

gaxarebuli	ordu	do	madlobeli	levaniši	muši	žgiri
gaxarebul -i	or -d -u	do	madlobel -i	levan -iš =i	mu -ši	žgir -i
gaxarebul -i <sub>1</sub>	or -d <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>	do <sub>1</sub>	madlobel -i <sub>1</sub>	levan -iš <sub>1</sub> =i	mu(n) <sub>1</sub> -iš <sub>2</sub>	žgir <sub>1</sub> -i <sub>1</sub>
happy	NOM be EM S3SG.PST		grateful	NOM	Levan GEN =EV	self GEN good NOM

k'očanašeni		žgiriši	kiminuašeni
k'oč -ana -šen =i		žgir -iš =i	kimin -ua -šen =i
k'oč -ana -iše(n) =i		žgir <sub>1</sub> -iš <sub>1</sub> =i	kimin -ua -iše(n) =i
man	ABSTR about =EV	good	GEN =EV do MSD EL =EV

Levan, the boar, the wolf, the bear, the puppy, and the hawk lived in the sovereign's house in splendour, everybody was happy and grateful to Levan for his dignity (lit. good manliness), (and) for his kindness (lit. doing of good).

95

ioseb	xurcilava	;	sopeli	lezažame	;	1921
ioseb	xurcilava		sopel -i	lezažame		1921
ioseb	xurcilava		sopel -i <sub>1</sub>	lezažame		1921
Ioseb	Xurcilava		village NOM	Lezažame		1921

Ioseb Xurcilava; village Lezažame; 1921.

## Xubua XXII: A Luduk'i and Aleksandre Tale

### Luduk'i do Aleksandreš arik'i

1

koʔopena		moxucebuli	čili	do	komonž'i
ko- ʔ -op	-en -a	moxucebul -i	čil -i	do	komonž -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>	komonž -i <sub>1</sub>
AFF be	AUG.PERF SM.INACT PL	aged NOM	wife NOM	and	husband NOM

Once upon a time, there were an old wife and (an old) husband.

2

moxucebulobas		kəðabadebuna		arti
moxucebul -oba -s	kəð- d-	a- bad -eb -un	-a	art -i
moxucebul -oba -s <sub>1</sub>	ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF	a- <sub>7</sub> bad -eb <sub>1</sub> -u(n) <sub>1</sub>	-a(n)	art -i <sub>1</sub>
aged	ABSTR DAT AFF PRV	APPL be born	AUG SM.INACT IO.PL	one NOM

komolskua  
komol skua  
komol skua  
male child

They evidently begot a son in the venerable age.

3

žgiri	ʔope	te	baχana
žgir -i	ʔ -op	-e	baχana
žgir <sub>1</sub> -i <sub>1</sub>	ʔ <sub>1</sub> -op	-e(n) <sub>1</sub>	e <sup>+</sup> DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
good	NOM be AUG.PERF SM.INACT	DEM.PROX	baχana child

This child has turned out good.

4 xuti c'anero ginortent ti droc ,  
 xut -i c'an -er -o gino- rt -e =n ti  
 xut -i<sub>2</sub> c'ana -er<sub>1</sub> -o(t) gino- rt<sub>1</sub> -e(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* dro -c  
 five SV year ADJ ADV PRV go SM.INACT =CMPL DEM.DIST time DAT

tanapa dʒas dumatəna te baʒana do  
 tanapa dʒa -s d- u- nat -əŋ -a te baʒana do  
 tanapa dʒa -s<sub>1</sub> do+POS. VAR. OF u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> nat -a(n) e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* baʒana do<sub>1</sub>  
 Easter day DAT PRV PERF baptise PERF S3PL DEM.PROX child and

saxeli kigudvaluna aleksandre  
 saxel -i ki- g- u- dv -al -un -a aleksandre  
 saxel -i<sub>1</sub> ko- go-<sub>2</sub> u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> dv<sub>1</sub> -al<sub>2</sub> u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -a(n) aleksandre  
 name NOM AFF PRV PERF put AUG PERF S3PL Aleksandre

When he turned five years old, that time on the Easter day, they apparently baptised him and named Aleksandre.

5 ga:tu: natua p'ap'ak do ginula droc , čit'ik  
 ga- a- t -u: nat -ua p'ap'a -k do gin- ul -a dro -c čit' -i -k  
 ga-<sub>2</sub> a-<sub>3</sub> t<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> nat -ua p'ap'a -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> gino- wl -a<sub>2</sub> dro -s<sub>1</sub> čit' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV FACT end S3SG.PST baptise MSD priest ERG and PRV go MSD time DAT bird SV ERG

kigladoxodə ginol k'arc žas do galobens  
 ki- gl- a- doxod -ə gino- l k'ar -c ža -s do galob -en -s  
 ko- gila- a-<sub>7</sub> doxod -u<sub>1</sub> gino- wl k'ar -s<sub>1</sub> ža -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> galob -en<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL sit down S3SG.PST PRV go door DAT tree DAT and sing SM S3SG

The priest completed the baptism and at the time of (their) departure, a bird sat down onto a tree next to exit door and began to sing (lit. is singing).

6 irčkilena tes p'ap'at do baʒana , dida do mumat  
 i- rčkil -en -a te -s p'ap'a =t do baʒana dida do muma =t  
 i- -e(n) rčkil i- -e(n) -a(n) te<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> p'ap'a =t do<sub>1</sub> baʒana dida do<sub>1</sub> muma =t  
 POT hear POT S3PL DEM.PROX DAT priest =ADD and child mother and father =ADD

The priest and child, the mother and the father can hear this.

7 - va:j , šuri saq'varelia , te čit'iš  
 va:j šur -i saq'varel -i =a te čit' -iš =i  
 va:j šur<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> saq'varel<sub>2</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> =a e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* čit' -iš<sub>1</sub> =i  
 oh soul NOM lovely NOM =QUOT DEM.PROX bird GEN =EV

galobas irčkilent tiši mardia !  
 galob -a -s i- rčkil -en ti- -ši mard -i =a  
 galob -a<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> i- -e(n) rčkil i- -e(n) ti<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> mard -i<sub>1</sub> =a  
 sing MSD DAT POT hear POT DEM.DIST GEN grace NOM =QUOT

My goodness, who can understand this bird's singing, let it be his grace!

8 tku: baʒanaš mumak  
 tk -u: baʒana -iš muma -k  
 tkw -u<sub>1</sub> baʒana -iš<sub>2</sub> muma -k<sub>1</sub>  
 say S3SG.PST child GEN father ERG

The child's father said.

9.1 - is ma koprčkilekia ,  
 i -s ma k- i- p- rčkil -e -k =i =a  
 i -s<sub>1</sub> ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF ko- i- -e(n) v- rčkil i- -e(n) -k<sub>2</sub> =i =a  
 DEM.DIST DAT I AFF POT S1 hear POT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

babava , uc'u: skuak  
 baba =v =a u- c' -u: skua -k  
 baba =v =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> skua -k<sub>1</sub>  
 father =EC =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST child ERG

I understand this, father, the child told him.

9.2 - mara tina ma koptkueve , tkva  
 mara tina ma ko- p- tku -e =v =e tkva  
 mara<sub>1</sub> i+\*\*\* ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF ko- v- tkw -e<sub>2</sub> =v =e<sub>3</sub> tkva(n)  
 but DEM.DIST I AFF S1 say OPT =EC =QUOT+CMPL you.PL

gec'q'inebunania  
 g- e- c'q'in -eb -un -an =i =a  
 g-<sub>1</sub> e-<sub>1</sub> c'q'in -eb<sub>1</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -a(n) =i =a  
 IO2 APPL offend AUG SM.INACT IO.PL =EV =QUOT

But if I would say it, you will take offence [ , he said].

10.1 - tena sac'q'eni reniavo , skuava  
 tena sa- c'q'en -i r- -en =i =a =v =o skua =v =a  
 e+\*\*\* sa- c'q'in -i<sub>1</sub> r-<sub>1</sub> -e(n)<sub>1</sub> =i =a =v =o<sub>2</sub> skua =v =a  
 DEM.PROX PURP offend NOM IO2 SM.INACT =EV =QUOT =EC =QST child =EC =QUOT

?

Is this offensive, (my) child? [they asked.]

10.2 čkimi skua čit'iš galobas kirčkileniada ,  
 čkim -i skua čit' -iš galob -a -s k- i- rčkil -en =i =a =da  
 čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> skua čit' -iš<sub>1</sub> galob -a<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> ko- i- -e(n) rčkil i- -e(n) =i =a =da  
 my NOM child bird GEN sing MSD DAT AFF POT hear POT =EV =QUOT =COND

timc'k'əma i'pinia čkimo  
 tim -c'k'əma i- ? -in =i =a čkim -o  
 ti<sub>1</sub>+POS. VAR. OF -c'k'uma+DIAL. VAR. OF i-<sub>4</sub> ?<sub>1</sub> -i(n) =i =a čkim<sub>2</sub> -o(t)  
 DEM.DIST SOC be\_CVO become SM.INACT =EV =QUOT I:OBL ADV

mažira tanapava  
 ma- žir -a tanapa =v =a  
 ma- -a<sub>2</sub> žir ma- -a<sub>2</sub> tanapa =v =a  
 ORD two ORD Easter =EC =QUOT

If my child understands the bird's singing, this will become the Kingdom Come (lit. the second Easter) for me [ , said the father].

11 – aba , čit'i tes ragadansia :  
 aba čit' -i te -s ragad -an -s =i =a  
 aba čit' -i<sub>1</sub> te<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> ragad -an<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> =i =a  
 well then bird NOM DEM.PROX DAT talk SM S3SG =EV =QUOT

Well, the bird speaks this [ , he said]:

12 – aleksandre tižgura boši  
 aleksandre ti- žgura boš -i  
 aleksandre i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* žgura boš -i<sub>1</sub>  
 Aleksandre DEM.DIST of kind boy NOM

ki:ʔinia , dida do muma k'učxiši  
 ki- i- ʔ -in =i =a dida do muma k'učx -iš =i  
 ko- i<sub>4</sub> ʔ<sub>1</sub> -i(n) =i =a dida do<sub>1</sub> muma k'učx -iš<sub>1</sub> =i  
 AFF be\_CVO become SM.INACT =EV =QUOT mother and father foot GEN =EV

mabonalo vaskudasie  
 ma- bon -al -o va= skud -a -s =i =e  
 ma- -o bon -al<sub>2</sub> ma- -o va= sk'id+DIAL. VAR. OF -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> =i =e<sub>3</sub>  
 PTC bathe AUG PTC NEG= remain OPT S3SG =EV =QUOT+CMPL

Aleksandre will become such a boy [ , it said], that (his) mother and father will not be worthy of washing his feet [ , it said].

13 mumas mutuni voutkualən do didak  
 muma -s mutun -i vo= u- tku -al -ə =n do dida -k  
 muma -s<sub>1</sub> mutun -i<sub>1</sub> va= u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> tkw -al<sub>2</sub> u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni do<sub>1</sub> dida -k<sub>1</sub>  
 father DAT anything NOM NEG= PERF say AUG PERF =CMPL and mother ERG

tku: :  
 tk -u:  
 tkw -u<sub>1</sub>  
 say S3SG.PST

As the father had not apparently said anything, so (lit. and) the mother said:

14 – im dɣaša si vemgartua  
 im dɣa -ša si ve= m- g- a- rt -u =a  
 im dɣa -iša<sub>1</sub> si va=+POS. VAR. OF me- g-<sub>1</sub> a- -e(n) rt<sub>1</sub> a- -e(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF =a  
 DEM.DIST:OBL day ALL you.SG NEG= PRV IO2 POT go POT =QUOT

, skuava  
 skua =v =a  
 skua =v =a  
 child =EC =QUOT

(I wish) you would not come to that day, (my) child.

15 – muč'o tkvi: si enava , - do  
 muč'o tkv -j: si ena =v =a do  
 muč'o tkw -i<sub>4</sub> si e+\*\*\* =v =a do<sub>1</sub>  
 how say PST.IND you.SG DEM.PROX =EC =QUOT and

gak'a:ntxes čili do komončk  
 g- ak'o- o- n- tx -es čil -i do komonč -k  
 ga-<sub>1</sub> ek'o-+DIAL. VAR. OF o-<sub>4</sub> n- tx<sub>2</sub> -es čil -i<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub> komonč<sub>3</sub>+FR. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
 PRF PRV APPL SBM argue S3PL.PST wife SV and husband ERG

How did you (dare to) say this? [said the husband,] and the wife and the husband began arguing.

