

# Xubua XI: Ombolia

## Ombolia

1.1	koʔopena		moxucebuli	čili	do	komonẓ̌i	
	ko- ʔ -op	-en	-a	moxucebul -i	čil -i	do	komonẓ̌ -i
	ko- ʔ <sub>1</sub> -op	-e(n) <sub>1</sub>	-a(n)	moxucebul -i <sub>1</sub>	čil -i <sub>1</sub>	do <sub>1</sub>	komonẓ̌ -i <sub>1</sub>
	AFF be	AUG.PERF	SM.INACT PL	aged	NOM	wife NOM	and husband NOM

There lived an old wife and (her old) husband.

1.2	ate	moxucebulobaši	dros	kəɖabadebuna			
	ate	moxucebul -oba	-ši	dro -s	kəɖ- d-	a-	bad -eb -un -a
	e+***	moxucebul -oba	-iṣ̌ <sub>2</sub>	dro -s <sub>3</sub>	ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF	a- <sub>7</sub>	bad -eb <sub>1</sub> -un -a(n)
	DEM.PROX	aged	ABSTR GEN	time ADV	AFF PRV	APPL be born	AUG SM IO.PL

arti	bayana	,	boši
art -i	bayana		boš -i
art -i <sub>2</sub>	bayana		boš -i <sub>1</sub>
one SV	child		boy NOM

At their decline, a child was (lit. will be) born to them, (and it was) a boy.

2.1	ate	bayana	sumi	c'aneri	koʔopen		teši
	ate	bayana	sum -i	c'an -er -i	ko- ʔ -op	-e	=n
	e+***	bayana	sum <sub>1</sub> -i <sub>2</sub>	c'ana -er <sub>1</sub> -i <sub>1</sub>	ko- ʔ <sub>1</sub> -op	-e(n) <sub>1</sub>	=ni
	DEM.PROX	child	three SV	year ADJ NOM	AFF be	AUG.PERF	SM.INACT =CMPL

doyurena		dida	do	muma
do- yur -en	-a	dida	do	muma
do- yur -e(n) <sub>3</sub>	-a(n)	dida	do <sub>1</sub>	muma
PRV die	SM.PERF	S3PL	mother	and father

When this child was three years old, (then his) mother and father have died.

2.2	ordalo		geč'opes	te	bayana
	o- rd -al -o	ge- č'op -es	te		bayana
	o- -al <sub>2</sub> rd	o- -al <sub>2</sub> -o(t)	ge- č'op -es	e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***	bayana
	SUP grow	SUP ADV	PRV take	S3PL.PST	DEM.PROX

They adopted this child.

3.1	škviti	c'anero	ginirtu		te
	škvit -i	c'an -er -o	gino- i-	rt -u	te
	škvit -i <sub>2</sub>	c'ana -er <sub>1</sub> -o(t)	gino- i- <sub>5</sub>	rt <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>	e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
	seven SV	year ADJ ADV	PRV DECAUS	turn S3SG.PST	DEM.PROX

bayanakən		teši	-	art	dyaş	sadili
bayana -k	=ə =n	teš =i		art	dya -s	sadil -i
bayana -k <sub>1</sub>	=i =ni	teš =i		art	dya -s <sub>1</sub>	sadil -i <sub>1</sub>
child	ERG =EV =CMPL	so =EV		one	day DAT	lunch NOM

midəyu				muši	bižiaša	, ʔvanas
mid- e-		ɣ	-u	mu	-ši	bižia -ša ʔvana -s
mida- i- <sub>8</sub>		ɣw	-u <sub>1</sub>	mu(n) <sub>1</sub>	-iṣ̌ <sub>2</sub>	bižia -iṣ̌ <sub>1</sub> ʔvana -s <sub>1</sub>
PRV	APPL.CENTRIP	bring.INANM	S3SG.PST	self GEN	uncle ALL	field DAT

muşendən		teki
muš -en -d -ə	=n	tek =i
muš -en <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>	=ni	tek =i
work	SM EM	S3SG.PST =CMPL

Later, when this child turned seven years old – one day he brought a lunch (meal) to his uncle, who was working in the field, there.

3.2	sadili	kimuyə		bižiasən	, bižiak
	sadil -i	ki- m- u-	ɣ	-ə	bižia -s =ə =n
	sadil -i <sub>1</sub>	ko- me- u- <sub>1</sub>	ɣw	-u <sub>1</sub>	bižia -s <sub>1</sub> =i =ni
	lunch NOM	AFF PRV	APPL bring.INANM	S3SG.PST	uncle DAT =EV =CMPL

uc'u:	:
u- c' -u:	
u- <sub>1</sub> c' <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>	
APPL tell	S3SG.PST

When he brought the lunch to his uncle, the uncle told him:

4.1	-	ate	xožepi	si	kotxile	taki	do	ma
		ate	xož -ep -i	si	ko- txil	-e	tak =i	do ma
		e+***	xož -ep -i <sub>1</sub>	si	ko- txil	-e <sub>3</sub>	tak =i	do <sub>1</sub> ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF
		DEM.PROX	ox PL NOM	you.SG	AFF look after IMP	here =EV	and	I

sadils	op'č'k'omunk	oros
sadil -s	o- p'- č'k'om -un -k	oro -s
sadil -s <sub>1</sub>	o- <sub>7</sub> v- č'k'om -un -k <sub>2</sub>	oro -s <sub>1</sub>
lunch	DAT PRF S1 eat	SM S1/2SG shadow DAT

You take care of these oxen here, and I will eat (my) lunch in the shadow.

4.2 guri uči žgiro , xožepi mitink  
gur -i u- č -i žgir -o xož -ep -i mitin -k  
gur<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> u<sub>1</sub> č<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>3</sub> žgir<sub>1</sub> -o(t) xož<sub>1</sub> -ep -i<sub>1</sub> mitin -k<sub>1</sub>  
heart NOM APPL give IMP good ADV ox PL NOM nobody ERG

vemdajyas , vara  
ve= mda- [g]- j- γ -a -s vara  
va=+POS. VAR. OF mida- g<sub>1</sub> i<sub>2</sub> γw -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> vara  
NEG= PRV IO2 APPL take away.INANM OPT S3SG either

vemgoxiras  
ve= m- g- o- xir -a -s  
va=+POS. VAR. OF me- g<sub>1</sub> o<sub>1</sub> xir -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub>  
NEG= PRV IO2 APPL steal OPT S3SG

Pay extra attention (to them), nobody should take away from you or rob you off them.

5 - žgiria , tku: bayanak do midartu e  
žgir -i =a tk -u: bayana -k do mida- rt -u e  
žgir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> =a tkw -u<sub>1</sub> bayana -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> e  
good NOM =QUOT say S3SG.PST child ERG and PRV go S3SG.PST DEM.PROX

k'očk sadiliš oč'k'omuša  
k'oč -k sadil -iš o- č'k'om -u -ša  
k'oč -k<sub>1</sub> sadil -iš<sub>1</sub> o- -u<sub>2</sub> č'k'om o- -u<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub>  
man ERG lunch GEN SUP eat SUP ALL

Good, said the child and this man went away to eat the lunch.

6 ate dros bayanas sinček aṭu: do xožiš  
ate dro -s bayana -s sinče -k a- ṭ -u: do xož -iš  
e+\*\*\* dro -s<sub>1</sub> bayana -s<sub>1</sub> sinče -k<sub>1</sub> a-<sub>7</sub> ṭ<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> xož<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>1</sub>  
DEM.PROX time DAT child DAT heat ERG APPL happen S3SG.PST and ox GEN

oros kimk'at'q'obə , iaxani , viš  
oro -s ki- mk'- a- t'q'ob -ə iaxani viš  
oro -s<sub>1</sub> ko- mik'o- o-<sub>3</sub> t'q'ob -u<sub>1</sub> iaxani višo  
shadow DAT AFF PRV APPL hide S3SG.PST well you know thither

kədarulə bayanas  
kə- d- a- rul -ə bayana -s  
ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF a-<sub>7</sub> rul<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> bayana -s<sub>1</sub>  
AFF PRV APPL sleep S3SG.PST child DAT

At this moment the child got affected (so much) by the heat and (so) he hid in the shadow of (one of the) ox(en), and so, the child fell asleep.

7.1 kədarulə bayanasən , mortə  
kə- d- a- rul -ə bayana -s =ə =n , mo- rt -ə  
ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF a-<sub>7</sub> rul<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> bayana -s<sub>1</sub> =i =ni mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
AFF PRV APPL sleep S3SG.PST child DAT =EV =CMPL PRV go S3SG.PST

maxinčk do xožepi mideṭonə  
maxinč -k do xož -ep -i mid- e- ṭon -ə  
maxinč -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> xož<sub>1</sub> -ep -i<sub>1</sub> mida- i-<sub>8</sub> ṭon<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
thief ERG and ox PL NOM PRV APPL.CENTRIP take.ANM S3SG.PST

As the child fell asleep, a thief came and took the oxen away.

7.2 ateš uk'uli kəmortə te žimadik do  
ate -š uk'ul =i kə- mo- rt -ə te žimadi -k do  
e+\*\*\* -iš<sub>2</sub> uk'ul =i ko- mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* žimadi -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
DEM.PROX GEN later =EV AFF PRV go S3SG.PST DEM.PROX uncle ERG and

xožepi važirən , bayana gak'urcxinu do  
xož -ep -i va= žir -ə =n bayana g- a- k'urcx -in -u do  
xož -ep -i<sub>1</sub> va= žir -u<sub>1</sub> =ni bayana go-<sub>1</sub> o- -in<sub>1</sub> k'urcx o- -in<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
ox PL NOM NEG= see S3SG.PST =CMPL child PRV CAUS wake up CAUS S3SG.PST and

golaxə  
go- lax -ə  
go-<sub>1</sub> lax<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
PRV beat S3SG.PST

After that, the uncle came and, as he didn't/couldn't find/see the oxen, he woke the child up and beat him.

8.1 - xožepi mu yolia , k'itxu bayanas  
xož -ep -i mu yol -i =a k'itx -u bayana -s  
xož -ep -i<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub> yol -i<sub>1</sub> =a k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> bayana -s<sub>1</sub>  
ox PL NOM either...or... do PST.IND =QUOT ask S3SG.PST child DAT

What did you do to the oxen, (he) asked the child.

8.2 bayanak uc'u: :  
bayana -k u- c' -u:  
bayana -k<sub>1</sub> u<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
child ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST

The child told him:

9 - ma vamičkənia  
ma va= m- i- čk -ən =i =a  
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF va= m-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> čk -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =i =a  
I NEG= IO1 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT =EV =QUOT

I don't know [, he said].

10.1 bayana ʔudša ort'inu: ašo žimadik  
 bayana ʔud -ša o- rt' -in -u: ašo žimadi -k  
 bayana ʔude+FR. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub> o- -in<sub>1</sub> rt' o- -in<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ašo žimadi -k<sub>1</sub>  
 child house ALL CAUS go back CAUS S3SG.PST hither uncle ERG

The uncle dismissed the child home hither.

10.2 ak kəmortən , bicok uc'u: :  
 ak kə- mo- rt -ə =n , bico -k u- c' -u:  
 ak ko- mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =ni bico -k<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 here AFF PRV go S3SG.PST =CMPL aunt ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST

As he came here, the uncle's wife told him:

11 - mušen igark skuava ?  
 mušen i- gar -k skua =v =a  
 mušen i-<sub>1</sub> gar -k<sub>2</sub> skua =v =a  
 why EVO cry S1/2SG child =EC =QUOTE

Why are you crying, (my) child?

12 - mušeniada bižik gobluxua  
 mušen =i =a =da biži -k go- b- lax -u =a  
 mušen =i =a =da bižia -k<sub>1</sub> go-<sub>1</sub> m-<sub>2</sub> lax<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =a  
 why =EV =QUOTE =EMPH uncle ERG PRV DO1 beat S3SG.PST =QUOTE

Why and (because) (my) uncle beat me [, he replied].

13 - mušeni larxua , k'itxə bicok  
 mušen =i r- lax -u =a , k'itx -ə bico -k  
 mušen =i r-<sub>2</sub> lax<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =a k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> bico -k<sub>1</sub>  
 why =EV DO2 beat S3SG.PST =QUOTE ask S3SG.PST aunt ERG

Why did (he) beat you? the uncle's wife asked (him).

14 - xožepi kimmoxires do tišenja  
 xož -ep -i ki- m- m- o- xir -es do ti- -šen =i =a  
 xož -ep -i<sub>1</sub> ko- me- m-<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>4</sub> xir -es do<sub>1</sub> ti<sub>1</sub> -iše(n) =i =a  
 ox PL NOM AFF PRV IO1 APPL steal S3PL.PST and DEM.DIST EL =EV =QUOTE

(They) robbed me off the oxen, that's why [, he replied].

