The destiny
Langue: Rutul
ID: borc1243_the_destinity
Locuteur: Qurban Seydikhanov
Chercheur: Gilles Authier

(1) *baˤl-i   kixh-id   yinçi-re   sekki-naa-da silmiş qhaʔa-s*
 forehead-SUPER write.IMPER-ATTR god.OBL-ERG any-OBL-AD   wipe   re.do.IPF-INF
 çuˤğuˤ-d
 NEG.be.IPF-evt
 'No one can erase what God has written on his forehead.'

(2) *sa i-nay ruxhu-r   sa dişnay   ruxhu-r   sa şah abbas i-nay*
 one COP-PST IPF.say/cook-INDIC one NEG.COP.PST IPF.say/cook-INDIC one king A.   COP-PST
 'There was one, one was not, there was a Shah Abbas.'

(3) *mi-naa-xda balagaa   v- i-nay   külfet düruˤq'uˤ-şnay   *(/ vuˤ-*
 prox-OBL-apud a_long_time A- COP-PST child   HPL.go.IPF-NEG.PST *** A-
 ruˤq'uˤ-şnay
 (M/N)be(go).IPF-NEG.PST
 'It had been a long time since he had a child.'

(4) *vaxd vuˤ- ruˤq'uˤ-d   mi-naa-xda xınıx ruˤq'uˤ-y*
 time(A) A-   (M/N)be(go).IPF-evt prox-OBL-apud child (M/N)be(go).IPF-PTCP
 vaxd-ı-ra   ruxhu-d   ki
 time(A)-OBL-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-evt ADD
 'When the time came and he was going to have a child, he said:'

(5) *- yi sefer-de ruˤq'uˤ-r   dix yişi-ne   ya-xda   muştuluxçiy*
 - I   travel-AD (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC son M/N.be.PF-cond 1.OBL-apud bearer_of_good_news
 sıka
 M.send.IMPER
 'I am going on a trip, if it is a boy, send me a messenger,'

(6) *riş rişi-ne   sımark   yi vic   aˤqhuˤğuˤ-ne i*
 girl F.be.PF-cond PROHIB.send I   REFL.NOM re-come.IPF-ADV COP
 'if it is a girl, don't send one, I will come myself.'

(7) *şah abbas-aa laˤşuˤ-r   ci-di   vezir ki aˤğuˤ-r   sa*
 king A.-SUPER   (M/N)take.PF-INDIC self.OBL-ATTR/SUPER vizier ADD (M)go.IPF-INDIC one
 muˤqh-aˤ
 village-loc
 'Shah Abbas takes his vizier and goes to a village.'

(8) *vezir-e-re   ruxhu-r   ki- vite yanur   filankese-de*
 vizier-OBL-ERG IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- go.HPL 1pl.incl.NOM such_and_such-AD
 atkas
 N.bring/remain.INF

'The vizier says: Let's go and stay at someone or other's house.'

(9) *şah abbas-a ruxhu-r ki- ğiyğa yic balkan sıvıkas v- i*
king A.-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- today I.ERG horse/shoulder A.send.INF A- COP
'And Shah Abbas says: Today I will release my horse.'

(10) *hal-dı ki rak-a vıxhı-de havʔımu-da arkas i*
which-ATTR ADD door-ERG/IN A.go.PF-when/INTERR air.PL.OBL-AD F.bring_in.INF COP
'Whosoever's door it goes up to, I will stay there.'

(11) *şah-a-ra balkandı-d cılav sırka-r*
king-OBL-ERG/IN horse.OBL-N bridle send.IPF-INDIC
'The king lets go of the horse's reins.'

(12) *balkan vıxhı-r nexirvan-a-dı rak-a-da luvurza-r*
horse/shoulder A.go.PF-INDIC cowherd-OBL-ATTR door-OBL-AD A.stand.IPF-INDIC
'The horse goes and stops at the door of a cowherd.'

(13) *rak yete-r*
door N.hit.IPF-INDIC
'They knock on the door.'

(14) *nexirvan aˤğaˤyçʼuˤ-r ruxhu-r- şiv xabar v- i-de*
cowherd M.go_out.PF-INDIC IPF.say/cook-INDIC- what.NOM story(A) A- COP-while/compl
'The cowherd comes out and says. - What news?'

(15) *mi-mmu-ra ruxhu-r ki- yuˤqhner ğıˤnaˤxaˤs yinçi-d*
prox-PL.OBL-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-inADD- 1pl.excl.NOM tonight god.OBL-N guest-PL
xunaxay-ar daʔ
HPL.do(IMPER)
'They say: - Make us guests of God tonight.'

(16) *nexirvan-a-ra ruxhu-r- ruˤqʼuˤ-d*
cowherd-OBL-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-INDIC- (M/N)be(go).IPF-evt
'The cowherd says, fine.'

(17) *seyvan-aa ludurka-r*
balcony-SUPER HPL.lie.IPF-INDIC
'In the evening they eat what God has provided and lie down on the balcony.'

(18) *nexirvan ki vezir ki naqʼ-i-k kiduxhu-r*
cowherd ADD vizier ADD sleep/dream-OBL-cont/sub HPL.dive.IPF-INDIC
'Both the cowherd and the vizier go to sleep.'

(19) *şah abbas-u naqʼ aˤğuˤ-ş*
king A.-SUPER sleep/dream (M)go.IPF-NEG
'Shah Abbas can't sleep.'

(20) *mi-naa-ra xacalat haʔa-r ki ya-xda huˤş yıkıs*
prox-OBL-ERG/IN shame M/N.do.IPF-INDIC ADD 1.OBL-apud who.NOM M/N.become.INF
i-de
COP-while/compl
'He thinks, what will I have [a boy or a girl]?'

(21) *cagvar-dı mıç'riy a-dı edemiy xhıdıldı a-dı xal-a*
white-ATTR beard(A) be_in-ATTR man woman.NOM be_in-ATTR house-ERG/IN
aˤç'uˤ-r haaˤrxıˤ-r
(M/N)enter.PF-INDIC F.go_away.PF-INDIC
'During the night, he sees that a man with white clothes and a white beard has entered the room where the [cowherd's] wife is.'

(22) *şah abbas-a mi-di güzet haʔa-r hagva-s mi-di*
king A.-ERG/IN prox-ATTR/SUPER wait M/N.do.IPF-INDIC see.IPF-INF prox-ATTR/SUPER
huˤş i-de
who.NOM COP-while/compl
'Shah Abbas watches him [thinking], let's see who this is?'