16 breli ičxubes , mara bolos išeni  
 breli =i i- čxub -es mara bolo -s išen =i  
 breli =i i-<sub>1</sub> čxub -es mara<sub>1</sub> bolo -s<sub>3</sub> išen =i  
 much =EV NON-PRS argue S3PL.PST but end ADV yet =EV

kidi:ʔunu: osurk komonži do  
 ki- d- i:- ʔun -u: osur -k komonž -i do  
 ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>3</sub> ʔun<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> osur -k<sub>1</sub> komonž -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV EVO persuade S3SG.PST wife ERG husband NOM and

dač'k'adapu: c'q'ari  
 d- a- č'k'ad -ap -u: c'q'ar -i  
 do-+POS. VAR. OF o- -ap<sub>1</sub> č'k'ad o- -ap<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> c'q'ar -i<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV CAUS forge CAUS S3SG.PST water NOM

vemtišun peri iašik'i  
 ve= mt- i- š -u =n per -i iašik' -i  
 va=+POS. VAR. OF mito- i- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> š<sub>2</sub> i- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni per -i<sub>2</sub> iašik' -i<sub>1</sub>  
 NEG= PRV DECAUS go:IMPRF DECAUS =CMPL such SV box NOM

kidnaxunapu: baɣana do gioɔotinapu:  
 ki- dn- a- xun -ap -u: baɣana do gi- o- ɔot -in -ap -u:  
 ko- dino- o- -ap<sub>1</sub> xun o- -ap<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> baɣana do<sub>1</sub> ge- o- -ap<sub>1</sub> ɔot<sub>1</sub> -in<sub>1</sub> o- -ap<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV CAUS seat CAUS S3SG.PST child and PRV CAUS throw AUG CAUS S3SG.PST

zɣvaša  
 zɣva -ša  
 zɣva+POS. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 sea ALL

They argued a lot, but in the end the wife made (her) husband agree (her) and made him hammer such a box that water does not penetrate, made him seat the child in it and made him throw it to the sea.

17 mečxomenk koɔires iašik'i , got'axes  
 me- čxom -e -n -k ko- ɔir -es iašik' -i go- t'ax -es  
 me- -e čxom me- -e -ep+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> ko- ɔir -es iašik' -i<sub>1</sub> go-<sub>1</sub> t'ax<sub>1</sub> -es  
 QPTC fish QPTC PL ERG AFF see S3PL.PST box NOM PRV break S3PL.PST

do gešeɔones ondət šuri  
 do geš- e- ɔon -es ondət šur -i  
 do<sub>1</sub> geša- i-<sub>8</sub> ɔon<sub>1</sub> -es ondət šur<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>  
 and PRV APPL.CENTRIP bring out.ANM S3PL.PST barely soul NOM

udgəðən peri boši  
 u- dg -ə -d -ə =n per -i boš -i  
 u-<sub>1</sub> dg -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =ni per -i<sub>2</sub> boš -i<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL stand SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST =CMPL such SV boy NOM

(Some) fishermen saw the box, broke it and brought out of it the child who was (already) hardly alive.

18 gek'iɔunes ɔgaša do k'up'ecis  
 g- ek' -i ɔun -es ɔga -ša do k'up'ec -i -s  
 ga-<sub>1</sub> ek'o- i-<sub>8</sub> ɔon<sub>1</sub> -es ɔga<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> k'up'ec -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 PRF PRV APPL.CENTRIP take.ANM S3PL.PST shore ALL and merchant SV DAT

kimeɔides vitožiri manatiša  
 ki- me- ɔid -es vit o žir -i manat -iša  
 ko- me- ɔid -es vit do<sub>1</sub>+\*\*\* žir -i<sub>2</sub> manat -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV sell S3PL.PST ten and two SV rouble ALL

They took him to the shore and sold to a merchant for twelve roubles.

19 ate k'up'eci ore xenc'əpeši veziri do  
 ate k'up'ec -i or -e xenc'əpe -ši vezir -i do  
 e+\*\*\* k'up'ec -i<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> vezir -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX merchant NOM be SM.INACT sovereign GEN vizier NOM and

gilurc , mu sak'urelie , doxoreša  
 gil- ur -c mu sak'urel -i [or] -e doxore -ša  
 gila- wl -s<sub>2</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub> sak'urel -i<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> doxore -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV go S3SG either... or... surprising NOM be SM.INACT manor house ALL

This merchant is a sovereign's vizier and, of course, appears at the (sovereign's) court.

20 ate baɣana ɔalams uɔorc te vezirc do  
 ate baɣana ɔalam -s u- ɔor -c te vezir -c do  
 e+\*\*\* baɣana ɔalam -s<sub>3</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> ɔor -s<sub>2</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* vezir -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX child very ADV APPL love S3SG DEM.PROX vizier DAT and

iro č'k'uas oguruans , mužansət  
 ir -o č'k'ua -s o- gur -u -an -s mužans =ə =t  
 ir -o(t) č'k'ua -s<sub>1</sub> o- -u<sub>1</sub> gur<sub>3</sub> o- -u<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF =i =t  
 every ADV reasoning DAT CAUS learn CAUS SM S3SG when =EV =

čodən  
 čod -ə =n  
 čol<sub>2</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni  
 have spare time SM.INACT =CMPL

This vizier loves this child very much and teaches him good reason, when he has spare time.

21 art maras veziri ir dɣas kiglurc sodgareni  
 art mara -s vezir -i ir dɣa -s ki- gl- ur -c sodgaren =i  
 art mara<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> vezir -i<sub>1</sub> ir dɣa -s<sub>1</sub> ko- gila- wl -s<sub>2</sub> sodgaren =i  
 one week DAT vizier NOM entire day DAT AFF PRV go S3SG somewhere =EV

oč'əmareše onžuaša do ate baɣanaši oragaduša  
 oč'əmare -še onžua -ša do ate baɣana -ši o- ragad -u -ša  
 oč'umare+FR. VAR. OF -iše(n) onžua -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> e+\*\*\* baɣana -iš<sub>2</sub> o- -u<sub>2</sub> ragad o- -u<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 morning EL evening ALL and DEM.PROX child GEN SUP talk SUP ALL

vačolamə šuro  
 va= čol -am -ə šur -o  
 va= čol<sub>2</sub> -am<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> šur<sub>1</sub> -o(t)  
 NEG= have spare time AUG S3SG.PST soul ADV

One week, the vizier goes somewhere around (on business) from the morning to the evening and could not find any time at all to teach this child.

22 kəmortə onžuas vezirkən , te  
 kə- mo- rt -ə onžua -s vezir -k =ə =n te  
 ko- mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> onžua -s<sub>1</sub> vezir -k<sub>1</sub> =i =ni e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\*  
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST evening DAT vizier ERG =EV =CMPL DEM.PROX

baɣanak k'itxə :  
 baɣana -k k'itx -ə  
 baɣana -k<sub>1</sub> k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 child ERG ask S3SG.PST

When the vizier came (back home) in the evening, this child asked him:

23 – mušeni re ase teli dɣat šxvado gilurk do  
 mušen =i r -e ase tel -i dɣa -t šxva -do gil- ur -k do  
 mušen =i or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> ase tel<sub>2</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> dɣa -t<sub>2</sub> šxva -do gila- wl -k<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 why =EV be SM.INACT now entire SV day INS other ADV PRV go S1/2SG and

mudgareni pikrepi giɣunie !  
 mudga -ren -i pikr -ep -i g- i- ɣ -un =i =e  
 mudga -ren -i<sub>1</sub> pikr<sub>2</sub> -ep -i<sub>1</sub> g-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> ɣw -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =i =e<sub>3</sub>  
 whatever INDEF NOM thought PL NOM IO2 APPL have.INANM SM.INACT =EV =QUOTE+CMPL

Why is it that you go around some other places and have some thoughts?

24 – ma vorek xenc'əpeš minist'eri ,  
 ma(n) v- or -e -k xenc'əpe minist'er -i  
 ma(n) v- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> minist'er -i<sub>1</sub>  
 I S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG sovereign GEN minister NOM

xenc'əpes geudgə arti didi ža , tek  
 xenc'əpe -s ge- u- dg -ə art -i did -i ža te -k  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> ge- u-<sub>1</sub> dg -u(n)<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>1</sub> did -i<sub>1</sub> ža te<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign DAT PRV APPL stand SM.INACT one NOM big NOM tree DEM.PROX ERG

kigmapurinana sumi q'variepi oč'əmares do  
 ki- gm- a- purin -an -a sum -i q'vari -ep -i oč'əmare -s do  
 ko- gima- o-<sub>3</sub> purin -an<sub>1</sub> -a(n) sum<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> q'varia -ep -i<sub>1</sub> oč'umare+FR. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL fly SM S3PL three SV crow PL NOM morning DAT and

onžuaša iriato gəmaq'ianania  
 onžua -ša ir =i at -o gəm- a- q'i -an -an =i =a  
 onžua -iša<sub>1</sub> ir =i art -o(t) gim- o-<sub>3</sub> q'i -an<sub>1</sub> -a(n) =i =a  
 evening ALL every =EV one ADV PRV APPL crow SM S3PL =EV =QUOTE

I am (my) sovereign's minister, the sovereign has a big tree, three crows fly down to it and croak until the evening [ , he said].

25 mus txulena tinepin , tina  
 mu -s txul -en -a tin -ep -i =n tina  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> txul -en<sub>1</sub> -a(n) tina<sub>1</sub>+POS. VAR. OF -ep -i<sub>1</sub> =ni i+\*\*\*  
 what DAT request SM S3PL DEM.DIST PL NOM =CMPL DEM.DIST

mok'ona varčiat , mara mutunnero  
 m- o- k' -on -a v- arč -i -a -t mara mutun -ner -o  
 m-<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>11</sub> k'<sub>1</sub> -o(n) -a(n) v- arč -i<sub>5</sub> -a<sub>1</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> mara<sub>1</sub> mutun -ner -o(t)  
 IO1 want\_CVO want SM.INACT IO.PL S1 discern AUG OPT PL but anything of kind ADV

du<sup>t</sup>k vegmadginesia , tku: vezirk  
 dut -k ve= g- m- a- dgin -es =i =a tk -u: vezir -k  
 dud<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> va+=POS. VAR. OF go-<sub>2</sub> m-<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>6</sub> dgin<sub>1</sub> -es =i =a tkw -u<sub>1</sub> vezir -k<sub>1</sub>  
 head ERG NEG= PRV IO1 FACT find out IO.PL.PST =EV =QUOTE say S3SG.PST vizier ERG

What they are asking for, that (thing) we want to discern, but we could not find it out anyhow, said the vizier.

26.1 – tes duc gedgunsən per k'oc mus  
 te -s du -c ge- dg -un -s =ə =n per k'o -c mu -s  
 te<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> dud<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> ge- dg -un -s<sub>2</sub> =i =ni per k'oč -s<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX DAT head DAT PRV place SM S3SG =EV =CMPL such man DAT what DAT

mečantia ?  
 me- č -an -t =i =a  
 me- č<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> =i =a  
 PRV give SM PL =EV =QUOTE

To a man who will find this out, what will you give?

26.2 ik'itxə bošik  
 i- k'itx -ə boš -i -k  
 i-<sub>1</sub> k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 NON-PRS ask S3SG.PST boy SV ERG

Asked the boy.

27 – xenc'əpe arzenc muši cira-skuas osuro do  
 xenc'əpe a- rz -en -c mu -ši cira skua -s osur -o do  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF a-<sub>7</sub> rz<sub>1</sub> -en<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> cira skua -s<sub>1</sub> osur -o(t) do<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign APPL give SM S3SG self GEN girl child DAT wife ADV and

saxenc'əpos xolo tis unt'k'icensia  
 saxenc'əpo -s =xolo ti -s u- nt'k'ic -en -s =i =a  
 saxenc'ipo+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> =xolo ti<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> nt'k'ic -en<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> =i =a  
 domain DAT =EMPH DEM.DIST DAT APPL confer SM S3SG =EV =QUOTE

The sovereign gives him his daughter as a wife and also confers his domain on him [ , said the vizier].

28 – aba , dant'k'iceba ga:jc'uɣia do is ma  
 aba da- nt'k'ic -eba do i -s ma  
 aba da-<sub>1</sub> nt'k'ic -oba do<sub>1</sub> i -s<sub>1</sub> ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF  
 well then PRV confirm ABSTR and DEM.DIST DAT I

kuc'i:nkia , q'variepi mus  
 k- [v]- u- c' -i:n -k =i =a q'vari -ep -i mu -s  
 ko- v- u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -in<sub>3</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>2</sub> =i =a q'varia -ep -i<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF S1 APPL tell SM S1/2SG =EV =QUOTE crow PL NOM what DAT

ičiebunanie , uc'u: bošik  
 i- č<sub>1</sub> -eb -un -an =i =e u- c' -u: boš -i -k  
 i-<sub>8</sub> č<sub>2</sub> -eb<sub>1</sub> -un -a(n) =i =e<sub>3</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL.CENTRIP narrate AUG SM S3PL =EV =QUOTE+CMPL APPL tell S3SG.PST boy SV ERG

Well then, take a confirmation (of this) and I will tell him what the crows are talking about, told him the boy.

29.1	midartə	vezirk	xenc'əpeša	do
	mida-rt -ə	vezir -k	xenc'əpe	-ša do
	mida-rt <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>	vezir -k <sub>1</sub>	xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF	-iša <sub>1</sub> do <sub>1</sub>
	PRV go S3SG.PST	vizier ERG	sovereign	ALL and

ma:šinə		irpeli
m- a:	š -in -ə	irpel -i
mo- o- -in <sub>2</sub> š <sub>3</sub>	o- -in <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>	irpel -i <sub>1</sub>
PRV	remember CAUS S3SG.PST	everything NOM

The vizier went to the sovereign and reported everything to him.

