

## The tale of Shamshut

Langue: Rutul

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- (1) *şamşuʔtʰ-du xabar*  
J.-ATTR story(A)  
'The tale of Shamshut'
- (2) *sa dünya-a-di yeşemiş ruʔqʰuʔ-nay sa qʰaʔs-di haʔmpaʔ baba*  
one world-OBL-ATTR live (M/N)be/go.IPF-PST one old-ATTR/SUPER H. grandfather  
'In this world there lived a rich old grandfather, Hampa.'
- (3) *cvaʔr cuʔxcuʔ-s yeşemiş düruʔqʰuʔ-bu*  
REFL.HPL.NOM REFL.HPL.OBL-DAT live HPL.go.IPF-SUBST.PL.NOM  
'He had three adult sons living on their own.'
- (4) *did bala-ne qʰaʔse yişi-r*  
father much-ADV old.CO M/N.be.PF-INDIC  
'His father grew very old'
- (5) *ul-a-mu maʔʔiʔfi-nay hamı gürün-ene bıʔrqʰaʔ qhişi-r*  
eye(A)-OBL-PL.SUPER weak COP-PST now round-ADV blind.predic re.be.PF-INDIC  
'and his eyes were becoming weak and then totally blind.'
- (6) *qʰaʔs-naa-ra ses havʔt-r duxraş-ıxda ci-de*  
old-OBL-ERG/IN sound(A) A.do.PF-INDIC son.PL.OBL-apud self.OBL-AD  
'The old man called his sons to him and says,'
- (7) *- ay duxra di- rix havsa-di cıgı-da yi sadaki yixhdi uʔmuʔr-de*  
- VOC son.PL HPL- go.IMPER such-ATTR place.OBL-AD I again/any\_more my life(A)-AD  
*çixhu-di*  
NEG(M).go.PF-ATTR  
'My sons, go to such a place where I have never been.'
- (8) *haka yarpax-bır yixhdi ul-a-mu lişhis ul-a-mu*  
bring.IMPER leave-SUBST.PL.NOM my eye(A)-OBL-PL.SUPER put\_on.INF eye(A)-OBL-PL.SUPER  
*işğ qhidqʰt-n badanne*  
light re.N/HPL.come.PF-msd for  
'Bring leaves to put on my eyes and let the light of my eyes return.'
- (9) *yaxşi xhur duxraş-e*  
alright quot son.PL.OBL-IN/ERG  
'The boys agreed.'

- (10) *lixhi-r alux-bır yabı-yaa q'vaxh-du duxarı-ra*  
 put.PF-INDIC pack\_saddle-SUBST.PL.NOM mare-SUPER big-ATTR son.PL.OBL-ERG/IN  
*a'ç'u'-r ri'qha'*  
 (M/N/HPL)enter.PF-INDIC road/ashes.OBL.IN  
 'The eldest son saddled his horse and set out.'
- (11) *yıdq't-r xal-a*  
 N/HPL.come/bring.PF-INDIC house-ERG/IN  
 'He plunged into a dense forest, plucked leaves from the trees and brought them home.'
- (12) *q'a's-naa-ra t'ib-t-s yı'xi'-r kelle ruvğa hav?ı-r*  
 old-OBL-ERG/IN finger(A)-OBL-DAT M/N.strike.PF-INDIC head(A) A.turn A.do.PF-INDIC  
 'The old man crushed them between his fingers and shook his head.'
- (13) *-va?yi mi-di cigı-da hele yişi-di i*  
 - no I prox-ATTR/SUPER place.OBL-AD still/yet M/N.be.PF-ATTR/SUPER COP  
 'No, I've been there.'
- (14) *xhele ri'qha' a'ç'u'-r yı'q'a'xhde-di dix*  
 then road/ashes.OBL.IN (M/N/HPL)enter.PF-INDIC middle-ATTR son  
 'Then the middle son set out.'
- (15) *yıxhı-r yıxhı-r leyıq't-r sa sıv-t-mu*  
 M.go.PF-INDIC M.go.PF-INDIC M.arrive.IPF-INDIC one mountain(A)-OBL-PL.SUPER  
*bılx-a-di yana-da*  
 spring-OBL-ATTR side.OBL/IN-AD  
 'He went to a mountain and reached a spring in the mountains.'
- (16) *mi-naa-ra bılx-a-dıgı sıt'a hı?ı-r yarpax-bır tebilqhan-bı*  
 prox-OBL-ERG/IN spring-OBL-abl gather M/N.do.PF-INDIC leave-SUBST.PL.NOM (plant)-PL.NOM  
*a'qhu'ğ'u'-r*  
 re.come.IPF-INDIC  
 'He picked leaves from beside the spring, and came back.'
- (17) *mi-naadı yarpax-mu ki xıl kiviq't-r kişi-ye-re halgı-r*  
 prox-PTCP.OBL leave-PL.SUPER ADD hand(A) A.touch.PF-INDIC man?-OBL-ERG M.talk.PF-INDIC  
 'The old man touched the leaves and said.'
- (18) *ğva-s hats'a me ay uğul*  
 2.OBL-DAT N.know.IPF Q VOC son(AZ)  
 'Do you know, son, how many times I have watered my horse in the place where you plucked these leaves from?'
- (19) *mi-bı ki va?üçürükü-d*  
 prox-PL.NOM ADD no NEG.fit.IPF-evt  
 'No, these are no good either.'

