## Appendix A.

### Kabardian (East Circassian)

#### Phonemic inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>p’</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>f’</th>
<th>m</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
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<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t’</td>
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<td>alveolar</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>c’</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
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<tr>
<td>alveolo-patalal</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>ʃ’</td>
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<tr>
<td>palato-alveolar (laminal)</td>
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<td>ʒ</td>
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<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>k’y</td>
<td>ɡ’y</td>
<td>k’y</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ɡ</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>velar (rounded)</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td>ɡ’</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td>ʃ’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>uvular</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q’</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rounded)</td>
<td>q’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q’</td>
<td>ʃ’</td>
<td>y’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pharyngeal (epiglottal)</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
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<td>laryngeal</td>
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<td>h</td>
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<td>rounded</td>
<td>?’</td>
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<tr>
<td>vowels</td>
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### 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 (/e/), an open (/a/), and a low open (back) (/A/). One may also represent these vowels as /ə, e, a/ (following Cyrillic /у, 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 /psáλα/ ‘word,’ and /psaλá-a-λ-a/ ([psaλáλe]) word-connective-lie-in, ‘dictionary’, where one expects */psaλáλa/.

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 /-š’a/ 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 /a/ 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-/ \(\rightarrow [\text{ya}]\). Kabardian is unique in that it derives some instances of stable \(/a/\) from the sonorization of \(/\gamma/\) of the past tense: \(-\gamma a-/ \rightarrow /-a\gamma-/ \rightarrow /-a-/.\)

Finally, one may note that in Kabardian some words are exceptions to the “back licensing” of \(/a/\), for example, \(\text{adə̱yə́-bza/} ‘\text{Circassian-tongue}’\) (contrast West Circassian \(\text{adə̱yə́-a-bza/}\)). Conversely, loan words, such as \(\text{/baš/ ‘gourd’ (Turkish)}\) or \(\text{/nart / (Iranian)}\) 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, \(/ʔáša/ ‘\text{tool, weapon}’\) (contrast some West Circassian dialects with \(/?á́aša/\)). 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 underlingly \(/aa/\), which would be [+low][+low]. The same rule applies to the pharyngeal \(/h/\) (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 \(/?^\prime/\) (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 \(/aa/\), as with the Abkhaz \(\text{/a-ážə́a/} \rightarrow /ážə́a/ ‘\text{the-word}’, “(a/the) word,” or \(\text{/a-ah/} \rightarrow /ah/ ‘\text{the-prince}’, “(a/the) prince.”\) Instances of orthographic “aa” in Abkhaz represent \(/?a/\) or \(/?a/\), realized for most speakers as \([\text{fi}a]\) or \([\text{fi}]/\), 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. sosereq’o i pšənələm i q’edzəywit’
1864-re išəcem q’əxəwtəq q’ərəbadəy tekst [1]
sawsərəq’ɐ Soseruquo (I render here into English the Kabardian pronunciation)
yə-pənəála-m poss-pshinatla-obl, “ballad,” (/pənə-a-ɨ+ə/ pshina-conn-lie+in, the pshina was an old violin-like instrument)
yə-q’ə-yə-y̱-y̱-y̱-ṯ poss-ch.of.st-3-cut-character-pl.conn-two, “two fragments”
(I give the first here.)
1864-ra date-inst
yə-ɨəcə-m gen-year-obl (modern /ɨəs/ “year”)
ə-q’ə-ə-ə-xə-ə-ə-wə+tə-ə(ə)-a
3(saga)-hor-3(year)-in-3-pl-val+give-past-adjoined.adj
(adjoined to the seventh word)
q’ərəbadəy Kabardian
tekst text (Russian loan word)

2. armə soserəq’əapc’e,
ármə Armi (filler word)
sawsərəq’ɐ Soseruquo
á-p’c’ə the-dark

3. armə ɨəf’əc’e ɨəs’əne,
ármə Arma
ɨə-f’əc’a man-black
ɨəs’ə-na iron-eye(d)
4. mōda emōne šaw
mō+da this.near.speaker+other
ø-yə-mə-n+a who-in-not-remain, stay+in
šō+wə horse+man

5. nart šowxer šōšesmo,
nart Nart
šō+w-ha-r horse+man-pl-abs
ø-šə-š+a+s-m-a they-there-horse+on-sit-obl-pl

6. sosəɾəq’o q’ak’erəkuš;
sawsəɾəq”a Soseruquo
ø-q’-à h- k”a-ró-ʃə-ʃ ← ø-q’-y-ha-k”a-rə-ʃə-ʃ
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 /-š(a)/ here would be confined in the modern
language to present stative verbs, or to future and past tense forms
of all verbs.)

7. ʒəsibəl maʃwibl waemi nzariš’ek’s,
ʒ’aʃ-óy-bə night-pl.conn-seven
maaʃə(a)-óy-bəl day-pl.conn-seven
wa+a+yə-m-óy sky+conn+bad-obl-and
ø-n-zə-a-r-əy-ʃ’a+k”-ʃ ← ø-n-zə-a-rə-ʃə-ʃ’+a+k”-ʃ
3-thither-refl(?)-dat-inst-dir-down+to-exit-aff, “it stormed”

8. nartəʃəxi byəp’əš’əš;
nart-ə-ʃ-ha-r-əy Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs-and
ø-byə-a-p’əš’a-ʃ 3.pl-stong.action-conn-freeze-aff (for /byə-a-/ compare modern
-/byada-/ prefix denoting strong or effective action; This text shows
no plural suffixes on the verbs.)

9. we ezəieri nzəwp’s’ɔzš:
    wa there
    yázə-ha-r-ɔy recip-pl-abs-and
    ø-n-za-wəp’s’ɔ-ɔ-ʃ 3.pl-thither-recip-ask-recip-aff

10. “we, iməs, maf’e wi’e;
    wa you
    yəməs Yimis
    máaf’a fire
    ø-w-ɔy-ʔa ← ø-w-yə-ʔa
       3-you-poss-have (absence of affirmative mood /-ʃ/ implies a query)

11. we, sosəm, maf’e wi’e;
    wa you
    sawəm Sosem
    máaf’a fire
    ø-w-yó-ʔa 3-you-poss-have

12. žəndu žak’e, maf’e wi’e;
    žəndəw Zhyandew
    žá+a+k’əa chin+conn+tail, “beard(ed)"
    máaf’a fire
    ø-w-yó-ʔa 3-you-poss-have

13. araq’səw, maf’e wi’e;
    arahq’š’áw Araqshaw
    máaf’a fire
    ø-w-yó-ʔa 3-you-poss-have
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>ozərməs, maf’e wiəe;</td>
<td>Wazerme, fire</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wazərməs</td>
<td>Wazerme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>máaf’a</td>
<td>fire</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ø-w-yə-ʔa</td>
<td>3-you-poss-have</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>nəsrən ʔak’ε, maf’e wiəe</td>
<td>Nasran, chin+conn+tail</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nasrán</td>
<td>Nasran</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔá+a+k’a</td>
<td>chin+conn+tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>máaf’a</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ø-w-yə-ʔa</td>
<td>3-you-poss-have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>ašəm i qo ašəmez, maf’e wiəe;</td>
<td>Asha-obligee</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>áš’a-m</td>
<td>Asha-obligee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ø-yə</td>
<td>3-poss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q”a</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aš’a+máz</td>
<td>Asha+forest(?) (“Ashamaz”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>máaf’a</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ø-w-yə-ʔa</td>
<td>3-you-poss-have</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>ʔəmaš i qo batərez, maf’e wiəe;</td>
<td>Khimish</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ʔəmaš’i</td>
<td>Khimish</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ø-yə</td>
<td>3-poss</td>
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<td>q”a</td>
<td>son</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>batəráz</td>
<td>Bateraz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>máaf’a</td>
<td>fire</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ø-w-yə-ʔa</td>
<td>3-you-poss-have</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>səbəlši, maf’e wiəe;</td>
<td>Sebelshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>səbəlš’oy</td>
<td>Sebelshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>máaf’a</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ø-w-yə-ʔa</td>
<td>3-you-poss-have</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19. ałbek i qo totøreš, maf’e wi?e;
albák Albek
ø-yə 3-poss
q’a son
tawtøráš Toterash
máaf’a fire
ø-w-yó-ʔa 3-you-poss-have

20. nartə dzego ezam
nárt-ə-zá+g’a Nart-ep.v.-army+configuration, “troop”
ø-y-a-ʔ-áh-m ← ø-y-a-ʔ-ya-m
which-dir-dat-go-past-obl

21. maf’e ziʔa q’aşek’q’em;
máaf’a fire
ø-z-ʔ-y-ʔa 3-who-poss-have
ø-q’-ah-ʔa-ʔa-y-k”-q’ám ← ø-q’-y-ha-ʔa-y-k”-q’ám
3-hor-3-pl-among-dir-exit-not, (modern negative is /-q’əm/)

22. anem i q’wit’ri [2] thawsəxaš:
á-na-m int-mother-obl
ø-yə 3-poss
q”(a)-ʔ-y-t’-r-ʔy son-pl.conn-two-abs-and
ø-tḥa-a-w(ə)sə-ʔ-áh-ʔ ← ø-tḥa-a-wəsə-ʔ-ya-ʔ
3.pl-God-dat-pray-already-past-aff
(The plural verb normally expected here would have been
/ø-tha-a-wəsə-ʔ-ya-ha-ʔ/, probably written thawsəxaš, except that
verbs have no plural suffixes in this text; see remark on line 8.)

23. “de dəmə deyλετεμə
da we
dó-mə-daylə-ø-ta-ma we-not-(suffer.)evil-be-dur-if

24. sosəɾq’o zəemətmə
sawsəɾqʷa Soserequo
ø-z-̱xa-m̱t-ma 3-when-among-not-stand-adv

25. ̱deri dq’adəyənteq’em, “
da-ṟ-øy we-abs-and
d-q’a-d-a-y-Œ+a-n-ta-q’ám ← d-q’a-d-y-a-Œ+a-n-ta-q’ám
we-hor-out-dir-dat-go+into-fut-irreal-not,
we must not go farther”

26. ar ŋaʔere zedəpetgo,
a-r 3-abs
ø-z-ʔah-ʔa-ra ← ø-ʔ-y-ha-ʔa-ra
3(it)-back-3-pl-say-pres.part
ø-za-də-pát-q’a 3-pl-recip-with-argue-still, as, adv

27. sosəɾq’o q’asaš:
sawsəɾqʷa Soserequo
ø-q’a-a-s-ʔah-š ← ø-q’a-a-s-yə-š
3-hor-dat-reach-past-aff

28. “mərì dəʔə səʔəwəz,
mə -r-øy this.near.speaker-abs-and
d-øy ← d-ya we-poss, “our”
dəša gold(en)
λ’-a-wóz(ə) man-conn-trace (“our golden male lineage”)
29. armə di Ɂ'eużəf’,
   ármə       Armi!
d-əy ← d-yə  we-poss
λ'-a-wəżō-f’   man-conn-trace-good

30. maf’e šha dzetēl’ē,”
máaf’a       fire
šha(-a)     head(-emph), “starting from (this), because of (this)”
d-za-t-a-y-wəλ’a ← d-za-t-y-a-wəλ’a
   we-wholly-surface-flat.area-dat-val+die

31. “ ay ḥay, se sîże,” žiðeri
   ay           Ay!
   hay          Hay!
   sa           I
ø-s-syʔa      3-me-poss-have
ø-ʒ-əyʔa-r-əy ← ø-ʒ-yəʔa-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’er ingo q’aḵwiš’s;
máaf’a-r       fire-ans
y’on-g’a       big-configuration
ø-q’-ah-x’-əy-š’š ← ø-q’-y-ha-x’-yə-š’-š
   3-hor-3-pl-for-3-make-aff

33. dze psowri səzedeyk’om,
   ʒə -psaw-r-əy     army-all-abs-and
ø-ʃə -za-d-y-á-k”+a-m 3-there-when-out-dir-dat-come+intr-adv
34. sosəɾəq wi q’aɣequbźś.
sawsəɾəq”(a)-óy Soseruquo
ø-q’-ah-ya-gə+ň+bź-ś ← ø-q'(a)-y-ha-ya-gə+ň+bź-ś
3-ch.of.st-3-pl-cause-heart+melt-aff, “they infuriated him”

35. maf’er zeξidzri,
máaf’a-r fire-abs
ø-za-ƛ-yə-ʒ-r-óy 3-wholly-among-3-throw.out-pro.tns-and

36. psəm xidzeژś;
psə-m water, river-obl
ø-ø-ƛ-yə-ʒ+ɑ-ʒ-ś 3(fire)-3(water)-into-3(S.)-throw+in-finally-aff

37. we nertəצξər maf’enšego q’əšənem:
wa those
nart-ő-ʒ-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
maaf’a-nš’á-g’a fire-without-still
ø-q’ə-ʃó-n+a-m 3.pl-hor-there-remain+in-adv

38. “armə di sosəɾəq’o,
ármə Armi
d-γə we-poss
sawsəɾəq”a Soseruquo

39. mədə di dəše ƛ’ewź,
mó+da this.near.speaker+other
d-γə we-poss
dáša gold(en)
ƛ’-a-wáź(ə) man-conn-trace
40. arme di ƛ'ewźəf',
ármə Arma
d-yə we-poss
ƛ'-a-wəzó-f' man-conn-trace-good

41. maf'e wi'em, q'ədəxəs',” ẑiʔeri
máaf’a fire
ơ-w-ı'y-ʔə-m 3-you-poss-have-adv
ơ-q'ə-d-ƛ'á-ə-s' 3-hor-us-for-you.imperative-make (the modern pronunciation
would be /q'ətəxəs'/)
ơ-ʒ-yə-ʔə-r-ı'y 3.pl-back-3-say-pro.tns-and

42. mər yet'ani q'ewəʔu
mə-r this.near.speaker-abs
ya-t'ə-a-n-ı'y gen-second-conn-ordinal-and,”again”
ơ-q'-y-ə -wə+ƛə+ʔ? 3-hor-dir-dat-val+after+speak, “it was requested”

43. ”wašəo q'an, siməʔe,
wá-ə-ƛə a sky-conn-great
ơ-q'ə-a-n 3-hor-dat-remain
ơ-s-əy-mə-ʔə 3-me-poss-not-have

44. siməʔe mi fəsəs'ənəs,” ẑiʔeri
ơ-s-əy-mə-ʔə-m(a)-ı'y 3-me-poss-not-have-if-even
ơ-f-ƛ'ə-a-ς'-ə-n-ς 3-you.pl-for-I-make-fut-aff
ơ-ʒ-yə-ʔə-r-ı'y 3-back-3-say-pro.tns-and

45. itxozey zridzri
ơ-yə-təzə-ʒə 3-poss-grey-little (Note modern /-ʒə/ in line 57, first word)
z-r-əy-ʒ-r-ı'y ⇔ z-y-a-yə-ʒ-r-əy
refl-dir-dat-3-throw-pro.tns-and,
“he jumped into the saddle.”

46. ḥarēme ?wāshe ḍek’oyeri zep’leḥ

ḥārama Harama (exception to stress assignment)

ʔ’āaša hill

ø-da-k’â+ya-r-ôy 3-vertical-move+up-pro.tns-and

ø-z-a-y-pɬ+âḥ ← ø-za-y-a-pɬ-âḥ

3-all-dir-dat-look+around


zo one

k’ašáana tower

q’a-(a-)g’á-ţ-m-a corner-(conn-)-truncated-old-obl-pl

48. ũguo t’ek’w q’eriξugo,

ʔ’ôg’a smoke

t’ak’” little

ø-q’ô-r-ôy-ƛ’ô-g’a ← ø-q’ô-y-(a-)yô-ƛ’ô-g’a

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

49. sosɔrɑq’wi q’ilayuš;

sawsɔrɑq’”(a)-ôy Soseruquo

ø-q’-ôy-ƛ’aaɣ’ô-š ← ø-q’a-yô-ƛ’aaɣ’ô-š

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

50. ɔs ziś’ri dek’oašes:

ɔs+ foot+set

z-ô-y-š’-r-ôy refl-3-make-pro.tns-and

ø-da-y-k”a-ha-šá-š ← ø-da-y-k”a-ya(?)-ša-š

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-š house-be-aff

52. i šhamre i ɬemre zəyeq’waš,
ø-yə 3-poss
šhá-m-ra head-obl-and
ø-yə 3-poss
λá-m-ra leg-obl-and
ø-za-ya-q”-áh-š ← ø-za-ya-q”-yá-š
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 iɬəžš;
máaf’a-r fire-abs
ø-yó-k’ə-m 3-poss-middle-obl
ø-yə-λó-ž-š 3-flat.area-lie-finally-stat (emphatic use of /-ž-/ )

54. we inri mežey
wa that
yən-r-əy giant-abs-even
ma-(a-)$áy 3.pres.intrans-(pres-)sleep

55. sosərəq’wi q’ak’osežš,
sawsərəq”(a)-əy Soseruquo
ø-q’a-a-k’ə+sá-ž-š 3-hor-dat-move+quietly-back-aff
56.  ar inmə q’eupš’əžš;
    a-r                  that.far-abs
    yón-mə              giant-obl
    ò-q’-a-y-warp’s’-ž-ś ← ò-q’-a-y-a-warp’s’-ž-ś
                      3(Soseruquo)-hor-3(giant)-dat-ask-again-aff

57.  " mərmə si t%xoźiaże, 
    mór-mə              this.near.speaker-pro.-obl
    s-øy                 my-posp
    t%ə-a-żóy            grey-little
    áž’a                 billy.goat

58.  žërxer zəs’emọhaž, 
    ž%ré-ha-r            fast.leg-pl-abs
    ò-zə-s’a-mə-h(a)-áz ← ò-zə-s’a-mə-ḥa-ya-ż
                      3.pl-refl-beside-not-enter-past-refl,"they cannot be overtaken"

59.  mər inmə i uneš, 
    mə-r                 this.near.speaker-abs
    yón-mə              giant-obl
    ò-yo                 3-posp
    wöna-ò-ś             house-be-aff

60.  i s%ha i λe zëyeq’waš. 
    ò-yo                 3-posp
    şha                   head
    ò-yo                 3-posp
    λa                   leg
    ò-za-ya-q”-γá-ś            3.pl-recip-cause-bend-past-aff

61.  maf’er ikum iλọžš,
máaf’-a-r fire-abs
ø-yó-ʔ-ø-m 3-poss-core-obl
ø-yó-ʔó-ž-š 3-flat.area-lie-finally-stat

62. we inri mažey,

wa that
yən-ər-ʔy giant-abs-even
ma-a-žáy 3.pres.intran-pres-sleep

63. maf’er söt’i f’edhən, źi.”

máaf’-a-r fire-abs
söt’-k”-ʔy what-instr-and
ø-ø-f’a-d-ʔ-ø 3(fire)-3(giant)-detri-we-carry-fut,
“how will we carry the fire off despite him?”
ø-ž-ya(-ʔa) 3-back-3(-say)

64. armə sosorq’oapc’e,

ármə Armi
sawsoq’a Soseruquo
á-p’c’a the-dark

65. armə ʔ’ef’oc’e yusəne,

ármə Armi
ʔ’o-f’oc’a man-black
y’oš’ø-na iron-eye(d)

66. məde eməne źəw,

mə+da this.near.speaker+other
ø-y-a-mə-n+ə 3-dir-dat-not-remain+in
źə+w horse+man
67. se si š’əb qašəs
sa I
s-əy ← s-əə my-poss
š’əb back
ø-q’a-a-š-a-s you.imp-ch.of.st-dat-horse-dat-sit

68. se si šəle maq’em
sa I
s-əy my-poss
šə-λa horse-leg
máaq’a-m sound-obl

69. ḥałe maq’ zezə̱ς’ənς
ḥa-a-λa dog-conn-leg
máaq’a sound
z-a-y-z-ya-š’-n-ς ← z-y-a-s-ya-š’-n-ς refl-3-dat-I-cause-make-fut-aff

70. se si ḥałe maq’em
sa I
s-əy my-poss
ḥa-a-λa dog-conn-leg
máaq’a-m sound-obl

71. gedəw λe maq’ zezə̱ς’ənς;
g’adəw cat
λa leg
máaq’a sound
z-y-a-s-ya-š’-n-ς refl-3-dat-I-cause-make-fut-aff
72. ḥoḥe f’alī zizyeonśi,
   ḥ-ḫ’á-λ+a 3-for-lie+in = “like this”
   f’a-λ-λ(a)-οy front-conn-leg-and
   z-γω-s-γa-w+á-n-ς-οy 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. zə pḫezdak’i q’addoyuś;
   zə one
   pḫa-ζaak’(a)-οy wood-edge-and, “piece of kindling from the edge of a stock of wood,” here an ember
   0-q’a-a-d-δγ’ς-ς ← 0-q’a-y-ha-d-δγ’ς-ς
   3-hor-3-pl-we-steal-aff

74. sosəreq’wi q’ošes,
   sawsəreq’(a)-οy Soseruquo-and
   0-q’a-(a)-w-ša+s 3-hor-(pres-)aspect-horse+sit

75. mər kešanemə q’ewk’ał’eri,
   mə-r this.near.speaker-abs
   k’asáana-m-a tower-obl-pl
   0-q-ay-w-k”a+a+λ’a-r-οy ← 0-q’y-a-a-wə-k”a+a+λ’a-r-οy
   3-hor-dir-dat-pres-asp-come+conn+near-pro.tns-and

76. zə pḫezdak’i q’adγyunś,
   zə one
   pḫa-ζaak’(a)-οy wood-edge-and
   0-q’-ah-dəγ’ς-n-ς ← 0-q’a-y-ha-dəγ’ς-n-ς
   3-hor-3-pl-steal-fut(!)-aff (one expects the past instead of the future)

77. žešibl maξwibl q’ažago,
   ž’aš-οy-bλ night-pl.conn-seven (for /žaš/, see line 7)
maaξ*(a)-óy-bλ  day-pl.conn-seven
ø-q’-ah-ž-áh-g’á ← ø-q’a-y-ha-ž-ya-g’a
3-hor-3-pl-run-past-adv

78.  ze tep q’əxezri
ze  one
tap  ember, lump.of.coal (Indo-European loan, compare Latin tepidus)
ø-q’-ø-Ša-z-r-óy  3-hor-3-mass-turn.out-pro.tns-and

79.  inmə i ko afe trihas,
yən-mə  giant-obl
ø-γə  3-poss
k’ə  thigh
á-fa  int-skin,(the original may also be simply the expected /k’ə-a-fa/
thigh-conn-skin. Note the sequence -oa- in line 50, third word)
ø-t-r-ay-há-(ah-)ś ← ø-t-y-a-y-a-ha-(γa-)ś
3-surface-flat.area-dat-dir-dat-enter-(past-)aff
(It is not clear if the /a/ of /trihas/ has been misheard because of
the pharyngeal or if it is in fact a past tense.)

80.  wə inri q’əzšəwri
wa  that
yən-r-óy  giant-abs-and
ø-qə-z-šə-w-r-óy  3-hor-refl-there-hit-pro.tns-and

81.  i pədzaŋ’ešər q’ibʒəzri
ø-γə  3-poss
pə-γaak’-a-ha-r  wood-edge-pl-abs
ø-q’-əy-bžə-ž-r-óy ← ø-q’a-yə-bžə-ž-r-əy
3.pl-hor-he-count-again-pro.tns-and
82. zə pxe dzak’e q’əxətš.
   zə one
   pğa-ʔəak’a wood-edge
   ə-q’ə-ə-ə-w-t-ə 3-hor-mass.out-pres-asp-stand-aff = “one is missing”
   (/ʔə-/ means “in a mass,” but more rarely “out from a mass”)

83. “si adem q’raŋak’ašere,
s-əy my-pos
   a-da-m int-father-obl
   ə-q’r-ə-haak’-ə-həsara ← ə-q’r-ə-y-ə-ha-ʔəak’a-ya-šara
   3-hor-3(father)-dat-3-pl-disgrace-past-opt,
   “would they bring disgrace to my father!”