15.1 tena kotkun , tak bicokət golaxə  
 tena ko- tk -u =n , tak bico -k =ə =t go- lax -ə  
 e+\*\*\* ko- tkw -u<sub>1</sub> =ni tak bico -k<sub>1</sub> =i =t go-<sub>1</sub> lax<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX AFF say S3SG.PST =CMPL here aunt ERG =EV =ADD PRV beat S3SG.PST

bayana do gvalo irt'ə bošik  
 bayana do gvalo i- rt' -ə boš -i -k  
 bayana do<sub>1</sub> gvalo i-<sub>6</sub> rt' -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 child and entirely AUTOCAUS escape S3SG.PST boy SV ERG

As he said it, the uncle's wife, too, beat him and (so,) the boy ran away from the house.

15.2 meurs e bayana amdya , č'ume , geyani ...  
 me- ur -s e bayana amdya č'ume geyan =i  
 me- wl -s<sub>2</sub> e bayana amudya+FR. VAR. OF č'uman geyan =i  
 PRV go S3SG DEM.PROX child today tomorrow day after tomorrow =EV

meurs t'q'as xvale  
 me- ur -s t'q'a -s xvale  
 me- wl -s<sub>2</sub> t'q'a -s<sub>1</sub> xvale  
 PRV go S3SG forest DAT alone

This child is going today, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow... He is going alone through the forest.

15.3 kidirulu aməserini  
 ki- d- i- rul -u am =ə ser =i =ni  
 ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>5</sub> rul<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> am =i ser =i =ni  
 AFF PRV DECAUS sleep S3SG.PST DEM.PROX:OBL =EV evening =EV =CMPL

kigiasizmarə mudgakireni  
 ki- gi- a- sizmar -ə mudga -k =i -ren =i  
 ko- ge- a-<sub>7</sub> sizmar -u<sub>1</sub> mudga -k<sub>1</sub> =i -ren =i  
 AFF PRV APPL dream S3SG.PST whatever ERG =EV INDEF =EV

As he fell asleep in the night, something appeared to him in a dream.

15.4 mažira oč'əmares gedirtə bayanak do k'oči  
 ma- žir -a oč'əmare -s ge- dirt -ə bayana -k do k'oč -i  
 ma- a<sub>2</sub> žir ma- a<sub>2</sub> oč'umare+FR. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> ge- dirt<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> bayana -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub>  
 ORD two ORD morning DAT PRV stand up S3SG.PST child ERG and man NOM

vaʔuns mitini sizmari kuc'uasən  
 va= ʔun -s mitin -i sizmar -i k- u- c'u -a -s =ə =n  
 va= ʔon<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> mitin -i<sub>1</sub> sizmar -i<sub>1</sub> ko- u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> =i =ni  
 NEG= have.ANM S3SG nobody NOM dream NOM AFF APPL tell OPT S3SG =EV =CMPL

idə muš šaraša do meurs iriato  
 id -ə mu -š šara -ša do me- ur -s ir =i at -o  
 id -u<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> šara -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> me- wl -s<sub>2</sub> ir =i art -o(t)  
 go S3SG.PST self GEN road ALL and PRV go S3SG every =EV one ADV

The next morning, the child stood up, and he has got nobody to tell his dream to, he has set off and is going all the time.

16.1 kimiodirtə arti xenc'əpeši ʔudes  
 ki- mi- o- dirt -ə art -i xenc'əpe -ši ʔude -s  
 ko- me- o-<sub>4</sub> dirt<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>2</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> ʔude -s<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL reach S3SG.PST one SV sovereign GEN house DAT

(He) reached one sovereign's house.

16.2 k'ariš k'os uc'u: bošik :  
 k'ar -iš k'o -s u- c' -u: boš -i -k  
 k'ar -iš<sub>1</sub> k'oč -s<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 door GEN man DAT APPL tell S3SG.PST boy SV ERG

The boy told the courtier:

17 - kiraša vagok'onano k'očia ?  
 kir -a -ša va= g- o- k' -on -an =o k'oč -i =a  
 kir<sub>2</sub> -a<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> va= g-<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>11</sub> k'<sub>1</sub> -o(n) -a(n) =o<sub>2</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> =a  
 hire MSD ALL NEG= IO2 want\_CVO want SM.INACT IO.PL =QST man NOM =QUOT

Don't you want a hired labourer?

18 mašines xenc'əpesən ,  
 m- a- š -in -es xenc'əpe -s =ə =n  
 mo- o- -in<sub>1</sub> š<sub>3</sub> o- -in<sub>1</sub> -es xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> =i =ni  
 PRV CAUS remember CAUS S3PL.PST sovereign DAT =EV =CMPL

kič'anu: boši do k'itxə :  
 k- i- č'an -u: boš -i do k'itx -ə  
 ko- i-<sub>8</sub> č'an -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF APPL.CENTRIP receive S3SG.PST boy NOM and ask S3SG.PST

As (they) reported (it) to the sovereign, (he) received (the boy) and asked him:

19 - muša dodirtuk , muzəmašava ?  
 mu(n) -ša do- dirt -u -k mu(n) -zəma -ša =v =a  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> do- dirt<sub>6</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -zoma+DIAL. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub> =v =a  
 what ALL PRV set to work SM.INACT S1/2SG what much ALL =EC =QUOT

For what will you work (as a labourer), for how much?

20 - muša dobdirtukia - da sumiša  
 mu -ša do- b- dirt -u -k =i =a =da sum -iša  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> do- v- dirt<sub>6</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> =i =a =da sum<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 what ALL PRV S1 set to work SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT =EMPH three ALL

dobdirtukia , marava sizmari xolo  
 do- b- dirt -u -k =i =a , mara =v =a sizmar -i =xolo  
 do- v- dirt<sub>6</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> =i =a mara<sub>1</sub> =v =a sizmar -i<sub>1</sub> =xolo  
 PRV S1 set to work SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT but =EC =QUOT dream NOM =EMPH

mičkə žgiria  
 m- i- čk -ə žgir -i =a  
 m-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> čk -u(n)<sub>1</sub> žgir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> =a  
 IO1 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT good NOM =QUOT

For what will I work [, he said]? Why? I will work for three (coins), but [, he said,] I also know a good dream [, he replied].

21 - sizmars mus bgorənkia , uc'u:  
 sizmar -s mu -s b- gor -ə<sub>n</sub> -k =i =a u- c' -u:  
 sizmar -s<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> v- gor -u<sub>n</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> =i =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 dream DAT what DAT S1 collect SM S1/2SG =EV =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST

xenc'əpek do kidak'inə boši  
 xenc'əpe -k do ki- d- a- k'in -ə boš -i  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF o-<sub>6</sub> k'in<sub>5</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign ERG and AFF PRV FACT hire S3SG.PST boy NOM

c'anmoc'anat  
 c'anmoc'ana -t  
 c'anmoc'ana -o(t)  
 period of a year ADV

I don't care about dream(s) (lit. what do I collect dream(s)), the sovereign told him and hired the boy for one year.

22 gaatu: c'anmoc'anan , xelnc'əpek  
 ga- a- t -u: c'anmoc'ana =n xelnc'əpe -k  
 go-<sub>1</sub> t<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> c'anmoc'ana =ni xenc'ipe+FR. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV end S3SG.PST period of a year =CMPL sovereign ERG

kič'anu: boši do uc'u: :  
 k- i- č'an -u: boš -i do u- c' -u:  
 ko- i-<sub>8</sub> č'an -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF APPL.CENTRIP receive S3SG.PST boy NOM and APPL tell S3SG.PST

When the year was over, the sovereign called the boy in and told him:

23 - a skani parava ,  
 a sk'an -i para =v =a  
 a<sub>1</sub> skan<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i<sub>1</sub> para =v =a  
 hey!, here you are! your.SG NOM money =EC =QUOT

xolotia komic'ia , ti sizmari  
 xolo =t =i =a ko- m- i- c' -i =a ti sizmar -i  
 xolo<sub>1</sub> =t =i =a ko- m-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>3</sub> =a i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* sizmar -i<sub>1</sub>  
 EMPH =ADD =EV =QUOT AFF IO1 APPL tell IMP =QUOT DEM.DIST dream NOM

murdue  
 mu r -d -u =e  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> or -d<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =e<sub>3</sub>  
 what be EM S3SG.PST =QUOT+CMPL

Here is your money [, he said], but tell me what that dream was [, he said].

24 ma skani oragadet  
 ma sk'an -i o ragad -e -t  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF skan<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i<sub>2</sub> o- -e<sub>2</sub> ragad o- -e<sub>2</sub> -o(t)  
 I your.SG SV SUP talk SUP ADV

vamok'o , uc'u:  
 va= m- o- k' -o čkimi sizmaria  
 va= m-<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>11</sub> k'<sub>1</sub> -o(n) čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> sizmar -i =a u- c' -u:  
 NEG= IO1 want\_CVO want SM.INACT my NOM dream NOM =QUOTE APPL tell S3SG.PST

bayanak  
 bayana -k  
 bayana -k<sub>1</sub>  
 child ERG

I don't want to tell you my dream, the child told him.

25 xenc'əpes murtə gurk :  
 xenc'əpe -s m- u- rt -ə gur -k  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> mo- u-<sub>1</sub> rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> gur<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign DAT PRV APPL go S3SG.PST heart ERG

The sovereign lost his temper:

26 - muč'o , čkimi užgušis si mis uc'ink  
 muč'o čkim -i u- žg -uš -i -s si mi(n) -s u- c' -in -k  
 muč'o čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> u- -uš žg u- -uš -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> si mi(n) -s<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -in<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub>  
 how my SV SUPERL good SUPERL SV DAT you.SG who DAT APPL tell SM S1/2SG

mutunsia , do galaxapu: bayana  
 mutun -s =i =a do g- a- lax -ap -u: bayana  
 mutun -s<sub>1</sub> =i =a do<sub>1</sub> go-<sub>1</sub> o- -ap<sub>1</sub> lax<sub>1</sub> o- -ap<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> bayana  
 anything DAT =EV =QUOTE and PRV CAUS beat CAUS S3SG.PST child

How come? Who, better than me, will you tell anything? [asked the sovereign.] And had the child beaten.

27.1 irt'u aure bayanak do  
 i- rt' -u a -ure bayana -k do  
 i-<sub>6</sub> rt' -u<sub>1</sub> ate+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* ħure bayana -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 AUTOCAUS escape S3SG.PST DEM.PROX side child ERG and

kimertə mažira xelnc'əpeši ħudeša  
 ki- me- rt -ə ma- žir -a xelnc'əpe -ši ħude -ša  
 ko- me- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ma- -a<sub>2</sub> žir ma- -a<sub>2</sub> xenc'ipe+FR. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> ħude -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST ORD two ORD sovereign GEN house ALL

The boy ran away from here and went to another sovereign's house.

27.2 teš xolo gerigə e bošik sumi  
 teš =xolo g- e- rig -ə e boš -i -k sum -i  
 teš =xolo ge- i-<sub>6</sub> rig<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> e boš -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> sum<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub>  
 so =EMPH PRV AUTOCAUS get set on tariff S3SG.PST DEM.PROX boy SV ERG three SV

paraša c'anmoc'anas  
 para -ša c'anmoc'ana -s  
 para -iša<sub>1</sub> c'anmoc'ana -s<sub>1</sub>  
 money ALL period of a year DAT

This boy got employed by him, too, for three coins per year.

28 - sizmari bžiri žgira , uc'u: teš xolo  
 sizmar -i b- žir -i žgir -i =a u- c' -u: teš =xolo  
 sizmar -i<sub>1</sub> v- žir -i<sub>4</sub> žgir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> teš =xolo  
 dream NOM S1 see PST.IND good NOM =QUOTE APPL tell S3SG.PST so =EMPH

bošik do kəðodirtə tak  
 boš -i -k do kə- do- dirt -ə tak  
 boš -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ko- do- dirt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> tak  
 boy SV ERG and AFF PRV stand S3SG.PST here

I saw a good dream, the boy told this sovereign, too, and took his stand here.