(23) *şah abbas-a lirgı-r mi-di yıˤq'aˤ-dıgı mi-di*
king A.-ERG/IN M/F.jump.PF-INDIC prox-ATTR/SUPER middle_back.OBL/IN-abl prox-ATTR/SUPER
faqha-r ruxhu-r
(M/N).catch.IPF-INDIC IPF.say/cook-INDIC
'When the man in white comes out a little while later, Shah Abbas jumps and grabs him from behind and says,'

(24) *- ğu huˤş-de*
- 2 who.NOM-when/INTERR
'Who are you?'

(25) *çi-naa-ra ruxhu-r- sıka yi cin v- i*
DIST-OBL-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-INDIC- M.send.IMPER I spirit(A) A- COP
'He says, Let me go, I'm a demon.'

(26) *şah-a-ra ruxhu-r- yi ki cin v- i*
king-OBL-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-INDIC- I ADD spirit(A) A- COP
'The shah says, I am also a demon.'

(27) *yixh hagva-s ğuc hem-ide şiv haʔa-y i-de*
say.IMPER see.IPF-INF 2.ERG both-indef what.NOM M/N.do.IPF-PTCP COP-while/compl
'What are you doing here?'

(28) *ruxhu-r- ğva-da hine haʔar*
IPF.say/cook-INDIC- 2.OBL-AD where (M/N)do.IPF.INDIC
'He answers, what are you doing here?'

(29) *- ğva-s çats'ı-ne yıxa i*
- 2.OBL-DAT NEG.know.PF-cond good.pred COP

3

'- It's better if you don't know.'

(30) *mi-mmu-ra   mide bala huˤcet-bı   bala haʔar*
prox-PL.OBL-ERG/IN here   much dispute-PL.NOM much (M/N)do.IPF.INDIC
'They argue a great deal.'

(31) *cubruğunda cagvar-ıd ğadbı ğa-dı   edemiy-e-re ruxhu-r   ki*
next   white-ATTR clothes be_on-ATTR man-OBL-ERG IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD
'At the end, the man in white says:'

(32) *baˤl-i   nesi-bır   kinse-y   i*
forehead-SUPER destiny-SUBST.PL.NOM write.IPF-PTCP COP
'I am the one sent by God who writes fate on the foreheads of newborn children.'

(33) *şah abbas-a xulka-r   ki- ğuc hamı hava-naa-dı baˤl-i   şiv*
king A.-ERG/IN ask.IPF-INDIC ADD- 2.ERG now   DIST-OBL-ATTR forehead-SUPER what.NOM
kixh-ide
write.IMPER-indef
'Shah Abbas says: What did you just write on that one's forehead?'

(34) *ruxhu-r-   ğva-s   çats'ı-ne   yıxa   i*
IPF.say/cook-INDIC- 2.OBL-DAT NEG.know.PF-cond good.pred COP
'He says, it's better if you don't know.'

(35) *şah abbas keyqhuˤ-r   ruxhu-r-   yixh*
king A.   ask.PF-INDIC IPF.say/cook-INDIC- say.IMPER
'Shah Abbas begs him to say it .'

(36) *çindi   edemiy-e-re ruxhu-r   ki- mi-di   nexirvan-a-xda dix*
DIST.ATTR man-OBL-ERG IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- prox-ATTR/SUPER cowherd-OBL-apud son
yişi-r   i
M/N.be.PF-INDIC COP
'The other man says: - This cowherd has been given a son.'

(37) *ğva-xda ki riş rişi-r   ri*
2.OBL-apud ADD girl F.be.PF-INDIC F.COP
'And you a daughter.'

(38) *hav-amu-dı baˤl-ii   sasinaa-s   dişi-n   kixhi-r   i*
***-PL.OBL-ATTR forehead-SUPER recip.OBL/SUPER-DAT HPL.be.PF-msd write/wrap.PF-INDIC COP
'It is written on their foreheads that they are for each other.'

(39) *edemiy havadı   ç'al huxhu-r   suqhurga-r*
man   med.H/A/OBL word(A) N.say/boil.PF-INDIC re.(M)IPF.disappear-INDIC
'Having said these words, the man disappears.'

(40) *şah abbas-u ki yaˤkkvaˤdi-i   yiq'ame naq'   aˤğuˤ-ş*
king A.-SUPER ADD dawn.OBL-SUPER until   sleep/dream (M)go.IPF-NEG

'Shah Abbas does not sleep until morning.'

(41) *yaˤkkv-aˤ-s luzdu-r xhɪv-mɪv lɪˤʔɪˤ-r nexirvan*
dawn(A)-OBL-DAT stand_up.HPL.PF-INDIC bread_and_the_rest(N) (M/N)eat.PF-INDIC cowherd
mal-dɪ-da ruˤq'uˤ-r
cattle/goods-OBL-AD (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC
'They get up in the morning and eat, and the cowherd goes off to the cattle.'

(42) *vezir ne şah abbas adarka-r xal-a*
vizier and king A. HPL.IPF.stay-INDIC house-ERG/IN
'Shah Abbas and the vizier stay at home.'

(43) *şah-a-ra vezir-e-de ruxhu-r ki- sanüşde ye-s hemise-d*
king-OBL-ERG/IN vizier-OBL-AD IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- last_night??? 1.OBL-DAT such-N
zad-bɪ ğagur
thing-PL.NOM (N)see.PF.INDIC
'The shah says to the vizier: - I saw such a thing yesterday evening.'

(44) *hamɪ yic şiv vaʔa-sde*
now I.ERG what.NOM A.do.IPF-INF.INTERR
'What am I to do now?'

(45) *vezi-re ruxhu-r ki- ğuc his fikir vaʔa-de*
A.sow/milk.PF-ERG IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- 2.ERG why thought(A) A.do.IPF-while/compl
'The vizier says, why are you pondering?'

(46) *yanuu-ce havadɪ xɪnɪx tangɪ-du-xhvan laˤşuˤ-s xhele*
1pl.incl.OBL-ERG med.H/A/OBL child money.OBL-ATTR-with (M/N)take.PF-INF then
rɪˤqhaˤ yiq'e haʔa-d
road/ashes.OBL.IN M.die M/N.do.IPF-evt
'Let us buy this child, then, on the road, we will kill him.'