84. əxətə ya bəge q’əzedəyw,” əxərə
   əxət-ha who-pl
   ə-y-ha 3-pos-pl
   bəaəa wicked.person
   ə-q’ə-ə-ə-də’y ← ə-q’ə-s-a-də’y
   3-hor-me-dat(from)-steal(intr)
   ə-z-y-a-ʔa-r-əy 3-back-3-pres-say-pro.tns-and

85. zdešəm məyəgo,
   ə-z-da-ə-sə-m 3-refl-in-there-sit-obl.adv
   ə-m-əxə-y-g’a 3-not-stir-still

86. yoqũʔibə, q’əzepiʔəbə̑ri, qewbə̑ʔəž
   yə +q’-sh-ə-y-bə road+configuration-head-pl.conn-seven
   ə-q’ə-z-a-p-yə-ʔa+a+bə-ḥ-r-əy
   3-hor-refl-dat-tip-3-arm+conn+big-around-pro.tns-and,
   “he reached out all around to his bodily limits”
   ə-q’a-y-y-ə-wə+bəδə-ʔə ← ə-q’a-y-a-ə-wə+bəδə-ʔə
3-hor-3-pres-val+catch-finally = “he tried to catch him”

87. žešibl. mešwibl žaar.
ž’aš-őy-bł night-pl.conn-seven (/žaš/ is probbaly an error, see lines 7 and 76)
ma(a)č’(a)-őy-bł day-pl.conn-seven
ţ-ţə-ə-hə-a-r ← ţ-ţə-ə-ya-r

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

88. “wa nartxe šao,
wa O
núrt-ha Nart-pl
šáawa page, warrior

89. c’onegore usšəŋq’e,
c’ōna-g’a-ara raw-referential(“truly”)
wə-s-šə-ə-n-q’a you-I-eat-fut-contrary.Q

90. sosəraq’o zdešələ q’asəmuqə’m.”
sawsəraq’a Soseruquo
ţ-ə-da-šə-əa 3-what-within-there(of properties)-be,”what kind he is”
ţ-q’ə-s-ţə-ə-w-əm-ə-a-m 3-hor-me-back-you-not-say-if
(modern /ţ-q’ə-z-ţ-y-a-w-əm-ə-a-m/ 3-hor-me-back-dir-dat-you-not-say-if)

91. “sosəraq’wi šleγwaq’em,
sawsəraq”(a)-őy Soseruquo-and
ţ-s-əa(a)γ’-ah-q’əm ← ţ-s-əaγ’-ya-q’am
3-I-see-past-not

92. i ẑebari zexəs’əs,
ţ-əə 3-poss
ø-z-da-ša-ʔ(a)-őy 3-what-within-there(of properties)-be -and
ø-s-š’a-mó-š’a 3-I-for-not-know,”I am unable to determine”

94. “zdeswa’a pṣxomos’emi,
ø-z-da-šá-ʔa 3-what-within-there(of properties)-be
ø-p-š’a-mo-š’a-m(a)-őy ← ø-w-š’a-mo-š’a-ma-őy
3-you-for-not-know-if-even

95. i gegek’e səyaš’e.”
ø-yə 3-poss
g’aq’ö+k’ʔa play+inst,”game, amusement”
ø-s-a-ə-yə-a-š’a 3-I-dat-you.imp-cause-conn-know,”teach me his games”

96. “ay, ḥay, i gegek’e oṣyaš’an,” żiʔeri
ay Ay!
ḥay Hay!
ø-yə 3-poss
g’aq’ö+k’ʔa play+inst
ø-w-a-z-ya-a-š’a-n ← ø-w-a-s-y-a-s’a-n
3-you-dat-l-cause-conn-know-fut
ø-ž-yə-ʔa-r-őy 3-back-3-non-say-pro.tns-and

97. we inri q’rišażeš,
wə that
yən-r-őy giant-abs-even
ø-q’-r-őy-šaaža-ʃ ← ø-q’-y-a-yə-šaaža-ʃ
3-hor-3-dat-3-command-aff

98. "sosərəq’o žxoaʔem
sawsərəq’ə Sosreruquo
ø-ž-ø-ɂ-a-háʔa-m ← ø-ž-ø-ɂ-a-y-haʔa-m
3-back-3-for-3-pl-say-obl.adv, “they say this about him”

99. q’apšəq’ay łape q’aɣeuvərti,
q’apšəq’áay broken, full of potholes,(modern /q’apšəq’ay/)
λá+a+pa leg+conn+lower.part, “foothills”
ø-q’a-haʔa-wəwə-rt-óy ← ø-q’a-y-haʔa-wəwə-rt-óy
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’rayežexərti,
ábra Abra,(from an Iranian language, “heaven(ly),” therefore a
nickel-iron meteorite)
móva stone
ø-q’-r-haʔa-ž(’)+a-ə-əl-rt-óy ← ø-q’-y-a-y-haʔa-ž+a-ə-əl-rt-óy
3-hor-dir-dat-3-pl-cause-run+to-down-habitual-and

101. net’apek’e pš’ewrti[6]
na+t’áapa-k’ə eye+top-inst
ø-p’s’a-wə-rt-óy 3-brow-strike-habitual-and

102. nex xoabžəxego dixoežərt.
nač more
ø-ɂəabžə-ha-g’a 3-strong, quick-pl-as (modern ɂəaabž)
ø-d-əy-ɂə-a-yoʔə-rt ← ø-da-yoʔə-ɂə -ya-yoʔə-rt
3-vertical-3-force,push-up-again-habitual
sa-r-ōy I-pro-and
á-g’a that.far-as
ø-s-q’a-a-ø-s’ 3-me-hor-dat-you.imp-do
ø-z-yə(-ʔa) 3-back-3(-say)

104. “sosəreq’o dažieri,
sawsəreq”a Soseruquo
ø-da-a-ž’ə-ya-r-ōy 3-vertical-dat-run.out-up-pro.tns-and

105. abre məve q’riyežexš;
ábra Abra
móva stone
ø-q’-r-əy-ya-ž’+ā-š-s ← ø-q’-y-a-y-ə-ya-ž’y+a-š-s
3-hor-dir-dat-3-cause-run+to-down-aff

106. net’apek’e pš’ewri
na+t’áapa-k”a eye+top-inst
ø-p’š’a-w-r-ōy 3-brow-hit-pro.tns-and

107. neḵ xobžəxeg diŋoežš,
nax more
ø-ḵ’abz’ə-ha-g’a ← ø-ḵ’aabz’ə-ha-g’a
3-strong, quick-pl-as
ø-d-yə-š’a-yá-ž-ś 3-vertical-3-drive-up-again-aff

108. pše ḥambəti q’riyaoš[8]
pša back.part
ḥaambət-ōy haunch-and (modern /ḥambəʔʷ-əw/ haunch-adv).
ø-q’-r-əy-ya-a-w+a-ś ← ø-q’-y-a-ya-ya-a-w+a-ś
3-hor-dir-dat-3-cause-conn-hit+in-aff,
“he squatted back down on his haunches”

109. we inər qʼəzəwəzrì,

wa that
yón-ər giant-abs
ø-qʼə-z-šə-w-ž-r-‘əy 3-ch.of.st-refl-there-hit-refl-pro.tns-and,“that giant began”

110. “mərì gegukʼe šʼaγoš,

mo-r-ʼy this.near.speaker-abs-and
gʼagʼə+kʼa play+inst
ø-šʼáaγʼə-ø-ś 3-wonderful-be-aff,(probably /šʼa+a+γʼə/ know+conn+character)

111. neš šʼaγo pšʼemi saγašʼe,

naš more
šʼáaγʼa wonderful
ø-p-šʼa-m-ʼy ← ø-w-šʼa-ma-ʼy
3-you-know-if-and
ø-s-a-a-ø-γá-a-šʼa 3-me-dät-empf-you.imp-cause-conn-know

112. netʼare i ŋu ibž irešu,” ŋì.

na+tʼáapa eye+top
ø-γə 3-pos3
šʼə wrong (now used only as a suffix)
ø-γə-bž 3-pos3-pain (/bžə/ now ‘itch’)
ø-γə-r-á-γ-šʼə ← ø-γə-y-a-šʼə
3-dir.from-3-pres-drive
ø-ž-γə-(ʔa) 3-back-3(-say)

113. sosərəqʼi təm i ukʼś,
sawsərə q”(a)-š̱y Soseraquo-and
tha-a-m God-emph-obl
ø-ye 3-poss
wøk”ø-ø-s kill-be-aff

114.inmø i uk’ik’e ýomøs’e
yoń-mø giant-obl
ø-ye 3-poss
wøk”ø-k”a kill-inst
ø-ø-ɔ’a-mɔ’-s’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.“ neξ ɔ’aywi ozya’eņs,” žiʔari,
naξ more
š’aaɣ(a)-øy wonderful-and
ø-w-a-z-ya-a-š’-n-ș ← ø-w-a-s-ya-a-š’a-n-ș
3-you-dat-I-cause-conn-know-aff
ø-ž-yo’-a-r-øy 3-back-3-say-pro.tns-and

116. we irni q’rišažes;
wa that
yøn-r-øy giant-abs-and
ø-q’-r-øy-šaʔa-ș ← ø-q’-y-a-yø-šaaʔa-ș
3-hor-dir-dat-3-command-aff

117. “sosøɾeq’o žxoaʔem
sawsøɾeq”a Soseruquo
ø-ž-ø-ɔ’a-há-ʔa-m ← ø-ž-ø-ɔ’a-y-ha-ʔa-m
3-back-3-for-3-pl-say-obl.adv
118. λεγώ θαμαθο κ’αγετ’οςρτή,
λα-γ’αμάζα  leg-knee
μα-σάλ θα-μ’α  this-head-conn-configuration, “first”
ο-κ’α-α θα-τ’α+σρ-τ’α  <- o-κ’α-α θα-τ’α+σρ-τ’α
3-hor-3-pl-cause-down+sit-habitual-and

119. σεχαζό σεσεσ’κέρ
σ’ά-κ’α+τ’α  arrow-white+color-adv, “white hot arrows”
σ’ά-σάπ’α-σ(α)-ρα  arrow-short-pl-abs

120. ξεδεζ ξεξ ξεδαζερτ;
ζα+(α+)δα-τ’α  jaw+(conn+)cavity-whole, (‘jaw-cavity’ is the word for “mouth”)  
δ’αξ’α white wide
ο-ζα+(α+)δα-θα+τ’α  <- o-ζα+(α+)δα-θα+τ’α
3-pl-jaw+conn+cavity-3-pl-throw, shoot+in-habitual

121. σαςν’αρ f’ιγενεσκ’υκ’ίρτη,
σ’ά-α-θα-τ’α  arrow-conn-head-abs
ο-ζ’α-α θα-μ’α  <- o-ζ’α-α θα-μ’α
3.(pl)-detri-3-cause-chew-intense-habitual-and

122. σεκ’ερ q’αζζεδιςεζορτ.
σ’ά-κ’α-τ’α  arrow-tail-abs
ο-κ’α-θα θα+δ(α)- σ-ζα-ζα-τ’α  <- o-κ’α-θα θα+δ(α)- σ-ζα-ζα-τ’α
3.(pl)-hor-own-jaw+conn+cavity-3-throw(spit).out-again-habitual

123. “σερί αγο κ’ας’,” ζινερεί.
σα-ρ’α  I-pro-and
ά-γ’α  the-like
ο-σ-κ’α-α-σ’  3-me-hor-dat-you.imp-do
ο-ζ-αρ-θ’α  3-back-3-say-pro.tns-and
124. we inərqi q’at’əss,
    wa that
    yənə-ž-r-əy giant-evil-abs-and
    ø-q’a-(a)-t’ō+s-ś 3-ch.of.st-(dat-)down+sit-aff

125. i že q’riyəwś’ri
    ø-yə 3-poss
    ʒa jaw
    ø-q’-r-əy-ya-wəs’-r-əy ← ø-q’-yə-yə-ya-wəs’-r-əy
    3-ch.of.st-dir.out-3-cause-open-pro.tns-and

126. šəxużgo še šeš’xe
    š’a-ʒə’+ž-’a arrow-white+color-as
    š’a-ʃās’-ha-r arrow-short-pl-abs

127. żedez šuxu żedidzeš.
    ʒa+(a+)dá-z jaw+(conn+)cavity-whole
    xəʃ’ wide (xəʃ’, line 120, second word)
    ø-ʒa+(a+d)(a)-əy-ʒ+a-ś ← ø-za+a+da+yə-ʒ+a-ś
    3.pl-jaw+conn+cavity+3-throw+into-aff

128. šašher f’iyenəšk’uk’ri
    š’a-ʃa-r arrow-conn-head-abs
    ø-f’-y-ə-ya-nəš’k”ə-k”’-r-əy 3.(pl)-detri-3-cause-chew-intense-pro.tns-and

129. šek’re q’əzzədizəzš;
    š’a-k”’-r-a arrow-tail-abs-pl(?)
    ø-q’ə-ʒa+a+d-əy-ʒə-ʒ-ś ← ø-q’ə-ʒa+a+da+yə-ʒə-ʒ-ś
    3.pl-hor-own-jaw+conn+cavity-3-throw.out-again-aff
130. “we nartə yašao,

wa you

núrt-ha Nart-pl

ø-y-ha-šáawa 3-poss-pl-page, warrior

131. mərį geguk’e šayəs,

mə-r-óy this.near.speaker-pro-and
g’ag’ó+k’”a play+instr

ø-s’aay’α-ø-š 3-wonderful-be-aff

132. ʔuk’oc’ iṅw ibź i reḵw,

ʔ”ə-k’”ác’ mouth, throat-inside

ø-yó-x’ə 3-poss-wrong

(modern possessive form; contrast with second and third words of line 112,)

ø-yó-bź 3-poss-pain (/bźə/ now ‘itch’)

ø-yə-r-á-y-x’ə ← ø-yə-y-α-x’ə

3-dir.from-3-pres-drive

133. nek š’aɣo pš’emi səyaš’e.”

naḵ more

š’áay’a wonderful

ø-p-š’á-m-óy ← ø-w-š’a-m-óy

3-you-know-if-even

ø-s-a-a-ø-ɣá-a-š’a 3-me-dat-emph-you.imp-cause-conn-know

134. sawsərəq”a tham i uk’š,

sawsərəq”(a)-óy Soseruquo-and

tŋa-a-m God-emph-obl

ø-yə 3-poss

wək”-ø-š kill-be-aff
135. inmə i uk’ik’e xoməs’e.
yón-mə  giant-obl
ø-yə  3-poss
wók”ə-k”a  kill-inst
ø-ø-ᵜ’a-mó-s’a  3(kill)-3(Soseruquo)-for-not-know (see lines 113-114 for sense)

136. “neḵ š’aɣwi ozɣeš’enš,” ži,
naḵ  more
š’aay(a)-ýy  wonderful-and
ø-w-a-z-ya-ᵜ’a-n-š  → ø-w-a-s-ya-ᵜ’a-n-š
  3-you-dat-l-cause-know-fur-aff
ø-ž-yə(-ʔa)  3-back-3(-say)

137. “sosɛrəq’o žxoaʔem, i že q’iuʃ’ərti
sasɛrəq’a  Soseruquo
ø-ž-ø-ᵜ’a-haʔa-m  → ø-ž-ø-ᵜ’a-y-haʔa-m
  3-back-3(S.)-for-3-pl-say-obl.adv
ø-yə  3-poss
ža  jaw
ø-q-ay-wəʃ’ə-rt-ay  → ø-q’-a-ɣə-wəʃ’ə-rt-əy
  3-ch.of.st-3-open-habitual-and

138. vabdze f’ebz q’ayepʔərti, žadazerti,
váabza  plow
f’ábz(ə)  share(s)
ø-q’-ha-ɣa-pəʔ-rt-すこと  → ø-q’a-ɣa-ɣa-pəʔ-rt-うこと
  3.pl-ch.of.st-3-pl-cause-redden-habitual-and
ø-ža+a+d-ha-ʒ+a-rt-すこと  → ø-ža+a+da-ɣa-ʒ+a-rt-すこと
  3.pl-jaw+conn+cavity-3-pl-throw+in-habitual-and
139. inəbe śiγęš’əʔurti
ø-yə-nóba 3-poss-belly
ø-š-yə-ya-wə+šə’-rt-əy
3.pl-there-3-cause-val+cool-habitual-and

140. ip̣emk’e q’əzžadídəzərt.”
ø-yó-p̣xa-m-k’ə 3-poss-back.part-obl-inst
ø-q’ə-z-ža+a+d-əy-ʒə-ʒə-rt-əy ← ø-q’ə-z-ža+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. “səri ago sq’aš, “ži:
sə-r-əy 1-pro-and
á-gəa the-like
ø-s-q’a-a-ø-š’(ə) 3-me-hor-dat-you.imp-do
ø-ž-yə(ʔa) 3-back-3-say

142. vabdze f’ebz q’ayapəri,
váabə plow
f’abz(ə) share(s)
ø-q’-ah-ya-a-pəə-r-əy ← ø-q’-a-y-ha-ya-a-pəə-r-əy
3.pl-ch.of.st-3-pl-cause-conn-redden-pro.tns-and

143. we inəzəm i žem žədidześ;
wa that
yən̥-žə-m giant-evil-obl
ø-yə 3-poss
žə-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 nəbəm śiyəwš’ʔuri,
ø-ya 3-poss
nəbə-m belly-obl
ø-š-ya-ya-wə+š’ər-r-óy
3.pl-there-3-cause-val+cool-and-even

145. i pəmek’e q’əzzədəzəz’ς,
ø-ya 3-poss
pəa-m-k’ə back.side-obl-inst (compare line 140, first word)
ø-q’ə-z-Za+d-əy-ʒə-ʒ-ς ← ø-q’ə-z-ə+a+da-yə-ʒə-ʒ-ς
3.pl-hor-own-jaw+conn+cavity-3-throw.out-again-aff

146. “we nartə ya šao,
wa O
núrt-ha Nart-pl
ø-y-ha 3-poss-pl
šáawa page, warrior

147. nər geγuk’e š’ayəς,
mɔ-r-əy this.near.speaker-pro-suffix-and
g’ag”ə+k”ə play+inst
ø-š’əa y’ə-ə-ς 3-wonderful-be-aff

148. nəx š’aywi sayaš’ς.”
naŋ more
š’aaγ(a)-əy wonderful-and
ø-s-a-a-ə-yá-a-ə’ə 3-me-dat-emph-you.imp-cause-conn-know

149. sosərq’wi təm iwk’ς,
sawərq”(a)-əy Soseruquo
təa-m God-emph-obl
35

ø-ya-wók”-ø-ʃ 3-poss-kill, vengeance-be-aff

150. inmø i uk’ik’ø xoøš.  
yøn-mø giant-obl  
ø-ya 3-poss  
wók”ø-k”a kill-inst  
ø-ø-ʃa-mø-ʃ’a 3-3(S.)-for-not-know

151. “ʃet, ʃet, inøʃ,  
ø-ʃø-t 3-there-stand,”wait”  
ø-ʃø-t 3-there-stand  
yøŋø-ʃ giant-venerable

152. zø geguk’i q’enaʃ,  
zø one  
g’ag’ø+k”a play-inst  
ø-q’a-n+a-ah-ʃ ← ø-q’a-n+a-y ø-ʃ 3-hor-remain+in-past(?)-aff

153. sosøq’ø źxoaøer  
sawsøq’a Soseruquo  
ø-ʒ-ø-ʃa-haʔa-r ← ø-ʒ-ø-ʃa-y-haʔa-r 3-back-3(S.)-for-3-pl-say-pres

154. źqopsibλ[9] zepraørti,  
zø-q’a+ps-øy-bλ sea-boat+water(flood)-pl.conn-seven  
ø-zA-p-r-ah-sh’ør-t-øy ← ø-zA-p-y ø-yaʔa-s’ør-t øy 3(S.)-wholly-across-dir.out-3-pl-lead.out-habitual-and

155. anah kuum źayøwvert,  
A-nah the-most (WCirc form for expected /a-ñaʃ/)
156. i λερ ś’om neməsəgo,
   ω-yə 3-poss
   λa-r leg(s)-abs
   ś’-m earth-obl
   ω-na-mó-s-g’a 3-thither-not-reach-as

157. i żem psə żedəməogo,
   ω-yə 3-poss
   ża-m jaw-obl
   psə water
   ω-ża+da-mə-w+á-g’a ← ω-ża+a+da-mə+w+a-g’a
   3-jaw+conn+cavity-not-hit+in-as

158. żəsibl mažwiblk’e yəyaštərti
   ż’as-óy-bł night-pl.conn-seven
   maaž(a)-óy-bł day-p.conn-seven
   ω-ω-żə-a-stå-(a-h-)r-t-óy ← ω-ω-żə-a-stå-(a-h-)(a-)r-t-óy
   3(S.)-3(sea)-mass.in-cause-conn-freeze-active-(past-)habitual-and

159. q’eʔem, q’oʔeʔk’iʔərt.”
   ω-q’-á-y-ʔa-m ← ω-q’-y-a-ʔa-m
   3-hor-dir-dat-heave-obl.adv
   ω-q’-ə-żə-k”ə-(yə-Ża-rt
   3-hor-mass-exit-(up-)again-habitual

160. “səri ago sq’aʃ,” śəziʔem
   sa-r-óy 1-por.suffix-and
á-gâ the-like
ø-s-q’a-a-ø-š’(ə) 3-me-hor-emph-you.imp-do

161. we inəz̧ìri šiyeštʰaš.
wa that
yənə-ž-r-ʔy giant-evil-abs-and
ø-ø-x-əy-ya-št-ʰá-(ah)-s ← ø-ø-xə-ya-št-ʰa-(ya)-s
 3(giant)-3(sea)-in-3(S.)-cause-freeze-active-(past)-aff

162. “q’eʔe igit,” šəz̧iʔem
ø-q’-a-y-ʔa ← ø-q’-y-a-ʔa
  you.imp-hor-dir-dat-heave
yə-ɡ’ə gen-now (genitive of time)
ø-ʃə-ž-ʔy-ʔa-m ← ø-ʃə-ž-ʔə-ʔa-m
  3-there-back-3-say-obl.adv

163. we inəz̧ər q’əzdeʔeri,
wa that
yənə-žə-r giant-evil-abs
ø-q’ə-z-d-y-a-ʔa-r-ʔy 3-hor-refl-with-dir-dat-heave-pro.tns-and

164. i məłəxər q’iyakeş.
ø-yə 3-poss
məl-ha-r ice-pl-abs
ø-q’-əy-ya-a-k’a-š ← ø-q’a-yə-ya-a-k,a-š
  3-ch.of.st-3-cause-conn-break-aff

165. “šət, šət, inəz̧,
ø-ʃə-t you.imp-there-stand
ø-ʃə-t you.imp-there-stand
yənə-ž giant-venerable
166. ūebže-nabže  yabäsēsi,
?a+bž’-a-ná+a+bž’-a ← ?a+a+bž’-a-ƛa+a+bž’-a
    arm(hand)+conn+leg(foot)+conn+nail, “from head to toe”
ø-ø-ya-a-bədá-s-óy 3-you.imp-cause-conn-strong-then-and

167. zerubədəm pśapəns,” ẓi’eri
z+a+rə-wə+bódə-m  how+dat+inst-val+strong-obl.adv
ø-pśhapə-pə-n-ș 3-be.effective-fut-aff
ø-ẓ-yə-ʔa-r-åy 3-back-3-say-pro.tns-and

168. psəs’aγələde q’xwiś’ri,
psə-ș’a+a+ya-łáada
    water-bottom+conn+ness-rush, run
ø-q’-o-ź-x-yə-s’-r-åy ← ø-q’-o-ź-x-yə-s’-r-åy
    3(the.rush)-hor-3(bottom)-for-3-do-pro.tns-and

169. nek bədəgo ʒiyastås.
naʃ
ø-bədá-gə 3-strong-as
ø-ź-oy-ya-a-st-ḥa-(ah)-š ← ø-ʔa-ye-ya-a-st-ḥa-(ya)-š
    3-in-3-cause-conn-freeze-active-(past)-aff

170. “q’eʔa igi,” ʒəṭi’em; əi inəzəm
ø-q’-y-a-ʔå-a  you.imp-hor-dir-dat-heave-emph.imp
yə-ʔə  gen-now
ø-ʃə-ʒ-yə-ʔa-m 3-there-back-3-say-obl.adv
wa  that
yənə-ʒə-m  giant-evil-obl
171. “seʔe šha, səxuʔəq’em,” zi
s-á-y-ʔa ← s-y-a-ʔa I-dir-dat-heave
šha head, “already”
sə-xəʔə-r-qátim I-improve-pres-not
ø-ž-yə(-ʔa) 3-back-3(-say)

mə-r this.near.speaker-abs
ø-yə 3-poss
g’áata sword
ø-q’-r-əy-pəʔat-r-̂̂y ← ø-q’-yə-yə-pəʔat-r-əy
3(sword)-hor-dir.out-3-seize-pro.tns-and

sawsəq’ʷi telədəs
sawsəq”(a)-́y Soseruquo-and
ø-ø-t’-y-a-ʔáada-š 3(S.)-3(phrase 172)-surface-flat.area-dat-rush-aff

173. “əf” ziʔeri, q’əxepəom
əf uff!
ø-ž-yə-ʔa-r-́y 3-back-3-say-pro.tns-and
ø-q’-sə-š-a-psə-m 3-hor-there-dat-heave-adv