29.2	kič'anes	boši
	k- i- č'an -es	boš -i
	ko- i- <sub>8</sub> č'an -es	boš -i <sub>1</sub>
	AFF APPL.CENTRIP call in S3PL.PST	boy NOM

They summoned the boy.

30.1	bošik	mirčkilu:	q'variepiši	q'ia
	boš -i -k	m- i- rčkil -u:	q'vari -ep -iš =i	q'i -a
	boš -i <sub>2</sub> -k <sub>1</sub>	me- i- <sub>1</sub> rčkil -u <sub>1</sub>	q'varia -ep -iš <sub>1</sub> =i	q'i -a <sub>2</sub>
	boy SV ERG	PRV APPL listen S3SG.PST	crow PL GEN =EV	crow MSD

The boy listened to the crows' croaking.

30.2	xenc'əpes	uc'u:
	xenc'əpe -s	u- c' -u:
	xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF	-s <sub>1</sub> u- <sub>1</sub> c' <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>
	sovereign	DAT APPL tell S3SG.PST

He told the sovereign:

31	– mužanc tenepi	mirčkiluana	skani
	mužanc ten -ep -i	m- i- rčkil -u -an -a	sk'an -i
	mužanc e+*** -ep -i <sub>1</sub>	me- i- <sub>1</sub> rčkil -u <sub>3</sub> -an <sub>1</sub> -a(n)	skan <sub>1</sub> +DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i <sub>1</sub>
	DEM.PROX PL NOM	PRV APPL listen AUG SM S3PL	your.SG NOM

ganačeni	sakmesie
ga- na- čen -i	sakme -s =i =e
ga- <sub>2</sub> na- čen <sub>2</sub> -i <sub>1</sub>	sakme -s <sub>1</sub> =i =e <sub>3</sub>
PRV EVID.PTC decide NOM	deal DAT =EV =QUOT+CMPL

tic'k'əma	kopurinunan	do var do
ti -c'k'əma	ko- purin -un -a(n)	do var do
i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***	ko- purin -un -a(n)	do <sub>1</sub> var do <sub>1</sub>
DEM.DIST	AFF fly SM S3PL	and no

ma	vamaragadu:	martalo	tinepiši
ma	va= m- a- ragad -u:	martal -o	tin -ep -iš =i
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF	va= m- <sub>1</sub> a- <sub>2</sub> ragad -u <sub>1</sub>	martal -o(t)	tina <sub>2</sub> -ep -iš <sub>1</sub> =i
I	NEG= IO1 POT talk S3SG.PST	true ADV	DEM.DIST PL GEN =EV

čiebakda	onžuaša	tak	iPinania
či -eb -a -k =da	onžua -ša	tak i-	ʔ -in -an =i =a
č <sub>2</sub> -eb <sub>1</sub> -a <sub>2</sub> -k <sub>1</sub> =da	onžua -iša <sub>1</sub>	tak i- <sub>4</sub>	ʔ <sub>1</sub> -i(n) -a(n) =i =a
narrate AUG MSD ERG =COND	evening ALL here	be_CVO	be SM.INACT S3PL =EV =QUOT

When these listen to your verdict, then they will fly away, and if not, if I've failed to retell their talk correctly, they will be here until the evening.

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

The sovereign asked him:

33	– mus	ičiebuna	tinepin
	mu -s i-	či -eb -un -a	tin -ep -i =n
	mu(n) <sub>2</sub> -s <sub>1</sub> i- <sub>8</sub>	č <sub>2</sub> -eb <sub>1</sub> -un -a(n)	tina <sub>1</sub> +POS. VAR. OF -ep -i <sub>1</sub> =ni
	what DAT	APPL.CENTRIP narrate AUG SM S3PL	DEM.DIST PL NOM =CMPL

komic'i:	koičkəniada
ko- m- i- c' -i:	ko- [g]- i- čk -ən =i =a =da
ko- m- <sub>1</sub> i- <sub>1</sub> c' <sub>1</sub> -i <sub>3</sub> +FR. VAR. OF	ko- g- <sub>1</sub> i- <sub>1</sub> čk -u(n) <sub>1</sub> =i =a =da
AFF IO1 APPL tell IMP	AFF IO2 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT =EV =QUOT =COND

What are those talking about, tell me, if you know [, he asked].

34	bošik	uc'u:
	boš -i -k	u- c' -u:
	boš -i <sub>2</sub> -k <sub>1</sub>	u- <sub>1</sub> c' <sub>1</sub> -u <sub>1</sub>
	boy SV ERG	APPL tell S3SG.PST

The boy told him:

35	– maržgvaniše	gilaxe	q'varian	tina	re
	maržgvan -iše	gila- x -e	q'varia =n	tina	r -e
	maržgvan -iše(n)	gila- ox -e(n) <sub>1</sub>	q'varia =ni	i+***	or -e(n) <sub>1</sub>
	right EL	PRV sit SM.INACT	crow =CMPL	DEM.DIST	be SM.INACT

mumava	k'varčxaniše	ren	tina	re
muma =v =a	k'varčxan -iše	r -e =n	tina	r -e
muma =v =a	k'varčxan -iše(n)	or -e(n) <sub>1</sub> =ni	i+***	or -e(n) <sub>1</sub>
father =EC =QUOT	left EL	be SM.INACT =CMPL	DEM.DIST	be SM.INACT

didava do škas ren tina skuava  
 dida =v =a do škas -s r -e =n tina skuava =v =a  
 dida =v =a do<sub>1</sub> škas -s<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni i+\*\*\* skuava =v =a  
 mother =EC =QUOTE and middle DAT be SM.INACT =CMPL DEM.DIST child =EC =QUOTE

On the right hand that a crow is sitting, that is the father, the one that is on the left hand, that is the mother, and the one sitting in the middle is their child [, he said].

36 škərena c'anaši dənabadi ʔopenia  
 škərena c'ana -ši də- na- bad -i ʔ -op -en =i =a  
 škərena c'ana -iš<sub>2</sub> do- na- bad -i<sub>1</sub> ʔ<sub>1</sub> -op -e(n)<sub>1</sub> =i =a  
 hungry year GEN PRV EVID.PTC be born NOM be AUG.PERF SM.INACT =EV =QUOTE

eti skua  
 eti skua  
 i+\*\*\* skua  
 DEM.DIST child

It is in the year of hungar that that child over there was apparently born [, he said].

37 muma gegnolape sode oč'k'omali  
 muma ge- gno- l -ap -e sode oč'k'omal -i  
 muma ge- gino- wl -ap<sub>4</sub> -e(n)<sub>1</sub> sode oč'k'omal -i<sub>1</sub>  
 father PRV PRV go PERF SM.INACT where.REL food NOM

ʒəðə brelin peri keʔanaša do dida  
 ʒ -ə -d -ə brel -i =n per -i keʔana -ša do dida  
 ʒ -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> brel -i<sub>1</sub> =ni per -i<sub>2</sub> kiʔana+FR. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> dida  
 lie.INANM SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST much NOM =CMPL such SV world ALL and mother

kudu:t'ebə xvale ak'a k'vercxi  
 ku- d- u:- t' -eb -ə xvale ak'a k'vercx -i  
 ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> t'<sub>2</sub> -eb<sub>3</sub> u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> xvale ak'a k'vercx -i<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV PERF stay SM.PERF PERF alone one egg NOM

apudə skilin tešineševa  
 ap -u -d -ə teš -ine -še =v =a  
 ap -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> teš -iše(n) =v =a  
 have SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST so EL =EC =QUOTE

The father has apparently been gone to such lands where there is a lot of food and left the mother alone, because she had only laid one egg, that's why [, he said].

38 didas didi codili do xandaš tudo  
 dida -s did -i cod -il -i do xanda -š tudo  
 dida -s<sub>1</sub> did -i<sub>1</sub> coda+POS. VAR. OF -il<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub> xanda -iš<sub>2</sub> tudo  
 mother DAT big NOM poor fellow ABSTR SV and labour GEN down

murdə te skua do , mužans  
 m- u- rd -ə te skua do mužans  
 mo- u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> rd u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* skua do<sub>1</sub> mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF  
 PRV PERF grow PERF DEM.PROX child and when

irpelk kədisorgən  
 irpel -k kə- d- i- sorg -ə =n  
 irpel -k<sub>1</sub> ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>5</sub> sorg -u<sub>1</sub> =ni  
 everything ERG AFF PRV DECAUS be piled S3SG.PST =CMPL

timc'k'əma k'ini kəmurturnə muma q'varias  
 tim -c'k'əma k'in =i kə- m- u- rt -um -ə muma q'varia -s  
 ti<sub>1</sub>+POS. VAR. OF -c'k'uma+DIAL. VAR. OF k'in<sub>7</sub> =i ko- mo- u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> rt<sub>1</sub> -um<sub>1</sub> u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> muma q'varia -s<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.DIST SOC again =EV AFF PRV PERF go PERF PERF father crow DAT

te keʔanaša do muši skua mu:txu:  
 te keʔana -ša do mu -ši skua m- u:- tx -u:  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* kiʔana+FR. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> skua mo- u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> tx<sub>1</sub> u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX world ALL and self GEN child PRV PERF request PERF

daduli q'variaša  
 dadul -i q'varia -ša  
 dadul -i<sub>2</sub> q'varia -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 hen SV crow ALL

The mother has apparently grown this child in hardship and with great labour, and when everything (i.e. good harvest) had apparently got piled, then the father has apparently come (back) again to this land and requested his child from the mother crow.

39 munenk vadanebesia artianc do  
 mun -en -k va= d- a- neb -es =i =a artian -c do  
 mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -ep -k<sub>1</sub> va= da-<sub>1</sub> a-<sub>6</sub> neb -es =i =a artian -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 self PL ERG NEG= PRV APPL surrender S3PL.PST =EV =QUOTE one another DAT and

rtxulenania samartals  
 r- txul -en -an =i =a samartal -s  
 r-<sub>1</sub> txul -en<sub>1</sub> -a(n) =i =a samartal -s<sub>1</sub>  
 IO2 request SM S3PL =EV =QUOTE justice DAT

Neither has surrendered to the other one [, he said], and (now) they are requesting justice from you [, he said].

40 gaarčiebape:ja skani  
 ga- a- rč -i -eb -ap -e: =j =a sk'an -i  
 ga-<sub>1</sub> a- -ap rč<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> -eb<sub>1</sub> a- -ap =i =a skan<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i<sub>1</sub>  
 PRF CAUS choose AUG AUG CAUS =EV =QUOTE your.SG NOM

vezirenc do midgašo tkuana tis skuatən  
 vezir -en -c do midga -šo tku -an -a ti -s skua -t =ə =n  
 vezir -ep -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> midga -išo(t) tkw -an<sub>1</sub> -a(n) ti<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> skua -o(t) =i =ni  
 vizier PL DAT and which BEN say SM S3PL DEM.DIST DAT child ADV =EV =CMPL

tanaxmas renania q'variepi  
 tanaxma -s r -e(n) -a(n) =i =a q'vari -ep -i  
 tanaxma -s<sub>3</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -a(n) =i =a q'varia -ep -i<sub>1</sub>  
 agreeing ADV be SM.INACT S3PL =EV =QUOTE crow PL NOM

Make your viziers make their choice, he said, and in whoseever fafour they decide the (fate of the) child, the crows will agree [, he said].

41.1 doxodes vezirenk do arči:s  
doxod -es vezir -en -k do a- rč -i:s  
doxod -es vezir -ep -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> rč<sub>1</sub> -es  
sit down S3PL.PST vizier PL ERG and choose S3PL.PST

The viziers sat down and tried the case.

41.2 bolos kičines skua didašo  
bolo -s k- i- čin -es skua dida -šo  
bolo -s<sub>3</sub> ko- i-<sub>8</sub> čin<sub>6</sub> -es skua dida -išo(t)  
end ADV AFF APPL.CENTRIP adjudge S3PL.PST child mother BEN

At last, they adjudge the child to (the) mother.

42 gimilə bošik do douzaxə q'varieps  
gim- i- l -ə boš -i -k do do- u- ʒax -ə q'vari -ep -s  
gima- i-<sub>6</sub> wl -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> do- u-<sub>1</sub> ʒax -u<sub>1</sub> q'varia -ep -s<sub>1</sub>  
PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST boy SV ERG and PRV APPL call S3SG.PST crow PL DAT

The boy went out (of the palace) and called out to the crows:

43 - didaši re skua q'varia - mumas  
dida -ši r -e skua q'varia muma -s  
dida -iš<sub>2</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> skua q'varia muma -s<sub>1</sub>  
mother GEN be SM.INACT child crow father DAT

vanoxolue mutunia  
va= no- xol -u -e mutun -i =a  
va= no- xol<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>7</sub> -e(n)<sub>1</sub> mutun -i<sub>1</sub> =a  
NEG= EVID be.HNR SM.EVID SM.INACT anything NOM =QUOT

The crow child is of mother's - to the father apparently belongs nothing, he said.