- (20) *cibir exir ri'qha<sup>ʕ</sup> a'ç'u<sup>ʕ</sup>-r en ç'irt'i bexh-di*  
 tail end(A) road/ashes.OBL.IN (M/N/HPL)enter.PF-INDIC most M/F.small other-ATTR/SUPER  
*dix şamşu't'*  
 son J.  
 'Finally, his youngest son Shamshut sets out.'
- (21) *yıxhu-r yıxhu-r mi-naa-s sa galin-di ç'alag-a*  
 M.go.PF-INDIC M.go.PF-INDIC prox-OBL-DAT one dense-ATTR/SUPER forest-ERG/IN  
*ğagva-r sa xansaray*  
 M/N.see.IPF-INDIC one palace  
 'Going and entering a thick forest, he saw a palace.'
- (22) *sa'ç'u<sup>ʕ</sup>-r süçü<sup>ʕ</sup>-r balkan-di?ıla a'ç'u<sup>ʕ</sup>-r*  
 (M/N)go\_down.PF-INDIC (M)dismount.PF-INDIC horse/shoulder-SUPEREL M/N.enter.IPF-INDIC  
*xansaray-e ara*  
 palace-IN/erinside/interval  
 'He got off his horse and went into the palace.'
- (23) *mi-naa-s ğavagva-r sa yıx-di u'le-y ğa-di lavırk'i-di isk'am*  
 prox-OBL-DAT A.see.IPF-INDIC one good-ATTR eat.IPF-PTCP be\_on-ATTR A.serve.PF-ATTR table  
 'He sees a table covered with a good dinner.'
- (24) *xhele fı'ri'xi<sup>ʕ</sup>-r sa vit-t-da güzet ha?a-s ğagva-s*  
 then (M)squeeze.PF-INDIC one corner(A)-OBL-AD wait/polish M/N.do.IPF-INF M/N.see.IPF-INF  
*şiv ru'q'u<sup>ʕ</sup>-de mide*  
 what.NOM (M/N)be/go.IPF-while/compl here  
 'Tired and hungry after the journey, Shamshut sat down, ate and drank, and then hid in a corner to see what would happen here.'
- (25) *qhurğa-r mi-bır xhib-di xvaş-di rişbiş-ii*  
 re.turn.IPF-INDIC prox-SUBST.PL.NOM three(A)-OBL nice-ATTR/SUPER girl.PL.OBL-SUPER  
 'Suddenly, three pigeons flew into the room, and then these pigeons turn into three beautiful girls.'
- (26) *mide hu'ş a'ç'u<sup>ʕ</sup>-r i-de cva'r cu'xcu<sup>ʕ</sup>-xhvan*  
 here who.NOM (M/N/HPL)enter.PF-INDIC COP-while/compl REFL.HPL.NOM REFL.HPL.OBL-with  
*dalga-r*  
 HPL.talk.IPF-INDIC  
 'Who has come in here? they say to each other.'
- (27) *ilsındı-d il a'ğ'u<sup>ʕ</sup>-r*  
 human.OBL-N breath/smell (M)go.IPF-INDIC  
 'It smells like a person.'
- (28) *sudq'u-r rişbır isk'am-a-xda*  
 HPL.sit.PF-INDIC girl.PL.NOM table-OBL-apud  
 'The girls sat at the table.'

- (29) *q'vaxh-naa-ra ne yi'q'a'xde-naa-ra ruxhu-r*  
 big-OBL-ERG/IN and following-msd/PTCP.SUPER-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-INDIC  
 'The eldest and middle girl say.'
- (30) *-yu'xçe ra'ğa'r ha'mi-d çaxır şu'ba'ş-di sağluğ-ina*  
 - we(incl).ERG drink.IPF.INDIC foc.prox-N wine sibling.PL.OBL-ATTR/SUPER health-OBL.IN  
 'We drink this drink to the health of our brothers.'
- (31) *eger qhu- çixhu-r i-ne ğagva-s yi'q'a' a'ğa'yu'ç'v*  
 if re- NEG(M).go.PF-INDIC COP-ADV M/N.see.IPF-INF middle\_back.OBL/IN M.go\_out.IMPER  
*yuxhdüş-dü gabağa*  
 our(incl)-ATTR front  
 'His little sister says: I drink here to the health of the visitor. If you haven't left, we want to see you, come before us.'
- (32) *mi-di ç'il-id un yidq't-de şamşu't-e*  
 prox-ATTR/SUPER word.OBL-ATTR sound N/HPL.come/bring.PF-when/INTERR J.-IN/ERG  
*a'ğa'ç'u'r ruxhu-r*  
 (N/HPL)go\_out.PF-INDIC IPF.say/cook-INDIC  
 'Hearing this, Shamshut came out and said.'
- (33) *hemi-di yi'i*  
 foc.prox-ATTR/SUPER M/N.COP  
 'This is me.'
- (34) *ç'irt'i rişire sine xutku-bır hu?i-naala xhala şamşu't-di*  
 M/F.small sister.ERG all N.ask.PF-SUBST.PL.NOM M/N.do.PF-PTCP.el after/above J.-ATTR  
*t'iliy-aa t'a'ba'ru'l lava?a-r*  
 finger(A)-SUPER ring(A) A.put\_on.IPF-INDIC  
 'After asking him everything, the youngest sister puts a ring on Shamshut's finger.'
- (35) *mi-naa-k kit'e ha?a-r*  
 prox-OBL-cont/sub (M/N)tie M/N.do.IPF-INDIC  
 'She instructs him.'
- (36) *-ğü yuxhdüş-dü ç'irt'i şu' ru'q'u'r hamı-dula ya'xçu'xhvan*  
 - 2 our(incl)-ATTR M/F.small brother (M/N)be/go.IPF-INDIC now-OBL.el 1pl.excl.OBL-with  
*yeşemiş yiş*  
 live M.be.IMPER  
 'From now on you are our little brother, live with us.'
- (37) *mide sa'ha'le-diile a'dğu's-di i yuxhdüş-üd çin-d*  
 here some-OBL.SUPEREL HPL.come.IPF-INF-ATTR/SUPER COP our(incl)-ATTR.N DIST-N  
*şu'ba'*  
 brother-PL  
 'In a little while, our other brothers will come.'