174. ŝegeyəak’o q’riyahš,
š’ag’a+y’á-a-k’ə noon+time-conn-time (for /-a-k”a/, note modern /k’ə+y’ə/ ‘time’)
ø-q’-r-əy-yá-a-ʔh-ś ← ø-q’-yə-yə-ya-a-ʔh-ś
3-hor-dir.out-3-cause-conn-carry, go-aff

175. dame tetti nəsəžš,
dáama wing(ed)
t-y-a-t-(a)-́y surface-flat.area-dat-stand-dur(“stand-in”) and,”(his) mount”
ø-na-só-ž-ś 3-thither-reach-back-aff
177. we i gate q’riḵri
wa that
ø-yə 3 poss
q’áata sword
ø-q’-r-əy-x-r-əy ← ø-q’-yə-yə-x-r-əy
3-hor-dir.out-3-take.out-pro.tns-and

178. šha f’ixango šxyoyk’om,
šha head
ø-ø-f’-yə-x’-n-g’a 3(head)-3(giant)-detri-3-take.off-fut-as
ø-š-ø-x’á-y(o)-k”a-m 3(S.)-there-3(first and second words)-for-dir-come-obl.adv

179. “sEri səmə inəž deletem
sa-r-əy I-pro-and
sə-mə-yənó-ž-ə I-no-giant-evil-be
ø-dalá-ta-m ← sə-dalá-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 ək’amp’ek’e uˈəxupxet,”
w-əy you-poss
λa+k”á+a+m+pa-k”a leg+end(?)+conn+obl.conn+tip-inst,”by (your) knees”
(Perhaps /λa(a)k”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”a/ for modern /λəaɡ’a/ )
wə-s-c’əx’ə+pxá-t(a) you-I-person+guess-irreal,”I should have recognized you”
182. in\textit{mọ} \textit{i s\textit{ha} q\textit{’əf‘iəri},}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{y\text{ô}n-mọ} & giant-obl \\
\textit{ʃ\text{ə}y\text{ə}} & 3-poss \\
\textit{s\text{ḥa}} & head \\
\textit{ʃ\text{ə}q\text{’ə}-ʃ\text{ə}-f’-yə-\text{ḥ}-r-əy} & 3-hor-3-detri-3-take-pro.tns-and
\end{tabular}

183. maf\text{’erì} q\text{’əh\text{̄}ri, q’ak’ož\text{̄}.}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{maaf’a-r-əy} & fire-abs-and \\
\textit{ʃ\text{ə}q\text{’ə}-ʃ\text{ə}-f’-yə-\text{ḥ}-r-əy} & (\text{WCirc for expected} \textit{ʃ\text{ə}q\text{’ə}-yə-\text{ḥ}-r-əy} \leftarrow \textit{ʃ\text{ə}q\text{’ə}-yə-\text{ḥ}-r-əy}) 3-hor-3-non.pres-carry-pro.tns-and
\end{tabular}

184. nart\text{’a}dz\text{e}go q\text{’əzək’əzar, zetep\text{’}\text{h}āri
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{nart-ə-zæ-gæ} & \text{Nart-ep.v-troop-configuration} \\
\textit{ʃ\text{ə}q\text{’ə}-zæ-ʃə-k”a-\text{ḥ}-ər} & \text{3-hor-whom-for-come-back-past-ger} \\
\textit{ʃ\text{ə}q\text{’ə}-zæ-ʃə-k”a-\text{ḥ}-ər} & \text{3(S.)-all-surface-flat.area-dat-help-pro.tns-and}
\end{tabular}

185. \textit{ʃe}t s\text{’əl}em iγe\text{λ}’a\text{š,}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ʃe}t & who, some \\
\textit{s\text{’ə}ʔa-m} & cold-obl \\
\textit{ʃ\text{ə}yə-γə-λ’-γə-s} & 3(some)-3(cold)-cause-die-past-aff
\end{tabular}

186. \textit{ʃe}t \textit{ʃwabem iγe\text{λ}’a\text{š,}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ʃe}t & who.some \\
\textit{ʃ\text{’}əaba-m} & heat-obl \\
\textit{ʃ\text{ə}yə-γə-λ’-əh-s} & (\textit{ʃ\text{ə}yə-γə-λ’-γə-s} \leftarrow \textit{ʃ\text{ə}yə-γə-λ’-γə-s}) \text{3(some)-3(heat)-cause-die-past-aff}
\end{tabular}

187. ya ku dəλqə q’ana t’e\text{k}’um
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ʃ\text{ə}y-ha} & 3-poss-pl
\end{tabular}
Notes by Asker Hadaghat'la:

[1] The text has been rendered into the modern Adyghey (West Circassian - JC) alphabet, save that a contrast between /ʂ/ ~ /ʂʰ/, and /ʐ / ~ /ʐʰ/ [retroflexed vs. laminal - JC) has been preserved. (Modern Kabardian dialects have lost this contrast. - JC) The teller was Qazi Hat’akhwushwoquo /q’aζə wary haat’aš”aŋ’ə/ (a West Circassian name -
JC), 105 years old at the time.

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


[4] /q’ogozmœ/ - /q”ak’az/ “ruined, lopsided” (modern form - JC)


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

[7] /a-g’æ/ thus, like that

[8] They [now] say:
/ø-q’ër-z-a-xa-yə-ya-t’ə+s-ha-a-γ(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”]


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 /psaaλá-a-λ+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,
“Sit on my back.

The sound of my horse’s hooves

I shall make like the sound of a dog’s paws,

The sound of my dog’s legs

I shall make like the sound of a cat’s paws.

In such fashion I shall start to run

And we shall steal one fire brand.”

Soseruquo mounted

And approached those towers.

They stole one firebrand.

For seven days and seven nights they galloped,

But one ember had fallen from the fire,

Had alighted upon the skin of the giant’s thigh,

And the giant awoke with a start.

As he had before he counted his firebrands.

One was missing!

“Would they bring disgrace to my father!

What wicked wretch of theirs has stolen it from me?” he said.

Not moving, sitting where he was,

He stretched himself out to the ends of seven roads to try to catch them

Where they had run to after seven days and seven nights.

“O warrior of the Narts!

Won’t I surely eat you raw

If you do not tell me what manner of man is Soseruquo?”

“I have not seen him,

But I have heard about him.

I do not know what manner of man he is.”

“But even if you do not know him,

teach me his amusements!”

“Ay, hay! I shall tell you of his games!”

He proceeded as this giant had commanded,

“Soseruquo, they say,

Stops at the weathered foothills
And makes them throw down to him a stone of heaven.

This he butts with his forehead

So that it flies up more swiftly than it fell down.”

“Do likewise with me!” said the giant.

Soseruquo climbed a nearby hill,

And threw down an iron meteorite that he found there.

The giant butted this with his forehead

And it flew back up more swiftly than it had fallen down.

Then the giant squatted down on his haunches.

He started again,

“That is a wonderful game!

And if you know it, teach me a more wondrous one.

This one will drive away any ache from your forehead.”

The giant’s death would be God’s vengeance,

Because Sosruquo did not know how to kill the giant.

“Tell me a more wonderful game!”

Commanded this giant.

“Soseruquo, they say,

Kneels on his knees

While white-hot arrowheads

Are shot into his wide-open mouth.

He chews the heads up

And then spits out the shafts.”

“Do likewise to me!” said he

And the giant knelt down

And opened his mouth wide.

Sosruquo took short white-hot arrows

And shot them into his mouth,

But the giant chewed them up

And then spat out the shafts.

“O warrior of the Narts,

That is a wonderful game!

It has driven away my sore throat.”
“If you know one, teach me yet a more wondrous game.”

The giant’s death would be God’s vengeance,

Because Sosruquo did not know how to kill the giant.

“Teach me a yet more wonderful game!” said he.

“Soseruquo, they say, opens his mouth,

And they throw in ploughshares that are red hot.

His stomach cools them off,

And he vomits them back up.

“Do likewise to me!” said he.

Soseruquo gathered up plough shares and heated them to a red heat,

He threw them into the giant’s mouth.

But the giant’s stomach cooled them

And he vomited them out again.

“O warrior of the Narts,

That was a wonderful game!

Show me something yet more wonderful!”

The giant’s death would be God’s vengeance

Because Sosruquo did not know how to kill the giant.

“Wait! Wait, giant!

One game yet remains.

Soseruquo, they say,

Is led to seven turbulent seas

And stops at the deepest spot

Where his legs cannot touch bottom,

But where the water does not touch his mouth.

For seven days and seven nights he lets the water freeze

And then with a heave he comes back out again.

And when the giant said, “Do likewise with me!”

Soseruquo let him freeze in the sea.

“Now give a heave,” he said,

And the giant heaved,

And broke the ice to pieces.

“Wait! Wait, giant!
To grow strong from head to toe
It will be useful to have the ice freeze harder."
The giant rushed to stand on the sea bottom
And let the ice freeze more solidly.
And when Soseruquo said, “Give a heave now!” that wicked giant
Replied, “I have, but cannot free myself!”
To seize that giant’s sword
Soseruquo then dashed off on his horse.
“Uff!” grunted the giant as he continued to heave.
It was nearly noon
When his winged mount returned,
And Soseruquo drew forth the sword.
As he stepped forward to strike off the giant’s head,
The giant said “I am no giant! I am a fool!
You yourself are Soseruquo.
I should have recognized you by your knees! ”
He cut off that giant’s head
And returned, bringing fire.
He brought fire back to the Nart troop and offered help to all.
Some there had died of cold.
Some there had died of heat.
A few had survived in the middle.
For these he made a great fire.
Then Soseruquo sent them out on a raid
And he led them back again.
Appendix B.

Bzhedukh West Circassian (Adyghey)

Phonemic inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>p′, p, b, p′, f, m, w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>t′, t, d, t′, n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>ċ′, c, ẓ, ċ′, s, z, r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral fricatives</td>
<td>ȳ, ȳ, ȳ′</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolo-palatal</td>
<td>ſ, ź, ź′</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rounded</td>
<td>ċ∗, ċ, ẓ, ċ, ſ, ź</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palato-alveolar(laminal)</td>
<td>ċ<em>y, ċ</em>y, ẓ<em>y, ċ</em>y′, ẓ<em>y′, ẓ</em>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rounded</td>
<td>ċ, ć, ẓ, ć′, asurer, ẓ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>- - - - (ċ′)*, ċ̆, ċ̆̆</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar (plain)</td>
<td>- k - k′</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rounded</td>
<td>k′′, k, ń, k′′, ċ̆̆</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvular</td>
<td>q′, q, - - ċ̆, y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rounded</td>
<td>q′′, q, - - ċ̆̆, y′′</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pharyngeal (epiglottal)</td>
<td>ḥ, ḳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laryngeal</td>
<td>ʔ, h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rounded</td>
<td>ʔ′*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowels</td>
<td>ə, a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* /-h(a)/ → /-x̆(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
some of the fricatives as well. The aspirated fricatives are noisier and tend to be made with an open nose. This rare contrast is also found in the closely related Shapseg dialect. The ejectives are noteworthy in Bzhedukh as well. They are extremely tense and prolonged.

Bzhedukh exhibits a contrast between sh- and ch-like series at the palato-alveolar zone that is made with the tongue blade held flat and a similar series made with the tongue blade bent back so that only its tip is used. Thus, laminal /Š/ sounds much like the ‘sh’ in English shed, while apical /Š/ is like that in shred. The laminal palato-alevolar affricate /Č/ is like the ‘ch’ in touch, while the apical one, /Č/ is like the ‘ch’ in torch. This contrast is found throughout the other languages of the family, with the exception of Kabardian.

Phonemicized and Glossed Text (saga 31)
From Kube Shaban 1981a
Translated and analyzed by John Colarusso

1. ḵemšʾyʾqʾe pʾeteréz kʾebe šeʾešbáne qəʾʾetʾʾše nartʾʾʔərəʾʔpčɛʾəme
ašʾʾšʾew,
    bžèdóyʾhvəmžʾə, zətxʾőger thərəʾʔəxʔə ʔəysə (1981)
šəməšʾy-ʔə-ʔə Pataraz, originally */patʾarəz/, compare Ossetian /batra/, from an
East Circassian form */batara/.
  kʾəba  Khimish-3.inal-son
  pʾataraz  Pataraz, originally */patʾarəz/, compare Ossetian /batra/, from an
  kʾəbaaana  East Circassian form */batara/.
  šʾašabaana  Khimish-3.inal-son
  ʔəqa-ʔə-ʔə+a+ʔə-ʔə-a  which-hor-3-non.pres-say+prol-past-joined.adj
  nərtʾ  Nart
  ʔə-ʔə-ʔə+pča-ha-ʔə  mouth-inst-say+piece-pl-obl-pl
  ʔə-ʔə-ha-Šʾə-ʔə-ʔə-ʔə-ʔə-ʔə-ʔə  3-3-pl-there-be.there-th.v-pred.adv, “belonging to those [tales]”
  bžədɔɣʾ-ʾbə-ʔə-ʔə  Bzhedukh-tongue-obl-inst
  ʔə-zə-txʾə-ʔa-r  3-who-write-past-ger
  tə-ʔə-ʔə-ʔə-a-ʔə  god-conn-instr-son-conn-breed (= ’dove breeder’, “son of God”
  being a dove in old Christian symbology)
  ʔəysa  Hisa
2. yére, ǯəməš’yq’e p’eteréz,  
yara yerey! (filler word)  
ǯəməš’y-q’a Khimish-3.inal-son  
p’ataraz Pataraz

3. p’eterézer ǯ’elezeq’ežôg’,  
p’ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs(olutive case)  
ǯ’aala-zaaq’a-zə-g’ə child-unique-one-heart (for ‘unique’ see Abaza /za-qá/ ‘one-head’,  
where Abaza pharyngealization appears as rounding in Circassian)

4. z’əλ’a ząq’ew ƛ’ex’ g’yys’e zək’ec’əλ,  
ə-ƛ’ə one-man  
zaaq’ə-w unique-pred  
ƛ’ex’-x’ex’ man-hero  
g’-oy-sə heart-pl.conn-hundred  
ɵ-zə-k’ac’ə-λ 3.pl-whom-inside-lie (an intransitive verb with indirect object)

5. nəbem yólew yáte əλ əməyéy’.  
nəba-m belly-obl  
ə-yə-ƛ’+a-w 3-3(in.belly)-lie+in-adv  
ə-y-ah-ta 3-poss-int-father  
ə-λ 3.inal-blood  
ə-y-ə-mə-γa-γ’ə 3(blood)-3-non.pr-let-dry (an ergative verb)

6. a zəmáfew ǯəməš’yəz’əm  
a that  
ʑə-maafa-w one, same-day-pred  
ǯəməš’y-ə-ʒə-m Khimish-ep.v-old-obl

7. ǯ’øyspə g’áš’er qəzaš’ęyş’yəm  
ǯ’øyspə Ispa  
g’aaš’ə-r Lady-abs  
ŋ-qə-z-ŋ-ha-ʃ’ə-y-a-ʃ’y-a-m 3(her)-hor-when-3-pl-detri-3(he)-when-lead-in-obl.adv
8. nart'áž'əx'er pəy fəx'.
nart'-ə-žə-ha-r | Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
pəyə | enemy
ø-ø-fa-akhir | 3.pl-3(Khimish)-for-become

9. a zəmáfem nart' p'eterézer
a | that
zə-maafa-m | one, same-day-obl
nart' | Nart
p'ataraz-a-r | Pataraz-th.v-abs

10. ņəyspə g'áš'e-m ønəbe zéy'əm
ňəyspə | Ispa
g'aaš'a-m | lady-obl
ə-nəba | 3.inal-belly
ø-z-y-a-xə-a-m | 3(P.)-when-3-in-become-in-obl.adv ("when he was conceived")

11. ńəməשק'ášer nárt'ə-m-e qawóč'ə.
ńəməשק'ə-ž-a-r | Khimish-ep.v-old-th.v-abs
nart'-ə-m-a | Nart-ep.v-obl-pl
ø qa-y-ha-a-wəč'ə-a | 3-hor.of.kinship-3-pl-pres-kill-to-kin

12. a zəmáfew nart' p'eterézer
a | that
zə-maafa-w | one, same-day-pred
nart' | Nart
p'ataraz-a-r | Pataraz-th.v-abs

13. ńəyspə g'áš'em qəzəyəłfəm
ńəyspə | Ispa;
g'aaš'a-m | lady-obl
ø-qə-z-y-a-λfə-m | 3(P.)-ch.of.st-when-3(Ispa)-when-bear-obl.adv

14. lewesep'ʔʷərəx'ə as's'ah.
λə-a-wasa-p'ʔʷərə-ʔə | blood-conn-price-foster.child+stat.part-inst
They carried him off as a fosterling blood surety against vendetta.

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21.  зэйγάζες kʷœɕɛɕcáɡɛx'ɛr zẹp'έγ',
z-y-a-ya-a-z+a-š refl-3-pres-cause-conn-turn+in-then, “then he rolled himself over”
k'œša-caaɡa-ha-r crib-rib-pl-abs
ø-za-p'ә-y-a-ә”ә 3.pl-wholly-sever-3-pres-cut

22.  зəqεyʔet'әs kʷœśɛpsәx'ɛr zẹp'ɛywәt,
zә-qa-y-aʔat'ә-s’ refl-ch.of.st-3-pres-raise-then
k'әša-psә-ha-r crib-band-pl-abs
ø-za-p'ә-y-a-wәtә 3.pl-wholly-sever-3-pres-break

23.  qeт'ɛg'әs g'әt'em qeьk'ά'ә,
ø-qa-t'aɔә-s 3-ch.of.st-stand.up-then
g'ә+t'a-m heart(center)+dug.in-obl, “to the central pillar”
ø-qa-y-a-k”ә+a+ә’ә+a 3-hor-3(pillar)-to-come+conn+near+up.to

24.  нәт' ә'әтәw p'әләyем qәλәʔәb.
nәt'  Nart
ә'әtaa-w sword-pred
ø-p’ә-ә-a-a-ya-m which.abs-down-dangle+to-th.v-past-obl, “which hung down”
ø-qә-ә-ә-a-ә+a+ba 3-hor-3-after-hand+conn+much, “reach out a hand”

25.  дәyә g’әʃ’er nezәy’әrәs g’әләyт’:
da+ya nut+one.of, “nut tree”
g’aaš’a-r lady-abs
nazә+y’ә-ә-ә-ә-ә keen.witted+character-be-stat.part-then
ø-g’ә-ә-ә-ә-y-a-t’ә 3(P)-heart-after-3-pres-stand,
“Lady Nut Tree, being wise, devined his nature.”

26.  “ p’әtәrэz qəzәx’әx’ә l’әx’ә xәc’ә”әn,
p’әtәraz  Pataraz
ø-qә-zә-ә-ә-ә’ә 3-ch.of.st-when-grows-inst
l’ә-ә-ә man-hero
ø-o-ә-ә-ә-n 3(P)-3(hero)-into-sprout-prox.fut

27.  нәт’әzәk’er ләpшә’ә yәx’әл’әn,”
nәt’-ә-ә-ә-ha-r  Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
The old Narts will be left without descendants.

28. yeť?'eś deyεq'áš'εr qεq'əzáž'ε,  
ø-y-a-ʔa-ś 3-3(she)-pres-say-then  
da+ya-g'aaš'a-r nut+one.of-lady-abs  
ø-qa-g'ə+zaaž'a 3-ch.of.st-heart+narrow, “she grew frightened,” (usually /zaž'ə/)  

29. p'eterézer yənz'əz yqayw'yɛm qəxəyze.  
p'ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs  
yən+ʒ'əzə big-shining  
ø-qa-yə-wə-ya-m 3-hor-along-hit-past-obl,(when said of water, “rapids,” that is,  
“high, striking water”)  
ø-qə-ơ-xa-y-a-ʒ+a 3(P)-hor-3(water)-into-3(nurse)-pres-throw+in  

30. yənz'əz'əzɛr psəq'eheq'ɛč'əb,  
yən-ʒ'əzə-ʒ-a-r big-shining-old-th.v-abs  
psə-q'ə(a)ha+q'ə+ɛč'əb water,river-boat+lee+outside, “meandering, treacherous,”  
“that which offers a boat no safety”(normally 'boat' is /q'əha/)  

31. p'eterézer ʰərzɛw reyłəxə,  
p'ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v.-abs  
ʰə-r-z+a-w spiral-smooth.motion-turn+in-adv  
ø-yə-y-a-ʰə-ħə 3-along.a.path-3(river)-pres-carry-down  

32. nart' ʃ'áx'eme psəm qəxəxə,  
nart' Nart  
ʃ'a-a-ʃ'a-m-a horse-conn-herder-obl-pl  
psə-m water-obl  
ø-qə-ơ-ə-xə-y-ha-a-xə 3(P.)-hor-3(water)-mass.out-3-pl-pres-take  

33. a zəmáfem nart' ʃ'áx'eme ʃ'əč''ε qəfəxəš'ə,  
a that  
zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl  
nart' Nart
34. š‘ače‘ew qəxáš'yər fāre w qəč‘éč’ə.
š‘ače‘a w horse-young-pred
qə-xə-yə-ha-a-qə-yə-r which.abs-hor-mass.out-3-pl-pres-lead.out-past-ger
faara w fara-pred, “thoroughbred”
qə-č’a-č’ə 3-ch.of.st-under-exit, “The young horse which they lead out for him proved to be a thoroughbred fara.”

35. p‘eterézer š‘āx‘eme yəλεs’āyby’e aɣāse.
p’ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs
š‘a-a-š’a-m-a horse-conn-breeder-obl-pl
yə-λəs-əy-by’a-ə gen-year-pl.conn-nine-attribute
qə-yə-ha-a-s+a 3-3-pl-cause-conn-sit+in, “they taught him”

36. p‘eterézer yəfāre qeyš’ės’ayēš
p’ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs
qə-yə-faara 3-poss-fara
qə-yə-a-s+a+sə+yə-s 3-hor-3-on-horse+on+sit+then, “He rode out on his fara.”

