̂ [˚]	-		
uvular	q [˘]	q	-	-	χ	ʁ		
rounded	q [˚]	q [˚]	-	-	χ [˚]	ʁ [˚]		
pharyngeal (epiglottal)					ħ	ʕ		
laryngeal				ʔ	h			
rounded				ʔ [˚]				
vowels	ə	a						

* /-h(a)/ → /-x̂(a)/ at the end of verbs and nouns.

Remark Bzhedukh exhibits a contrast between aspirated stops and tense unaspirated ones, which latter might be lightly aspirated. This contrast occurs among

2. yére, xəməš^{cy}əq°ε p°εteréz,
yara yerey! (filler word)
xəməš^{cy}-ə-q°a Khimish-3.inal-son
p°ataraz Pataraz
3. p°εterézεr č°yεlezεq°εzəg°,
p°ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs(olutive case)
č°yaaλa-zaaq°a-zə-g°ə child-unique-one-heart (for 'unique' see Abaza /za-qā/ 'one-head',

 where Abaza pharyngealization appears as rounding in
 Circassian)
4. zəλ'ə záq°εw λ'əχ° g°əyσε zək°εc'əλ,
zə-λ'ə one-man
zaaq°a-w unique-pred
λ'ə-χ°ə man-hero
g°ə-y-śa heart-pl.conn-hundred
ø-zə-k'ac'ə-λ 3.pl-whom-inside-lie (an intransitive verb with indirect object)
5. nəbεm yəλεw yáte əλ əməyéγ°.
nəba-m belly-obl
ø-yə-λ+a-w 3-3(in.belly)-lie+in-adv
ø-y-ah-ta 3-poss-int-father
ə-λ 3.inal-blood
ø-y-ə-mə-γa-γ°ə 3(blood)-3-non.pr-let-dry (an ergative verb)
6. a zəməfεw xəməš^{cy}əzəm
a that
zə-maafa-w one, same-day-pred
xəməš^{cy}-ə-zə-m Khimish-ep.v-old-obl
7. ʔəyspə g°áš°yεr qəzaś°éyš°cyəm
ʔəyspə Ispa
g°aaš°ya-r Lady-abs
ø-qə-z-ø-ha-ś°ə-y-a-š°y-a-m
 3(her)-hor-when-3-pl-detri-3(he)-when-lead-in-obl.adv

21. zeyγázēs k°ásēcáġēλ'ēr zep'ēyč'ý,
 z-y-a-ȳa-a-z+a-ś refl-3-pres-cause-conn-turn+in-then, "then he rolled himself over"
 k°ásā-caaġa-ha-r crib-rib-pl-abs
 ø-za-p'ə-y-a-č'ýə 3.pl-wholly-sever-3-pres-cut
22. zəqeyʔét'əs k°ásēpsəλ'ēr zep'eywət,
 zə-qa-y-a-ʔat'ə-s' refl-ch.of.st-3-pres-raise-then
 k°ásā-psə-ha-r crib-band-pl-abs
 ø-za-p'ə-y-a-wətə 3.pl-wholly-sever-3-pres-break
23. qet'ēž'ás g°ət'em qeyk'áλ',
 ø-qa-t'až'ə-ś 3-ch.of.st-stand.up-then
 g°ə+t'a-m heart(center)+dug.in-obl, "to the central pillar"
 ø-qa-y-a-k'a+a+λ'+a 3-hor-3(pillar)-to-come+conn+near+up.to
24. nart' č'ýátew p'əláȳem qəλeʔáb.
 nart' Nart
 č'ýaata-w sword-pred
 ø-p'ə-λ+a-a-ȳa-m which.abs-down-dangle+to-th.v-past-obl, "which hung down"
 ø-qə-ø-λa-ʔa+a+ba 3-hor-3-after-hand+conn+much, "reach out a hand"
25. déye g°ás'ýer nežəȳ'órás g°əλéyt' :
 da+ya nut+one.of, "nut tree"
 g°aaš'ya-r lady-abs
 nažə+ȳ'ə-ø-rə-ś keen.witted+character-be-stat.part-then
 ø-g'ə-λə-y-a-t'ə 3(P)-heart-after-3-pres-stand,
 "Lady Nut Tree, being wise, devined his nature. "
26. " p'eteréz qəzəχ'əž'ye λ'əχ'ə xeč'ýən,
 p'ataraz Pataraz
 ø-qə-zə-χ'ə-ž'ya 3-ch.of.st-when-grows-inst
 λ'ə-χ'ə man-hero
 ø-ø-λa-č'ýə-n 3(P)-3(hero)-into-sprout-prox.fut
27. nart'əžəλ'ēr λepqəč'ε yeχ'əλ'én,"
 nart'-ə-žə-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs

š'a-a-š'a-m-a horse-conn-herder-obl-pl
 š'ə-č'y'a horse-young
 ø-qə-ø-fə-šə-y-ha-a-š'y'ə 3(horse)-hor-3(P.)-for-mass.out-3-pl-pres-lead.out

34. š'əč'y'ew qəš'ás'y'əγer fárew qəč'éc'y'ə.
 š'ə-č'y'a-w horse-young-pred
 ø-qə-šə-y-ha-a-š'y'ə-γa-r which.abs-hor-mass.out-3-pl-pres-lead.out-past-ger
 faara-w fara-pred, "thoroughbred"
 ø-qə-č'a-č'y'ə 3-ch.of.st-under-exit, "The young horse which they lead out for him proved to be a thoroughbred *fara*."

35. p'eteréz'er š'áš'eme yəš'esóyby'ε a γáσε.
 p'ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs
 š'a-a-š'a-m-a horse-conn-breeder-obl-pl
 yə-šas-əy-by'ə-a gen-year-pl.conn-nine-attribute
 ø-y-ha-γa-a-s+a 3-3-pl-cause-conn-sit+in, "they taught him"

36. p'eteréz'er yəfáre qeyš'esóyés
 p'ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs
 ø-yə-faara 3-poss-fara
 qə-y-a-š'+a+sə+yə-š 3-hor-3-on-horse+on+sit+prol-then, "He rode out on his *fara*."

37 barsəg'əby'əm qəz'éyħem
 bahrs-ə-g'ə-by'a-m Bars-ep.v-center-broad-obl, "onto the plain"
 ø-qə-z-y-a-(a-)ħa-m 3(P.)-hor-when-3-in-(when-)enter-obl.adv

38. a zəmaf'em pš'yəmarəq'ε qəš'y'ə r'éc'y'.
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 pš'yə-mar-ə-q'a prince-Mar-3.inal-son
 ø-qə-š'y'ə-ø-r'a-č'y' 3(P.)-hor-there-3(M.)-before-cut.across, "he encountered him there"

39. "wε pš'yətát, t'édε wəqεč'y'əž'y'ərə," qəréy r'.
 wa you
 pš'yə-t-ah-ta prince-father-int-father.voc, "Prince Grandfather"

t'a-da where-Q
 wə-qa-č'yə-ž'yə-ra you-hor-exit-finally-Q.polite, "Where might it be that you are coming from?"
 ø-qa-y-a-y-a-ŋ'a 3-hor-3(M.)-to-3(P.)-pres-say

40. "λέψα γαῖς ἄσ'α σαρεῖς ἄζ'α, σᾶςάω,
 λᾶψ-ᾶ Tlepsh-obl.of.names
 ø-yə-č'yə+š'yə-ᾶ 3-poss-hit+building-obl.of.possessed.forms ("his smithy")
 sə-qa-č'yə-ž'yə I-hor-exit-back
 s-yə-śaawa my-poss-page.boy.voc

41. maféyem xəmǝš'áz'er zəsewǝč'yəm
 maafa-ya-m day-dismal-obl (for expected mafáyam)
 xəmǝš'y-ə-ž-a-r Khimish-ep.v-old-abs
 ø-zə-s-a-wǝč'yə-m 3-when-I-when-kill-obl.adv

42. nárt' ək'érqəm səyč'yetáce qəŋ'əy g'á γ,
 nart' Nart
 ə-k'a-pq-əm 3.inal-thigh-bone-obl(for expected -ə)
 s-yə-č'yəaata+a+ca my-poss-sword+conn+tooth (= 'sword edge')
 ø-qa-ŋ'ə-y-ə-g'a-a-γa 3-ch.of.st-edge-3-non.pres-dull-th.v-past

43. səymayóse lépsa qeyzγeλáγ,
 s-əy-mayə-sa my-poss-Mayi-sword (this keenest of swords has a name)
 λᾶψ-ᾶ Tlepsh-obl.of.names
 ø-qa-y-a-s-γa-λᾶ-γa 3(sword)-ch.of.st-3(Tl.)-dat-I-cause-sharpen-past

44. š'yepsahǝγ'ε qeyzγeś'ǝγew qesehǝž'yə."
 š'y-a-psaaǝ-γ'a three-times-hard-ness
 ø-qa-y-a-s-γa-ś'ə-γa-w 3-ch.of.st-3(Tl.)-dat-I-cause-make-past-pred
 ø-qa-s-a-ǝ-ž'yə 3-hor-I-pres-carry-back

45. "wəymayóse ze seγγépλ, səyps'yətát."
 w-yə-mayə-sa your-poss-Mayi-sword
 z-a one-time
 s-y-a-w-γa-pλᾶ me-3-at-you.imp-let-look

s-yə-pš^yə-ta-ah-ta my-poss-prince-father-int-father.voc

46. “ bɛw weyzɣepλón, səyśáw,” əʔ°əy
 ba-w much-adv
 w-y-a-s-ɣa-pλə-n you-3-at-I-let-look-prox.fut
 s-yə-śaawa my-poss-page.boy.voc
 ø-y-ə-ʔ°a-əy 3-3-non.pres-say-and

47. pš^yəmarəq°ε č^yetácεr qəzeyɣázεm
 pš^yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo
 č^yaata+a+ca-r swor+conn+tooth-abs
 ø-qə-z-y-a-ɣa-a-z+a-m 3-ch.of.st-when-3-when-cause-conn-turn+to-obl.adv

48. fárεr š°əʔ°əśətáy p°eterézεr qəby°edəyχáy,
 faara-r Fara-abs
 š°ə-ʔ°əśə-ta-əy horse-wise-stat.part-and
 p°ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs
 ø-qə-by°a+da-y-ə-χə-əy 3(P.)-hor-side+out-3-non.pres-take-and

49. pš^yəmarəq°ε mayósεmž^y zəbλεwəč^yəm,
 pš^yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo
 mayə-sa-m-ž^y Mayi-sword-obl-instr
 ø-zə-bλα-wəč^yə-m 3-when-go.by, miss-kill-obl.adv

50. fárεr š°əʔ°əśətáy qət°ərəyɣazáy,
 faara-r fara-abs
 š°ə-ʔ°əśə-t-əy horse-wise-stat.part-and
 ø-qə-t°-y-a-y-ə-ɣa-a-zə-əy
 3(P.)-ch.st-surface-dir-dat-3-non.pres-cause-conn-turn.out-and

51. pš^yəmarəq°ε č^yéč^yεw qəg°ελάδέś
 pš^yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo
 č^ya-č^ya-w fast-fast-adv
 ø-qə-ø-g°a-λaada-ś 3(horse)-hor-3(M.)-beside-rush-then

52. p'eterézə pš^yəmarəq°ε yəmayósε qəʔεč^yéyχə,

p'ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl

pš^yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo

ø-yə-mayə-sa 3-poss-Mayi-sword

ø-qə-ə-ʔa+č^yə-y-a-χə 3(sword)-hor-3.inal-hand+inst-3(P.)-pres-take

53. barsəg°əbγ°em š^yərayfóž^yε,

bahrs-ə-g°ə-by°a-m Bars-ep.v-center-wide-obl

ø-ø-š^yə-y-a-y-ə-fə-ž^y-a 3(M.)-3(Bars)-there-flat.area-dat-3(P.)-non.pres-drive-back-into

54. χət'ʔ°əλεμάy bλε γ°εg°έγ° deyyezóηε,

χə-t'ʔ°ə-λα-m-əy sea-two-sandspit-obl-and

bλ-a seven-times

γ°a-g°-a-γ° road-zone-conn-character, "seven times along the pathway
formed by a spit of sand between two seas or lakes"

ø-ø-d-y-a-γa-zə-ηa 3(M.)-3(plain)-out-3(P.)-pres-cause-turn-about

55. p'eterézə pš^yəmarəq°ε š^yəreyλ'óχə.

p'ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl

pš^yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo

ø-š^yə-y-a-y-a-λ'ə+χə 3-there-dir-dat-3-pres-kill+down

56. p'eteréz z°εq°εg°áš^yem qeyk'°ελ'έž^yə.

p'ataraz Pataraz

z°aq°a-g°aaš^y-a-m foster-lady-obl

ø-qa-y-a-k'°ə+a+λ'°a-ž^yə 3(P.)-hor-3(nurse)-to-come+intr+near+up.to-again.

57. " t̥ə qəsat'óy, səyśáw, wəqek'°εž^yəyá!"

t̥ə-a God-emph(atic)

ø-qə-s-a-a-ø-t'°-əy 3-hor-me-to-emph-3-give-and

s-yə-śaawa my-poss-page.boy.voc

wə-qa-k'°ə+a-ž^yə-γ-ah you-hor-come+intr-again-past-Q.emph

58. z°éq°ε-g°áš^yem p'eterézə qəréy ʔ°ε,

z°aq°a-g°aaš^y-a-m foster-lady-obl

p'ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl.of.names

ø-y-a-y-a-ʔ°a 3-3(P.)-to-3(nurse)-pres-say

59. a zəməfem p'eteréz qeyγás'°ε.

a that

zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl

p'ataraz Pataraz

ø-qa-y-a-γa-a-ś'°a 3(P.)-ch.of.st-3(nurse)-pres-cause-conn-be.good,
"she comforted him."

60. " néne g°áš'°y, nart'óžəx'°er səyλey'°ón,

na-na mother-mother, "grandma"

g°aaš'°y lady.voc

nart'-ə-žə-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs

s-yə-λay'°ə-ø-n my-poss-see, goal-be-prox.fut

61. nárt' senás'°eme saxəhán,

nart' Nart

saana+a+ś'°+a-m-a wine+conn+drink+to-obl-pl, "drinking parties"

s-y-ha-xə-ħa-a-n I-3-pl-mass-enter-in-prox.fut

62. səynart'əbz'°y qaʔəsxónə qəš'°yəs'°ón,

s-yə-nart'-ə-bza-əy my-poss-Nart-ep.v-horn-and

ø-q-y-ha-ʔə-s-xə-n-ə 3-hor-3-pl-hand-I-take-prox.fut-and.so

ø-qə-š'°y-ə-yə-s-ś'°ə-n 3-hor-there-container-I-drink-prox.fut

63. xəməš'°y'°žəm yəλewes'°y š'°y a s ʔ°εt'°én."

xəməš'°y-ə-žə-m Khimish-ep.v-old-obl

ø-yə-λə+a+waasa-əy 3-poss-blood+conn+price-and

ø-š'°y-y-ha-a-s-ʔ°a+t'a-n 3-there-3-pl-dat-I-say+prol-prox.fut

64. " a səyśáw, senás'°em wəmək'°."

a O

s-əy-śaawa my-poss-page.boy.voc

saana+a+ś'°+a-m wine+conn+drink+to-obl

wə-mə-k'°y a you-not-go+intr

65. γέγ'εσ δεγε-γ'άσ'εμ π'ετερέρερ
 ø-y-a-γ'α-σ 3-3(nurse)-pres-say-then
 da+ya-g'aaš'a-m nut+one.of-lady-obl
 π'ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs
66. darάye π'γ'εσ'άγεμ σ'εγεγε'άy.
 darəya thistle
 π'γ'α-σ'α+γα-m bed-fluff+ness-obl
 ø-ø-σ'ε-y-a-γα-άya 3(P.)-3(bed)-there-3(nurse)-pres-make-sleep
67. γ'άσ'ερ nart' senάσ'εμε qaχάηε:
 γ'aaš'a-r lady-abs
 nart' Nart
 saana+a+σ'α-m-a wine+conn+drink+to-obl-pl
 ø-qə-y-ha-χα-a-ηa 3-hor-3-pl-mass-pres-enter
68. “ nart'άζάχ'εζ'ε σ'άγεεσκεγ'έσ',
 nart'-ə-ζά-ha-ζ'α Nart-ep.v-old-pl-instr
 σ'-yə-y+a+šk+a-y+a+σ'(+a)
 you.pl-poss-3+dat+eat+intr-3+dat+drink+at, “your party”
69. σ'άγεεw χ'άγεμάy σ'άσ'εμαγ'áz,
 σ'a+a+γ'α-w know+conn+character-pred, “wonder”
 ø-χ'ά-γα-ma-əy 3-happen-past-if, when-even
 σ'ά-ø-σ'ε-mə-γα-a-z you(pl)-3(wonder)-there-not-cause-conn-turn,
 “you are unaware” or “you are unheeding”
70. λ'άχ'ο γ'άyσεw səynefάne qesəž'άγ
 λ'ά-χ'ά man-hero
 γ'ά-əy-σα-w heart-pl.conn-hundred-pred
 s-yə-na+fə-na my-poss-eye+white(“light”)-eye
 ø-qa-s+ə-ž'ά-γα 3-hor-sit+dyn-again-past, “he has returned”
71. nart'άζάχ'αζ'α λαρqά'ε σ'ayχ'άλ'án.”
 nart'-ə-ζά-ha-ζ'α Nart-ep.v-old-pl-inst
 λ+a+pqə-č'a blood+conn+frame-without

ø-ś°-y-a-ǰ°+λ°+a-n 3-you.pl-dir-dat-happen+near+to-prox.fut,
 “As to you old Narts, you will soon be left without kinsmen.”