- (38) *cva<sup>r</sup> rı<sup>ç</sup>xhu<sup>r</sup> di- ʔi sine-bı ki dev-mar i*  
 REFL.HPL.NOM SIX.M/F HPL- COP all-PL.NOM ADD ogre-PL.NOM COP  
 ‘There are six of them, and all of them are devils.’
- (39) *ǰu dagul yiş sandux-a ara*  
 2 hidden M.be.IMPER trunk-ERG/IN inside/interval  
 ‘You hide in the chest’
- (40) *ses lamavıx çınse ǰu u<sup>le</sup>-s i havmu-ra*  
 sound(A) PROHIB.A.throw other 2 eat.IPF-INF COP DIST.PL.OBL-ERG/IN  
 ‘and don’t make a sound or they will eat you.’
- (41) *ǰarığı ara a<sup>v</sup>ç<sup>u</sup>-r*  
 around inside/interval A.enter.PF-INDIC  
 ‘Shamshut got into the chest and as soon as the girls closed the lid ???’
- (42) *- mide haka dagul yişi-di ilsan yu<sup>ç</sup>xçe u<sup>le</sup>-s*  
 - here bring.IMPER hidden M/N.be.PF-ATTR/SUPER person we(incl).ERG eat.IPF-INF  
 ‘Bring the man in hiding here, and we’ll eat him.’
- (43) *va<sup>ç</sup>-s yi ri me l<sup>l</sup>es rıga-y ruxhu-r ç<sup>ı</sup>rt<sup>i</sup> rişire*  
 2pl.OBL-DAT I F.COP Q F.eat.INF F.want.IPF-PTCP IPF.say/cook-INDIC M/F.small sister.ERG  
 ‘Little sister says: You want to eat me?’
- (44) *mide mar-di hu<sup>ş</sup>şne adiş*  
 here other.F-ATTR anybody.NOM be\_in.NEG  
 ‘There is no one else here.’
- (45) *sudq<sup>u</sup>-r isk’am-a-xda kidk<sup>i</sup>-r u<sup>le</sup>-s ra<sup>ğ</sup>ğas*  
 HPL.sit.PF-INDIC table-OBL-apud N/PL.begin.PF-INDIC eat.IPF-INF F.ask/drink.INF  
 ‘Without further discussion, the brothers sat down and started eating and drinking.’
- (46) *ç<sup>ı</sup>rt<sup>i</sup> rişire mi-mu-da ruxhu-r*  
 M/F.small sister.ERG prox-PL.OBL-AD IPF.say/cook-INDIC  
 ‘After they had eaten and drunk well, his little sister tells them.’
- (47) *- ya<sup>ç</sup>xçu<sup>ç</sup>-xda sa xa<sup>ı</sup>ş i va<sup>ç</sup>-k vı<sup>ç</sup> havad ha<sup>ı</sup>a-s i me*  
 - 1pl.excl.OBL-apud one request COP 2pl.OBL-cont/sub 2pl.ERG DIST.N M/N.do.IPF-INF COP Q  
 ‘We have a request of you, will you carry it out?’
- (48) *- yıxa i mümkün vi<sup>ı</sup>i*  
 - good.pred COP possible A.COP  
 ‘Alright, that can be done.’
- (49) *şu<sup>ı</sup>ba<sup>ş</sup>-e ruxhu-r ha<sup>ı</sup>a-s i yıx şiv*  
 sibling.PL.OBL-IN/ERG IPF.say/cook-INDIC- M/N.do.IPF-INF COP say.IMPER what.NOM  
*i-de va<sup>ç</sup>-s yıga-y*  
 COP-while/compl 2pl.OBL-DAT M/N.want.IPF-PTCP

'The brothers ask: We'll do it, what is it that you want?'

- (50) *-yanuu-xda y- uqh-ud ruxhu-y şu<sup>ʕ</sup> yi?i*  
- 1pl.incl.OBL-apud M- thick-OBL IPF.say/cook-PTCP brother M/N.COP  
'We have a seventh brother.'
- (51) *havadı yanuu-di nin-di xıdı i*  
med.H/A/OBL 1pl.incl.OBL-ATTR mother-ATTR/SUPER nephew COP  
'He is our mother's nephew.'
- (52) *nin-di rişiy-di dix i*  
mother-ATTR/SUPER sister-ATTR/SUPER son COP  
'He is the son of our mother's sister.'
- (53) *havnaa-di did bı<sup>ʕ</sup>rq'a<sup>ʕ</sup> yişi-r i*  
DIST.OBL-attrfatherblind.predicm/N.be.PF-INDIC COP  
'His father is blind.'
- (54) *mi-di yirq't-di i derman-a-xda ul-amu-di sa*  
prox-ATTR/SUPER M/F.come/bring.PF-ATTR COP medicine-OBL-apud eye(A)-PL.OBL-ATTR one  
*kümek ha?ane havnaa-s*  
help do.IPF.CV DIST.OBL-DAT  
'He came here for medicine. Please help him.'
- (55) *riş-e-re şamşu<sup>ʕ</sup>t' sandux-u-ğı aqhağ-a-r*  
girl-OBL-ERG J. trunk-OBL-abl re.send.IPF-INDIC  
'The girl takes Shamshut out of the chest.'
- (56) *dev-ma<sup>ʕ</sup>ş-e xhur-yıq'a suq'a ya-xhvan şadlux ha?*  
ogre-PL.OBL-IN/ERG quot- M/N.come/bring.IMPER sit.IMPER 1.OBL-with \*\*\* M/N.do.IMPER  
'The devils say to the boy, come celebrate with us.'
- (57) *ütkü-d huxhu-ne ya<sup>ʕ</sup>xçu<sup>ʕ</sup>-s hats'a-ş ğu-du didis*  
N.be\_right.PF-N N.say/boil.PF-cond 1pl.excl.OBL-DAT N.know.IPF-NEG 2-ATTR father.DAT  
*şiv derman yıga-de*  
what.NOM medicine M/N.want.IPF-while/compl  
'To be honest, we don't know what kind of medicine the father wants.'
- (58) *bagaa ğu sikas yuxhdiş-dü şuramu-da mad-di?il*  
tomorrow 2 send.INF our(incl)-ATTR relatives.OBL-AD other-OBL.dir???  
'Tomorrow we will send you to another place, to our relatives.'
- (59) *havmu-ra ğva-s kümek ha?a-s i*  
DIST.PL.OBL-ERG/IN 2.OBL-DAT help M/N.do.IPF-INF COP  
'They will help you.'