37. barsəq’ōby’em qəzéy’hem
bahrs-ə-q’ə-by’a-m Bars-ep.v-center-broad-obl, “onto the plain”
qə-z-y-a-(a-)ha-m 3(P.)-hor-when-3-in-(when-)enter-obl.adv

38. a zəmāfem pš’əmarəq’ə qəş’vəʔ’ēč’v.
a that
zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
pš’ə-mar-ə-q’ə prince-Mar.3.inal-son
qə-qə-š’ə-ʔ’a-č’ə 3(P.)-hor-there-3(M.)-before-cut.across, “he encountered him there”

39. “We pš’ətát, t’ēde wəqeč’əʔʒ’ərə, qərə’y’v.”
wa you
pš’ə-t-ah-ta prince-father-int-father.voc, “Prince Grandfather”
t’a-da where-Q
w‘-qa-č”a-ž’o-ra you-hor-exit-finally-Q.polite, “Where might it be that you are coming from?”
ø-qә-y-a-y-a-ʔ’a 3-hor-3(M.)-to-3(P.)-pres-say

40. “λερå ιαε’κ’όζ’o σαµεέ’όζ’o, σαµάω,
λαρφ-ә Tlepsh-obl.of.names
ơ-υæ-č”ә+ς”-ә 3-poss-hit+building-obl.of.possessed.forms (“his smithy”)
σ-qa-č”ә-ž’ә I-hor-exit-back
σ-yә-s‘aaawa my-poss-page.boy.voc

41. mafäyem χαµακ’όζә zәsewöč”әm
maafa-ya-m day-dismal-obl (for expected mafayım )
χαµαk’-ә-ž’-a-r Khimish-ep.v-old-abs
ơ-zә-s-a-wәč”ә-m 3-when-I-when-kill-obl.adv

42. nә’t’әk’ә’pqaәm sәyč’i’etәce qәʔ”әyɡ’әy,
nә’t’ Nart
ә-ƙ’a-pq-әm 3.inal-thigh-bone-obl(for expected -ә )
s-yә-č”i’aata+a+ca my-poss-sword+conn+tooth (= ‘sword edge’)
ơ-qә-ʔ’a-y-ә-g’a-a-ya 3-ch.of.st-edge-3-non.pres-dull-th.v-past

43. sәyмаyәsә әeρә әfәzүeәләγ,
s-әy-mayә-sә my-poss-Mayi-sword (this keenest of swords has a name)
λәрә Tlepsh-obl.of.names
ơ-qa-y-a-s-y-a-λә-yә 3(sword)-ch.of.st-3(Tl.)-dat-I-cause-sharpen-past

44. ɾәpsәhәң’ә әfәzүeәs’tәɡәw qәsәhәz’ә.”
ɾә-a-psaaә-y’a three-times-hard-ness
ơ-qa-y-a-s-y-a-ʃә-yә-w 3-ch.of.st-3(Tl.)-dat-I-cause-make-past-pred
ơ-qa-s-a-ħә-ʔә 3-hor-I-pres-carry-back

45. “wәyмаyәsә ze sәyɡәрәł, sәyпәʔәt.”
w-әy-mayә-sә your-poss-Mayi-sword
z-a one-time
s-y-a-w-ya-pәә me-3-at-you.imp-let-look
s-yə-pš’ə-ta-ah-ta  my-poss-prince-father-int-father.voc

46. "bēw weyzəplerən, səyəwaw," aʔ’əy
ba-w  much-adv
w-y-a-s-yə-pə-n  you-3-at-l-let-look-prox.fut
s-yə-ša-wa  my-poss-page.boy.voc
ø-y-əʔ’ə 3-3-non.pres-say-and

47. pš’əmarq’ə č’əčəer qəzəyəzəm
pš’ə-marəq’ə prince-Maruquo
č’aata+a+ca-r  swor+conn+tooth-abs
ø-qə-z-y-a-y-a-z+a-m 3-ch.of.st-when-3-when-cause-conn-turn+to-oobl.adv

48. fərər s’əʔ’əʃətəy p’ətərəzər qəby’ədəyəy,
faara-r  Fara-abs
s’əʔ’əʃə-tə-y  horse-wise-stat.part-and
p’ataraz-a-r  Pataraz-th.v-abs
ø-qə-by’a+də-y-ə-əə 3(P.)-hor-side+out-3-non.pres-take-and

49. pš’əmarəq’ə mayəsəmʃ’əbləwəc’əm,
pš’ə-marəq’ə prince-Maruquo
maya-sa-m-ʃ’ Mayi-sword-obl-instr
ø-zə-bla-wəc’ə-m 3-when-go.by, miss-kill-obl.adv

50. fərər s’əʔ’əʃətəy qət’aəyəyəyazəy,
faara-r  fara-abs
s’əʔ’əʃə-t-əy  horse-wise-stat.part-and
ø-qə-t’-y-a-y-ə-y-a-zə-əy
3(P.)-ch.st-surface-dir-dat-3-non.pres-cause-conn-turn.out-and

51. pš’əmarəq’ə č’əč’əw qəg’əłədəš
pš’ə-marəq’ə prince-Maruquo
č’ə-a-č’ə-w  fast-fast-adv
ø-qə-ə-gə-əlaada-š 3(horse)-hor-3(M.)-beside-rush-then
52. p’eterézə pš’əmáraq’ę yəmayəse qəʔeč’ęyəxə,
p’ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl
pš’ə-marraq’a prince-Maruquo
ø-yə-mayə-sə 3-poss-Mayi-sword
ø-qə-ə-ʔa+ɛ’-y-a-əx 3(sword)-hor-3.inal-hand+inst-3(P.)-pres-take

53. barsəg’əby’em ș’ərayfəž’ę,
bahrs-ə-gə-ə-by’ə-m Bars-ep.v-center-wide-obl
ø-ø-ș’ə-y-a-y-ə-fə-ə-ž’-a 3(M.)-3(Bars)-there-flat.area-dat-3(P.)-non.pres-drive-back-into

54. šət’əlemyə błe y’ęg’ęy’ dey yezəhę,
šə-t’ə-λə-m-əy sea-two-sandspit-obl-and
bə-a seven-times
y’ə-g’ə-ə y’ 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-ə-ə-zə-ə-ha 3(M.)-3(plain)-out-3(P.)-pres-cause-turn-about

55. p’eterézə pš’əmaraq’ę š’ərayλ’əxə.
p’ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl
pš’ə-marraq’a prince-Maruquo
ø-ș’ə-y-a-y-a-lə+əxə 3-there-dir-dat-3-pres-kill+down

56. p’eteréz ẓ’eq’ęg’əš’em qeyk’ęλ’ęž’ə.
p’ataraz Pataraz
ẓ’aq’ə-g’əaš’ə-m foster-lady-obl
ø-qə-y-a-k’ə+a+λ’+a-ž’ə 3(P.)-hor-3(nurse)-to-come+intr+near+up.to-again.

57. “thə qəsat’əy, səyəsaw, wəqek’ęz’əyá!”
thə-a God-emph(atic)
ø-qə-s-a-a-ə-t’-əy 3-hor-me-to-emph-3-give-and
s-yə-śaa wa my-poss-page.boy.voc
wə-qə-k’ə+a-ž’ə-y-ah you-hor-come+intr-again-past-Q.emph

58. ẓ’eq’ę-g’əš’em p’eterézə qəreyʔ’ę,
ẓ’aq’ə-g’əaš’ə-m foster-lady-obl
p’ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl.of.names
61. a zəmáfem p’eṭeřéz qəyyáš’e.
that
one, same-day-obl
Pataraz
3(P.)-ch.of.st-3(nurse)-pres-cause-conn-be.good,
“she comforted him.”

60. “nőmę g’áš’, nart’ôžəx’er są́yəɣən,
mother-mother, “grandma”
lady.voc
Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
my-poss-see, goal-be-prox.fut

61. nárt’ sənáš’e me sašəhán,
Nart
wine+conn+drink+to-obl-pl, “drinking parties”
I-3-pl-mass-enter-in-prox.fut

62. səynart’ əbžáy qaʔsəχənə qəs’əyss’ən,
my-poss-Nart-ep.v-horn-and
3-hor-3-pl-hand-I-take-prox.fut-and.so
3-hor-there-container-I-drink-prox.fut

63. xəməʃ’oyaţəm yəλewəsəy š’ya sʔ’e t’én.”
Khimish-ep.v-old-obl
3-poss-blood+conn+price-and
3-there-3-pl-dat-I-say+prol-prox.fut

64. “a səyşáw, sənáš’em wəmək’.”
my-poss-page.boy.voc
wine+conn+drink+to-obl
you-not-go+intr
65. yê?eš deye-g'âš'êm p'eterezer
ô-y-a-ʔa-š 3-3(nurse)-pres-say-then
da+ya-g'aaš'a-m nut+one.of-lady-obl
p'ataraz-a-r Pataraz-th.v-abs

66. daróye p'ʔe šóyem ŋęyyečąy.
daróya thistle
p'ʔa-šə+yə-m bed-fluff+ness-obl
ô-ô-s'ə-yə-ya-čəya 3(P.-3(bed)-there-3(nurse)-pres-make-sleep

67. g'âš'er nart' senâš'eme qâxâhe:
g'aaš'a-r lady-abs
nart' Nart
saana+a+s+a-m-a wine+conn+drink+to-obl-pl
ô-qə-y-ha-šə-a-ḥa 3-hor-3-pl-mass-pres-enter

68. “ nart'őźəš'eğ'ę s'əyyeškeyeš',
nart'-ə-žə-ha-ʒ'a Nart-ep.v-old-pl-instr
sə-yə-y+a+šə+k+a-γə+s(ə+a)
you.pl-poss-3+dat+eat+intr-3+dat+drink+at, “your party”

69. s'áy'ew x'əyeməy yəs'əməgəz,
s'ə+a+yə-a-w know+conn+character-pred, “wonder”
ô-ʃə-yə-ma-əγ 3-happen-past-if, when-even
s'ə-o-šə-mə-ya-a-z you(pl)-3(wonder)-there-not-cause-conn-turn,
“you are unaware” or “you are unheeding”

70. λ'əx' g'òyšew søynefónę qesəž'ów
λ'ə-ʃə man-hero
g'ə-şə-yə-w heart-pl.conn-hundred-pred
s-ya-na+fə-na my-poss-eye+white(“light”)-eye
ô-qa-s+ə-ʃə-ya 3-hor-sit+dyn-again-past, “he has returned”

71. nart'őzəš'əγ'ə λapqoč’a s'ayəšəla’án.”
nart'-ə-žə-ha-ʒ'a Nart-ep.v-old-pl-instr
λ+a+pqə-č'a blood+conn+frame-without
ø-š°-y-a-x°+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.  ḟeq‘eq’g’āš’em nart‘őž’ome qəzaréy’?°e m
 ḟaq’a-g’aaš’a-m   foster-lady-obl
 nart‘-ø-ž’o-m-a   Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
 ø-qə-z-y-ha-a-y-a-ʔ°a-m 3-hor-when-3-pl-to-3(nurse)-pres-say-obl.adv

73.  a zəmáfem nart‘őžəx’er zedeywəsəx’,
    a    that
 zə-maafa-m   one, same-day-obl
 nart‘-ø-žə-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 zəmáfem šš’ahəyabóy qəzedawəsə:
    a    that
 zə-maafa-m   one, same-day-obl
 šš’a+a+ə+ya+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 fereʔêləm yədyeš’əsón,
    p’ataraz   Pataraz
 faara-ʔala-m   fara-wild-obl
 ø-y-a-t-ya-š’ə+a+s+ə-n 3(horse)-3-dat-we-cause-horse+on+sit+dyn-prox.fut

76.  warpážəm psəxeγyə hə yeδyeš’ən.
    warpə-žə-m   Warp-old-obl
 psə+x+a+y+a+ha water+mass+let+conn+enter, “watering an animal”
 ø-y-a-t-ya-š’+a-n 3-3(P.)-dat-we-cause-lead+in-prox.fut

77.  p’eterez barsə-g’bəy’ə zəyheš’ə
    p’ataraz   Pataraz
 bars-ə-g’ə-by’a   Bars-ep.v-center-wide
 ø-z-yə-ha-ʒ’a 3-when-flat.area-enter-inst
78.  faaram cʼépšʼo we y’šʼoroyxónew yet ʔá’n,
    faara-m          fara-obl
    čʼapšʼo          riding.crop
    w+a+yʼe          hit+conn+character
    ø-šʼọ-y-a-y-o-ø-šə-n-a-w
    3(blow)-there-3(horse)-to-dir-you.imp-take-prox.fut-th.v-pred,
    “you deliver it (a blow) down there”
    ø-y-a-t-ʔa-n 3-to-we-say-prox.fut

79.  feré empleado šhekʼašʼtʼéš
    faara-ʔalə-a-r       fara-wild-th.v-abs
    ø-šhaakʼa-a-šʼa-š 3-anger-pres-take-then

80.  źotʔa-álem zeūəroyxónós qəčʼoγzón.
    źo-tʔa-á-λa-m          sea-two-times-conn-sand.spit-obl
    ø-za-pʼo-y-a-y-o-šə-nə-s 3-wholly-across-dir-dat-3-non.pres-take-prox.fut-then,
    “it will carry him completely across it and then”
    ø-qə-cʼo-y-o-ʒə-n 3(P.)-hor-earth-3-non.pres-throw-prox.fut.

81.  qəčʼoymázew pʼeterézə qəyezéžʼome,
    ø-qə-cʼo-y-o-ʒə-nə-a-w 3-hor-earth-3-non.pres-not-throw-th.v-pred
    pʼataraz-ə       Pataraz-obl.of.names
    ø-qə-(y-)ya-z+a-žə-ma 3-hor-(3)-cause-turn+to-again-if

82.  mə warpóżer qʼeheqʼečʼʼybl,
    mə          this.near.speaker
    warp-ə-ž-a-r       Warp.ep.v-old-th.v.abs
    qʼaaḥa+q”a-č”-o-야-ьλ boat+lee-exit-pl.conn-seven, “seven dangerous currents,”
    “that which takes a boat away from calm waters” (compare line 30)

83.  pswózıkʼe pʼóybləw zebgʼoréč”,
    psw-o-ə+žʼa          water-val+flow
    pʼa-oy-βə-a-w nose-pl.conn-seven-th.v-pred, “seven deltas”
    ø-z-a-bgʼo-r-a-č”ə 3-refl-dat-middle-inst-pres-exit, “divided”
84. psó'p' p'érčə ze p'ědγewəc'ón,  
psó-p'a water-nose, “tip of the delta”  
p'apčə every  
3a troop  
ø-p'a-t-γa-wəc'ə-n 3-nose-we-cause-halt-prox.fut, “we will station at the deltas”

85. a zəmáfem p'eteréz rał'ŏxón,” aʔə'y  
a that  
zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl  
p'ataraz Pataraz  
ø-y-a-γa-λ'ə+šə-n 3-dir-dat-3-pl-kill+down-prox.fut  
ø-y-ha-aʔa-əy 3-3-pl-pres-say-and

86. nart' ōzome sənás'əm rəyəbłaə,  
nart'-ə-żə-m-a Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl  
sana+a+s+a-m wine+conn+drink+to-obl  
ø-y-a-y-ha-λ'ə-bəa+a+γə  
3(P.)-3-dat-3-pl-pres-cause-pass.by+conn+ness,  
“they invited him to it”

87. a zəmáfem ƛ'əx'ə bərəqy qəs'ərát'ə  
a that  
zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl  
ƛ'ə-żə-bəa-r-əy man-hero-horn-abs-and  
ø-qə-śə-γə-y-a-y-ha-a-t'ə 3(horn)-hor-there-3(P.)-to-3-pl-pres-give

88. ƛ'əx'əbəzaw qərat'əγəqy qəs'ərəyəɣ.  
ƛ'ə-źə-bəa-w man-hero-horn-pred  
ø-qə-y-a-y-ha-t'ə-γa-ra-əy  
which(horn)-hor-3(P.)-to-3-pl-give-past-abs-and  
ø-qə-śəγə-y-a-śə 3-hor-there-container-3-pres-drink.dry

89. “we nart' p'eteréz, fārem yeš'esərəqy  
wa you  
nart' Nart  
p'ataraz Pataraz
faara-m    fara-obl
ø-y-a-š'+a+s+o-r-ɔy  you(imp)-3-to-horse+on+sit+dyn-pro.tns-and

90.  warpäţêm psæxeįáže tfaš'y,
warp-ø-žo-m    Warp-th.v-old-obl
psø+a+ya+a+ха  water+mass+let+conn+enter, "watering"
ø-t-fa-a-ø-š'y  3-us-for-emph-you.imp-lead.out

91.  barṣọby'ëm  waqøẓyheţi'ë
bars-ø-g'ø-by'a-m    Bars.ep.v-center-wide-obl
wɔ-qɔ-z-ɔy-ņa  you-hor-when-flat.area-enter-inst

92.  fârem č''epš'ø  wey'š'eyx,"  qɔrâ'i'ë.
faara-m    fara-obl
č''apš'ø    riding.crop
w+a+y'ø    hit+conn+character
ø-š'y-a-ø-šø    3(blow)-there-3(horse)-to-you.imp-take
ø-qɔ-y-a-ŋa-a-ŋa  3-hor-3-to-3-pl-pres-say

93.  p'eterēz  ferẽləm  qeyš'esə,
p'ataraz    Pataraz
faara-ľaλə-m    fara-wild-obl
ø-qa-y-a-š'ø+a+s+ə  3-ch.of.st-3(horse)-on-horse+on+sit+dyn

94.  barṣọby'ëm  qɔzěỵhem
bars-ø-g'ø-by'a-m    Bars.ep.v-center-wide-obl
ø-qɔ-z-ŋa-ņa-m    3-hor-when-3-in-enter-obl.adv

95.  fârem č''epš'ø  wey'š'orëỵxøs
faara-m    fara-obl
č''apš'ø    riding.crop
w+a+y'ø    hit+conn+character
ø-š'y-a-ŋa-a-ŋa-š  3(blow)-there-3(horse)-to-3(P.)-pres-take-then

96.  barṣọby'èr  làbžezi'ë  reyγáž'ë.
bars-ø-g'ø-by'a-r    Bars.ep.v-center-wide-abs
λa+a+βa-β’a  leg+conn+horn-instr, “with hooves”
ø-y-a-y-a-ya-a-β’a  3-3(horse)-dat-3-pres-cause-conn-plow

97.  warpážəm pɔsəye yáhe qəzésəm
warp-ə-żə-m  Warp-ep.v-old-obl
pɔ+sa+ya+a+ha  water+mass+let+conn+enter
ø-qɔ-z-a-sə-ə-m  3-ch.of.st-when-when-sit+dyn-obl.adv, “when he arrived”

98.  psɔ́xə p’áγbəm ʃ’aəzqəyələr qədeč’ə.
pɔ-š’a  water-flow, “river”
p’a-øy-bλə-m  nose-pl.conn-seven-obl
ʃ’a+ə+əa-əy-bλə-a-r  horse+man-troop-pl.conn-seven-th.v-abs
ø-qɔ-da-č’ə  3.pl-hor-out-exit

99.  a zəmáfəm ʃ’a wəzqəyələr ʃ’ərəyəλ’əxə.
a  that
zə-maafa-m  one, same-day-obl
ʃ’a+ə+əa-əy-bλə-a-r  horse+man-troop-pl.conn-seven-th.v-abs
ø-ʃ’a-y-a-a-λ’ə-əxə  3.pl-there-dir-dat-3-pres-kill-down

100.  p’eterekə βeγ’əʃ’əm qəzesό’əm
p’atəraz-a-r  Pataraz
βa+γ’ə+a+ʃa-m  zone+character+conn+head-obl, “on the outskirts”
ø-qɔ-ə-z-a-sə-əxə  3-hor-when-when-sit+dyn-again-obl.adv, “when he arrived back”

101.  a č’á’p’em fereč’əłəm qəypsəxəζ’ə.
a  that
č’a-a-p’a-m  earth-conn-place-obl
faara-ʔələ-m  fara-wild-obl
ø-qɔ-y-a-pə-əxə  3-ch.of.st-dir-dat-dismount-down-again

102.  fereć’ələr wenég’ neč’ew qəzesό’əm
faara-ʔəl-a-r  fara-wild-th.v-abs
wana-g’  saddle-zone
ø-na-č’ə-a-w  3-thither-exit-th.v-pred, “with an empty saddle”
ø-qɔ-z-a-sə-əxə  3-hor-when-when-sit+dyn-obl.adv
103. nart'óz'ome senéfábżer zedaʔet'ə,
nart'-ə-žə-m-a Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
saana-fi̓a-bzá-r wine-white-horn-abs
ø-za-də-y-haʔa-tə 3-recip-with-3-pl-hand+prolong, “they toasted one another”

104. ðë šes'śëξe'ër g"əš"əp'č'əw š'əzeʔáxə.
?a+ša-sə+ša-ha-r hand+weapon-skin+weapon-pl-abs (= ‘weapons and armor’)
gə-š"ə-a-p'č"ə-a-w heart-good-conn-gift-pred
ø-š"ə-zaʔa-y-ha-šə 3.pl-there-recip-hand-3-pl-take, “there they exchanged them”

105. p'eterézə śेyeć'óye zaqéys'əš
p'ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl
š'ə-ya-ć'ə-ya skin-bad-hair-bad, “decomposed”
zə-qə-y-a-śə-ś refl-ch.of.st-3-pres-make-then

106. nart' senáš'eme aməš'ew qaxefázə,
nart' Nart
saana+a+š"ə+a-m-a wine+conn+drink+to-obl-pl
ø-y-ha-mə-š'a-w 3-3-pl-not-know-pred
ø-qə-y-ha-šə-a-žə 3-hor-3-pl-mass-dat-enter+in-again

107. pçeq'áxem q'ewəč'ęš qaxefáxə.
pça-q'à-a-šə-m door-lee-conn-zone-obl, “in the sheltered triangle formed behind
an open door and a wall”
ø-ø-qə-woć'ə-š 3(P.)-3(door)-lee-stop-then
ø-qə-y-ha-šə-da+a+ʔa 3-hor-3-pl-mass-with+conn+be.audible, “listen”

108. nart'óźəx'er č'ádəm šhaš'ət'ək'ew
nart'-ə-žə-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs
ĉ'ada-a m barrel-obl
ø-ø-šə-a-š'ə-t'ə-ha-w 3.pl-3-head, above-dat-there-stand-pl-pred

109. thaγełeţ'əm məx'ənəbe t'əráʔə:
thə-a-yalaği'əm god-conn-bounty-obl (T'haghalaj, god of the harvest)
mə+xə+nə-ba not+happen, ripen+inf-many, “many blasphemies”
ø-ø-t'-y-a-y-ha-a-ʔ'a 3.pl-3(T'h.)-surf-dir-dat-3-pl-pres-say

110. aλεξ’ēpš’o yεmək’ēbe qεy’āt’ε, aλaξ’a-pš’o Alaja-prince y+a+mə+k”ə-ba dir+dat+not+come-many, “many slanders, lies” ø-qa-y-a-ʔ’a+a+t’a 3.pl-hor-3-pres-say+conn+prolonged

111. werzemésə sṓpqez’e dərey yáš’t’ε, warzamas-ə Warzamas-obl šə+pqa-ʒ’a measure+frame-inst (‘as though the standard/truth’) ø-ø-də-y-a-y-a-ya-a-š’t’a 3.pl(ies)-3(A.)-with-dir-dat-3(W.)-pres-cause-conn-take, “he agreed with him about them”

112. yəməsə sʰaš’ətʃ’əž’er yəč’əs, yəms-ə Yimis-obl sʰa-a-š’y-o-tʃ’ə-ʒ’ə-r head-conn-there-butter.up-final-th.v-ger, “utterly flattered head,” “utterly vain” ø-ɣə-č”ə+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. sawsərq’ε śx’εγ’όy’sε ś’y’əzεk’εy’lhe, sawsərq’ə Sawseruquo śx’ə+a+ɣa-ɣy-śa sorcery+ness-pl.conn-hundred, “a hundred spells” ø-s’y’ə-z-a-শ’a-ɣa-λ+ḥa 3.pl-there-refl-dat-mass-3-pres-lie+act, “he concocted”

114. nart’ ʔ’əleuxtən ƛ’’y’əm ʔ’ənɛc’ε, nart’ Nart ʔ’əlaʃtan Chilakhstan ƛ’’ə+ɣə-m man+character-obl, “courage” ø-ø-č”ə-a-nac’a 3(CH.)-3(courage)-behind, after-pres-brag

115. sənefer’ōy ʔ’ədāč’em raf’xə. saana-ʃə-a-r-əy wine-white-th.v-abs-and ʔ’əaada-č’a-m barrel-conn-bottom-obl ø-ø-y-a-y-ha-fə-ʃə 3(wine)-3(barrel.bottom)-dir-dat-3-pl-drive-down
116. p'eteréz pč'eq'áxem qeq'éc’ö,
p'ataraz Pataraz
pč'a-q'a-a-ťa-m door-lee-conn-zone-obl
ö-qö-ö-q'a-ć”ö 3-ch.of.st-3-lee-exit

117. óby'öţ'ë s'î'ôt’em acâšex’er yeyet’áq’ë,
ê-by'ë-ţ’a 3.inal-side-inst, “by”
ö-ş’ë-t’-em who-there-stand-obl
ê-caağa-ha-r 3.inal-rib-pl-abs
ö-y-a-ya-t’aaq’a 3(rib)-3-pres-cause-smash

118. zœ'eu’y'âč’erem ɔtok’ö’p’č”ë reyč’öč’ëx’ö,
ö-zo-t’-y-a-ţ’öč’a-ra-m 3(P.)-whom-surf-dir-dat-hew-ger-obl
ê-tnox’-bop’č”a whose-back-articulations, vertebrae
ö-y-a-y-a-č”öč”a-ţxö 3-dir-dat-3(P.).-pres-break-down

119. zœyęš’eręñew ʒ’eššég’öm qat’êyhe.
z-y-ö-ya-č’a+ra+z+a-w refl-3-non.pres-let-round+loc+turn+in-pred, “he turned himself about in a circle”
ʒ’axa-ş’a-g’-em floor-skin, surface-center-obl
ö-qö-t’-y-a-ţa 3-hor-surf-dir-dat-enter,
“He entered the middle of the floor and gazed about.”

