

Xubua V: Fortune Seeker

Bediš magoru

1.1
 ordə arti gač'irebuli k'oči
 or -d -ə art -i gač'irebul -i k'oč -i
 or -d₁ -u₁ art -i₁ gač'irebul -i₁ k'oč -i₁
 be EM S3SG.PST one NOM fallen into hardship NOM man NOM

There was one poor man.

1.2
 dus tit iimendendu , namuda irpeli
 du -s ti -t i- imend -en -d -u , namda irpel -i
 dud₂ -s₁ ti₁ -t₂ i-₈ imend₂ -en₁ -d₁ -u₁ namuda irpel -i₁
 REFL DAT DEM.DIST INS APPL.CENTRIP hope SM EM S3SG.PST CMPL everything NOM

, mut k'očiši dudiša kore ginuliri do
 mu =t k'oč -iš =i dud -ša ko- r -e gin- ul -ir -i do
 mu(n)₁ =t k'oč -iš₁ =i dud₂ -iša₁ ko- or -e(n)₁ gino- wl -ir₁ -i₁ do₁
 self = man GEN =EV REFL ALL AFF be SM.INACT PRV go PTC NOM and

ginmaluni , arža muši bediše renia
 gin- ma- l -u =ni arža mu -ši bed -iše r -en =i =a
 gino- ma- u wl ma- u =ni arža mu(n)₁ -iš₂ bed₁ -iše(n) or -e(n)₁ =i =a
 PRV PTC go PTC =CMPL all self GEN destiny EL be SM.INACT =EV =QUOTE

He hoped that everything that has happened and would happen to a man, all was from his fortune [, he thought].

1.3
 uyudə te imendi
 u- γ -u -d -ə te imend -i
 u-₁ γw -u(n)₁ -d₁ -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** imend₁ -i₁
 APPL have.INANM SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST DEM.PROX hope NOM

te k'os do ordə
 te k'o -s do or -d -ə
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -s₁ do₁ or -d₁ -u₁
 DEM.PROX man DAT and be EM S3SG.PST

This man had this hope and lived this way (lit. was).

1.4
 muč'o muk'ortə dro do xankən teši , uareso
 muč'o muk'o- rt -ə dro do xan -k =ə =n teš =i uares -o(t)
 muč'o mik'o- rt₁ -u₁ dro do₁ xan -k₁ =i =ni teš =i uares -o(t)
 how PRV go S3SG.PST time and time ERG =EV =CMPL so =EV worse ADV

meurs te k'očiši sakme
 me- ur -s te k'oč -iš =i sakme
 me- wl -s₂ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -iš₁ =i sakme
 PRV go S3SG DEM.PROX man GEN =EV deal

As time and the tide passed, the this man's business is going worse.

1.5
 ginoč'q'vid , namuda ok'o midapreve čkimi
 gino- č'q'vid namda ok'o mida- p- rt -e =v =e čkim -i
 gino- č'q'vid namuda ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF mida- v- rt₁ -e₂ =v =e₃ čkim₁ -i₂
 PRV decide CMPL MOD PRV S1 go OPT =EC =QUOTE+CMPL my SV

bediš ogoruša do kop'k'itxeve - mužamiša
 bed -iš o- gor -u -ša do ko- p'- k'itx -e =v =e mužam -iša
 bed₁ -iš₁ o- -ša gor -u₃ o- -ša do₁ ko- v- k'itx₁ -e₂ =v =e₃ mužam -iša₁
 destiny GEN SUP find AUG SUP and AFF S1 ask OPT =EC =QUOTE+CMPL when ALL

mac'valens tašia ?
 m- a- c'val -en -s taš =i =a
 m-₂ a-₃ c'val -en₁ -s₂ taš =i =a
 DO1 FACT torture SM S3SG this way =EV =QUOTE

He decided: I should go to search my fortune and ask: Until when will it (i.e. my life) torture me this way? [he decided.]

2.1
 ginil do midart
 gin- i- l -[u] do mida- rt -[u]
 gino- i-₆ wl -u₁ do₁ mida- rt₁ -u₁
 PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST and PRV go S3SG.PST

He went out and headed off.

2.2
 meurs šaras te k'oči
 me- ur -s šara -s te k'oč -i
 me- wl -s₂ šara -s₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -i₁
 PRV go S3SG road DAT DEM.PROX man NOM

The man is going down the road.

2.3
 kešexvad art gerk
 ke- še- xvad -[u] art ger -k
 ko- še- xvad₁ -u₁ art ger -k₁
 AFF PRV meet S3SG.PST one wolf ERG

He met a wolf.

3.1 te geri kigeɽucu art dixas do
te ger -i ki- ge- ɽuc -u art dixa -s do
e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** ger -i₁ ko- ge- ɽuc -u(n)₁ art dixa -s₁ do₁
DEM.PROX wolf NOM AFF PRV squat SM.INACT one soil DAT and

iriato koɽurans
iriato ko- ɽur -an -s
iriarto+POS. VAR. OF ko- ɽur -an₁ -s₂
all the time AFF howl SM S3SG

This wolf is squatted in one place and constantly howling.

3.2 mik'ulu ate mazurzulars k'očk do
mik'- u- l -u ate ma- zurzul -ar -s k'oč -k do
mik'o- u-₁ wl -u₁ e+*** ma- ar zurzul ma- ar -s₁ k'oč -k₁ do₁
PRV APPL go S3SG.PST DEM.PROX PTC sob loudly PTC DAT man ERG and

ok'o višo ula , eperi boržis gerk
ok'o višo ul -a e -per -i borž -i -s ger -k
ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF višo wl -a₂ e -per -i₂ borž -i₂ -s₁ ger -k₁
MOD thither go MSD DEM.PROX of kind SV time SV DAT wolf ERG

uc'u: :
u- c' -u:
u-₁ c'₁ -u₁
APPL tell S3SG.PST

The man passed by this howling [wolf] and wanted to go that way, that time the wolf told [him]:

4 - so meurk sia !
so me- ur -k si =a
sod me- wl -k₂ si =a
where PRV go S1/2SG you.SG =QUOT

Where are you going? [the wolf asked.]

5 - ma so meurkə-da , čkimi bediš
ma so me- [v]- ur -k =ə =da čkim -i bed -iš
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF sod me- v- wl -k₂ =i =da čkim₁ -i₂ bed₁ -iš₁
I where PRV S1 go S1/2SG =EV =COND my SV destiny GEN

ogoruša urkia
o- gor -u -ša [v]- ur -k =i =a
o- u₂ gor o- u₂ -iša₁ v- wl -k₂ =i =a
SUP find SUP ALL S1 go S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

Where am I going? Why? I am going to seek my fortune [, he said].

6 meč p'asuxi bediš magorali k'očk
me- č p'asux -i bed -iš ma- gor -al -i k'oč -k
me- č₁ p'asux -i₁ bed₁ -iš₁ ma- al gor ma- al -i₂ k'oč -k₁
PRV give answer NOM destiny GEN PTC find PTC SV man ERG

The fortune-seeking man replied.

7 - yorondgie : skani ambe kok'itxen uk'uli
yorondgie sk'an -i ambe ko- k'itx -e =ni uk'ul =i
yorondgie skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ ambe ko- k'itx₁ -e₂ =ni uk'ul =i
Heavens your.SG NOM story AFF ask OPT =CMPL later =EV

komik'itxi , mu moskiliduans čkimi
ko- m- i- k'itx -i mu m- o- sk'ilid -u -an -s čkim -i
ko- m- i-₁ k'itx₁ -i₃ mu(n)₂ m- o- u₁ skilad+DIAL. VAR. OF o- u₁ -an₁ -s₂ čkim₁ -i₂
AFF IO1 APPL ask IMP either... or... IO1 CAUS remain CAUS SM S3SG my SV

k'ibiriši č'uaševe ?
k'ibir -iš =i č'ua -še =v =e
k'ibir -iš₁ =i č'ua -iše(n) =v =e₃
tooth GEN =EV pain EL =EC =QUOT+CMPL

Heavens! Before telling me your problems, first ask me (about what bothers me), what will cure me from my toothache?
[the wolf asked.]