(47) *mi-mmu-ra nexirvan ki güzet hɪʔɪ-r nexirvan-a-da ruxhu-d*
prox-PL.OBL-ERG/IN cowherd ADD wait M/N.do.PF-INDIC cowherd-OBL-AD IPF.say/cook-evt
ki
ADD
'They wait for the cowherd and tell him,'

(48) *- ğva-xda hemi-di dix yişi-r i ğu ki faĝır edemiy i*
- 2.OBL-apud foc.prox-ATTR/SUPER son M/N.be.PF-INDIC COP 2 ADD poor man COP
'You have a son and you are a poor man.'

(49) *havadɪ xɪnɪx yaˤxçuˤ-s yiy yi şah edemiy i*
med.H/A/OBL child 1pl.excl.OBL-DAT M/N.give.IMPER I king man COP
'Give us that child! I am the king.'

(50) *yic havadɪ şivse ki yɪga-de q'vaxha haʔa-s i*
I.ERG med.nn/OBL how ADD M/N.want.IPF-while/compl big.co M/N.do.IPF-INF COP

'I will raise it as is necessary.'

(51) *şiv   ki i-de   aaldiy saʔal mi-di   rağzı haʔar*
what.NOM ADD COP-while/compl up down prox-ATTR/SUPER agree (M/N)do.IPF.INDIC
'Somehow, in the end, he agrees to it.'

(52) *xhɪdɪlnaa-da ruxhu-r   ki- sada   xɪnɪx ǧuc*
woman.OBL-AD IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- once/suddenly child 2.ERG milk(A)-OBL-than/while
naˤk-ɪˤ-dɪqha tux   qhaʔ
satiate   re.(M/N)do.IMPER
'He says to his wife: Feed the child with milk.'

(53) *rɪˤqhaˤ   xɪnxɪ-s   gaˤşe   maˤǧv-ixh*
road/ashes.OBL.IN child.OBL-DAT hungry.predic PROHIB.be-OPT
'So that the child doesn't get hungry on the way.'

(54) *xɪnɪx tux   hɪʔɪ-r   mi-mmu-da   hɪnts'a-r*
child   satiate M/N.do.PF-INDIC prox-PL.OBL-AD N.give.IPF-INDIC
'She feeds the child and gives it to them.'

(55) *mi-mmu-ra   nexirvan-a-s sa sikey tanga-bɪ   vɪˤ-r*
prox-PL.OBL-ERG/IN cowherd-OBL-DAT one few money(A)-PL.NOM give.PF-INDIC
rɪˤqhaˤ   aˤqhdüç'uˤ-r
road/ashes.OBL.IN re.PL.enter.PF-INDIC
'They give some money to the cowherd and go on their way.'

(56) *kemne-de ledirq'a-r*
cliff-AD   HPL.arrive.IPF-INDIC
'While crossing a mountain, they reach a big rock .'

(57) *vezir-e-re   ruxhu-r   ki- şah sağ yiş-ixh   ǧu*
vizier-OBL-ERG IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- king safe M.be.IMPER-OPT 2
'The vizier says: Long live the shah,'

(58) *hemi-di   xɪnɪx hemi-dɪgɪ aa yihi-ne   sağ-ne açarka-d*
foc.prox-ATTR/SUPER child foc.prox-abl down N.throw.PF-cond safe-ADV NEG.remain.IPF-evt
'If you throw this child down from here, it will not survive.'

(59) *ütkü-r   ruxhu-r*
N.be_right.PF-INDIC IPF.say/cook-INDIC
'The shah replies: You are right.'

(60) *mi-mmu-ra   xɪnɪx kemn-aala   aa yɪxar*
prox-PL.OBL-ERG/IN child cliff.OBL-SUPEREL down N.throw.IPF-INDIC
'They throw the child down the cliff.'

(61) *ǧariy-ne sinse-r   aldara*
out.dir-ADV put_down.IPF-INDIC from_above

6

'An eagle snatches the child's swaddle in the air and drops it higher.'

(62) *ğagva-r   ki gacir-e-re   mi-di   laˤşuˤ-r*
M/N.see.IPF-INDIC ADD eagle-OBL-ERG prox-ATTR/SUPER (M/N)take.PF-INDIC
'Shah Abbasgil look down and see that it has taken the child.'

(63) *maa ruxhu-r   ki- mi-di   gacir-e-re   uˤle-s   i*
again IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- prox-ATTR/SUPER eagle-OBL-ERG eat.IPF-INF COP
'But they say: The child will be eaten by the eagle.'

(64) *yanur   qhi- vite*
1pl.incl.NOM re-   go.HPL
'Let's go.'

(65) *mi-bı   qhi- d- rix-ixh   hagva-s xınıx şivse yişi-r*
prox-PL.NOM re-   HPL- go.IMPER-OPT see.IPF-INF child how M/N.be.PF-INDIC
'Let them go; let's see how the child turned out.'

(66) *mi-di   vilayet-de sa avçi a-ne   i-nay ruxhu-r*
prox-ATTR/SUPER country-AD one hunter be_in-ADV COP-PST IPF.say/cook-INDIC
'There was a hunter in this province.'

(67) *mi-di   avçi aˤğuˤ-d   yuˤx-aˤ*
prox-ATTR/SUPER hunter (M)go.IPF-evt game-loc
'This hunter goes hunting.'

(68) *şiv   ki i-de   heyvan-mar sine-bı yexer*
what.NOM ADD COP-while/compl animal-PL.NOM all-PL.NOM M/N.flee.IPF.INDIC
'Somehow, all the animals run away.'

(69) *kaqha-sduqhun   sa ts'ih luvzu-r   mi-naa-k   kavaqhar*
M.look.IPF-after/than one goat A.stand.PF-INDIC prox-OBL-cont/sub A.look.IPF.INDIC
'He sees that a goat is standing looking at him.'

(70) *mi-naa-ra   ruxhu-r-   mi-di   şiv-di   viʔi-de*
prox-OBL-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-INDIC- prox-ATTR/SUPER what.NOM-ATTR/SUPER A.COP-AD
'He says, what is it?'

(71) *mi-naa-ra   gasdınan tüfeng keğevuruʔa-r ts'ih vexe-ş*
prox-OBL-ERG/IN qädänAZ   gun(A) A.IPF.aim-INDIC goat A.come.IPF-NEG
'He raises the rifle and aims, but the goat still does not run away.'