72. ž°εq°εg°áś°em nart°óž°me qəzaréy r°ε m
 ž°aq°a-g°aaś°a-m foster-lady-obl
 nart°-ə-ž°-m-a Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
 ø-qə-z-y-ha-a-y-a-r°a-m 3-hor-when-3-pl-to-3(nurse)-pres-say-obl.adv

73. a zəmafem nart°óž°x°er zedeywəséx°,
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 nart°-ə-ž°-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
 ø-za-də-y-a-wəsə+a-ha 3.pl- recip-with-3-on-compose+in-pl

74. a zəmafem šx°ahəγabóy qəzedawəsə:
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 šx°a+a+hə+γa+a+ba-əy trick+conn+carry+ness+conn+much-and, “treachery”
 ø-qə-za-də-y-ha-wəsə 3-hor- recip-with-3-pl-compose

75. “ p°eteraez fereǰ°élam yedγeš°esón,
 p°ataraz Pataraz
 faara-ǰ°alə-m fara-wild-obl
 ø-y-a-t-γa-š°+a+s+ə-n 3(horse)-3-dat-we-cause-horse+on+sit+dyn-prox.fut

76. warpóž°em psəxεγáħε yedγeš°yén.
 warpə-ž°-m Warp-old-obl
 psə+x̂a+γa+a+ħa water+mass+let+conn+enter, “watering an animal”
 ø-y-a-t-γa-š°y+a-n 3-3(P.)-dat-we-cause-lead+in-prox.fut

77. p°eteréz barsə-g°óbγ°ε zóyħεž°yε
 p°ataraz Pataraz
 bars-ə-g°ə-by°a Bars-ep.v-center-wide
 ø-z-yə-ħa-ž°y a 3-when-flat.area-enter-inst

84. psəpʰe pʰepčə ze pʰedɣewəćʰn,
 psə-pʰa water-nose, "tip of the delta"
 pʰapčə every
 ʒa troop
 ø-pʰa-t-ɣa-wəćʰə-n 3-nose-we-cause-halt-prox.fut, "we will station at the deltas"

85. a zəməfem pʰeteréz raλʰəxón," aʔʰəy
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 pʰataraz Pataraz
 ø-y-a-y-ha-λʰə+xə-n 3-dir-dat-3-pl-kill+down-prox.fut
 ø-y-ha-a-ʔʰa-əy 3-3-pl-pres-say-and

86. nartʰəzəmɛ senásʰem raɣebláɣe,
 nartʰ-ə-zə-m-a Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
 sana+a+śʰ+a-m wine+conn+drink+to-obl
 ø-y-a-y-ha-a-ɣa-bla+a+ɣa
 3(P.)-3-dat-3-pl-pres-cause-pass.by+conn+ness,
 "they invited him to it"

87. a zəməfem λʰəxʰə bzerəy qəšʰəráʰə
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 λʰə-xʰə-bza-r-əy man-hero-horn-abs-and
 ø-qə-šʰə-y-a-y-ha-a-tʰə 3(horn)-hor-there-3(P.)-to-3-pl-pres-give

88. λʰəxʰəbzáw qəratʰəɣrəy qəšʰəráyśʰ.
 λʰə-xʰə-bza-w man-hero-horn-pred
 ø-qə-y-a-y-ha-tʰə-ɣa-ra-əy
 which(horn)-hor-3(P.)-to-3-pl-give-past-abs-and
 ø-qə-šʰə-yə-y-a-śʰə 3-hor-there-container-3-pres-drink.dry

89. " wɛ nartʰ pʰeteréz, fárem yešʰəsəráy
 wa you
 nartʰ Nart
 pʰataraz Pataraz

faara-m fara-obl
 ø-y-a-š^c+a+s+ə-r-əy you(imp)-3-to-horse+on+sit+dyn-pro.tns-and

90. warpázəm psə̀xeyáħe tfaš^cy,
 warp-ə-zə-m Warp-th.v-old-obl
 psə̀+̀xa+yə+a+ħa water+mass+let+conn+enter, "watering"
 ø-t-fa-a-ø-š^cyə 3-us-for-emph-you.imp-lead.out

91. barsəg°ə̀by°em wəqəzəyħež^ye
 bars-ə-g°ə̀by°a-m Bars-ep.v-center-wide-obl
 wə-qə-z-əy-ħa-ž^ya you-hor-when-flat.area-enter-inst

92. fárem č^yəpš^yə wəy° š^cyeyx, " qərá?°e.
 faara-m fara-obl
 č^yəpš^yə riding.crop
 w+a+y°ə hit+conn+character
 ø-š^cyə-y-a-ø-̀xə 3(blow)-there-3(horse)-to-you.imp-take
 ø-qə-y-a-y-ħa-a-?°a 3-hor-3-to-3-pl-pres-say

93. p°eteréz fəfə̀léłəm qeyš°ésə,
 p°ataraz Pataraz
 faara-?alə-m fara-wild-obl
 ø-qa-y-a-š°ə+a+s+ə 3-ch.of.st-3(horse)-on-horse+on+sit+dyn

94. barsəg°ə̀by°em qəzəyħem
 bars-ə-g°ə̀by°a-m Bars-ep.v-center-wide-obl
 ø-qə-z-y-a-ħa-m 3-hor-when-3-in-enter-obl.adv

95. fárem č^yəpš^yə wəy° š^cyəréyxós
 faara-m fara-obl
 č^yəpš^yə riding.crop
 w+a+y°ə hit+conn+character
 ø-š^cyə-y-a-y-a-̀xə-ś 3(blow)-there-3(horse)-to-3(P.)-pres-take-then

96. barsəg°ə̀by°er ̀labžez^ye reyγáz°e.
 bars-ə-g°ə̀by°a-r Bars-ep.v-center-wide-abs

λa+a+bza-ž^ya leg+conn+horn-instr, "with hooves"
 ø-y-a-y-a-γa-a-z^oa 3-3(horse)-dat-3-pres-cause-conn-plow

97. warpázəm psəxeyáħe qəzēsəm
 warp-ə-zə-m Warp-ep.v-old-obl
 psə+xa+γa+a+ħa water+mass+let+conn+enter
 ø-qə-z-a-s+ə-m 3-ch.of.st-when-when-sit+dyn-obl.adv, "when he arrived"

98. psəx^oe p^oáybləm š^owəzáyblər qədəč^yə.
 psə-x^oa water-flow, "river"
 p^oa-əy-blə-m nose-pl.conn-seven-obl
 š^oə+wə-za-əy-blə-a-r horse+man-troop-pl.conn-seven-th.v-abs
 ø-qə-da-č^yə 3.pl-hor-out-exit

99. a zəmafəm š^oə wəzáyblər š^yəreyλ^oəxə.
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 š^oə+wə-za-əy-blə-a-r horse+man-troop-pl.conn-seven-th.v-abs
 ø-š^yə-y-a-y-a-λ^oə-xə 3.pl-there-dir-dat-3-pres-kill-down

100. p^oeterézər xey^oášħem qəzesəž^yəm
 p^oataraz-a-r Pataraz
 xa+γ^oa+a+śħa-m zone+character+conn+head-obl, "on the outskirts"
 ø-qə-z-a-s+ə-ž^yə-m 3-hor-when-when-sit+dyn-again-obl.adv, "when he arrived back"

101. a č^oáp^oem ferεléλəm qeypsəxəž^yə.
 a that
 č^oa-a-p^oa-m earth-conn-place-obl
 faara-ʔaλə-m fara-wild-obl
 ø-qa-y-a-psə-xə-ž^yə 3-ch.of.st-dir-dat-dismount-down-again

102. ferεléλər wenég^o néč^yew qəzesəž^yəm
 faara-ʔaλ-a-r fara-wild-th.v-abs
 wana-g^o saddle-zone
 ø-na-č^y-a-w 3-thither-exit-th.v-pred, "with an empty saddle"
 ø-qə-z-a-s+ə-ž^yə-m 3-hor-when-when-sit+dyn-obl.adv

103. nart'ǎ́žəmə sənɛfǒbžer zedaʔét'ə,
 nart'-ə-žə-m-a Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
 saana-fə-bža-r wine-white-horn-abs
 ø-za-də-y-ha-ʔa+t'ə 3- recip-with-3-pl-hand+prolong, "they toasted one another"
104. ʔè šés'ǎ́šɛx'ɛr ɡ'ǎ́s'ǎ́p'č'yɛw š'yəzɛʔáxə.
 ʔa+ša-s'ə+ša-ha-r hand+weapon-skin+weapon-pl-abs (= 'weapons and armor')
 ɡ'ǎ́-s'ǎ́-a-p'č'y-a-w heart-good-conn-gift-pred
 ø-š'yə-za-ʔa-y-ha-xə 3.pl-there- recip-hand-3-pl-take, "there they exchanged them"
105. p'ɛterézə s'ɛyɛc'ǎ́yɛ zəqéy's'ǎ́s
 p'ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl
 s'ǎ́-a-y-a-c'ə-y-a skin-bad-hair-bad, "decomposed"
 zə-qa-y-a-s'ǎ́-s refl-ch.of.st-3-pres-make-then
106. nart' sənǎ́s'ɛmə amǎ́s'ɛw qaχɛhǎ́ž'yə,
 nart' Nart
 saana+a+s'ə+a-m-a wine+conn+drink+to-obl-pl
 ø-y-ha-mə-s'ǎ́-a-w 3-3-pl-not-know-pred
 ø-qə-y-ha-xa-a-ħa+a-ž'yə 3-hor-3-pl-mass-dat-enter+in-again
107. pčɛq'ǎ́xɛm q'ɛwǎ́c'ɛs qaχɛdáʔ'ɛ.
 pča-q'ǎ́-a-xa-m door-lee-conn-zone-obl, "in the sheltered triangle formed behind
 an open door and a wall"
 ø-ø-q'ǎ́-wǎ́c'ǎ́-s 3(P.)-3(door)-lee-stop-then
 ø-qə-y-ha-xa-da+a+ʔ'ǎ́ 3-hor-3-pl-mass-with+conn+be.audible, "listen"
108. nart'ǎ́žəx'ɛr č'yádɛm šħaš'yət'ǎ́x'ɛw
 nart'-ə-žə-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
 č'yáada-m barrel-obl
 ø-ø-šħa-a-š'yə-t'ə-ha-w 3.pl-3-head, above-dat-there-stand-pl-pred
109. ʔħa ʔɛlɛ́ž'yəm məx'ǎ́nǎ́bɛ t'ɛráʔ'ɛ:
 ʔħa-a-ʔħa-lǎ́ž'y-əm god-conn-bounty-obl (T'haghalaj, god of the harvest)
 mə+x'ǎ́+nə-ba not+happen, ripen+inf-many, "many blasphemies"

ø-ø-t^ʿ-y-a-y-ha-a-ʔ^oa 3.pl-3(T^h.)-surf-dir-dat-3-pl-pres-say

110. αλεξ^ʿέρ^ʿσ^ʿυ^ʿα γε^ʿμα^ʿκ^ʿ’ό^ʿβε^ʿ γε^ʿυ^ʿʔ^oά^ʿτ^ʿε,

α^ʿλα^ʿξ^ʿα-p^ʿσ^ʿυ^ʿα Alaja-prince

y+a+mə+k^ʿ’ə-ba dir+dat+not+come-many, “many slanders, lies”

ø-qa-y-a-ʔ^oa+a+t^ʿa 3.pl-hor-3-pres-say+conn+prolonged

111. wε^ʿρ^ʿε^ʿμ^ʿε^ʿσ^ʿα ś^ʿο^ʿρ^ʿε^ʿξ^ʿυ^ʿε δ^ʿα^ʿρ^ʿε^ʿυ^ʿγ^ʿά^ʿς^ʿτ^ʿε,

warzamas-ə Warzamas-obl

ś^ʿο^ʿ+pqa-ξ^ʿυ^ʿα measure+frame-inst (= ‘as though the standard/truth’)

ø-ø-də-y-a-y-a-γ^ʿα-a-ś^ʿt^ʿa 3.pl(lies)-3(A.)-with-dir-dat-3(W.)-pres-cause-conn-take,
“he agreed with him about them”

112. γ^ʿα^ʿμ^ʿα^ʿς^ʿα ś^ʿη^ʿα^ʿς^ʿυ^ʿα^ʿt^ʿξ^ʿ’ό^ʿξ^ʿυ^ʿε^ʿρ^ʿ γ^ʿα^ʿς^ʿ’υ^ʿάς,

γ^ʿα^ʿμ^ʿα^ʿς-ə Yimis-obl

ś^ʿη^ʿα-a-ς^ʿυ^ʿα-t^ʿξ^ʿ’ə-ξ^ʿυ^ʿα-a-r head-conn-there-butter.up-final-th.v-ger, “utterly flattered
head,” “utterly vain”

ø-yə-ς^ʿυ^ʿα+a+s+a 3-on-behind+conn+sit+in, “swagger,” (verb originally used to
refer to a swaying prisoner sitting behind a rider on horseback)

113. sawsə^ʿρ^ʿά^ʿq^ʿε ś^ʿξ^ʿ’ε^ʿγ^ʿά^ʿυ^ʿς^ʿε ś^ʿ’υ^ʿα^ʿζε^ʿξ^ʿέ^ʿυ^ʿλ^ʿη^ʿε,

sawsə^ʿρ^ʿά^ʿq^ʿα Sawseruquo

ś^ʿξ^ʿ’a+γ^ʿα-əy-ś^ʿα sorcery+ness-pl.conn-hundred, “a hundred spells”

ø-ś^ʿυ^ʿα-z-a-ξ^ʿα-y-a-λ^ʿ+η^ʿα 3.pl-there-refl-dat-mass-3-pres-lie+act, “he concocted”

114. nart^ʿ ς^ʿ’υ^ʿα^ʿλε^ʿξ^ʿstén λ^ʿ’ό^ʿγ^ʿ’ε^ʿm ς^ʿ’υ^ʿε^ʿνέ^ʿς^ʿ’ε,

nart^ʿ Nart

ς^ʿ’υ^ʿα^ʿλα^ʿξ^ʿstan Chilakhstan

λ^ʿ’ə+γ^ʿ’a-m man+character-obl, “courage”

ø-ø-ς^ʿυ^ʿα-a-nac’^ʿa 3(Ch.)-3(courage)-behind, after-pres-brag

115. sənε^ʿferóy ς^ʿ’υ^ʿε^ʿδά^ʿς^ʿ’ε^ʿm rafó^ʿξ^ʿ.

saana-fə-a-r-əy wine-white-th.v-abs-and

ς^ʿ’υ^ʿaada-a-ς^ʿ’a-m barrel-conn-bottom-obl

ø-ø-y-a-y-ha-fə-ξ^ʿə 3(wine)-3(barrel.bottom)-dir-dat-3-pl-drive-down

116. p'eteréz pč'eq'áxem qəq'éc'yə,

p'ataraz Pataraz
pč'a-q'a-a-xa-m door-lee-conn-zone-obl
ø-qə-ø-q'a-č'yə 3-ch.of.st-3-lee-exit

117. óby'əž'yε š'yət'əm əcáǵεx'εr yεyεt'áq'ε,

ə-by'ə-ž'yə 3.inal-side-inst, "by"
ø-š'yə-t'-əm who-there-stand-obl
ə-caaǵa-ha-r 3.inal-rib-pl-abs
ø-y-a-ya-t'aaq'a 3(rib)-3-pres-cause-smash

118. zət'eyr'əč'εrəm ətχə?əp'č'yε rεyč'yəč'yéxə,

ø-zə-t'-y-a-?əč'a-ra-m 3(P.)-whom-surf-dir-dat-hew-ger-obl
ə-tχə-?əp'č'yə whose-back-articulations, vertebrae
ø-y-a-y-a-č'yəč'yə-xə 3-dir-dat-3(P.)-pres-break-down

119. zəyγεč'yεrəzεw ž'yεxεs'ég'əm qət'éyhε.

z-y-ə-ya-č'yə+ra+z+a-w refl-3-non.pres-let-round+loc+turn+in-pred, "he turned himself
about in a circle"

ž'yəxə-s'a-g'əm floor-skin, surface-center-obl
ø-qə-t'-y-a-ħa 3-hor-surf-dir-dat-enter,
"He entered the middle of the floor and gazed about."

120. a zəmafem p'eterézə nart'əžəmε qaréy?ε:

a that
zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
p'ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl
nart'-ə-žə-m-a Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
ø-qə-y-ha-a-y-a-?ə 3-hor-3-pl-dat-3(P.)-pres-say

121. "nart'əžəx'εr sənéf č'yádεm s'əsħaš'yət',

nart'-ə-žə-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
saana-f wine-white
č'yāada-m barrel-obl
s'ə-sħa-a-š'yə-t' you.pl-head-on-there-stand

122. τηαγελέζ^yəm məχ^oənəβε τεγς^oεῖ^oάτ^o :
 τηαγαλαζ^y-əm god-harvest-obl
 mə+χ^oə+nə-ba not+happen, ripen+inf-many
 ø-ø-t^o-y-a-ς^o-a-ῖ^oa+a+t^oa 3.pl-3(T'h.)-surf-dir-to-you.pl-pres-say+conn+prol
123. αλεζ^yέρσ^y yemək^o’άβε εῖ^oετ^oάγ,
 αλαζ^ya-pσ^yə Alaja-prince
 y+a+mə+k^o’ə-ba dir+to+not+come-many
 ø-y-ə-ῖ^oa+a+t^oa-a-γα 3.pl-3-non.pres-say+conn+prol-th.v-past
124. werzemésə śópqež^ye dərəy γες^ot^oάγ,
 warzamas-ə Warzamas-obl
 śə+pqa-ž^ya measure+frame-instr
 ø-ø-də-y-a-y-ə-γα-ς^ot^oa-a-γα
 3-3(A.)-with-dir-dat-3(W.)-non.pres-take-th.v-past
125. nart^o yəməs yónew śħaś^oətχ^oόζ^y,
 nart^o Nart
 yəməs Yimis
 yənə-a-w giant-th.v-adv
 ø-śħa-a-ś^oə-tχ^oə-ζ^yə 3-head-on-there-butter.up-finally
126. sawsərəq^oε μόγ^oε śħ^oεzeχάλη,
 sawsərəq^oa Sawseruquo
 məγ^oa wretched
 ø-śħ^oa-z-a-χə-a-λ+ħa 3-sorcery-refl-dat-mass-pres-lie+act, “he schemes wickedness in himself”
127. nart^o č^yəλeχsténós λ’όγε χeməλάχ^o.”
 nart^o Nart
 č^yəλaχstan-əs Chilakhstan-then
 λ’ə+γα man-ness (inherent plural?)
 ø-ø-χə-mə-λə-ha 3.pl-3-mass-not-lie-pl
128. p^oeteréz č^yádəm č^yελərəéhés :
 p^oataraz Pataraz

čʸaada-m barrel-obl
 ø-ø-čʸa-λə-r-a-ħa-ś 3(P.)-3(barrel)-side-after-inst-pres-enter-then, "he went up beside
 the barrel"

129. "mə ɡ°əšʸáʔew qásʔ°erer pʻcʻómē
 mə this.near.speaker
 ɡ°ə+šʸaaʔa-w heart+saying-pred
 ø-qə-y-ha-a-s-ʔ°a-ra-r which-hor-3-pl-dat-I-say-ger-abs
 ø-pʻcʻə-ø-ma 3-lie-be-if

130. mə čʸáder tħam rɛyɣɛɣ°óčʸ !
 mə this.near.speaker
 čʸaada-r barrel-abs
 tħa-a-m God-emph-obl
 ø-yə-y-a-ɣa-ɣ°ə-čʸa 3-container-3-emph-cause-dry-completely

131. mə ɡ°əšʸáʔew qásʔ°erer śópqemē
 mə this.near.speaker
 ɡ°ə+šʸaaʔa-w heart+saying
 ø-qə-y-ha-a-s-ʔ°a-ra-r which-hor-3-pl-dat-I-say-ger-abs
 śə+pqa-ø-ma measure+frame-be-if, "if it be true"

132. mə čʸáder tħam qəreyɣebɛɣ°óčʸ !
 mə this.near.speaker
 čʸaada-r barrel-abs
 tħa-a-m God-emph-obl
 ø-qə-yə-y-a-ɣa-ba+ɣ°ə-čʸa 3-hor-container-3-emph-cause-much+character-utmost,
 "may he make it overflow completely!"

133. səywəne tħatʻéys ʔ°ášħe śʻyazɣésʻ,
 s-yə-wəna my-poss-house
 tħa-a-tʻ-y-a-s God-emph-surf-dir-dat-sit
 ʔ°aaśħa mountain
 ø-ø-śʻə-y-ha-a-s-ɣa-śʻə 3(house)-3(mountain)-there-3-pl-dat-I-cause-build

134. səywənáʃhɛ yəɳəzós°ɛʒʲɛ qeséby
 s-yə-wəna-a-ʃha my-poss-house-conn-top
 yəɳə-zə-ś°a-ʒʲa giant-evil-skin-inst
 ø-qa-s-a-bya 3-hor-I-pres-cover
135. yəɳəz k°épqaχ°er səywəne pχéc°,
 yəɳə-z' giant-evil
 k°a-pqa-ha-r thigh-bone-pl-abs
 s-yə-wəna my-poss-house
 pχác°ə beams (note /pχa/ 'wood')
 ø are
136. yəɳəz cáĝεχ°er səywəne śhapχ,
 yəɳə-z' giant-evil
 caaĝa-ha-r rib-pl-abs
 s-yə-wəna my-poss-house
 śha-a-pχa head-conn-wood, "roof truss"
 ø are
137. səywəne λεg° senéf yεεγás°ε.
 s-yə-wəna my-poss-house
 λa-g° foot-zone, "floor"
 saana-fə wine-white
 ø-y-a-s-a-γa-a-ś°+a 3(floor)-3(wine)-dat-I-pres-cause-conn-drink+to,
 "I wash the floor of my house with white wine."
138. yəɳəzəmə máfere səyméʃ°y yaseγáʔ°ε,
 yəɳə-zə-m-a giant-old-obl-pl
 maafa-ra day-by
 s-yə-maʃ°yə my-poss-millet
 ø-y-ha-a-s-a-γa-a-ʔ°a 3(millet)-3-pl-dat-I-pres-cause-conn-thresh
139. səyħáse ʔep°c°áneʒʲɛ yaseγáz°ε,
 s-yə-ħaasa my-poss-field
 ʔa-p°c°aana-ʒʲa hand-bare-inst
 ø-y-ha-a-s-a-γa-a-z°a 3(field)-3-pl-dat-I-pres-cause-conn-plow

140. čʸéšʸərə śháʳ°em dεεʳ°əł'έξʸ.