8.1 - 3alami žgiria , uc'u: k'očk
3alam =i žgir -i =a u- c' -u: k'oč -k
3alam =i žgir₁ -i₁ =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ k'oč -k₁
very =EV good NOM =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST man ERG

Very good, the man told the wolf.

8.2 mik'ulu do meurs muši šaraša
mik'- u- l -u do me- ur -s mu -ši šara -ša
mik'o- u-₁ wl -u₁ do₁ me- wl -s₂ c'₁ mu(n)₁ -iš₂ šara -iša₁
PRV APPL go S3SG.PST and PRV go S3SG self GEN road ALL

He passed (the wolf) by and is going his way.

9 arti dixas kigere arti k'oči
art -i dixa -s ki- ge- r -e art -i k'oč -i
art -i₁ dixa -s₁ ko- ge- or -e(n)₁ art -i₁ k'oč -i₁
one NOM soil DAT AFF Specific Localisation and/or Orientation be SM.INACT one NOM man NOM

do iriato koc'uxens
do iriato ko- c'ux -en -s
do₁ iriarto+POS. VAR. OF ko- c'ux -en₁ -s₂
and all the time AFF worry SM S3SG

At one place there stands a man and is constantly expressing his frustration.

10.1 kimert te mošare k'očk
 ki- me- rt -[u] te me- šar -e k'očk -k
 ko- me- rt₁ -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** mo- e₃ šara mo- e₃ k'očk -k₁
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST DEM.PROX QPTC road QPTC man ERG

The traveling man went to him.

10.2 gamaržoba , gumoržgua , uc'is artians
 gamaržoba gumoržgua u- c' -is artian -s
 gamaržoba gumoržgua u₁ c'₁ -es artian -s₁
 hello hello APPL tell S3PL.PST one another DAT

"Hello", "hello to you, too", they told each other.

11.1 - morova , mušeni re si
 moro =v =a mušen =i r -e si
 moro =v =a mušen =i or -e(n)₁ si
 c'mon =EC =QUOT why =EV be SM.INACT you.SG

tezomaša c'uxenkie ?
 te -zoma -ša c'ux -en -k =i =e
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** -zoma -iša₁ c'ux -en₁ -k₂ =i =e₃
 DEM.PROX much ALL worry SM S1/2SG =EV =QUOT+CMPL

But why is it that you are worried to this extent? [he asked.]

11.2 k'itxu mešarek
 k'itx -u me- šar -e -k
 k'itx₁ -u₁ me- e šara me- e -k₁
 ask S3SG.PST QPTC road QPTC ERG

The traveler asked.

12.1 - mu oreniada varc'q'eko
 mu or -en =i =a =da va= r- c'q' -e -k =o
 mu(n)₂ or -e(n)₁ =i =a =da va= r₁ c'q'₁ -e(n)₁ -k₂ =o₂
 either... or... be SM.INACT =EV =QUOT =EMPH NEG= IO2 see SM.INACT S1/2SG =QST

ate ginoč'vili dixasia ?
 ate gino- č'v -il -i dixa -s =i =a
 e+*** gino- č'v₁ -il₁ -i₂ dixa -s₁ =i =a
 DEM.PROX PRV burn PTC SV soil DAT =EV =QUOT

What is it? Why? Can't you see that burnt down ground? [he asked.]

12.2 ir c'anas pxačkunk tak simins do vara šxva mutuns
 ir c'ana -s p- xačk -un -k tak simin -s do vara šxva mutun -s
 ir c'ana -s₁ v- xačk -un -k₂ tak simind -s₁ do₁ vara šxva mutun -s₁
 entire year DAT S1 hoe SM S1/2SG here corn DAT and either other anything DAT

I hoe here maize and other things every year.

12.3 geurs žgiro , mirdu žalams , mara muč'o
 ge- ur -s žgiro m- i- rd -u žalams mara muč'o
 ge- wl -s₂ žgiro mo- i-₅ rd -u(n)₁ žalams₂ mara₁ muč'o
 PRV go S3SG well PRV DECAUS grow SM.INACT very much but how

ginirtu ḡvana ot'axalo do
 gino- i- rt -u ḡvana o- t'ax -al -o(t) do
 gino- i-₅ rt₁ -u₁ ḡvana o- -al₁ t'ax₁ o- -al₁ -o(t) do₁
 PRV DECAUS go S3SG.PST field SUP.NOUN pick up SUP.NOUN ADV and

oč'k'iralove , dačxiri
 o- č'k'ir -al -o =v =e dačxir -i
 o- -al₁ č'k'ir o- -al₁ -o(t) =v =e₃ dačxir -i₁
 SUP.NOUN cut SUP.NOUN ADV =EC =QUOT+CMPL fire NOM

gurčkindu vališi mamalas do arto
 g- u- rčkin -d -u val -iš =i ma- mal -a -s do arto
 go-₁ u-₁ rčkin -d₂ -u₁ val₂ -iš₁ =i ma- -a₃ mal ma- -a₃ -s₁ do₁ arto
 PRV APPL appear INCH S3SG.PST lightning GEN =EV ABSTR quick ABSTR DAT and together

gegniluržunia
 ge- gn- i- lurž -un =i =a
 ga-₁ gino- i-₅ lurž -u(n)₁ =i =a
 PRF PRV DECAUS burn down SM.INACT =EV =QUOT

It will grow well, it will grow up fairly well, but whenever the cornfield is ready to be harvested and the straw is going to be cut, the fire will arise with a speed of lightning and turn into dust and ashes [, he said.]

13 inaryə te mešare k'očkit
 i- nary -ə te me- šar -e k'očk -k =i =t
 i-₁ nary -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** me- e šara me- e k'očk -k₁ =i =t
 NON-PRS feel sorry S3SG.PST DEM.PROX QPTC road QPTC man ERG =EV =ADD

, mara mu maxvarine !
 mara mu m- a- xvar -in -e
 mara₁ mu(n)₂ me- a- -e(n) xvar₁ -in₁ a- -e(n)
 but either... or... PRV POT help AUG POT

The traveling man felt sorry for him (i.e. this man), but how can he help him?

14 - si so meurkia , k'itxu mešares
 si so me- ur -k =i =a k'itx -u me- šar -e -s
 si sod me- wl -k₂ =i =a k'itx₁ -u₁ me- e šara me- e -s₁
 you.SG where PRV go S1/2SG =EV =QUOT ask S3SG.PST QPTC road QPTC DAT

ḡvanaš minžek
 ḡvana -š minže -k
 ḡvana -iš₂ minže -k₁
 field GEN owner ERG

Where are you going? the owner of the cornfield asked the traveler.

15.1 – ma meurk čkim bediš
 ma me- [v]- ur -k čkim -[i] bed -iš
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF me- v- wl -k₂ čkim₁ -i₁ bed₁ -iš₁
 I PRV S1 go S1/2SG my NOM destiny GEN

ogorušava , uc'u: mešarek
 o- gor -u -ša =v =a u- c' -u: me- šar -e -k
 o- -u₂ gor o- -u₂ -iša₁ =v =a u-₁ c' -u₁ me- -e šara me- -e -k₁
 SUP find SUP ALL =EC =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST QPTC road QPTC ERG

I am going to seek my fortune, told him the traveler.