44 q'variepk gepurines do midartes išo  
q'vari -ep -k ge- purin -es do mida- rt -es išo  
q'varia -ep -k<sub>1</sub> ge- purin -es do<sub>1</sub> mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -es išo  
crow PL ERG PRV fly S3PL.PST and PRV go S3PL.PST thither

The crows took off and flew away.

45 žirk art ʔure midartə do artik mažra  
žir -k art ʔure mida- rt -ə do art -i -k ma- žr -a  
žir -k<sub>1</sub> art ʔure mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> ma- a<sub>2</sub> žir+POS. VAR. OF,DIAL. VAR. OF ma- a<sub>2</sub>  
two ERG one side PRV go S3SG.PST and one SV ERG ORD two ORD

ʔure  
ʔure  
ʔure  
side

Two (of them) flew one way and one (of them) another way.

46 guk'virdə irk'oc do xenc'əpek muš  
g- u- k'vir -d -ə ir k'o -c do xenc'əpe -k mu -š  
go-<sub>2</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> k'vir<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ir k'oč -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub>  
PRV APPL be surprised INCH S3SG.PST every man DAT and sovereign ERG self GEN

ʔudes kədak'inə aleksandre  
ʔude -s kə- d- a- k'in -ə aleksandre  
ʔude -s<sub>1</sub> ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF o-<sub>6</sub> k'in<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> aleksandre  
house DAT AFF PRV FACT hold S3SG.PST Aleksandre

Eveone was confused and the sovereign kept (pf.) Aleksandre at his house.

47 radganc sinda apə xolo te bošin  
radganc sinda ap -ə =xolo te boš -i =n  
radganc sinda ap -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =xolo e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* boš -i<sub>1</sub> =ni  
since son-in-law have SM.INACT =EMPH DEM.PROX boy NOM =CMPL

šuro va:rzens vezirs  
šur -o v= a:- rz -en -s vezir -s  
šur<sub>1</sub> -o(t) va= a-<sub>7</sub> rz<sub>1</sub> -en<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> vezir -s<sub>1</sub>  
soul ADV NEG= APPL give SM S3SG vizier DAT

As long as he has this boy also as a son-in-law in his plans, (the sovereign) does not give him (back) to the vizier.

48 č'arua do k'itxiriš nasurepi vare  
č'ar -u -a do k'itx -ir -iš na- gur -ep -i va= r -e  
č'ar -u<sub>3</sub> -a<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub> k'itx<sub>1</sub> -ir<sub>2</sub> -iš<sub>1</sub> na- ep gur<sub>2</sub> na- ep -i<sub>1</sub> va= or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
write AUG MSD and ask MSD GEN EVID.PTC teach EVID.PTC NOM NEG= be SM.INACT

teši re mecnieri te bašana vara  
teš =i r -e mecnier -i te bašana vara  
teš =i or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> mecnier -i<sub>1</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* bašana vara  
so =EV be SM.INACT scientist NOM DEM.PROX child either

(Given that he) has not been taught to write and read, this child appears (lit. is... not so?) very intelligent.

49 te bošis apə turme gagebuli  
te boš -i -s ap -ə turme ga- g -eb -ul -i  
e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* boš -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> ap -u(n)<sub>1</sub> turme ga-<sub>1</sub> g<sub>2</sub> -en<sub>2</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>  
DEM.PROX boy SV DAT have SM.INACT apparently PRF understand SM PTC NOM

muč'ot art keʔanas saxenc'əpo do k'atepiši  
muč'o =t art keʔana -s do k'at -ep -iš =i  
muč'o =t art kiʔana+FR. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> saxenc'ipo+DIAL. VAR. OF do<sub>1</sub> k'ata -ep -iš<sub>1</sub> =i  
how = one world DAT domain and people PL GEN =EV

ordali do ogurapali ore  
 o- rd -al -i do o- gur -ap -al -i or -e  
 o- -al<sub>1</sub> rd o- -al<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> o- -al<sub>1</sub> gur<sub>2</sub> -ap<sub>2</sub> o- -al<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 SUP.NOUN grow SUP.NOUN NOM and SUP.NOUN teach AUG SUP.NOUN NOM be SM.INACT

calk'eni  
 calk'e =ni  
 calk'e =ni  
 separate =CMPL

This boy has apparently learnt that, in one land, the domain and people's kindergartens and schools are separate.

50 art dʒas uc'u: xenc'əpes :  
 art dʒa -s u- c' -u: xenc'əpe -s  
 art dʒa -s<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub>  
 one day DAT APPL tell S3SG.PST sovereign DAT

One day he told the sovereign:

51 - ma mok'o ogurapuša ula ,  
 ma m- o- k' -o o- gur -ap -u -ša ul -a  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF m-<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>11</sub> k'<sub>1</sub> -o(n) o- -u<sub>2</sub> gur<sub>3</sub> -ap<sub>2</sub> o- -u<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> wl -a<sub>2</sub>  
 I IO1 want\_CVO want SM.INACT SUP learn AUG SUP ALL go MSD

ate do te saxenc'əpoša  
 ate do te saxenc'əpo -ša  
 e+\*\*\* do<sub>1</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* saxenc'ipo+DIAL. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX and DEM.PROX domain ALL

gomit'eva  
 go- m- i- t' -e =v =a  
 go-<sub>1</sub> m-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> t'<sub>1</sub> -e<sub>3</sub> =v =a  
 PRV IO1 EVO let go IMP =EC =QUOTE

I want to go to study, let me go to this and that domains [, he said].

52 - ʒgiria , uc'i:s  
 ʒgir -i =a u- c' -i:s  
 ʒgir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -es  
 good NOM =QUOTE APPL tell S3PL.PST

Good, they told him.

53.1 gagmanc'q'i:s irpelamo boši do  
 ga- gm- a- n- c'q' -i:s irpel -am -o boš -i do  
 ga-<sub>1</sub> gima- a-<sub>3</sub> n- c'q'<sub>2</sub> -es irpel -am<sub>1</sub> -o(t) boš -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 PRF PRV FACT SBM plan S3PL.PST everything ADJ ADV boy NOM and

gut'es  
 g- u- t' -es  
 go-<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> t'<sub>1</sub> -es  
 PRV EVO let go S3PL.PST

They dressed and prepared the boy in every way and let him go.

53.2 kimertə ekin , muš  
 ki- me- rt -ə ek =i =n mu -š  
 ko- me- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> tek+\*\*\* =i =ni mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub>  
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST there =EV =CMPL self GEN

dudišo kemurčkines bina do  
 dud -išo ke- m- u- rčkin -es bina do  
 dud<sub>2</sub> -išo(t)+POS. VAR. OF,DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF ko- me- u-<sub>1</sub> rčkin -es bina<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 REFL BEN AFF PRV APPL designate S3PL.PST accommodation and

re  
 r -e  
 or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 be SM.INACT

When he arrived there, they assigned a flat to him and he begins to live there (lit. is).

54 eʒgura bošepi xolo breli rena šxva  
 e boš -ep -i =xolo brel =i r -e(n) -a šxva  
 e -šgura boš -ep -i<sub>1</sub> =xolo brel =i or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -a(n) šxva  
 DEM.PROX of kind boy PL NOM =EMPH much =EV be SM.INACT S3PL other

keʔanepiše  
 keʔanep -iše  
 kiʔana+DIAL. VAR. OF -iše(n)  
 world EL

There are many boys of this kind are there also from other lands, too.

55 gəšelə č'e dro do xankə do šxva  
 gəš- e- l -ə č'e dro do xan -k =ə do šxva  
 giša- i-<sub>5</sub> wl -u<sub>1</sub> č'e dro do<sub>1</sub> xan -k<sub>1</sub> =i do<sub>1</sub> šxva  
 PRV DECAUS go S3SG.PST little time and time ERG =EV and other

saxenc'əpoše , šor keq'anaše kəmortə  
 saxenc'əpo -še šor keq'ana -še kə- mo- rt -ə  
 saxenc'ipo+DIAL. VAR. OF -iše(n) šor kiʔana+DIAL. VAR. OF -iše(n) ko- mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 domain EL far world EL AFF PRV go S3SG.PST

ogurapuša tenep renan tak arti  
 o- gur -ap -u -ša ten -ep -[i] r -en -a =n tak art -i  
 o- -u<sub>2</sub> gur<sub>3</sub> -ap<sub>2</sub> o- -u<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> e+\*\*\* -ep -i<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -a(n) =ni tak art -i<sub>2</sub>  
 SUP learn AUG SUP ALL DEM.PROX PL NOM be SM.INACT S3PL =CMPL here one SV

xenc'əpeši skuak , luduk'ik  
 xenc'əpe -ši skua -k luduk' -i -k  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> skua -k<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign GEN child ERG Luduk'i SV ERG

Some little time passed, and one sovereign's child, Luduk'i, came to study to the land, where (lit. here) these (boys) are, from a remote land.



62 luduk'is kəɖut'u:  
 luduk' -i -s kə- d- u- t' -u: k'əla do muk  
 luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF u-<sub>1</sub> t'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> k'əla do mu -k  
 Luduk'i SV DAT AFF PRV APPL leave S3SG.PST key and self ERG

midartə  
 mida- rt -ə  
 mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV go S3SG.PST

He left the key to Luduk'i and went himself (to the feast).

63 muš mulaša p'at'i ok'o kočas  
 mu -š m- ul -a -ša p'at' -i ok'o ko- č -a -s  
 mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> mo- wl -a<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> p'at' -i<sub>1</sub> ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF ko- č<sub>3</sub> -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub>  
 self GEN PRV go MSD ALL respect NOM MOD AFF feed OPT S3SG

luduk'ik  
 luduk' -i -k  
 luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 Luduk'i SV ERG

While he is away, Luduk'i has to pay respect (to the girl).

64 luduk'ik geč'opə oserše do gemnuɣə  
 luduk' -i -k ge- č'op -ə oserše do ge- mn- u- ɣ -ə  
 luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> ge- č'op -u<sub>1</sub> oserše do<sub>1</sub> ga-<sub>1</sub> mino-<sub>2</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> ɣw -u<sub>1</sub>  
 Luduk'i SV ERG PRV take S3SG.PST dinner and PRF PRV APPL bring.INANM S3SG.PST

ciras  
 cira -s  
 cira -s<sub>1</sub>  
 girl DAT

Luduk'i took the dinner and brought it in for the girl.

65 muč'o kožirə ciran , dancanalu: bošis do  
 muč'o ko- žir -ə cira =n d- a- cancel -u: boš -i -s do  
 muč'o ko- žir -u<sub>1</sub> cira =ni do-+POS. VAR. OF cancel -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 how AFF see S3SG.PST girl =CMPL PRV shadder S3SG.PST boy SV DAT and

ge:jc'uolə xeše irpel  
 ge- [g]c' - u- ol -ə xe -še irpel -k  
 ga-<sub>1</sub> gic'o-<sub>2</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> ol<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> xe -iše(n) irpel -k<sub>1</sub>  
 PRF PRV APPL fall down S3SG.PST hand EL everything ERG

When he say the girl, the boy shadded and everything fell down from his hands.

66 tiš maskvama kore te  
 ti -š ma- sk'vam -a ko- r -e te  
 ti<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> ma- a<sub>1</sub> skvam+DIAL. VAR. OF ma- a<sub>1</sub> ko- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\*  
 DEM.DIST GEN EQT beautiful EQT AFF be SM.INACT DEM.PROX

cira  
 cira  
 cira  
 girl

So beautiful indeed is this girl.

67 im sers aleksandret miɣə  
 im ser -s aleksandre -t m- i- ɣ -ə  
 im ser -s<sub>3</sub> aleksandre -o(t) mi-<sub>3</sub> i-<sub>8</sub> ɣw -u<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.DIST:OBL evening ADV Aleksandre ADV PRV APPL.CENTRIP take for.INANM S3SG.PST

cirak e boši  
 cira -k e boš -i  
 cira -k<sub>1</sub> e boš -i<sub>1</sub>  
 girl ERG DEM.PROX boy NOM

That evening, the girl took this boy for Aleksandre.

68.1 - vaɔpeke žgiron , mušen morti ?  
 va= ɔ -op -e -k žgir -o =n mušen morti  
 va= ɔ<sub>1</sub> -op -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> žgir<sub>1</sub> -o(t) =ni mušen morti  
 NEG= be AUG.PERF SM.INACT S1/2SG good ADV =CMPL why HORT

If you are not apparently well, why have you come?

68.2 šxvas vamačkvandida , ma  
 šxva -s va= m- a- čkv -an -d -i =da ma  
 šxva -s<sub>1</sub> va= mo- a-<sub>3</sub> šk'<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>4</sub> =da ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF  
 other DAT NEG= PRV FACT send SM EM PST.IND =COND I

kimipši skandava  
 ki- m- i- p- š -i sk'an -da =v =a  
 ko- me- i-<sub>6</sub> v- š<sub>2</sub> -i<sub>4</sub> skan<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -da<sub>1</sub> =v =a  
 AFF PRV AUTOCAUS S1 go:IMPRF PST.IND your.SG ALL =EC =QUOT

uc'u: ɣabik  
 u- c' -u: ɣab -i -k  
 u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ɣab -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL tell S3SG.PST girl SV ERG

Had you not sent someone else, I would have come to you, the girl told him.