120. a zomáfem p’eterézö nart’öţ’ame qaréy’ë:
a that
zö-maaaf-a-m one, same-day-obl
p’ataraz-ö Pataraz-obl
nart’-ö-ţö-m-a Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
ö-qö-y-ha-a-y-a-ţ’ö a 3-hor-3-pl-dat-3(P.).-pres-say

121. “nart’öţ’öëx’er senëf č’adəm šöšłaš’ų’t’,
nart’-ö-ţö-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
saana-f wine-white
č’adaa-m barrel-obl
š”ö-šla-a-ş”‘ų’t’ you.pl-head-on-there-stand
122. ἁγελέξιο ομ μεθελοβε τεχνήτῃ :

123. ἀλεξιπτο αμποτο ἐπετέλεσθα

124. ἔλεξιν ἔστιν ἐνεστερον στοιχέω ἕσπερα

125. ναρτή γεμάτος γεωργία

126. σωσροάτο μοῦ γερμανία

127. ναρτή ἐκεῖθεν

128. πέρερεζ ἐνεμάζειν ἐκεῖθεν :
"he went up beside the barrel"

129. "mō g’ōš’ánew qásʾ’er er p’ec’óme
mō this.near.speaker
g’ō+š’aaʔa-w heart+saying-pred
ō-qə-y-ha-a-s-ʔa-ra-r which-hor-3-pl-dat-I-say-ger-abs
ō-p’cʾó-ma 3-lie-be-if

130. mō č”áder tham reγ yeγ ’ōč’!
mō this.near.speaker
č”ada-r barrel-abs
thä-a-m God-emph-obl
ō-yə-y-a-ya-y’ə-č”a 3-container-3-emph-cause-dry-completely

131. mō g’ōš’ánew qásʾ’er er šópqemme
mō this.near.speaker
g’ō+š’aaʔa-w heart+saying
ō-qə-y-ha-a-s-ʔa-ra-r which-hor-3-pl-dat-I-say-ger-abs
šə+pqa-ō-ma measure+frame-be-if, “if it be true”

132. mō č”áder tham qərey γ́ebeγ ’ōč’!
mō this.near.speaker
č”ada-r barrel-abs
thä-a-m God-emph-obl
ō-qə-yə-y-a-ya-ba+y’ə-č”a 3-hor-container-3-emph-cause-much+character-utmost,
“may he make it overflow completely!”

133. səywōne thafi'yəs ʔ’āšhe ʔ’’yazγēš’.
s-yə-wəna my-poss-house
thä-a-tʸ-a-s God-emph-surf-dir-dat-sit
ʔ’aašha mountain
ō-ō-š’ə-y-ha-a-s-ya-šə 3(house)-3(mountain)-there-3-pl-dat-I-cause-build
134. səyəwənášə yeynəžəs’əɣə qəsəby
s-ya-wəna-a-ʂə my-poss-house-conn-top
yeynə-ʒə-ʂ’ə-ʒə giant-evil-skin-inst
o-qa-s-a-bəya 3-hor-I-pres-cover

135. yeynə ż’érpqə’er səywəne pəxə’.
yeynə-ž’ giant-evil
k’ə-pqə-hər thigh-bone-pl-abs
s-ya-wəna my-poss-house
pəxə’ə beams (note /pə/ ‘wood’)
o are

136. yeynə ż’ágeɣ’er səywəne ʂəpəx,
yeynə-ž’ giant-evil
cəa-gə-hər rib-pl-abs
s-ya-wəna my-poss-house
ʂə-a-pəxə head-conn-wood, “roof truss”
o are

137. səywəne λəɡ’senɛf yeysəɣə’s’ə.
s-ya-wəna my-poss-house
lə-ɡ’ foot-zone, “floor”
saana-fə wine-white
o-ya-s-a-ɣə-a-ʃə+a 3(floor)-3(wine)-I-pres-cause-conn-drink+to,
   “I wash the floor of my house with white wine.”

138. yeynəžəme máferə səyməs’ə yaseɣə’ə’ə,
yeynə-ʒə-m-a giant-old-obl-pl
maafa-ra day-by
s-ya-ʃə-mə my-poss-millet
o-ya-ha-s-a-ɣə-a-ʒ’a 3(millet)-3-pl-I-pres-cause-conn-thresh

139. səyəhəsø ᵇeɾ’c’áneɣə yaseɣə’ə, s-ya-ʃəsə my-poss-field
ʔa-p’c’aanə-ʒ’a hand-bare-inst
o-ya-ha-s-a-ɣə-a-ʒ’a 3(field)-3-pl-I-pres-cause-conn-plow
140. čʼéšʼe’e șháʔ’em deséʔ’ołʼéx’.
č’ašʼ-ra night-by
șha-aʔ’-a-m head-conn-to.stick.in-obl
ø-ø-da-s-aʔ’ołʼ+a-ha 3.pl-3(stock)-with-I-pres-stick+near+in-pl,
“I hold them fast with it”

141. ḥetʔ’oł’em səné’some səqəzəc’’emək’’.
ṭə-t’oł-a-m sea-two-sand.spit-obl
sə-ø-na-s+ə-ma I-3-thither-sit+dyn-when
sə-qə-z’a-c”a-mə-k”a I-hor-refl-dat-back-not-go, “I did not turn back”

142. pčʼoč’”ełóder səyłəməğ’ew səyéč’.
pčʼoč’”a-łədə-a-r lightning-glittering-th.v-abs
s-ya-łəməğ’”-a-w my-poss-bridge.th.v-pred
s-ya-ya-c”a I-path-dir-dat-cut.across

143. səqəyč’”oł’oł’ bars ḡ’oȳ’er səyzeyk’’áp’.
sə-qa-y-a-c”ə-žə-s I-hor-dir-dat-cut.across-back-then
bars Bars
ḡə-/by’-a-r center-wide-abs
s-ya-z-y-a-k”a-a-p’a my-poss-refl-dir-dat-play-conn-place, “my playground”
ø is

144. warpá’zər psóx’ə q’ęheq’ęč’ąybl,
warp-ə-ž-a-r Warp.th.v-old-th.v-abs
psə-x’a water-flow, “river”
q’aaħa+q”a+č”-əy-əl boat+lee+exit-pl.conn-seven, “with seven windings, rapids”
(normally /q’ąha /’boat’)

145. faara-ʔal-a-r thoroughbred-wild-th.v-abs
psə+x+a+ya+a+ʔa water+mass-in+let+conn+enter, “watering”
ø-zə-s-a-š”+a-m 3-when-I-when-lead+in-obl.adv
146. psəp’əybləm šəwəzəybl qəsfəq’əč’
    psa-p’ə-əy-bə-m  water-nose-pl.conn-seven-obl
    š’ə+wə-əy-bəl  horse+man-troop-pl.conn-seven
    ø-qə-s-fə-q’a-č’ə 3.pl-hor-me-for-lee-exit, “they ambushed me”

147. a əzəməfəm š’əw č’efəq’əse š’əyəsλ’əx,
    a  that
    zə-maafa-m  one, same-day-obl
    š’ə-wə  horse-pred
    č’ə-fə-əy-śə  tail-white-pl.conn-hundred
    ø-š’ə-y-a-s-λ’ə-xə  3.pl-there-dir-dat-I-kill-down

148. a əzəməfəm p’č’əy’ələq’əse əhem yezyəsk,
    a  that
    zə-maafa-m  one, same-day-obl
    p’č’əy’a-ə-y-śə  charger-flesh-pl.conn-hundred
    ḥə-m  wolf, dog-obl
    ø-y-a-s-γa-śk  3-3(wolf)-dat-I-cause(= let)-eat

149. a əzəməfəm aš’efəq’əse psəm yezyəh,
    a  that
    zə-maafa-m  one, same-day-obl
    aš’ə-fə-əy-śə  chainmail.armor-white-pl.conn-hundred
    psə-m  water-obl
    ø-y-a-s-γa-a-ḥə  3.pl-3(water)-dat-I-cause-conn-carry.away

150. a əzəməfəm š’əwəyəseme ḥə yazyəʔ.
    a  that
    zə-maafa-m  one, same-day-obl
    š’ə+w-ə-y-śə-m-a  horse+man-pl.conn-hunred-obl-pl
    ḥə-a  God-emph
    ø-y-ha-a-s-ya-a-ʔə  3-3-pl-dat-I-cause-conn-say, pray

151. səyyəsəm nárt’əw səzo?’əč’əγəme
    s-γə-γa+a+š’a-m  my-posse-cause+conn+pass.of.time-obl
nart’-a-w  Nart-th.v-pred
sø-zø-ʔø-č’a-a-ya-m-a  I-whom-before-exit-conn-past-obl-pl, “of whom I encountered”

152.  nart’ pš’ǝmarǝq’e anáh yabǝ.”
nart’  Nart
pš’ǝ-marǝq’a  prince-Maruquo
ø-ha-naaḥ  3-pl-than
yaabg’a  fierce(r)
ø  be

153.  “nart’ pš’ǝmarǝq’e t’édǝ qepǝn,
nart’  Nart
pš’ǝ-marǝq’a  prince-Maruquo
t’a-da  where-Q
ø-qa-w-ǝ-ǝ-n  3-hor-you-take-subj.if

154.  xǝmǝš’ǝ wǝrǝq’yǝme wǝx”elǝχ”, “qǝrǝʔ.”
xǝmǝš’ǝ-ø  Khimish-obl
w-yǝ-yǝ-q’a-ø-ma  you-container-poss-son-be-if
wǝ-č”aała-a-ǝ’y  you-youth-conn-too.much
ø-qǝ-ya-y-ya-ʔǝ’a  3-hor-3(P.)-dat-3-pl-say

155.  “pš’ǝmarǝq’e bars gǝ’by’em sǝx’ǝʔ”č’č’”,
pš’ǝ-marǝq’a  prince-Maruquo
bars  Bars
gǝ’-by’-a-m  center-broad-obl
sø-ǝ-č”ǝ-ø-ʔ-a-č”ǝ  I-3(Bars)-there-3(M.)-before-cut.across, “I met him there”

156.  søby’edāhǝ yǝmǝyǝse qǝʔǝč”č”ǝšx,
sø-ǝ-ɓy’-a-da-a-ḥǝ  I-3-side-aside-to-carry.out
ø-yǝ-mayǝ-sa  3-poss-Mayi-sword
ø-q-ǝ-ʔa-č”a-s-xǝ’n  3-hor-3.inal-hand-inst-I-take

157.  pš’ǝmarǝq’e barsǝqǝ’by’em s’eyeǝfǝʔ’,
pš’ǝ-marǝq’a  prince-Maruquo
bars-ø-gǝ’-by’-a-m  Bars-ep.v-center-broad-obl
ø-ø-s'yə-y-a-s-a-fə-ż'ə 3-3(Bars)-there-dir-dat-l-pres-drive-back

158.  ḡət'ʔálem fəməx'ž'əw bλe deséf.
.setCancelable(1)  ḡə-tʔ-a-a-λa-m  sea-two-times-conn-sand.spit-obl
.setCancelable(1)  ø-ø-fa-mo-ʔə-ż'ə-w 3(dummy)-3(M.)-for-not-happen-again-adv, “against his will”
.setCancelable(1)  bλ-a  seven-times
.setCancelable(1)  ø-ø-da-s-a-f  3(M.)-3(sand.spit)-out-I-pres-drive

159  qət'əryyázęš yərɕ'əs'y'eq'ə  qəseγ'éq'ə.
.setCancelable(1)  ø-qə-t'·γ-a-γ-a-γ-a-z+a-ς
.setCancelable(1)  refl-ch.of.st-surf-dir-dat-3-pres-cause-conn-turn+in-then
.setCancelable(1)  ø-γə-pə-ς'y-ə-a-q ∧ a  3-poss-lance-three-times-conn-ravine, groove
.setCancelable(1)  ø-qə-s-s-a-(ŋ-)ya-q'ə  3-hor-me-dat-(3-)cause-push-pull, “point”

160.  c'əλəγ'ερόme-r sp'ebəz'ənə  qəɾəɣyγή,
.setCancelable(1)  c'ə-λə+y'a+rə+ma-r hair-burn+effect+stat.part+having-abs, “stench of scorched hair”
.setCancelable(1)  (for /+ma/- compare Abkhaz /-ma/- “to have.”)
.setCancelable(1)  s-p'ə-bəz'ən-ə  my-nose-nostril-obl.inal
.setCancelable(1)  ø-qə-ŋ-rə-γə-yə-a-γ-a-ŋə  3(stench)-hor-3(nostril)-loc-container-3(M.)-pres-cause-conn-enter

161.  təɣər śew zəkə'ew  seɣələɣ'y'ə,
.setCancelable(1)  təɣa-r  sun-abs
.setCancelable(1)  ša-w  hundred-pred
.setCancelable(1)  ø-z-a-ʃə-ʔə-a-w  3-refl-dat-mass.out-exit-th.v-pred
.setCancelable(1)  ø-s-a-y-a-γə-λaγ'ə  3-me-dat-3(M.)-pres-cause-see

162.  sλəč'ęp'əyt'ʔ'  sfeməx'ew  øyeč'ęzézəw,
.setCancelable(1)  s-λə-č''aap'ə-əy-tʔ''  my-leg-shin,calf-pl.conn-two, “my two knees”
.setCancelable(1)  ø-s-fa-mo-χ-ə-a-w  3-me-for-not-happen-th.v-pred, “without my control”
.setCancelable(1)  ø-γə-γa-č'ə+a+z+a-zə-w 3.pl-3(M.)-non.pres-cause-side+shake+shake-pred

163.  sənəyt'ʔ''  øyeğəz'əč'ęw  qəzəsáwem
.setCancelable(1)  sə-ŋ-ə-y-tʔ''  my.inal-eye-pl.conn-two
.setCancelable(1)  ø-ø-γa-wə+ς'əč'ə-w 3.pl-3-non.pres-cause-val+becloud-th.v-pred
.setCancelable(1)  ø-qə-zə-s-a-a-w-a-m  3-hor-when-me-dat-when-strike-at-obl.adv.
164. a č’áp’em zəg’əs’aʔəy qəxəməʔ?ª.
a that
č’a+a+p’a-m earth+conn+place-obl
zə-g’ə+š’aʔa-əy one-heart+say-even
ø-qa-sə-məʔ-ʔ’a 3-hor-I-not-say, “I did not utter a word at that place.”

165. pš’əmaróq’a yəpə’ pənč’aw yasəzách’ə,
pš’ə-marəq’ə prince-Maruquo
ə-yə-pə’a 3-poss-lance
pənč’-a-w quick-th.v-pred
ø-y-a-s-a-ʒ+a-č’ə 3-dir-dat-I-pres-throw+to-aside

166. yəs’ə owəżə zəqəs’əy səqəzeywəm,
ø-ya-ʃə 3-poss-horse
ə-wožə 3.inal-track, “behind it”
zə-qa-s-ʃ’-əy refl-ch.of.st-I-make-and
ø-qə-z-y-a-w+a-m me-hor-when-3-dat-strike+at-obl.adv

167. a zəməfəm pš’əmaróq’ë yeš’əxɒy.”
a that
zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl
pš’ə-məroq’ə prince-Maruquo
ø-y-a-s-ƛ’ə-ʃə-ya 3-dir-dat-I-kill-down-past

168. p’eṭerɛzə yəq’əs’əʔəqəzəwəʔəm
p’ataraz-ə Pataraz-obl
ø-yə-g’ə+š’aaʔa 3-poss-heart+word
ø-qə-z-a-wəxə-m 3-ch.of.st-when-when-finish-obl.adv

169 senɛf č’áder qəshaʃ’ə’č’ew qeybeγ’əč’”.
saana-f wine-white
č’aada-r barrel-abs
ø-qə-ʃə-a-ʃ”ə-č”ə-a-w 3-ch.of.st-head-conn-there-exit-th.v-pred
ø-qa-y-a-ba+γ’ə-č”ə 3-hor-dir-dat-much+character-utmost, “it overflowed”
170. p’eterézo nart’óžome zafeyyáže,
p’ataraž-ə Pataraz-obl
nart’-ə-žə-m-a Nart-ep.v-old-obl-pl
z-ə-ha-fa-y-a-ya-a-z+a refl-3-pl-for-3-pres-cause-conn-turn+to

171. əməs’i’óžəm yəlewáse qarey’i’át’e:
əməs’-Ʉ-žə-m Khimish-ep.v-old-obl
ə-γə-λə-a-waasa 3-poss-blood-conn-price
ə-γə-ya-ha-a-y-a-ʔə+a+t’a
3-hor-3-pl-dat-3(P.)-pres-say+conn+prol

172. “s’óbze’e psə qafeš’háze
s’əbza-ʒ’a sieve-inst
psə water
ə-γə-ř-fa-š’-hə-za 3-hor-3-for-you.pl-bring-past.part

173. səyfárə zeyz’γe γeš’sëc’’ón,
s-γy-faara my-poss-thoroughbred
zə-γə-Ʉ-γə-γə-š’-a-c’ə-n refl-3-dat-you.pl-cause-cause-drink+in-utmost-prox.fut

174. wás’em əweyz’ e s’odec’’ón,
wa-a-ś’a-m sky-conn-skin-obl
ə-γə-way-ʒ’a leg-step-inst, “ladder”
s’ə-ð-da-ε’ə-n you.pl-3-out-exit-prox.fut

175. nart’ə darəyew yáker zafeš’həsáy
nart’-ə Nart-obl
darəya-w thistle.down-pred
ə-γə-λ-a-r which-flat.area-lie-th.v-abs
ə-za-fa-š’-həs-əy 3-refl-for-you.pl-gather-and

176. əzəc’’o yəʔ’ašhe qəš’əx’γést,
əha+ʒə+č’-ə dog+old+tail-obl
ə-γə-ʔ’aaśha 3-poss-hill
ə-γə-ș’-ʃ-ș’-ya-sta 3(thistle.down)-ch.of.st-3(hill)-there-you.pl-cause-burn
177. daróye stáfe qès'əwəy'əyərəy
darəya thistle down
sta-a-fa burn-conn-white, "ashes"
ø-qa-š'ə-wə+y'əyə-r-əy which-hor-you.pl-val+collect-abs-even

178. tyáte yəq'eq'qyt"ʔ qès'əwəš,
t-y-ah-ta our-poss-int-father
ø-ya-č"aaqa-əy-t"ʔ 3-poss-shoe-pl.conn-two
ø-qa-š'ə-wəʃa 3.pl-ch.of.st-you.pl-fill

179. ásʰə š'əc'əw, apq fəž'əw
(ə-)ha-ʃha (3.inal-)pl-head
š"əc'a-w black-pred
(ə-)ha-pq (3.inal-)pl-body, frame
fə-ʒ'ə-a-w white-color-th.v-pred

180. hà qəmóyəš qəsfəz'ɣ'ət',
ḥa-qa-ŋəma-əy-ə  dog-conn-hound-pl.conn-hundred
ø-qə-s-fə-š'-ət'  3.pl-hor-me-for-you.pl-find

181. šʾembar-u w kəlemóz' qəsfəč'əs'əh,
šʾambar-a-w bulrush-th.v-pred
kə-λαμαč' cart-axel
ø-qə-s-fə-č'a-a-š'-ə+ə 3-hor-me-for-under-dat-you.pl-lie, place+act

182. ḥaməš'k"ʔte m xəwəʔ'əč'əč'uyəw
ḥamə-š'k"ət'a-m hawthorn-thorn-obl
ø-ə-χə-a-wə+ʔ'əč'ə-č'ə-yə-a-w
which-3-mass.in-val+hew-utmost-past-pred

183. pčə pxəby'əzək"e qəsfəʔ*š'əs'əh,
pčə door
pxa-b'yə-zaak"a wood-side-full, "full sized wooden door"
ø-qə-s-fə-ʔ*ə-š'-ə+ə 3-hor-me-for-opening-you.pl-lie, place+act
184. tyáte yəpsálə arγ’eyəł yáza qeš’s’,
t-ya-ha our-poss-int-father
ø-yə-psə-ƛ-a 3-poss-water-lie-in, “his water barrel”
arγ’ayə-ƛə mosquito-blood
ø-yə-əə 3(barrel)-poss-all, “full”
ø-qa’-s’-s’ə 3-ch.of.st-you.pl-make

185. txër c’aac’emz’eqəfez’əz,  
tx’ə-a-r butter-th.v-abs  
c’aac’-a-ə 3-spear-point-obl-instr  
ø-qə-s-əə-əə-a-əə 3-hor-me-for-you.pl-cause-conn-grill

186. a zepstéwer xəməx’-ząm yəλewás!”
a that  
za-pstaw-a-r whole-all-th.v-abs  
xəməx’-ə-ʒə-m Khimish-ep.v-old-obl  
ø-γə-ƛə-a-waasa 3-poss-blood-price  
ø is

187. a zəmáfem nart’-ąx’-er zešezəyés,  
a that  
zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl  
nart’-ə-ʒə-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs  
ø-za-ʃə-γə-a-s 3.pl-recip-mass-in-who-cause-sit

188. a zəmáfem nart’-ąx’-er zešezəyəγ,  
a that  
zə-maafa-m one, same-day-obl  
nart’-ə-ʒə-ha-r Nart-ep.v-old-pl-abs  
ø-za-ʃə-γə-a-γə 3.pl-recip-mass-who-cause-conn-cry

189. yérə xəməx’-ząm əq’ew p’eteréz,  
yara yerey  
xəməx’-ə-ʒə-m Khimish-ep.v-old-obl  
ə-q’-a-w 3.inal-son-pred  
p’ataraz Pataraz
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 herdsmen 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.
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?”
Lady nurse thus spoke to Pataraz,
On that same day she comforted him.
“Lady Grandma, my intent it to pay a visit to the old Narts,
Among the Nart wine drinkers shall I enter.
My Nart drinking horn will I seize from them, and there will I drain it dry.
There Old Khimish’s blood price will I tell to them.”
“O my boy, to such wine drinking do not go,”
So spoke Lady Daya to Pataraz
And in a bed of thistle down set him to sleep.
The Lady entered among the Nart wine drinkers:
“With you, old Narts, this is your eating and drinking feast,
But even when a wonder happens you do not turn to it.
With the valor of a hundred heroes my light has returned.
As to you old Narts, you soon will be left without kinsmen.”
When the nurse to the Narts spoke thus
On that same day the old Narts plotted together,
On that same day great treachery they together composed:
“On a savage fara we shall set Pataraz,
For watering to Old Warp we shall let him lead it.
In Bars field when he enters there
‘To the fara give the lash’ we shall tell him.
The wild fara will grow angry,
On a sandspit between two seas it will carry him and down it will throw him.
If it does not throw him and Pataraz turns back,
That old Warp, seven times turbulent,
Divides into seven deltas,

By every delta a troop shall we set in place against him,

On that same day they will spear down him,” they said.

The old Narts invited him to the wine drinking.

On that same day the drinking horn of valor they gave there to him.

The horn of valor they gave to him and he drained it there.

“You, Nart Pataraz, you are to sit on this fara.

Lead it for us to the Old Warp for watering.

When you enter Bars field

To the fara give the lash,” they said.

Pataraz mounted the wild fara.

As he entered Bars field

To the fara he gave the lash.

With its hooves he let it plow Bars field.

As he arrived at the Old Warp for water

From seven deltas seven armies of horsemen emerged.

On that same day he struck down seven armies of horsemen.

When Pataraz came back to the outskirts

There from the wild fara he dismounted.

When the wild fara arrived with empty saddle

The old Narts toasted each other with drinking horns of white wine.

They exchanged with each other their weapons and armor as gifts of gladness.

Pataraz gave himself dirty skin and messy hair

Then unbeknownst he entered among the Nart wine drinkers.

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 Pshimaruquuo 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 Pshimaruquuo’s lance quickly to one side.
166. I took up position behind his horse to strike.
167. On that same day Pshimaruquuo 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.

**Ubykh**

**Phonemic inventory**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>p'</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---, pharyngealized</td>
<td>ŕp</td>
<td>ŕb</td>
<td>ŕp'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---, labialized,</td>
<td>t* [p’t’]</td>
<td>d* [bd]</td>
<td>t” [p’t’]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar laminal</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>c'</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---, laminal, labialized</td>
<td>c* [ç*]</td>
<td>ç* [ç*]</td>
<td>c' [s']</td>
<td>s* [s']</td>
<td>z* [z*]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---, ---/---, apical</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç'</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---, ---/---, lateral</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ô</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palato-alveolar, rounded</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ş*</td>
<td>ź*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---, laminal</td>
<td>çy</td>
<td>çy</td>
<td>çy</td>
<td>çy</td>
<td>çy</td>
<td>çy</td>
<td>çy</td>
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<tr>
<td>---, apical (retroflexed)</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
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<td>gγ</td>
<td>kγ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>ţ</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar, rounded</td>
<td>k*</td>
<td>g*</td>
<td>k*</td>
<td>x* [x*]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uvular q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---, palatalized (+ATR)</td>
<td>qy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>qγ</td>
<td>xγ</td>
<td>yγ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---, rounded</td>
<td>q*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>y*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---, pharyngealized</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---, ---, rounded</td>
<td>q*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>q*</td>
<td>x*</td>
<td>y*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laryngeal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td>œ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a (a + a)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stress (unpredictable)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
floor of the mouth and so advancing the tongue root [+ATR], much as the contrast in English between the tense vowel of beet [+ATR] as opposed to the lax vowel of bit [-ATR].

Stress is unpredictable in Ubykh, as well as in Abkhaz and Abaza. I have marked it in the texts. In Ubykh and in some Abkhaz and Abaza dialects stress tends to have a tone component of higher pitch, so that the usual percussive quality of stress seen in Circassian is softened and supplemented with a soft lilt, a slight rise in pitch close to a minor third on a keyboard.