15.2 – skani bediša komik'itxi , muč'o užgu
 sk'an -i bed -iša ko- m- i- k'itx -i muč'o užgu
 skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₂ bed₁ -iša₁ ko- m-₁ i-₁ k'itx₁ -i₃ muč'o užgu
 your.SG SV destiny ALL AFF IO1 APPL ask IMP how better

čkimi ?
 čkim -i ?vanaši sakmesie
 čkim₁ -i₂ ?vana -iš₂ sakme -s₁ =i =e₃
 my SV field GEN deal DAT =EV =QUOT+CMPL

Please ask your fortune for me, what is better for my cornfield business? [he asked.]

15.3 txu ate k'očk
 tx -u ate k'oč -k
 tx₁ -u₁ e+*** k'oč -k₁
 request S3SG.PST DEM.PROX man ERG

This man asked.

16.1 – žalami žgiria , uc'u: mešarek
 žalam =i žgir -i =a u- c' -u: me- šar -e -k
 žalam =i žgir₁ -i₁ =a u-₁ c' -u₁ me- -e šara me- -e -k₁
 very =EV good NOM =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST QPTC road QPTC ERG

Very good, told him he traveler.

16.2 – irpels kop'k'itxenkia do ašonas
 irpel -s ko- p' - k'itx -en -k =i =a do ašonas
 irpel -s₁ ko- v- k'itx₁ -en₁ -k₂ =i =a do₁ ašonas
 everything DAT AFF S1 ask SM S1/2SG =EV =QUOT and on the way back

koic'inkia
 ko- [g]- i- c' -in -k =i =a
 ko- g₁ i-₁ c' -in₁ -k₂ =i =a
 AFF IO2 APPL tell AUG S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

will ask everything, he said, and tell you on my way back [, he said].

17.1 midart mešarek muši šaraša
 mida- rt -[u] me- šar -e -k mu -ši šara -ša
 mida- rt₁ -u₁ me- -e šara me- -e -k₁ mu(n)₁ -iš₂ šara -iša₁
 PRV go S3SG.PST QPTC road QPTC ERG self GEN road ALL

The traveler went his way.

17.2 meurs , meursəni , kəmaškiren žalamk
 me- ur -s me- ur -s =ə =ni kə- m- a- škiren -[u] žalam -k
 me- wl -s₂ me- wl -s₂ =i =ni ko- mo- o-₉ škiren -u₁ žalam -k₁
 PRV go S3SG PRV go S3SG =EV =CMPL AFF PRV APPL get hungry S3SG.PST very ERG

He goes and, as he is going, he suddenly became very hungry.

17.3 arti žgiri ožaxiša kimert
 art -i žgir -i ožax -iša ki- me- rt -[u]
 art -i₂ žgir₁ -i₂ ožax -iša₁ ko- me- rt₁ -u₁
 one SV good SV family ALL AFF PRV go S3SG.PST

He reached one good family (house).

17.4 minil dinaxale
 min- i- l -[u] dinaxale
 mino-₁ i-₆ wl -u₁ dinaxale
 PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST inside

He went inside.

18 – ak'a oč'k'omali kopčitia , tku
 ak'a oč'k'omal -i ko- p- č -i -t =i =a tk -u
 ak'a oč'k'omal -i₁ ko- m-₁ č₃ -i₃ -t₁ =i =a tkw -u₁
 one food NOM AFF IO1 feed IMP PL =EV =QUOT say S3SG.PST

kumuyes oč'k'omali do kočes
 ku- m- u- γ -es oč'k'omal -i do ko- č -es
 ko- mo- u-₁ γw -es oč'k'omal -i₁ do₁ ko- č₃ -es
 AFF PRV APPL bring.INANM S3PL.PST food NOM and AFF feed S3PL.PST

Well, bring me the meal(s), he said; they brought him the meal(s) and fed him.

19 – mušeni re , težgura žgiri ožaxis
 mušen =i r -e te
 mušen =i or -e(n)₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** -žgura žgir -i ožax -i -s
 why =EV be SM.INACT DEM.PROX of kind good SV family SV DAT

k'ata č'ič'e dinorenie ?
 k'ata č'ič'e dino- r -en =i =e
 k'ata č'ič'e dino- or -e(n)₁ =i =e₃
 people little PRV be SM.INACT =EV =QUOT+CMPL

Why is it that such a good family has (so) few people? [he asked.]

20 ik'itx mešarek
i- k'itx -[u] me- šar -e -k
i-₁ k'itx₁ -u₁ me- -e šara me- -e -k₁
NON-PRS ask S3SG.PST QPTC road QPTC ERG

The traveler asked.

21 – k'ata ak breli orena , mara osurskua ḡuns
k'ata ak brel -i or -en -a mara osur skua ḡun -s
k'ata ak brel -i₁ or -e(n)₁ -a(n) mara₁ osur skua ḡun₁ -s₂
people here much NOM be SM.INACT PL but woman child have.ANM S3SG

te ožaxiši učašis lexi , mu yoles
te e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** ožax -iš =i učaš -i -s lex -i mu yol -es
DEM.PROX ožax -iš₁ =i učaš -i₂ -s₁ lex -i₁ mu(n)₂ yol -es
family GEN =EV older SV DAT ill NOM either... or... do S3PL.PST

so vedes , soni c'amali muyes
so v= id -es so -n =i c'amal -i m- u- ḡ -es
sod va= id -es sod -n₁ =i c'amal -i₁ mo- u-₁ yw -es
where NEG= go S3PL.PST where EL =EV medicine NOM PRV APPL bring.INANM S3PL.PST

marā mutuni vare iši moxvareva
marā mutun -i va= r -e i -ši mo- xvar -e =v =a
marā₁ mutun -i₁ va= or -e(n)₁ i -iš₂ mo- -e₂ xvar₁ mo- -e₂ =v =a
but anything NOM NEG= be SM.INACT DEM.DIST GEN PTC help PTC =EC =QUOT

There are many people here, but the head of the family has his daughter ill, whatever they had done to her, wherever they have gone to, what sort of medicine they had brought to her, but nothing helps her [they said].

22 – kumožirit ma ti tkvani
ku- m- o- žir -i -t ma ti tkvan -i
ko- m-₁ o-₁ žir -i₃ -t₁ ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** tkvan -i₁
AFF IO1 CAUS see IMP PL I DEM.DIST your.PL NOM

lexi žyabia , tku mešarek
lex -i žyab -i =a tk -u me- šar -e -k
lex -i₁ žyab -i₁ =a tkw -u₁ me- -e šara me- -e -k₁
ill NOM girl NOM =QUOT say S3SG.PST QPTC road QPTC ERG

Let me have a look at that ill girl of yours, said the traveler.

23 midəʔones do kažires lexi žyabi
mid- e- ḡon -es do k- a- žir -es lex -i žyab -i
mida- i-₈ ḡon₁+FR. VAR. OF -es do₁ ko- o-₁ žir -es lex -i₁ žyab -i₁
PRV APPL.CENTRIP take.ANM S3PL.PST and AFF CAUS see S3PL.PST ill NOM girl NOM

They took him (to her) and showed him the ill girl.

24 k'itxes mešares :
k'itx -es me- šar -e -s
k'itx₁ -es me- -e šara me- -e -s₁
ask S3PL.PST QPTC road QPTC DAT

They asked the traveler:

25.1 – soni k'oči rek si ?
so -n -i k'oč -i r -e -k si
sod -n₁ -i₁ k'oč -i₁ or -e(n)₁ -k₂ si
where EL NOM man NOM be SM.INACT S1/2SG you.SG

Where are you from?