čʸašʸə-ra night-by
 śha-a-ʳ°a-m head-conn-to.stick.in-obl
 ø-ø-da-s-a-ʳ°ə+λ'+a-ha 3.pl-3(stock)-with-I-pres-stick+near+in-pl,
 "I hold them fast with it"

141. xət'ʳ°əλem sənésəmə səqəzεčʸemək'°,

xə-t'ʳ°ə-λa-m sea-two-sand.spit-obl
 sə-ø-na-s+ə-ma I-3-thither-sit+dyn-when
 sə-qə-z-a-čʸa-mə-k'°a I-hor-refl-dat-back-not-go, "I did not turn back"

142. pčʸəčʸελάδερ səyλeməžʸew səréyčʸ.

pčʸəčʸa-λədə-a-r lightning-glittering-th.v-abs
 s-yə-λaməžʸ-a-w my-poss-bridge-th.v-pred
 s-yə-y-a-čʸə I-path-dir-dat-cut.across

143 səqeyčʸ'əžʸ'əs bars g°əbγ°er səzyek'°ap'.

sə-qa-y-a-čʸə-žʸ'ə-ś I-hor-dir-dat-cut.across-back-then
 bars Bars
 g°ə-bγ°a-r center-wide-abs
 s-yə-z-y-a-k'°a-a-p'a my-poss-refl-dir-dat-play-conn-place, "my playground"
 ø is

144. warp'əž'er psəχ'°ε q°εħεq°εčʸ'əybλ,

warp-ə-ž-a-r Warp-th.v-old-th.v-abs
 psə-χ'°a water-flow, "river"
 q°aaħa+q°a+čʸ'əy-bλ boat+lee+exit-pl.conn-seven, "with seven windings, rapids"
 (normally /q°əħa /'boat')

145 fεεʳέλερ psəħεγáħε zəsέšʸem,

faara-ʳaλ-a-r thoroughbred-wild-th.v-abs
 psə+ħ+a+γa+a+ħa water+mass-in+let+conn+enter, "watering"
 ø-zə-s-a-šʸ'°a-m 3-when-I-when-lead+in-obl.adv

146. psəp'əybləm š'əwəzəybl qəsfəq'éc'y.
 psə-p'a-əy-blə-m water-nose-pl.conn-seven-obl
 š'ə+wə-zə-əy-blə horse+man-troop-pl.conn-seven
 ø-qə-s-fə-q'a-č'yə 3.pl-hor-me-for-lee-exit, "they ambushed me"

147 a zəmafem š'əw č'yəfəyše š'yəysl'əx,
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 š'ə-wə horse-pred
 č'yə-fə-əy-śa tail-white-pl.conn-hundred
 ø-š'y-y-a-s-l'ə-xə 3.pl-there-dir-dat-I-kill-down

148 a zəmafem p'č'yəy'əlyše hēm yezyěšk,
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 p'č'yəy'a-λə-əy-śa charger-flesh-pl.conn-hundred
 hā-m wolf, dog-obl
 ø-y-a-s-ya-šk 3-3(wolf)-dat-I-cause(= let)-eat

149. a zəmafem aś'əfəyše psəm yezyāh,
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 aś'a-fə-əy-śa chainmail.armor-white-pl.conn-hundred
 psə-m water-obl
 ø-y-a-s-ya-a-hə 3.pl-3(water)-dat-I-cause-conn-carry.away

150. a zəmafem š'əwəyše tḥa yazyá'°.
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 š'ə+w-əy-śa-m-a horse+man-pl.conn-hundred-obl-pl
 tḥa-a God-emph
 ø-y-ha-a-s-ya-a-?'a 3-3-pl-dat-I-cause-conn-say, pray

151. səyγás'em nart'ew səzə?'əč'yəyemē
 s-yə-ya+a+ś'a-m my-poss-cause+conn+pass.of.time-obl

nart^c-a-w Nart-th.v-pred
 sə-zə-ɾ°ə-č^ya-a-ɣa-m-a I-whom-before-exit-conn-past-obl-pl, “of whom I encountered”

152. nart^c pš^yəmarəq°ε anáh yabġ.”

nart^c Nart
 pš^yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo
 ø-ha-naah 3-pl-than
 yaabgⁿa fierce(r)
 ø be

153. “nart^c pš^yəmarəq°ε t°éde qepxón,

nart^c Nart
 pš^yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo
 t°a-da where-Q
 ø-qa-w-xə-n 3-hor-you-take-subj.if

154. xəməš^cyə wəráyq°εmε wəč^yεláš^cy,” qəráɾ°.

xəməš^cyə Khimish-obl
 w-yə-yə-q°a-ø-ma you-container-poss-son-be-if
 wə-č^yaaλa-a-š^cy you-youth-conn-too.much
 ø-qə-y-a-y-ha-ɾ°a 3-hor-3(P.)-dat-3-pl-say

155. “pš^yəmarəq°ε bars g°əby°εm səš^cyəɾ°éč^y,

pš^yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo
 bars Bars
 g°ə-by°a-m center-broad-obl
 sə-ø-š^cyə-ø-ɾ°a-č^ya I-3(Bars)-there-3(M.)-before-cut.across, “I met him there”

156. səby°edáhə yəmayóse qəɾεč^yésx̂,

sə-ø-by°a-da-a-hə I-3-side-aside-to-carry.out
 ø-yə-mayə-sa 3-poss-Mayi-sword
 ø-q-ə-ɾa-č^ya-s-xəⁿ 3-hor-3.inal-hand-inst-I-take

157. pš^yəmarəq°ε barsəg°əby°εm š^cyeysefóž^y,

pš^yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo
 bars-ə-g°ə-by°a-m Bars-ep.v-center-broad-obl

ø-ø-šʸə-y-a-s-a-fə-žʸə 3-3(Bars)-there-dir-dat-I-pres-drive-back

158. xətʹr°álem feməx°əžʸəw blɛ deséf.

xə-tʹr°-a-a-λa-m sea-two-times-conn-sand.spit-obl

ø-ø-fa-mə-x°ə-žʸə-w 3(dummy)-3(M.)-for-not-happen-again-adv, “against his will”

bl-a seven-times

ø-ø-da-s-a-f 3(M.)-3(sand.spit)-out-I-pres-drive

159 qətʹərəyγázεs yəpčʸəšʸáq°ε qəseγéq°,

ø-qə-tʹ-y-a-y-a-γa-a-z+a-ś

refl-ch.of.st-surf-dir-dat-3-pres-cause-conn-turn+in-then

ø-yə-pčʸə-šʸ-a-a-q°a 3-poss-lance-three-times-conn-ravine, groove

ø-qə-s-a-(ø-)γa-q°ə 3-hor-me-dat-(3-)cause-push.pull, “point”

160. cʹəλəγ°erómε-r spʹεbzəžʸónə qərərəyγáh,

cʹə-λə+γ°a+rə+ma-r hair-burn+effect+stat.part+having-abs, “stench of scorched hair”

(for /+ma-/ compare Abkhaz /-ma-/ “to have.”)

s-pʹa-bzəžʸən-ə my-nose-nostril-obl.inal

ø-qə-ø-rə-yə-y-a-γa-a-ħa

3(stench)-hor-3(nostril)-loc-container-3(M.)-pres-cause-conn-enter

161. tóγer śεw zεxéčʸεw seyγεléγ°,

təγa-r sun-abs

śa-w hundred-pred

ø-z-a-xa-čʸə-a-w 3-refl-dat-mass.out-exit-th.v-pred

ø-s-a-y-a-γa-λaγ°ə 3-me-dat-3(M.)-pres-cause-see

162. slεčʸepʹóytʹr° sfemóx°εw əγεčʸεzézεw,

s-λa-čʸaapʹa-əy-tʹr° my-leg-shin,calf-pl.conn-two, “my two knees”

ø-s-fa-mə-x°-a-w 3-me-for-not-happen-th.v-pred, “without my control”

ø-y-ə-γa-čʸa+za+za-w 3.pl-3(M.)-non.pres-cause-side+shake+shake-pred

163. sənóytʹr° əγεwəsʹ°əčʸεw qəzəsáwem

sə-n-əy-tʹr° my.inal-eye-pl.conn-two

ø-ø-ə-γa-wə+śʹ°əčʸa-w 3.pl-3.non.pres-cause-val+becloud-th.v-pred

ø-qə-zə-s-a-a-w-a-m 3-hor-when-me-dat-when-strike-at-obl.adv.

164. a č'áp'εm zəg°əš'y a?əy qesəmə?°.

a that
 č'a+a+p'a-m earth+conn+place-obl
 zə-g°ə+š'y aa?a-əy one-heart+say-even
 ø-qa-sə-mə-?°a 3-hor-I-not-say, "I did not utter a word at that place."

165. pš'yəmarəq°a yəpč'y psənč'yaw yasazáč'yə,

pš'yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo
 ø-yə-pč'y a 3-poss-lance
 psənč'y-a-w quick-th.v-pred
 ø-y-a-s-a-ʒ+a-č'yə 3-dir-dat-I-pres-throw+to-aside

166. yəš'ə əwəžə zəqesš'əy səqəzəy wem,

ø-yə-š'ə 3-poss-horse
 ə-wəžə 3.inal-track, "behind it"
 zə-qa-s-š'-əy refl-ch.of.st-I-make-and
 sə-qə-z-y-a-w+a-m me-hor-when-3-dat-strike+at-obl.adv

167. a zəmafεm pš'yəmarəq°ε yesλ'əxəy."'

a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 pš'yə-marəq°a prince-Maruquo
 ø-y-a-s-λ'ə-xə-y a 3-dir-dat-I-kill-down-past

168. p'εterézə yəg°əš'yá?ε qəzεwəxəm

p'ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl
 ø-yə-g°ə+š'y aa?a 3-poss-heart+word
 ø-qə-z-a-wəxə-m 3-ch.of.st-when-when-finish-obl.adv

169. senéf č'áder qəšħaš'č'yəw qeybεy°əč'y.

saana-f wine-white
 č'aada-r barrel-abs
 ø-qə-šħa-a-š'č'yə-č'yə-a-w 3-ch.of.st-head-conn-there-exit-th.v-pred
 ø-qa-y-a-ba+y°ə-č'yə 3-hor-dir-dat-much+character-utmost, "it overflowed"

170. p'eterézə nart'óžəmə zafeyγáze,
 p'ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl
 nart'-ə-žə-m-a Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
 z-ø-ha-fa-y-a-γa-a-z+a refl-3-pl-for-3-pres-cause-conn-turn+to
171. xəməš'ýóžəm yəλewáse qareγ'át'ε:
 xəməš'ý-ə-žə-m Khimish-ep.v-old-obl
 ø-yə-λə-a-waasa 3-poss-blood-conn-price
 ø-qə-y-ha-a-y-a-γ'a+a+t'a
 3-hor-3-pl-dat-3(P.)-pres-say+conn+prol
172. "š'ýəbzež'ye psə qəfəs'hóze
 š'ýəbza-ž'ya sieve-inst
 psə water
 ø-qə-ø-fa-ś°-hə-za 3-hor-3-for-you.pl-bring-past.part
173. səyfáre zeyž'°γeγeś'εč'ý'ón,
 s-əy-faara my-poss-thoroughbred
 zə-y-a-ś°-γa-γa-ś°+a-č'ý'ə-n
 refl-3-dat-you.pl-cause-cause-drink+in-utmost-prox.fut
174. wás'°em λewéyž'ye ś°ədeč'ý'ón,
 wa-a-ś°a-m sky-conn-skin-obl
 λa-way-ž'ya leg-step-inst, "ladder"
 ś°ə-ø-da-č'ý'ə-n you.pl-3-out-exit-prox.fut
175. nart'ə darəyew yóλer zefes'həsóy
 nart'-ə Nart-obl
 darəya-w thistle.down-pred
 ø-yə-λ-a-r which-flat.area-lie-th.v-abs
 ø-za-fa-ś°-həs-əy 3-refl-for-you.pl-gather-and
176. həz'óč'ýə yəγ'°áshe qəš'ýəž'°γést,
 hə+zə+č'ý-ə dog+old+tail-obl
 ø-yə-γ'°aaśha 3-poss-hill
 ø-qə-ø-š'ý'ə-ś°-γa-sta 3(thistle.down)-ch.of.st-3(hill)-there-you.pl-cause-burn

184. tyáte yəpsáɫe arɣ°eyóɫ yózə qeś°ś',
 t-y-ah-ta our-poss-int-father
 ø-yə-psə-ɫ-a 3-poss-water-lie-in, "his water barrel"
 arɣ°ayə-ɫə mosquito-blood
 ø-yə-zə 3(barrel)-poss-all, "full"
 ø-qa-ś°-ś'ə 3-ch.of.st-you.pl-make

185. tʃ°er c°ác°emʒ°yε qəsfεz°yáz,
 tʃ°ə-a-r butter-th.v-abs
 c°aac°a-m-ʒ°ya spear.point-obl-instr
 ø-qə-s-fa-ś°-ya-a-za 3-hor-me-for-you.pl-cause-conn-grill

186. a zepstéwer ʃəməś°yózəm yəɫewás!"
 a that
 za-pstaw-a-r whole-all-th.v-abs
 ʃəməś°y-ə-zə-m Khimish-ep.v-old-obl
 ø-yə-ɫə-a-waasa 3-poss-blood-price
 ø is

187. a zəmafem nart°ózəx°er zεxεzəyés,
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 nart°-ə-zə-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
 ø-za-xa-zə-ya-s 3.pl- recip-mass.in-who-cause-sit

188. a zəmafem nart°ózəx°er zεxεzəyáy,
 a that
 zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
 nart°-ə-zə-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
 ø-za-xa-zə-ya-a-yə 3.pl- recip-mass-who-cause-conn-cry

189. yére ʃəməś°yózəm óq°ew p°eteréz,
 yara yerey
 ʃəməś°y-ə-zə-m Khimish-ep.v-old-obl
 ə-q°a-w 3.inal-son-pred
 p°ataraz Pataraz

190. p'eterézer č'yελεζεεζ'εζόγ°,
 p'ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs
 č'yaaλa-zaaq'a-zə-g'ə youth-unique-one-heart

191. zəλ'əzázq'ε λ'əχ'əg'əy'sε zək'°εc'əλ,
 zə-λ'ə-zaaq'a one-man-unique
 λ'ə-χ'ə-g'ə-əy-śa man-hero-heart-pl.conn-hundred
 ø-zə-k'°ac'ə-λ 3-whom-inside-lie

192. nəbεm yóλεw yáte əλ zəməyéγ°.
 nəba-m belly-obl
 ø-ø-yə-λ-a-w who-3-container-lie-th.v-pred
 ø-y-ah-ta 3-poss-int-father
 ə-λə 3.inal-blood
 ø-zə-mə-γa-γ'ə 3-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'harquakhwa (1981a)

2. Yerey, Pataraz, son of Khimish,
3. Pataraz one youth with one heart,
4. One man in whose heart lay the valor of a hundred heroes,
5. He while still in the womb would not allow his father's blood to dry.
6. On that same day when Old Khimish
7. Wed Lady Isp against their wishes
8. The old Narts became his enemy.

9. On that same day when Nart Pataraz
10. In the belly of Lady Isp was conceived
11. Those Narts cruelly slew Old Khimish.
12. On that same day Nart Pataraz
13. When the Isp lady bore him
14. They carried him off despite them
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's beauty were his crib's side slats,
18. Of the doe's back skin was his crib's restraining band.
19. Pataraz , when his foster nurse tied him into his crib,
20. Stretched himself and smashed through its head and foot,
21. Pataraz turned himself and broke off its side slats,
22. Pataraz arose and tore through the restraining band,
23. Pataraz rose up and strode to the 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 high water did throw him.
30. The Old Yinjij, a river of many treacherous currents,
31. Whirled Pataraz about and carried him down,
32. Where the Nart horse herdsman from the waters lifted him out.

33. On that same day they led out a pony for him from their herd,
34. A pony from the herd that revealed itself to be a fara.
35. For nine years the horsemen let Pataraz stay and learn.
36. Pataraz mounted his fara and rode off.
37. Astride it he entered Bars field
38. On that same day Pshimaruquo he did meet there.
39. "O Prince Grandfather, whence come you," said Pataraz.
40. "From the smithy of Tlepsh I finally come, my boy,
41. On that dismal day when I killed Old Khimish
42. His thigh bone dulled the edge of my sword.
43. I set Tlepsh to sharpen my Mayi sword once,
44. I set him to harden it thrice, and I am bringing it home at last."
45. "My Prince Grandfather, let me look at your Mayi sword."
46. "I shall let you look at it a great deal, my boy,"
47. But when Pshimaruquo turned the sword's edge
48. Fara, a wise horse, took Pataraz aside,
49. When Pshimaruquo struck with his Mayi sword he missed the kill.
50. Fara, a wise horse, turned back
51. And rushed up to Pshimaruquo's side,
52. Pataraz snatched with his hand Pshimaruquo's Mayi sword,
53. Then in Bars field did he chase him,
54. Seven times he drove him on a sandspit between two seas,
55. Pataraz struck Pshimaruquo down there.
56. Pataraz returned to his own lady nurse.
57. "God gave you back to me, my boy, have you come back?"

58. Lady nurse thus spoke to Pataraz,
59. On that same day she comforted him.
60. "Lady Grandma, my intent it to pay a visit to the old Narts,
61. Among the Nart wine drinkers shall I enter.
62. My Nart drinking horn will I seize from them, and there will I drain it dry.
63. There Old Khimish's blood price will I tell to them."
64. "O my boy, to such wine drinking do not go,"
65. So spoke Lady Daya to Pataraz
66. And in a bed of thistle down set him to sleep.
67. The Lady entered among the Nart wine drinkers:
68. "With you, old Narts, this is your eating and drinking feast,
69. But even when a wonder happens you do not turn to it.
70. With the valor of a hundred heroes my light has returned.
71. As to you old Narts, you soon will be left without kinsmen."
72. When the nurse to the Narts spoke thus
73. On that same day the old Narts plotted together,
74. On that same day great treachery they together composed:
75. "On a savage fara we shall set Pataraz,
76. For watering 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. On a sandspit between two seas it will carry him and down it will throw him.
81. If it does not throw him and Pataraz turns back,
82. That old Warp, seven times turbulent,

83. Divides into seven deltas,
84. By every delta a troop shall we set in place against him,
85. On that same day they will spear down him," they said.
86. The old Narts invited him to the wine drinking.
87. On that same day the drinking horn of valor they gave there to him.
88. The horn of valor they gave to him and he drained it there.
89. "You, Nart Pataraz, you are to sit on this fara.
90. Lead it for us to the Old Warp for watering.
91. When you enter Bars field
92. To the fara give the lash," they said.
93. Pataraz mounted the wild fara.
94. As he entered Bars field
95. To the fara he gave the lash.
96. With its hooves he let it plow Bars field.
97. As he arrived at the Old Warp for water
98. From seven deltas seven armies of horsemen emerged.
99. On that same day he struck down seven armies of horsemen.
100. When Pataraz came back to the outskirts
101. There from the wild fara he dismounted.
102. When the wild fara arrived with empty saddle
103. The old Narts toasted each other with drinking horns of white wine.
104. They exchanged with each other their weapons and armor as gifts of gladness.
105. Pataraz gave himself dirty skin and messy hair
106. Then unbeknownst he entered among the Nart wine drinkers.
107. Behind a door he stood and listened to them.

108. The old Narts stood over their wine barrel.
109. They uttered many blasphemies against the God of the Harvest.
110. Prince Alij told many slanderous stories.
111. Warzamas, as though they were true, agreed with him.
112. Yimis boasted shamelessly.
113. Sawseruquo plotted a hundred treacheries.
114. The Nart Chilakhstan 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 standing beside him.
118. He broke the backs of those he pressed down.
119. He entered the middle of the floor and gazed 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. Prince Alij has told many slanderous stories.
124. Warzamas, as though they were true, has agreed with him.
125. The Nart Yimis is a shameless braggart.
126. Sawseruquo has plotted wretched treacheries.
127. The Nart Chilakhstan is indeed without any manhood."
128. Pataraz went up to the side of the barrel :
129. "If my heartfelt words are untrue,
130. May God dry out this barrel.
131. If my heartfelt words are true,
132. May God make this barrel overflow!

133. I have made them build my house on the hill where God sits.
134. I have made 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. I wash the floor of my house with white wine.
138. By day I make the giants thresh my millet.
139. With their bare hands I make them plow my fields.
140. At nighttime I hold them fast in a yoke.
141. I did not turn back when I came to the sandspit between the two seas.
142. Bright lightning was my bridge as I crossed.
143. I crossed back to Bars Field, my playground.
144. To Old Warp, a river seven times turbulent,
145. When I led the savage fara for watering,
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. Of the Narts have I met during my lifetime.
152. Pshimaruquo was the fiercest one of them.”
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 snatched his Mayi sword.