- (60) *yaʿkkv-aʿ-s luzu-r aʿçʻuʿ-r yabı-ya-xhvan xuʻluʻx-dü*  
dawn(A)-OBL-DAT (M)stand.PF-INDIC (M/N/HPL)enter.PF-INDIC mare-OBL-with long-ATTR  
*riʻqhaʻ*  
road/ashes.OBL.IN  
‘Shamshut spent the night among them, and in the morning he left for a long journey.’
- (61) *cibur exir mi-di leyqʻt-r sa mad-di çʻalag-a*  
tail end(A) prox-ATTR/SUPER M.arrive.PF-INDIC one other-ATTR forest-ERG/IN  
‘In the end he arrives at another forest.’
- (62) *hurugı aldaa ltʻt-d şalman-bı kid tağal-ıd ğuʻt-ıbı a-d*  
in\_front up (N)sculpt.PF-N pilar-PL.NOM basket(A) adornment-ATTR window(A)-npl be\_in-N  
‘Just like in the previous place, he sees a palace with sculpted decorations on the arches.’
- (63) *mi-di leyqʻt-r ara aʿçʻuʻ-de*  
prox-ATTR/SUPER M.arrive.IPF-INDIC inside/interval (M/N/HPL)enter.PF-when/INTERR  
*mi-naa-s ğagva-r*  
prox-OBL-DAT M/N.see.IPF-INDIC  
‘When he got here and entered, he saw.’
- (64) *sa xhidılnaa-ra raʻğ saʻyiʻrxaʻ-ıay ci-di*  
one woman.OBL-ERG/IN comb/horn N.comb.IPF-PST self.OBL-ATTR/SUPER  
*çʻar-mula*  
hair(A)-PL.OBL.SUPEREL  
‘A woman was combing her hair.’
- (65) *-ğuc şiv yikʻ huʻt-r aʿçʻuʻ-di i-de*  
- 2.ERG what.NOM heart M/N.do.PF-INDIC (M/N/HPL)enter.PF-ATTR/SUPER COP-while/compl  
*maʻara aʻ? savağt-r xhidılnaa-ra*  
here\_inside shout(A) A.let\_go.PF-INDIC woman.OBL-ERG/IN  
‘How did you dare come in here, shouts the woman.’
- (66) *-kerte xhur şamşuʻtʻ-a çınse yic ğu riqʻe raʻa-s ri*  
- F.be\_silent.adj quot J.-ERG/IN other L.ERG 2 (mf//npl)die F.do.IPF-INF F.COP  
‘Shamshut says, Shut up! Or I will kill you.’
- (67) *-heç mihman haʻmaʻşe garşilemiş haʻa-d i me*  
- not\_at\_all guest always meet M/N.do.IPF-evt COP Q  
‘Does anybody welcome guests like this?’
- (68) *ye-s xutkas yıga-y ri-nay ğva-dıgı ğu huʻş i-de*  
1.OBL-DAT ask.INF M/N.want.IPF-PTCP F.COP-PST 2.OBL-abl 2 who.NOM COP-while/compl  
‘The woman says: Sorry, I wanted to ask, who are you?’