29 mək'ilə arti c'anakəni  
 mək'- i- l -ə art -i c'ana -k =ə =ni  
 mik'o-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>5</sub> wl -u<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>2</sub> c'ana -k<sub>1</sub> =i =ni  
 PRV DECAUS go S3SG.PST one SV year ERG =EV =CMPL

xenc'əpek kič'anu: boši do uc'u:  
 xenc'əpe -k k- i- č'an -u: boš -i do u- c' -u:  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> ko- i-<sub>8</sub> č'an -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign ERG AFF APPL.CENTRIP receive S3SG.PST boy NOM and APPL tell S3SG.PST

:

As one year passed by, the sovereign received the boy and told him:

30 - a baba , skani paras  
 a baba sk'an -i para -s  
 a<sub>1</sub> baba skan<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i<sub>2</sub> para -s<sub>1</sub>  
 hey!, here you are! father your.SG SV money DAT

merčank , xolot mu sizmari gižirə si  
 me- r- č -an -k xolo =t mu sizmar -i g- i- žir -ə si  
 me- r-<sub>1</sub> č<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> xolo<sub>1</sub> =t mu(n)<sub>2</sub> sizmar -i<sub>1</sub> g-<sub>1</sub> i- -u(n)<sub>2</sub> žir i- -u(n)<sub>2</sub> si  
 PRV IO2 give SM S1/2SG EMPH =ADD either... or... dream NOM IO2 PERF see PERF you.SG

seritən , tina ma komic'ia  
 ser -it =ə =n tina ma ko- m- i- c' -i =a  
 ser -it =i =ni i+\*\*\* ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF ko- m-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>3</sub> =a  
 evening INS =EV =CMPL DEM.DIST I AFF IO1 APPL tell IMP =QUOT

Here, (my) child (lit. father, a reference to the family relationship of the speaker to the addressee), I will give you your money, but the dream you had seen in the night, tell that to me, he said.

31 – xenc'əpeši oragadet vemmorč'əkə  
 xenc'əpe -ši o ragad -e -t ve= m- m- o- rč'k -ə  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> o- -e<sub>2</sub> ragad o- -e<sub>2</sub> -o(t) va=+POS. VAR. OF me- m-<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>4</sub> rč'k -u(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign GEN SUP talk SUP ADV NEG= PRV IO1 APPL seem SM.INACT

ma čkimi sizmaria  
 ma čkim -i sizmar -i =a  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> sizmar -i<sub>1</sub> =a  
 I my NOM dream NOM =QUOT

My dream doesn't seem to me as something to be told to a sovereign [ , he said].

32 te xenc'əpesəθ kəmurət  
 te xenc'əpe -s =ə =t kə- m- u- rt -ə  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> =i =t ko- mo- u-<sub>1</sub> rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX sovereign DAT =EV = AFF PRV APPL go S3SG.PST

gurk , galaxapu: bayana bošens do  
 gur -k g- a- lax -ap -u: bayana boš -en -s do  
 gur<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> go-<sub>1</sub> o- -ap<sub>1</sub> lax<sub>1</sub> o- -ap<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> bayana boš -ep -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 heart ERG PRV CAUS beat CAUS S3SG.PST child boy PL DAT and

ort'inu:  
 o- rt' -in -u:  
 o- -in<sub>1</sub> rt' o- -in<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 CAUS escape CAUS S3SG.PST

This sovereign, too, lost his temper, had the child beaten by his men and dismissed him (lit. made him run away).

33.1 giaʔun bayanak do kemertə masəma  
 gi- a- ʔun -[u] bayana -k do ke- me- rt -ə ma- səm -a  
 ge- a-<sub>7</sub> ʔun<sub>3</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> bayana -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ko- me- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ma- -a<sub>2</sub> sum<sub>1</sub> ma- -a<sub>2</sub>  
 PRV APPL go along.ANM S3SG.PST child ERG and AFF PRV go S3SG.PST ORD three ORD

xenc'əpeši ʔudša  
 xenc'əpe -ši ʔud -ša  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> ʔude+FR. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign GEN house ALL

The child hit the road and went to the third sovereign's house.

33.2 tek xolo teš ayələ irpelk , muč'o  
 te -k =xolo teš a- ʔol -ə irpel -k muč'o  
 te<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> =xolo teš a-<sub>7</sub> ʔol -u<sub>1</sub> irpel -k<sub>1</sub> muč'o  
 DEM.PROX ERG =EMPH so APPL happen S3SG.PST everything ERG how

oc'əmaxən  
 oc'əmax =ə =n  
 oc'imax =i =ni  
 earlier =EV =CMPL

And here, too, all the same befell him, like before.

34 mara paraš mečamaš dros – xenc'əpek  
 mara para -iš me- č -am -a -š dro -s xenc'əpe -k  
 mara<sub>1</sub> para -iš<sub>2</sub> me- č<sub>1</sub> -am<sub>3</sub> -a<sub>2</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> dro -s<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
 but money GEN PRV give SM MSD GEN time DAT sovereign ERG

vegiažer šxva calo laxuaša –  
 ve= gj- a- žer -[u] šxva -cal -o lax -u -a -ša  
 va=+POS. VAR. OF ge- o-<sub>3</sub> žer<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> šxva -cal -o(t) lax<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>3</sub> -a<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 NEG= PRV APPL find sufficient S3SG.PST other of kind ADV beat AUG MSD ALL

uzožə k'ariš k'atas :  
 u- zož -ə k'ar -iš k'ata -s  
 u-<sub>1</sub> zož<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> k'ar -iš<sub>1</sub> k'ata -s<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL order S3SG.PST door GEN people DAT

But, at the time of payment, the sovereign did not, unlike the others, find it sufficient to (have the boy) beat(en), (but also) ordered (his) courtiers:

35 – mideʔonit ase xolo do doʔvilit  
 mid- e- ʔon -i -t ase =xolo do do- ʔvil -i -t  
 mida- i-<sub>8</sub> ʔon<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>3</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> ase =xolo do<sub>1</sub> do- ʔvil -i<sub>3</sub> -t<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP have.ANM IMP PL now =EMPH and PRV kill.SG IMP PL

te užero bošia  
 te u- žer -o boš -i =a  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* u- -o(t) žer<sub>3</sub> u- -o(t) boš -i<sub>1</sub> =a  
 DEM.PROX PRVT obey PRVT boy NOM =QUOT

Do take him away and kill this disobedient boy.

36.1 ate xenc'əpes ʔuns arti ʔyabi do arti  
 ate xenc'əpe -s ʔun -s art -i ʔyab -i do art -i  
 e+\*\*\* xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> ʔon<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> art -i<sub>1</sub> ʔyab -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX sovereign DAT have.ANM S3SG one NOM girl NOM and one NOM

boši  
 boš -i  
 boš -i<sub>1</sub>  
 boy NOM

This sovereign has a daughter and a son.

36.2  
 ʒyabis vak'o te boši  
 ʒyab -i -s va= [o]- k' -o te boš -i  
 ʒyab -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> va= o<sub>-11</sub> k'<sub>1</sub> -o(n) e<sup>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\*</sup> boš -i<sub>1</sub>  
 girl SV DAT NEG= want\_CVO want SM.INACT DEM.PROX boy NOM

doʔvilani k'ariš k'atakən do muč'o  
 do- ʔvil -a -n =i k'ar -iš k'ata -k =ə =n do muč'o  
 do- ʔvil -a<sub>1</sub> -n<sub>2</sub> =i k'ar -iš<sub>1</sub> k'ata -k<sub>1</sub> =i =ni do<sub>1</sub> muč'o  
 PRV kill.SG OPT S3PL =EV door GEN people ERG =EV =CMPL and how

gegniʔones k'ars galen , kədoxvadə  
 ge- gn- i- ʔon -es k'ar -s gale =n kə- do- xvad -ə  
 ge- gino- i-<sub>1</sub> ʔon<sub>1</sub> -es k'ar -s<sub>1</sub> gale =ni ko- do- xvad<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV PRV APPL take.ANM S3PL.PST door DAT outside =CMPL AFF PRV meet S3SG.PST

maʔvilarens do txu:  
 ma- ʔvil -ar -en -s do tx -u:  
 ma- ar ʔvil ma- ar -ep -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> tx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PTC kill.SG PTC PL DAT and request S3SG.PST

The girl doesn't want the courtiers to kill this boy and, as soon as they took/led him out of the doors, meet the killers and requested them:

37 – ate do te dexas ešaskirapili  
 ate do te dixax -s eša- skir -ap -il -i  
 e<sup>+\*\*\*</sup> do<sub>1</sub> e<sup>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\*</sup> dixax -s<sub>1</sub> eša- skir -ap<sub>2</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX and DEM.PROX soil DAT PRV dry out AUG PTC NOM

inč'aren tek kednaxunet te  
 inč'a r -en te -k ke- dn- a- xun -e -t te  
 inč'a or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> te<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> ko- dino- o-<sub>9</sub> xun -e<sub>3</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> e<sup>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\*</sup>  
 well be SM.INACT DEM.PROX ERG AFF PRV APPL seat IMP PL DEM.PROX

boši do vaʔvilat tkvani šuriš  
 boš -i do va= ʔvil -a -t tkvan -i šur -iš  
 boš -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> va= ʔvil -a<sub>1</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> tkvan -i<sub>2</sub> šur<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>1</sub>  
 boy NOM and NEG= kill.SG OPT PL your.PL SV soul GEN

očxonapalo  
 o- čxon -ap -al -o  
 o- -al<sub>1</sub> čxon -ap<sub>2</sub> o- -al<sub>1</sub> -o(t)  
 SUP.NOUN rest eternally AUG SUP.NOUN ADV

There is a dry well, put this boy down there and don't kill him, for your souls to be saved.

38.1 ciraša xatrik vagat'axes maʔvilari  
 cira -ša xatr -i -k va= g- a- t'ax -es ma- ʔvil -ar -i  
 cira -iša<sub>1</sub> xatr -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> va= go-<sub>1</sub> a-<sub>2</sub> t'ax<sub>1</sub> -es ma- ar ʔvil o- ar -i<sub>2</sub>  
 girl ALL respect SV ERG NEG= PRV POT break IO.PL.PST PTC kill.SG SUP SV

k'atens do kednaxunes boši inč'as  
 k'at -en -s do ke- dn- a- xun -es boš -i inč'a -s  
 k'ata -ep -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ko- dino- o-<sub>9</sub> xun -es boš -i<sub>1</sub> inč'a -s<sub>1</sub>  
 people PL DAT and AFF PRV APPL seat S3PL.PST boy NOM well DAT

The killers could not disregard the respect toward the girl and put the boy down into the well.

38.2 xenc'əpes uc'i:s  
 xenc'əpe -s u- c' -i:s  
 xenc'ipe<sup>+DIAL. VAR. OF</sup> -s<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -es  
 sovereign DAT APPL tell S3PL.PST

They told the sovereign:

39 – midep'onit do dop'ilitia  
 mid- e- p'- on -i -t do do- p'- il -i -t =i =a  
 mida- i-<sub>1</sub> v- ʔon<sub>1</sub><sup>+POS. VAR. OF</sup> -i<sub>4</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> do- v- ʔvil -i<sub>4</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> =i =a  
 PRV EVO S1 take away PST.IND PL and PRV S1 kill.SG PST.IND PL =EV =QUOT

We took him away and killed him.

40 xenc'əpeš ciraskua ʒyabi dros gišeškvans do  
 xenc'əpe -iš cira skua ʒyab -i dro -s giš- e- škv -an -s do  
 xenc'ipe<sup>+DIAL. VAR. OF</sup> -iš<sub>2</sub> cira skua ʒyab -i<sub>1</sub> dro -s<sub>1</sub> giša- i-<sub>1</sub> škv<sub>2</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign GEN girl child girl NOM time DAT PRV APPL miss SM S3SG and

arzens oč'k'omals bošis  
 a- rz -en -s oč'k'omal -s boš -i -s  
 a-<sub>7</sub> rz<sub>1</sub> -en<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> oč'k'omal -s<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL give SM S3SG food DAT boy SV DAT

The girl, sovereign's daughter, from time to time gives the boy meal(s).

41 amudyaren iši užguši č'ume re  
 amudya r -en i -ši u- uš ʒg -uš -i č'ume r -e  
 amudya or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> i -iš<sub>2</sub> u- -uš ʒg u- -uš -i<sub>1</sub> č'uman or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 today be SM.INACT DEM.DIST GEN SUPERL good SUPERL NOM tomorrow be SM.INACT

e boši , č'ume ren iši užguši  
 e boš -i č'ume r -en i -ši u- uš ʒg -uš -i  
 e boš -i<sub>1</sub> č'uman or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> i -iš<sub>2</sub> u- -uš ʒg u- -uš -i<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX boy NOM tomorrow be SM.INACT DEM.DIST GEN SUPERL good SUPERL NOM

geyani re do irdu taštaši  
geyan =i r -e do i- rd -u taš taš =i  
geyan =i or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>5</sub> rd -u(n)<sub>1</sub> taš taš =i  
day after tomorrow =EV be SM.INACT and DECAUS grow SM.INACT this way this way =EV

te žyabiši xandat  
te žyab -iš =i xanda -t  
e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* žyab -iš<sub>1</sub> =i xanda -it  
DEM.PROX girl GEN =EV labour INS

This boy is getting tomorrow better than (he was) today, and better than tomorrow – on the day after tomorrow, and grows this way thanks to this girl’s labour.