157. Into Bars field I drove Pshimaruquo back.
158. Seven times I drove him across the sandspit between the two seas against his will.
159. He turned and pointed his trefoil lance head at me.
160. He let the stench of scorched hair penetrate my nostrils.
161. He made the sun seem to me a to be divided a hundredfold.
162. He made my two legs to shake against my will.
163. He beclouded my two eyes when he struck at me.
164. During that I said not one word.
165. I threw Pshimaruquo's lance 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 completely.
170. Pataraz then turned to the old Narts,
171. And the blood price of Old Khimish he told to them:
172. "With a sieve bring water for him
173. And let my savage fara drink its fill.
174. You must depart across the sky on a ladder.
175. Gather the thistle down that lies across Nart land
176. And on Old Dog's Tail hill burn it there.
177. Collect the ash of this down,
178. And fill up Khimish's two shoes.
179. With black heads and white bodies
180. A hundred hounds you find for me.

181. From a bulrush set an axle for my wagon in place underneath.
 182. Completely from hawthorn barbs hew
 183. And set a full sized door in place 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 valor of a hundred heroes,
 192. Who in the womb swore vengeance for his father's blood.

* The translation here is more literal than that found in chapter 31, so that the reader may follow the Circassian analysis more closely.

This is a reworking of a poem in Shapsegh by Ali Sh'halakhwo (born 1881), recorded by Asker Hadaghatl'a in 1958 (see Gadagatl' 1967, 336-340).

Appendix C.

UbykhPhonemic inventory

labial	p	b	p'	f	-	m	w
---, pharyngealized	p̄	b̄	p'̄	-	ɸ	m̄	w̄
dental	t	d	t'			n	r
---, labialized, ,	t° [p't']	d° [bd]	t'° [p't']				
alveolar laminal	c	ʒ	c'	s	z		
---, laminal, labialized	c° [c ^β]	ʒ° [ʒ ^β]	c'° [c' ^β]	s° [s ^β]	z° [z ^β]		
---, ---/ ---, apical	ç	ʒ̣	ç'	ʂ	ʐ		
---, ---/ ---, lateral	-	-	λ'	ɬ	ɮ		
palato-alveolar, rounded	-	-	-	ʃ°	ʒ°		
---, laminal	ç ^y	ʒ ^y	ç' ^y	ʂ ^y	ʐ ^y		
---, apical (retroflexed)	ç̣	ʒ̣	ç'̣	ʂ̣	ʐ̣		
palatal	k ^y	g ^y	k' ^y	χ̠	ɣ̠		y
velar, rounded	k°	g°	k'°	χ̠° [χ̠ ^β]	-		
uvular q	q	-	q'	χ̠	ɣ̠		
---, palatalized ([+ATR])	q ^y	-	q' ^y	χ̠ ^y	ɣ̠ ^y		
---, rounded	q°	-	q'°	χ̠°	ɣ̠°		
---, pharyngealized	q̄	-	q'̄	χ̠̄	ɣ̠̄		
---, ---, rounded	q̄°	-	q'̄°	χ̠̄°	ɣ̠̄°		
laryngeal			-	h	-		
vowels	ə	a	ɑ (< a + a)				
stress (unpredictable)							

Note on the vertical vowel system of Ubykh:

The system is much like that of the Circassian languages, save that the open vowel can be a bit more back. A more open, coda-filling vowel [a] appears to occur, perhaps unpredictably, and has been the topic of some dispute among specialists and Ubykhs alike. See remarks in appendix A.

In addition to having one of the largest consonantal systems (81), Ubykh also displays some highly unusual contrasts. It has both pharyngealized and plain consonants at the lips and at the uvula (back of the mouth). The throat and epiglottis are constricted for these sounds, imparting to them a noisy dark quality. The uvulars also show a contrast in rounding. This labial activity is found with the dentals, /t, d, t' /, resulting in the unusual combination of simultaneous labial and dental closure. Abkhaz also has such odd sounds. Lip approximation, like blowing out a match, also occurs with the /s/ fricatives and affricates, that is with /s/ and /z/ and the ts-like sounds. Abkhaz shows an f-like contrast with this series. I myself showed that the “rounded” palatal /x°/ existed, Colarusso 1992b, only through x-ray analysis and acoustic studies. (I confirmed this sound with my Milk Sister, Meral Çare of Istanbul, one of the last speakers of Ubykh, in 2014.) Earlier scholars had missed it because it has the puffing labial approximation seen in /s/, etc., rather than the expected simple lip rounding found with /k/, etc. The ‘sh’ - ‘ch’ series shows simple rounding for those made with the flat of the tongue. One should be perhaps grateful that the corresponding sounds made with the tongue tip, both in the front of the mouth and against the palate remain unrounded. Finally for the uvulars at the back of the mouth a bunched form can be made that gives them a simultaneous y-like timbre despite their persistent back quality. I have suggested that these sounds are made by tensing the

á-z°apsə-n	the-evening-obl
a-γ°ada-n	3-come.to.pass-pro.tns
á-š°wa	the-night
a-łáxa-γa	the-montane.forest-loc
a-la-g°á+t°-q°a	3-there-on+be-past

4. məž°á cáγan ałó γac°ag°əc°ába yəž°ág°ə zaq°ák°ya γáq°q°a.

məž°á	fire
ø-ø-cá+γa-n	3-3(he)-burn+start-pro.tns
a-łó	the-buck
ø-γa-c°a-g°ə-c°ába	3-poss-hide-heart-liver, "sweet meats"
ø-yə-ž°á-g°ə	3-3(he)-roast-and, then
za-q°á-k°ya	one-say-agent, "voice"
ø-ø-γá-a-q°-q°a	3(voice)-3(him)-to-dat-be.audible-past, "he heard a voice"

5. yəž°ang°ə q°áγənə zaγ°ənən k°yáλ°aq°a.

ø-yə-ž°a-n-g°ə	which-3-roast-pro.tns-and
ø-ø-q°á-a-γə-nə	3(food)-3(his)-hand-in-belong-pro.tns
za-γ°ənə-n	one-tree-obl
ø-ø-k°yá-λ°a-q°a	3(he)-3(tree)-go-near-past

6. γág°ya dəqárdaq°a.

ø-γá-g°ya	3-poss-refl
ø-ø-də-qárdaq°a	refl-3-cause-hide-past

7. γač°yák°a žamá zaγ°ənəž°g°aran by°ánč°yat°q°a.

ø-γa-č°yák°a	3-poss-cloak
žamá	other
za-γ°ənə-ž°-g°ara-n	one-tree-old-certain-obl
ø-ø-by°á-n-č°yat°-q°a	3(cloak)-3(tree)-on-3(he)-side+be-past, "He draped his cloak on a tree."

8. q°əzáč°yən azawałənə załaxatət°g°ara áyk°yaq°a.

q°ə-zá-č°yən	hair, curl-all-side-obl
a-za-wa-łə-nə	3-all-on-lie-pro.tns
za-łaxa-tət°-g°ara	one-montane.forest-man-certain

á-y-k^ya-q'a 3-hither-come-past

9. azápłat^oq'a.

a-zá-pł-a-t^o-q'a 3-all-look-around-past

10. ač^yák^oa dəby^yáłq'a γ^oənə tət γ^oán γág^ya by^yánč^yawq'a.

a-č^yák^oa the-cloak

ø-də-by^yá-ł-q'a 3(cloak)-which(tree)-on-lie-past

γ^oənə tree

tət man

ø-ø-γ^oá-n 3(a man)-3(forest man)-believe-pro.tns

ø-γá-g^ya his-poss-refl

ø-ø-by^yá-n-č^ya+w-q'a refl-3(cloak)-on-3(forest man)-lean+act-past,
"he jumped on it, lunged at it"

11. wanán by^yátən áγ^oan γatawp šánəyan ałaxatətən yóyaq'a.

wa-naⁿ that-sg-obl, that is "in that tree"

ø-ø-by^yá-tə-n 3(M.Sh.)-3(tree)-on-be.stat-pro.tns

á-γ^oa-n 3-pro-obl

ø-γa-top [ø-γa-t'a^p] 3-poss-gun (Turkish top 'cannon')

ø-šá-nə-γa-n 3(gun)-preverb-3-load.a.gun-pro.tns

a-łaxa-tət-ən the-montane.forest-man-obl

ø-yá-ya-q'a 3(M.Sh.)-3(forest man)-hit, fire.at-past

12. ámž^ya fátənə ałaxan wáwən ák^yaq'a.

á-mž^ya the-fire

ø-fá-a-tə-nə 3-down-to-be.stat-pro.tns,"the fire dropped down"

á-łaxa-n the-montane.forest-obl

ø-ø-wá-a-wə-n 3(fire)-3(foresst man)-in-dat-enter-pro.tns

á-k^ya-q'a 3(forest man)-go-past

13. wanałaq'ála marč^yán šáyə ámž^yalaq áyž^yən wac^oag^yəc^o'ába yóž^oan fáyq'a.

wa-na-ł-a-q'á-a-la that-sg-foot-trace-conn-adv

marč^yán šáyə Marchan Shaghi

á-mž^ya-laq the-fire-near

á-y-ž^yə-n 3(M.Sh.)-toward-return-pro.tns

wa-c°a-g°ə-c°á̂ba	that-hide-heart-liver
ø-yə-ž°a-n	3(food)-3(M.Sh.)-roast
ø-ø-f-áy-q°a	3(food)-3(M.Sh.)-eat-finally-past

14. “sədyaq°á mac° māk°y aš°yag°ə azγ°áyaw” yóq°aq°a,

ø-sə-dya-q°á	whom-I(cause)-die, wound-past
mac°	morning
mā-ø-k°y a-š°yag°ə	where-3-go-ever
a-z-γ°a-áy-aw	3-I-find-again-future
ø-yó-q°a-q°a	3-3(M.Sh.)-say-past

15. dγáx°t°ən γáłaq°an g°əwq°a.

dγá-ø-x°-t°ə-n	as-3-dawn-when-adv
ø-γá-ł-a-q°a-n	3(forest man)-poss-leg-trace-obl
ø-ø-g°ə-w-q°a	3(M.Sh.)-3(trace)-on-enter-past

16. ak°yámsala zád°ə anəx°áš°ən γáłaq°a.

a-k°y a-msa-la	3(M.Sh.)-go-dur-exhaustive
zá-d°ə	one-plain, meadow
a-nəx°a-š°ə-ø-n	3-beautiful-small-be-pro.tns
ø-ø-γá-a-la-q°a	3(M.Sh.)-3(plain)-loc-to-reach-past, with /-la-/ ‘there’ used as a verb

17. dγázapłat°t°ən “sawəš°wan wəyk°y aq°ay?” q°ág°ə záq°ak°y a γáq°q°a.

dγá-ø-za-pł-a-t°-t°ə-n	as-3-all-look-around-when-adv
sə-wə-š°wa-n	what-you-do-inf
wə-y-k°y a-q°a-y	you-hither-come-past-Q
ø-ø-q°á-g°ə	3(question)-3(some one)-say-and
za-q°a-k°y a	one-say-agent
ø-ø-γá-a-q°-q°a	3(question)-3(M.Sh.)-to-dat-be.audible-past

18. dγázapłat°t°ən zayanəž°g°ara fabžát°q°a yóbyaq°a.

dγá-ø-za-pł-a-t°-t°ə-n	as-3-all-look-around-when-adv
za-yanəž°-g°ara	one-gaint-referential
ø-fa-bžá+t°-q°a	3(giant)-down-tie+be-past
ø-yó-by-a-q°a	3(giant)-3(M.Sh.)-see-past

19. wábzaq'an "lála wóyk'yá!" q'an mósaq'a.

wá-bza-q'a-n	that-tie-past-obl
lá-a-la	there-to-there
wó-y-k'yá	you-hither-come
∅-∅-q'a-n	3-3(giant)-say-pro.tns
∅-∅-mósa-q'a	3(giant)-3(M.Sh.)-call-past

20. "ánc'ən aǰ'ás'ag'yə áłaq'ala aš'yáyən nank'yá za yānca aš'awó!" q'áq'a.

ánc'ən	first-adv
a-ǰ'ás'a-g'yə	3-bloom-and
á-ł-a-q'a-a-la	3-leg-trace-conn-after, "last"
a-š'yáy-ən	3-ripen-final-pro.tns
∅-na-a-nk'yá-∅	3-3.pl-dat-among-be
za-yānca	one-digging.stick
a-s-ǰ'a-∅-w-ó	3-me-for-you.imp-bring-polite
∅-∅-q'a-q'a	3-3(giant)-say-past

21. ák'yán a y'ádan žama yānca q'á yəg'yə ǰ'ánəwq'a.

ák'yá-n	3(M.Sh.)-go-pro.tns
a-y'áda-n	3-happen-pro.tns
žama-yānca	other-digging.stick
∅-∅-q'á-a-yə-g'yə	3(stick)-3(M.Sh.)-hand-in-belong-and
∅-∅-ǰ'á-nə-w-q'a	3(stick)-3(giant)-for-3(M.Sh.)-bring-past

22. "áš'yq'ama" yəq'aq'a.

á-š'y-q'a-ma	3-do-past-not, "it did not suffice"
∅-yə-q'a-q'a	3-3(giant)-say-past

23. wanałaq'ála ak'yán zaməcánə afanq'áwtən amy'áwq'a.

wa-na-ł-a-q'á-ala	that-sg-leg-trace-and, "after that"
a-k'yá-n	3(M.Sh.)-come-pro.tns
za-məcánə	one-dogwood
a-fa-n-q'-áw-t-ən	3-sever-3(M.Sh.)-cut-fut-genr-inf
a-my'á-a-w-q'a	3(M.Sh.)-road-to-strike-past, "He started as though to cut it."

24. žamá zaq'ak'yá g°arang'yə "afáwq'ə(g'yə) š'yáwmət!"

žamá	other
za-q'a-k'yá-g°ara-n-g'yə	one-say-agent-referential-obl-and, "and another voice"
a-fá-w-q'ə(-g'yə)	3-sever-you-cut(-and)
ø-š'y-áw-mə-t	3-happen-fut-not-genr

25. azápłat'°q'a adəq'aq'á yəbyaq'áma.

a-za-pł-a-t'°-q'a	3(M.Sh.)-all-look-around-past
a-də-q'a-q'á	3-who-say-past
ø-yə-by-a-q'á-ma	3(speaker)-3(M.Sh.)-see-past-not

26. "azy'áwq'ama" q'an ayánəžlaq áyž'yq'a.

a-s-y'á+w-q'a-ma	3-I-find+act-past-not
ø-ø-q'a-n	3-3(M.Sh.)-say-pro.tns
a-yánəž-laq	the-giant-near
á-y-ž'y-q'a	3(M.Sh.)-direction-return-past

27. "awy'áwq'yə asš'yáwməwq'adan wədəg'yətən wan wəg'yənəmdət'°adaš!" yəq'aq'a.

a-w-y'á+w-g'yə	3-you-find+act-and
a-s-š'yá-w-mə-w-q'a-da-n	3-me-for-you-not-bring-past-if.so-adv
wə-də-g'yə-t-én	you-where-on-stand-obl
wa-n	God-obl
wə-g'yə-nə-m-də-t'°+á+da-š	you-on-He-not-cause-move+conn+out(?)=may, (an old oath with a complex frozen stem)
ø-yə-q'a-q'a	3-3(giant)-say-past

28. "yəš°abláwn salátəy?

yə-š°ablá-w-n	this-land-inst-obl
sa-lá-t-əy	what-there-be-Q

29. abóyə abóyəš°ə azašat'°ánəš?

a-bóyə	the-sheep
a-bóyə-š°ə	the-sheep-little
a-za-ša-t'°á-a-n-əš	they-refl-head, self-increase-pl-pres-whether

30. aʒáʒ azaʒatʰánəś yəśʰaʒʰáʒawnʰ?”

a-ʒáʒ	the-bee (perhaps also /ʒaʒ/)
a-za-ʒa-tʰá-a-n-əś	they-refl-head, self-increase-pl-pres-whether
yə-śʰa-ʒʰá-ʒ-aw-n	this-year-time.locus-ordinal-inst-adv

31. “áśʰnawt, ná yada ná máčʰyáśʰáwt.

á-śʰ-na-(á)w-t	3-happen-pl-fut-genr
ná	neither
yada	much
ná	neither
máčʰy	little
a-śʰ-áw-t	3-happen-fut-genr

32. sába wəʒʰyáʒqʰayʰ?”

sá-ba	why-pro
wə-ø-ʒʰa-ʒyá-qʰa-y	you-3-for-ask-past-Q

33. “aȳánca azyʰáwqʰaytʰəba səcánə fásəwtʰawtʰqʰa, anán səyʰá dásqʰanən səyʰá səśʰwa aśʰáwtʰqʰa.”

a-ȳáanca	the-digging.stick
a-s-yʰá+w-qʰa-y-tʰə-ba	3-you-find+act-past-stat-sg-if.hypothetical
sə-cánə	my-sword
ø-fá-a-sə-w-tʰ-aw-tʰ-qʰa	3-down-to-I-act-dig-subj-be-past, “I would have dug down to it.”
a-ná-n	3-sg-obl, “then” or “with it”
sə-yʰá	I-pro
dá-ø-s-qʰa-nə-n	adv-3-I-say-pro.tns-obl, “as I said”
sə-yʰá	I-pro
sə-śʰwa	my-business
a-śʰ-áw-tʰ-qʰa	3-happen-subj-be-past, “it would have happened”

34. ȳacánə daȳáwśa áśʰabla ȳayʰərdáyəʒʰy dyaśʰáwtə yəcʰanaytʰ.

ø-ȳa-cánə	3-poss-sword
da-ø-ø-yʰá+w-śa	adv-3-3(giant)-find+act-when
á-śʰabla	the-land
ø-ȳa-yʰərdá-ay-əʒʰy	3-poss-destruction-finally-again (last two suffixes are

	emphatic “iteratives”)
dʎa-ø-šʸ-áw-tə	adv-3-happen-fut-genr
ø-yá-ćʰa-na-y-tʰ	3-3(M. Sh.)-know-pres-stat-sg

35. ayánəž ʎaśán yəšxʰáma, ʎacánə daʎʰáyša qʰášaʎə áynšʸawtən dʎašʸésala aśʰabla
 ʎakʰačʰá acćána aʎawadyáyəžʸ dʎašʸáwtəž.

a-yánəž	the-giant
ø-ʎa-śá-n	3-poss-head, “his own”
yə-šxʰá-ø-ma	3-strong-be-if.conditional, “if he had his own strength”
ø-ʎa-cánə	3-poss-sword
da-ø-ø-ʎʰá-ay-ša	adv-3-3(giant)-find-final-when
ø-ø-qʰáša-ʎə	3-3(giant)-desire-belong, “his wishes”
á-y-n-šʸ-aw-t-ən	3-dir-3(giant)-do-fut-genr-adv
dʎa-ø-šʸ-é-ša-ala	adv-3-happen-when-and
a-śʰabla	the-land
ø-ʎa-kʰačʰá	3-poss-end
a-ććána-n-a	the-people-obl-pl
a-ʎa-wadyáy-əžʸ	3.pl-poss-doom-final-back
dʎa-ø-šʸ-áw-t-əž	adv-3-happen-fut-genr-be

After Dumézil 1955, with stress therein, and with revisions from Dumézil 1960b, 74. For the split of < sʰ > into /sʰ/ and /xʰ/ see Colarusso 1992b.

Translation*

1. Long ago there was a hunter called Marchan Shaghy.
2. He killed a buck when he was in the mountain forests.
3. Evening having fallen, he spent the night on the mountain.
4. He lit a fire and was roasting the inner organs when he heard a voice.
5. He climbed into a nearby tree, holding on to the innards he had been roasting.
6. He hid himself.