**Phonemicized and Glossed Text (saga91)**
translated into French by Georges Dumézil
glossed in English by John Colarusso
with restored /ʃO/

1. fáxa marçán šaγə yap’c’áno za’xák’a lát’a
  fa-a-x’a nose, “front”-conn-time.locus
  marçán Marchan (in Abkhaz, Marshan, the princely family that
  formerly ruled the region)
  šaγə Shaghi
  ø-γa-p’c’a-nə 3-poss-name-pres.part
  za-x’a-a-k”a one-hunt-conn-agent
  ø-lá-t’q’a 3-there-be-past

2. ałáxa wátəno zálə yák”q’a.
  a-láxa-n the-montane.forest-obl
  ø-ø-wá-tə-nə 3(he)-3(it)-in-be-pro.tns
  (an intransitive verb with indirect object)
  zá-ə one-buck
  ø-yó-k”-q’a 3(it)-3(he)-kill-past (an ergative verb)

3. áz’apsən aγ’adan áš’wa ałáxaγa alay’ó́t’q’a.
4. moj’a cán-á yac’ag’oc’ába yoz’ág’o zaq’ák’ya yaq’q’a.

moj’a fire
ø-o-cá+ya-n 3-3(he)-burn+start-pro.tns
a-ló the-buck
ø-ya-c’a-g’o-c’ába 3-poss-hide-heart-liver, “sweet meats”
ø-ya-z’á-g’o 3-3(he)-roast-and, then
za-q’á-k’a one-say-agent, “voice”
ø-o-ya-a-q”-q’a 3(voice)-3(him)-to-dat-be.audible-past, “he heard a voice”

5. yoz’ang’o q’ágone yay’ónen k’á’l’aq’a.

ø-ya-z’a-n-g’o which-3-roast-pro.tns-and
ø-o-q’a-a-yo-ñ 3(food)-3(his)-hand-in-belong-pro.tns
za-y’ónen one-tree-obl
ø-o-k’u-á’l’a-q’a 3(he)-3(tree)-go-near-past

6. yág’a deqárdaq’a.

ø-yá-g’a 3-poss-refl
ø-o-dé-qárda-q’a refl-3-cause-hide-past

7. yač’ák’a žamá yay’énáž’garan by’ánč’at’q’a.

ø-ya-c’ák’a 3-poss-cloak
žamá other
za-y’énó-ž’garä-n one-tree-old-certain-obl
ø-o-by’a-n-č’a+t’-q’a 3(cloak)-3(tree)-on-3(he)-side+be-past,
  “He draped his cloak on a tree.”

8. q’ozáč’oñ azawałené załaxatótg’ara áyk’aq’a.

q’o-za-c’o-n hair, curl-all-side-obl
a-za-wa-łe-nó 3-all-on-lie-pro.tns
za-łaxa-tot’-g’ara one-montane.forest-man-certain
á-y-k’-a-q’a   3-hither-come-past

9.  azáplat’-q’a.
a-zá-pla-t’-q’a   3-all-look-around-past

10. ač’-ák’-a  doby’-álq’a  y’-ón  tót  y’-án  yág’a  byánč’awq’a.
a-č’-ák’-a   the-cloak
ø-do-by’-á-l-q’a   3(cloak)-which(tree)-on-include-past
y’-ón   tree
tót
ø-ø-yá-n   3(a man)-3(possible man)-believe-pro.tns
ø-ø-yá-g’a   his-poss-refl
ø-ø-by’-á-n-č’a+w-q’a   refl-3(cloak)-on-3(possible man)-lean-act-past,
“he jumped on it, lunged at it”

11. wanán by’-átәn áy’-an yatawp šáŋy’-an aľačιtәtәn yóyaq’a.
wa-na-n   that-sg-obl, that is “in that tree”
ø-ø-by’-á-tә-n   3(M.Sh.)-3(tree)-on-be.stat-pro.tns
á-øy’a-n   3-pro-obl
ø-øy-top [ø-ya-t’áp’]   3-poss-gun (Turkish top ‘cannon’)
ø-šá-ño-ya-n   3(gun)-preverb-3-load.a.gun-pro.tns
a-ślә-a-tó-t-әn   the-montane-forest-man-obl
ø-øy-ya-q’a   3(M.Sh.)-3(possible man)-hit, fire.at-past

12. ámʒ’a fátәnә aľačan wáwәn ák’-aqa’.
á-mʒ’a   the-fire
ø-fá-a-tә-nә   3-down-to-be.stat-pro.tns,”the fire dropped down”
á-ślә-a-n   the-montane-forest-obl
ø-ø-wá-a-wә-n   3(fire)-3(possible man)-in-dat-enter-pro.tns
á-k’-a-q’a   3(possible man)-go-past

13. wanałaq’-әla marč’-ân šáɣә ámʒ’alaq áyʒ’-әn wac’ag’-śә ába ýez’an fa’yq’a.
wa-na-łә-q’-a-la   that-sg-foot-trace-conn-adv
marč’-ân šáɣә   Marchan Shaghi
á-mʒ’-a-laq   the-fire-near
á-y-ʒә-n   3(M.Sh.)-toward-return-pro.tns
wa-c’a-g’o-c’âba that-hide-heart-liver
Ø-ye-ž’a-n 3(food)-3(M.Sh.)-roast
Ø-Ø-Ø-Ø-q’a 3(food)-3(M.Sh.)-eat-finally-past

14. "sødyaq’a mac’ maš’ aš’aq’o az’àayaw” yóq’aq’a,
ø-sø-dya-q’a whom-I(cause)-die, wound-past
mac’ morning
mA-ø-k’-a-š’ag’o where-3-go-ever
a-z-γ’a-áy-aw 3-I-find-again-future
ø-yø-q’a-q’a 3-3(M.Sh.)-say-past

15. dyáx’t’en yálaq’an g’ówq’a.
dyá-ø-x’-t’-ø-n as-3-dawn-when-adv
ø-γa-la-q’a-n 3(forest man)-poss-leg-trace-obl
ø-ø-γø-ø-w’-q’a 3(M.Sh.)-3(trace)-on-enter-past

16. ak’âmsala zád’ø anëx’aš’øn yálaq’a.
a-k’-á-msa-la 3(M.Sh.)-go-dur-exhaustive
zá-d’ø one-plain, meadow
a-nëx’a-š’ø-ø-n 3-beautiful-small-be-pro.tns
ø-ø-γa-la-q’a 3(M.Sh.)-3(plain)-loc-to-reach-past, with /-la/- ‘there’ used
as a verb

17. dyázaplat’t’en “sawós’wan wóy’kaq’ay?” q’aq’o záq’ak’u yóq”q’a.
dyá-ø-za-pla-t’-t’-ø-n as-3-all-look-around-when-adv
sa-wø-s’wa-n what-you-do-inf
wó-ye-k’-a-q’a-y you-hither-come-past-Q
ø-ø-q’a-g’ø 3(question)-3(some one)-say-and
zá’q’a-k’u one-say-agent
ø-ø-γá-a-q’-q’a 3(question)-3(M.Sh.)-to-dat-be.audible-past

18. dyázaplat’t’en zayanóž’g’ara fabzát’q’a yóbyaq’a.
dyá-ø-za-pla-t’-t’-ø-n as-3-all-look-around-when-adv
za-yanóž’g’ara one-gaint-referential
ø-fa-bžá’t’-q’a 3(giant)-down-tie+be-past
ø-yø-byá-q’a 3(giant)-3(M.Sh.)-see-past
19. wábzaq’an “lāla wóyk’a!” q’an móšaq’a.
wá-bža-q’a-n that-tie-past-obl
lá-a-la there-to-there
wó-y-k’a you-hither-come
ø-ø-q’a-n 3-3(giant)-say-pro.tns
ø-ø-móša-q’a 3(giant)-3(M.Sh.)-call-past

20. “ánca’øn aḵ’ás’ag’ə áłaq’ala aš’áyən nánk’a zāɣāncə aš’awə!” q’áq’a.
ánca’-øn first-adv
a-ḵ’ás’a-g’ə 3-bloom-and
á-la-q’a-a-la 3-leg-trace-conn-after, “last”
a-š’-áy-ən 3-ripen-final-pro.tns
ø-na-a-nk’a-ø 3-3.pl-dat-among-be
za-ɣəncə one-digging.stick
a-s-ḵ’a-ə-ø-w-ø 3-me-for-you.imp-bring-polite
ø-ø-q’a-’q’a 3-3(giant)-say-past

21. ák’an ay’ādan žamaɣəncə q’áyəq’ə x’ánəwq’a.
á-k’a-n 3(M.Sh.)-go-pro.tns
a-ɣáda-n 3-happen-pro.tns
žama-ɣəncə other-digging.stick
ø-ø-q’á-a-ɣə-q’ə 3(stick)-3(M.Sh.)-hand-in-belong-and
ø-ø-ḵ’á-a-ø-w-q’a 3(stick)-3(giant)-for-3(M.Sh.)-bring-past

22. “áš’q’ama” yáq’aq’a.
á-š’-q’a-ma 3-do-past-not, “it did not suffice”
ø-ɣə-q’a-q’a 3-3(giant)-say-past

23. wanałaq’ala ak’án zamačáncə afanq’áwtn amy’áwq’a.
wa-nə-q’á-ala that-sg-leg-trace-and, “after that”
a-k’a-n 3(M.Sh.)-come-pro.tns
za-məcáncə 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. Ḷamá zaq’ak’ág’arang’e “afáwq’o(g’o) ʃ’áwmət!”

aleza other
za-q’a-k’á-g’ara-n-g’o one-say-agent-referential-obl-and, “and another voice”
a-fa’w-q’o(g’o) 3-sever-you-cut(-and)
ø-ʃ’-áw-mə-t 3-happen-fut-not-genr

25. azápłat’q’a adəq’aq’á yəbyaq’áma.
a-za’pła-t’-q’a 3(M.Sh.)-all-look-around-past
a-də-q’a-q’a 3-who-say-past
ø-yə-byə-q’-ma 3(speaker)-3(M.Sh.)-see-past-not

26. “azý’áwq’ama” q’an ayánə̞łaq áyɔ’q’a.
a-s-ý’á+w-q’-ma 3-I-find+act-past-not
ø-ø-q’-a-n 3-3(M.Sh.)-say-pro.tns
a-yánə̞z-laq the-giant-near
á-y-ɔ’-q’a 3(M.Sh.)-direction-return-past

27. “awy’áwq’e asx’áwmbə̞wq’adan wədəq’etón wan wəg’əmdə̞t “ádaʃ!” yó’q’a.”
a-w-y’á+w-g’o 3-you-find+act-and
a-s-ʃ’á-w-ə̞-w-q’a-da-n 3-me-for-you-not-bring-past-if.so-adv
wə-də-g’ə-t-ə̞n you-where-on-stand-obl
wa-n God-obl
wə-g’o-nə̞-m-tə̞+á+da-ʃ you-on-He-not-cause-move+conn+out(?)-may,
(an old oath with a complex frozen stem)
ø-yɔ’-q’-a-q’a 3-3(giant)-say-past

28. “yə̞̊s’abláwn salátə̦y?
yə-s’ablá-w-n this-land-inst-obl
sa-lá-t-ə̦y what-there-be-Q

29. abóyə abóyəə̞s’ azašat’ə̞nə̞s’?
a-bóyə the-sheep
a-bóyə-s’ə̞ the-sheep-little
a-za-šə-t’á-a-n-o̞ they-refl-head, self-increase-pl-pres-whether
30. *ažáž azašat/ánaw yәš’až’áxawn?*

a-žaž the-bee (perhaps also /žaž/)
a-za-ša-t’a-a-n-әs they-refl-head, self-increase-pl-pres-whether
yә-š’a-x’u-x’-aw-n this-year-time.locus-ordinal-inst-adv

31. “áš’nawt, ná yada ná máč’yәš’awt.”
á-š’-na-(á)w-t 3-happen-pl-fut-genr
ná neither
yada much
ná neither
máč’y little
a-š’-áw-t 3-happen-fut-genr

32. *saba wәx’aʒyәq’ay?”*
sá-ba why-pro
wә-ø-š’a-ʒ’a-q’a-y you-3-for-ask-past-Q

33. “aʒ’әnca aʒ’yәq’ayt’әba sәcәnә fәsәw’t’awt’q’a, anән sәy’ә dásq’anәn sәy’ә sóš’wa aʒ’yәw’t’q’a.”
a-ʒ’әanca the-digging.stick
a-s-ʒ’ә+w-q’a-y-t’ә-ba 3-you-find+act-past-stat-sg-if.hypothetical
sә-cәnә my-sword
ә-f’à-a-sә-w-t’’-aw-t’’-q’a 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”
sә-ʒ’ә I-pro
da-ʒ’ә-s-q’a-nә-n adv-3-I-say-pro.tns-obl, “as I said”
sә-ʒ’ә I-pro
sә-ʃ’wa my-business
a-ʃ’-aw-t’-q’a 3-happen-subj-be-past, “it would have happened”

34. *yacәnә dәyәwsә әʃ’әbla yәy’әrdәyәʃ’ә dәyәs’әw’tә yәc’anayt’.*
ә-ʒ’ә-cәnә 3-poss-sword
da-ʒ’ә-s-ʒ’ә+w-sә adv-3-3(giant)-find+act-when
á-ʃ’әbla the-land
ә-ʒ’ә-y’әrdә-ay-әʃ’ә 3-poss-destruction-finally-again (last two suffixes are
After Dumézil 1955, with stress therein, and with revisions from Dumézil 1960b, 74. For the split of <s'> into /s'/ and /š'/ 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.
# Appendix D.

**Abaza (Tapanta dialect) (“Northern Abkhaz”)**

**Phonemic inventory**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>labial</strong></td>
<td>p b p' f v m w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dental (alveolar)</strong></td>
<td>t d t' n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>alveolar</strong></td>
<td>c ẓ c' s z r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lateral</strong></td>
<td>(ʎ ʎ̃ ʎ') l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>palato-alveolar(laminal)</strong></td>
<td>ě̈ ẹ̈ ẹ' ẹ̈ ẹ̈ ẹ̈ ẹ̈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(apical/retroflex)</strong></td>
<td>ě ẹ̈ ẹ̈ ẹ̈ ẹ̈ ẹ̈ ẹ̈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(round)</strong></td>
<td>ě'^ ẹ'^ ẹ'^ ẹ'^ ẹ'^ ẹ'^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>palatal</strong></td>
<td>k' g' k' y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>velar</strong></td>
<td>k g k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(round)</strong></td>
<td>k'^ g'^ k'^ (x'^ [xφ]) -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uvular (“palatalized”)</strong></td>
<td>- - q'^ x'^ y'^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(plain)</strong></td>
<td>- - q' x y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(round)</strong></td>
<td>- - q'^ x'^ y'^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(pharyngealized)</strong></td>
<td>ĕ̇ - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(pharyngealized, round)</strong></td>
<td>ĕ'^ - - - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pharyngeal (epiglottal)</strong></td>
<td>ɬ ɮ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>(round)</strong></td>
<td>ɬ'^ ɮ'^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>laryngeal</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rounded</strong></td>
<td>(ʼʼ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vowels</strong></td>
<td>ə a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>stress (unpredictable)</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 $V_1 + V_2 \rightarrow V_2$. 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. ‘thers 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. ‘thers 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. sawsráq"a ey sawtraşey
sawsráq"a ey Sosruquo-and
sawtraş-ey Sottrash-and

2. atəwrawxk'a yəşəṛh'awala, nártəṛ̣a sawsráq"a saws dáypan.
a-təwrawx-k'ə the-history-pl
yə-ʃə-ṛ-h'ə-wa-la it-how-they-say-asp-by
nárt-əṛ̣a Nart-race
sawsráq"a Sosreuko
saws Sos
d-əy-pa-ə-n 3.hum-his-son-be-stat.past

3. saws nártəṛ̣a drəzh'xə'ən.
saws Sos
nárt-əṛ̣a Nart-race
d-ṛ-ə-ʒ+xə'ə-n 3.hum-them-cow+herder-stat.past

4. abaróy aqəzla nártəṛ̣a zəm'ə a sawsráq"a "təwma" h'ə yrəpxəwn, yarg'əy åš'əta
dəgrəč'ərməş'əwzт.
a+ba-r-əy 3+pro-near-sg
a-ŋə-z-ə la its-head-past.part-by
nárt-əṛ̣a Nart-race
zə-m'ə a one-road, “all of the”
sawsráq"a Sosruquo
tòwma mongrel, bastard
h’a call, say
yó-pxø-ø-w-n it-disgrace-be-asp-habitual.past
ya-r(a)-g’óy they-pro-and
á(y)š’(a)-ta brother-adj, “as a brother”
dø-g’-r-áč’a-ra-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. awá%sa sawsróq’a qá’c’ara døwta yóla%zøy s’ará-qóxč’arata awóy yómaza%ø
yøsálc’la närtø%ri awoy danórbara p’át’ow døw yøk’órc’øwn.

a+wá-sa 3+distal.invis-adv, “then” or “but”
sawsróq’a Sosruquo
qá’c’-ra man-ly
dów-ta great-adv
yó-l-a-ø-z-øy which-inside-in-be-past.part-and
š’å+rá-qó+xč’a+ra-ta frighten+inf-head+herd, direct+inf-adj, “frightening and attention-grabbing quality”
a+wá-øy=yó-ma-z-øy 3-distal.invis-sg=him-belong-past.part-and
yó-šá-l-c’(a)-la which-hither-inside-set-by
nárt-ørøa Nart-race
a+wá-øy 3+distal.invis-sg
d-an-ór-øa-ra 3.hum-when-they-see-adv
p’át’ow honor
døw great
=ye-k’ó-r-c’(a)-w-n =him-on-they-set-asp-stat.past, “habitual”

6. yøpáx’la p’át’ow yøk’órc’a cérč’pazt’h’a, yøs’tax’la awóy dšér’s’waš, døšdrøwaš
ám’i’ak a yørzépšøyn.
yø-pá+x’-la his-nose+zone-by, “his front”
p’át’ow ← p’át’øw honor
=ye-k’ó-r-c’a =him-on-they-do
čó-r-c’pa-z’t’-h’a refl-they-make-past.part-past-though
yó-š’ta+x’-la his-foot+zone-by, “his back”
a+wá-øy 3+distal.invis-sg
d-šø-r-š’-wa-š 3.hum-how-they-kill-asp-subj.subordinated
dó-š-r-ø-ž-wa-š 3.hum-how-they-cause-disappear-asp-subj.subordinated
á-mtí’a-k’a  the-way-pl  
yó-r-zó-ps+íña-òy-n  them-they-can-look+hither, after-even-stat.past, “they always sought”  
(with simple stative past /-n/ for habitual past /-w-n/ )

7.  zné nártorfá abadórén sawsróq’a dórš’ra mowrád rómata dōzé’ārtt’.  
z-nó  one-time  
nárt-ør’a  Nart-race  
=aba-dér-ón  =recip-know-pro.tns, “they agreed”  
sawsróq’a  Sosruquo  
d-ér-s’-ra  3.hum-they-kill-to  
mowrád  intention  
ró-mata  their-among  
dó-zé’-r-t-t’  3.hum-invitation.preV-they-give-past, “they invited him”

8.  sawsróq’a yózé’ätzéz nártorfá rpnó dcat’.  
sawsróq’a  Sosruquo  
yó-zé’-z-to-z  whom-invitation.preV-who-give-past.part  
nárt-ør’a  Nart-race  
r-rpños  their-place  
d-ca-t’  3.hum-go-past

9.  q’awmrák’ dá’an, š’abóžta yólax’ ak’óta, dalapč’óta rpnó d’éyxt’.  
q’awmr-rá-k’  some+ness-whole (stress ?)  
d-á-a-n  3.hum-it.to-be.there-past.nondef  
š’abóž-ta  great-ly  
yó-la-x’  his-eye-bad  
a-k’ó-ó-ta  it-on-be-adj, “he showed a bad or sad eye”  
d-a-l-a-pčé’-ta  3.hum-it-inside-dat-smash-adj, “devastated”  
r-rpños  their-place  
d-ša-y-x-t’  3.hum-hither-go-back-past

10.  sawsróq’a yan satanáy sawsróq’a yóš’agaš’á g’λóng’apxat’.  
sawsróq’a  Sosruquo  
y-an  his-mother  
satanáy  Satanay
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sawsrāq’a Sosruquo
yē-š’agaš’a his-manner
=g’-lō-n-g’a+px-t’ =not-her-it-heart+please-past, “the way he looked did not please her”

11. awoy zak’ šyūnəyəz ld’orən dəyc’əwa dəlاغat’:  
a+wa-əy 3+distal.invis-sg 
za-k’ one-singleton, indefinite 
=š-yə -z-əq-ə-z =how-him-for-it-go-past.part 
=l-dər-ən =she-know-pro.tns, “she asked to. know how it had gone for him” 
d-áy-c’əa-wa 3.hum-him-question-asp 
d-ál-a-ga-t’ 3.hum-it-inside-in-enter-past

12. “sará sōqᵊpha ssawsrāq’a,  
sa-rá I-pro 
só-q’əpha my-foster.child 
s-sawsrāq’a my-Sosruquo

13. sawsrāq’a sará sólašara,  
sawsrāq’a Sosruquo 
sa-rá I-pro 
só-la+şa+ra my-eye+light+abstract

14. áfəər š’agá zβ’əw ssawsrāq’a!  
áfə(r) lightning 
š’agá frightening 
z-bz’ə-ə-w whose-voice-be-stat.part 
s-sawsrāq’a my-Sosruquo

15. yacə yəwz’əztəz yəfaywər’h’ya?  
ya+cə time.prfx+yesterday 
yə-təz+yə-z-tə-z it-you.masc-nvitation-who-give-past.part 
yə-ša-ay-w-á-r-ə-ya what-hither-together-you.masc-to-they-say-what
16. ᵇ洘 bánh? ᵈэкон, ᵇҭ혀الة؟
 yǝ-w-ba-yá   what-you.masc-see-what
 yǝ-r-xBA-yá   what-them(to)-happen-what
 yǝ-r-ըa-yā   what-they-say-what

17. “스♣日报社 satanáyta, san,
 s-psǝ   my-soul
 y-a-pʃó-ø-w   which-it-like-be-stat.part
 satanáy-ta   Satanay-emph
 s-an   my-mother

18. ᵇ্эc’a ᵇɔs ᵇάš’tamlǝn, ᵇάзǝmc’ǝn!
 ᵇ্эc’a   man
 ᵇɔs   affair
 b-á-ʃt-a-m-ǝ-n   you.fem-it-after-not-be.inside-pro.tns
 b-á-zǝ-m-c’ǝ-a-n   you.fem-it-for-not-ask-pro.tns

19. ᵇח’ǝs ᵇ্эc’a ᵇɔs ᵇฎázc’ǝwm,
 a-embros   the-woman
 ᵇ্эc’a   man
 ᵇɔs   affair
 d-g’-á-z-c’ǝ-w-m   3.hum-not-it-for-ask-asp-not

20. ᵇח’ǝs c’ǝ+as ɡ’лдǝrǝgalwam.”
 a-embros   the-woman
 c’ǝ+as   ask+ness
 =g’-lǝ-роr-ga+1-wa-m   =not-her.to-they-cause-stand+at-asp-not,
 “there are no answers for a woman”

21. “yǝwǝzǝnǝyǝz ǝsǝwmḥ’k’a ɡ’ǝzǝwǝm,
 yǝ-w-ǝ-z-ǝ-ǝ-yǝ-z   what-you.masc-for-it-go-past.part
 =ǝa-s-ǝ-w-m-htable(a)-k’a   =hither-me-to-you.masc-not-say-pl
 =g’-ǝ-zǝ-ǝ-z-ǝ-rǝ-ǝm   =not-for-you.masc-be-if-not,
 “if you are not so disposed to tell me what you went for”
22. sóḥatar wəmbəwzt’ən wəŋ’spam.”
 só-ḥatar my-good.efforts
 wə-m-bə-ø-w-zt’-ən you.masc-not-much-be-asp.neg.tns-if
 wə-ɡ’-s-pa-ø-m you.masc-not-my-son-be-not

23. “yəsəmḥə’k’a bəmwaq’tən, yəbəʃ’p’…
yə-sō-m-ḥ’a-k’a it-I-not-say-dist
bə-m-ø-wa-zt’-ən you.fem-not-be-asp.neg.tns-if
yə-b-á-s-ḥ’a-p’ it-you.fem-to-I-say-pres.stat

24. “yəsəzənəəz pxas’aráp’, g’ásra dəwp’…
yə-sō-z-na-yə-z what-me-for-it-go-past.part
 =pxaš’a-rá-ø-p’ = shy+abstract.n.sfx-be-pres.stat, “it. was a shame”
g’á+s+ra heart+bad+astr.n.sfx, “insult”
 =dəw-ø-p’ =big-be-pres.stat