25.2 so meurk , mu sakmešava ?
so me- ur -k mu sakme -ša =v =a
sod me- wl -k₂ mu(n)₂ sakme -iša₁ =v =a
where PRV go S1/2SG either... or... deal ALL =EC =QUOT

Where are you going, what business do you have (lit. to what business)? [they asked.]

26.1 maḡun mešarek do irpeli arto
m- a- ḡun me- šar -e -k do irpel -i arto
me- a-₇ ḡun₁ me- -e šara me- -e -k₁ do₁ irpel -i₁ arto
PRV APPL begin QPTC road QPTC ERG and everything NOM together

kiču: dudiše bološa
k- i- č -u: dud -iše bolo -ša
ko- i-₈ č₂ -u₁ dud₂ -iše(n) bolo -iša₁
AFF APPL.CENTRIP narrate S3SG.PST REFL about end ALL

The traveler started and spoke everything from the beginning to the end.

26.2 – ataši rdu čkimi sakme , atašia do ase
ataši r -d -u čkim -i sakme ataši =a do ase
ataši or -d₁ -u₁ čkim₁ -i₁ sakme ataši =a do₁ ase
this way be EM S3SG.PST my NOM deal this way =QUOT and now

meurk čkimi bediš ogorušani tena
me- [v]- ur -k čkim -i bed -iš o- gor -u -ša =ni tena
me- v- wl -k₁ čkim₁ -i₂ bed₁ -iš₁ o- -u₂ gor o- -u₂ -iša₁ =ni e+***
PRV S1 go ERG my SV destiny GEN SUP find SUP ALL =CMPL DEM.PROX

renia
r -en =i =a
or -en₁ =i =a
be SM =EV =QUOT

That's how my business was, he said, and now I am going to seek my fortune, this is it [, he said].

27 da:bolu: mešarek
 d- a:- bol -u: me- šar -e -k
 do-+POS. VAR. OF o-₁₀ bol -u₁ me- -e šara me- -e -k₁
 PRV FACT finish S3SG.PST QPTC road QPTC ERG

The traveler finished.

28 – 3yabiši mumak kešexvec' mešares , namuda , -
 3yab -iš =i muma -k ke- še- xvec' -[u] me- šar -e -s namda
 3yab -iš₁ =i muma -k₁ ko- še- xvec' -u₁ me- -e šara me- -e -s₁ namuda
 girl GEN =EV father ERG AFF PRV swear S3SG.PST QPTC road QPTC DAT CMPL

mužansəti skani bedi ko3ire ,
 mužans =ə =ti sk'an -i bed -i ko- 3ir -e
 mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF =i =ti skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ bed₁ -i₁ ko- 3ir -e₅
 when =EV =REL your.SG NOM destiny NOM AFF see OPT+CMPL

te lexis mut
 te lex -i -s mu =t
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** lex -i₂ -s₁ mu(n)₁ =t
 DEM.PROX ill SV DAT self =

oskiliduansəni tina komik'itxi do
 o- sk'ilid -u -an -s =ə =ni tina ko- m- i- k'itx -i do
 o-₁ skilad+DIAL. VAR. OF -u₃ -an₁ -s₂ =i =ni i+*** ko- m-₁ i-₁ k'itx₁ -i₃ do₁
 CAUS remain AUG SM S3SG =EV =CMPL DEM.DIST AFF IO1 APPL ask IMP and

ašonas muk'omleva
 ašonas muk'o- m- l -e =v =a
 ašonas mik'o- m-₁ wl -e₃ =v =a
 on the way back PRV IO1 go IMP =EC =QUOT

The girl's father begged the traveler: When you find your fortune, also ask it, what will heal my ill girl (lit. this ill), visit me when you are on your way back [, he said.]

29.1 – ko p'at'onیا , uc'u: , bediši magoralk
 ko p'at'on -i =a u- c' -u: bed -iš =i ma- gor -al -k
 ko p'at'on -i₂ =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ bed₁ -iš₁ =i ma- -al gor ma- -al -k₁
 yes master SV =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST destiny GEN =EV PTC find PTC ERG

Yes, sir, the fortune-seeker told him.

29.2 ginilə do midartə muši šaraša
 gin- i- l -ə do mida- rt -ə mu -ši šara -ša
 gino- i-₆ wl -u₁ do₁ mida- rt₁ -u₁ mu(n)₁ -iš₂ šara -iša₁
 PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST and PRV go S3SG.PST self GEN road ALL

He went out and went his way.

30.1 idə breli : amudya idə , č'ume idə : bolos
 id -ə brel =i amudya id -ə č'ume id -ə bolos
 id -u₁ brel =i amudya id -u₁ č'uman id -u₁ bolos
 go S3SG.PST much =EV today go S3SG.PST tomorrow go S3SG.PST at last

kimiodirtə zyvas
 ki- mi- o- dirt -ə zyva -s
 ko- me- o-₉ dirt₂ -u₁ zyva -s₁
 AFF PRV APPL reach S3SG.PST sea DAT

He kept on going long (lit. much): he kept on going today, he kept on going tomorrow; at last, he reached a sea.

30.2 zyva dyas vou3iru te k'os
 zyva dyas vo= u- 3ir -u te k'o -s
 zyva dyas va= u- -u(n)₁ 3ir u- -u(n)₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -s₁
 sea never NEG= PERF see PERF DEM.PROX man DAT

This man has never seen a sea (before).

30.3 gi3inə mara , mutuni va3irə
 g- i- 3in -ə mara mutun -i va= 3ir -ə
 go-₂ i-₈ 3in -u₁ mara₁ mutun -i₁ va= 3ir -u₁
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP look S3SG.PST but anything NOM NEG= see S3SG.PST

mik'-mik'i
 mik' mik' =i
 mik' mik' =i
 around around =EV

He looked (around), but he did not see anything around.

30.4 kimert
 ki- me- rt -[u]
 ko- me- rt₁ -u₁
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST

He went (closer).

30.5 c'q'ariši p'i3išani , arti k'oči kiglurs višo -
 c'q'ar -iš =i p'i3 -iša =ni art -i k'oč -i ki- gl- ur -s višo
 c'q'ar -iš₁ =i p'i3 -iša₁ =ni art -i₁ k'oč -i₁ ko- gila- wl -s₂ višo
 water GEN =EV bank ALL =CMPL one NOM man NOM AFF PRV go S3SG thither

ašo do moyula k'et'is kala?apuans xes
 ašo do mo- yul -a k'et' -i -s k- a la?ap -u -an -s xe -s
 ašo do₁ mo- -a yul mo- -a k'et' -i₂ -s₁ ko- o- -u₁ la?ap o- -u₁ -an₁ -s₂ xe -s₁
 hither and PTC bend PTC stick SV DAT AFF CAUS play CAUS SM S3SG hand DAT

On the sea shore, (he saw that) a man is strolling there and back and playing around with a bent stick in his hand.

30.6 kimertu bediš magoru k'očk do gamaržobava
 ki- me- rt -u bed -iš ma- gor -u k'oč -k do gamaržoba =v =a
 ko- me- rt₁ -u₁ bed₁ -iš₁ ma- -u gor ma- -u k'oč -k₁ do₁ gamaržoba =v =a
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST destiny GEN PTC find PTC man ERG and hello =EC =QUOT

uc'u:
 u- c' -u:
 u-₁ c'₁ -u₁
 APPL tell S3SG.PST

The fortune-seeking man went (closer to him) and said hello to him.