42 taši eči c’aneri ki:ʔi:  
taš =i eč -i c’an -er -i k- i:- ʔ -i:  
taš =i eč -i<sub>2</sub> c’ana -er<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> ko- i-<sub>4</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF ʔ<sub>1</sub> -i(n)  
this way =EV twenty SV year ADJ NOM AFF be\_CVO be SM.INACT

te bošin peri žans , marebeli  
te boš -i =n per -i žan -s marebel -i  
e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* boš -i<sub>1</sub> =ni per -i<sub>2</sub> žam+FR. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> marebel -i<sub>1</sub>  
DEM.PROX boy NOM =CMPL such SV time DAT matchmaker NOM

kumučk te xenc’əpeši  
ku- m- u- čk -[u] te xenc’əpe -ši  
ko- mo- u-<sub>1</sub> šk’<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF -u<sub>1</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* xenc’ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub>  
AFF PRV EVO send S3SG.PST DEM.PROX sovereign GEN

bošiš saosuroš muma xenc’əpek do  
boš -iš sa- osur o -š muma xenc’əpe -k do  
boš -iš<sub>1</sub> sa- -o(t) osur sa- -o(t) -iš<sub>2</sub> muma xenc’ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
boy GEN PURP wife PURP GEN father sovereign ERG and

mučinə , naməda , - ma  
m- u- č -in -ə naməda ma  
me- u-<sub>1</sub> č<sub>2</sub> -in<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> namuda+DIAL. VAR. OF ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF  
PRV APPL narrate AUG S3SG.PST CMPL I

vaorek mimačamali čkimi osurskuaš  
va= [v]- or -e -k mi- ma- č -am -al -i čkim -i osur skua -š  
va= v- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> me- ma- -al č<sub>1</sub> -am<sub>3</sub> ma- -al -i<sub>1</sub> čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> osur skua -iš<sub>2</sub>  
NEG= S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG PRV PTC give SM PTC NOM my SV woman child GEN

tinc’k’əma , mužansət si gajšēčinenk  
tín -c’k’əma mužans =ə =t si ga- [g]š- e- čin -en -k  
tina<sub>1</sub>+POS. VAR. OF -c’k’uma mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF =i =t si ga-<sub>1</sub> giša- i-<sub>1</sub> čin<sub>5</sub> -en<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub>  
DEM.DIST SOC when =EV = you.SG PRF PRV APPL guess SM S1/2SG

ma mejčkvank žiri cxens arti tavadišis  
ma me- [g]- j- čkv -an -k žir -i cxen -s art -i tavad -iš -i -s  
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF me- g-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>2</sub> šk’<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> žir -i<sub>2</sub> cxen -s<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>2</sub> tavad -iš<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
I PRV IO2 APPL send SM S1/2SG two SV horse DAT one SV prince GEN SV DAT

do mažira ʔazaq’išis - arti t’anišis do  
do ma- žir -a ʔazaq’ -iš -i -s art -i t’an -iš -i -s do  
do<sub>1</sub> ma- -a<sub>2</sub> žir ma- -a<sub>2</sub> q’azaq’ -iš<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>2</sub> t’an -iš<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
and ORD two ORD peasant GEN SV DAT one SV posture GEN SV DAT and

naməre q’azaq’išin , ates si muč’o  
namə r -e q’azaq’ -iš -i =n ate -s si muč’o  
namu<sub>1</sub>+POS. VAR. OF or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> q’azaq’ -iš<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> =ni ate -s<sub>1</sub> si muč’o  
REFL.PRN be SM.INACT peasant GEN NOM =CMPL DEM.PROX DAT you.SG how

enc’q’əmilo kəmomčinkanədo , xete  
e- n- c’q’ -ə<sub>m</sub> -il -o kə- mo- m- [i]- čin -an -k =ə =do xete  
e-<sub>2</sub> n- c’q’<sub>5</sub> -um<sub>2</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -o(t) ko- mo- m-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>2</sub> čin<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> =i =do xate+FR. VAR. OF  
PRV SBM guess AUG PTC ADV AFF PRV IO1 APPL know SM S1/2SG =EV =CONN at once

xolo meuk’init osurs  
=xolo me- u- k’in -i -t osur -s  
=xolo me- u-<sub>1</sub> k’in<sub>4</sub> -i<sub>3</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> osur -s<sub>1</sub>  
=EMPH PRV APPL take IMP PL wife DAT

In the meantime, as the boy turns twenty years old, this sovereign dispatched a matchmaker to a(nother) sovereign (to request) his daughter(’s hand) for his son and that sovereign returned a response, namely I’m not going to give away my daughter before you solve (the following riddle): I will send you two horses, one of a prince, and the second one of a peasant, of the same size and if you return either of them to me as a sign that you have guesses, which one (that) of a peasant (is), at that very moment, take the woman.

43.1 ate močinelī ambeši gišanc’q’ualo  
ate mo- čin -el -i ambe -ši giša- n- c’q’ -u -al -o  
e+\*\*\* mo- čin<sub>3</sub> -el<sub>3</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> ambe -iš<sub>2</sub> giša- n- c’q’<sub>4</sub> -u<sub>6</sub> -al<sub>1</sub> -o(t)  
DEM.PROX PRV send PTC NOM story GEN PRV SBM find AUG PTC ADV

iʔu: xenc’əpeši doxores sxunuak do  
i- ʔ -u: xenc’əpe -ši doxore -s sxun -u -a -k do  
i-<sub>4</sub> ʔ<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> xenc’ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> doxore -s<sub>1</sub> sxun<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>3</sub> -a<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
be\_CVO happen S3SG.PST sovereign GEN manor house DAT prefer AUG MSD ERG and

žyabis degvianə bošiša sadiliši  
žyab -i -s d- e- gvian -ə boš -iša sadil -iš =i  
žyab -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> da-<sub>1</sub> e-<sub>3</sub> gvian -u<sub>1</sub> boš -iša<sub>1</sub> sadil -iš<sub>1</sub> =i  
girl SV DAT PRV DECAUS be late S3SG.PST boy ALL lunch GEN =EV

meyalak  
me- y -al -a -k  
me- yw -al<sub>4</sub> -a<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
PRV bring.INANM MSD MSD ERG

In order to guess the right answer to this sent riddle, a council began at the sovereign’s household, and the girl missed the time to bring the boy (his) meal(s).

43.2	mutun	dros	kəgašinə				ʒyabis	do
	mutun	-[i]	dro -s	kə-	g-	a-	š	-in -ə
	mutun	-i <sub>1</sub>	dro -s <sub>1</sub>	ko-	g <sub>0-1</sub>	o <sub>-9</sub>	š <sub>3</sub>	-in <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>
	anything	NOM	time	AFF	PRV	APPL	remember	AUG S3SG.PST
							girl	SV DAT and

kemuyə				bošis	oč'k'omali
ke-	m-	u-	ɣ	-ə	boš -i -s
ko-	me-	u <sub>-1</sub>	ɣw	-u <sub>1</sub>	boš -i <sub>2</sub> -s <sub>1</sub>
AFF	PRV	APPL	bring.INANM	S3SG.PST	boy SV DAT food NOM

At one point, the girl realised (it) and brought the boy (his) meal(s).

44	omboliak	(	ombolia	ʒoxo	te	bošis	)
	ombolia	-k	ombolia	ʒox	-o	te	boš -i -s
	ombolia	-k <sub>1</sub>	ombolia	ʒox	-o(n)	e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***	boš -i <sub>2</sub> -s <sub>1</sub>
	Ombolia	ERG	Ombolia	be called	SM.INACT	DEM.PROX	boy SV DAT

breli	endurə		te	ciras
brəl	=i	e-	ndur	-ə
brəl	=i	e-	ndur	-u <sub>1</sub>
much	=EV	APPL	reproach	S3SG.PST
			DEM.PROX	girl DAT

Ombolia (Ombolia is the name of this boy) resented this girl a lot.

45	-	mušeni	ezəma	xans	vamomiɣi
		mušen	=i	e	=zəma
		mušen	=i	e	=zoma
		why	=EV	DEM.PROX	=much
				time	DAT
				NEG=	PRV IO1
				APPL	bring.INANM
					PST.IND

sadiliado		?
sadil	-i	=a =do
sadil	-i <sub>1</sub>	=a =do
lunch	NOM	=QUOT =CONN

Why weren't you bringing (my) lunch for so long, eh? [he asked.]

46.1	ʒyabik	maʔunə	do	irpeli
	ʒyab	-i -k	m-	a- ʔun -ə
	ʒyab	-i <sub>2</sub> -k <sub>1</sub>	me-	a- ʔun <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>
	girl	SV ERG	PRV	APPL explain
			S3SG.PST	and everything
				NOM

ke:ču:			munepiši	gač'ireba	ombolias
k-	e:-	č	-u:	mun	-ep -iš =i
ko-	e- <sub>1</sub> +POS. VAR. OF	č <sub>2</sub>	-u <sub>1</sub>	mu(n) <sub>1</sub>	-ep -iš <sub>1</sub> =i
AFF	APPL	narrate	S3SG.PST	self	PL GEN =EV
				trouble	Ombolia DAT

The girl explained (the circumstances) from the very beginning and reported all her troubles to Ombolia.

46.2	omboliak	uc'u:	:
	ombolia	-k	u- c' -u:
	ombolia	-k <sub>1</sub>	u- <sub>1</sub> c' <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>
	Ombolia	ERG	APPL tell
			S3SG.PST

Ombolia told her:

47	-	skani		p'at'icema	didi	re	čkimi	c'k'ala	do
		sk'an		-i p'at'icema	did -i	r -e	čkim -i	c'k'ala	do
		skan <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF		-i <sub>2</sub> p'at'icema	did -i <sub>1</sub>	or -e(n) <sub>1</sub>	čkim <sub>1</sub> -i <sub>2</sub>	c'k'ala	do <sub>1</sub>
		your.SG		SV	respect	big	NOM	be	SM.INACT
						my	SV	SOC	and

ma	si	kədgogurua							muč'o
ma	si	kə-	d-	g-	o-	gur	-u	-a[n] -[k]	muč'o
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF	si	ko-	do-+POS. VAR. OF	g <sub>-1</sub>	o-	u <sub>1</sub>	gur <sub>3</sub>	o-	u <sub>1</sub> -an <sub>1</sub> -k <sub>2</sub>
I	you.SG	AFF	PRV	IO2	CAUS	learn	CAUS	SM	S1/2SG
									how

ok'o	ti		cxenepiši	gəšagoruan
ok'o	ti		cxen -ep -iš =i	gəša- gor -u -a =n
ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF	i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***		cxen -ep -iš <sub>1</sub> =i	giša- gor -u <sub>3</sub> -a <sub>1</sub> =ni
MOD	DEM.DIST		horse	PL GEN =EV
			PRV	find
				AUG OPT =CMPL

Your respect is great towards me, and I will teach you how you have to tell the right horse.

48.1	-	ʔude	gočolet	arti	,	ganžit		arti	k'ari
		ʔude	go-	čol -e -t	arti	go-	o-	n-	ž -i -t
		ʔude	go-	čol <sub>1</sub> -e <sub>3</sub> -t <sub>1</sub>	arti	go-	o-	n-	ž <sub>2</sub> -i <sub>3</sub> -t <sub>1</sub>
		house	PRV	empty	IMP	PL	HORT	PRV	FACT
								open	IMP
									PL
									one
									NOM
									door
									NOM

dinaxale	maryvit		tipi	do	minaškvit		cxenepi
dinaxale	m-	a-	ryv	-i -t	tip -i	do	min-
dinaxale	mo-	o <sub>-9</sub>	ryw+FR. VAR. OF	-i <sub>3</sub> -t <sub>1</sub>	tip -i <sub>1</sub>	do <sub>1</sub>	mino-
inside	PRV	APPL	scatter	IMP	PL	hay	NOM
						and	PRV
							APPL
							send
							IMP
							PL
							horse
							PL
							NOM

tipiši	oč'k'omuša
tip -iš =i	o- č'k'om -u -ša
tip -iš <sub>1</sub> =i	o- -u <sub>2</sub> č'k'om o- -u <sub>2</sub> -iš <sub>1</sub>
hay	GEN =EV
	SUP eat
	SUP ALL

Leave the house empty, open one door, distribute (some) hay inside the house here and there and let the horse inside to eat the hay.