(72) *mi-di   avçi ts'ih-i-s   beyde ruˤq'uˤ-r*
prox-ATTR/SUPER hunter goat-OBL-DAT near (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC
'The hunter approaches the goat.'

(73) *ts'ih yavaş-ene yavaş-ene qhuˤvğuˤ-r*
goat slow-ADV   slow-ADV   re.A.be/go.IPF-INDIC

'The goat walks slowly.'

(74) *yɪxhɪ-r*   *kaqha-sduqhun* *tsʼih* *v- i-d* *cɪgɪ-da*   *sa xɪnxɪ-d* *gundax*
M.go.PF-INDIC M.look.IPF-after/than goat A- COP-evt place.OBL-AD one child.OBL-N nappies
yiʔi
M/N.COP

'He goes to the place where the goat is standing, and when he looks, he sees a swaddled child.'

(75) *xɪnɪx ki* *saxɪ-r*   *i*
child ADD (M/N)sleep.PF-INDIC COP

'The child is asleep.'

(76) *mi-naa-ra*   *gundax laʕşuʕ-r*   *xal-a*   *yexi-r*
prox-OBL-ERG/IN nappies (M/N)take.PF-INDIC house-ERG/IN M/N.run/bring.PF-INDIC

'He takes the swaddle home.'

(77) *mi-mmɪ-ra*   *mi-di*   *xɪnɪx qʼvaxha haʔar*
prox-PL.OBL-ERG/IN prox-ATTR/SUPER child big.co (M/N)do.IPF-INDIC

'They raise this child.'

(78) *sa* *qʼvaʕd sen liyxhu-r*   *xɪnɪx aʕkkaʕ kal ruʕqʼuʕ-r*   *xvaş-di*
one two.N   year N.pass.PF-INDIC child large   like (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC nice-ATTR/SUPER
xɪnɪx ruʕqʼuʕ-r
child (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC

'One or two years pass, and the child grows well and becomes a beautiful child.'

(79) *mi-naa-d un- tur*   *bütün* *maʕhaʕl-de eğeyxhu-r*
prox-OBL-N sound- spoon(A)/name whole(AZ) area-AD   N.spread_out.IPF-INDIC

'Everyone in the village loves him, his name spreads throughout the county.'

(80) *mi-dɪ*   *ki* *şah abbas-ɪ-s un*   *aʕğuʕ-r*
prox-ATTR ADD king A.-OBL-DAT sound (M)go.IPF-INDIC

'And Shah Abbas hears about this.'

(81) *- vite kadaqha-s*   *hagva-s havadɪ*   *xɪnɪx şiv-di*
- go.HPL HPL.look.IPF-INF see.IPF-INF med.nn/OBL child what.NOM-ATTR/SUPER
i-de
COP-while/compl

'He says to his vizier: let's go and see what kind of child he is.'

(82) *xulka-ne xulka-ne yidqʼɪ-r*   *ledirqʼa-r*
ask.IPF-ADV ask.IPF-ADV N/HPL.come/bring.PF-INDIC HPL.arrive.IPF-INDIC

'They go, asking around, and they arrive.'

(83) *vezir-e-s*   *xɪnɪx ğagu-de*   *yaʕqh kiyxhu-r*
vizier-OBL-DAT child (M/N)see.PF-when/INTERR laughter go_down.PF-INDIC

'Upon seeing the child, the vizier bursts into laughter.'

(84) *şah-a-ra*   *ruxhu-r-*   *ğuc hidi*   *yaʕqh haʔar*
king-OBL-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-INDIC- 2.ERG what.OBL/SUPER laughter (M/N)do.IPF.INDIC

'The shah asks, what are you laughing at?'

(85) *vezir-e-re*   *ruxhu-r*   *çinse ruxhu-r*
vizier-OBL-ERG IPF.say/cook-INDIC other IPF.say/cook-INDIC

'The vizier replies: Nothing.'

(86) *- çuˤğuˤ-d*   *ütkü-d*   *yixh*   *ğuc hidi*   *yaˤqh haʔa-nay*
- NEG.be.IPF-evt N.be_right.PF-N say.IMPER 2.ERG what.OBL/SUPER laughter M/N.do.IPF-PST

'It is not possible, what are you laughing at?'

(87) *- şah sağ yiş-ixh*   *yic huxhu-naa*   *ğu inaamiş yıkıs*
- king safe M.be.IMPER-OPT I.ERG N.say/boil.PF-PTCP.SUPER 2 believe M/N.become.INF
diş
NEG.COP

'The vizier says: Long live the shah, you will not believe what I will say.'

(88) *hem-ide xınıx yanuu-ce*   *nesde kemn-aala*   *yihi-di*   *xınıx*
both-indef child 1pl.incl.OBL-ERG before cliff.OBL-SUPEREL N.throw.PF-ATTR/SUPER child

'This child is the one we threw from the rock.'

(89) *laˤşuˤ-s*   *xhele rıˤqhaˤ*   *kadaqha-s*   *di*
(M/N)take.PF-INF then road/ashes.OBL.IN HPL.look.IPF-INF HPL.COP

'Let's buy him, and later on the journey we'll see what to do.'

(90) *şiv*   *ki i-de*   *mide avçi-ye-s*   *tanga gızil vıˤ-r*   *xınıx*
what.NOM ADD COP-while/compl here hunter-OBL-DAT money(A) gold give.PF-INDIC child
maa masa laˤyşuˤ-r
again sell M/N.take.IPF-INDIC

'Somehow, they buy this child, giving money and gold to the hunter.'

(91) *qhuˤdğuˤ-r*   *sehra-de*
re.HPL.be/go.IPF-INDIC desert-AD

'They go out into the desert.'

(92) *ruxhu-r*
IPF.say/cook-INDIC

'When they reached the desert, there was a deep well there.'

(93) *xınıx mi-mmu-ra*   *mi-di*   *guy-e*   *axa-r*
child prox-PL.OBL-ERG/IN prox-ATTR/SUPER well(A)-IN/ERG (M/N)throw_down/IN.IPF-INDIC

'They throw the child into the well.'

(94) *cvaˤr*   *ket-di*   *qhuˤdğuˤ-r*
REFL.HPL.NOM quiet-ATTR/SUPER re.HPL.be/go.IPF-INDIC

9

'And they go back quietly.'

(95) *vaxd   vuˁ- ruˁq'uˁ-r   mide sa   karvan aˁvğuˁ-r*
time(A) A-   (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC here   one caravan A.come.IPF-INDIC
'It is the time when a caravan is coming by here.'