31 yorontk gogimoržgvasia uc'u: e
 yoront -k go- g- i- moržgv -a -s =i =a u- c' -u: e
 yoront -k₁ go-₁ g-₁ i-₁ moržgv -a₁ -s₂ =i =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ e
 God ERG PRV IO2 APPL be victorious OPT S3SG =EV =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST DEM.PROX

k'očk
 k'oč -k
 k'oč -k₁
 man ERG

God give you blessing, told him this man.

32 - sole mortia - k'itx doxvaduni
 so -le mo- rt -i =a k'itx -[u] do- xvad -u =ni
 sod -le mo- rt₁ -i₄ =a k'itx₁ -u₁ do- xvad₁ -u₁ =ni
 where MOT PRV go PST.IND =QUOT ask S3SG.PST PRV meet S3SG.PST =CMPL

te k'očk
 te k'oč -k
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -k₁
 DEM.PROX man ERG

Where have you come from, asked the man who has met him.

33 - atašie čkimi sakme do atašia
 ataš =i [r] -e čkim -i sakme do ataš =i =a
 ataš =i or -e(n)₁ čkim₁ -i₁ sakme do₁ ataš =i =a
 this way =EV be SM.INACT my NOM deal and this way =EV =QUOT
 keču: bediši magorali k'očk irpeli
 k- e- č -u: bed -iš =i ma- gor -al -i k'oč -k irpel -i
 ko- e-₁ č₂ -u₁ bed₁ -iš₁ =i ma- -al gor ma- -al -i₂ k'oč -k₁ irpel -i₁
 AFF APPL narrate S3SG.PST destiny GEN =EV PTC find PTC SV man ERG everything NOM

dudiše bološa
 dud -iše bološa
 dud₂ -iše(n) bološa
 REFL about entirely

My business is so and so, the traveler told him everything from the beginning to the end.

34 - met'i mu giyu oragadeva
 met' -i mu g- i- γ -u o- ragad -e =v =a
 met' -i₁ mu(n)₂ g-₁ i-₁ γw -u(n)₁ o- -e₂ ragad o- -e₂ =v =a
 more NOM either... or... IO2 APPL have.INANM SM.INACT SUP talk SUP =EC =QUOT

k'itxu zyvas ek'orduni ti k'očk
 k'itx -u zyva -s ek'o- -r -d -u =ni ti k'oč -k
 k'itx₁ -u₁ zyva -s₁ ek'o- or -d₁ -u₁ =ni i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -k₁
 ask S3SG.PST sea DAT PRV be EM S3SG.PST =CMPL DEM.DIST man ERG

What else do you have to say, asked the man who was standing on the sea shore.

35 maγun bediš magoral k'očk do kuc'u:
 m- a- γun bed -iš ma- gor -al k'oč -k do k- u- c' -u:
 me- a-₇ γun₁ bed₁ -iš₁ ma- -al gor ma- -al k'oč -k₁ do₁ ko- u-₁ c'₁ -u₁
 PRV APPL begin destiny GEN PTC find PTC man ERG and AFF APPL tell S3SG.PST

geriši načina γvanaši minžeši naragadu
 ger -iš =i na- čin -a γvana -ši minže -ši na- ragad -u
 ger -iš₁ =i na- -a čin₁ na- -a γvana -iš₂ minže -iš₂ na- -u ragad na- -u
 wolf GEN =EV EVID.PTC know EVID.PTC field GEN owner GEN EVID.PTC talk EVID.PTC

do lexi žyabiši gurišeni xolo
 do lex -i žyab -iš =i gurišeni =xolo
 do₁ lex -i₂ žyab -iš₁ =i gurišeni =xolo
 and ill SV girl GEN =EV for the sake of =EMPH

The fortune-seeking man started and told him what he knew about the wolf and the cornfield owner's ill daughter, as well.

36.1 - morova uc'u: te k'očk -
 moro =v =a u- c' -u: te k'oč -k
 moro =v =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -k₁
 c'mon =EC =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST DEM.PROX man ERG

te k'et'i mideyi do lexi
 te k'et' -i mid- i- γ -i do lex -i
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'et' -i₁ mida- i-₈ γw -i₃ do₁ lex -i₁
 DEM.PROX stick NOM PRV APPL.CENTRIP take away.INANM IMP and ill NOM

žyabiši škartuns žiriša kigiaškvia
 žyab -iš =i šk'artun -s žir -iša ki- gi- a- škv -i =a
 žyab -iš₁ =i škartun+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁ žir -iša₂ ko- ge- o-₉ škv₁ -i₃ =a
 girl GEN =EV blanket DAT two ADV AFF PRV APPL hit IMP =QUOT

Come on, this man told him, take this stick and hit the ill girl's blanket twice with this stick [, he said].

36.2

muč'o artiša kigiaškve -
 muč'o art -iša ki- gi- a- škv -e
 muč'o art -iša₂ ko- ge- o-₉ škv₁ -e₃
 how one ADV AFF PRV APPL hit OPT+CMPL

gedi cira ac'i eševe
 ge- d -i cira ac'i eše =v =e
 ge- d₁ -i₃ cira ac'i eše =v =e₃
 Specific Localisation and/or Orientation stand IMP girl from now on up =EC =QUOT+CMPL

uc'ia , mažiraša kigiaškve , xolo
 u- c' -i =a ma- žir -a -ša ki- gi- a- škv -e =xolo
 u-₁ c'₁ -i₃ =a ma- -a₂ žir ma- -a₂ -iša₂ ko- ge- o-₉ škv₁ -e₃ =xolo
 APPL tell IMP =QUOT ORD two ORD ADV AFF PRV APPL hit OPT+CMPL =EMPH

teši uc'ia do žyabi eše gemc'odirtunia
 teš =i u- c' -i =a do žyab -i eše ge- mc'o- dirt -un =i =a
 teš =i u-₁ c'₁ -i₃ =a do₁ žyab -i₁ eše ga-₁ mic'o- dirt₂ -u(n)₁ =i =a
 so =EV APPL tell IMP =QUOT and girl NOM up PRF PRV stand up SM.INACT =EV =QUOT

When you have hit for the first time, tell her: "Girl, rise now", when you hit for the second time, then tell her again so and she will stand up [, he said].

37

ʔvanaš minžes uc'ia :
 ʔvana -iš minžes -s u- c' -i =a
 ʔvana -iš₂ minžes -s₁ u-₁ c'₁ -i₃ =a
 field GEN owner DAT APPL tell IMP =QUOT

Tell the cornfield owner, he said:

38.1 - skani ʔvanas art aršiniši tudo orko
 sk'an -i ʔvana -s art aršin -iš =i tudo orko
 skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₂ ʔvana -s₁ art aršin -iš₁ =i tudo orko
 your.SG field DAT one arshin GEN =EV down gold

mitozep'u
 mito- zep' -u
 mito- zep' -u(n)₁
 PRV be scattered SM.INACT

Your field, at the depth of one arschin (i.e. 71 cm), is full of gold.

38.2 orkoši madeni dexas opuruans do tišeni re
 orko -ši maden -i dixa -s o- pur -u -an -s do tišeni r -e
 orko -iš₂ maden -i₂ dixa -s₁ o- -u₁ pur o- -u₁ -an₁ -s₂ do₁ tišeni or -e(n)₁
 gold GEN ore SV soil DAT CAUS heat CAUS SM S3SG and because be SM.INACT

ʔvanas dačxiri gutmurčkindunie ,
 ʔvana -s dačxir -i gu- tm- u- rčkin -d -un =i =e
 ʔvana -s₁ dačxir -i₁ go-₂ tmi- u-₁ rčkin -d₂ -u(n)₁ =i =e₃
 field DAT fire NOM PRV IMPRF APPL begin INCH SM.INACT =EV =QUOT+CMPL

geiorɣvi orko do icxovria
 gei- o- ryv -i orko do i- cxovr -i =a
 gei- o-₄ ryv₂ -i₃ orko do₁ i-₁ cxovr -i₃ =a
 PRV APPL get IMP gold and NON-PRS live IMP =QUOT

The ore of gold heats the ground and that is why the fire begins on the cornfield, get the gold and live on (tell him,) [, he said].