48.2	namdga	cxeni	vareno		minilens		ʔudeša
	namdga	cxen -i	va=	r -en	=o	min-	i-
	namudga	cxen -i <sub>1</sub>	va=	or -e(n) <sub>1</sub>	=o <sub>1</sub>	min-	i-
	which.REL	horse	NOM	NEG=	be	SM.INACT	=CMPL
						PRV	AUTOCAUS
						go	SM
							S3SG
							house
							ALL

do	xate	kik'erk'elun		do	uk'uli
do	xate	k-	i-	k'erk'el	-u =n
do <sub>1</sub>	xate	ko-	i-	k'erk'el	-u(n) <sub>1</sub> =ni
and	at once	AFF	AUTOCAUS	somersault	SM.INACT =CMPL
				and	later =EV



54 ciraskuak uc'u: mumas :  
 cira skua -k u- c' -u: muma -s  
 cira skua -k<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> muma -s<sub>1</sub>  
 girl child ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST father DAT

The daughter told her father:

55 – čki vamašina mitini ežgura k'oči garda  
 čki va= m- a- š -in -a mitin -i e -žgura k'oč -i garda  
 čki va= m-<sub>1</sub> a- -e(n) š<sub>1</sub> a- -e(n) -a(n) mitin -i<sub>1</sub> e -žgura k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> garda  
 we NEG= IO1 POT find POT IO.PL nobody NOM DEM.PROX of kind man NOM beside

omboliašia , tina byolana mutunsiada vara  
 ombolia -ši =a tina b- yol -an -a mutun -s =i =a =da vara  
 ombolia -iš<sub>2</sub> =a i+\*\*\* m-<sub>1</sub> yol -an<sub>1</sub> -a(n) mutun -s<sub>1</sub> =i =a =da vara  
 Ombolia GEN =QUOT DEM.DIST IO1 do SM IO.PL anything DAT =EV =QUOT =EMPH either

dinapili re sakmeva  
 din -ap -il -i r -e sakme =v =a  
 din<sub>1</sub> -ap<sub>2</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> sakme =v =a  
 lose AUG PTC NOM be SM.INACT deal =EC =QUOT

We won't be able to find any man of this kind except Ombolia, she said, he will help us out somehow [, she said], otherwise the affair is lost [, she said].

56.1 – mu k'oči re ombolia ?  
 mu k'oč -i r -e ombolia  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> ombolia  
 either... or... man NOM be SM.INACT Ombolia

What (kind of a) man is Ombolia?

56.2 ik'itxə xenc'əpek  
 i- k'itx -ə xenc'əpe -k  
 i-<sub>1</sub> k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
 NON-PRS ask S3SG.PST sovereign ERG

The sovereign asked.

57.1 – muk'oči renda , ti k'oči  
 mu(n) k'oč -i r -en =da ti k'oč -i  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> =da i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* k'oč -i<sub>1</sub>  
 what man NOM be SM.INACT =EMPH DEM.DIST man NOM

re , namut si vitosumi c'anas c'oxole  
 r -e namu =t si vit o sum -i c'ana -s c'oxole  
 or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> namu<sub>1</sub> =t si vit do<sub>1</sub>+\*\*\* sum<sub>2</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> c'ana -s<sub>1</sub> c'oxole  
 be SM.INACT REFL.PRN = you.SG ten and three NOM year DAT in front

oʔviluša boši ožyonini  
 o- ʔvil -u -ša boš -i o- žyon -i =ni  
 o-<sub>2</sub> ʔvil o-<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>6</sub> žyon -i<sub>4</sub> =ni  
 SUP kill.SG SUP ALL boy NOM FACT send PST.IND =CMPL

What man is he, (he) is that man whom you, as he was a boy, as though sent to death thirteen years ago.

57.2 tik re ma dəmoguru  
 ti ti -k r -e ma də- m- o- gur -u  
 i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* -k<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF do- m-<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>1</sub> gur<sub>3</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.DIST ERG be SM.INACT I PRV IO1 CAUS learn S3SG.PST

cxenepiši gišagoruani do te sakvars  
 cxen -ep -iš =i giša- gor -u -a =ni do te sakvar -s  
 cxen -ep -iš<sub>1</sub> =i giša- gor -u<sub>3</sub> -a<sub>2</sub> =ni do<sub>1</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* sakvar -s<sub>1</sub>  
 horse PL GEN =EV PRV find AUG MSD =CMPL and DEM.PROX thing DAT

xolo tina ginmot'ena utuo , tku: žyabik  
 =xolo tina gin- m- o- t' -en -a utuo tk -u: žyab -i -k  
 =xolo i+\*\*\* gino- m-<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>6</sub> t'<sub>4</sub> -en<sub>1</sub> -a(n) utuo tkw -u<sub>1</sub> žyab -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 =EMPH DEM.DIST PRV IO1 FACT be saved SM IO.PL undoubtedly say S3SG.PST girl SV ERG

He taught me how to guess the horses and in this affair, too, he is definitely the only one who can save us, said the girl.

58.1 – tina varduo ma  
 tina va= r -d -u =o ma  
 i+\*\*\* va= or -d<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =o<sub>2</sub> ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF  
 DEM.DIST NEG= be EM S3SG.PST =QST I

voʔvilapen , munero  
 v= [v]- a- ʔvil -ap -e =n mu(n) -ner -o  
 va= v- a- -e(n) ʔvil -ap<sub>5</sub> -e(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -ner -o(t)  
 NEG= S1 POT kill.SG CAUS SM.INACT =CMPL what of kind ADV

getelə k'ini do vara sole mortua ?  
 g- e- tel -ə k'in =i do vara so -le mo- rt -u =a  
 go-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>5</sub> tel<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> k'in<sub>7</sub> =i do<sub>1</sub> vara sod -le mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =a  
 PRV DECAUS heal S3SG.PST again =EV and either where MOT PRV go S3SG.PST =QUOT

How come could I not have him killed? How has he come back to life again or where has he come from?

58.2 gek'viru: xenc'əpek  
 g- e- k'vir -u: xenc'əpe -k  
 go-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>5</sub> k'vir<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV DECAUS be surprised S3SG.PST sovereign ERG

The sovereign inquired with surprise.



He held those with his hand, gave a look (from above) at the sovereign's house and shot (an arrow at it).

65 miagə sagank xenc'əpeš ʔudes do  
mi- a- g -ə sagan -k xenc'əpe -iš ʔude -s do  
me- a-<sub>7</sub> g<sub>3</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> sagan -k<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> ʔude -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
PRV APPL hit S3SG.PST arrow ERG sovereign GEN house DAT and

gegnot'axə  
ge- gno- t'ax -ə  
ga-<sub>1</sub> gino- t'ax<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
PRF PRV break S3SG.PST

The arrow struck the sovereign's house and brought it down/smashed a part of it.

66 - aba , mortit , maq'arenkia ,  
aba mo- rt -i -t maq'ar -en -k =i =a  
aba mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>3</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> maq'ar -ep -k<sub>1</sub> =i =a  
well then PRV go IMP PL foot-soldier PL ERG =EV =QUOT

muč'inə xenc'əpek  
m- u- č -in -ə xenc'əpe -k  
me- u-<sub>1</sub> č<sub>2</sub> -in<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
PRV APPL narrate AUG S3SG.PST sovereign ERG

Well now, come here, (my) foot-soldiers, the sovereign ordered them.

67 akiani xenc'əpek migoru: maq'arepi , mara  
ak -ian -i xenc'əpe -k m- i- gor -u: maq'ar -ep -i mara  
ak -ian -i<sub>2</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> me- i-<sub>1</sub> gor -u<sub>1</sub> maq'ar -ep -i<sub>1</sub> mara<sub>1</sub>  
here SV sovereign ERG PRV APPL summon S3SG.PST foot-soldier PL NOM but

omboliak ak'a vežumu :  
ombolia -k ak'a v= e- žum -u  
ombolia -k<sub>1</sub> ak'a va= i-<sub>8</sub> žum -u<sub>1</sub>  
Ombolia ERG one NEG= APPL.CENTRIP take along S3SG.PST

The local sovereign has summoned (his) foot-soldiers, but Ombolia didn't take even one of them with him.

68 - ma urk xvale do tak kəmojʔona  
ma [v]- ur -k xvale do tak kə- mo- [g]- j- ʔon -a[n] -[k]  
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF v- wl -k<sub>1</sub> xvale do<sub>1</sub> tak ko- mo- g-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>2</sub> ʔon<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub>  
I go ERG alone and here AFF PRV IO2 APPL bring.ANM SM S1/2SG

skani osursia  
sk'an -i osur -s =i =a  
skan<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i<sub>2</sub> osur -s<sub>1</sub> =i =a  
your.SG SV woman DAT =EV =QUOT

I'll go alone and bring your wife here [, said Ombolia].

69 uc'u: xenc'əpek : " si gičkə  
u- c' -u: xenc'əpe -k si g- i- čk -ə  
u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> si g-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> čk -u(n)<sub>1</sub>  
APPL tell S3SG.PST sovereign ERG you.SG IO2 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT

muč'o udumarcxebuo murkie  
muč'o u- dumarcxebu -o m- ur -k =i =e  
muč'o u- -o(t) dumarcxebu u- -o(t) mo- wl -k<sub>2</sub> =i =e<sub>3</sub>  
how PRVT defeated PRVT PRV go S1/2SG =EV =QUOT+CMPL

The sovereign told him: You know, how victoriously you will come (back) here.

70.1 gagminc'q'u: omboliak , gedoxodu  
ga- gm- i- n- c'q' -u: ombolia -k ge- doxod -u  
ga-<sub>1</sub> gima- i-<sub>8</sub> n- c'q'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ombolia -k<sub>1</sub> ge- doxod -u<sub>1</sub>  
PRF PRV APPL.CENTRIP SBM see S3SG.PST Ombolia ERG PRV sit down S3SG.PST

cxens do midartə  
cxen -s do mida- rt -ə  
cxen -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
horse DAT and PRV go S3SG.PST

Ombolia got equipped, got on the horse and headed off.

70.2 šaras kešexvadə arti mal c'q'ark  
šara -s ke- še- xvad -ə art -i mal c'q'ar -k  
šara -s<sub>1</sub> ko- še- xvad<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>2</sub> mal c'q'ar -k<sub>1</sub>  
road DAT AFF PRV meet S3SG.PST one SV quick water ERG

On his way, he came across a quick spring.

71 miožinuo , kemunžiralə arti  
mi- o- žin -u =o ke- m- u- n- žir -al -ə art -i  
me- o-<sub>4</sub> žin -u<sub>1</sub> =o<sub>1</sub> ko- me- u- -al n- žir u- -al -u<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>2</sub>  
PRV APPL look S3SG.PST =CMPL AFF PRV PERF SBM lie down PERF S3SG.PST one SV

demi žgura k'os te c'q'ariša do  
dem -i -žgura k'o -s te c'q'ar -iša do  
dev+POS. VAR. OF -i<sub>2</sub> -žgura k'oč -s<sub>1</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* c'q'ar -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
daeva SV of kind man DAT DEM.PROX waterspring ALL and

košuns  
ko- š -un -s  
ko- šw<sub>1</sub> -un -s<sub>2</sub>  
AFF drink SM S3SG

As he took a look, (he saw that) a man who looked like a daeva had apparently lain down in front of the waterspring and is indeed drinking.

72 ate k'očiši dik'i c'q'ari arti q'ent'i  
 ate k'oč -iš =i dik' =i c'q'ar -i art -i q'ent' -i  
 e+\*\*\* k'oč -iš<sub>1</sub> =i dik' =i c'q'ar -i<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>2</sub> q'ent' -i<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX man GEN =EV downwards =EV water NOM one SV drop NOM

vemurs do - " p'umens ,  
 ve= m- ur -s do p'- um -en -s  
 va=+POS. VAR. OF me- wl -s<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub> m-<sub>1</sub> pum -en<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub>  
 NEG= PRV go S3SG and IO1 feel thirst SM S3SG

byurukia kižax ,"  
 b- yur -u -k =i =a k- i- žax -[u(n)]  
 v- yur -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> =i =a ko- i-<sub>8</sub> žax -u(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 S1 die SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT AFF APPL.CENTRIP call SM.INACT

iriato .  
 ir =i at -o  
 ir =i art -o(t)  
 every =EV one ADV

This man is not letting a drop of water fall down and (still): I feel thirsty, I am dying, he is saying it all the time.