7. He draped his cloak over another tree.
8. A wildman, covered all over with hair, approached.
9. He looked around.
10. He mistook the tree on which the cloak was draped for a man and threw himself on it.
11. Marchan Shaghi, seeing this from where he was sitting in the tree, primed his pistol and shot at the wildman.
12. The wildman caught fire and ran into the woods.
13. After this Marchan Shaghy returned to his fire, roasted the organs, and finally ate them.
14. He said to himself, "In the morning I shall find whom I have wounded, wherever he may have gone to."
15. At dawn he set off after him.
16. He traveled very long and came upon a beautiful small plain.
17. When he looked all around, he heard a voice saying, "What did you come here to do?"
18. When he looked all around again, he saw a giant who had been tied down.
19. The bound giant called to him, "Come here!
20. Bring me a digging stick made from the plant that blooms first but brings forth fruit last."
21. Marchan Shaghy went and brought back with him another sort of digging stick for the giant.
22. "This won't do," the giant said.
23. Then he set out again and began to cut off part of a dogwood.
24. Another voice said, "You must not cut this off!"
25. He looked all around but did not see who had said this.
26. He returned to the giant and said, "I did not find it."

27. "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.
28. "How are things in this land?"
29. "Do the sheep bring forth lambs?"
30. "Do the honeybees multiply this year?"
31. "It will happen, but it will be neither much nor little."
32. "Why do you ask?"
33. "If I had gotten hold of the digging stick, I would have dug down to my sword, then it would have been possible for me to do that which I promised."
34. Marchan Shaghy knew that if the giant found his sword, it would mean the country's destruction.
35. If he had his own strength back and had gotten back his sword, he would have done as he wished, and when that happened it would be the end of the world and the final doom of humankind.

* This translation is closer to the original Ubykh than that found in chapter 91 in order to assist the reader in the study of the grammar of this text.

Remarks

- Note on the vowel systems of Abaza and Abkhaz 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 $V1 + V2 \rightarrow V2$. Abaza is unique in the preservation of both vowels before /a/ in certain juncture phenomena. Parentheses around consonant mean it is found in loans from Circassian (usually Kabardian).
- Typological peculiarities Abaza is typologically unusual in the number of pharyngeals it has and the exuberant use it makes of them. Abaza also tolerates strings of consonants where the syllabic structure seems to become submerged. Abaza is like Ubykh in the occurrence of the unusual “palatalized” uvulars which are made with bunched up tongue body and advancing of the tongue root, [+ATR]. Again like Ubykh it has pharyngealized uvulars, usually aspirated voiceless stops but for some speakers these are fricatives. Unlike Ubykh, however, these series of consonant are more restricted in their number.
- Comment on stress in Abaza, Abkhaz, and Ubykh 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 transformation 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 instances 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.

- Verb Cliticizing Abaza and Abkhaz show verb cliticizing under certain conditions. A verb joins to its direct object noun instead of carrying a direct object index. The resulting “super-verb” can have two or more primary stresses, depending on how many such verbs have piled up. Line 21 shows an example of three such verbs, the first serving as clausal direct object for the chain. The conjoining of words is real, however, and not just some index-dropping process, because those verbs which assign stress to their direct object index, that is, to their first syllable, reassign stress to the direct object noun, as occurs in the first super-verb in line 38 where a third person pronoun serves as direct object and is, incidentally, distinct from what its verbal index would have been. There is one instance, however, in line 118 where such verb “cliticization” seems to fail to occur and simple initial index dropping seems to occur instead. An equals sign is used to denote this direct object - verb complex. I have placed the cliticized verb and its gloss on a separate line with an indentation so that the reader will not find such examples too confusing.

- Comment on questions Abaza and Abkhaz questions are very unusual in that they show rightward question movement, that is to say that the interrogative pronoun appears at the end of the verb, and since the verb is usually the last word of the phrase, these wh-words, as they are called, appear phrase finally. Most linguists do not believe that such question formation exists, but lines 15, 16, and 103 offer clear examples.

Phonemicized and Glossed Text (saga 60)

Translated by John Colarusso

(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. sawsróq'əy sáwtrašəy

sawsróq'a-əy Sosruquo-and

sáwtraš-əy Sotrash-and

2. atəwrəxk'a yəšərh'awala, nártərfa sawsróq'a saws dəypan.

a-təwrəx-k'a the-history-pl

yə-šə-r-h'a-wa-la it-how-they-say-asp-by

nárt-ərfa Nart-race

sawsróq'a Sosreuquo

saws Sos

d-əy-pa-ø-n 3.hum-his-son-be-stat.past

3. saws nártərfa drəž'xč'an.

saws Sos

nárt-ərfa Nart-race

d-rə-ž'+xč'a-n 3.hum-them-cow+herder-stat.past

4. abarəy aqázla nártərfa zəmŋ'a sawsróq'a "təwma" h'a yəpxəwn, yarg'əy áš'ata
dəgráč'arəms'əwzt.

a+ba-r-əy 3+pro-near-sg

a-qá-z-la its-head-past.part-by

nárt-ərfa Nart-race

zə-mŋ'a one-road, "all of the"

sawsróq'a Sosruquo

tówma	mongrel, bastard
h°a	call, say
yá-pxə-ø-w-n	it-disgrace-be-asp-habitual.past
ya-r(a)-g°y	they-pro-and
á(y)š°(a)-ta	brother-adj, "as a brother"
də-g°-r-áč°a-rə-m-š°(a)-w-zt°	3.anim-not-them.for-preVerb-they-not-recognize-asp-neg.tns, "they would not consider him as a brother"

5. awása sawsróq°a qác°ara dówta yólazəy š°ará-qéxč°arata awóy yómazəy
yəfálc°la nártərfa awóy danərbəra p°át°əw dəw yək°ərc°əwn.

a+wá-sa	3+distal.invis-adv, "then" or "but"
sawsróq°a	Sosruquo
qác°a-ra	man-ly
dów-ta	great-adv
yá-l-a-ø-z-əy	which-inside-in-be-past.part-and
š°a+rá-qé+xč°a+ra-ta	frighten+inf-head+herd, direct+inf-adj, "frightening and attention-grabbing quality"
a+wá-əy=yá-ma-z-əy	3-distal.invis-sg=him-belong-past.part-and
yə-fá-l-c°(a)-la	which-hither-inside-set-by
nárt-ərfa	Nart-race
a+wá-əy	3+distal.invis-sg
d-an-ér-ba-ra	3.hum-when-they-see-adv
p°át°əw	honor
dəw	great
=yə-k°ə-r-c°(a)-w-n	=him-on-they-set-asp-stat.past, "habitual"

6. yəpáx°la p°átəw yək°ərc°a čérč°pəzt°h°a, yóš°tax°la awóy dšérš°waš, dšədrəzwaš
ámf°ak°a yərzəpš°əyn.

yə-pá+x°-la	his-nose+zone-by, "his front"
p°átəw ← p°át°əw	honor
=yə-k°ə-r-c°a	=him-on-they-do
čér-r-č°pa-z-t°-h°a	refl-they-make-past.part-past-though
yá-š°ta+x°-la	his-foot+zone-by, "his back"
a+wá-əy	3+distal.invis-sg
d-šér-r-š°-wa-š	3.hum-how-they-kill-asp-subj.subordinated
dá-š-r-rə-ž-wa-š	3.hum-how-they-cause-disappear-asp-subj.subordinated

á-mŋ°a-k°a	the-way-pl
yə-r-zə-pš+ŋa-əy-n	them-they-can-look+hither, after-even-stat.past, "they always sought"
	(with simple stative past /-n/ for habitual past /-w-n/)

7. znə nártərŋa abadərən sawsrəq°a dərš°ra məwrád rəmata dəzč°ərtt'.

z-nə	one-time
nárt-ərŋa	Nart-race
=aba-dər-ən	=recip-know-pro.tns, "they agreed"
sawsrəq°a	Sosruquo
d-ər-š°-ra	3.hum-they-kill-to
məwrád	intention
rə-mata	their-among
də-zč°ə-r-t'	3.hum-invitation.preV-they-give-past, "they invited him"

8. sawsrəq°a yəzč°əztəz nártərŋa rpnə dcat'.

sawsrəq°a	Sosruquo
yə-zč°ə-z-tə-z	whom-invitation.preV-who-give-past.part
nárt-ərŋa	Nart-race
r-rpnə	their-place
d-ca-t'	3.hum-go-past

9. q°awmrák' dá°an, š°abəžta yəla-x° ak°əta, dalapčəta rpnə dŋayxt'.

q°awm+rá-k'	some+ness-whole (stress ?)
d-á°-a-n	3.hum-it.to-be.there-past.nondef
š°abəž-ta	great-ly
yə-la-x°	his-eye-bad
a-k°ə-ø-ta	it-on-be-adj, "he showed a bad or sad eye"
d-a-l-a-pčə-ta	3.hum-it-inside-dat-smash-adj, "devastated"
r-rpnə	their-place
d-ŋa-y-x-t'	3.hum-hither-go-back-past

10. sawsrəq°a yan satanáy sawsrəq°a yəš°agaš°á g°ləng°apxat'.

sawsrəq°a	Sosruquo
y-an	his-mother
satanáy	Satanay

sawsróq'°a	Sosruquo
yə-š'agaš'á	his-manner
=g ^y -lǎ-n-g°a+px-t'	=not-her-it-heart+please-past, "the way he looked did not please her"

11. awóy zak' šyǎznəyǎz ldǎrən dəyc'fawa dǎlagat':

a+wá-əy	3+distal.invis-sg
za-k'	one-singleton, indefinite
=š-yǎ -z-nə-yǎ-z	=how-him-for-it-go-past.part
=l-dǎr-ən	=she-know-pro.tns, "she asked to. know how it had gone for him"
d-ǎy-c'fa-wa	3.hum-him-question-asp
d-á-l-a-ga-t'	3.hum-it-inside-in-enter-past

12. "sará sǎq̄'p̄ha ssawsróq'°a,

sa-rá	I-pro
sǎ-q̄'əp̄ha	my-foster.child
s-sawsróq'°a	my-Sosruquo

13. sawsróq'°a sará sǎlašara,

sawsróq'°a	Sosruquo
sa-rá	I-pro
sǎ-la+ša+ra	my-eye+light+abstract

14. áfər š'agá zbž'əw ssawsróq'°a!

áfə(r)	lightning
š'agá	frightening
z-bž'ə-ø-w	whose-voice-be-stat.part
s-sawsróq'°a	my-Sosruquo

15. yacá yǎwzč'əztəz yǎfaywárh'ya?

ya+cá	time.pfx+yesterday
yǎ-w-z+č'ə-z-tə-z	it-you.masc-nvitation-who-give-past.part
yǎ-fa-ay-w-á-r-h'ya	what-hither-together-you.masc-to-they-say-what

16. yəwbayá? yərxayá, yərh°aya?"

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

17. "spsə yapšəw satanáyta, san,

s-psə	my-soul
y-a-pšə-ø-w	which-it-like-be-stat.part
satanáy-ta	Satanay-emph
s-an	my-mother

18. q̄ác'a wəs bás^ytamlən, bázəmc'fan!

q̄ác'a	man
wəs	affair
b-á-š ^y ta-m-lə-n	you.fem-it-after-not-be.inside-pro.tns
b-á-zə-m-c'fa-n	you.fem-it-for-not-ask-pro.tns

19. aḥ°əs q̄ác'a wəs dg^yázc'fəwm,

a-ph°əs	the-woman
q̄ác'a	man
wəs	affair
d-g ^y -á-z-c'fə-w-m	3.hum-not-it-for-ask-asp-not

20. aḥ°əs c'fas g^ylədórgalwam."

a-ph°əs	the-woman
c'fas	ask+ness
=g ^y -lə-ró-r-ga+l-wa-m	=not-her.to -they-cause-stand+at-asp-not,
	"there are no answers for a woman"

21. "yəwəznəyəz fasáwmḥ°k'a g^yəzəwrəm,

yə-wə-z-nə-yə-z	what-you.masc-for-it-go-past.part
=fa-s-á-w-m-ḥ°(a)-k°a	=hither-me-to-you.masc-not-say-pl
=g ^y ə-zə-w-ø-rə-m	=not-for-you.masc-be-if-not,
	"if you are not so disposed to tell me what you went for"

22. sáh̄atər wəmbəwzt'ən wəg^yspam."
 sá-h̄atər my-good.efforts
 wə-m-bə-ø-w-zt'-ən you.masc-not-much-be-asp-neg.tns-if
 wə-g^y-s-pa-ø-m you.masc-not-my-son-be-not
23. "yəsəm̄h̄°ak°a bəmwazt'ən, yəbásh̄p'...
 yə-sá-m-h̄°a-k°a it-I-not-say-dist
 bá-m-ø-wa-zt'-ən you.fem-not-be-asp-neg.tns-if
 yə-b-á-s-h̄°a-p' it-you.fem-to-I-say-pres.stat
24. "yəsəznəyəz pxaš^yaráp', g°ásra dəwp'...
 yə-sə-z-nə-yə-z what-me-for-it-go-past.part
 =pxaš^ya+rá-ø-p' = shy+abstract.n.sfx-be-pres.stat, "it. was a shame"
 g°á+s+ra heart+bad+abstr.n.sfx, "insult"
 =dəw-ø-p' =big-be-pres.stat
25. yacá sará nártərfa sózč'ərtt',
 ya+cá time.pfx+yesterday
 sa-rá I-pro
 nárt-ərfa Nart-race
 sá-z+č'ə-r-t-t' me-invitation-they-give-past
26. nártərfa rg°áran sará snátardat',
 nart-ərfa Nart-race
 r-g°áran their-courtyard
 sa-rá I-pro
 s-ná-t-a-r-da-t' me-thither-down-to-they-fall, set.in-past
27. awá?a anárt lógaž^k°a álač'°an,
 a-wá-?a 3+distal.invis-be.standing, "there"
 a-nárt the-Nart
 lóga-ž^k°a man-old-pl
 =á-la-č'°a-n =it-there-in-sit-past
28. awá?a "čóla š^ʔfaq̄mar!" r̄h̄°an,
 a-wá-?a 3+distal.invis-be.standing

čó-la	horse-with
š°-fa-q̄°+ma-r	you.pl-hither-portion+have-opt
=r-ḥ°a-n	=they-say-past, "may you apportion the horses!"

29. ag°áran dəw ák°ta snátalt',
 a-g°áran the-circle
 dəw huge
 á-k°-t-a its-center-down-to
 s-ná-t-a-l-t' I-thither-down-to-be.inside-past

30. af č°g°ya bž°óta sará sáh°ḥ°at',
 af lightning, thunder
 č°g°ya loud
 bž°ó-ta voice-adv
 sa-rá I-prof.sfx
 sáh°(a)+ḥ°a-t' I-say+say-past, "I cried"

31. sḡác'ara awát awá?a yódsərbat'.
 s-ḡác'a-ra my-man-ly, "my manly ways"
 a+wá-t 3+distal.invis-pl
 a-wá-?a 3+distal.invis-be.standing, "there"
 yó-r-sə-r-ba-t' it-them-I-cause-see-past

32. batər č'ág°əy awá?a yəfasərtt',
 batər knight, "bogatyř"
 č'á-g°əy cup-and
 a-wá-?a 3+distal.invis-be.standing
 yə-fa-sə-r-t-t' it-hither-me-they-give-past

33. nártərfa p'át'əwla sřardasxt'.
 nárt-ərfa nart-race
 p'át'əw-la honor-inst
 s-fa-r-das-x-t' me-hither-they-regard-again-past

34. arəq'əž° tənč°ta sřatəst',
 arəq'-əž° Aryq-old

- tónč^y-ta quiet-adv
s-ɣa-tǎ-s-t' I-hither-down-drag-past, "I descended"
35. sɣáywamca arǎq' ac'ǎq̄'a sɣázat',
s-ɣá-y-wa-mca I-hither-go-prog-dur
arǎq' Aryq
a-c'ǎq̄'a its-end
s-ɣá-za-t' I-hither-reach-past
36. sápq̄ala k'ayč'°arák' názbat',*(For lines 36-42, see alternative at end of analysis.)
s-á+pq̄a-la my-it.to+front-inst
k'ayč'°a+rá-k' black+ness-one
=ná-s-ba-t' =thither-I-see-past
37. ák'ayč'°ara yǎzbaz snayǎk'°h'°at'.
á-k'ayč'°a+ra that-black+ness
yǎ-s-ba-z which-I-see-past.part
s-na-yǎ-k'°h'°(a)+h'°a-t' I-thither-him-on-say+say-past, "I called to him"
38. awásah°ag°ay sbž°ə g°ǎymafat',
a-wá 3+distal.invis
=s-a-h'°a-g°ay =I-it-call-and
s-bž°ə my-voice
=g°ǎ-y-ma-fa-t' =not-him-not-be.audible-past
39. awǎy syǎš°talən sg°ǎyx°əmzat'.
a+wá-əy 3+distal.invis-sg
s-yǎ-š°t-a-lə-n I-him-after-to-enter-pro.tns
s-g°ǎ-y-x°ə-m-za-t' I-not-him-toward-not-reach, arrive-past,
without the expected /-ɣa-/ 'hither' preverb
40. sɣaǎq̄ənh°əxən bzǎyza ɣamǎzdat'...(for ɣamǎzdat')
s-ɣa-ǎq̄ə-n-h'°ə-x-ən I-hither-top-out.from-turn-back-pro.tns
bzǎy-za good-very
=ɣa-mǎ-s-da-t' ← =hither-not-I-reach, arrive-past, "I did get very far,"
for expected /=ɣa-s-mǎ-za-t'/

41. dʃácapšən awóy sará sʃáybat',
 d-ʃá-capš-ən 3.hum-chg.of.st-begin, awaken-pro.tns
 a+wá-əy 3 3+distal.invis-sg
 sa-rá I-pro
 s-ʃá-y-ba-t' me-hither-he-see-past
42. awóy sará dʃasókʰʰʰan yəsáʃat',
 a+wá-əy 3+distal.invis-sg
 sa-rá I-pro
 d-ʃa-sókʰʰ(a)+ʰʰa-n 3.hum-hither-me-on-say+say-pro.tns, "he yelled at me"
 yə-s-á-ʃa-t' it-me-to-hear-past
43. dʃasóšʲtalən awóy dʃasxʲəzət'.
 d-ʃa-só-šʲta-lə-n 3.hum-chg.of.st-me-after-enter-pro.tns
 a+wa-əy 3+distal.invis-sg
 d-ʃa-s-xʲə-zə-t' 3.hum-hither-me-toward-reach-past
44. dʃáʒaztən nártərʃa dərčəʃp'.
 d-ʃá-ʒa-ztən 3.hum-hither-reach-if, when
 nárt-ərʃa Nart-race
 də-r-čə+ʃ-ø-p' 3.hum-their-horse+man-be-past.stat
45. nártərʃa yəzbaʒ ačəʃkʰa drəwap'.
 nárt-ərʃa Nart-race
 yə-s-bá-z whom-I-see-past.part
 a-čə+ʃ-kʰa the-horse+man-pl
 d-rə-wa-ø-p' 3.hum-them-in.among-be-past.stat
 (for /wa-/ note Ubykh /wa-/ 'in.among')
46. ypəmčəxwa áhʰaps čʰər yəmap'.
 y-pə-m-čə-x-wa which-sever-not-break-again-pres.part
 áhʰa-ps sword-sharp (glossed as 'long' in Russian, but suggesting a
 spear with a sharp sword-like blade)
 čʰər spear
 =yə-ma-p' =him-belong-pres.stat

47. sčə azək° áh°aps č°ər řak°óyrxxt',
 s-čə my-horse
 a-zək° its-spine
 áh°a-ps sword-sharp
 č°ər spear
 =řa-k°ó-y-r-x-x-t' =hither-on-he-cause-press-back-past
48. sóza c'óq̄°a awóy řatayrgólt',
 só-za my-rib
 c'óq̄°a end, tail
 a+wá-əy 3+distal.invis-sg
 =řa-t-a-y-r-gó+l-t' =hither-down-to-he-cause-stand+at-past
49. lasarák^yta áž^řř°and sónq^ř°əyħ°at',
 lasa+rá-k^y-ta wool+ness-ball.of.yarn(?)-adv
 á-ž^řř°and the-sky
 só-nq^ř°ə-y-ħ°a-t' me-behind-he-drag-past
50. sřalbřóygaxən ádg^yəl řasóyrawt'.
 s-řa-l+břó-y-ga-x-ən me-hither-loc+flattened.down-he-enter, carry-again-pro.tns
 (note /á-l-břa-ra/ it-loc-spread.out, flatten.out-inf)
 ádg^yəl earth
 =řa-só-y-r-aw-t' =hither-me-he-cause-find-past
51. nártərřa rád^ygəl səyrč°aγ°at',
 nárt-ərřa Nart-race
 r-ád^ygəl their-earth, "their field"
 =sə-y-rč°-č°aγ°a-t' =me-he-cause-plow-past
52. bə ž^yq'óžk' ž^řř°aq̄ála yótsəyrgat'.
 bə ž^y-q'óž-k' seven-furrow-whole
 ž^řř°a+q̄á-la shoulder+head-inst, "top of the shoulder"
 yó-t-səy-r-ga-t' them-down-me-he-cause-enter, plow-past, "He made me
 plow seven furrows with my shoulder."