69 molartə luduk'ik gaborebulo do muši  
 mola-rt -ə luduk' -i -k ga- bor -eb -ul -o do mu -ši  
 mola-rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> ga-<sub>1</sub> bor<sub>2</sub> -eb<sub>1</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -o(t) do<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub>  
 PRV go S3SG.PST Luduk'i SV ERG PRF flabbergast AUG PTC ADV and self GEN

danžirals  
 d- a- n- žir -al -s  
 do-+POS. VAR. OF o- -al<sub>1</sub> n- žir o- -al<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV SUP.NOUN SBM lie down SUP.NOUN DAT

kədinžirə  
 kə- d- i- n- žir -ə  
 ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>6</sub> n- žir -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV AUTOCAUS SBM lie down S3SG.PST

Luduk'i came away at a loss and lay in his bed.

70 oč'əmares kəmortə aleksandreən , luduk'ik  
 oč'əmare -s kə- mo- rt -ə aleksandre -k =ə =n luduk' -i -k  
 oč'umare+FR. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> ko- mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> =i =ni luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 morning DAT AFF PRV go S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG =EV =CMPL Luduk'i SV ERG

lexo kədoxvadə  
 lex -o kə- do- xvad -ə  
 lex -o(t) ko- do- xvad<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 ill ADV AFF PRV meet S3SG.PST

When Aleksandre came (back) in the morning, Luduk'i met him ill.

71 - muk gaγolə , žima , luduk'i ?  
 mu -k g- a- γol -ə žima luduk' -i  
 mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> g-<sub>1</sub> a-<sub>7</sub> γol<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> žima luduk' -i<sub>2</sub>  
 self ERG IO2 APPL do S3SG.PST brother Luduk'i SV

What has happened to you, brother, Luduk'i?

72 k'itxə aleksandre  
 k'itx -ə aleksandre -k  
 k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub>  
 ask S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG

Aleksandre asked.

73 - ma doγurin tenaren do tkva  
 ma do- b- γur -i =n tena r -en do tkva  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF do- v- γur -i<sub>4</sub> =ni e+\*\*\* or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> tkva(n)  
 I PRV S1 die PST.IND =CMPL DEM.PROX be SM.INACT and you.PL

ordat žgiro , tku: luduk'ik  
 or -d -a -t žgir -o tk -u: luduk' -i -k  
 or -d<sub>1</sub> -a<sub>1</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> žgir<sub>1</sub> -o(t) tkw -u<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 be EM OPT PL good ADV say S3SG.PST Luduk'i SV ERG

That I am dying, it's no problem, (both of) you be well, Luduk'i said.

74 aleksandres žalam žgiro učkə - luduk'is mu  
 aleksandre -s žalam žgir -o u- čk -ə luduk' -i -s mu  
 aleksandre -s<sub>1</sub> žalam žgir<sub>1</sub> -o(t) u-<sub>1</sub> čk -u(n)<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub>  
 Aleksandre DAT very good ADV APPL know.INANM SM.INACT Luduk'i SV DAT either... or...

oč'en

Aleksandre knows very well - what Luduk'i's problem is.

75 midartə kalakiša , kiʔidə mosak'itxe do  
 mida-rt -ə kalak -iša k- i- ʔid -ə mosak'itxe do  
 mida-rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> kalak -iša<sub>1</sub> ko- i-<sub>8</sub> ʔid -u<sub>1</sub> mosak'itxe do<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV go S3SG.PST city ALL AFF APPL.CENTRIP buy S3SG.PST present and

kemuγə penias  
 ke- m- u- γ -ə penia -s  
 ko- me- u-<sub>1</sub> γw -u<sub>1</sub> penia -s<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL bring.INANM S3SG.PST Penia DAT

He went to the city, bought a present and brought it to Penia.

76.1 - muore , aleksandre ,  
 mu(n) or -e aleksandre  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> aleksandre  
 what be SM.INACT Aleksandre

moiγunie ?  
 mo- [g]- i- γ -u =n =i =e  
 mo- g-<sub>1</sub> i- -u(n)<sub>2</sub> γw i- -u(n)<sub>2</sub> =ni =i =e<sub>3</sub>  
 PRV IO2 PERF bring.INANM PERF =CMPL =EV =QUOT+CMPL

What is it, Aleksandre, that you have brought?

76.2 k'itxə  
 k'itx -ə  
 k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 ask S3SG.PST

She asked.

77 – čkimi žima , luduk'ik , moižyonə ʔoropaše  
 čkim -i žima luduk' -i -k mo- [gl]- i- žyon -ə ʔor -op -a -še  
 čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> žima luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> mo- g<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> žyon -u<sub>1</sub> ʔor -op -a<sub>2</sub> -iše(n)  
 my SV brother Luduk'i SV ERG PRV IO2 APPL send S3SG.PST love AUG MSD EL

, uc'u: aleksandrek  
 u- c' -u: aleksandre -k  
 u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL tell S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG

My brother, Luduk'i, has sent you this because of love, told her Aleksandre.

78 – ma si ena mušen mic'e:ja ,  
 ma si ena mušen m- i- c' -e: =j =a  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF si e+\*\*\* mušen m-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -e: =i =a  
 I you.SG DEM.PROX why IO1 APPL tell OPT+CMPL =EV =QUOT

ma es xenc'əpes  
 ma e -s xenc'əpe -s  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF e -s<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub>  
 I DEM.PROX DAT sovereign DAT

kuc'i:nk do si dorʔviluncia  
 k- [v]- u- c' -i:n -k do si do- r- ʔvil -un -c =i =a  
 ko- v- u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub> si do- r<sub>2</sub> ʔvil -un -s<sub>2</sub> =i =a  
 AFF S1 APPL tell SM S1/2SG and you.SG PRV DO2 kill.SG SM S3SG =EV =QUOT

Why have you told me this? [she asked.] I will tell this to the sovereign and he will kill you [, she said].

79 – si xenc'əpes tes  
 si xenc'əpe -s te -s  
 si xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> te<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 you.SG sovereign DAT DEM.PROX DAT

kuc'i:nkie , ma gazetis  
 k- u- c' -i:n -k =i =e ma gazet -i -s  
 ko- u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> =i =e<sub>2</sub> ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF gazet -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF APPL tell SM ERG =EV =CMPL I newspaper SV DAT

dop'č'arunkia do , muč'o skani  
 do- p' -č'ar -un -k =i =a do do- muč'o sk'an -i  
 do- v- č'ar -un -k<sub>2</sub> =i =a do<sub>1</sub> muč'o skan<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV S1 write SM S1/2SG =EV =QUOT and how your.SG NOM

ʔoropak luduk'i doʔvilun tes  
 ʔor -op -a -k luduk' -i do- ʔvil -u =n te -s  
 ʔor -op -a<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>1</sub> do- ʔvil -u<sub>1</sub> =ni te<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 love AUG MSD ERG Luduk'i NOM PRV kill.SG S3SG.PST =CMPL DEM.PROX DAT

kigegegan , si saxeli gilaluapiri  
 ki- g- e- g -en -a =n si saxel -i gila- lu -ap -ir -i  
 ko- g-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>8</sub> g<sub>2</sub> -en<sub>1</sub> -a(n) =ni si saxel -i<sub>1</sub> gila- lu -ap<sub>2</sub> -ir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF IO2 APPL.CENTRIP find out SM S3PL =CMPL you.SG name NOM PRV spoil AUG PTC NOM

iʔi:k išen<sub>1</sub>ia , uc'u: aleksandrek  
 i- ʔ -i: -k išen =i =a u- c' -u: aleksandre -k  
 i-<sub>4</sub> ʔ<sub>1</sub> -i(n) -k<sub>2</sub> išen =i =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub>  
 be\_CVO be SM.INACT S1/2SG yet =EV =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG

(If) you tell this to the sovereign, I will write about it in a newspaper and people will learn about how love towards you killed Luduk'i, so, your reputation will be tarnished, Aleksandre told her.

80 – ma išeni gənoblanžyuetia tkvava  
 ma išen =i gəno- b- lanžyw -e -t =i =a tkva =v =a  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF išen =i gino- m-<sub>1</sub> lanžyw -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -t<sub>1</sub> =i =a tkva(n) =v =a  
 I yet =EV PRV IO1 curse SM.INACT PL =EV =QUOT you.PL =EC =QUOT

do – ašo kəmomičkvi ma ti boši  
 do ašo kə- mo- m- i- čkv -i ma ti boš -i  
 do<sub>1</sub> ašo ko- mo- m-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> šk' -i<sub>3</sub> ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* boš -i<sub>1</sub>  
 and hither AFF PRV IO1 APPL send IMP I DEM.DIST boy NOM

– uc'u: žyabik  
 u- c' -u: žyab -i -k  
 u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> žyab -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL tell S3SG.PST girl SV ERG

You will still curse me, (so) send that boy to me here, told the girl.

81 molartə aleksandrek , k'əla kimečə luduk'is do  
 mola- rt -ə aleksandre -k k'əla ki- me- č -ə luduk' -i -s do  
 mola- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> k'əla ko- me- č<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV go S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG key AFF PRV give S3SG.PST Luduk'i SV DAT and

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

Aleksandre came from there, gave the key to Luduk'i and tol him:

82 – meu , dinžiri aməseri  
 meu d- i- n- žir -i am =ə ser =i  
 meu do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>6</sub> n- žir -i<sub>3</sub> am =i ser =i  
 out! PRV AUTOCAUS SBM lie down IMP DEM.PROX:OBL =EV evening =EV

ti žyabi-c'k'ela do oč'əmares adre  
 ti žyab -i -c'k'ela do oč'əmare -s adre  
 i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* žyab -i<sub>2</sub> -c'k'uma do<sub>1</sub> oč'umare+FR. VAR. OF -s<sub>3</sub> adre  
 DEM.DIST girl SV SOC and morning ADV early

kəmortia  
 kə- mo- rt -i =a  
 ko- mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>3</sub> =a  
 AFF PRV go IMP =QUOT

Go, sleep this night with that girl and come (back) tomorrow early morning [, he said].

83 tim seriš damok'idebulo kordes art c'anas arto  
 tim ser -iš damok'idebulo k- or -d -es art c'ana -s art -o  
 i ser -iš<sub>1</sub> damok'idebulo ko- or -d<sub>1</sub> -es art c'ana -s<sub>1</sub> art -o(t)  
 DEM.DIST evening GEN including AFF be EM S3PL.PST one year DAT one ADV

te ʒɣabi do boši  
 te ʒɣab -i do boš -i  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* ʒɣab -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX girl NOM and boy NOM

Including that night, this girl and (this) boy have indeed been together for one year.

84 t'elegramak kəmort aleksandres - muantili  
 t'elegrama -k kə- m- u- rt aleksandre -s muantil -i  
 t'elegrama -k<sub>1</sub> ko- mo- u-<sub>1</sub> rt<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -s<sub>1</sub> muantil -i<sub>1</sub>  
 telegram message ERG AFF PRV APPL go Aleksandre DAT father-in-law NOM

ɣurelie skani do ma:nč'e:  
 ɣurel -i [r] -e sk'an -i do m- a:- n- č' -e:  
 ɣurel -i<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> skan<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mo- o-<sub>9</sub> n- č'<sub>3</sub> -e<sub>3</sub>  
 dead NOM be SM.INACT your.SG NOM and PRV APPL SBM reach up IMP

malas , Č'arunc veziri  
 mala -s Č'ar -un -c vezir -i  
 mala -s<sub>3</sub> Č'ar -un -s<sub>2</sub> vezir -i<sub>1</sub>  
 soon ADV write SM S3SG vizier NOM

A telegram message came to Aleksandre (stating): Your father-in-law is dead, so (lit. and) come over soon, the vizier writes.

85 ate bošepi-c'k'əma re arti arabi ,  
 ate boš -ep -i -c'k'əma r -e art -i arab -i  
 e+\*\*\* boš -ep -i<sub>2</sub> -c'k'uma or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> art -i<sub>1</sub> arab -i<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX boy PL SV SOC be SM.INACT one NOM Arab NOM

xenc'əpeši skua  
 xenc'əpe -ši skua  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš<sub>2</sub> skua  
 sovereign GEN child

Together with these boys there is one Arab, a sovereign's child.

86 atek kigegeə irpeli sek'ret'i  
 ate -k ki- g- e- g -ə irpel -i sek'ret' -i  
 ate -k<sub>1</sub> ko- ga-<sub>2</sub> i-<sub>8</sub> g<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> irpel -i<sub>1</sub> sek'ret' -i<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX ERG AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP find out S3SG.PST everything NOM secret NOM

te ʒɣabi do te bošiši  
 te ʒɣab -i do te boš -iš =i  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* ʒɣab -i<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub> e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* boš -iš<sub>1</sub> =i  
 DEM.PROX girl SV and DEM.PROX boy GEN =EV

He learned about all secrets of these girl and boy.