- (69) *şamşu<sup>ʔ</sup>t<sup>ʔ</sup>-a sine ixtilat-bi ci-di derd-a-kla*  
 J.-ERG/IN all story(N)-PL.NOM self.OBL-ATTR/SUPER worry-OBL-cont/subel  
*hu<sup>ʔ</sup>t-r mi-naa-s*  
 M/N.do.PF-INDIC prox-OBL-DAT  
 ‘Shamshut tells him all his problems.’
- (70) *havmu-ra ğu yiq<sup>ʔ</sup>e ha<sup>ʔ</sup>a-s*  
 DIST.PL.OBL-ERG/IN 2 M.die M/N.do.IPF-INF  
 ‘I will ask my sons for that medicine, but they may kill you, she says.’
- (71) *havnaala ğuc balkan ç<sup>ʔ</sup>alag-a-dı galinval-a dagul va<sup>ʔ</sup>a*  
 therefore 2.ERG horse/shoulder forest-OBL-ATTR denseness-ERG/IN hidden A.do.IPF  
 ‘So hide your horse deep in the forest.’
- (72) *ğu ki sandux-a irga*  
 2 ADD trunk-ERG/IN (M)jump\_in.IMPER  
 ‘And you, get into this chest.’
- (73) *havsı ki mi-naa-ra hu<sup>ʔ</sup>t-r*  
 such ADD prox-OBL-ERG/IN M/N.do.PF-INDIC  
 ‘And so he does.’
- (74) *sa<sup>ʔ</sup>ha<sup>ʔ</sup>le-di<sup>ʔ</sup>ile kal yidq<sup>ʔ</sup>-r ri<sup>ʔ</sup>xhı<sup>ʔ</sup>b şu<sup>ʔ</sup>-ba<sup>ʔ</sup> dev-mar*  
 some-el like N/HPL.come/bring.PF-INDIC six.A brother-PL ogre-PL.NOM  
*xulka-r*  
 ask.IPF-INDIC  
 ‘After a while, six giant brothers come and ask.’
- (75) *-ey mide ilsındı-d il a<sup>ʔ</sup>ğu<sup>ʔ</sup>-r hu<sup>ʔ</sup>ş i-de*  
 - yes here human.OBL-N breath/smell (M)go.IPF-INDIC who.NOM COP-while/compl  
*havadı a<sup>ʔ</sup>ğa<sup>ʔ</sup>yu<sup>ʔ</sup>ç<sup>ʔ</sup>v xal-dı yi<sup>ʔ</sup>q<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>*  
 med.H/A/OBL M.go\_out.IMPER house-ATTR middle\_back.OBL/IN  
 ‘It smells like a man. Whoever you are, come out in the middle of the room.’
- (76) *-hu<sup>ʔ</sup>şne mide adış ruxhu-r mi-mmu-dı nin-e*  
 - anybody.NOM here be\_in.NEG IPF.say/cook-INDIC prox-PL.OBL-ATTR mother-IN/ERG  
 ‘His mother says that there is no one here.’
- (77) *-hava-duğhun va<sup>ʔ</sup>-s yıga-ne yi l<sup>ʔ</sup>l<sup>ʔ</sup>e qhı<sup>ʔ</sup>- l<sup>ʔ</sup>l<sup>ʔ</sup>e*  
 - weather(A)-quant 2pl.OBL-DAT M/N.want.IPF-ADV I F.eat.IMPER re- F.eat.IMPER  
 ‘Eat me if you want.’
- (78) *dev-maş-id mide şadlux kiyk<sup>ʔ</sup>-i-r kef ha<sup>ʔ</sup>a-s-di*  
 ogre-PL.OBL-ATTR here \*\*\* M/N.begin.IPF-INDIC pleasure M/N.do.IPF-INF-ATTR/SUPER  
*vişı-r*  
 A.be.PF-INDIC  
 ‘The devils start having fun here.’



- (79) *-ye-s vɪc sedɕuʰn yidqʰt-ʃ exi*  
 - 1.OBL-DAT 2pl.ERG anything N/HPL.come/bring.PF-NEG (M)go/bring\_in.PF  
 ‘After some time, his mother tells them: You didn’t bring me anything.’
- (80) *vaʰ-k sa minnet viʔi ye-de sa xıdıl a-ne yiʔi riʃidi dix*  
 2pl.OBL-cont/sub one request(A) A.COP 1.OBL-AD one nephew be\_in-ADV M/N.COP girl.ATTR son  
*i*  
 COP  
 ‘I have a request for you. I have a nephew, he is my sister’s son.’
- (81) *vic ki derman-a-xda ʃurɕa-r harsa-ne*  
 REFL.NOM ADD medicine-OBL-apud walk.IPF-INDIC search.IPF-ADV  
 ‘His father is blind and is looking for medicine.’
- (82) *xaʔiʃ i kümek haʔ-ne havnaa-s duxra rağzı diʃi-r*  
 request COP help M/N.do.IMPER-ADV DIST.OBL-DAT son.PL agree HPL.be.PF-INDIC  
 ‘Please help him. The sons agree.’
- (83) *dev-maʃ-e ʃamʃuʰtʰ ki kirıxa hiʔi-r cuʰdüş-dü*  
 ogre-PL.OBL-IN/ERG J. ADD (M)mix/include M/N.do.PF-INDIC their(REFL)-ATTR  
*meylis-da-k*  
 assembly-AD-cont/sub  
 ‘Their mother takes Shamshut out of the chest, and the giants invite him to their carousing.’
- (84) *vic vatsʰa-d diʃ*  
 REFL.NOM A.know.IPF-evt NEG.COP  
 ‘The brothers say: We do not know what medicine it is.’
- (85) *ʃamʃuʰtʰ-de mi-d naʰx ki leh hemide bagaa-de vıra*  
 J.-AD prox-N evening ADD throw.IMPER foc.here tomorrow-AD go.IMPER  
 ‘Stay here tonight, leave tomorrow!’
- (86) *havmu-ra tamamula ʃva-s kümek haʔa-s*  
 DIST.PL.OBL-ERG/IN totally 2.OBL-DAT help M/N.do.IPF-INF  
 ‘Six devils live a little over there. They will help you.’
- (87) *yaʰkkv-aʰ-s ci-di balkan-du-xhvan yıxhu-r*  
 dawn(A)-OBL-DAT self.OBL-ATTR/SUPER horse/shoulder-OBL-with M.go.PF-INDIC  
 ‘Shamshut spends the night among these devils, and in the morning sets out with his horse.’
- (88) *maa sa arı-dula mi-di leyqʰt-r xhibid*  
 again/you\_know one inside.OBL-OBL.el prox-ATTR/SUPER M.arrive.PF-INDIC three.N  
*ruxhu-y ʃʰalag-a*  
 IPF.say/cook-PTCP forest-ERG/IN  
 ‘After a while, he reaches a third forest.’