53. aḥ°č°ay°á°č°k' rpxzə ʃasə́ləycat',
 a-ḥ°-č°ay°á°č°k' the-two-plow-ox-singleton, natural.dual
 r-pxzə their-sweat
 =ʃa-sə́-lə-y-ca-t' =hither-me-out.from-he-beat-past
54. xən aq̄°lāsra sará sʃaḡ°layrə́st',
 xə-n three-times
 a-ḡ°+l+á+s-ra the-bent+there+in+hit-abstract.noun, "feeling sick"
 sa-rá I-pro
 s-ʃa-ḡ°+l+a-y-rə́-s-t' me-chg.of.st-bent+there+in-he-cause-hit-past, "he made me
 feel sick," "he made me bent over"
55. k'ə̀ k'axə́ta yəsə́ž°əz ʃasə́yrž°áxt',
 k'ə̀ k'a-xə́-ta breast.milk-all-adv
 yə-sə́-ž°ə-z which-I-drink-past.part
 =ʃa-sə́-y-r-ž°á-x-t' =hither-me-he-cause-vomit-back-past
56. spc'ak°á nə́š°č°a sába-la yə́szəyš°t',
 s-pc'a-k°á my-moustache-pl
 nə́š°-č°a earth-excess
 sába-la dust-inst
 yə́-s-zə-y-š°-t' them-me-for-he-color, paint-past
57. ac'ə́q̄°ala yáḥ°ag°əy dsə́zʃaḡxt',
 a-c'ə́q̄°a-la its-end-inst
 y-áḥ°a-g°əy his-sword-and
 d-sə́-z-ʃa+ḡ-x-t' 3.hum-me-for-hither+head-take-past, "He raised it up
 against me to take my head."
58. aq̄á q̄ə́xra danázca syə́ḥ°at':
 a-q̄á the-head
 q̄ə́-x-ra head-take-inf
 d-an-á-z-ca 3.hum-when-it-for-go
 s-yə́-ḥ°a-t' I-him.to-say-past, "I pleaded with him"

59. “wəyt’, nart čǎf°ta yə-k’°adá-m,
wə-ø-yt’ you.masc-be-pres.dyn, “you being ...”
nart Nart
čǎ+f°-ta horse+man-adj
yə-k’°adá-ø-m who-weak-be-not
60. swǎmš°ən, sš°a zǎng°əy wəg°ác’c°xrəm!
s-wǎ-m-š°-ən me-you.masc-not-kill-prohibitive.imp
s-š°a my-blood
zǎ-n-g°əy one-time-and
wə-g°-á-c’-c°-x-rə-m you.masc-not-it-out.from.under-go.out-again-opt-not,
“If you kill me, may my blood never leave you!”
61. wač°ǎ mšk’ p’áǎata yǎfasǎwtp’.
wač°ǎ tomorrow
mšk’ day-singleton, “just one day”
p’áǎa-ta delayed.duel-adv (a reprieve from combat with an agreed
upon date for resumption of battle)
yǎ-fa-sǎ-w-t-p’ it-hither-me-you.masc-give-prox.fut
62. ḥárama átawbag°əy azǎhp’áǎap’.
ḥarama Harama
á-tawba-g°əy its-summit-and
a-zǎ-ḥ-p’áǎa-ø-p’ it-for-we-delayed.duel-be-pres.stat
63. aḥaylara sázcan arǎla syǎḥ°at’,
aḥayla-ra shrewd-adv
s-a-z-ca-n I-it-for-go-pro.tns
a-rǎ-la 3-proximal-inst, “with it”
s-yǎ-ḥ°a-t’ I-him-say-past, “I beseeched him about it”
64. sǎ zlayǎḥ°az nayax°ən sbǎz°fayxt’.
sǎ -z-l-a-yǎ-ḥ°a-z my-which-interior-to-him-say-past.part
=na-y-a-x°-ən =thither-him-to-be.acceptable-past.pass.part,
“he accepted my entreaty”
s-bǎ-z-fa-y-x-t’ I-you.fem-for-hither-come-back-past

65. “ey, sála yápšəw ssawsrəq’ə,
 ey eh,
 sá-la my-eye
 y-á-pš-əw who-it-be.like-pres.part
 s-sawsrəq’ə my-Sosruquo
66. sawsrəq’ə q’áf’ta ayxála!
 sawsrəq’ə Sosruquo
 q’áf’-ta sinew-adj
 ayxála-la iron-eye
67. awəy albák^y yəpá sáwtraš yak’p’.
 a+wá-əy 3+distal.invis-sg
 albák^y Albek
 yə-pá his-son
 sáwtraš Sotrash
 y-a+k’-p’ who-it.to+be-pres.part
68. ɬzərš^əawa ačəf’ zaž’ək’ yak’p’.
 ɬ-z’-r-š^ə-wa we-whom-cause-fear-pres.part
 a-čə+f’ the-horse+man
 za-ž’-k’ one-hum.counter-singleton, “only one”
 y-a+k’-p’ who-it.to+be-pres.stat
69. dǎzk’č’əw yəčə š^əaraxqáp’,
 d-əz-k’-č’-əw 3.hum-which-on-sit-pres.part
 yə-čə his-horse
 š^əara-x-qáp-ø-p’ deer-male-head-be, have-pres.stat
70. awəy aqá áž’f’and yanəɬap’.
 a+wá-əy 3+distal.invis-sg
 a-qá its-head
 á-ž’f’and the-sky
 y-a-nə-ɬa-p’ it-it-out.to-extend.across(?)-pres.stat

71. awát ẓ̌ʰáýṣ̌ʰč̣ʰa yənážəyt',
 a+wá-t 3+distal.invis-pl
 ẓ̌ʰ-ʰ-áyṣ̌ʰ-č̣ʰa nine-hum.counter-brother-pl.hum (/á(y)ṣ̌ʰ(a)/ 'brother')
 yə-ná-ž(a)-yt' they-thither-reach-pres.dyn
72. aʰəʰ ṛqá wará yəʰawəsrəgx̣ʰat'.
 a-ʰə-ʰ the-eight-hum.counter (for expected /a-ʰ-ʰəʰ/)
 r-qá their-head
 wa-rá you.masc-pro
 yə-ʰa-wə-s-rə-ga-x̣ʰa-t' them-hither-you.masc-I-cause-carry-already-past
73. sáwtraš ẓ̌ʰə́ta ḍhə́maxp',
 sáwtraš Sotrash
 ẓ̌ʰ-ʰ-ə́-ta nine-hum.counter-adv
 d-hə́-ma-x-p' 3.hum-us.to-have-still-pres.stat
74. yáṣ̌ʰč̣ʰaḳʰa róṃʰa yərawərá atáq̣əp'.
 y-áṣ̌ʰ+č̣ʰ-a-ḳʰa his-brother+hum.pl-pl
 róṃʰa their-road, path
 =yə-ø-r-awə-rá ← =yə-w-r-awə-rá
 =he-you.masc.imp-cause, let-find-inf
 a-táq̣əp' it-be.necessary-pres.stat
75. aẓ̌ʰəyḳʰá awadg̣ʰəna ʰadrəč̣ʰpa!
 a-ẓ̌ʰəy-ḳʰá the-smith-pl
 awadg̣ʰəna bell
 =ʰa-r-ø-rə-č̣ʰpa ← =ʰa-r-w-rə-č̣ʰpa
 =hither-them-you.masc.imp-cause-make
76. yəmač̣ʰəmḳʰa, ṣ̌ʰárdata yədrəč̣ʰpa!
 yə-mač̣ʰə-m-ḳʰa their-little-not-be
 ṣ̌ʰárda-ta many-adv
 yə-r-ø-rə-č̣ʰpa ← yə-r-w-rə-č̣ʰpa
 them-them-you.masc.imp-cause-make

77. awát wəčə ac'əq̄'a yadh'ál,
 a+wá-t 3+distal.invis-pl
 wə-čə your.masc-horse
 a-c'əq̄'a its-tail
 y-a-d-ø-ḥ'á-l ← y-a-d-w-ḥ'á-l them-it-close, tightly-you.masc.imp-tie-iter
78. p'áλata yaməš'xəz wadgól,
 p'áλa-ta delayed.duel-adv
 y-a-mə-š'-x-əz which-reciprocal-before-you.pl-take-past.part, "which you
 both agreed upon"
 w-a-d-gól you.masc-it-close, tightly-stand, "you observe it"
79. danəwbara zónla wəyáž'əl!
 d-anə-w-ba-ra 3.hum-when-you.masc-see-inf
 zón-la one-time-by, "at once"
 wə-yá-ž'əl-l you.masc-him-attack-iter, again
80. yəčə rháp'ta dž'ək'ənap',
 yə-čə his-horse
 =w-r-ḥáp'-ta =you.masc-cause-afraid-adj
 d-ž'ək'-na-ga-p' 3.hum-outside.preV-from.inside-thither-carry-prox.fut, "the
 horse will bolt right away"
81. ánč'a wəyáq̄'əphəwztən dfa-wəytp'.
 ánč'a God (Indo-European loan from *ansuz 'god, spirit', Sanskrit
asura, Norse Æsir)
 wə-yá-q̄'əphə-w-ztən you-his-foster.child-be-asp-validating.if,(Ubykh /-da(n)/)
 d-fa-wá-əy-t-p' 3.hum-hither-you.masc-He-give-prox.fut
- * * *
82. sáwtraš áta-wba dx'əngə lap',
 sáwtraš Sotrash
 á-tawba the-summit
 d-x'ə-n-gə-la-p' 3.hum-on.top-on-stand-pres.stat, (historical present)

83. sawsróq^oa dáyzpšwa dgólap',
 sawsróq^oa Sosruquo
 d-áy-z-pš-wa 3.hum-him-for-look-pres.part
 d-góla-p' 3.hum-stand-pres.stat
84. ápstḥ^a k^oayč^oa dólagè lap'.
 á-pstḥ^a the-cloud
 k^oayč^oa black
 d-ól-a-gè la-p' 3.hum-inside-to-stand-pres.stat
85. sawsróq^oa átawba dnaqaxxól^t
 sawsróq^oa Sosruquo
 á-tawba the-summit
 d-n-a-qā-x-xól-t' 3.hum-on-to-head-jump, leap.out-back-iter, again-past
86. sáwtraš yəčó rḥan yəž^oák^oxxt',
 sáwtraš Sotrash
 yə-čó his-horse
 =r-ḥa-n =they(the bells)-frighten-pro.tns
 yə-ž^oák^o-x-x-t' it-outside.preV-from.inside-jump-back-past
87. sáwtraš dg^ož^ok^o'ən dfač'atást'
 sáwtraš Sotrash
 d-g^ož^o+ž^ok^o'-ən 3.hum-heart+melt-pro.tns, "he grew angry"
 d-fa-č'a-t-á-s-t' 3.hum-hither-mouth-down-to-hit-past
88. ačó ač'á dfaqəḥən yəč'əyž^oát',
 a-čó the-horse
 a-č'á its-mouth
 d-fa-á-q-əḥən 3.hum-hither-split-pro.tns
 yə-č'ə-y-ž^oát-t' it-jaw-he-tear-past
89. yarg^oəy aráʔa zók^oqā dfač^oš^oat'.
 ya-ra-g^oəy he-pro-and
 a-rá-ʔa this-prox.visible-be.standing, "here" (from point of view of
 the narrator)

zǎ-k̄q̄a own-back
 d-ǎá-(a-)k̄-š̄a-t' 3.hum-ch.of.st-(it-)on-lie-past

90. sawsrǎq'°a dčǎž°pan dnayg°ǎk̄č°at'
 sawsrǎq'°a Sosruquo
 d-čǎ+ž°pa-n 3.hum-refl+leap.upon-pro.tns
 d-na-y-g°ǎ-k̄-č°a-t' 3.hum-thither-him-heart, chest-on-sit-past

91. “way, q̄ác'a q'°ǎf°ta ayxála,
 way way!
 q̄ác'a man
 q'°ǎf°-ta sinew-adj
 ayxála-la iron-eye

92. žǎr lǎc' čǎf°ta sawsrǎq'°a!
 žǎr steel
 lǎ-c' there-exit, “made of”
 čǎ+f°-ta horse+man-adj
 sawsrǎq'°a Sosruquo

93. yacǎ sará wará p'áλa wǎstat',
 ya+cǎ time.prefix+yesterday
 sa-rá I-pro
 wa-rá you.masc-pro
 p'áλa delayed.duel
 =wǎ-s-t-a-t' =you.masc-I-give-to-past

94. yax'č'°á wará p'áλa ǎsǎt!"
 ya+x'č'°á time.prefix+today
 wa-rá you-pro
 p'áλa delayed.duel
 =ǎ-sǎ-w-t =hither-me-you.masc-give

95. “wará sará p'áλak' ǎsǎwtwa,
 wa-rá you-pro
 sa-rá me-pro-sfx

p'áλα-k' delayed.duel-one
 =ɸa-sə-w-t-wa =hither-me-you.masc-give-pres.part

96. sará wará p'áλαk' wóstwa,
 sa-rá I-pro
 wa-rá you-pro
 p'áλα-k' delayed.duel-one
 =wə́-s-t-wa =you-I-give-pres.part

97. nártɸa rətawba ɸx'əngə̀ lazlarma!"
 nárt-rɸa Nart-race
 rə́-tawba their-summit
 ɸ-x'ə́-n-gə̀ la-z-larma we-atop-on-stand-part-forever (for the suffix perhaps
 /l-a-r-ma / 'inside-in-cause-have')

* * *

98. sawsrə́q'ʰa yáɸ'a aráʔa yzəyrə́ž't',
 sawsrə́q'ʰa Sosruquo
 y-áɸ'a his-sword
 a-rá-ʔa this-prox.visible-be.standing, "there"
 y-zə́-y-rə́-ž'°-t' it-preV-he-cause-harden-past

99. sawsrə́q'ʰa anárt yə́qá ɸaḳə́yč't'.
 sawsrə́q'ʰa Sosruquo
 a-nárt the-Nart
 yə́-ḳá his-head
 =ɸa-ḳə́-y-č'°-t' =hither-head-he-cut-past

100. sawsrə́q'ʰa aḳá ɸaygən dɸayxt',
 sawsrə́q'ʰa Sosruquo
 a-ḳá the-head
 =ɸa-y-g(a)-ən =hither-he-carry-pro.tns
 d-ɸa-y-x-t' 3.hum-hither-come-back-past

* * *

101. “sáč’k’°enta sálašara yówč’paya?
 sá-č’k’°en-ta my-child-adv
 sá-la-ša-ra my-eye-light-adj
 yá-w-č’pa-ya what-you.masc-do-what
102. yəwbayá? yəwḥ°ayá? yəwḥayxš°ayá?”
 yə-w-ba-yá which-you.masc-see-what
 yə-w-ḥ°a-yá which-you.masc-say-what
 yə-w-ḥa-y-x-š°a-yá which-you.masc-hither-come-back-be.how-what
103. “s°ácaz sbač’°ó sárq̄yat’
 s-á-ca-z I-there-go-past.part
 s-ba-č’°ó I-see-exhaustively / properly
 sá-r+q̄+y+a-t’ I-their+head(s)+go+on-past (see saga 60, n. 11)
104. sáwtraš yəq̄á bará ybózḥazgt’!”
 sáwtraš Sotrash
 yə-q̄á his-head
 ba-rá you.fem-pro
 y-bó-z-ḥa-s-g(a)-t’ it-you.fem-for-hither-I-bring-past
105. “yəxač’°éməz wəxaméḥ°an wəsézḥayxt’.”
 yə-xač’°é-mə-ø-z which-proper-not-be-past.part, “which is impossible or
 unseemly”
 wə-xa-mé-ḥ°a-n you.masc-preV-not-set.out.an.ambush-pro.tns
 wə-sé-z-ḥa-y-x-t’ you.masc-me-for-hither-come-back-past
106. “yázẏwda? ‘yəḥág’ sábh°ən ybózḥazgt’,
 yá-z-zəw-da whom-for-interrogative.be-who, “whose head is it?”
 yə-ḥá-ga it-hither-bring
 =s-á-b-ḥ°(a)-n =me-to-you.fem-say-pro.tns
 yə-bó-z-ḥa-s-ga-t’ it-you.fem-for-hither-I-bring-past
107. wəž°éḡ°əy ‘yəḡáx!’ sábh°əma yézḡaxp’,
 wəž°é-ḡ°əy now-and

yə-w-gá-x it-you.masc-bring-back
 =s-á-b-ḥ°(a)-ma =me-to-you.fem-say-if
 yə-s-ga-x-p' it-I-bring-back-prox.fut

108. aqá aqaryéxra bará yəbwésp'."
 a-qá the-head
 =a-qá-r-yé-x-ra =it-head-cause-attach-back-inf
 ba-rá you-pro
 yə-b-wés-ø-p' it-your-deed, task-be-pres.stat

109. "sáwtraš yəqá sará sg^yazómbžam.
 sáwtraš Sotrash
 yə-qá his-head
 sa-rá I-pro
 s-g^y-a-zó-m-bža-m I-neg-it-for-not-have.need-not

110. awóy zbarág^yəy yəsařarág^yəy g^yəstaqém,
 a+wá-əy 3+distal.invis-sg
 =s-ba-rá-g^yəy =I-see-inf-and
 yə-s-a-řa-ra-g^yəy it-me-to-be.audible-inf-and
 =g^yə-s-taq-ém =neg-I-want-not

111. sáwtraš yan yəlzəgatá yəlótχ!
 sáwtraš Sotrash
 y-an his-mother
 yə-l-zə-ø-ga-tá ← y-l-zə-w-ga-tá
 it-her-for-you.masc.imp-bring-adv
 yə-lé-ø-t-χ ← yə-lé-w-t-χ it-her-you.masc.imp-give-back

112. Ipazaž°ók' yəqá awóy yələrbáχ!"
 l-pa-za-ž°ók' her-son-one-hum.counter-singleton, "her last son"
 yə-qá his-head
 a+wá-əy 3+distal.invis-sg
 y-əl-ø-r-bá-χ ← y-əl-w-r-bá-χ it-her-you,masc.imp-cause-see-again

113. sawsróq[°]a sáwtraš yan dlózcat',
 sawsróq[°]a Sosruquo
 sáwtraš Sotrash
 y-an his-mother
 d-ló-z-ca-t' 3.hum-her-for-go-past
114. sáwtraš yəqá lbž^ya yanóyrəš[°]əlt'.
 sáwtraš Sotrash
 yə-qá his-head
 l-bž^ya her-skirt
 y-anó-y-rə-š[°]ə-l-t' it-when-he-let-fall-iter, again-past
115. "wəy, yamóna čóŋ[°]ta, áž[°]xč^ya yəpá,
 wəy wiy!
 yamóna plague
 čó+ŋ[°]-ta horse+man-adj
 á-ž[°]-xč^ya the-cattle-herder
 yə-pá his-son
116. satanáy zón^yəy yólpam ámaxag^ya.
 satanáy Satanaya
 zó-n-g^yəy one-time-and, "never"
 yə-l-pa-ø-m which her-son-be-not
 á-maxa+g^ya the-arm+manner(?), "murderer"
117. alá tówma támcax sḡwərč[°]ag[°]əš^yat',
 a-lá the-dog
 tówma mongrel
 =t-á-m-ca-x =down-in-not-go-back
 s-ḡ-wə-r-č[°]a+g[°]ə+š^ya-t' my-head, refl-you.masc-cause-detri+heart+kill-past, "you
 have caused me to be grief stricken"
118. sḡawəfat', wəž^yə aš[°]ágala yórfat'!"
 s-ḡa-wə-fa-t' me-ch.of.st-you.masc-eat-past
 wə-ž^yə your.masc-flesh
 a-š[°]ága-la the-killers, wolf.pack-inst

ø-yǎ-r-fa-t' it-them-let-eat-past,(deleted initial index?)