73 omboliak kemertə do uc'u: :  
 ombolia -k ke- me- rt -ə do u- c' -u:  
 ombolia -k<sub>1</sub> ko- me- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 Ombolia ERG AFF PRV go S3SG.PST and APPL tell S3SG.PST

Ombolia approached and told him:

74 - žima , mu k'oči ʔopek sia ,  
 žima mu k'oč -i ʔ -op -e -k si =a  
 žima mu(n)<sub>2</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> ʔ<sub>1</sub> -op -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> si =a  
 brother either... or... man NOM be AUG SM.INACT S1/2SG you.SG =QUOT

tezəma c'q'ars artc'oro košunk do xolo  
 te -zəma c'q'ar -s art -c'oro ko- š -un -k do =xolo  
 te<sub>1</sub> -zoma+DIAL. VAR. OF c'q'ar -s<sub>1</sub> art -c'oro ko- š<sub>1</sub> -un -k<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub> =xolo  
 DEM.PROX much water DAT one at once AFF drink SM S1/2SG and =EMPH

p'umens byurukia  
 p'- um -en -s b- yur -u -k =i =a  
 m-<sub>1</sub> pum -en<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> v- yur -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> =i =a  
 IO1 feel thirst SM S3SG S1 die SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

ičiebukie .  
 i- čī -eb -u -k =i =e  
 i-<sub>8</sub> č<sub>2</sub> -eb<sub>1</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> =i =e<sub>3</sub>  
 APPL.CENTRIP narrate AUG SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT+CMPL

Brother, what (kind of a) man do you turn out to be, he said, (if) you are drinking this much water at once and still keep on saying: I am dying? [he asked.]

75 - vara mu k'oči vorek ma , ombolia  
 vara mu k'oč -i v- or -e -k ma ombolia  
 vara mu(n)<sub>2</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> v- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF ombolia  
 either either... or... man NOM S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG I Ombolia

re k'oči varava , uc'u: te  
 r -e k'oč -i vara =v =a u- c' -u: te  
 or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> vara =v =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\*  
 be SM.INACT man NOM CNJ =EC =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST DEM.PROX

k'očk .  
 k'oč -k  
 k'oč -k<sub>1</sub>  
 man ERG

Or else what (kind of a) man am I, if Ombolia is no man, this man told Ombolia.

76 - ma vorek ombolia do  
 ma v- or -e -k ombolia do  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF v- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> ombolia do<sub>1</sub>  
 I S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG Ombolia and

kemežimalia , uc'u: .  
 ke- m- e- žimal -i =a u- c' -u:  
 ko- m-<sub>1</sub> e-<sub>1</sub> žimal -i<sub>3</sub> =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF IO1 APPL become sworn brothers IMP =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST

I am Ombolia, and become a sworn brother to me, (Ombolia) told him.

77.1 - žgiria .  
 žgir -i =a  
 žgir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> =a  
 good NOM =QUOT

Good [ , he responded].

77.2 gak'iamxanages do meula .  
 g- ak'- i- amxanag -es do me- ul -a  
 ga-<sub>1</sub> ak'o- i-<sub>8</sub> amxanag -es do<sub>1</sub> me- wl -a(n)  
 PRF PRV APPL.CENTRIP become comrades S3PL.PST and PRV go S3PL

They became comrades and are going.

78 meula arti mindorsəni , koʒires dyaş  
 me- ul -a art -i mindor -s =ə =ni , ko- ʒir -es dya -s  
 me- wl -a(n) art -i₂ mindor -s₁ =i =ni ko- ʒir -es dya -s₁  
 PRV go S3PL one SV meadow DAT =EV =CMPL AFF see S3PL.PST day DAT

vouʒirə k'očişi tolsən peri oʒirap -  
 vo= u- ʒir -ə k'oč -iş =i tol -s =ə =n per -i o- ʒir -ap  
 va= u- -u(n)₁ ʒir u- -u(n)₁ k'oč -işi =i tol₁ -s₁ =i =ni per -i₂ o- -ap₂ ʒir o- -ap₂  
 NEG= PERF see PERF man GEN =EV eye DAT =EV =CMPL such SV SUP see SUP

gutans , q'iar kusk vitaamşvi uyu  
 gutan -s q'iar -s k- u- sk -[u] vit -a- amşv -i uyu  
 gutan -s₁ q'iar -s₁ ko- u- sk₂ -u₁ vit do₁ amşv -i₁ uyu  
 plough DAT double yoke DAT AFF APPL bind S3SG.PST ten and six NOM yoke

k'ambeşepi do koxonuna dexas  
 k'ambeş -ep -i do ko- xon -un -a dixa -s  
 k'ambe+FR. VAR. OF -ep -i₁ do₁ ko- xon -un -a(n) dixa -s₁  
 buffalo PL NOM and AFF plough SM S3PL soil DAT

As they were walking down one field, they saw (something) that a man's eye had never seen – (someone has) sixteen yoked buffalos bound in single and double yokes and are ploughing the soil.

79 mut bert'epi vareno etkmocens  
 mu =t bert' -ep -i va= r -en =o et- k- mo- c -en -s  
 mu(n)₁ =t bert' -ep -i₁ va= or -e(n)₁ =o₁ ito- ko- mo- c₂ -en₁ -s₂  
 self = clod PL NOM NEG= be SM.INACT =CMPL PRV AFF PRV scatter.PL SM S3SG

te xonusəni , arʒas č'k'omuns  
 te xon -u -a -s =ə =ni arʒa -s č'k'om -un -s  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* xon -u₃ -a₂ -s₁ =i =ni arʒa -s₁ č'k'om -un -s₁  
 DEM.PROX plough AUG MSD DAT =EV =CMPL all DAT eat SM DAT

gutaniş gimaʔvenʒi k'oči do  
 gutan -iş gi- ma- ʔven -ʒ -i k'oč -i do  
 gutan -işi ge- ma- ʒ ʔon₁ ma- ʒ -i₁ k'oč -i do₂  
 plough GEN PRV PTC take.ANM PTC NOM man NOM you know

Whatever clods (of soil) fall over while ploughing, the ploughman eats all of them, you know.

80 - vavaj , ʒima yureli , škirens  
 vavaj ʒima yurel -i [p]- škir -en -s  
 wawa ʒima yurel -i m- škir -en₁ -s₁  
 my oh my brother dead NOM IO1 feel hunger SM DAT

bʏurukia , iʒax  
 b- ʏur -u -k =i =a i- ʒax -[u(n)]  
 v- ʏur -u(n)₁ -k₂ =i =a i- ʒax -u(n)₁  
 S1 die SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT APPL.CENTRIP call SM.INACT

My oh my, ah me, I am starving to death, he is saying.

81.1 - ʒima , muk'oči rek sia ?  
 ʒima mu(n) k'oč -i r -e -k si =a  
 ʒima mu(n)₂ k'oč -i₁ or -e(n)₁ -k₂ si =a  
 brother what man NOM be SM.INACT S1/2SG you.SG =QUOT

Brother, what (kind of a) man are you?

81.2 k'itxu omboliak  
 k'itx -u ombolia -k  
 k'itx₁ -u₁ ombolia -k₁  
 ask S3SG.PST Ombolia ERG

Ombolia asked.

82 - vara mu k'oči vorek ma , ombolia  
 vara mu k'oč -i v- or -e -k ma ombolia  
 vara mu(n)₂ k'oč -i₁ v- or -e(n)₁ -k₂ ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF ombolia  
 either either... or... man NOM S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG I Ombolia

re k'oči varava  
 r -e k'oč -i vara =v =a  
 or -e(n)₁ k'oč -i₁ vara =v =a  
 be SM.INACT man NOM CNJ =EC =QUOT

Or else what (kind of a) man am I, if Ombolia is no man [, he said].

83 - ma vorek ombolia do  
 ma v- or -e -k ombolia do  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF v- or -e(n)₁ -k₂ ombolia do₁  
 I S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG Ombolia and

kemeʒimalia  
 ke- m- e- ʒimal -i =a  
 ko- m- e- ʒimal -i₃ =a  
 AFF IO1 APPL become sworn brothers IMP =QUOT

I am Ombolia, and become a sworn brother to me [, Ombolia replied].

84 keʒimalə e k'očk do midartes  
 k- e- ʒimal -ə e k'oč -k do mida- rt -es  
 ko- e- ʒimal -u₁ e k'oč -k₁ do₁ mida- rt₁ -es  
 AFF APPL become sworn brothers S3SG.PST DEM.PROX man ERG and PRV go S3PL.PST

sumxolok  
 sum =xolo -k  
 sum₁ =xolo -k₁  
 three =EMPH ERG

This man became his sworn brother and the three of them went on.

85 idesən , kešexvades masəma k'očk :  
 id -es =ə =n ke- še- xvad -es ma- səm -a k'oč -k  
 id -es =i =ni ko- še- xvad<sub>1</sub> -es ma- -a<sub>2</sub> sum<sub>1</sub> ma- -a<sub>2</sub> k'oč -k<sub>1</sub>  
 go S3PL.PST =EV =CMPL AFF PRV meet IO.PL.PST ORD three ORD man ERG

kəmaʒə k'učxis žiroši putiani  
 kə- m- a- ʒ -ə k'učx -i -s žir oš -i put -ian -i  
 ko- me- o-<sub>9</sub> ʒ -u(n)<sub>1</sub> k'učx -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> žir oš -i<sub>1</sub> put -ian -i<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL lie.INANM SM.INACT foot SV DAT two hundred NOM pood NOM

c'iskviliši kualepi do kimirule  
 c'iskvil -iš =i kua -l -ep -i do ki- m- i- rul -e  
 c'iskvil -iš<sub>1</sub> =i kua -l<sub>1</sub> -ep -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ko- me- i- -e(n) rul<sub>2</sub> i- -e(n)  
 mill GEN =EV stone SUFF.INTR PL NOM and AFF PRV POT run POT

While they were going, they met the third man: he is wearing on his feet two-hundred-pood (wind-)mill stones and still can run.

86.1 - mu k'oči rek , žima , sia ?  
 mu k'oč -i r -e -k žima si =a  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> žima si =a  
 either... or... man NOM be SM.INACT S1/2SG brother you.SG =QUOT

What (kind of a) man are you, brother?

86.2 k'itxə omboliak  
 k'itx -ə ombolia -k  
 k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ombolia -k<sub>1</sub>  
 ask S3SG.PST Ombolia ERG

Ombolia asked.

87 - ma mu k'oči vorek ,  
 ma mu k'oč -i v- or -e -k  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF mu(n)<sub>2</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> v- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub>  
 I either... or... man NOM S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG

skani č'iri , ombolia re k'oči  
 sk'an -i č'ir -i ombolia r -e k'oč -i  
 skan<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i<sub>1</sub> č'ir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> ombolia or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub>  
 your.SG NOM trouble NOM Ombolia be SM.INACT man NOM

varava  
 vara =v =a  
 vara =v =a  
 CNJ =EC =QUOT

What (kind of a) man am I, my dear please, anyways, (it is) Ombolia (who) is a (real) man [, he replied].

88 - aba , ma vorek ombolia do  
 aba ma v- or -e -k ombolia do  
 aba ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF v- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> ombolia do<sub>1</sub>  
 well then I S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG Ombolia and

kemežimalia , uc'u:  
 ke- m- e- žimal -i =a u- c' -u:  
 ko- m-<sub>1</sub> e-<sub>1</sub> žimal -i<sub>3</sub> =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF IO1 APPL become sworn brothers IMP =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST

Well then, I am Ombolia, and become my sworn brother, he told him.

89 kežimalə tek xolo do meula  
 k- e- žimal -ə te -k =xolo do me- ul -a  
 ko- e-<sub>1</sub> žimal -u<sub>1</sub> te<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> =xolo do<sub>1</sub> me- wl -a(n)  
 AFF APPL become sworn brothers S3SG.PST DEM.PROX ERG =EMPH and PRV go S3PL

otxolo arto xenc'əpeš doxoreša  
 otx =olo art -o xenc'əpe -iš doxore -ša  
 otx =xolo art -o(t) xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> doxore -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 four =EMPH one ADV sovereign GEN manor house ALL

This one, too, became (Ombolia's) sworn brother, and (so) the four of them are going to the sovereign's domain.

90 šaras kešexvades xolo art k'očk -  
 šara -s ke- še- xvad -es =xolo art k'oč -k  
 šara -s<sub>1</sub> ko- še- xvad<sub>1</sub> -es =xolo art k'oč -k<sub>1</sub>  
 road DAT AFF PRV meet IO.PL.PST =EMPH one man ERG

kigere mindors do  
 ki- ge- r -e mindor -s do  
 ko- ge- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> mindor -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF Specific Localisation and/or Orientation stand SM.INACT meadow DAT and

kužine iriatio haers  
 k- u- žin -e ir =i at -o haer -s  
 ko- u-<sub>1</sub> žin -e(n)<sub>1</sub> ir =i art -o(t) haer -s<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF APPL look SM.INACT every =EV one ADV air DAT

On their way, they came across one more man – he was standing in the field and staring at the air all the time.