38.3 gers uc'ia :
 ger -s u- c' -i =a
 ger -s₁ u-₁ c'₁ -i₃ =a
 wolf DAT APPL tell IMP =QUOT

Tell the wolf, he said:

39.1 - uč'k'uo k'očiši t'vini oč'k'omi do tina
 u- č'k'u -o k'oč -iš =i t'vin -i o- č'k'om -i do tina
 u- -o(t) č'k'u u- -o(t) k'oč -iš₁ =i t'vin -i₁ o-₇ č'k'om -i₃ do₁ i+***
 PRVT wit PRVT man GEN =EV brain NOM PRF eat IMP and DEM.DIST

dugoskiliduansia

du- g- o- sk'ilid -u -an -s =i =a
 do- g-₁ o- -u₁ skilad+DIAL. VAR. OF o- -u₁ -an₁ -s₂ =i =a
 PRV IO2 CAUS remain CAUS SM S3SG =EV =QUOT

Eat a foolish man's brain and it will heal you [, he said].

39.2 sia uc'u: , - meua do skani
 si =a u- c' -u: meu =a do sk'an -i
 si =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ meu =a do₁ skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁
 you.SG =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST out! =QUOT and your.SG NOM

bedi skanda kemursia
 bed -i sk'an -da ke- m- ur -s =i =a
 bed₁ -i₁ skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -iša₁ ko- me- wl -s₂ =i =a
 destiny NOM your.SG ALL AFF PRV go S3SG =EV =QUOT

You, he said, go and your fortune will come to you [, he said].

40.1 molart e k'očk ʔudeša
 mola- rt -[u] e k'oč -k ʔude -ša
 mola- rt₁ -u₁ e k'oč -k₁ ʔude -iša₁
 PRV go S3SG.PST DEM.PROX man ERG house ALL

This man headed off home.

40.2 kimert lexi žyabiša
 ki- me- rt -[u] lex -i žyab -iša
 ko- me- rt₁ -u₁ lex -i₂ žyab -iša₁
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST ill SV girl ALL

He went to the ill girl.

40.3 kidek'in moyula k'et'i meč
 ki- d- e- k'in -[u] mo- yul -a k'et' -i me- č -[u]
 ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF e-₁ k'in₁ -u₁ mo- -a yul mo- -a k'et' -i₁ me- č₁ -u₁
 AFF PRV APPL hold S3SG.PST PTC bend PTC stick NOM PRV give S3SG.PST

ti k'očkini tina do žirišax
 ti k'oč -k =i =ni tina do žir -išax
 i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -k₁ =i =ni i+*** do₁ žir -iša₂
 DEM.DIST man ERG =EV =CMPL DEM.DIST and two ADV

kimiogu: žyabiši škartuns do
 ki- mi- o- g -u: žyab -iš =i šk'artun -s do
 ko- me- o-₄ g₃ -u₁ žyab -iš₁ =i škartun+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁ do₁
 AFF PRV APPL hit S3SG.PST girl GEN =EV blanket DAT and

gioragadu - gedi cira ac'i
 gi- o- ragad -u d -i cira ac'i
 ge- o-₄ ragad -u₁ ge- d₁ -i₃ cira ac'i
 PRV APPL talk S3SG.PST Specific Localisation and/or Orientation stand IMP girl from now on

eševa
 eše =v =a
 eše =v =a
 up =EC =QUOT

He held the bent stick that that man gave to him and hit the girl's blanket twice and talked to her: Now stand up, girl [, he said].

41.1 miožineso , dasuro vagemc'odirtuo
 mi- o- žin -es =o dasuro va= ge- mc'o- dirt -u =o
 me- o-₄ žin -es =o₁ dasuro va= ge- mic'o- dirt₂ -u₁ =o₂
 PRV APPL look S3PL.PST =CMPL indeed NEG= PRV PRV stand up S3SG.PST =QST

žyabik eše
 žyab -i -k eše
 žyab -i₂ -k₁ eše
 girl SV ERG up

When they looked at her, didn't she indeed stand up? (i.e. she did.)

41.2 vart ač'u mutuns , vart mutuni
 vart a- č' -u mutun -s vart mutun -i
 varti+POS. VAR. OF a-₇ č'₁ -u(n)₁ mutun -s₁ varti+POS. VAR. OF mutun -i₁
 neither... nor... APPL feel pain SM.INACT anything DAT neither... nor... anything NOM

She has neither any pain, nor anything (at all).

42.1 gexares irk'očk
 ge- xar -es ir k'oč -k
 ge- xar -es ir k'oč -k₁
 Specific Localisation and/or Orientation be happy S3PL.PST every man ERG

42.2 žyabiši mumak uc'u: :
 žyab -iš =i muma -k u- c' -u:
 žyab -iš₁ =i muma -k₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁
 girl GEN =EV father ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST

The girl's father told him:

43 - ečdovit arkemiši do ečdovit žoriši xarga orko do
 eč do vit arkem -iš =i do eč do vit žor -iš =i xarga orko do
 eč do₁ vit arkem -iš₁ =i do₁ eč do₁ vit žor -iš₁ =i xarga orko do₁
 twenty and ten camel GEN =EV and twenty and ten mule GEN =EV load gold and

varčxils kimerčank do midgo?unua
 varčxil -s ki- me- r- č -an -k do mid- g- o- ?un -u -a[n] -[k]
 varčxil -s₁ ko- me- r-₁ č₁ -an₁ -k₂ do₁ mida- g-₁ o-₅ ?on₁+FR. VAR. OF -u₃ -an₁ -k₂
 silver DAT AFF PRV IO2 give SM S1/2SG and PRV IO2 EVO take.ANM AUG SM S1/2SG

samangierotia
 samangier -o =i =a
 samangier -o(t) =i =a
 emolument ADV =EV =QUOT

I will give you thirty camels and thirty mules loaded with gold and silver and take it as your emolument [, he said].

44 - mušo mok'o ma skani
 mu -šo m- o- k' -o ma sk'an -i
 mu(n)₂ -išo(t) m-₁ o-₁₁ k'₁ -o(n) ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁
 what BEN IO1 want_CVO want SM.INACT I your.SG NOM

orko do varčxilia , tku , - ma ?udeša
 orko do varčxil -i =a tk -u ma ?ude -ša
 orko do₁ varčxil -i₁ =a tkw -u₁ ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF ?ude -iša₁
 gold and silver NOM =QUOT say S3SG.PST I house ALL

momiyans čkimi bedi irpelsia
 mo- m- i- γ -an -s čkim -i bed -i irpel -s =i =a
 mo- m-₁ i-₁ γw -an₁ -s₂ čkim₁ -i₁ bed₁ -i₁ irpel -s₁ =i =a
 PRV IO1 APPL bring.INANM SM S3SG my NOM destiny NOM everything DAT =EV =QUOT

Why would I need your gold and silver, he said, my fortune will bring me everything home [, he said].