119. dʃašʲt'čʲ°an ažʲǎxčʲ°wa ʃawǎlšʲtt',
 d-ʃa-šʲt'čʲ°a-n she-ch.of.st-jump.up-indef.past
 a-žʲǎxčʲ°a-wa the, a-spit-pres.part
 =ʃa-wǎ-l-šʲt-t' =hither-into.preV-she-throw.after-past

120. awǎy akʲašána aš°q'ǎc arǎq̄°ašat'.
 a+wǎ-ǎy 3-distal.invis-and
 a-kʲašána the-target
 a-š°-q'ǎc its-door-jamb
 =a-rǎ-q̄°aša-t' =it-cause-shatter-past

* * *

121. “ažǎr sšʲap', žǎrta sálarč°ap',
 a-žǎr the-steel
 s-šʲa-ø-p' my-blood-be-pres.stat
 žǎr-ta steel-adj
 s-álarč°a-p' I-alloy-be-pres.stat (/á-l-a-r-č°a/ |it-inside-in-cause-melt')

122. nártǎrʃa sawsrǎq'°a sará sák'°p',
 nárt-ǎrʃa Nart-race
 sawsrǎq'°a Sosruquo
 sa-rá I-pro
 s-á-k'°-p' I-it.to-be-pres.stat

123. yǎzzǎwda š°ará aq̄°ǎmgara álaš°c'at',
 yǎ-z-zǎw-da whom-for-interrogative.be-who
 š°a-rá you.pl-pro
 a-q̄°ǎmga-ra the-sorcery-abstract
 =á-l-a-š°-c'a-t' =it-inside-in-you.pl-set-past

124. yálaš°c'az aq̄°ǎmgara š°ará š°ágaxt'."
 y-á-l-a-š°-c'a-z which-it-inside-in-you.pl-set-past.part
 a-q̄°ǎmga-ra its-sorcery-abstract
 š°a-rá you.pl-pro

š°-á-ga-x-t'

you.pl-it-enter-back-past, "it rebounded against you"

Told by Tawbál Tawlóstan, 9 March 1941, Cherkess Qapsh. Collected in Meremkulov and Salakaja 1975, 106-9.

*Alternative passage to lines 36- 42

- i. s-na-pšó-yd-ta, yó-ḥ°a-d sawsréq°a,
 s-na-pšó-yd-ta I-thither-look-pres-adv
 =yó-ḥ°a-d =he-say-past
 sawsréq°a Sosruquo,
- ii. yé-la-k°a a-yač°á á-pš-ta
 yé-la-k°a his-eye-pl
 a-yač°á the-star
 á-pš-ta its-look-adv
- iii. y-k°az+k°az-óyd,
 y-k°az+k°az-óyd they-shine+shine- dyn.pres
- iv. a-šó-yač°a y-ḥa-y-wá a+wá-əy
 a-šó-yač°a the-white-star
 y-ḥa-y-wá which-ch.of.st-grow-pres.part
 a+wá-əy 3+distal.invis-and
- v. a-°á-ra lá tab yó-la-k°a, yó-ḥ°a-d
 a-°á-ra 3-so.much-adv
 lá dog
 tab pan
 yó-la-k°a his-eye-pl
 =yó-ḥ°a-d =he-say-past

From Meremkulov and Salakaja 1975, 103-6. I have attempted to restore stress in the original passage.

Translation

1. Sosruquo and Sotrash
2. As legends say, Sosruquo of the Narts was the son of Sos.
3. Sos was the cow herder of the Narts.
4. That is why all the Narts called Sosruquo "tuma," bastard. It was a disgrace. They would not consider him as a brother.
5. But because of the great courage that Sosruquo possessed, because of his frightening and attention-grabbing quality, all the Narts would show him great deference when they saw him.
6. Although they showed him respect to his face, behind his back they were always seeking ways to kill him, to get rid of him.
7. Finally the Narts agreed among themselves to give Sosruquo an invitation with the intention to kill him.
8. Sosruquo went to the Narts who had invited him.
9. He was there some time and returned very sad and tired.
10. His mother, Satanaya, did not like the way he looked.
11. She began to ask him how it had gone.
12. "My adopted child, my Sosruquo,
13. Sosruquo, light of my eyes,
14. My Sosruquo whose voice is like the thunder.
15. What did they say yesterday, they, who invited you?
16. What did you see? What have they done? What did they say?"
17. "°, like my soul, Satanaya, my mother!
18. Don't intervene into man's affairs! Don't ask!

19. A woman does not ask about a man's affairs.
20. There is no answer for a woman."
21. "If you are not so disposed to tell me what you went for,
22. If my concern seems a trifle, then you are not my son."
23. "If you will no longer be my mother because I refuse to tell you these things, then I will tell you what happened to me.
24. It is a shame and a great insult.
25. The Narts invited me yesterday.
26. They introduced me into the Narts' circle.
27. The Nart elders were sitting there.
28. 'Apportion the horses!' they said there.
29. I stepped into the center of a huge circle.
30. I shouted like the sound of thunder.
31. I showed them my courage there.
32. They presented to me the hero's cup.
33. Afterwards the Narts showed me high esteem.
34. Then I quietly descended into the old Aryq.
35. I traveled a long time until at last I reached evil Aryq's end.
36. I saw blackness in front of me.
37. I called to that blackness, which I had seen,
38. But he did not heed my voice.
39. I started to chase him, but I could not reach him.
40. I turned back then but did not go far.
41. He turned about and saw me.
42. He called to me and I heard him.

43. He pursued me and caught me.
44. This rider whom I saw was a horseman of the Narts,
45. °ne of those I saw among the Narts.
46. He carried a long unbreakable lance,
47. With which he goaded my horse along, beating on its back.
48. Then he stuck then end of it in my ribs and set my arse upon the ground.
49. He dragged me across the sky, lifting me like a ball of yarn.
50. He snatched me down again and flattened me to the ground.
51. He forced me to plow the Narts' ground.
52. He forced me to plow seven furrows with my shoulder.
53. I sweated like two plowing oxen.
54. Then he forced me to vomit up three times.
55. All the breast milk that I have drunk he made me vomit up.
56. He covered my moustaches in dust.
57. At last he grabbed his sword.
58. He prepared to cut my head off, and I began to beg
59. ° you, the Narts' fearless horseman,
60. If you kill me, may my blood never leave you!
61. Give me just one day - tomorrow - as a reprieve!
62. Harama's summit will suffice four our resumption.'
63. I decided to be shrewd and I begged him about it.
64. He accepted my proposal and so I have returned to you."
65. "Ey, Sosruquo! Like my eyes!
66. Sinewy Sosruquo, iron eyed!

67. That was Albayk's son, Sotrash.
68. The only rider of whom we are afraid.
69. The horse under him has a deer's head.
70. Its head hangs in the sky.
71. They were nine brothers. That is their extent.
72. Eight of their heads have I made you fetch already.
73. Sotrash is the ninth.
74. It is necessary that you let him find the way of his brothers.
75. Force the smiths to make bells.
76. Not few, but many.
77. Then tie them tightly to the tail of your horse.
78. Arrive on time as you have agreed upon.
79. As soon as you see him rush upon him!
80. His horse will become scared and will bolt.
81. If you are God's adopted son, He will give him to you.

* * * *

82. Sotrash stood upon the mountain.
83. Sosruquo stood and waited.
84. He was wrapped in a black cloud.
85. Sosruquo jumped onto the summit.
86. The clangor frightened Sotrash's horse and it bolted.
87. Sotrash became angry and hit his horse on the muzzle.
88. Then he pulled his horse's jaw backwards and tore it off.
89. And he himself fell down on his back.
90. Sosruquo leaped upon him and sat on him chest.

91. "Hey, sinewy man with iron eyes!
92. A rider made from steel, Sosruquo!
93. I granted you a reprieve yesterday.
94. Today, grant me a reprieve likewise!"
95. "You grant me a reprieve.
96. Then I grant you a reprieve.
97. So we shall be staying here on the Narts' mountain forever."

* * *

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

* * *

101. "°, my little boy, my light, how have you been?
102. What have you seen? What have you said? How did you come back?"
103. "I came; I saw much; and I conquered.
104. Sotrash's head I have brought to you."
105. "You did the unseemly, set an ambush and returned to me."
106. "Whose is it? You said, 'bring it,' and so I brought it.
107. Now if you say, 'carry it back,' I will carry it back.
108. To attach the head again, that is your task."
109. "I have no need of Sotrash's head.
110. I do not want to hear about it or see it.
111. Bring it to Sotrash's mother and give it to her!
112. Show her the head of her last son!"

* * *

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

* * *

121. "Steel is my blood. I am steel alloy. I am Sosruquo of the Narts."
122. You yourselves made a miracle. Whose fault is it now?
123. Your miracle has come back against you.

Alternative lines

- i. "I looked afar," said Sosruquo,
- ii. "His eyes were like stars
- iii. Shining and shining,
- iv. Like the white star that grows
- v. As much as the Dog Star were his eyes," he said.

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), called in Abaza the Dog Pan.

- Comment on the uvulars Like Abaza, Bzyb has [+ATR] uvulars, that is to say, it has uvulars where the tongue body is bunched up because of advancing of the tongue root. These have a palatal quality. Bzyb also retains two pharyngealized uvulars as in Abaza, though in Bzyb they tend to be fricatives. These dark, turgid sounds have become simple uvular fricatives in the other Abkhaz dialects.

- Comment on the pharyngeals The rounded voiced pharyngeal /ʕ°/ appears in the surface in Abaza and sometimes in Abzhwi and Ashkharawa Abkhaz, alternating with a rounded-y, [ʕ°] vs [y°]. 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/: Bzyb /á-ž°y°an/ → /á-ž°yan/ ‘the-sky’, or /á-ž°y°a/ → /á-ž°ya/ ‘the-wing, paddle, shoulder blade’. Therefore, I have represented this sound as /y°/ in the glosses. Unlike Abaza, the plain voiced pharyngeal /ʕ/ is realized as a consonantal a or as a voiced h, that is /ʕ/ → [h].

- Comment on the palato-alevolars The “dark” palato-alveolar series is frequently velarized in Bzyb rather than retroflexed.

- Comment on tense 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/ (not to be confused with the homonymous past stative) occupies verb-final position. It is absent from all

non-finite forms, whether those lacking any suffix in relative clauses, or those embedded with an adverbial sense, which show only /-z/ throughout. The suffix /-t'/ is absent from the stative present and past, and has clearly been generalized from the negative dynamic past (-m-Root-z+t' -not-root-participle+dynamic) to the negative stative past (-Root-m-z+t' -root-not-participle+dynamic). This suffix /-t'/ appears originally to have been a dynamic element that itself may have come from a reworking of an earlier past dynamic still seen in Abaza and in some older forms of 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 future to the stative future, via a suffix: -Root-z+ša-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]"). This /-wa-y+t'/ itself seems to be based upon a progressive aspect suffix /-wa-/, and an old present /-y+/. 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 /-xʷa-/ '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 /-xʷa-(c)/ in dynamic headless relatives, that is, "the one who had -".

- Comment on verbal inflection Abaza and Abkhaz distinguish gender. Nouns can be marked with a different plural suffixes depending upon whether they are human or

non-human. Second person singular pronouns and verbal indices distinguish between male and female. The third person pronouns do not distinguish gender, but their corresponding verbal indices distinguish between 'he', 'she', 'it', and 'they' for nouns that would carry oblique case in the other languages. For the absolutive position Abaza and Abkhaz verbal indices distinguish a human singular form, 'him/her', from a human plural, 'them', and an irrational, 'it'. The 'them' and 'it' are homophonous, both being /yə-/.

Phonemicized and Glossed Text (saga85)

Told in 1928 by Bartsets Shulayman, 52 years old, of Barmesh to A. N. Genko and published by Khukhut Suleymanovich Bghazhwba Bgazhba, 1964, 379-380.

Translated by John Colarusso

stress is provisional.

1. nártaa rə́žbaḅ°.

nárt-(r)aḅ	Nart-race
rə́-žbaḅ°	their-account

2. nártaa bžy°-áyš°c°a yə́q'an, ráh°š°a g°ə́nda lə́x°zə́n, ráyc°bza xməš° yə́x°zə́n, dlə́š°tan ac°án rah yarč°x°áw yáh°š°a, aḅ dyə́ytwámzt° sasrə́q°a yə́dərwan, aḅá yə́čaláygalwamzt°.

nárt-(r)aḅ	Nart-race
bž-y°-áy+(a)š°-c°a	seven-hum.counter-recv+brother-hum.pl
yə́-q'a-n	they-exist-stat.past, /-q'a- / also copula for hypothetical or irrealis conditions.
r-áh°š°a	their-sister, also /ay+áh°š°a/ recip+sister for /h° / note /ph°és(š)ba/ 'woman', /áh°s(š)a/ 'women'.
g°ə́nda	Gunda
lə́-x°zə́n	her-name-stat.past
r-áy+c°-bza	their-recv+young-superlative, Abzhwi /a-bzə́c°aš°a/ .

xməšʸ	Khmiş
yá-xʸzə-n	his-name-stat.past
d-lá-šʸta-n	3.hum-her-after-pro.tns
ačʸán	Atsan, a race of little people, perhaps water sprites.
r-aḥ	their-prince
yarčʸxʸáw	Yarchkhyaw
y-áḥʸšʸa	his-sister
a-x̄	its-top (= "starting with these conditions, but then")
d-yə-y-t-wá-m-z+tʸ	3.hum-him-he-give-asp-not-part+dyn
sasrəqʸ°a	Sasruquo
=yə-dár-wa-n	=he-know-asp-indef.past
a-x̄á	but
yə-č-a-l-á-y-ga-l-wa-m-z+tʸ	them-refl-in-inside-to-he-enter-iter-asp-not-part+ dyn, "he was not usually going among them," that is, "he did not intervene in this"

3. znə xməšʸóy yarčʸxʸawóy š°aráčara yáyčcaytʸ.

z-nə	one-time
xməšʸ-óy	Khimish-and
yarčʸxʸaw-óy	Yarchkhyaw-and
š°a+rá-ča+ra	hunt+inf-go+inf, "to go hunting"
y-áy-č+ča-y+tʸ	they- recip-with+go-past+dyn

4. áxrakʸ abənčák°a yəžačʸáz rbóytʸ.

áxra-kʸ	rock.face-one, singleton
a-bənčák°a	the-deer-pl.non.hum
yə-ž-a-čʸá-z	they-for-on-hang.down, cling-pt
=r-ba-óy+tʸ	=they-see-past+dyn

5. yarčʸxʸáw daaráyxsən akʸ'ó yəšʸóytʸ.

yarčʸxʸáw	Yarchkhyaw
d-aŋ-r-áy+xsən-n	3.hum-hither-them- recip(?), among+shoot-pro.tense, (/a-xós-ra / the-shoot-inf)
a-kʸ'ó	the-one, singleton
=yə-šʸ'ó-y+tʸ	=he-kill-past+dyn

6. xməš^y ig^o yálsən, uš yáyh^t yarč^yx^yáw.
 xməš^y Khmish
 (ə)y-g^o his-heart (perhaps cliticized to the preceding noun)
 y-álsə-n it-take.offense-pro.tense,
 for literary dialect /a-g^oáls-ra/ the-take.offense-inf.
 w(ə)+š 3rd.distal+adv
 =y-á-y-h^a-t' =him-to-he-say-past, for /-t'/ 'past', note Abaza /-t'/
 'past'.
 yarč^yx^yáw Yarchkhyaw, postposed for emphasis
7. “wará ḥará nártaa ḥzáypšraz, wəđérwan, ḥapx^y až^o ak^{'o} žəq[']áymc[']wáz
 áylk[']aanə wəq[']an, abrəy sápx[']a yəxbáwš^ywaz?”
 wa-rá you.masc-pro
 ḥa-rá we-pro.
 nárt-(r)aḥ Nart-race
 ḥ-z-áy+pš-ra-z we-how- recip.at+look-volitional.fut-part
 =wə-dér-wa-n =you.masc-know-asp-past.indef, “you knew how we
 imagined ourselves,” note /-ay+pš-/ recip.at+look,
 “imagine”
 ḥ-apx^y(a) our-before, /a+p+x^ya/ its+nose,front+locus
 a-ž^o the-hum,counter, hum.one
 a-k^{'o} the-one, singleton
 =žə-q[']a-y-m-c[']-wá-z =able-preVerb-he-not-set-asp-past.pt, for /-q[']a-/, note
 Circassian /^oa/ “hand,” “to set hand to,” “to make, to do.”
 áy+lk[']+aḥ-nə recip+find.out+active-adv
 wə-q[']a-n you.masc-be.in.hand-adv, “you realizing this”
 a-br(a)-əy this-near.speaker-sg, enlarged version of /-ra-/ suffix
 s-ápx[']a me-before, /á+p+x^ya/ its+front+locus
 y-əx+bá-w-š^y-wa-z it-why+Q-you.masc-kill-asp-part
8. “yəsžəmdért', wará aráx^y aáyg[']a wəq[']awp' ḥ^a séq[']amzt', aḥá waay ay^{'o}zaḥ^o
 wə-s-ta-p',” ḥ^a yayh^t.
 yə-s-žə-m-dér-t' it-I-for, able-not-know-past
 wa-rá you.masc-pro
 a-r-á-x^y this-near-its-at, “here,” literary dialect /a-br-á-x^y/
 =ḥá+y+g[']a =hither+come+still, “until”

wə́-q'a-wp'	you.masc-be.hypothetical-stat.pres
h̊'a	whether, literally "saying"
sə́-q'a-m-z+t'	I-be.in.hand-not-part+dyn, "I had not realized"
aḫá	but
w-ḡa-y	you.masc-hither-come
a-y°ə́za+x̄°ə	the-companion+portion
=wə́-s-ta-p'	=you-I-give-volitional.fut
h̊'a	saying
=y-á-y-h̊'a-t'	=him-to-he-say-past

9. "ḡayt', wará yəwš'ə́z sará ay°ə́zaḫ°əs yə́zbazgwá, nártaa yə́rəməwzəc sará yəswə́rwama?" yə́h̊'əyt'.

ḡayt'	hey!
wa-rá	you.masc-pro
yə-w-š'ə́-z	which-you.,masc-kill-part
sa-rá	I-pro
a-y°ə́za+x̄°ə-s	the-companion+portion-bit
yə-ž+bá-s-ga-wa	it-able+Q-I-take-asp, "I take it against my will"
nárt-(r)aḡ	Nart-race
yə-rə́-mə-w(a)-za-č	it-they-not-do-emph-perfect
sa-rá	me-pro
yə-s-wə́-r-wa-ma	it-me-you.masc-cause-do-Q(yes/no)
=yə́-h̊'(a)-əy+t'	=he-say-past

10. "ḡay, š°ará nártaaž° g°á'y°araa yəš°át°s°əmš'yaxwazəy," anə́yḡ'a yarč'yx'áw, áfəḡh̊'a xməš'y dnayn, "ḡará ḡg°á'y°azarg'ə́ wəsərbáp'" yə́h̊'an.

ḡay	hah!
š°a-rá	you.pl-pro
nárt-(r)aḡ-ž°	Nart-race-bad
g°á'y°a-raḡ	deep-race (= "a lazy lot")
yə-š°-á-t°-š°ə-m-š'y-a-x-wa-zə+y	whom-you.pl-to-below-you.pl-not-evaluate, look.upon-again-asp-what+Q, "Whom do you not once again hold in contempt?"
=a+nə́-y-h̊'a	=it+when-he-say
yarč'yx'áw	Yarchkhyaw
á-fəḡ+h̊'a	the-flash, lightning+adv

xməšʸ	Khmesh
d-na-y-n	he-thither-go-pro.tns
ħa-rá	we-pro
ħ-g°áy°a-za+r-gʸə	we-deep-stat+if-and
wə-sə-r-bá-pʸ	you.masc-I-cause-see-immed.fut
=yó-ħ°a-n	=he-say-indef.past

11. yənaç°kʸ°əs návcʸarpanə aç°á laḫəykʸ°əç°aan, ášʸtaxʸtʸ°əy yəlabášʸya
yəḫərkʸ°ákʸ°anə yəç°əneyxtʸ.

yə-naç°(a)+kʸ°əs	its-toe+little Abzh. /naç°(a)+kʸ°əs/ .
n+á+v-cʸarpa-nə	flat.on+to+close.by-grip, hook-adv
a-ç°á	its-skin
=l-a-ḫə-y-kʸ°əç°+fa-n	=inside-to-top-he-take.off+quickly-pro.tns, “He quickly, impetuously took it off.”
á-šʸta+xʸ+tʸ°-əy	its-after+at+stuff-and, “and its hind quarters”
yə-labášʸya	his-pike
yə-ḫə-r-kʸ°á+kʸ°a-nə	it-top-cause-hard+hard, “impale”(?)-past.passive.part
yə-ç°ə-na-y-x-tʸ	it(dummy)-from.under-he-go-again, back-past, “He started to go back.”