(96) *mi cıgı-da   xhid-di   guy-a-dı   ziy-aa*
prox place.OBL-AD water.OBL-ATTR/SUPER well(A)-OBL-ATTR border(A)-SUPER
adakas-dı   vuˁ- ruˁq'uˁ-r
HPL.remain.INF-ATTR A-   (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC
'Here, beside the well, they have a camp.'

(97) *karvan-a-dı   q'vaxh-naa-ra çadır-madırbı sırıˁxıˁ-r   q'vaˁr*
caravan-OBL-ATTR big-OBL-ERG/IN   ***   strike_down.IPF-INDIC two.M/F
xhid-ı-xda   sıdırka-r
water.OBL-OBL-apud HPL.send.IPF-INDIC
'The leader of the caravan sets up the tents, and sends two people for water.'

(98) *qhu- ruʔa-r   aldiy*
re-   draw.IPF-INDIC up
'They go and put the bucket in the water and pull it up.'

(99) *mi-d q'uˁnaa-d guc   ğet'i-ş   vedre aqhduʔas*
prox-N two.OBL-N   strength (N)be_enough.PF-NEG pail   N.pull_out.INF
'These two people are not strong enough to pull the bucket.'

(100) *qhidq'ı-r   karvan-a-dı   q'vaxh-naa-da ruxhu-r   ki*
re.N/HPL.come.PF-INDIC caravan-OBL-ATTR big-OBL-AD   IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD
'They come and tell the leader of the caravan,'

(101) *- yüxhdüxh-üd guc   ğet'i-ş*
- our(excl)-ATTR.N strength (N)be_enough.PF-NEG
'We did not have the strength.'

(102) *hats'aş   vedrid-e   şiv   ayts'u-r*
N.know.IPF.NEG pail.OBL-IN/ERG what.NOM M.be_full.PF-INDIC
'We don't know what's in the bucket.'

(103) *mi-bı   sıt'a dişi-r   aˁdğuˁ-r   guy-a-dı   yuq'l-uu*
prox-PL.NOM gather HPL.be.PF-INDIC HPL.come.IPF-INDIC well(A)-OBL-ATTR head.OBL-SUPER
ruxhu-r
IPF.say/cook-INDIC
'They gather and come to the well. The leader says:'

(104) *- hava-dıgı yanuu-ce   guc   hıʔı-r   vedre eqhruʔa-r*
- DIST-abl   1pl.incl.OBL-ERG strength M/N.do.PF-INDIC pail   pull_out.IPF-INDIC
'We will pull the bucket out of there.'

(105) *gızil tanga iğipxhu-ne vuˤxçe kval vaʔa vaˤ-s viş-ixh*
gold money(A) A.slip_out.PF-cond 2pl.ERG divide A.do.IPF 2pl.OBL-DAT A.be(IMPER)-OPT
'If money and gold comes out, share it, let it be yours.'

(106) *- insan yişi-ne ye-s yiş-ixh yic dixval-a*
- person M/N.be.PF-cond 1.OBL-DAT M.be.IMPER-OPT I.ERG sonhood-ERG/IN
rişval-a laˤşuˤ-s i
daughterhood-ERG/IN (M/N)take.PF-INF COP
'If there is a person, let it be mine, I will take it as a son or daughter.'

(107) *vedre guc hıʔı-r eqhruʔa-r*
pail strength M/N.do.PF-INDIC pull_out.IPF-INDIC
'They pull the bucket out.'

(108) *kadaqh-ar ara sa xvaş-di cavan xınıx a-ne i*
HPL.look.IMPER-PL inside/interval one nice-ATTR/SUPER young child be_in-ADV COP
'They see that there is a beautiful young child inside.'

(109) *karvan-a-dı q'vaxh-naa-ra ruxhu-r- mi-di ye-s*
caravan-OBL-ATTR big-OBL-ERG/inipf.say/cook-INDIC- prox-ATTR/SUPER 1.OBL-DAT son
dix yiş-ixh
M.be.IMPER-OPT
'The leader of the caravan says: He should be my son.'

(110) *yaˤkkv-aˤ-s luqhuzdu-r çadır-madırbı sıt'a qhaʔar*
dawn(A)-OBL-DAT re.HPL.stand_up.PF-INDIC *** gather re(N).do.IPF.INDIC
'They get up in the morning, pack up the tents'

(111) *aˤqhdüç'uˤ-r rıˤqhaˤ*
re.PL.enter.PF-INDIC road/ashes.OBL.IN
'and leave.'

(112) *xal-a leqhdıq'ı-r xel-bı saqhağa-r*
house-ERG/IN re.HPL.reach.PF-INDIC burden-PL.NOM re(M).let_go.IPF-INDIC
'They reach home and set down their loads.'

(113) *mi-di xınıx yıkı-r xal-a hürmet vaʔar*
prox-ATTR/SUPER child M.send.PF-INDIC house-ERG/IN honour(A) A.do.IPF.INDIC
'Taking this child home he shows him great respect.'

(114) *alver-e-s xaˤr haʔar*
business-OBL-DAT teach (M/N)do.IPF.INDIC
'After a few days, he takes the child to his shop and teaches him to buy and sell.'

(115) *xınxı-k kadaqh-ar tukan-aala alver haʔar*
child.OBL-cont/sub HPL.look.IMPER-PL shop-SUPEREL business (M/N)do.IPF.INDIC
'Because of the child's beauty, the whole community comes to look at the child, buying there.'

(116) *laˤçuˤʂuˤ-s-di-naa-ra*   *ki tukan-aala ʂivxhur*
(M/N)NEG.take.PF-DAT-OBL-PTCP.SUPER-ERG/IN ADD shop-SUPEREL something
laˤyʂuˤ-r
M/N.take.IPF-INDIC
'Even those who did not intend to buy would come and buy something from the shop.'

(117) *mi-di*   *tacir-e-d*   *kar yɪxane ruˤq'uˤ-r*
prox-ATTR/SUPER merchant-OBL-N work well   (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC
'The merchant's business is successful.'

(118) *xɪnɪx tukan-a saġɪ-n-aala*   *xhala alver sikey ki yɪxa*
child shop-ERG/IN put_on/tie.PF-msd-SUPEREL after/above business few   ADD good.pred
ruˤq'uˤ-r
(M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC
'But after the boy is brought to the shop, trade goes even better.'