87 midartə do irpeli gəgmuxadə  
 mida- rt -ə do irpel -i ga- gm- u- cxad -ə  
 mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> irpel -i<sub>1</sub> ga-<sub>1</sub> gima- u-<sub>1</sub> cxad -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV go S3SG.PST and everything NOM PRF PRV APPL report S3SG.PST

xenc'əpes  
 xenc'əpe -s  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign DAT

He went and reported everything to the sovereign.

88.1 xenc'əpes važerc mutuni , mara išeni saxeli  
 xenc'əpe -s va= žer -c mutun -i mara išen =i saxel -i  
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> va= žer<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> mutun -i<sub>1</sub> mara<sub>1</sub> išen =i saxel -i<sub>1</sub>  
 sovereign DAT NEG= believe DAT anything NOM but yet =EV name NOM

got'axili apən do , gəgmuxadə  
 go- t'ax -il -i ap -ə =n do ga- gm- u- cxad -ə  
 go-<sub>1</sub> t'ax<sub>1</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> ap -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni do<sub>1</sub> ga-<sub>1</sub> gima- u-<sub>1</sub> cxad -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV break PTC NOM have SM.INACT =CMPL and PRF PRV APPL declare S3SG.PST

te žiri bošis - arabi do luduk'is - lek'urit  
 te žir -i boš -i -s arab -i do luduk' -i -s lek'ur -it  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* žir -i<sub>2</sub> boš -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> arab -i<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> lek'ur -it  
 DEM.PROX two SV boy SV DAT Arab SV and Luduk'i SV DAT sabre INS

ok'o kičxubani  
 ok'o k- i- čxub -a -n =i  
 ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF ko- i-<sub>1</sub> čxub -a(n) -n<sub>2</sub> =i  
 MOD AFF NON-PRS fight S3PL S3PL =EV

The sovereign does not believe anything, but he has his reputation tarnished anyway, so (lit. and) he decreed for these two boys, the Arab and Luduk'i, that they have to fight with swords.

88.2 midga oržginans , tina i?i: martali  
midga o- ržgin -an -s tina i- ? -i: martal -i  
midga o-<sub>6</sub> ržgin -an<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> i+\*\*\* i-<sub>4</sub> ?<sub>1</sub> -i(n) martal -i<sub>1</sub>  
which FACT win SM S3SG DEM.DIST be\_CVO be SM.INACT true NOM

tku: xenc'əpek  
tk -u: xenc'əpe -k  
tkw -u<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
say S3SG.PST sovereign ERG

Whichever will win, he will be right, said the sovereign.

89 arabiši skua re ŷonieri žalami , luduk'i re  
arab -iš =i skua r -e ŷonier -i luduk' -i r -e  
arab -iš<sub>1</sub> =i skua or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> ŷonier -i<sub>1</sub> žalam =i luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
Arab GEN =EV child be SM.INACT strong NOM very =EV Luduk'i SV be SM.INACT

umosi sust'i žaniš  
umos -i sust' -i žan -iš  
umos -i<sub>2</sub> sust' -i<sub>2</sub> žan<sub>2</sub> -iš<sub>1</sub>  
more SV weak SV health GEN

The Arab's child is very strong, (whereas) Luduk'i is of weaker health.

90 aleksandre meriebə arabis da vara , met'i  
aleksandre m- e- r -i -eb -ə arab -i -s =da vara met' -i  
aleksandre mo- e-<sub>1</sub> r -i<sub>5</sub> -eb<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> arab -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> =da vara met' -i<sub>1</sub>  
Aleksandre PRV APPL engage AUG AUG S3SG.PST Arab SV DAT =COND either more NOM

k'oči vare iši məmariebeli  
k'oč -i va= r -e i -ši mə- ma- r -i -eb -el -i  
k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> va= or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> i -iš<sub>2</sub> mo- ma- -el r -i<sub>5</sub> -en<sub>2</sub> ma- -el -i<sub>1</sub>  
man NOM NEG= be SM.INACT DEM.DIST GEN PRV PTC engage AUG SM PTC NOM

If (only) Aleksandre engages the Arab, there is no other man (who can be) his engager.

91 aleksandrek kimertə xenc'əpeša do uc'u: -  
aleksandre -k ki- me- rt -ə xenc'əpe -ša do u- c' -u:  
aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> ko- me- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
Aleksandre ERG AFF PRV go S3SG.PST sovereign ALL and APPL tell S3SG.PST

f'q'ura məgonebə arabis  
f'q'ura m- ə- gon -eb -ə arab -i -s  
f'q'ura mo- u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> gon<sub>3</sub> -eb<sub>3</sub> u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub> arab -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
lie PRV PERF make up SM.PERF PERF Arab SV DAT

Aleksandre went to the sovereign and told him: The Arab has apparently made up a lie.

92 tena vareno martali ki?i:nda ,  
tena va= r -en =o martal -i k- i- ? -i:n =da  
e+\*\*\* va= or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> =o<sub>2</sub> martal -i<sub>1</sub> ko- i-<sub>4</sub> ?<sub>1</sub> -i(n) =da  
DEM.PROX NEG= be SM.INACT =QST true NOM AFF be\_CVO be SM.INACT =COND

ma merča duc ok'vatalo  
ma me- r- č -a[n] -[k] du -c o- k'vat -al -o  
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF me- r-<sub>1</sub> č<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> dud<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> o- -al<sub>2</sub> k'vat o- -al<sub>2</sub> -o(t)  
I PRV IO2 give SM S1/2SG head DAT SUP cut SUP ADV

If this (story) appears to be true, I will let you cut off my head.

93 sumi tutaša irpeliši gageba  
sum -i tuta -ša irpel -iš =i ga- g -eb -a  
sum<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> tuta -iša<sub>1</sub> irpel -iš<sub>1</sub> =i ga-<sub>1</sub> g<sub>2</sub> -eb<sub>4</sub> -a<sub>2</sub>  
three SV month ALL everything GEN =EV PRF understand SM MSD

kešilebe: e:jšax k'əla si kimeči luduk'is  
ke- š- i- l -eb -e: k'əla si ki- me- č -i luduk' -i -s  
ko- š- i-<sub>3</sub> l<sub>2</sub> -eb<sub>1</sub> k'əla si ko- me- č<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>3</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
AFF GEN DECAUS be able AUG key you.SG AFF PRV give IMP Luduk'i SV DAT

do tina kore martalo up'at'iosneda - si  
do tina ko- r -e martal -o u- p'at'iosn -e =da si  
do<sub>1</sub> i+\*\*\* ko- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> martal -o(t) u- -e p'at'iosn u- -e =da si  
and DEM.DIST AFF be SM.INACT true ADV PRVT decent PRVT =COND you.SG

kuto?užē: tis  
ku- to- ?už -e: ti -s  
ko- ito- ?už -e<sub>3</sub> t<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
AFF PRV keep an eye (lit. ear) IMP DEM.DIST DAT

Within three moths everything can be clarified, (so) until then, give your key to Luduk'i and if he really is dishonest, you pay attention to him.

94 ma aməseri ok'o ibde:  
ma am =ə ser =i ok'o v- id -e:  
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF am =i ser =i ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF v- id -e:  
I DEM.PROX:OBL =EV evening =EV MOD S1 go OPT+CMPL

čkimi ke?anaša do švidebit mižirudat  
čkim -i ke?ana -ša do švidebit m- i- žir -ud -a -t  
čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> ki?ana+FR. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> švidebit m-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> žir -d<sub>1</sub> -a<sub>1</sub> -t<sub>1</sub>  
my SV world ALL and farewell IO1 APPL see EM OPT PL

I have to go to my land tonight, so (lit. and) see me off in peace.

95.1 dužerə xenc'əpek  
d- u- žer -ə xenc'əpe -k  
do-+POS. VAR. OF u-<sub>1</sub> žer<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
PRV APPL agree S3SG.PST sovereign ERG

The sovereign agreed with him.

95.2 sumi tutaš uk'uli ok'o ičxup'ani  
 sum -i tuta -š uk'ul =i ok'o i- čxup' -a -n =i  
 sum<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> tuta -iš<sub>2</sub> uk'ul =i ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>1</sub> čxub -a<sub>1</sub> -n<sub>2</sub> =i  
 three SV month GEN later =EV MOD NON-PRS fight OPT S3PL =EV

te žiri bošenk lek'urit  
 te žir -i boš -en -k lek'ur -it  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* žir -i<sub>2</sub> boš -ep -k<sub>1</sub> lek'ur -it  
 DEM.PROX two SV boy PL ERG sabre INS

In three months, these two boys must have a sword fight.

96 im sers gegnazares breli dixa boši do  
 im ser -s ge- gn- a- zar -es brel -i dixa boš -i do  
 im ser -s<sub>3</sub> ge- gino- o-<sub>1</sub> zar -es brel -i<sub>1</sub> dixa boš -i<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.DIST:OBL evening ADV PRV PRV CAUS see off S3PL.PST much NOM road boy SV and

žyabik aleksandres  
 žyab -i -k aleksandre -s  
 žyab -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -s<sub>1</sub>  
 girl SV ERG Aleksandre DAT

That night, the boy and this girl saw him off for the big journey.

97 datxiebaš droc dučinə luduk'is  
 da- tx -i -eb -a -š dro -c d- u- čin -ə luduk' -i -s  
 da-<sub>1</sub> tx<sub>3</sub> -i<sub>5</sub> -eb<sub>4</sub> -a<sub>2</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> dro -s<sub>1</sub> do-+POS. VAR. OF u-<sub>1</sub> čin<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV part AUG SM MSD GEN time DAT PRV APPL leave will S3SG.PST Luduk'i SV DAT

aleksandrek :  
 aleksandre -k  
 aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub>  
 Aleksandre ERG

For the time of their parting, Aleksandre instructed Luduk'i.

98 - mužans čxup'iši dro daginišan  
 mužans čxup' -iš =i dro da- g- i- nišn -a -n  
 mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF čxup' -iš<sub>1</sub> =i dro da-<sub>1</sub> g-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> nišn<sub>2</sub> -a<sub>1</sub> -n<sub>2</sub>  
 when fight GEN =EV time PRV IO2 APPL set OPT S3PL

tíc'k'əma ma ašo  
 ti -c'k'əma ma ašo  
 i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* -c'k'uma+DIAL. VAR. OF ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF ašo  
 DEM.DIST SOC I hither

mop'č'išude: teš kəmmak'ati čkimi  
 mo- p'- č'iš -u -d -e- teš kə- m- m- a- k'at -i čkim -i  
 mo- v- č'iš -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>1</sub> -e<sub>4</sub> teš ko- mo- m-<sub>1</sub> a-<sub>5</sub> k'at<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>3</sub> čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub>  
 PRV S1 catch up with SM.INACT EM SBJ so AFF PRV IO1 PRV come IMP my SV

ṙudša do si tek kədo:jt'alenk  
 ṙud -šā do si te -k kə- do: - [g]- j- t' -al -en -k  
 ṙude+FR. VAR. OF -išā<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> si te<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> ko- do- g-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>2</sub> t'<sub>1</sub> -al<sub>2</sub> -en<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub>  
 house ALL and you.SG DEM.PROX ERG AFF PRV IO2 APPL leave AUG SM S1/2SG

ma ašo molurk , tak  
 ma ašo mol- [v]- ur -k tak  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF ašo mola- v- wl -k<sub>2</sub> tak  
 I hither PRV S1 go S1/2SG here

kevečxup'ebuk arabis da vara , si  
 ke- v- e- čxup' -eb -u -k arab -i -s =da vara si  
 ko- v- e-<sub>1</sub> čxup' -eb<sub>1</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> arab -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> =da vara si  
 AFF S1 APPL argument AUG SM.INACT S1/2SG Arab SV DAT =COND either you.SG

iša muta gaḡolenia  
 i -šā muta g- a- ḡol -en =i =a  
 i -išā<sub>1</sub> muta g-<sub>1</sub> a- -e(n) ḡol<sub>1</sub> a- -e(n) =i =a  
 DEM.DIST ALL anything IO2 POT do POT =EV =QUOT

When they settle a date for the fight for you, I will have by that time returned here, come to me to my house, and I will leave you there, will come here, here I will fight, otherwise you can't do anything to him [ , he said].

99 - žgiria , uc'u: bošik  
 žgir -i =a u- c' -u: boš -i -k  
 žgir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> boš -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 good NOM =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST boy SV ERG

Good, the boy told Aleksandre.

100.1 peniak gaminc'q'ə muši beč'edi do  
 penia -k gam- i- n- c'q' -ə mu -ši beč'ed -i do  
 penia -k<sub>1</sub> gam- i-<sub>8</sub> n- c'q'<sub>6</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> beč'ed -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 Penia ERG PRV APPL.CENTRIP SBM take off S3SG.PST self GEN (finger-)ring NOM and

aleksandres ka:čukə  
 aleksandre -s k- a:- čuk -ə  
 aleksandre -s<sub>1</sub> ko- o-<sub>10</sub> čuk -u<sub>1</sub>  
 Aleksandre DAT AFF FACT give (a present) S3SG.PST

Penia took her ring off and gave it to Aleksandre (as a present).