12. ášʸta danəntala, sasrəqʸ°a asáwf daxəkʸtʸ°áz danənapšʸ dəybəytʸ.

á-šʸta	its-track, “after”
d-a+nə-n-t-a-l+a	3.hum-it+when-flat.on-within-to-go.inside+in, “when he entered the courtyard”
sasrəqʸ°a	Sasruquo
a-sáwf	the-balcony
d-a-ḫə-kʸ°-tʸ°á-z	3.hum(S.)-it-atop-down.on-sit-part (text has /-xə-/)
d-a+nə-na-pšʸ	3.hum(S.)-it+when-thither-look
də-y-ba-əy+tʸ	3.hum (Kh.)-he(S.)-see-past+dyn

13. “ħay wará ánasəpda arəy wará yəwməšʸzəytʸ, wará yəwšʸəzar aḫó áḫ°da
aawmgəwázəy, ħará ay°əzaḫ°ə zaahəmgwáz wəzəmdərwazəy, ħç°a wəzjtʸ,
yáħ°əytʸ.

ħay	hey!
wa-rá	you.masc-pro
á-nasəp-da	the-luck-less

a+r ^ó -y	3+near.speaker-sg
wa-rá	you.masc-pro
yə-w-mə-š ^y -z(a)- ^ó y+t'	it-you.masc-not-kill-emph-past+dyn
wa-rá	you.masc-pro
yə-w-š ^y ^ó -za+r	it-you.masc-kill-stat+if
a- ^ā š ^ó	the-head
á- ^ā da	the-neck
=f ^ā a-w-m-g(a)-wá-zə+y	=hither-you.masc-not-take-asp-what+Q
ħa-rá	we-pro
a-y ^ó za+ ^ā š ^ó	the-companion+portion
=ž-a ^f -ħə-m-g(a)-wá-z	=for-hither-we-not-take-asp-past.part
=wə-žə-m-d ^ó r-wa-zə+y	=you.masc-able-not-know-asp-what+Q
ħč [°] a	disgrace
=w ^ó -r-ž(a)-t'	=you.masc-cause-arrive-past
=y ^ó -ħ [°] (a)-əy+t'	=he-say-past+dyn

14. “ar^óy sará yəsəmš^y^óyt', yəzš^y^óz^yə yarč^yx^yáw yawp', sápx^ya yəžəwš^y^ózəy ħ[°]a ányash[°]a, ^āáala dəsmač[°]áz[°]ayt', nás^yə nártaa ag[°]áy[°]až[°]k[°]a sáhš[°]a dəžbás[°]əstwa ħ[°]a sayħ[°]t',” y^óħ[°]əyt'.

a+r ^ó -y	3+near.speaker-sg
sa-rá	I-pro
yə-sə-m-š ^y - ^ó y+t'	it-I-not-kill-past+dyn
yə-z-š ^y ^ó -z-g ^y ə	it-who-kill-part-and
yarč ^y x ^y áw	Yarchkhjaw
y-a-wp'	it-must.be-stat.pres
s-áp ^x ^y a	me-before
yə-žə-w-š ^y ^ó -zə+y	it-able-you.masc-kill-what+Q
ħ [°] a	saying
=á+n-y-a-s-ħ [°] a	=it+when-him-to-I-say
^ā á-a+la	head-it+inst, “straight off”
də-s-ma-č [°] -áz [°] a-y+t'	he-me-at.belong-detrimentive-word.say-past+dyn
nás-g ^y ə	thus-and
nárt-(r)a ^f	Nart-race
a-g [°] áy [°] a-ž [°] -k [°] a	the-deep.lazy-bad-collective

s-áhš°a	my-sister
də-ž+bá-š°ə-s-t(a)-wa	3.hum-for+Q-you.pl-I-give-prog, "why should I be giving her to you?"
h°a	saying
=s-á-y-h°(a)-t'	=me-to-he-say-past
=yá-h°(a)-əy+t'	=he-say-past+dyn

15. sasrəq°a anóy ányaħa daagólwazma, yəráš°y ak°adór ak°c'ánə dčayt'.

sasrəq°a	Sasruquo
a+nó-y	this+near.hearer-sg
=á+n-y-aħa	=it+when-him-be.audible
d-aŋ-gə+l-wa-z-ma	3.hum-hither-stand+at-prog.past.part-Q.yes.no
yə-ráš°y	his-steed, "mythical, firey horse"
a-k°adór	its-saddle
a-k°c'ánə	it-down.in-set-adv
d-ča-y+t'	3.hum-go-past+dyn

16. yarč°x°áw sasrəq°a dzáypš°yraz yəmdór-wazəy yóyħ°az žəynamxwáz awəymdérxwaz, yáhš°ya "bčərx̄yanə bəq°az" h°a layħ°t'.

yarč°x°áw	Yarchkhyaw
sasrəq°a	Sasruquo
d-z-áy+pš°y-ra-z	3.hum-what- recip, refl.at+look-conditional-part, "how he would see himself," for /-ay+/ as a reflexive, compare the Ubykh verbal suffix /-aay-/ 'reflexive' or 'iterative'
=yə-m-dór-wa-zə+y	=he-not-know-asp-what+Q
yá-y-h°a-z	what-he-say-part
=žə-y-na-m-x-wá-z	=for-him(Y.)-he(S.)-not-take-asp-past.part, "he would not forgive him what he said"
=awə-y-m-dór-x-wa-z	=incredulity-he-not-know-again, still-asp-past.part,
"did	he really not know that"
y-áhš°ya	his-sister
b-čə-r-x̄ya-nə	you.fem-refl-cause-be.ready-adv
bə-q°a-z	you.fem-be.hypothetical-part
h°a	saying
=l-a-y-h°-t'	=her-to-he-say-past

17. sasrəq[°]a yəráš^y ák^yəš[°] apsəp yətq^yəwáz apšáypš yarč^yx^yáw yášta yaatás[°]s[°]əyt[°].

sasrəq [°] a	Sasruquo
yə-ráš ^y	his-steed
á-k ^y əš [°]	its-top
a-psəp	its-breath
yə-t [°] q ^y (a)-wá-z	its-shoot.out-asp-part
a-pš-áypš	the-wind-like
yarč ^y x ^y áw	Yarchkhyaw
y-ášta	his-yard
y-aŋ-t-á-s [°] s [°] -əy+t [°]	it-ch.of.st-within-to-whistle-past+dyn

18. yawəymdérxwaz sasrəq[°]a dzaawáz, ag[°]áš[°] áayart[°]ən dəyžəpšnə dgəlan.

y-awə-y-m-dér-x-wa-z	it-incredulity-he-not-know-still-asp-part
sasrəq [°] a	Sasruquo
d-ž-ŋa-wá-z	3.hum-for-come.hither-asp-part
a-g [°] áš [°]	the-gate
=ŋá-y-a-r-t [°] ə-n	=ch.of.st-him-it-cause-open-pro.tense
də-y-žə-pš-nə	3.hum-him-for-look-adv
d-gə+la-n	3.hum-stand+in-stat.past

19. dáatalt[°] ášta.

d-áŋ-t-a-l-t [°]	3.hum-hither-within-in-go.inside-past
á-šta	the-yard, postposed for emphasis

20. “wáa bzəyala wáabəyt[°],” yəh[°]əyt[°] yarč^yx^yáw.

w-á-ŋ(a)	you.masc-it-hither, come.imp
bzəy-a-la	good-its-inst
w-ŋa-(s-)b(a)-əy+t [°]	you.masc-hither-(I-)see-past+dyn, “I look upon you with favor!” (optional deletion of 1st or 2nd person in direct exchange)
=yə-ŋ [°] (a)-əy+t [°]	=he-say-past
yarč ^y x ^y áw	Yarchkhyaw

21. “bzəyala səwbá, č[°]g^ya səmbá saayt[°],” yəh[°]an, dəzyášaz axán dəx[°]nayt[°] yəráš^yala.

bzəy-a-la	good-its-inst
sə-w-bá	me-you.masc-see

č°gʷa	very.much
sə-(w-)m-bá	me-(you.masc-)not-see,(optional deletion of 1st or 2nd person in direct exchange)
s-ɬa-y-t'	I-hither-come-past
=yǎ-ḥ°a-n	=he-say-pro.tense
də-ž-yáša-ø-z	3.hum-for-straight-be-part
a-xán	the-palace
dǎ-x°na-y+t'	3.hum-rise.up-past+dyn
yə-rášʷ-a-la	his-steed-its-inst

22. "sabáwərt°wa wará ánasəpda yarčʷxʷáw?"

s-a+bá-wə-r-t'°-wa	me-it+where-you,masc-cause-sit-asp
wa-rá	you.masc-pro
á-nasəp-da	the-luck-less
yarčʷxʷáw	Yarchkhyaw

23. "wəxác°k'ə scəyt', yəwtaxəzar ará wəsərt'°áp', ma ašʷaš°ərc'a."

wə-xác°-k'ə	your.masc-masculinity-singleton, unique
=s-ča-y+t'	=I-go-past+dyn, "I defer to you."
yə-w-taxə-za+r	which-you.masc-want-stat+subj
a-rá	3-near.speaker
wə-sə-r-t'°á-p'	you-I-let-sit-immed.fut, text has /-t°á-/ for 'sit'.
ma	or
a-šʷaš°ə+r+c'a	the-shade+cause+cool, for literary /a-šʷš°ə+ra/ 'noun.marker-storm+abstract', "cool shade." For /+r+c'a/ compare /a-r-c'áɬ-ra/ 'noun, inf.marker-cause-cool-inf', and /-c'áɬ/ 'frost', or 'icy, frosty'.

24. yáargt sk'amk', dlək°t'°án dažǎšʷtəmx't', dačak'ǎ aargán wəgʷə dažǎšʷtəmx't', dəry°agʷəx dačak'ǎ, aḫá ak'ǎ dawǎšʷtnaxwaz.

y-áɬ-r-g(a)-t	it-hither-they-bring-past
sk'am-k'	bench-indef
d-lə-k°-t'°á-n	3.hum-there-down.on-sit-pro.tense
d-a-žǎ-šʷtə-m-x-t'	3.hum-it-able-upward-not-lift-past
dača-k'ǎ	other-indef
=ɬa-r-gá-n	=hither-they-bring-pro.tense

wə-gʷə	that-and
d-a-žə-šʷtə-m-x-tʷ	3.hum-it-able-upward-not-lift-past
də-r-yʷa-gʷə-x	3.hum-they-hold.up-and-three
dača-kʷə	other-indef
aḫá	but
a-kʷə	this-singleton
d-a-wə-šʷt-na-x-wa-z	3.hum-incredulity-upwards-it-lift-asp-part

25. “sčə ləbaaganə ačḫərpārta yəḫərpə,” yəḫəʷtʷ.

s-čə	my-horse
=(šʷ-)ləbʷa+ga-nə	=(you.pl.imp-)release+carry-adv
a-č-ḫərpá-rtə	the-horse-tether-place
yə-(šʷ-)ḫərpə	it-(you.pl.imp-)tether
=yə-ḫ(a)-əy+tʷ	he-say-past+dyn

26. yarčʷxʷáw dnayn áyʷra kʷnə daáḫaytʷ, aḫá yawə[i]žəžəryʷəxwaz, “čʷəw” íḫʷan sasrəqʷa, ačəyʷḫʷa yəlkʷápaytʷ yərášʷ.

yarčʷxʷáw	Yarchkhyaw
d-na-y-n	he-thither-go-pro.tense
á-yʷra=kʷ-nə	the-bridle=seize-adv
d-ḫá-ḫa-y+tʷ	he-ch.of.st-pull-past+dyn
aḫá	but
y-a-wə-y-žə-žəryʷə-x-wa-z	it-incredulity-he-able-make.obey-again-asp-part
čʷəw	well
=yə-ḫʷa-n	=he-say-pro.tense
sasrəqʷa	Sasruquo
a-čə+yʷ-ḫʷa	the-horse+run(ner)-adv, “with all swiftness”
ø-yə-l-kʷá+pa-y+tʷ	he(?)-it-there.from-up.on+jump-past+dyn; Note the apparent violation of verb cliticization.
yə-rášʷ	his-steed

27. “wará xməšʷ yəžbáyəwḫʷaz?” [dčʷaaytʷ sasrəqʷa].

wa-rá	you.masc-pro
xməšʷ	Khmesh
yə-ž+bá-yə-w-ḫʷa-z	what-for+Q-him-you.masc-say-part; Note the lack of rightward question movement in this and the next line.

- d-č'fa-y+t' 3.hum-ask-past+dyn
sasrəq'a Sasruquo
28. "yəzbáyash'az?
yə-ž+bá-y-a-s-ḥ'a-z what-for+Q-him-to-I-say-part
29. š'arácara ḥayčəq'an, yará dsəmbák'a bənc'ák' səmxášt'; 'yəžəwš'əzəy' anəyh'a,
wará aayg'á wəq'owp' ḥ'a səq'amzt' sh'əyt', nas yənac'k'yəs alá ac'á aaḫəyxən
ábža
 yəgəyt'.
š'a+rá-ča+ra hunt+inf-go+inf
ḥ-ay-čə-q'a-n we- recip-with-be(.hypoth)-pro.tense
ya-rá him-pro
d-sə-m-bá-k'a 3.hum-I-not-see-emph
bənc'ák' deer-one
 =s-əmxá-š'y-t' =I-by.chance-kill-past
yə-žə-w-š'ə-zə+y it-for-you.masc-kill-what+Q
 =a+nə-y-ḥ'a =it+when-he-say
wa-rá you.masc-pro
fa+y+g'á hither+come+still, as, "nearby"
wə-q'a-wp' you.masc-be.hypothetical-stat.pres
ḥ'a whether
sə-q'a-m-z+t' I-be.in hand-not-part+dyn, negative past stative, "I did not
 realize that you might be near."
 =s-ḥ'(a)-əy+t' =I-say-past
nas thus
yə-nac'(a)+k'yəs its-toe+little
a-lá the-dog, "Khmish"
ac'á its-skin
 =fa-xə-y-xə-n =ch.of.st-top-he-take-pro.tense, "he quickly, impetuously
 took it off"
á-bža the-half
 =yə-g(a)-əy+t' =he-take-past+dyn
30. "ag'yəy yəwh'az arbán?"
a-g'yə-y it-and-even

=yǎ-w-ḥ°a-z =him-you.masc-say-part
 arbán again

31. “nártaa ag°áy°až°k°a səmḫáḥ°t°, aḫá áž°a dǎwk°nə yəsəmḥ°əyt°, yəsč°aš°áš°a yǎsh°əyt°.”

nárt-(r)aḥ	Nart-race
a-g°áy°a-ž°-k°a	the-deep, lazy-bad-coll
sə-mḫá-ḥ°(a)-t°	I-inadvertantly-say-past
aḫá	but
a-áž°a	the-word
dǎwk°-nə	not.much-adv
yə-sǎ-m-ḥ°(a)-əy+t°	it-I-not-say-past+dyn
yə-s-č°a-s°á-š°a	it-me-from.out.of-escape-as.if
yǎ-s-ḥ°(a)-əy+t°	it-I-say-past+dyn

32. “wáys aráx°y ” yǎḥ°an sasrǎq°°a yarč°x°áw dbaanday°əyt°°əyt°, yará sasrǎq°°a yǎq°nǎ way°ǎ awəyǎžč°ətəxwaz.

w-á-y(a)-s	you-it-along-cross.over
a-r-á-x°y(a)	this-near.speaker-its-locus, “here by me”
=yǎ-ḥ°a-n	=he-say-pro.tense
sasrǎq°°a	Sasruquo, postposed for emphasis
yarč°x°áw	Yarchkhyaw.to, postposed for emphasis
d-bfanda+y°ǎ-y-t°°-ǎy+t°	3.hum-prisoner+human-he-take.possession-past+dyn
ya-rá	he-pro
sasrǎq°°a	Sasruquo
yə-q°nǎ	him-back.to
wa+y°ǎ	person+human

=awǎ-yǎ-žč°ə+tǎ-x-wa-z =incredulity-he(S.)-preV+summon, invite-again-asp-part,

for literary /=awǎ-zč°ə-y-tǎ-x-wa-z/, where the preverb and the root are separated by the ergative subject index /-y-/ ‘he’, “having summoned this person back, would you believe!”

33. yarč^yx^yáw yáh^šya lzó "bnay" yáh^oan, dəy^čč^zc'anə dəygóyt'.
- | | |
|---|--|
| yarč ^y x ^y áw | Yarchkhyaw |
| y-áh ^š ya | his-sister |
| l-zó | her-as.goal |
| b-na-y | you.fem-thither-go |
| =yó-ħ ^o a-n | =he-say-pro.tense |
| də-y ^o -č ^o -z ^o -c'a-nə | her-up-horse-quickly.upon-set-pro.tns, /-z ^o -/ is used in
verbs of attacking to govern indirect object. |
| də-y-g(a)-óy+t' | 3.hum-he-take-past+dyn |
34. abás yówəyt' sasróq'^oa.
- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| abás | this+adv |
| =yó-w-əy+t' | =he-do-past+dyn |
| sasróq' ^o a | Sasruquo, postposed for emphasis |

Told in 1928 by Bartsets Shulayman, 52 years old, of Barmesh to A. N. Genko.

Translation*

1. An Account of the Narts
2. 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.
3. Once Khmish and Yarchkhyaw went off together on a hunt.
4. They spotted some deer clinging to a craggy slope.
5. Yarchkhyaw shot at them and killed one.
6. Khmish took offence and spoke to Yarchkhyaw thus:

7. "You know how we Narts regard ourselves, that before us no one did anything.

Why did you kill it before me?"

8. "I did not know that. I had not realized that you might be nearby. But, come here! I offer the companion's share to you," he said.

9. "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.

10. "Hey! You wicked Narts are a low-down, lazy race! Once again, whom do you not hold in contempt?" When Yarchkhyaw said this Khmish drew up to him in a flash and said "I shall show you if we are low-down and lazy!"

11. 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.

12. Then he set off back. Later when he entered the compound, Sasruquo, who was sitting atop the balcony, looked out and saw him.

13. "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.

14. "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.

15. Would Sasruquo stand about when he heard this? He climbed into the saddle of his fiery steed and set off.

16. Did Yarchkhyaw really not know what Sasruquo was like? How could he not have known that [Sasruquo] would not forgive him for what he had said to Khmish? He said to his sister "You should be ready."

17. The breath shooting out from the top of Sasruquo's steed began to whistle like the wind into his yard.
18. Could he really not have known why Sasruquo was coming? He opened the gate and stood waiting for him.
19. He entered the yard.
20. "Enter! I look upon you with favor!" said Yarchkhyaw.
21. "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.
22. "Where would you seat me, luckless Yarchkhyaw?"
23. "I defer to your valor. If you wish, I can seat you here, or in the cool shade.
24. 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?
25. "Release my horse and tether it to the hitching post," he said.
26. 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.
27. "What did you say to Khmish?" asked Sasruquo.
28. "What did I say?
29. 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 might be nearby.' Thus, from its fetlock to its head the dog flayed it and took half."
30. "Then what did you say?"
31. "I blurted out 'the Narts are a bad, low-down, lazy bunch', but I did not mean much by the phrase. It escaped from me."

32. "Cross over to here!" said Sasruquo, and he took Yarchkhyaw prisoner. What person could possibly talk back to him, Sasruquo?

33. Setting his sights upon Yarchkhyaw's sister he said, "Come here!" Swiftly seating her upon his horse, he carried her off.

35. Thus behaved Sasruquo.

* The translation here is more literal than that found in chapter 85, so that the reader may follow the Abkhaz analysis more closely.