(119) *sikey gaa*   *xhud-ɪ*   *yits'-dɪ sɪda mi-di*   *xɪnɪx mide işlemiş*
few   time(A)/maybe five.N-SUPER ten-ATTR year.IN prox-ATTR/SUPER child here working
ruˤq'uˤ-r
(M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC
'The child worked there for five to ten years.'

(120) *bütün*   *dünüüdü-ü*   *un- tur*   *iğiyxhu-r*
whole(AZ) world.OBL-SUPER sound- spoon(A)/name M.end_up.PF-INDIC
'His name became famous all over the world.'

(121) *mi-d un*   *maa şah abbas-ɪ-s un*   *aˤğuˤ-r*
prox-N sound again king A.-OBL-DAT sound (M)go.IPF-INDIC
'Again Shah Abbas hears this.'

(122) *vezir-e-de ruxhu-r*   *ki *:- vite kadaqha-s*
vizier-OBL-AD IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD ***- go.HPL HPL.look.IPF-INF
'He says to his vizier: let's go and see.'

(123) *sindi-re havadɪ*   *gada yirze-r*
all-ERG med.nn/OBL boy M.praise.IPF-INDIC
'Everyone praises him.'

(124) *mi-bɪ*   *rɪˤqhaˤ*   *aˤdüç'uˤ-r*   *yidq'ɪ-r*
prox-PL.NOM road/ashes.OBL.IN HPL.enter.IPF-INDIC N/HPL.come/bring.PF-INDIC
ledirq'a-r   *tacir-e-di*   *xal-a*
HPL.arrive.IPF-INDIC merchant-OBL-ATTR/SUPER house-ERG/IN
'They leave, and they reach the merchant's house.'

(125) *xvaşbeş-aala*   *xhala mi-mmɪ-ra*   *ruxhu-r*   *ki*
small_talk-SUPEREL after/above prox-PL.OBL-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD

'After exchanging salutations, they say:'

(126)   - *havadı*   *xınıx hine i-de*   *sinmu-ra*   *yirze-r*
       - med.ʜ/ᴀ/ᴏʙʟ child   where ᴄᴏᴘ-while/compl all.ᴘʟ.ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ/ɪɴ ᴍ.praise.ɪᴘꜰ-ɪɴᴅɪᴄ
       '"Where is that child? Everyone praises him."'

(127)   *ruxhu-r-*   *tukan-a hamı un*   *qhaʔa-s*   *sudq'a*   *vuʕqhner*
       ɪᴘꜰ.say/cook-ɪɴᴅɪᴄ- shop-ᴇʀɢ/ɪɴ now   sound re.do.ɪᴘꜰ-ɪɴꜰ ʜᴘʟ.sit.ɪᴍᴘᴇʀ 2ᴘʟ.ɴᴏᴍ
       'He is in the shop, I will call him now, you sit down, he says.'

(128)   *insan sırka-r*   *xınıx aʕqhuʕğuʕ-r*   *rak-ıgı aʕqhuʕç'uʕ-de*
       person send.ɪᴘꜰ-ɪɴᴅɪᴄ child   re.come.ɪᴘꜰ-ɪɴᴅɪᴄ door-el   (ʜᴘʟ)go_out.ᴘꜰ-when/ɪɴᴛᴇʀʀ
       vezir-e-s   *yaʕqh*   *kiyxhu-r*
       vizier-ᴏʙʟ-ᴅᴀᴛ laughter go_down.ᴘꜰ-ɪɴᴅɪᴄ
       'A man is sent and comes back with the child, and when they enter the door the vizier starts laughing.'

(129)   *şah vezir-e-di*   *xhesim-a-k*   *kaqhar*
       king vizier-ᴏʙʟ-ᴀᴛᴛʀ/sᴜᴘᴇʀ face-ᴏʙʟ-cont/sub ᴍ.look.ɪᴘꜰ.ɪɴᴅɪᴄ
       'The shah looks at the vizier's face'

(130)   *şah-a-ra*   *ruxhu-r-*   *şiv*   *yişi-r*
       king-ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ/ɪɴ ɪᴘꜰ.say/cook-ɪɴᴅɪᴄ- what.ɴᴏᴍ ᴍ/ɴ.be.ᴘꜰ-ɪɴᴅɪᴄ
       'and says: What's going on?'

(131)   *vezir-e-re*   *ruxhu-r*   *ki şah-a-dı*   *ubra*
       vizier-ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ ɪᴘꜰ.say/cook-ɪɴᴅɪᴄ ᴀᴅᴅ king-ᴏʙʟ-ᴀᴛᴛʀ ear.ɪɴ
       'The vizier says in the shah's ear:'

(132)   - *hami-di*   *gada yanuu-ce*   *guy-e*   *ehi-di*   *gada i*
       - foc.ᴘʀᴏx-ᴏʙʟ boy   1ᴘʟ.incl.ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ well(ᴀ)-ɪɴ/ᴇʀɢ throw_in.ᴘꜰ-ᴀᴛᴛʀ/sᴜᴘᴇʀ boy   ᴄᴏᴘ
       'This boy is the one that was dropped in the well.'

(133)   - *hamı*   *şiv*   *haʔar*
       - now   what.ɴᴏᴍ (ᴍ/ɴ)do.ɪᴘꜰ.ɪɴᴅɪᴄ
       'Shah says: What should we do now?'

(134)   *ham-ıdı yanuu-da*   *yiq'e haʔa-s*   *yiç'i-ş*
       also-ᴏʙʟ   1ᴘʟ.incl.ᴏʙʟ-ᴀᴅ ᴍ.die ᴍ/ɴ.do.ɪᴘꜰ-ɪɴꜰ ɴ.can.ᴘꜰ-ɴᴇɢ
       'We have not been able to kill him.'

(135)   *vezir-e-re*   *ruxhu-r*   *ki*
       vizier-ᴏʙʟ-ᴇʀɢ ɪᴘꜰ.say/cook-ɪɴᴅɪᴄ ᴀᴅᴅ
       'The vizier says:'

(136)   *mi-naa-dı*   *kelle*   *yıʕx-ixh*
       ᴘʀᴏx-ᴏʙʟ-ᴀᴛᴛʀ head(ᴀ) ᴍ/ɴ.shoot.ɪᴍᴘᴇʀ-ᴏᴘᴛ

'Write a letter with your golden pen and let's send the boy with it, and as soon as he arrives in our district, let the Black Vizier strike his head [from his body].'