- (89) *maa mi-naa-s ğagva-r hemmen çine*  
again/you\_know prox-OBL-DAT M/N.see.IPF-INDIC just DIST-ADV  
*ğagu-bır kal-id xansaray*  
(M/N)see.PF-SUBST.PL.NOM like-ATTR palace  
‘He sees a palace like the other ones he has seen before.’
- (90) *ğaragva-r q’a’s-di nene kub va?ane*  
F.see.IPF-INDIC old-ATTR/SUPER grandmother prayer A.do.IPF.manner  
‘When Shamshut enters, he sees an old grandmother praying.’
- (91) *midinne ul lev-ide masal-u ğagva-r kid*  
hither eye(A) A.throw.IMPER-indef wall.OBL-SUPER M/N.see.IPF-INDIC basket(A)  
*yazu*  
inscription  
‘When he lifts his eyes, he sees a writing on the wall.’
- (92) *mi-di nene sa şamşu’t-a riq’e ra?a-s riçe-d*  
prox-ATTR/SUPER grandmother one J.-ERG/IN (mf//npl)die F.do.IPF-INF F.can.IPF-evt  
‘“Only Shamshut can kill this grandmother.”’
- (93) *hemi-di yi?i şamşu’t-a yıkka-ne a?xhvan ruxhu-r*  
foc.prox-ATTR/SUPER M/N.COP J.-ERG/IN strong.co-ADV shout(A)-with IPF.say/cook-INDIC  
*nene-s kiç’ vişi-r*  
grandmother-DAT fear(A) A.be.PF-INDIC  
‘It’s me,” Shamshut shouts. Grandma is scared and says.’
- (94) *-yiriq’e ma- ra?*  
- I (mf//npl)die PROHIB- F.do.IMPER  
‘Don’t kill me.’
- (95) *şamşu’t-a mi-di teslim qhar?ı-r saabır-a qhar?ı-r*  
J.-ERG/IN prox-ATTR/SUPER give\_up re.F.do.PF-INDIC patience-ERG/IN re.F.do.PF-INDIC  
‘Shamshut calms her and lets her go.’
- (96) *ci-d ixtilat-bı hı?ı-r hid-ıxda vic yirq’ı-di*  
self.OBL-N story(N)-PL.NOM M/N.do.PF-INDIC which-apud REFL.NOM M/F.come/bring.PF-ATTR  
*i-de*  
COP-while/compl  
‘He tells her why he came here. Grandma says,’
- (97) *-ay uğul ye-s sedşun hats’a-y diş*  
- VOC son(AZ) 1.OBL-DAT \*\*\* N.know.IPF-PTCP NEG.COP  
‘Son, I don’t know anything.’
- (98) *yaa hiddin-di taxsır ğa-diş*  
1.SUPER anything.OBL-ATTR/SUPER guilt be\_on-HPL.be.IMPER  
‘I have no fault.’

- (99) *- hamu hemide duxra dev-mar aʕguʕ-s i havmu-ra ʕu uʕle-s*  
 - now foc.here son.PL ogre-PL.NOM (M)go.IPF-INF COP DIST.PL.OBL-ERG/IN 2 eat.IPF-INF  
*i*  
 COP  
 ‘Now my sons, the devils will come here. They will eat you.’
- (100) *mi-di nin-e-re ki mi-di yigha-r sandux-a*  
 prox-ATTR/SUPER mother-OBL-ERG ADD prox-ATTR/SUPER N.drive.IPF-INDIC trunk-ERG/IN  
 ‘Grandma hides him in the chest.’
- (101) *dev-mar aʕguʕ-r xulka-r hine i-de ilsan*  
 ogre-PL.NOM (M)go.IPF-INDIC ask.IPF-INDIC- where COP-while/compl person  
 ‘The devils return and ask: Where is the man.’
- (102) *haka yuʕxçe uʕle-s*  
 bring.IMPER we(incl).ERG eat.IPF-INF  
 ‘Bring him, we will eat him.’
- (103) *nene-re ruxhu-r huʕʕne mide adiʕ*  
 grandmother-ERG IPF.say/cook-INDIC- anybody.NOM here be\_in.NEG  
 ‘Grandma says, there is no one here.’
- (104) *dev-maʕ-e çaxır-bı yıʕıʕ-naala xhala*  
 ogre-PL.OBL-IN/ERG wine-PL.NOM M/N.strike.PF-PTCP.el after/abovegrandmother-ERG  
*nene-re ruxhu-r*  
 IPF.say/cook-INDIC  
 ‘After the devils have drunk wine, the grandmother tells them.’
- (105) *hemide yırqʕ-t-r yiʕi yixhdi xıdıl sa hamise-di*  
 foc.here M/F.come/bring.PF-INDIC M/N.COP my nephew one such-ATTR/SUPER  
*derd-a-xhvan*  
 worry-OBL-with  
 ‘My nephew came here because of such trouble.’
- (106) *mi-mmu-ra ki ʕamʕuʕʕ-tʕ-u-s kıntsʕa-r çaxır ruxhu-r*  
 prox-PL.OBL-ERG/IN ADD J.-OBL-DAT feed.IPF-INDIC wine IPF.say/cook-INDIC  
 ‘They also pour wine for Shamshut and say.’
- (107) *- yaʕxçuʕ-s hatsʕar ʕu-du derd-e-d derman*  
 - 1pl.excl.OBL-DAT M/N.know.prs 2-ATTR worry-OBL-N medicine  
 ‘We know the cure for your pain.’
- (108) *havadı yiʕi aldaa suv-aa havadı cıgı-da ʕu vıra*  
 DIST.N M/N.COP up mountain(A)-SUPER med.H/A/OBL place.OBL-AD 2 go.IMPER  
*yuxhdüʕ-dü balkan-du-xhvan*  
 our(incl)-ATTR horse/shoulder-OBL-with  
 ‘That medicine is in the mountain, you go there with our horse.’