25. yacə sarə nərtərə səz’ərtt’,
yə+c’ time.prfx+yesterday
sa- rá I-pro
nərt-ərə Nart-race
sō-z+č’-ə-r-t-t’ me-invitation-they-give-past

26. nərtərə rəg’əran sarə snətardat’,
nər-ərə Nart-race
rə-g’əran their-courtyard
sa- rá I-pro
s-nə-t-a-r-da-t’ me-thither-down-to-they-fall, set.in-past

27. awəʔa anərt lōgaʔk’a álač’an,
a-wəʔa 3+distal.invis-be.standing, “there”
a-nərt the-Nart
lōga-ž’-k’ a man-old-pl
 =á-la-č’-a-n =it-there-in-sit-past

28. awəʔa “čəla ʃ’əaq’mar!” rə̱n,
a-wəʔa 3+distal.invis-be.standing
29. agár-aran dów ák'ta snáltalt',
a-ğár-aran the-circle
dów 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’a bž’óta sará sóh’h’at’,
af lightning, thunder
č"g’a loud
bž’ó-ta voice-adv
sa-rá I-prof.sfx
só-h'(a)+h’a-t’ I-say+say-past, “I cried”

31. ságác’ara awáʔa yódsorbat’.
 s-ğác’a-ra my-man-ly, “my manly ways”
a+wá-t 3+distal.invis-pl
a-wáʔa 3+distal.invis-be.standing, “there”
yó-r-só-r-ba-t’ it-them-I-cause-see-past

32. batəɾ č’ág’øy awáʔa yafaśorrtt’,
batəɾ knight, “bogatyr”
č’á-g’øy cup-and
a-wáʔa 3+distal.invis-be.standing
yó-fa-só-r-t-t’ it-hither-me-they-give-past

33. nártoř’a p’át’owla sbarangx’t’.
nár-t-ọř’a nart-race
p’át’ow-la honor-inst
s-fa-r-das-x-t’ me-hither-they-regard-again-past

34. araq’óž’ tónč’ta sfatást’,
araq’-óž” Aryq-old
tóně’-ta    quiet-adv
s-őa-tó-s-t’    I-hither-down-drag-past, “I descended”

35. sšáwamca aróq’ ac’ôq’a sšáqat’,
s-šá-y-wa-mca    I-hither-go-prog-dur
aróq’    Aryq
a-c’ôq’a    its-end
s-šá-ža-t’    I-hither-reach-past

36. sápqala k’ayč’arák’ názbat’, *(For lines 36-42, see alternative at end of analysis.)
s-á+pqá-la    my-it.to+front-inst
k’ayč’a+rá-k’    black+ness-one
=ňá-s-ba-t’    =thither-I-see-past

37. ák’ayč’ara yázba snayók’h’hát’.
á-k’ayč’a+ra    that-black+ness
yó-s-ba-z    which-I-see-past.part
s-na-yó-k’h(a)+ň’a-t’    I-thither-him-on-say+say-past, “I called to him”

38. awásah’ag’øy sbž’øy g’óymašat’,
a-wá    3+distal.invis
=š-a-h’a-g’øy    =I-it-call-and
s-bž’øy    my-voice
=g’ó-y-ma-ńa-t’    =not-him-not-be.audible-past

39. awóy syóš’talōn sg’óyx’émzat’.
a+wá-øy    3+distal.invis-sg
s-yó-š’t-a-l-ě-n    I-him-after-to-enter-pro.tns
s-g’ó-y-x’em-źa-t’    I-not-him-toward-not-reach, arrive-past,
without the expected /-ńa/- ‘hither’ preverb

40. sšáqónh’xoxen bsžy33a ńamózdat’…(for ńamózžat’)
s-ńa-qó-n-h’x-ěn    I-hither-top-out.from-turn-back-pro.tns
bsžy-33a    good-very
=ńa-mó-s-da-t’ ←    =hither-not-I-reach, arrive-past, “I did get very far,”
for expected /=ńa-s-mó-źa-t’/
41.  dįácapšen awóy sará sťáybat’,
d-ľá-capš-ən 3.hum-chg.of.st-begin, awaken-pro.tns
a+wa-əy 3 3+distal.invis-sg
sa-rá I-pro
s-ľá-y-ba-t’ me-hither-he-see-past

42.  awóy sará dįasók ’h’h’an yosáťat’,
a+wa-əy 3+distal.invis-sg
sa-rá I-pro
d-ľa-so-k’-h’(a)+h’a-n 3.hum-hither-me-on-say+say-pro.tns, “he yelled at me”
yə-s-á-ľa-t’ it-me-to-hear-past

43.  dįasóš’talən awóy dįasx’ožat’.
d-ľa-só-ş’ta-lə-n 3.hum-chg.of.st-me-after-enter-pro.tns
a+wa-əy 3+distal.invis-sg
d-ľa-s-x’o-ʒa-t’ 3.hum-hither-me-toward-reach-past

44.  dįážaztən nártəfə dárdə’sp’.
d-ľá-ža-ztən 3.hum-hither-reach-if, when
nárt-ořə Nart-race
do-r-čə+ř’-ọ-p’ 3.hum-their-horse+man-be-past.stat

45.  nártəfə yózbaz ačóf’k’a drówap’.
nárt-ořə Nart-race
yə-s-bá-z whom-I-see-past.part
a-čó+ř’-k’ə the-horse+man-pl
d-rő-wa-ọ-p’ 3.hum-them-in.among-be-past.stat
(for /wa-/ note Ubykh /wa-/ ‘in.among’)

46.  yrəmčóxwa ā́h’aps č”ər yómap’.
y-pə-m-čó-x-wa which-sever-not-break-again-pres.part
áh’a-ps sword-sharp (glossed as ‘long’ in Russian, but suggesting a
spear with a sharp sword-like blade)
č”ər spear
=yo-ma-p’ =him-belong-pres.stat
47. sčø azók’áh’aps č”ər Ɪak’őyrrxt’,
   sčø     my-horse
   a-zók’  its-spine
   áh’a-ps  sword-sharp
   č”ər     spear
   =ŋa-k’ő-y-r-x-x-t’     =hither-on-he-cause-press-back-past

48. sóža c’óq’a awóy Ɪatayrgölt’,
   só-ža     my-rib
   c’óq’a     end, tail
   a+wá-əy    3+distal.invis-sg
   =ŋa-t-a-y-r-ɡ’o+l-t’     =hither-down-to-he-cause-stand+at-past

49. lasarák’ta áž’ənd sónq’əyḥ’at’,
   lasa+rá-k’-ta  wool+ness-ball.of.yarn(?)-adv
   á-ž’and       the-sky
   só-nq’ə-y-h’a-t’  me-behind-he-drag-past

50. s’albšyŋaxəŋ ádg’əl Ɪasóyrawt’.
   s-ľa-l+bš’-y-ga-x-ən  me-hither-loc+flattened.down-he-enter, carry-again-pro.tns
   (note /á-l-bša-ra/ it-loc-spread.out, flatten.out-inf)
   ádg’əl     earth
   =ŋa-só-y-r-aw-t’     =hither-me-he-cause-find-past

51. nártərə Ɪádg’əl søyro’č’ay’at’,
   nárt-ərə     Nart-race
   r-ádg’əl     their-earth, “their field”
   =sə-y-ró’-č’ay’a-t’     =me-he-cause-plow-past

52. bø ź’q’őž-k’ ź’yaqála yótsəyrgat’.
   bø ź’q’őž-k’     seven-furrow-whole
   ź’ya+qá-la    shoulder+head-inst, “top of the shoulder”
   yó-t-s-əy-r-ga-t’  them-down-me-he-cause-enter, plow-past, “He made me
                      plow seven furrows with my shoulder.”
53. a'ī'āy'áčk' rpxṣə ṣasálycat',  
a-ī'-čyáť-e'-k'  the-two-plow-ox-singleton, natural.dual  
r-pxṣə  their-sweat  
 lda-sá-lə-y-ca-t'  =hither-me-out.from-he-beat-past

54. xɔn aq'íasra sará ʃ'aq'layrɔst',  
xɔ-n  three-times  
a-ʃ'+l+a+s-ra  the-bent+there+in+hit-abstract.noun, “feeling sick”  
sa-rá  I-pro  
s-ʃa-ʃ'+l+a-y-rö-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'è k'axóta yəsəžəz ṣasəyχʒ'ɔxt',  
k'è k'a-xo-ta  breast.milk-all-adv  
yə-só-zə-z  which-I-drink-past.part  
 lda-sə-y-r-ʒ'ɔ-x-t'  =hither-me-he-cause-vomit-back-past

56. spc'ak'á nóš'ča sóba yəsəyəʃ'ə',  
s-pc'a-k'á  my-moustache-pl  
nóš'-ča  earth-excess  
sába-la  dust-inst  
yó-s-zə-y-ʃ'-t'  them-me-for-he-color, paint-past

57. ac'ʃq'ala yāh'ag'yə ʃsəzʃaŋxt',  
a-c'əq'ə-la  its-end-inst  
y-ah'a-g'yə  his-sword-and  
d-só-z-ʃa+q-x-t'  3.hum-me-for-hither+head-take-past, “He raised it up against me to take my head.”

58. aqá qóxra dánazca syōh'at':  
a-qá  the-head  
qó-x-ra  head-take-inf  
d-an-a-z-ca  3.hum-when-it-for-go  
s-yó-h'a-t'  I-him.to-say-past, “I pleaded with him”
59. “wəyt’, nart čō’ta yə-k’adá-m,
    wə-ø-yt’                         you.masc-be-pres.dyn, “you being …”
nart                             Nart
čō+-ti-ta                        horse+man-adj
yə-k’adá-ø-m                    who-weak-be-not

60. swōmš’en, sš’a zōng’øy wəg’āc’c’xram!
s-wō-m-š’-ən                     me-you.masc-not-kill-prohibitive.imp
s-š’a                             my-blood
zō-n-g’əy                         one-time-and
wə-g’-a-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’ò mšk’ p’ālata yə’asəwtp’.
    wač’ò                             tomorrow
mš-k’                               day-singleton, “just one day”
p’ālata-ta                      delayed.duel-adv (a reprieve from combat with an agreed
    upon date for resumption of battle)
yə-ša-sə-w-t-p’                 it-hither-me-you.masc-give-prox.fut

62. ḥarama átawbag’əy azəhp’ālap’.
    ḥarama                             Harama
á-tawba-g’əy                        its-summit-and
a-zó-ḥ-p’ələ-ø-p’                  it-for-we-delayed.duel-be-pres.stat

63. aḥaylara sázcən arəla syəḥ’at’,
    aḥaylə-ra                            shrewd-adv
s-a-z-ca-n                        I-it-for-go-pro.tns
a-rō-la                           3-proximal-inst, “with it”
s-yō-ḥ’a-t’                        I-him-say-past, “I beseeched him about it”

64. sə zlayəḥ’az nayax’ən sbəz’ayxt’.
    sə -z-l-a-yə-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-bō-z’ə-y-x-t’                    I-you.fem-for-hither-come-back-past
65. "ey, sóla yápšəw ssawsrəq"a,
ey                 eh,
só-la              my-eye
y-á-pš-əw          who-it-be.like-pres.part
s-sawssrəq"a       my-Sosruquo

66. sawsrsəq"a q"áŋ'ыва ayxála!
sawsrsəq"a          Sosruquo
q"áŋ'ыва            sinew-adj
ayxá-la             iron-eye

67. awoy albák' yəpá sawtraš yak"p'.
a+wá-əy              3+distal.invis-sg
albák'               Albek
yə-pá                his-son
sawtraš              Sottrash
y-a+k"-p'             who-it.to+be-pres.part

68. ḥzórš'awa ačóy" zaq'ók' yak"p'.
ḥ-zó-r-ša-wa          we-whom-cause-fear-pres.part
a-čó+f"              the-horse+man
za-žó-k'             one-hum.counter-singleton, “only one”
y-a+k"-p'             who-it.to+be-pres.stat

69. dózk"ów yəčó s'araxqáp',
d-óz-k"-ów            3.hum-which-on-sit-pres.part
yə-čó                his-horse
s'ara-x-qá-ó-p'      deer-male-head-be, have-pres.stat

70. awoy aqá áž'ų and yanóhap'.
a+wá-əy              3+distal.invis-sg
a-ŋá                 its-head
á-ž'ų and            the-sky
y-a-nó-ŋa-p'         it-it-out.to-extend.across(?)-pres.stat
71.  awát ź˙ź˙ˈayšˈć˙a yənázəyt,
a+wá-t 3+distal.invis-pl
ź˙-ź˙-ˈayšˈ-č˙a nine-hum.counter-brother-pl.hum (/ā(y)šˈ(a)/ ‘brother’)
yə-ná-3(a)-yt’ they-thither-reach-pres.dyń

72.  ažːőʰ rӑqá wará yəfawəsrəxˈatˈ.
a-ğ̥-ɾə the-eight-hum.counter (for expected /a-ğ̥-ɾə/)
r-𝑞á their-head
wa-rá you.masc
yə-ʃə-wɔ-ɾə-ga-xˈa-t’ them-hither-you.masc-I-cause-carry-already-past

73.  sáwtraʃ ź˙ʃ̣ɔta dȟʊmaxpˈ,
sáwtraʃ Sotrash
ź˙-ʃ̣-ta nine-hum.counter-adv
d-ʒəˈma-x-p’ 3.hum-us.to-have-still-pres.stat

74.  yášˈɛkˈa rómǐˈa yərawərā atáqɔpˈ.
y-āšˈ+ɛ-ʃkˈa his-brother+hum.pl-pl
ró-mǐˈa their-road, path
=yo-₀-r-awə-rá ← =yo-w-r-awə-rá
=he-you.masc.imp-cause, let-find-inf
a-táqɔp’ it.be.necessary-pres.stat

75.  ažˈoykˈa awadgˈóna ŋadróčˈpa!
a-žˈəy-kˈa the-smith-pl
awadgˈóna bell
=ʁə-r-₀-ʁó-čˈpa ← =ʁə-r-w-ʁó-čˈpa
=hither-them-you.masc.imp-cause-make

76.  yəmačˈọmkˈa, sˈárdata yədróčˈpa!
yə-маčˈọ-m-kˈa their-little-not-be
sˈárd-a-ta many-adv
yə-r-₀-ʁó-čˈpa ← yə-r-w-ʁó-čˈpa
them-they-you.masc.imp-cause-make
77.  awat wae dq'ja yadhatl,
a+wa-t  3+distal.invis-pl
wae-cho  your.masc-horse
a+q'ja  its-tail
y-a-d-ð-ha-l ← y-a-d-w-ha-l them-it-close, tightly-you.masc.imp-tie-iter

78.  palata yamoxəz wadgəl,
pala-ta  delayed.duel-adv
y-a-мо-š-xə  which.reciprocal-before-you.pl-take-past.part, “which you
both agreed upon”
w-a-d-gəl  you.masc-it-close, tightly-stand, “you observe it”

79.  danówbara zónla wəyəzəl!
d-anó-w-ba-ra  3.hum-when-you.masc-see-inf
zó-n-la  one-time-by, “at once”
wə-yə-žə-l  you.masc-him-attack-iter, again

80.  yəčo rháp’ta džək’negap’,
yə-cho  his.horse
  =w-r-hap’-ta  =you.masc-cause-afraid-adj
d-ʒə-k’na-gap’  3.hum-outside.preV-from.inside-thither-carry-prox.fut, “the
horse will bolt right away”

81.  änča wəyəq’phewzən d’aw’yt’.
änča  God (Indo-European loan from *ansuz ‘god, spirit’, Sanskrit
asura, Norse Æsir)
wə-yə-q’epə-w-zən  you-his-foster.child-be-asp-validating.if,(Ubykh /-da(n)/ )
d-ľa-wa-øy-t-p’  3.hum-hither-you.masc-He-give-prox.fut

* * *

82.  sawtraš atauba dx’ingə lap’,
sawtraš  Sotraš
á-tauba  the-summit
d-ʒə-n-gə la-p’  3.hum-on.top-on-stand-pres.stat, (historical present)
83. sawsróq’á dóyzpśwa dgálap’,
sawsréq’á  Sosruquo
d-óy-z-pś-wa  3.hum-him-for-look-pres.part
d-góla-p’  3.hum-stand-pres.stat

84. ápsth’a k’ayé’á dólągò lap’.
á-pstẖ’a  the-cloud
k’ayé’á  black
dó-l-a-gò la-p’  3.hum-inside-to-stand-pres.stat

85. sawsróq’á átawba dnaqaxxółf’
sawsréq’á  Sosruquo
á-tawba  the-summit
d-n-a-qä-x-xó-l-t’  3.hum-on-to-head-jump, leap.out-back-iter, again-past

86. sawtraš yəčó rẖan yəz’ok’k’xt’,
sawtraš  Sotrash
yə-čó  his-horse
  =r-ẖa-n  =they(the bells)-frighten-pro.tns
yə-ẑ’o-k’k’-x-x-t’  it-outside.preV-from.inside-jump-back-past

87. sawtraš dg’oż’k’on d’k’ač’atást’
sawtraš  Sotrash
d-g’ož’k’-on  3.hum-heart+melt-pro.tns, “he grew angry”
d-ľa-č’a-t-á-s-t’  3.hum-hither-mouth-down-to-hit-past

88. ačó ač’a dľáqěn yəč’oyz’át’,
a-čó  the-horse
a-č’á  its-mouth
d-ľa-qi-on  3.hum-hither-split-pro.tns
yə-č’o-y-z’á-t’  it-jaw-he-tear-past

89. yarg’oy aráʔa zók’qä dgák’şát’.
ya-ra-g’oy  he-pro-and
a-ráʔa  this-prox.visible-be.standing, “here” (from point of view of the narrator)
zó-k'qa own-back
d-ľa-(a-)_k"-š'a-t' 3.hum-ch.of.st-(it-)on-lie-past

90. sawsróq"a  dčóž'pan d były'k č'at'
sawsróq"a Sosruquo
d-čó+ž'pa-n 3.hum-refl+leap.upon-pro.tns
d-na-y-g"-k"-č"a-t' 3.hum-thither-him-heart, chest-on-sit-past

91. “way, qác'a q"áʾta ayxála,
way way!
qác'a man
q"áʾ-ta sinew-adj
ayxá-la iron-eye

92. ǧər ləc' čö'ɪ' ta sawsróq"a!
ǧər steel
lə-c' there-exit, “made of”
čö+g'-ta horse+man-adj
sawsróq"a Sosruquo

93. yacó sará wará p'áša wóstat',
ya+có time.prefix+yesterday
sa-rá I-pro
wa-rá you.masc-pro
p'áša delayed.duel
=wo'-s-t-a-t' =you.masc-I-give-to-past

94. yax'č"á wará p'áša ḟasó!"
ya+x'č"á time.prefix+today
wa-rá you-pro
p'áša delayed.duel
=ľa-s'o-w-t =hither-me-you.masc-give

95. “wará sará p'ášak' ḟasówtwa,
wa-rá you-pro
sa-rá me-pro-sfx
p’áλα-k’          delayed.duel-one
=ʔa-šó-w-t-wa       =hither-me-you.masc-give-pres.part

96.  sará wará p’áλak’ wóstwa,
sa-rá             I-pro
wa-rá             you-pro
p’áλa-k’          delayed.duel-one
=wo-s-t-wa         =you-I-give-pres.part

97.  nártr’ia rótawba ḥx’ōngə lazlama!”
nárt-r’ta          Nart-race
ró-tawba          their-summit
ḥ-x’ō-n-gə la-z-larna  we-atop-on-stand-part-forever (for the suffix perhaps
                     /1-a-r-ma/ ‘inside-in-cause-have’)

*   *   *

98.  sawsráq’ã yáh’a aráʔa yəəyərož’t’,
sawsráq’ã          Sosruquo
y-áh’a            his-sword
a-ráʔa            this-prox.visible-be.standing, “there”
y-əəy-əro-ž’-t’    it-preV-he-cause-harden-past

99.  sawsráq’ã anárt yəqá ʔaʔəγ’yt’.
sawsráq’ã          Sosruquo
a-nárt            the-Nart
yə-qá            his-head
=ʔa-ʔəγ’-y-ʔ”-t’      =hither-head-he-cut-past

100.  sawsráq’ã aʔəγ’ ʔaygən d’ayxt’,
sawsráq’ã          Sosruquo
a-ʔəγ’          the-head
=ʔa-ʔəγ(a)-ən        =hither-he-carry-pro.tns
d-ʔa-y-x-t’       3.hum-hither-come-back-past

*   *   *

101. “sáč’k”ənta sólašara yówč’paya?

só-č’k”ənta my-child-adv
só-la-ša-ra my-eye-light-adj
yó-w-č’pa-ya what-you.masc-do-what

102. yəwbaýá? yəwḥ’ayá? yəwʕayxš’ayá?”

yə-w-ba-yá which-you.masc-see-what
yə-w-ḥ’a-yá which-you.masc-say-what
yə-w-ʕa-y-ʕa-š’a-yá which-you.masc-hither-come-back-be.how-what

103. “s’ácaz sbač’á sórqyat’

s-á-ca-z I-there-go-past.part
s-ba-c’á I-see-exhaustively/properly
s-o+r+q+y+a-t’ I-their+head(s)+go+on-past (see saga 60, n. 11)

104. sawtraš yəqá bará ybózʕazgt’!”

sawtraš Sottrash
yə-qá his-head
ba-rá you.fem-pro
y-bó-z-ʕa-s-g(a)-t’ it-you.fem-for-hither-I-bring-past

105. “yəxač”όməz wəxamʔən wəsózʕayxt’.”

yə-xač”ό-mə-ʔə-z which-proper-not-be-past.part, “which is impossible or unseemly”
wa-xa-mó-ʔə-n you.masc-preV-not-set.out.an.ambush-pro.tns
wa-só-z-ʕa-y-x-t’ you.masc-me-for-hither-come-back-past


yó-z-zaw-da whom-for-interrogative.be-who, “whose head is it?”
yə-ʕa-ga it-hither-bring
  =s-á-b-ḥ(a)-n =me-to-you.fem-say-pro.tns
yə-bó-z-ʕa-s-ga-t’ it-you.fem-for-hither-I-bring-past

107. wəz’óg’əy ‘yəgáx!’ sábh’əma yózgaxp’,
wəz’ó-g’əy now-and
yə-w-gá-x  
=sa-b-h’a-ma  
yó-s-ga-x-p’

it-you.masc-bring-back  
=me-to-you.fem-say-if  
it-I-bring-back-prox.fut

108.  aqä aqaryórà bará yəbwésp’.”

a-qa  
=aq-r-yó-x-ra  
ba-rá  
yə-b-wés-ø-p’

the-head  
it-head-cause-attach-back-inf  
you-pro  
it-your-deed, task-be-pres.stat


sawtraš  
yə-qa  
sa-rá  
s-g’a-zó-m-bža-m

Sotrash  
his-head  
I-pro  
I-neg-it-for-not-have.need-not

110.  awy zbarág’øy yəsa’arág’øy g’ostaq’m,

a+wá-øy  
=sa-ra-g’øy  
yə-s-a-ra-g’øy  
=gs-taq-óm

3+distal.invis-sg  
=I-see-inf-and  
it-me-to-be.audible-inf-and  
=neg-I-want-not

111.  sawtraš yan yəlzwatá yəlotx!

sawtraš  
yan  
yə-l-zə-ø-ga-tá  
yə-ló-ø-t-x

Sotrash  
his-mother  
it-her-for-you.masc.imp-bring-adv  
it-her-you.masc.imp-give-back

112.  Ipazaq’ök’ yəq’ awy yəlwráx!”

l-pa-za-ø-k’  
yə-qa  
=wa-øy  
yə-l-ø-ø-bà-x  
=wa-yəl-w-r-bá-x  
it-her-you.masc.imp-cause-see-again

her-son-one-hum.counter-singleton, “her last son”  
his-head  
3+distal.invis-sg  
it-her-you.masc.imp-cause-see-again

*  *  *
113. sawsráq’á sawtraš yan dlózcat’,
sawsráq’á Sosruquo
sawtraš Sotrash
y-an his-mother
d-ló-z-ca-t’ 3.hum-her-for-go-past

114. sawtraš yeqá lbž’a yanóyrës’ëlt’.
sawtraš Sotrash
y-êqá his-head
l-bž’a her-skirt
y-anó-y-rë-š’ë-l-t’ it-when-he-let-fall-iter, again-past

115. “wèy, yamóna çóta, áž’xč’a yopá,
wèy wiy!
yamóna plague
çó+š’-ta horse+man-adj
á-ž’-xč’a the-cattle-herder
y-ê-pá his-son

116. satanáy zông’ëy yółpam ámaxag’a.
satanáy Satanaya
zö-n-g’ëy one-time-and, “never”
y-ê-l-pa-õ-m which her-son-be-not
á-maxa+g’a the-arm+manner(?), “murderer”

117. alá tówma támcax sòwërc’ag’šš’at’,
a-lá the-dog
tówma mongrel
= t-á-m-ca-x = down-in-not-go-back
s-ë-wë-r-č’-a+g’ó+s’-a-t’ my-head, refl-you.masc-cause-detri+heart+kill-past, “you have caused me to be grief stricken”

118. sëwëfat’, wë-z’ò aš’ágala yòrfat’!”
s-ëa-wó-fa-t’ me-ch.of.st-you.masc-eat-past
wë-z’ò your.masc-flesh
a-š’ág-a-la the-killers, wolf.pack-inst
ø-yó-r-fa-t’  it-them-let-eat-past,(deleted initial index?)