45 veyu mutuni e k'očkəni
 ve= [u]- γ -u mutun -i e k'oč -k =ə =ni
 va=+POS. VAR. OF u-₁ γw -u(n)₁ mutun -i₁ e k'oč -k₁ =i =ni
 NEG= APPL have.INANM SM.INACT anything NOM DEM.PROX man ERG =EV =CMPL

teši molartu ?udša
 teš =i mola- rt -u ?ud -ša
 teš =i mola- rt₁ -u₁ ?ude+DIAL. VAR. OF -iša₁
 so =EV PRV go S3SG.PST house ALL

As this man did not take anything with him, he headed off home.

46.1 kumortu ase ṽvanaši minžěša
ku- mo- rt -u ase ṽvana -ši minžě -ša
ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ ase ṽvana -iš₂ minžě -iša₁
AFF PRV go S3SG.PST now field GEN owner ALL

Now, he came to the cornfield owner.

46.2 is kuc'u: , muč'ot očin
i -s k- u- c' -u: muč'o =t o- čin -[u]
i -s₁ ko- u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ muč'o =t o-₁ čin₆ -u₁
DEM.DIST DAT AFF APPL tell S3SG.PST how = CAUS instruct S3SG.PST

ti k'očkini teši
ti k'oč -k =i =ni teš =i
i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -k₁ =i =ni teš =i
DEM.DIST man ERG =EV =CMPL so =EV

He told him, as that man instructed him.

47.1 kimertes dasuro do geutxores
ki- me- rt -es dasuro do ge- u- txor -es
ko- me- rt₁ -es dasuro do₁ ge- u-₁ txor -es
AFF PRV go S3PL.PST indeed and PRV APPL dig S3PL.PST

They went indeed (to the field) and dug (the ground).

47.2 orkok gecu arto
orko -k ge- c -u art -o
orko -k₁ ge- c₅ -u₁ art -o(t)
gold ERG Specific Localisation and/or Orientation fall loose.PL S3SG.PST one ADV

Gold appeared (lit. fell loose) in great numbers.

47.3 gexar dixashi minžě k'očk
ge- xar -[u] dixi -ši minžě k'oč -k
ge- xar -u₁ dixi -iš₂ minžě k'oč -k₁
PRV become happy S3SG.PST soil GEN owner man ERG

The land owner got happy.

48 - si ṽopek , žima , čkimi
si ṽ -op -e -k žima čkim -i
si ṽ₁ -op -e(n)₁ -k₂ žima čkim₁ -i₂
you.SG be AUG.PERF SM.INACT S1/2SG brother my SV

mak'etebelia
ma- k'et -eb -el -i =a
ma- -el k'et -eb₁ ma- -el -i₂ =a
PTC do AUG PTC SV =QUOT

You apparently are, borther, my fortune maker [, he said].

49 geurginu arti didi orko do kimeču
ge- u- rgin -u art -i did -i orko do ki- me- č -u
ge- u-₁ rgin -u₁ art -i₁ did -i₁ orko do₁ ko- me- č₁ -u₁
PRV APPL wrap S3SG.PST one NOM big NOM gold and AFF PRV give S3SG.PST

te k'os , - atena - si
te k'o -s atena si
e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -s₁ tena+*** si
DEM.PROX man DAT DEM.PROX you.SG

midėyi do dagibayunia
mid- i- γ -i do da- g- i- bay -un =i =a
mida- i-₈ γw -i₃ do₁ da-₁ g-₁ i-₁ -u(n)₁ =i =a
PRV APPL.CENTRIP take away.INANM IMP and PRV IO2 APPL SM.INACT =EV =QUOT

He wrapped a big piece of gold (for this man) and gave him, take this, it is quite enough for you [, he said].

50.1 - ma skani orko mušot
ma(n) sk'an -i orko mu -šot
ma(n) skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ orko mu(n)₂ -išo(t)
I your.SG NOM gold what BEN

mok'onía uc'u: bediši
m- o- k' -on =i =a u- c' -u: bed -iš =i
m-₁ o-₁₁ k'₁ -o(n) =i =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ bed₁ -iš₁ =i
IO1 want_CVO want SM.INACT =EV =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST destiny GEN =EV

magorali k'očk
ma- gor -al -i k'oč -k
ma- -al gor ma- -al -i₂ k'oč -k₁
PTC find PTC SV man ERG

Why would I need your gold, the fortune-seeking man told him.

50.2 čkimi bedi ṽudeša momiyans irpeli
čkim -i bed -i ṽude -ša mo- m- i- γ -an -s irpel -i
čkim₁ -i₁ bed₁ -i₁ ṽude -iša₁ mo- m-₁ i-₁ γw -an₁ -s₂ irpel -i₂
my NOM destiny NOM house ALL PRV IO1 APPL bring.INANM SM S3SG everything SV

žgiri do skvamsia
žgir -i do skvam -s =i =a
žgir₁ -i₂ do₁ skvam -s₁ =i =a
good SV and beautiful DAT =EV =QUOT

My fortune will bring me everything good and beautiful home [, he said].

51 vešic'uxa si išgurišenia ,
 ve= š- i- c'ux -a si i -š gur -iše(n) =i =a ,
 va=+POS. VAR. OF še- i-₅ c'ux -a₁ si i -iš₂ gur₄ -iše(n) =i =a
 NEG= PRV DECAUS worry OPT you.SG DEM.DIST GEN sake EL =EV =QUOT

usopu e k'očk breli , mara mutun kersat
 u- sop -u e k'oč -k brel =i mara mutun -[i] kersa -t
 u-₁ sop₃ -u₁ e k'oč -k₁ brel =i mara₁ mutun -i₁ kersa -t₂
 APPL try S3SG.PST DEM.PROX man ERG much =EV but anything NOM purse INS

veyu orko te k'očk
 ve= [u]- γ -u orko te k'oč -k
 va=+POS. VAR. OF u-₁ γw -u₁ orko e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -k₁
 NEG= APPL take away.INANM S3SG.PST gold DEM.PROX man ERG

Don't bother about it [, he said,] this man tried quite a lot, but there was nothing to be done, the man did not take the gold at all (lit. with any purse).

52 mardi ginagu 3alami ʔvanaši minže k'očk dixas
 mard -i gin- a- g -u 3alam =i ʔvana -ši minže k'oč -k dixā -s
 mard -i₁ gino- o-₉ g₄ -u₁ 3alam =i ʔvana -iš₂ minže k'oč -k₁ dixā -s₁
 gratitude NOM PRV APPL pay S3SG.PST very =EV field GEN owner man ERG soil DAT

kudat'axu dudi
 ku- d- a- t'ax -u dud -i
 ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF o-₉ t'ax₂ -u₁ dud₂ -i₁
 AFF PRV APPL bow S3SG.PST REFL NOM

He thanked the cornfield owner and bowed his head to the ground.

53 gagmetxu bediši magorali k'očk
 ga- gm- e- tx -u bed -iš =i ma- gor -al -i k'oč -k
 ga-₁ gima- i-₃ tx₁ -u₁ bed₁ -iš₁ =i ma- -al gor ma- -al -i₂ k'oč -k₁
 PRF PRV APPL.CENTRIP request S3SG.PST destiny GEN =EV PTC find PTC SV man ERG

do molart ʔudša
 do mola- rt ʔud -ša
 do₁ mola- rt₁ ʔude+DIAL. VAR. OF -iša₁
 and PRV go house ALL

The fortune-seeking man said farewell to the man and headed off home.

54.1 kumort ase geriša
 ku- mo- rt -[u] ase ger -iša
 ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ ase ger -iša₁
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST now wolf ALL

Now he came to the wolf.

54.2 geri side gilaʔucuduni tek
 ger -i sid =e gila- ʔuc -u -d -u =ni te -k
 ger -i₁ sod+DIAL. VAR. OF =e₁ gila- ʔuc -u(n)₁ -d₁ -u₁ =ni te₁ -k₁
 wolf NOM where =EV PRV squat SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST =CMPL DEM.PROX ERG

gilaxe
 gila- x -e
 gila- ox -e(n)₁
 PRV sit SM.INACT

Where he (had) met (the wolf), the wolf is sitting squatted there.