- (109) *ǰu suv-a-s beyde leyuq't-de suv q'u'ndi-xdi?il*  
 2 mountain(A)-OBL-DAT near M.arrive.IPF-while/compl mountain(A) two.OBL-direl  
*açmış vukis vi?i*  
 open A.be.INF A.COP  
 'When you reach the mountain, the mountain will split in two.'
- (110) *suv-a-di yi'q'aʃ a-ne yi?i sa aʃkkaʃ-d xansaray*  
 mountain(A)-OBL-ATTR middle\_back.OBL/IN be\_in-ADV M/N.COP one large-N palace  
 'There is a big palace in the middle of the mountain.'
- (111) *ci-di içi-ye ki a-ne vi?i bulax*  
 self.OBL-ATTR/SUPER inside/pulp-IN ADD be\_in-ADV A.COP spring  
 'And there is a spring in it.'
- (112) *ǰuc havnaa-k xul kaqhu-ne havnaa-dıgır gızil saʃtxaʃs i*  
 2.ERG DIST.OBL-cont/sub hand(A) look.PF-cond DIST.OBL-adel gold N.fall.INF COP  
 'You reach out to it, and from there gold will pour out.'
- (113) *sa ki havada a-ne vi?i gızil-e-d yarpax-bı ǰa-di xuk*  
 one ADD there be\_in-ADV A.COP gold-OBL-N leave-PL.NOM be\_on-ATTR tree(A)  
 'Also, there is a tree with golden leaves.'
- (114) *xuk-a-di q'an-t-k ajdaha savxı-r vi?i*  
 tree(A)-OBL-ATTR base-OBL-cont/sub dragon A.sleep.PF-INDIC A.COP  
 'Under the tree a dragon is asleep.'
- (115) *riʃxhdi yıǰ-a havadı savarxa-r riʃxhdi yıǰ-a*  
 six.OBL day/problem-ERG/IN med.H/A/OBL A.sleep.IPF-INDIC six.OBL day/problem-ERG/IN  
*ki kef ha?ane vu-ǰurǰa-r*  
 ADD pleasure do.IPF.CV A- walk.IPF-INDIC  
 'He sleeps for six days and spends six days carousing.'
- (116) *kaqh ajdaha lemevirk ha*  
 M.look.IMPER dragon A.wake\_up.IMPER deic/excl  
 'Beware, don't wake up the dragon!'
- (117) *levıki-ne naq'ikla havnaa-ra ǰu uʃle-s i*  
 A.wake\_up.PF-cond sleep/dream-subel DIST.OBL-ERG/IN 2 eat.IPF-INF COP  
 'If you wake him up, he will eat you.'
- (118) *şamşuʃt'a mi-mmu-ra huxhu-d kal hi?ı-r sine*  
 J.-ERG/IN prox-PL.OBL-ERG/IN N.say/boil.PF-N like M/N.do.PF-INDIC all  
 'Shamshut does as they say.'
- (119) *xuk-aala leçeqhi-r maʃsuʃx ats'va ha?a-de yan-aala sa*  
 tree(A)-SUPEREL pluck.PF-INDIC bag fill M/N.do.IPF-while/compl side-SUPEREL one  
*rak ǰagur mi-naa-s*  
 door (N)see.PF.INDIC prox-OBL-DAT

'He picks leaves from the tree and stuffs them into a bag, then he sees a door on the side.'

- (120) *rak açmiş hu?i-r şamşu't' a'ç'u?-r ara*  
 door open M/N.do.PF-INDIC J. (M/N/HPL)enter.PF-INDIC inside/interval  
 'Shamshut opens the door and enters.'
- (121) *mi-naa-s ğargu-r sa sarxı-r luruku-dı xvaş-dı riş*  
 prox-OBL-DAT F.see.PF-INDIC one F.sleep.PF-INDIC F.lie.PF-ATTR nice-ATTR girl  
 'He sees a beautiful girl lying down.'
- (122) *şamşu't'-a damam qhi-çiç'i-r mi-naa-s hu?i-r sa p'aş*  
 J.-ERG/IN patience re- NEG.(M/N)can.PF-INDIC prox-OBL-DAT M/N.do.PF-INDIC one kiss  
 'Shamshut couldn't resist, and kissed her.'
- (123) *t'iliy-aa ki t'a'ba'ru'l lav?i-r a'qhu'ç'u?-r ri'qha'*  
 finger(A)-SUPER ADD ring(A) A.put\_on.PF-INDIC (HPL)go\_out.PF-INDIC road/ashes.OBL.IN  
 'He puts his ring on her finger and leaves.'
- (124) *şamşu't' xal-a qhirq't-r gızil-e-d yarpax-bı lixhi-r*  
 J. house-ERG/IN re.F.come/bring.PF-INDIC gold-OBL-N leave-PL.NOM put.PF-INDIC  
*did-di ul-a-mu*  
 father-ATTR/SUPER eye(A)-OBL-PL.SUPER  
 'When Shamshut comes home, he puts the gold leaves on his father's eyes.'
- (125) *havnaa-xhvan mi-naadı ul-amu-s işiğ ğaqhagu-r*  
 DIST.OBL-with prox-PTCP.OBL eye(A)-PL.OBL-DAT light re.see.PF-INDIC  
 'The light comes back in his father's eyes.'
- (126) *havadı arı-da çi-ne suv-aa bat'ra-dı naq'-ikla*  
 med.H/A/OBL inside.OBL-AD DIST-ADV mountain(A)-SUPER beautiful-ATTR sleep/dream-subel  
*kiqhrixhu-r*  
 F.wake\_up.PF-INDIC  
 'Meanwhile, the beautiful girl on the mountain wakes up.'
- (127) *mi-naa-ra ajdaha ki levirka-r ruxhu-r*  
 prox-OBL-ERG/IN dragon ADD A.wake\_up.IPF-INDIC IPF.say/cook-INDIC  
 'She wakes up the dragon and says.'
- (128) *- mide hu'ş-de yirq't-r i-nay*  
 - here who.NOM-when/INTERR M/F.come/bring.PF-INDIC COP-PST  
 'Someone has come here.'
- (129) *yixhdi dan-u lişan atkı-r i vi-rix harsa havadı*  
 my cheek-SUPER aim HPL.remain.PF-INDIC COP A- go.IMPER search.IPF med.H/A/OBL  
 'I have a trace on my face. Go find him.'