(137) *şah rağzı ruˤq'uˤ-r   mexhtub kinse-r   tacir-e-de*
king agree (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC message   write.IPF-INDIC merchant-OBL-AD
ruxhu-r   ki
IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD

'The king agrees, writes the letter, and says to the merchant:'

(138) *- ye-s   yik'-iile   iqhlidxhu-d   zad   i*
- 1.OBL-DAT heart-SUPEREL N.slip_down.PF-N thing COP

'- I forgot something.'

(139) *yixhdi vezir-e-de   vıˤ-r   qhiq'a-yyixh*
my   vizier-OBL-AD give.PF-INDIC re.come.IMPER-OPT

'Let this boy go with my horse and give this letter to my vizier and return.'

(140) *tacir-e-re   ruxhu-r   ki- ruˤq'uˤ-d   vıra-yyixh*
merchant-OBL-ERG IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- (M/N)be(go).IPF-evt go.IMPER-OPT

'The merchant says, Alright let him go.'

(141) *gada luˤçuˤ-r   balkan-dı   ruˤq'uˤ-r*
boy   mount.PF-INDIC horse/shoulder-OBL.SUPER (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC

'The boy rides a horse.'

(142) *yıxhı-r   leyirq'a-r   sa bağ-a-dı   ziy-aa   hapxı-dı*
M.go.PF-INDIC M.arrive.IPF-INDIC one tie/garden-OBL-ATTR border(A)-SUPER A.be_high.PF-ATTR
hesire-de
fence(A)-AD

'He goes to the edge of a garden, to a high fence.'

(143) *süçuˤ-r   balkan-dıla   ğarıgıruğur bağ-a-d   rak*
(M)dismount.PF-INDIC horse/shoulder-OBL.el around   tie/garden-OBL-N door
harsa-r   rak fayʔırʔa-ş
search.IPF-INDIC door M.find.IPF-NEG

'He gets off his horse and wanders around, looking for the gate of the garden, but does not find it.'

(144) *sa teher-di-re hesiraala   lirga-r*
one level-OBL-ERG fence.SUPEREL M/F.jump.IPF-INDIC

'He manages to jump over the fence.'

(145) *yıxhı-r   havuz-a-dıgır xhed   raˤğaˤr*
M.go.PF-INDIC pool-OBL-adel   water.NOM drink.IPF.INDIC

'He goes and drinks water from the pool.'

(146) *bağ-a   ğurğa-r   kaqhar   bağ   xvaş-ıd bağ   i*
tie/garden-ERG/IN walk.IPF-INDIC M.look.IPF.INDIC tie/garden nice-ATTR tie/garden COP

'He walks in the garden and sees that it is a beautiful garden.'

(147) *qhirq'ı-r*   *havuz-a-dı ziy-aa*   *suyuq'ı-r*
re.F.come/bring.PF-INDIC pool-OBL-ATTR border(A)-SUPER M.sit.IPF-INDIC
'He comes back and sits down by the pool.'

(148) *mi-di*   *mide neq'i-k*   *kiyxhu-r*
prox-ATTR/SUPER here   sleep.OBL-cont/sub go_down.PF-INDIC
'The boy falls asleep here.'

(149) *abbas-dı riş mi-di*   *bağ-a*   *ruğurğa-s aˤrğuˤ-r*   *haˤr*
A.-ATTR   girl prox-ATTR/SUPER tie/garden-ERG/IN F.turn.IPF-INF F.go.IPF-INDIC every
yığ-a
day/problem-ERG/IN
'Let him sleep here; now let's hear about the king's daughter.'

(150) *mi-di*   *tek-ne*   *aˤrğuˤ-s-di*   *vuˤ- ruˤq'uˤ-r*
prox-ATTR/SUPER alone-ADV F.go.IPF-INF-ATTR/SUPER A-   (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC
bağ-a
tie/garden-ERG/IN
'That day, the maids of the daughter of Shah Abbas fall ill, and she is the only one to come to the garden.'

(151) *sa xvaş-di*   *gada havuz-a-d ziy-aa*   *saxı-r*   *i*
one nice-ATTR/SUPER boy   pool-OBL-ATTR border-SUPER (M/N)sleep.PF-INDIC COP
'She comes alone to the garden and sees a handsome boy sleeping by the pool.'

(152) *gultux-a*   *sa mexhtub a-ne*   *i*
bosom-ERG/IN one message be_in-ADV COP
'And he has a letter in his bosom.'

(153) *riş-e-re*   *aˤğaˤşuˤ-r*   *mexhtub q'aliy*   *haʔar*
girl-OBL-ERG (M/N)take_out.PF-INDIC message   count/read M/N.do.IPF.INDIC
'The girl takes out the letter and reads it.'

(154) *karaqhar ci-di*   *dide*   *kixhi-d*   *mexhtub i*
F.look.PRS self.OBL-ATTR/SUPER father.ERG write/wrap.PF-ATTR message   COP
'She sees that this letter is written by his father.'

(155) *kelle*   *yıˤvx*
head(A) A.strike.IMPER
'It is written to the vizier: Cut off the head of this boy as soon as he reaches you.'

(156) *riş-e-s*   *mi-di*   *gade-yaa ul*   *sivuxhu-r*
girl-OBL-DAT prox-ATTR/SUPER boy-SUPER eye(A) A.fall.IPF-INDIC
'The girl falls in love with this boy.'

(157) *vic   kerti-r   qhuˤrǧuˤ-r*
REFL.NOM F.be_silent.PF-INDIC re.turn.IPF-INDIC
'There, she wrote a letter with a golden pen like her father's pen, put it in the boy's pocket and left.'

(158) *mexhtub vezir-e-de   hınts'a-r*
message   vizier-OBL-AD N.give.IPF-INDIC
'He gives the letter to the vizier.'

(159) *vezir-e-re   mexhtub q'aliy   haʔar*
vizier-OBL-ERG message   count/read M/N.do.IPF-INDIC
'The vizier reads the letter.'

(160) *yixhdi riş-a-xhvan hemi-naa-s   davat vaʔa*
my   girl-OBL-with foc.prox-OBL-DAT wedding A.do.IPF
'It is written that this boy should marry my daughter as soon as he gets there.'