100.2 teneri beč'et'i šuro vare  
 te -ner -i beč'et' -i šur -o va= r -e  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* -ner -i<sub>1</sub> beč'ed+DIAL. VAR. OF -i<sub>1</sub> šur<sub>1</sub> -o(t) va= or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX of kind NOM (finger-)ring NOM soul ADV NEG= be SM.INACT

met'i keṙanas moč'k'irili  
 met' -i keṙana -s mo- č'k'ir -il -i  
 met' -i<sub>1</sub> kiṙana+FR. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> mo- č'k'ir -il<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>  
 more NOM world DAT PRV forge PTC NOM

There is no such a ring forged elsewhere in the world.

101.1 beč'et'i kaledə Aleksandrek žibeša  
 beč'et' -i k- al- e- d -ə Aleksandre -k žibe -ša  
 beč'ed+DIAL. VAR. OF -i<sub>1</sub> ko- ala- i-<sub>8</sub> dv<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> Aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> žibe -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 (finger-)ring NOM AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP put S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG pocket ALL

Aleksandre put the ring into his pocket.

101.2 gagmetxiu enens do midartə  
 ga- gm- e- tx -i -u en -en -s do mida- rt -ə  
 ga-<sub>1</sub> gima- i-<sub>1</sub> tx<sub>3</sub> -i<sub>5</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> e+POS. VAR. OF -ep -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRF PRV APPL part AUG S3SG.PST DEM.PROX PL DAT and PRV go S3SG.PST

He said goodbye to them and left.

102 saosurot irgə anc'i Aleksandre , mu  
 sa- osur -ot i- rg -ə anc'i Aleksandre mu  
 sa- -o(t) osur sa- -o(t) i-<sub>5</sub> rg<sub>1</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> anc'i Aleksandre mu(n)<sub>2</sub>  
 PURP wife PURP DECAUS be fit SM.INACT from now on Aleksandre either... or...

sak'urelie  
 sak'urel -i [r] -e  
 sak'urel -i<sub>1</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 surprising NOM be SM.INACT

From now on, Aleksandre is fit to be a fiancée, of course.

103 Aleksandrek mužans midartun , xenc'əpek  
 Aleksandre -k mužans mida- rt -u =n xenc'əpe -k  
 Aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =ni xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
 Aleksandre ERG when PRV go S3SG.PST =CMPL sovereign ERG

guri dortə do sumi tuta vada vitoxutiša  
 gur -i do sum -i tuta vada vit o xut -iša  
 gur<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> sum<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> tuta vada vit do<sub>1</sub>+\*\*\* xut -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 heart NOM and three SV month term ten and five ALL

kigiorinu:  
 ki- gi- o- rin -u:  
 ko- ge- o-<sub>1</sub> rin<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV CAUS appoint S3SG.PST

When Aleksandre left, the sovereign changed his mind and altered the three-month term to fifteen (days).

104.1 luduk'ik mu kiminas ?  
 luduk' -i -k mu kimin -a -s  
 luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub> kimin -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub>  
 Luduk'i SV ERG either... or... do OPT S3SG

What should Luduk'i do?

104.2 gaminč'q'u: do midartə Aleksandreša  
 ga- gm- i- n- c'q' -u: do mida- rt -ə Aleksandre -ša  
 ga-<sub>1</sub> gima- i-<sub>8</sub> n- c'q'<sub>9</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> Aleksandre -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 PRF PRV APPL.CENTRIP SBM set up S3SG.PST and PRV go S3SG.PST Aleksandre ALL

He equipped himself and went to Aleksandre.

105 kimertə iši doxoreša  
 ki- me- rt -ə i -ši doxore -ša  
 ko- me- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> i -iš<sub>2</sub> doxore -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST DEM.DIST GEN manor house ALL

He reached his court.

106 gegnič'anu: Aleksandre gale do irpeli arto  
 ge- gn- i- č'an -u: Aleksandre gale do irpel -i art -o  
 ge- gino- i-<sub>1</sub> č'an -u<sub>1</sub> Aleksandre gale do<sub>1</sub> irpel -i<sub>1</sub> art -o(t)  
 PRV PRV APPL call S3SG.PST Aleksandre outside and everything NOM one ADV

kečiu muši gač'ireba  
 k- e- či -u mu -ši gač'ireba  
 ko- e-<sub>1</sub> č<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> gač'ireba  
 AFF APPL narrate S3SG.PST self GEN trouble

He called Aleksandre outside and explained all his troubles to him.

107 ase xolo urk da vara ,  
 ase =xolo [v]- ur -k =da vara  
 ase =xolo v- wl -k<sub>1</sub> =da vara  
 now =EMPH S1 go ERG =COND either

vemioč'išua čxup'is do  
 ve= mi- o- č'iš -u -a[n] -[k] čxup' -i -s do  
 va=+POS. VAR. OF me- o-<sub>1</sub> č'iš -u<sub>3</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> čxup' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 NEG= PRV APPL catch up with AUG SM S1/2SG argument SV DAT and

dobçuruk k'očia  
 do- b- çur -u -k k'oč -i =a  
 do- v- çur -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> k'oč -i<sub>2</sub> =a  
 PRV S1 die SM.INACT S1/2SG man SV =QUOT

If you don't go at once, you won't make it in time to the fight and die, man [ , he said].

108 te dro re ase , naməda aleksandre  
 te dro r -e ase aleksandre  
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* dro or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> ase naməda+DIAL. VAR. OF aleksandre  
 DEM.PROX time be SM.INACT now CMPL Aleksandre

aməseri gurgins getmidguns muši  
 am =ə ser =i gurgin -s ge- tm- i- dg -un -s mu -ši  
 am =i ser =i gurgin<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> ge- tmi- i-<sub>8</sub> dg -un -s<sub>2</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub>  
 DEM.PROX:OBL =EV evening =EV crown DAT PRV IMPRF APPL.CENTRIP put SM S3SG self GEN

osuriša  
 osur -iša  
 osur -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 wife ALL

The time is close when Aleksandre is crowning his wife.

109 - žgiria , uc'u: aleksandrek  
 žgir -i =a u- c' -u: aleksandre -k  
 žgir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> =a u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub>  
 good NOM =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG

Good, told him Aleksandre.

110.1 muč'o kiminək'o luduk'ikən , kuc'u:  
 muč'o kimin -ə -k'o luduk' -i -k =ə =n k- u- c' -u:  
 muč'o kimin -u<sub>1</sub> -k'on luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> =i =ni ko- u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 how do S3SG.PST COND Luduk'i SV ERG =EV =CMPL AFF APPL tell S3SG.PST

aleksandrek do muk midartə išo luduk'iš cxeni do  
 aleksandre -k do mu -k mida- rt -ə išo luduk' -iš cxen -i do  
 aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> višo+DIAL. VAR. OF luduk' -iš<sub>1</sub> cxen -i<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 Aleksandre ERG and self ERG PRV go S3SG.PST thither Luduk'i GEN horse SV and

t'anisamosit , muši mək'akunali luduk'is  
 t'anisamos -it mu -ši mək'- a- kun -al -i luduk' -i -s  
 t'anisamos -it mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> mək'-o- -al<sub>1</sub> kun o- -al<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 clothes INS self GEN PRV SUP.NOUN cover SUP.NOUN NOM Luduk'i SV DAT

kimečə  
 ki- me- č -ə  
 ko- me- č<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV give S3SG.PST

Aleksandre told Luduk'i how he had to behave and himself went, riding Luduk'is horse and wearing his clothes, (whereas) he gave his own clothes to Luduk'i.

110.2 məni:lə luduk'ik , im sers gurgini  
 mən- i:- l -ə luduk' -i -k im ser -s gurgin -i  
 mino-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>6</sub> wl -u<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> im ser -s<sub>3</sub> gurgin<sub>2</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST Luduk'i SV ERG DEM.DIST:OBL evening ADV crown NOM

kigidə aleksandreši osuriša  
 ki- g- i- dg -ə mu aleksandre -ši osur -iša  
 ko- go-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>8</sub> dg -u<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -iš<sub>2</sub> osur -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP put S3SG.PST Aleksandre GEN wife ALL

Luduk'i went inside (i.e. into Aleksandre's court) (and) that night crowned Aleksandre's wife.

111 serit kidinžiresən , lek'uri  
 ser -it ki- d- i- n- žir -es =ə =n lek'ur -i  
 ser -it ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>6</sub> n- žir -es =i =ni lek'ur -i<sub>1</sub>  
 evening INS AFF PRV AUTOCAUS SBM lie down S3PL.PST =EV =CMPL sabre NOM

škaša kašedə  
 ška -ša k- aš- e- d -ə  
 ška -iša<sub>1</sub> ko- iša- i-<sub>8</sub> dv<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 middle ALL AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP put S3SG.PST

When they (i.e. Luduk'i and Aleksandre's wife) lay (for a sleep), he put a sword in the middle (i.e. between himself and Aleksandre's wife).

112 ir sers taši ortə tes luduk'i  
 ir ser -s taš =i o- rt -ə te -s luduk' -i  
 ir ser -s<sub>3</sub> taš =i o-<sub>4</sub> rt<sub>2</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> te<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub>  
 entire evening ADV this way =EV APPL do SM.INACT DEM.PROX DAT Luduk'i SV

Luduk'i did so every night.

113 aleksandrek doʔvilə ek arabi do molartə muš  
 aleksandre -k do- ʔvil -ə ek arab -i do mola- rt -ə mu -š  
 aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> do- ʔvil -u<sub>1</sub> tek+\*\*\* arab -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mola- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub>  
 Aleksandre ERG PRV kill.SG S3SG.PST there Arab NOM and PRV go S3SG.PST self GEN

ʔudša  
 ʔud -ša  
 ʔude+FR. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 house ALL

Aleksandre killed the Arab there and came back to his house.

114 gegnič'anu: luduk'i , gotires  
ge- gn- i- č'an -u: luduk' -i go- tir -es  
ge- gino- i-<sub>8</sub> č'an -u<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> go-<sub>1</sub> tir -es  
PRV PRV APPL.CENTRIP call in S3SG.PST Luduk'i SV PRV exchange S3PL.PST

mək'akunali do gagmetxi:s  
mək'- a- kun -al -i do ga- gm- e- tx -i:s  
mək'o- o- -al<sub>1</sub> kun o- -al<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ga-<sub>1</sub> gima- i-<sub>8</sub> tx<sub>3</sub> -es  
PRV SUP.NOUN cover SUP.NOUN NOM and PRF PRV APPL.CENTRIP part S3PL.PST

artians  
artian -s  
artian -s<sub>1</sub>  
one another DAT

He called Luduk'i (outside), they exchanged their clothes and parted.

115 im sers aleksandrek  
im ser -s aleksandre -k  
im ser -s<sub>3</sub> aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub>  
DEM.DIST:OBL evening ADV Aleksandre ERG

kidinžirə muš osurc'k'əma  
ki- d- i- n- žir -ə mu -š osur -c'k'əma  
ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>6</sub> n- žir -u<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> osur -c'k'uma  
AFF PRV AUTOCAUS SBM lie down S3SG.PST self GEN wife SOC

That night Aleksandre lay with his wife.

116 še:k'itxə osurk :  
š- e- k'itx -ə osur -k  
še- e-<sub>1</sub>+POS. VAR. OF k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> osur -k<sub>1</sub>  
PRV APPL ask S3SG.PST wife ERG

The wife asked him:

117 - ir sers lek'urs ašmedvandi škaša do  
ir ser -s lek'ur -s aš- m- e- dv -an -d -i ška -ša do  
ir ser -s<sub>3</sub> lek'ur -s<sub>1</sub> iša- m-<sub>1</sub> e-<sub>1</sub> dv<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>4</sub> ška -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
entire evening ADV sabre DAT PRV IO1 APPL put SM EM PST.IND middle ALL and

aməseri važən muore ?  
am =ə ser =i va= ž -ə =n mu(n) or -e  
am =i ser =i va= ž -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni mu(n)<sub>2</sub> or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
DEM.PROX:OBL =EV evening =EV NEG= lie.INANM SM.INACT =CMPL what be SM.INACT

Every night you put a sword in the middle, but (lit. and) that this night it's not there (lit. is not lying), what is it?

118 - gamorsi a:jšaxia , uc'u:  
g- a- mors -i a:j -šax =i =a u- c' -u:  
g-<sub>3</sub> o-<sub>6</sub> mors -i<sub>4</sub> ase -išax =i =a u-<sub>1</sub> c' -u<sub>1</sub>  
DO2 FACT test PST.IND now TERM =EV =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST

I have tested you until now, he told her.

119 ena guriša kigiškə osurk  
ena gur -iša ki- g- i- šk -ə osur -k  
e+\*\*\* gur<sub>1</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> ko- go-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>8</sub> šk<sub>3</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> osur -k<sub>1</sub>  
DEM.PROX heart ALL AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP take S3SG.PST wife ERG

The wife took this (close) to (her) heart.