91 - mus re , žima , šur got'ebulo  
 mu -s r -e žima šur go- t' -eb -ul -o  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> žima šur<sub>1</sub> go-<sub>1</sub> t'<sub>1</sub> -eb<sub>1</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -o(t)  
 what DAT be SM.INACT brother soul PRV let go SM PTC ADV

užinekie , k'itxə omboliak  
 u- žin -e -k =i =e k'itx -ə ombolia -k  
 u-<sub>1</sub> žin -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> =i =e<sub>3</sub> k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ombolia -k<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL look SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT+CMPL ask S3SG.PST Ombolia ERG

What is it, brother, that you are looking at (so) impatiently? asked Ombolia.

92 – musia , p'at'oni – da , ma  
 mu(n) -s =i =a , p'at'on =i =da , ma  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> =i =a p'at'on =i =da ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF  
 what DAT =EV =QUOT master =EV =COND I

vordia prevelepiši unčaši , arti t'orončk guri  
 v- or -d -i =a prevel -ep -iš =i unčaš -i , art -i t'oronč -k gur -i  
 v- or -d<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>4</sub> =a prevel -ep -iš<sub>1</sub> =i unčaš -i<sub>2</sub> art -i<sub>3</sub> t'oronč -k<sub>1</sub> gur<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>  
 S1 be EM PST.IND =QUOT bird PL GEN =EV elder SV one SV pigeon ERG heart NOM

kəmomʔonə do caša kimk'uk'etebə  
 kə- mo- m- [i]- ʔon -ə do ca -ša ki- mk'- u- k'et -eb -ə  
 ko- mo- m<sub>1</sub> i<sub>2</sub> ʔon<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ca -iša<sub>1</sub> ko- mik'o- u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> k'et -eb<sub>3</sub> u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV IO1 APPL have.ANM S3SG.PST and sky ALL AFF PRV PERF make SM.PERF PERF

budeva , kəvoʔoti taure masari do budek  
 bude =v =a kə- v- o- ʔot -i ta -ure masar -i do bude -k  
 bude =v =a ko- v- o- ʔot<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>4</sub> e+POS. VAR. OF ʔure masar -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> bude -k<sub>1</sub>  
 nest =EC =QUOT AFF S1 APPL throw PST.IND DEM.PROX side pole NOM and nest ERG

goc'os gajtələ , radgans monk'ardue  
 goc'os ga- [gl]t- ol -ə radgans monk'a r -d -u =e  
 goc'os ga-<sub>1</sub> gito- ol<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> radganc+POS. VAR. OF monk'a or -d<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =e<sub>3</sub>  
 last year PRF PRV fall down S3SG.PST since heavy be EM S3SG.PST =QUOT+CMPL

do t'orons kužinek , mara dio xolo vare  
 do t'oron -s k- u- žin -e -k mara dio =xolo va= r -e  
 do<sub>1</sub> t'oronč -s<sub>1</sub> ko- u-<sub>1</sub> žin -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> mara<sub>1</sub> dio =xolo va= or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 and pigeon DAT AFF APPL look SM.INACT S1/2SG but yet =EMPH NEG= be SM.INACT

xološa moč'irinapilia , uc'u:  
 xolo -ša mo- č'ir -in -ap -il -i =a u- c' -u:  
 xolo<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> mo- č'ir<sub>2</sub> -in<sub>1</sub> -ap<sub>2</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 close ALL PRV approach AUG AUG PTC NOM =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST

te k'očk  
 te k'oč -k  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* k'oč -k<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX man ERG

What (I am looking at), my lord, (is that) I was head of birds', one pigeon got angry with me and it had apparently built a nest in the air, I threw a pole at it from here and the nest fell down last year, as it had appeared heavy, I am waiting for the pigeon, but it has not yet been approaching (me), this man told (Ombolia).

93 – ʒalami k'oči koʔopek , žima , sia ,  
 ʒalam -i k'oč -i ko- ʔ -op -e -k žima si =a  
 ʒalam -i<sub>1</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> ko- ʔ<sub>1</sub> -op -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> žima si =a  
 strong NOM man NOM AFF be AUG.PERF SM.INACT S1/2SG brother you.SG =QUOT

uc'u: omboliak  
 u- c' -u: ombolia -k  
 u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ombolia -k<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL tell S3SG.PST Ombolia ERG

You apparently turn out to be a mighty man, brother, Ombolia told him.

94 – ma mu k'oči p'opek , p'at'oni  
 ma mu k'oč -i p'- [ʔ] -op -e -k p'at'on =i  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF mu(n)<sub>2</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> v- ʔ<sub>1</sub> -op -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> p'at'on =i  
 I either... or... man NOM S1 be AUG.PERF SM.INACT S1/2SG master =EV

, omboliare k'oči varava .  
 ombolia r -e k'oč -i vara =v =a  
 ombolia or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> vara =v =a  
 Ombolia be SM.INACT man NOM CNJ =EC =QUOT

What (kind of a) man am I, my lord, Ombolia is the (real) man [, he said].

95 – ma vorek ombolia do  
 ma v- or -e -k ombolia do  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF v- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> ombolia do<sub>1</sub>  
 I S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG Ombolia and

kemežimalia  
 ke- m- e- žimal -i =a  
 ko- m-<sub>1</sub> e-<sub>1</sub> žimal -i<sub>3</sub> =a  
 AFF IO1 APPL become sworn brothers IMP =QUOT

I am Ombolia, and become my sworn brother [, said Ombolia].

96 kežimalə tikit do midartes  
 k- e- žimal -ə ti- -k =i =t do midartes  
 ko- e-<sub>1</sub> žimal -u<sub>1</sub> ti<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> =i =t do<sub>1</sub> mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -es  
 AFF APPL become sworn brothers S3SG.PST DEM.DIST ERG =EV =ADD and PRV go S3PL.PST

arʒok arto  
 arʒo -k art -o  
 arʒa+FR. VAR. OF do<sub>1</sub> art -o(t)  
 all ERG one ADV

That one, too, became (Ombolia's) sworn brother, and they all went (on) together.

97 ides do kemertes xenc'əpeši doxoreša  
 id -es do ke- me- rt -es xenc'əpe -ši doxore -ša  
 id -es do<sub>1</sub> ko- me- rt<sub>1</sub> -es xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> doxore -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 go S3PL.PST and AFF PRV go S3PL.PST sovereign GEN manor house ALL



103 – tkvank kimiyu do c'oxole  
 tkvan -k ki- m- i- γ -u do c'oxole  
 tkvan -k<sub>1</sub> ko- me- i-<sub>1</sub> yw -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> c'oxole  
 your.PL ERG AFF PRV APPL bring.INANM S3SG.PST and in front

kəmortəda , a p'at'oni , bedinerk  
 kə- mo- rt -ə =da a p'at'on =i bediner -k  
 ko- mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =da a<sub>1</sub> p'at'on =i bednier -k<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST =COND hey!, here you are! master =EV happy ERG

gaʔis čkimi skuak , vardo čkimi  
 g- a- ʔ -i -s čkim -i skua -k , var =do čkim -i  
 g-<sub>1</sub> a-<sub>7</sub> ʔ<sub>5</sub> -i(n) -s<sub>2</sub> čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> skua -k<sub>1</sub> var =do čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub>  
 IO2 APPL belong SM.INACT S3SG my SV child ERG no =CONN my SV

marulek kəmortda – vemerčant  
 ma- rul -e -k kə- mo- rt -[u] =da ve= me- r- č -an -t  
 ma- -e rul<sub>2</sub> ma- -e -k<sub>1</sub> ko- mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =da va=+POS. VAR. OF me- r-<sub>1</sub> č<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -t<sub>1</sub>  
 PTC run PTC ERG AFF PRV go S3SG.PST =COND NEG= PRV IO2 give SM PL

osursia  
 osur -s =i =a  
 osur -s<sub>1</sub> =i =a  
 woman DAT =EV =QUOT

If (it is) your(s who will) (be the first to) bring (the water) and come here, here you are, my lord, possess my child happily, if my runner comes (first) – I will not give you the woman [, said the sovereign].

104 deq'abules tinenkət do  
 d- e- q'abul -es tin -en -k =ə =t do  
 do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>8</sub> q'abul -es tina<sub>2</sub> -ep -k<sub>1</sub> =i =t do<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP consent S3PL.PST DEM.DIST PL ERG =EV = and

gut'es marule  
 g- u- t' -es ma- rul -e  
 go-<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> t'<sub>1</sub> -es ma- -e rul<sub>2</sub> ma- -e  
 PRV EVO let go S3PL.PST PTC run PTC

They, too, accepted the challenge and dispatched a runner.

105 xenc'əpek gut'u ešmak'i do omboliak  
 xenc'əpe -k g- u- t' -u ešmak' -i do ombolia -k  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> go-<sub>2</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> t'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ešmak' -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ombolia -k<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign ERG PRV EVO let go S3SG.PST devil NOM and Ombolia ERG

c'iskviliši kuamo miruledən  
 c'iskvil -iš =i ku -am -o mi- rul -e -d -ə =n  
 c'iskvil -iš<sub>1</sub> =i kua -am<sub>1</sub> -o(t) me- rul<sub>2</sub> -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =ni  
 mill GEN =EV stone ADJ ADV PRV run SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST =CMPL

ti k'oči  
 ti k'oč -i  
 i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* k'oč -i<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.DIST man NOM

The sovereign dispatched a devil, and Ombolia (dispatched) the (one who) was running with stones, that man.

106 oržginə ešmak'is i k'očk birguliša do ška šaras  
 oržgin -ə ešmak' -i -s i k'oč -k birgul -iša do ška šara -s  
 oržgin -u<sub>1</sub> ešmak' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> i k'oč -k<sub>1</sub> birgul -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ška šara -s<sub>1</sub>  
 overcome S3SG.PST devil SV DAT DEM.DIST man ERG knee ALL and middle road DAT

kiglet'u  
 ki- gl- e- t' -u  
 ko- gila- i-<sub>8</sub> t'<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP leave S3SG.PST

This man outran the devil and left him half-way behind.

107 ešak'ik ipikr  
 ešak' -i -k i- pikr -[u]  
 ešmak'+DIAL. VAR. OF -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> pikr<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 devil SV ERG NON-PRS think S3SG.PST

108 – morti , tis kobyala ešmak'ursia  
 morti ti -s ko- b- yal -a[n] -[k] ešmak' -ur -s =i =a  
 morti t<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> ko- v- yal<sub>2</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> ešmak' -ur -s<sub>1</sub> =i =a  
 HORT DEM.DIST DAT AFF S1 do SM S1/2SG devil INAN\_ADJR DAT =EV =QUOT

The devil thought: Come on, I will do something devilish to him.

109 ginirt bero , ganc'q'u: st'oli do  
 gin- i- rt ber -o g- a- n- c'q' -u: st'ol -i do  
 gino- i-<sub>6</sub> rt<sub>1</sub> ber -o(t) go-<sub>2</sub> o-<sub>9</sub> n- c'q'<sub>3</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> st'ol -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV AUTOCAUS go old ADV PRV APPL SBM set S3SG.PST table NOM and

iopš sasmelepit  
 i- opš -[u] sasmel -ep -it  
 e-<sub>2</sub> pš+POS. VAR. OF -u<sub>1</sub> sasmel -ep -it  
 PRV fill S3SG.PST beverage PL INS

He turned into an old (man), set up a table and covered it with (alcoholic) drinks.

110 moley c'q'ari do murs omboliaš  
 mol- e- γ -[u] c'q'ar -i do m- ur -s ombolia -iš  
 mola- e-<sub>1</sub> γw -u<sub>1</sub> c'q'ar -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mo- wl -s<sub>2</sub> ombolia -iš<sub>2</sub>  
 PRV APPL bring.INANM S3SG.PST water NOM and PRV go S3SG Ombolia GEN

k'očin , kədoxvadu berk do dap'eižə  
 k'oč -i =n kə- do- xvad -u ber -k do da- p'eiž -ə  
 k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> =ni ko- do- xvad<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ber -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> da-<sub>1</sub> p'eiž -u<sub>1</sub>  
 man NOM =CMPL AFF PRV meet S3SG.PST old ERG and PRV invite S3SG.PST

ošumalepiša  
 ošumal -ep -iša  
 ošumal -ep -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 beverage PL ALL

When Ombolia's man has been bringing the water and is (now) coming, the old man was there to meet him and invited him for a drink.