(161) *vezir-e-re   mexhtub sur   qhaa-s   yıga-de   gada-ye-re*
vizier-OBL-ERG message   half/direction re.do.IPF-INF M/N.want.IPF-while/compl boy-OBL-ERG
ruxhu-r
IPF.say/cook-INDIC
'When the vizier tries to tear up the letter, the boy says:'

(162) *- sur   qha- maʔ   qhirq'ı-de   ci-s*
- half/direction re-   PROHIB.do re.F.come/bring.PF-when/interrself.OBL-DAT M/N.see.IPF
ǧagva   haʔ
M/N.do.IMPER
'Don't tear it! When the shah comes back, show it to him.'

(163) *şiv   ki ide mi-naa-s   davat vaʔar*
what.NOM ADD indef prox-OBL-DAT wedding A.do.IPF.INDIC
'Somehow , they get married.'

(164) *şah abbas q'uˤndi xhud-du yıǧ-aala   aˤqhuˤǧuˤ-r*
king A.   two.OBL five.N-ATTR day-SUPEREL re-come.IPF-INDIC
'Shah Abbas comes back after a few days.'

(165) *saray-e-di   darvaza mi-dıgı gada-ye-d   laşag qhı- yixi-r*
palace-OBL-ATTR/SUPER gate   prox-abl boy-OBL-ATTR corpse re- carry.PF-INDIC
yıkıs   i
M/N.become.INF COP
'When he approaches the palace, he thinks to himself that the boy's body must be hanging from the palace gate.'

(166) *fikir-line   aˤqhuˤǧuˤ-r*
thought(A)-*** re-come.IPF-INDIC
'He returns full of thoughts.'

16

(167) *sine xvaş geldi-ye-s   hidirka-r*
all   nice ***-OBL-dathpl.run.IPF-INDIC
'When the people heard that Shah Abbas was coming, everyone ran to welcome him.'

(168) *riş-e-re   gada-ye-de ruxhu-r   ki- yıx-ıd kar diş ğu ki gabağa*
girl-OBL-ERG boy-OBL-AD IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- good-ATTR work NEG.COP 2   ADD front
vıra
go.IMPER
'The girl tells the boy, it's not a good thing, you go ahead of me.'

(169) *vezir-e-s   ya⁊qh kiyxhu-r*
vizier-OBL-DAT laughter go_down.PF-INDIC
'And the boy goes. When the vizier sees the boy in the crowd, he starts laughing again.'

(170) *şah-a-ra   ruxhu-r   ki- maa hi-du   ya⁊qh*
king-OBL-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- again throw.PF-OBL.SUPER laughter
ha⁊ar
(M/N)do.IPF.INDIC
'The shah asks: What are you laughing at again?'

(171) *ruxhu-r-   gada sağ i*
IPF.say/cook-INDIC- boy   safe COP
'The vizier replies that the boy is alive.'

(172) *şah abbas-ı-s qha⁊l la⁊vu⁊ç'u⁊-r*
king A.-OBL-DAT anger(A) A.climb.IPF-INDIC
'Shah Abbas is angry.'

(173) *ir-id   ğadbı lı⁊ı-r   taxtıdı-ı   suyuq'u-r*
red-ATTR clothes (N)put_on.PF-INDIC throne.OBL-SUPER M.sit.IPF-INDIC
'He dresses in red clothes and sits on the throne.'

(174) *yidq'ı-r   sine zad ütke ha⁊ar*
N/HPL.come/bring.PF-INDIC all   thing N.made M/N.do.IPF.INDIC
'They come and build everything.'

(175) *amır vınts'a-r   ki garavezir qhiyixa haa-yyixh*
order(A) A.give.IPF-INDIC ADD vizier   N.hang M/N.do.IPF-OPT
'He orders them to execute the Black Vizier.'

(176) *garavezir-e-re ruxhu-r-   yixhdi taxsır şiv   v- i-de*
vizier-OBL-ERG IPF.say/cook-indi- my   guilt   what.NOM A- COP-while/compl
'The Black Vizier says: What is my fault?'

(177) *şah abbas-a ruxhu-r   ki- yixhdi amır   yerine yetirmiş havʔı-r*
king A.-ERG/IN IPF.say/cook-INDIC ADD- my   order(A) in_place bring A.do.PF-INDIC
diş
NEG.COP
'Shah Abbas says: You did not execute my order.'

(178) *ruxhu-r-   şiv   amır   v- i-de*
IPF.say/cook-INDIC- what.NOM order(A) A- COP-while/compl
'He asks what is the order?'

(179) *gada-ye-di   kelle yıˤvx*
boy-OBL-ATTR/SUPER head(A) A.strike.IMPER
'I wrote you a letter to strike the boy's head off as soon as he reached you.'

(180) *ğuc şiv   ki kixhi-r   ide yic havadı hıʔı-r   i*
2.ERG what.NOM ADD write/wrap.PF-INDIC indef I.ERG med.nn/OBL M/N.do.PF-INDIC COP
'"I did what you wrote."'

(181) *laˤşuˤ-r   şah abbas-a mexhtub q'aliy   haʔar*
(M/N)take.PF-INDIC king A.-ERG/IN message   count/read M/N.do.IPF.INDIC
'Shah Abbas takes the letter and reads it.'

(182) *leyq'ı-n-ı-xhvan   davat   vaʔa*
M.arrive.PF-msd-OBL-with wedding(A) A.do.IPF
'He sees that, just as the Black Vizier said, he was to organize the wedding as
soon as he arrived.'

(183) *hava-dıgı vezir sıqhırka-r   gada-ye-s ki mecbur ruˤq'uˤ-r   riş*
DIST-abl   vizier re.let_go.IPF-INDIC boy-OBL-DAT ADD forced   (M/N)be(go).IPF-INDIC girl
rınts'a-r
F.give.IPF-INDIC
'He releases the vizier and is forced to give the girl to the boy.'

(184) *ts'in-ene davat   qhavaʔ-ar*
new-ADV   wedding re.A.do.IMPER-PL
'They are married again.'

Abbreviations

1 first person	**COP** copula
A animate	**DAT** dative
AD ???	**DIST** distal
ADD additive	**ERG** ergative
ADV adverbial	**F** feminine
ATTR attributive	**GEN** genitive

18

H human
HPL human plural
IMPER ???
IN inessive
INDIC indicative
INF infinitive
INTERR ???
IPF imperfective
M masculine
N neuter
NEG negative

NOM nominative
OBL oblique
OPT optative
PF perfective
PL plural
PST past
PTCP participle
Q question particle
REFL reflexive
SUPER superessive
SUPEREL superelative

Formatting: Jesse Wichers Schreur