119.  d’iáš’t’‘an až’óxč’wa əwól’š’t’,
  d-̀a-s’t’‘a-n  she-ch.of.st-jump.up-indef.past
a-ž’óxč”a-wa  the, a-spit-pres.part
  =iə-wó-l-ʃ’t’‘  =hither-into.rev-she-throw.after-past

120.  awóy ak’əsána aš’q’óc aróq’əšat’.
  a+wá-əy  3-distal.invis-and
a-k’əsána  the-target
a-ʃ’-q’óc  its-door-jamb
  =a-ró-ʃ’əša-t’‘  =it-cause-shatter-past

  *  *  *

121.  “ažór sš’ap’, ʒ’ort slarč’ap’,
  a-ʒór  the-steel
s-ʃ’a-ʃ-p’  my-blood-be-pres.stat
ʒ’er-ta  steel-adj
s-ʃlarč’ə-p’  I-alloy-be-pres.stat (/á-ʃ-a-r-č’a/ |it-inside-in-cause-melt’)

122.  nártərʃə sawsrəq”a sará sák”p’,
  nárt-ərʃə  Nart-race
sawsrəq”a  Sosruquo
sa-rá  I-pro
s-á-k’-ʃ-p’  I-it.to-be-pres.stat

123.  yəz-zəw-da š’ará aŋ’əmgara əlax’c’a’t’,
  yə-ʃ-zəw-da  whom-for-interrogative.be-who
š’a-rá  you.pl-pro
a-ʃ’əmgə-ra  the-sorcery-abstract
  =á-l-a-ʃ’c’a-t’‘  =it-inside-in-you.pl-set-past

124.  yəlaʃ’c’az aŋ’əmgara š’ará š’ağəxt’.”
  y-á-l-a-ʃ’-c’a-z  which-it-inside-in-you.pl-set-past.part
a-ʃ’əmgə-ra  its-sorcery-abstract
š’ə-rá  you.pl-pro
sʰ̱á-ga-x-t’ you.pl-it-enter-back-past, “it rebounded against you”


*Alternative passage to lines 36-42

i. s-na-pšó-yd-ta, yó-ʰ’a-d sawsróq”a,
s-na-pšó-yd-ta I-thither-look-pres-adv
=yó-ʰ’a-d =he-say-past
sawsróq”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-ʃa-y-wá a+wá-ɔy
a-šó-yač”a the-white-star
y-ʃa-y-wá which-ch.of.st-grow-pres.part
a+wá-ɔy 3+distal.invis-and

v. a-’á-ra lá tab yó-la-k’a, yó-ʰ’a-d
a-’á-ra 3-so.much-adv
lá dog
tab pan
yó-la-k’a his-eye-pl
=yó-ʰ’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. one 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.
“Hey, sinewy man with iron eyes!
A rider made from steel, Sosruquo!
I granted you a reprieve yesterday.
Today, grant me a reprieve likewise!”
“You grant me a reprieve.
Then I grant you a reprieve.
So we shall be staying here on the Narts’ mountain forever.”
*S * *
Sosruquo had hardened his sword.
Sosruquo cut off the Nart’s head.
Sosruquo returned and brought his head home.
* * *
“, my little boy, my light, how have you been?
What have you seen? What have you said? How did you come back?”
“I came; I saw much; and I conquered.
Sotrash’s head I have brought to you.”
“You did the unseemly, set an ambush and returned to me.”
Whose is it? You said, ‘bring it,’ and so I brought it.
Now if you say, ‘carry it back,’ I will carry it back.
To attach the head again, that is your task.”
“I have no need of Sotrash’s head.
I do not want to hear about it or see it.
Bring it to Sotrash’s mother and give it to her!
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.
### Appendix E.

#### Bzyb Abkhaz

#### Phonemic inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>labial</strong></td>
<td>p b p’ f v f’ m w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dental</strong></td>
<td>t d t’ n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(labialized)</td>
<td>t’ [p’ t’] d’ [bd] t” [p’ t’]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>alveolar (laminal)</strong></td>
<td>c ʒ c’ s z r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(apical)</td>
<td>č ʒ č’ š ž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(apical, labio-dentalized)</td>
<td>č” [č’ f] ʒ” [ʒ’y] č’” [č’’ f] š” [ʃ’] ž” [ž’y]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lateral</strong></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>palato-alveolars</strong></td>
<td>č’y ĺ’y č’’ y y’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(apical/retroflex)</td>
<td>č ʒ č’ š ž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(round)</td>
<td>- - - š” ž” y”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>palatal</strong></td>
<td>k’y g’y k’y’ - - y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>velar</strong></td>
<td>k g k’ - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(round)</td>
<td>k” g” k”’ - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>uvular (“palatalized”)</strong></td>
<td>- - q’y ɬ’y y’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(plain)</td>
<td>- - q’ ɬ y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(round)</td>
<td>- - q” ɬ” y”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pharyngealized)</td>
<td>- - - ɬ -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pharyngealized, round)</td>
<td>- - - ɬ” -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pharyngeal (epiglottal)</strong></td>
<td>ɭ ɿ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(round)</td>
<td>ɭ” -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vowels</strong></td>
<td>ə a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>stress</strong></td>
<td>unpredictable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• **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 /ʕ̥/ appears in the surface in Abaza and sometimes in Abzhwi and Ashkharawa Abkhaz, alternating with a rounded-y, [ʃ̥] vs [y̥]. 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-ž̥ʾyan/ → /á-žʾyan/ ‘the-sky’, or /á-ž̥ʾya/ → /á-žʾya/ ‘the-wing, paddle, shoulder blade’. Therefore, I have represented this sound as /y̥/ in the glosses. Unlike Abaza, the plain voiced pharyngeal /ʕ̊/ is realized as a consonantal ʔ or as a voiced ʰ, that is /ʕ̊/ → [ɦ].

• **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 /+tʼ/ 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 / -rɔ-/ 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+ʃa-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 /-wɑ-y+t’/ (much as in English “I am going [right away]”). This /-wɑ-y+t’/ itself seems to be based upon a progressive aspect suffix /-wɑ-/ 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 /-x’à-/ ‘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 /-x’a-(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)


Translated by John Colarusso

stress is provisional.

1. nártaa rá żba x. 
 nárt-(r)aʃ Nart-race
 ró-żba x their-account

2. nártaa bžy-áyš’c’a yóq’an, ráhš’a q’onda lóx’zən, ráyè’bża xmoš’ yóx’zən, dlóš’tan ač’tán rəh yarè’x’áw yáhš’a, aʃ dyøytwámt’ sasrəq’a yədɔrwan, aʃa yəčaláygalwamzt’.
 nárt-(r)aʃ Nart-race
 bž-y-áy+(a)š-c’a seven-hum.counter-recip+brother-hum.pl
 yó-q’a-n they-exist-stat.past, /-q’a- / also copula for hypothetical or irrealis conditions.
 r-áhš’a their-sister, also /ay+áhš’a/ recip+sister
 for /h̊/ note /ph’ś(š)ba/ ‘woman’, /áhš(š)a/ ‘women’.
 q’onda Gunda
 ló-x’zə-n her-name-stat.past
 r-áy+c’-bža their-recipr+young-superlative, Abzhwi /a-bžəc’aš’a/ .
Atsan, a race of little people, perhaps water sprites.

Yarchkhyaw

Sasruqu

"he was not usually going among them," that is, "he did not intervene in this"
6. ṹmaʃ' ig'ò yálsën, us yáùh't' yarč'x'áw.

Khmish

(ə)y-g'ò

his-heart (perhaps cliticized to the preceding noun)

y-álsə-n

it-take.offense-pro.tense,

for literary dialect /a-ğ'áls-ra/ the-take.offense-inf.

w(ə)+s

3rd.distal+adv

=ý-á-y-h'á-t' =him-to-he-say-past, for /-t'/ 'past', note Abaza /-t'/ 'past'.

yarč'x'áw

Yarchkhyaw, postposed for emphasis

7. "wará ḥará ūrtaa ḥzáyp'raz, wəd'awran, ḥapx' aţ'ó ak'ó zoq'áymc'wáz áylk'aanə wóq'an, aḅra'y sapx'ə yəxbáwš'waz?"

wa-rá

you.masc-pro

ḥa-rá

we-pro.

nárt-(r)aʃ

Nart-race

ḥ-z-áy+pš-ra-z

we-how-recip+look-volitional.fut-part

=we-dőr-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'a/ its+front+locus

a-ţ'ó

the-hum,counter, hum.one

a-k'ó

the-one, singleton

=ʒə-q'ə-y-m-c'-wá-z =able-preVerb-he-not-set-asp-past.pt, for /-q'ə-/ note Circassian /'a/ "hand," "to set hand to," "to make, to do."

áy+lk'+aʃ-nə

recip+find.out+active-adv

wə-q'a-n

you.masc-be.in.hand-adv, "you realizing this"

a-br(a)-őy

this-near.speaker-sg, enlarged version of /-ra/- suffix

s-ápx'a

me-before, /á+p+x'a/ its+front+locus

y-əx+bá-w-š'-wa-z

it-why+Q-you.masc-kill-asp-part

8. "yəszəmdőr't', wará aráx'y aáy'g'ə wóq'awp' ḥ'ə sóq'amzt', aNx waay ay'ózaə'ə wó-s-ta-p', ḥ'ə yayh't'.

yə-s-ţə-m-dőr-t'

it-l-for, able-not-know-past

wa-rá

you.masc-pro

a-r-á-x'

this-near-its-at, "here," literary dialect /a-br-á-x'/

=ți+a+y+g'ə =hither+come+still, "until"

ḥayt’       hey!
wa-rá         you.masc-pro
yə-w-š’-z    which-you.masc-kill-part
sa-rá         I-pro
a-ṣ’za+ụ’-s   the-companion+portion-bit
yə-ż+bá-s-ga-wa   it-able+Q-I-take-asp, “I take it against my will”
nárt-(r)af’     Nart-race
yə-rá-mə-w(a)’-ṣa-č   it-they-not-do-emph-perfect
sa-rá         me-pro
yə-s-wó-r-wa-ma   it-me-you.masc-cause-do-Q(yes/no)
               =yə-ḥ(a)-ay+t’    =he-say-past


ḥay          hah!
š’ə-rá       you.pl-pro
nárt-(r)af-ž   Nart-race-bad
g’ay’a-ra’u    deep-race (= “a lazy lot”)
yə-ṣ”-á-t’-ṣ’ə-m-ṣ’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+nə-ɨ-y-ḥ’a    =it+when-he-say
yarč’x’aw    Yarchkhyaw
á-fər+ḥ’a     the-flash, lightning+adv
11. *yenač‘k’ós návc‘arpánə ač‘á laξəyk”óč“aan, áš‘tax’t”oy yəlabáš’ya yəxərk”ák”anə yəč’ónexxt’.*
   *yə-nač“(a)+k”ós its-toe+little Abzh. /nač“(a)+k”ós/.
   n+á+v-c’arpá-nə flat.on+to+close.by-grip, hook-adv
   a-č”á its-skin
   =l-a-xə-y-k”óč“+a-n =inside-to-top-he-take.off+quickly-pro.tns,
   “He quickly, impetuously took it off.”
   á-š”tá+x+t”-əy its-after+at+stuff-and, “and its hind quarters”
   yə-labáš’a his-pike
   yə-ño-r-k”á+k”a-nə it-top-cause-hard+hard, “impale”()-past.passive.part
   yə-č”ó-na-y-x-t’ it(dummy)-from.under-he-go-again, back-past, “He started
to go back.”

12. *áš’tá danóntala, sasróq”a asáwf daxək”t”áz danónapšy dəybéyt’.*
   a-ś”tá 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”
   sasróq”a Sasruquo
   a-sáwf the-balcony
   d-a-xə-k”t”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
   dó-ya-ba-šy+t’ 3.hum (Kh.)-he(S.)-see-past+dyn

    aawmgəwázəy, ḡará ay”ţazəx’ə ɔaəɛməgwáz əwəɛmdɔrwaşəy, ḧɛ’a wəɾ‘t’,”
    yóh‘ọyt’.*
   ḥay hey!
   wa-rá you.masc-pro
   á-nasōp-da the-luck-less
14. "aróy sara yəsəmš'óyt', yəzš'ózg'o yarč'x'áw yawp', sápx'a yəzəwš'ózey h'a ányash'a, xaala dəsmač'áž'ayt', násg'o nártaa aq'áy'až'k'a sáh's'a dežbáš'estwa h'a sayh't'," yóh'hóyt'.

a+ró-y 3+near.speaker-sg
sa-rá I-pro
yə-sə-m-š'-óy+t’ it-I-not-kill-past-dyn
yə-z'-š'-z-g'o it-who-kill-part-and
yarč'x'áw Yarchkhjaw
y-a-wp’ it-must.be-stat.pres
s-ápx’a me-before
yə-žə-w-š'-zə+y it-able-you.masc-kill-what+Q
h'a saying
=á+n-y-a-s-h’a =it+when-him-to-I-say
xá-a+la head-it+inst, "straight off"
də-s-ma-č'-áž'a-y+t’ he-me-at.belong-detrimentive-word.say-past+dyn
nás-g'ə thus-and
nárt-(r)aʃ Nart-race
a-g'áy'a-ž'-k’a the-deep.lazy-bad-collective
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15.  sasréq’a anój ányahá daaqélwazma, yəráś’ ak’adór ak’c’ánw dčay’t.

sasréq’a       Sasruquo
a+nó-y          this+near.hearer-sg
                =á+n-y-aňa       =it+when-him-be.audible
d-afi-gó+l-wa-z-ma 3.hum-hither-stand+at-prog.past.part-Q.yes.no
yə-ráś’y          his-steed, “mythical, fiery horse”
a-k’adór            its-saddle
a-k’c’á-nə          it-down.in-set-adv
d-ća-y+t’           3.hum-go-past+dyn

16.  yarč’x’áw sasréq’a dzáypš’raz yəmdórwaźy yóy’h’az žəynamxwáz
     awəymdórwxaz, yáň’s’a “bčərxyanó bóq’az” h’a layň’t’.

yarč’x’áw       Yarchkhyaw
sasréq’a       Sasruquo
d-z-áy+pš’-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+ıy =he-not-know-asp-what+Q
yó-y-h’a-z         what-he-say-part
＝zə-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-áň’s’a            his-sister
b-čə-r-ňya-nó      you.fem-refl-cause-be.ready-adv
bó-q’a-z           you.fem-be.hypothetical-part
h’a          saying
＝l-a-y-h’-t’   =her-to-he-say-past
17. sasráq"a yəráš' ák'新浪微博 apsáp yətq"ówás apsáypš yarč'x'áw yásta yaatášš'ayt'.
sasráq"a Sasruquo
yə-ráš' his-steed
á-k'新浪微博 its-top
a-psáp its-breath
yə-t'q"(a)-wá-z its-shoot.out-asp-part
a-pš-áypš the-wind-like
yarč'x'áw Yarchkhyaw
y-ášta his-yard
y-af-t-á-šš'-oy+t' it-ch.of.st-within-to-whistle-past+dyn

18. yawəymdárwxaw sasráq"a džaawáz, ag'áš' áayart'ən dəyżápšən dğəlan.
y-awə-y-m-dór-x-wa-z it-incredulity-he-not-know-still-asp-part
sasráq"a Sasruquo
d-ž-fa-wá-z 3.hum-for-come.hither-asp-part
a-g'áš' the-gate
=ți-á-y-a-r-t'ə-n =ch.of.st-him-it-cause-open-pro.tense
də-y-zó-pš-nə 3.hum-him-for-look-adv
d-gó+la-n 3.hum-stand+in-stat.past

19. dáatalt' ášta.
d-áf-t-a-l-t' 3.hum-hither-within-in-go.inside-past
á-šta the-yard, postposed for emphasis

20. "wáa bzóyala wáabəyt'," yáh'yayt' yarč'x'áw.
w-á-ʃ(a) you.masc-it-hither, come.imp
bzóy-a-la good-its-inst
w-ʃa-(s-)b(a)-oy+t' you.masc-hither-(I-)see-past+dyn, “I look upon you with favor!” (optional deletion of 1st or 2nd person in direct exchange)
=ʃó-ʃ(a)-oy+t' =he-say-past
yarč'x'áw Yarchkhyaw

21. "bzóyala səwbá, č'g'a səmbá saayt'," yáh'ən, dəzyášaz axán dəx'nayt' yəráš'ala.
bzóy-a-la good-its-inst
sə-w-bá me-you.masc-see
c'g'a
sə-(w-)m-bá
s-la-y-t'
=ya-h'a-n
da-z-yáša-ø-z
a-xán
dó-x'na-y+t'
yə-raš'-a-la
very.much
me-(you.masc)-not-see,(optional deletion of 1st or 2nd person in direct exchange)
I-hither-come-past =he-say-pro.tense 3.hum-for-straight-be-part the-palace 3.hum-rise.up-past+dyn his-steed-its-inst

22. “sabáwört’wa wará ánasopda yarč’x’áw?”
s-a+bá-wə-r-t’-wa wa-rá á-nasop-da yarč’x’áw
me-it+where-you,masc-cause-sit-asp you.masc-pro the-luck-less Yarchkhyaw

23. “wəxáč’k’ə sçayt’, yəwtačzár ará wəsərt’áp’, ma aš’as’orc’ə.”
wə-xáč’-k’ə wə-sə-r-t’-á-p’
yə-w-tačz-za+r
=a-s-ča-y+t’
=I-go-past+dyn
which-you.masc-want-stat+subj 3-near.speaker you-I-let-sit-immed.fut, text has /-t’á/- for ‘sit’.
=I-defer to you.”

24. yáarq t sk’amk’, dlo’k’t’án daž’š’təmxt’, dačak’ə aargán wəg’ə daž’š’təmxt’,
dory’ag’óx dačak’ə, axa ak’ə dawš’tənxwaz.
y-ʃ’r-g(a)-t sk’am-k’ d-lə-k’-t’-á-n d-a-ʒ’-ʃ-tə-m-x-t’
=ya-r-gá-n
it-hither-they-bring-past bench-indef 3.hum-there-down.on-sit-pro.tense 3.hum-it-able-upward-not-lift-past other-indef =hither-they-bring-pro.tense

s-čə my-horse

=(s̄-)ləbə+ga-nə =(you.pl.imp)-release+carry-adv
a-č-ξərpá-rta the-horse-tether-place
yə-(s̄)-ξərpa it-(you.pl.imp)-tether

=yó-’h(a)-əy+t’ he-say-past+dyn

26. yarč’x’áw dṇayn áγ’ra k’nə daáξayt’, ačə yawó[i]ژξεξεξwaz, “č’əw” íh’an

sasraq”a, ačóy’h’a yəlk’ápayt’ yəràs’.

yarč’x’áw Yarchkhyaw
d-na-y-n he-thither-go-pro.tense
á-γ’ra=k’-nə the-bridle=seize-adv
d-ľa-ξa-y+t’ he-ch.of.st-pull-past+dyn
ačə but
y-awó-γ́-ζə-ξεξə-x-wa-z it-incredulity-he-able-make.obey-again-asp-part
č’əw well

=yó-’h’a-n =he-say-pro.tense
sasraq”a Sasruquo
a-čə+y’-h’a the-horse+run(ner)-adv, “with all swiftness”
čə-yə-l-k’á+pa-y+t’ he(?)-it-there.from-up.on+jump-past+dyn; Note the
apparent violation of verb cliticization.
yə-raš’

his-steed

27. “wará xmoš’ yəţbåyəwʰ’az?” [dč’aayt’ sasraq”a].

wa-rá you.masc-pro
xmoš’ Khmish
yə-ž+bá-yə-w-ʰ’a-z what-for+Q-him-you.masc-say-part; Note the lack of
rightward question movement in this and the next line.
28. “yəəbáyasḥ’az?
yəə-ž+ba-y-a-s-h’a-z what-for+Q-him-to-I-say-part

29. š’aráčara ḥayć’q’an, yará dsəmbák”a bənč’ak’ səmḵáš’t’; ‘yəəwəəs’ózəy’ anóy’h’a, 
wará aayg’á wóq’owp’ ḥ’a səq’amzt’ sh’eyt’, nas yənač’’ós alá ač’á aaxəxtən
ábža

yəəg’eyt’.
š’a+rá-ča+ra hunt+inf-go+inf
hcp-ay-čó-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
bənč’á-k’ deer-one
=s-əmḵá-s’-t’ =I-by.chance-kill-past
yəə-žə-w-ʃ’ó-zə+ɣ it-for-you.masc-kill-what+Q
=a+ŋó-y-ŋ’a =it+when-he-say
wa-rá you.masc-pro
ʃa+ɣ+ɣ’á hither+come+still, as, “nearby”
wó-ŋ’a-wp’ you.masc-be.hypothetical-stat.pres
ŋ’a whether
só-ŋ’a-m-z+t’ I-be.in hand-not-part+dyn, negative past stative, “I did not
realize that you might be near.”
=s-ŋ’a(y)-ŋy+t’ =I-say-past
nas thus
yəə-nač’(a)+k’’ós its-toe+little
a-lá the-dog, “Khmish”
ač’á its-skin
=ʃa-ʃó-y-xó-n =ch.of.st-top-he-take-pro.tense, “he quickly, impetuously
took it off”
á-bža the-half
=ʃə-ʃ(a)-ŋy+t’ =he-take-past+dyn

30. “ag’óy yówh’az arbán?”
a-g’ó-y it-and-even
=yó-w-h’a-z =him-you.masc-say-part
arbán again

31. “nártaa ag’áy’až’k’a əməx’h’i’, až’á až’a dówk’na əsəm’h’oyt’, əsəč’aš’áš’a yósh’øyt’.”
nárt-(r)aʃ Nart-race
a-g’áy’a-ž’-k’a the-deep, lazy-bad-coll
sə-mxá-h’(a)-t’ I-inadvertently-say-past
až’a but
a-až’a the-word
dówk’-nə not.much-adv
yə-só-m-h’(a)-əy+t’ it-I-not-say-past+dyn
yə-s-č’a-s’á-s’ə a it-me-from.out.of.escape-as.if
yó-s-h’(a)-əy+t’ it-I-say-past+dyn

32. “wáyəs aráx’y” yó’h’an sasrəq”a yarč’x’aw dbaanday’oyt’øyt’, yará sasrəq”a yəq’nó way’ó əwyəyəž’ətəxwaz.
w-á-y(a)-s you-it-along-cross.
ara-x(a) this.near.speaker.its-locus, “here by me”
=ya-h’a-n =he-say-pro.tense
sasrəq”a Sasruquo, postposed for emphasis
yarč’x’aw Yarchkhyaw.to, postposed for emphasis
d-b’andə-yö-y-t”-oy+t’ 3.hum-prisoner+human-he.take.possession-past+dyn
ya-rá he-pro
sasrəq”a Sasruquo
yə-q’nó him-back.to
wa+y’ō person+human
=awó-yə-žč’ə+to-x-wa-z =incredulity-he(S.)-preV+summon, invite-again-asp-
part,
for literary /=awó-žč’ə-y-tə-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’x’áw yáhš’a lzá “bnay” yóḥ’an, dəy’čáz’c’anə dəygáyt’.

yarč’x’áw Yarchkhyaw
y-áhš’a his-sister
l-ʒó her-as.goal
b-na-y you.fem-thither-go
  =yó-ŋ’a-n =he-say-pro.tense
də-y’-čó-z’-c’a-nə her-up-horse-quickly.upon-set-pro.tns, /-z’-/ is used in
  verbs of attacking to govern indirect object.
də-y-g(a)-őy+t’ 3.hum-he-take-past+dyn

34.  abáš yówọyt’ sasráq’ə.

abá+š this+adv
  =yó-w-əy+t’ =he-do-past+dyn
sasráq’ə 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.  Wnce 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.