111.1 ʔumens e k'os ; muk'udoxod do ʔalami  
 ʔum -en -s e k'o -s muk'- u- doxod -[u] do ʔalam =i  
 ʔum -en<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> e k'oč -s<sub>1</sub> muk'o- u<sub>1</sub> doxod -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ʔalam =i  
 feel thirst SM S3SG DEM.PROX man DAT PRV APPL sit down S3SG.PST and very =EV

dišum  
 d- i- š -um -[u]  
 do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>5</sub> šw<sub>1</sub> -um<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV DECAUS drink AUG S3SG.PST

This man is feeling thirsty; he joined the old man at the table and got considerably drunk.

111.2 dišumun , kədarul  
 d- i- š -um -u =n kə- d- a- rul -[u]  
 do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>5</sub> šw<sub>1</sub> -um<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =ni ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF a-<sub>7</sub> rul<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV DECAUS drink AUG S3SG.PST =CMPL AFF PRV APPL sleep S3SG.PST

When he got drunk, he fell asleep.

112 berk k'ini ešmak'o ginirt , botli  
 ber -k k'in =i ešmak' -o gin- i- rt -[u] , botl -i  
 ber -k<sub>1</sub> k'in<sub>7</sub> =i ešmak' -o(t) gino- i-<sub>6</sub> rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> botl -i<sub>1</sub>  
 old ERG again =EV devil ADV PRV AUTOCAUS turn S3SG.PST bottle NOM

kixvamilu c'q'aramo do irul  
 k- i- xvam -il -u c'q'ar -am -o do i- rul -[u]  
 ko- i-<sub>8</sub> xvam<sub>2</sub> -il<sub>3</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> c'q'ar -am<sub>1</sub> -o(t) do<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>6</sub> rul<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF APPL.CENTRIP grasp AUG S3SG.PST water ADJ ADV and AUTOCAUS run S3SG.PST

The old man turned back into the devil, grasped the bottle of water and hit the road.

113 degvianes c'q'ariši  
 d- e- gvian -es c'q'ar -iš =i  
 do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>8</sub> gvian -es c'q'ar -iš<sub>1</sub> =i  
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP be late S3PL.PST water GEN =EV

moyalan , omboliak uc'u: šoriši  
 mo- γ -al -a =n , ombolia -k u- c' -u: šor -iš =i  
 mo- γw -al<sub>2</sub> -a<sub>2</sub> =ni ombolia -k<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> šor -iš<sub>1</sub> =i  
 PRV bring.INANM AUG MSD =CMPL Ombolia ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST far away GEN =EV

mažine k'os  
 ma- žin -e k'o -s  
 ma- e žin ma- e k'oč -s<sub>1</sub>  
 PTC look PTC man DAT

As they were late to bring the water, Ombolia told the far-away-look-out man:

114 - arika , gita:žini , ešmak'uri vakiminuk'o  
 arika gito- o- žin -i ešmak' -ur -i va= kimin -u -k'o  
 arika gito- o-<sub>4</sub> žin -i<sub>3</sub> ešmak' -ur -i<sub>1</sub> va= kimin -u<sub>1</sub> -k'on  
 heads up PRV APPL look IMP devil INAN\_ADJR NOM NEG= do S3SG.PST COND

mutuni ti k'očkia  
 mutun -i ti k'oč -k =i =a  
 mutun -i<sub>1</sub> i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* k'oč -k<sub>1</sub> =i =a  
 anything NOM DEM.DIST man ERG =EV =QUOT

Come on-come on, take a look, has not that man by any chance done anything devilish? [he said.]

115 gita:žin i k'očkən , kožirə , muč'o  
 gito- o- žin -[u] i k'oč -k =ə =n , ko- žir -ə , muč'o  
 gito- žin -u<sub>1</sub> i k'oč -k<sub>1</sub> =i =ni ko- žir -u<sub>1</sub> muč'o  
 PRV look S3SG.PST DEM.DIST man ERG =EV =CMPL AFF see S3SG.PST how

dušumuap ešmak'is munepiši  
 d- u- š -um -u -ap -[u(n)] ešmak' -i -s mun -ep -iš =i  
 do-+POS. VAR. OF u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> šw<sub>1</sub> -um<sub>3</sub> -u<sub>6</sub> i- -u(n)<sub>2</sub> ešmak' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -ep -iš<sub>1</sub> =i  
 PRV PERF drink SM AUG PERF devil SV DAT self PL GEN =EV

maʔale do iši botli c'q'aramo  
 ma- ʔ -al -e do iši botl -i c'q'ar -am -o  
 ma- e ʔ<sub>1</sub> -al<sub>1</sub> ma- e do<sub>1</sub> iši botl -i<sub>1</sub> c'q'ar -am<sub>1</sub> -o(t)  
 PTC go along PTC PTC and EMPH bottle NOM water ADJ ADV

kəmuɣun do ač'idogač'it  
 kə- m- u- ɣ -u =n do ač'idogač'it  
 ko- mo- u-<sub>1</sub> ɣw -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni do<sub>1</sub> ač'idogač'it  
 AFF PRV APPL bring.INANM SM.INACT =CMPL and at full speed

kəmirulen  
 kə- m- i- rul -e =n  
 ko- mo- i-<sub>6</sub> rul<sub>2</sub> -e(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni  
 AFF PRV AUTOCAUS run SM.INACT =CMPL

That (look-out) man took a look, (and) saw that the devil had apparently made their fellow traveler drunk, (and) is now bringing the bottle of water and running hither not stopping for a breath.

116 geč'opə masari mažine k'očk do šumili  
 ge- č'op -ə masar -i ma- žin -e k'oč -k do š -um -il -i  
 ge- č'op -u<sub>1</sub> masar -i<sub>1</sub> ma- -e žin ma- -e k'oč -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> š<sub>1</sub> -um<sub>2</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV take S3SG.PST pole NOM PTC look PTC man ERG and drink AUG PTC NOM

k'oči mək'ožan st'olsən tes oʔot do  
 k'oč -i mək'o- žan st'ol -s =ə =n te -s o- ʔot do  
 k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> mik'o-+POS. VAR. OF žan<sub>1</sub> st'ol -s<sub>1</sub> =i =ni te<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>4</sub> ʔot<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 man NOM PRV lie table DAT =EV =CMPL DEM.PROX DAT APPL throw and

bork'epi katar'ax  
 bork' -ep -i k- at- a- t'ax  
 bork' -ep -i<sub>1</sub> ko- ato- o-<sub>3</sub> t'ax<sub>1</sub>  
 table leg PL NOM AFF PRV APPL break

The look-out man took a pole and threw it at the drunk man that was lying on the table and (thus) broke the table legs (off the table).

117 gejol šumili k'očk do važiru  
 ge- j- ol -[u] š -um -il -i k'oč -k do va= žir -u  
 ge- i-<sub>6</sub> ol<sub>3</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> š<sub>1</sub> -um<sub>2</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> k'oč -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> va= žir -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV AUTOCAUS leap S3SG.PST drink AUG PTC SV man ERG and NEG= see S3SG.PST

c'q'arini kuču guri  
 c'q'ar -i =ni k- u- č -u gur -i  
 c'q'ar -i<sub>1</sub> =ni ko- u-<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> gur<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>  
 water NOM =CMPL AFF APPL S3SG.PST heart NOM

The drunk (man) leapt up and, as he did not see the water, he got mad.

118 irul do kəmač'išu: ešmak'is  
 i- rul -[u] do kə- m- a- č'iš -u: ešmak' -i -s  
 i-<sub>6</sub> rul<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ko- mo- o-<sub>3</sub> č'iš -u<sub>1</sub> ešmak' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 AUTOCAUS run S3SG.PST and AFF PRV APPL catch up with S3SG.PST devil SV DAT

miduy botli do  
 mid- u- ɣ -[u] botl -i do  
 mida- u-<sub>1</sub> ɣw -u<sub>1</sub> botl -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV APPL take away.INANM S3SG.PST bottle NOM and

kəmiɣ c'q'ari  
 kə- m- i- ɣ -[u] c'q'ar -i  
 ko- mo- i-<sub>8</sub> ɣw -u<sub>1</sub> c'q'ar -i<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP bring.INANM S3SG.PST water NOM

He ran the devil down and caught him, took the bottle from him and brought the water here.

119.1 mu kiminək'o xenc'əpek ?  
 mu kimin -ə -k'o xenc'əpe -k  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> or... kimin -u<sub>1</sub> -k'on xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
 either... or... do S3SG.PST COND sovereign ERG

What was the sovereign (supposed) to do?

119.2 iak'inu do kimeču žyabi  
 i- a- k'in -u do ki- me- č -u žyab -i  
 e-<sub>2</sub> o-<sub>3</sub> k'in<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ko- me- č<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> žyab -i<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV APPL go and do S3SG.PST and AFF PRV give S3SG.PST girl NOM

He went and gave the girl (to Ombolia).

120.1 kimiʔonu: žyabi omboliak muš  
 ki- m- i- ʔon -u: žyab -i ombolia -k mu -š  
 ko- me- i-<sub>8</sub> ʔon<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> žyab -i<sub>1</sub> ombolia -k<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP bring.ANM S3SG.PST girl NOM Ombolia ERG self GEN

xenc'əpeš doxoreša  
 xenc'əpe -iš doxore -ša  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> doxore -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign GEN manor house ALL

Ombolia brought the girl to his sovereign's manor house.

120.2 iʔu: diara do ambek  
 i- ʔ -u: diara do ambe -k  
 i-<sub>4</sub> ʔ<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> diara do<sub>1</sub> ambe -k<sub>1</sub>  
 be\_CVO happen S3SG.PST feast and story ERG

A feast took place, and all the stuff.

121.1 masma dyas kədirulu  
 ma- sm -a dya -s kə- d- i- rul -u  
 ma- -a<sub>2</sub> sum<sub>1</sub>+POS. VAR. OF ma- -a<sub>2</sub> dya -s<sub>1</sub> ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>5</sub> rul<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 ORD three ORD day DAT AFF PRV DECAUS sleep S3SG.PST

omboliak  
 ombolia -k  
 ombolia -k<sub>1</sub>  
 Ombolia ERG

On the third day, Ombolia feel asleep.

121.2  
 xe.nc'əpek uc'u: p'ovars :  
 xe.nc'əpe -k u- c' -u: p'ovar -s  
 xenc'ipe+FR. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> u<sub>-1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> p'ovar -s<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST cook DAT

The sovereign told the cook:

122 – žgiri oč'k'omali gamik'eti amseri  
 žgir -i oč'k'omal -i ga- m- i- k'et -i am ser =i  
 žgir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> oč'k'omal -i<sub>1</sub> ga<sub>-2</sub> m<sub>-1</sub> i<sub>-1</sub> k'et -i<sub>3</sub> am ser =i  
 good NOM food NOM PRV IO1 APPL make IMP DEM.PROX:OBL evening =EV

omboliaš sap'at'icemotia  
 ombolia -iš sa- p'at'icem -ot =i =a  
 ombolia -iš<sub>2</sub> sa- -o(t) p'at'icem sa- -o(t) =i =a  
 Ombolia GEN PURP pay respect PURP =EV =QUOT

Cook (some) good food for me tonight to show (my/our) respect to Ombolia.

123  
 gak'etes oč'k'omali do gik'urcxinu:  
 g- a- k'et -es oč'k'omal -i do g- i- k'urcx -in -u:  
 ga<sub>-2</sub> a<sub>-3</sub> k'et -es oč'k'omal -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> g<sub>-1</sub> i<sub>-5</sub> k'urcx -in<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV FACT make S3PL.PST food NOM and IO2 DECAUS wake up AUG S3SG.PST

omboliak  
 ombolia -k  
 ombolia -k<sub>1</sub>  
 Ombolia ERG

They cooked the meals and Ombolia woke up.

124  
 xenc'əpe do muš osurk škaša kašexunes  
 xenc'əpe do mu -š osur -k ška -ša k- aš- e- xun -es  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF do<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> osur -k<sub>1</sub> ška -iša<sub>1</sub> ko- iša- i<sub>-1</sub> xun -es  
 sovereign and self GEN wife ERG middle ALL AFF PRV APPL seat S3PL.PST

ombolia do munepiši žyabi yviniš gimabumali  
 ombolia do mun -ep -iš =i žyab -i yvin -iš gim- a- b -um -al -i  
 ombolia do<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -ep -iš<sub>1</sub> =i žyab -i<sub>1</sub> yvin -iš<sub>1</sub> gima- o- -al<sub>1</sub> b<sub>1</sub> -um<sub>2</sub> o- -al<sub>1</sub> -i  
 Ombolia and self PL GEN =EV žyab NOM wine GEN PRV SUP.NOUN pour AUG SUP.NOUN  
 girl NOM wine GEN PRV SUP.NOUN pour AUG SUP.NOUN