55 - mu kiminia , uc'u: gerk
 mu kimin -i =a u- c' -u: ger -k
 mu(n)₂ kimin -i₄ =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ ger -k₁
 either... or... do PST.IND =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST wolf ERG

What did you do, the wolf told him.

56.1 maʔun e k'očk do irpeli
 m- a- ʔun -[u] e k'oč -k do irpel -i
 me- a-₇ ʔun₁ -u₁ e k'oč -k₁ do₁ irpel -i₁
 PRV APPL begin S3SG.PST DEM.PROX man ERG and everything NOM

keču: gers
 k- e- č -u: ger -s
 ko- e-₁ č₂ -u₁ ger -s₁
 AFF APPL narrate S3SG.PST wolf DAT

The man started (his story) and told everything to the wolf.

56.2 muč'o 3yabi oskiliduni do mumak orko
 muč'o 3yab -i o- sk'ilid -u =ni do muma -k orko
 muč'o 3yab -i₁ o-₁ skilad+DIAL. VAR. OF -u₁ =ni do₁ muma -k₁ orko
 how girl NOM CAUS remain S3SG.PST =CMPL and father ERG gold

arzu - veyuni , tena
 a- rz -u v= e- γ -u =ni tena
 a-₇ rz₁ -u(n)₁ va= i-₃ γw -u₁ =ni e+***
 APPL give SM.INACT NEG= APPL.CENTRIP take.INANM S3SG.PST =CMPL DEM.PROX

kuc'u: gers
 k- u- c' -u: ger -s
 ko- u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ ger -s₁
 AFF APPL tell S3SG.PST wolf DAT

How he (had) healed the girl and the girl's father was giving him gold, that he did not take it, he told this to the wolf.

57 ʔvanaši minžek mut uc'uni , tina xolo
 ʔvana -ši minžē -k mu =t u- c' -u =ni tina =xolo
 ʔvana -iš₂ minžē -k₁ mu(n)₁ =t u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ =ni i+*** =xolo
 field GEN owner ERG self = APPL tell S3SG.PST =CMPL DEM.DIST =EMPH

keču: dudiše doč'q'apilo bološa .
 k- e- č -u: dud -iše do- č'q' -ap -il -o bolo -ša
 ko- e-₁ č₂ -u₁ dud₂ -iše(n) do- č'q' -ap₂ -il₁ -o(t) bolo -iša₁
 AFF APPL narrate S3SG.PST REFL about PRV begin AUG PTC ADV end ALL

What the cornfield owner told him, he told (the wolf) that, too, from the beginning to the end.

58 gerk k'itx bolos :
 ger -k k'itx -[u] bolo -s
 ger -k₁ k'itx₁ -u₁ bolo -s₃
 wolf ERG ask S3SG.PST end ADV

The wolf asked him in the end:

59 – čkim gurišen mu gic'ua ?
 čkim -[i] gurišen mu g- i- c' -u =a
 čkim₁ -i₁ gurišen mu(n)₂ g-₁ i-₁ c'₁ -u₁ =a
 my NOM for the sake of either... or... IO2 APPL tell S3SG.PST =QUOT

What did he tell you about me? [the wolf asked.]

60 – uc'k'uo k'očiši t'vini oč'k'omi do
 u- č'k'u -o k'oč -iš =i t'vin -i o- č'k'om -i do
 u- -o(t) č'k'u u- -o(t) k'oč -iš₁ =i t'vin -i₁ o-₇ č'k'om -i₃ do₁
 PRVT wit PRVT man GEN =EV brain NOM PRF eat IMP and

dugoskiliduansia
 du- g- o- sk'ilid -u -an -s =i =a
 do- g-₁ o- -u₁ skilad+DIAL. VAR. OF o- -u₁ -an₁ -s₂ =i =a
 PRV IO2 CAUS remain CAUS SM S3SG =EV =QUOT

Eat a foolish man's brain and this will heal you [, he said].

61 – aba , mumak'ini , yorondgie ašo do
 aba mu- m- a- k'in -i yorondgie ašo do
 aba mo-+DIAL. VAR. OF,POS. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF m-₁ a-₇ k'in₆ -i₃ yorondgie ašo do₁
 well then PRV IO1 APPL approach IMP Heavens hither and

ate k'ibirs kugmožinia , uc'u: gerk .
 ate k'ibir -s ku- gm- o- žin -i =a u- c' -u: ger -k
 e+*** k'ibir -s₁ ko- gima- o-₉ žin -i₃ =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ ger -k₁
 DEM.PROX tooth DAT AFF PRV APPL look IMP =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST wolf ERG

Well then, come closer to me hither, heavens, and look (for me) at this tooth, the wolf told him.

62 miak'in e k'očk xološan , kanču
 mi- a- k'in -[u] e k'oč -k xolo -ša =n kanč -u
 me- o-₉ k'in₃ -u₁ e k'oč -k₁ xolo₂ -iša₁ =ni kanč -u₁
 PRV APPL approach S3SG.PST DEM.PROX man ERG close ALL =CMPL snap S3SG.PST

gerk p'iži do kudaragu: dixas .
 ger -k p'iž -i do ku- d- a- rag -u: dixā -s
 ger -k₁ p'iž -i₁ do₁ ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF o-₆ ragw -u₁ dixā -s₁
 wolf ERG mouth NOM and AFF PRV FACT throw S3SG.PST soil DAT

When this man went closer (to the wolf), the wolf snapped him with its chaps and fell him onto the ground.

63 – skani umosi uč'k'uo k'oči ma
 sk'an -i umos -i u- č'k'u -o k'oč -i ma
 skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ umos -i₁ u- -o(t) č'k'u u- -o(t) k'oč -i₁ ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF
 your.SG NOM more NOM PRVT wit PRVT man NOM I

mitini vamašinia , tku do dudi
 mitin -i va= m- a- š -in =i =a tk -u do dud -i
 mitin -i₁ va= m-₁ a- -e(n) š₁ a- -e(n) =i =a tkw -u₁ do₁ dud₂ -i₁
 nobody NOM NEG= IO1 POT find POT =EV =QUOT say S3SG.PST and REFL NOM

mekinžu bediši magorali uč'k'ue k'os .
 me- kinž -u bed -iš =i ma- gor -al -i u- č'k'u -e k'o -s
 me- kinž -u₁ bed₁ -iš₁ =i ma- al gor ma- al -i₂ u- -e č'k'u u- -e k'oč -s₁
 PRV snap off S3SG.PST destiny GEN =EV PTC find PTC SV PRVT wit PRVT man DAT

I won't be able to find a man (that is) more foolish than you, [the wolf] said and snapped off the fortune-seeking man's head.

66 nest'or zurabis ze gunia ; sopeli ek'i ; 1921 .
 nest'or zurab -is ze gunia sopel -i ek'i
 nest'or zurab -is ze gunia sopel -i₁ ek'i
 Nest'or Zurab GEN son-of Gunia village NOM Ek'i

Nest'or son-of-Zurab Gunia; village Ek'i; 1921.

Xubua XXIII: A Bego and Tatraq'ani Tale

Bego do Tatarq'aniš arik'i

1 koʔope arti xenc'əpe .
 ko- ʔ -op -e art -i xenc'əpe
 ko- ʔ₁ -op -e(n)₁ art -i₁ xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF
 AFF be AUG.PERF SM.INACT one NOM sovereign

Once upon a time, there was one sovereign.