- (130) - *yaxşı huxhu-r ajdaha-ye-re gabağa yic yıxane yi'xi's çaxır*  
 - alright N.say/boil.PF-INDIC dragon-OBL-ERG front I.ERG well M/N.strike.PF-INF wine  
 'Alright, says the dragon. But first I'll drink some wine.'
- (131) *la'şu'r buşka çaxır-a-d sada li?i-r ya'l-e*  
 (M/N)take.PF-INDIC cask wine-OBL-N once/suddenly (N)put\_on.PF-INDIC mouth-IN/ERG  
 'He takes the cask of wine and empties it into his mouth at once.'
- (132) *hamı surq'a yaa aldaa*  
 now F.sit.IMPER I.SUPER up  
 'To the girl he says: sit on my back now.'
- (133) *bat'ra-di surq'u-n-u-xhvan ajdaha-yaa yuk'u-r litxhu-r*  
 beautiful-ATTR F.sit.PF-msd-OBL-with dragon-SUPER M.twist.PF-INDIC N.pass.PF-INDIC  
*kağavalxu-r xa'l-e haa'pxi'r*  
 A.fly\_across.IPF-INDIC sky-IN/ERG A.flee.PF-INDIC  
 'As soon as the girl sits down, the dragon whirls up into the sky.'
- (134) *lavalxva-ne yibq'i-r şamşu't-di xal-u aldaa*  
 A.fly.IPF-ADV A.come/bring.PF-INDIC J.-ATTR/SUPER house-SUPER up  
 'The dragon flies and lands on Shamshut's house.'
- (135) *bat'ra-di mide a'vç'u'r xal-a mi-naa-da xhur*  
 beautiful-ATTR here A.enter.PF-INDIC house-ERG/IN prox-OBL-AD quot  
 'The girl comes in and tells him.'
- (136) - *igıt ğuc his yi baxtsiz har?i-r qhexi-r*  
 - brave 2.ERG why I unfortunate F.do.PF-INDIC flee.PF-INDIC  
 'Brave one, why did you kidnap me and make me unhappy?'
- (137) *hamı yi hiddini-s bakara mar-diş halı-ra yi qha-*  
 now I anything.OBL/SUPER-DAT needed other.F-HPL.be.IMPER who.OBL-ERG/IN I re-  
*ra?a-sde*  
 F.do.IPF-INF.INTERR  
 'Now I'm good for nothing. Who will marry me?'
- (138) *şamşu't-aa xhur- ğu ye-s rıq'a hamı*  
 J.-SUPER quot- 2 I.OBL-DAT F.come.IMPER now  
 'Shamshut says: Be mine, now.'
- (139) *şamşu't-di dide ki mi-di kar-du*  
 J.-ATTR/SUPER father.ERG/HPL.COP.compl ADD prox-ATTR/SUPER work-OBL.SUPER  
*darace-di-s rağzi-val vı-r*  
 stage/étape-OBL-DAT agree-msd give.PF-INDIC  
 'The girl was happy about it , and Shamshut's father gave his consent.'

(140) *hamu ki mi-mu-di ts'in-di a'yale yeşemiş vu<sup>ʕ</sup>- ru<sup>ʕ</sup>q'u<sup>ʕ</sup>-r*  
 now ADD prox-PL.OBL-ATTR new-ATTR/SUPER family(A) live A- (M/N)be/go.IPF-INDIC  
*sa-dıqı aa*  
 one-abl down/sure!  
 'Now their new family lives together.'

## Abbreviations

<b>1</b> first person	<b>IPF</b> imperfective
<b>A</b> animate	<b>M</b> masculine
<b>AD</b> ???	<b>N</b> neuter
<b>ADD</b> additive	<b>NEG</b> negative
<b>ADV</b> adverbial	<b>NOM</b> nominative
<b>ATTR</b> attributive	<b>OBL</b> oblique
<b>COP</b> copula	<b>PF</b> perfective
<b>DAT</b> dative	<b>PL</b> plural
<b>ERG</b> ergative	<b>PST</b> past
<b>HPL</b> human plural	<b>Q</b> question particle
<b>IMPER</b> ???	<b>REFL</b> reflexive
<b>IN</b> inessive	<b>SUBST</b> substantive
<b>INDIC</b> indicative	<b>SUPER</b> superessive
<b>INF</b> infinitive	<b>SUPEREL</b> superrelative
<b>INTERR</b> ???	

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