120 iak'inə uk'uli do oʔvilari c'amali  
i- a- k'in -ə uk'ul =i do o- ʔvil -ar -i c'amal -i  
k'in<sub>4</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> uk'ul =i do<sub>1</sub> o- -ar ʔvil o- -ar -i<sub>1</sub> c'amal -i<sub>1</sub>  
take away S3SG.PST later =EV and SUP kill.SG SUP NOM poison NOM

kočə komons  
ko- č -ə komon -s  
ko- č<sub>3</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> komonž<sup>+</sup>POS. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub>  
AFF feed S3SG.PST husband DAT

She went and made her husband drink a deadly poison.

121 ɣurat vaɣurə aleksandrek , mara k'očo išeni  
ɣur -a -t va= ɣur -ə aleksandre -k mara k'oč -o išen =i  
ɣur -a<sub>2</sub> -t<sub>2</sub> va= ɣur -u<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> mara<sub>1</sub> k'oč -o(t) išen =i  
die MSD INS NEG= die S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG but man ADV yet =EV

vergən teši ginirtə , ir sxeuls  
v= e- rg -ə =n teš =i gin- i- rt -ə ir sxeul -s  
va= i-<sub>5</sub> rg<sub>1</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni teš =i gino- i-<sub>5</sub> rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> ir sxeul -s<sub>1</sub>  
NEG= DECAUS be fit SM.INACT =CMPL so =EV PRV DECAUS turn S3SG.PST entire body DAT

txomurk ula kidi:č'q'ə  
txomur -k ul -a ki- d- i- č'q' -ə  
txomur -k<sub>1</sub> wl -a<sub>2</sub> ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>1</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF č'q' -u<sub>1</sub>  
pus ERG go MSD AFF PRV EVO begin S3SG.PST

As for dying, Aleksandre did not die, but he is no longer good as a man, this way he turned, pus has started to cover his whole body.

122 vagurtə mutunk  
va= g- u- rt -ə mutun -k  
va= go-<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> mutun -k<sub>1</sub>  
NEG= PRV APPL go S3SG.PST anything ERG

Nothing helped him.

123 midartə                    aleksandre            luduk'iša  
mida- rt -ə                aleksandre -k        luduk' -iša  
mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>            aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub>     luduk' -iša<sub>1</sub>  
PRV go S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG Luduk'i ALL

Aleksandre went to Luduk'i.

124 ok'o                        gamorsas                ,    daba        tis                        mutuni  
ok'o                        ga- mors -a -s            daba        ti                        -s                        mutun -i  
ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF ga-<sub>1</sub> mors -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub>        daba        ti<sub>1</sub>                        -s<sub>1</sub>                        mutun -i<sub>1</sub>  
MOD                        PRF test    OPT S3SG        well then    DEM.DIST DAT    anything NOM

kəmaxvarinenda  
kə- m- a-                    xvar -in -en            =da  
ko- me- a- -e(n) xvar<sub>1</sub> -in<sub>1</sub> a- -e(n) =da  
AFF PRV POT help AUG POT =COND

He has to examine (this illness), if anything can help.

125 kimertə                    ekən                        ,    xenc'əpe                doɣurun  
ki- me- rt -ə                ek                        =ə                        =n                        xenc'əpe                do- ɣur -u                        =n  
ko- me- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>            tek+\*\*\* =i                        =ni                        xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF do- ɣur -u(n)<sub>1</sub>                        =ni  
AFF PRV go S3SG.PST there =EV =CMPL sovereign PRV die SM.INACT =CMPL

do    iši                        ciraskuaša                luduk'is                        kimnurinalə  
do    i                        -ši                        cira skua -ša                luduk' -i -s                        ki- mn- u-                        rin -al -ə  
do<sub>1</sub>    i                        -iš<sub>2</sub>                        cira skua -iša<sub>1</sub>                luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>                        ko- mino-<sub>2</sub> u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub>                        -al<sub>2</sub> u- -u(n)<sub>1</sub>  
and    DEM.DIST GEN girl child ALL Luduk'i SV DAT AFF PRV PERF AUG PERF

When he (i.e. Aleksandre) reached there (i.e. that land), the sovereign had apparently died (lit. will die) and Luduk'i had apparently moved in together with his daughter.

126 kimiodirtə                    xološavo                        ,    mindori                arto  
ki- mi- o-                    dirt -ə                        xolo -ša                        =v                        =o                        mindor -i                        art -o  
ko- me- o-<sub>4</sub>                    dirt<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>                        xolo<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub>                        =v                        =o<sub>1</sub>                        mindor -i<sub>1</sub>                        art -o(t)  
AFF PRV APPL reach S3SG.PST close ALL =EC =CMPL meadow NOM one ADV

čičepiši                        epša kore  
čiči                        -ep -iš                        =i                        epša ko- r -e  
čičie                        -ep -iš<sub>1</sub>                        =i                        epša ko- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
useless person PL GEN =EV full AFF be SM.INACT

When he came closer, (he saw that) the meadow is full of good-for-nothing (people).

127 čili                        do komonži                gale                        kac'oxenan                        do                        oč'k'omals  
čil -i                        do komonži -i                gale                        k- ac'o- ox -en                        -an                        do                        oč'k'omal -s  
čil -i<sub>1</sub>                        do<sub>1</sub> komonži -i<sub>1</sub>                gale                        ko- ec'o- ox -e(n)<sub>1</sub>                        -a(n)                        do<sub>1</sub>                        oč'k'omal -s<sub>1</sub>  
wife NOM and husband NOM outside AFF PRV sit SM.INACT S3PL and food DAT

koč'k'una  
ko- č'k'                        -un -a  
ko- č'k'om+DIAL. VAR. OF -un -a(n)  
AFF eat                        SM S3PL

The wife and the husband are sitting outside and eating a meal.

128 mini:lə                        ek                        do                        čičieps  
min- i-                        l -ə                        e                        -k                        do                        čiči                        -ep -s  
mino-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>6</sub>                        wl -u<sub>1</sub>                        e                        -k<sub>1</sub>                        do<sub>1</sub>                        čičie                        -ep -s<sub>1</sub>  
PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST DEM.PROX ERG and useless person PL DAT

ka:k'atə                        ,    mara                        inepk  
k- a:-                        k'at -ə                        mara                        in                        -ep -k  
ko- o-<sub>1</sub>                        k'ata -u<sub>1</sub>                        mara<sub>1</sub>                        i+\*\*\*                        -ep -k<sub>1</sub>  
AFF CAUS people S3SG.PST but DEM.DIST PL ERG

vemšenc'əs  
ve=                        mš- e- n- č'                        -es                        - šuri  
va+=POS. VAR. OF miša- i-<sub>1</sub> n- č'<sub>3</sub>                        -es                        šur<sub>1</sub> -i  
NEG=                        PRV APPL SBM allow to approach S3PL.PST smell NOM

gaxandən  
g- a-                        tx -an -d -ə                        =n  
go-<sub>1</sub> o-<sub>3</sub>                        tx<sub>2</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>                        =ni  
PRV APPL exude SM EM S3SG.PST =CMPL

He entered there and joined the good-for-nothing, but they did not let him get close to them, as he stank.

129 muši                        dudišo                        kimc'odirtə                        mindors  
mu                        -ši                        dud -išo                        ki- mc'o- dirt -ə                        mindor -s  
mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub>                        dud<sub>2</sub> -išo(t)+POS. VAR. OF,DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF ko- mic'o- dirt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>                        mindor -s<sub>1</sub>  
self GEN REFL BEN AFF PRV stand S3SG.PST meadow DAT

He took a stand on the meadow on his own.

130 douɣaxə                        q'aruls                        do                        uc'u:  
do- u-                        ɣax -ə                        q'arul -s                        do                        u- c' -u:  
do- u-<sub>1</sub>                        ɣax -u<sub>1</sub>                        q'arul -s<sub>1</sub>                        do<sub>1</sub>                        u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
PRV APPL call S3SG.PST guard DAT and APPL tell S3SG.PST

He called a guard and told him:

131 – peniaša miragade:ja , aleksandreši  
 penia -ša mi- ragad -e: =j =a aleksandre -ši  
 penia -iša<sub>1</sub> me- ragad -e<sub>3</sub> =i =a aleksandre -iš<sub>2</sub>  
 Penia ALL PRV talk IMP =EV =QUOT Aleksandre GEN

Poropašenia arti č'irka γvini  
 Por -op -a -šen =i =a art -i č'irka γvin -i  
 Por -op -a<sub>2</sub> -iše(n) =i =a art -i<sub>1</sub> č'irka γvin -i<sub>1</sub>  
 love AUG MSD EL =EV =QUOT one NOM glass wine NOM

kəmomžyonasia  
 kə- mo- m- [i]- žyon -a -s =i =a  
 ko- mo- m- i<sub>2</sub> žyon -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> =i =a  
 AFF PRV IO1 APPL send OPT S3SG =EV =QUOT

Pass to Penia that she send me a glass of wine for the sake of love towards Aleksandre [, he said].

132 peniak geč'opə muši č'irka , e:jopšə  
 penia -k ge- č'op -ə mu -ši č'irka e:- j-  
 penia -k<sub>1</sub> ge- č'op -u<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> č'irka e-<sub>2</sub> i-<sub>8</sub> o-<sub>6</sub> pš -ə  
 Penia ERG PRV take S3SG.PST self GEN glass PRV APPL.CENTRIP FACT fill S3SG.PST

γvinit do kəmužyonə  
 γvin -it do kə- m- u- žyon -ə  
 γvin -it do<sub>1</sub> ko- mo- u-<sub>1</sub> žyon -u<sub>1</sub>  
 wine INS and AFF PRV APPL send S3SG.PST

Penia took her glass, filled it with wine and sent it to him.

133 gverdi gešə γvini do gverdi  
 gverd -i ge- š -ə γvin -i do gverd -i  
 gverd -i<sub>1</sub> ge- šw<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> γvin -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> gverd -i<sub>1</sub>  
 half NOM PRV drink S3SG.PST wine NOM and half NOM

kednit'u: č'irkas  
 ke- dn- i- t' -u: č'irka -s  
 ko- dino- i-<sub>8</sub> t'<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> č'irka -s<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP leave S3SG.PST glass DAT

He drank a half of it and left another half in the glass.

134 kimečə məmaγalars č'irka ,  
 ki- me- č -ə mə- ma- γal -ar -s č'irka  
 ko- me- č<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> mo- ma- -ar γal ma- -ar -s<sub>1</sub> č'irka  
 AFF PRV give S3SG.PST PRV PTC bring PTC DAT glass

geleγə beč'et'i peniaš  
 gel- e- γ -ə beč'et' -i penia -š  
 gila- i-<sub>8</sub> γw -u<sub>1</sub> beč'ed+DIAL. VAR. OF -i<sub>1</sub> penia -iš<sub>2</sub>  
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP take off.INANM S3SG.PST (finger-)ring NOM Penia GEN

minačemi do dinaxale kedna?ot  
 mi- na- č -em -i do dinaxale ke- dn- a- ?ot -[u]  
 me- na- č<sub>1</sub> -em -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> dinaxale ko- dino- o-<sub>9</sub> ?ot<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV EVID.PTC give PTC NOM and inside AFF PRV APPL throw S3SG.PST

He gave the glass to the waiter, took out the ring given by Penia from the pocket and dropped it inside (the glass).

135 – atena gešvas peniak aleksandreši Poropašen ,  
 atena ge- šv -a -s penia -k aleksandre -ši Por -op -a -šen  
 tena+\*\*\* ge- šw<sub>1</sub> -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> penia -k<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -iš<sub>2</sub> ?or -op -a<sub>2</sub> -iše(n)  
 DEM.PROX PRV drink OPT S3SG Penia ERG Aleksandre GEN love AUG MSD EL

komiragade si taši  
 ko- mi- ragad -e si taš =i  
 ko- me- ragad -e<sub>3</sub> si taš =i  
 AFF PRV talk IMP you.SG this way =EV

Let Penia drink this for the sake of love towards Aleksandre, pass (this message to her) this way.

136.1 mideγ mo:jnalek č'irka do kemečə  
 mid- e- γ -[u] mo:jnale -k č'irka do ke- me- č -ə  
 mida- i-<sub>8</sub> γw -u<sub>1</sub> mo:inale -k<sub>1</sub> č'irka do<sub>1</sub> ko- me- č<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP take.INANM S3SG.PST servant ERG glass and AFF PRV give S3SG.PST

penias  
 penia -s  
 penia -s<sub>1</sub>  
 Penia DAT

The servant took the glass and gave to Penia.

136.2 kuc'u: , muč'ot očinə  
 k- u- c' -u: muč'o =t o- čin -ə  
 ko- u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> muč'o =t o-<sub>1</sub> čin<sub>6</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF APPL tell S3SG.PST how = CAUS instruct S3SG.PST

matxualkən teši  
 ma- txu -al -k =ə =n teš =i  
 ma- -al tx<sub>1</sub> ma- -al -k<sub>1</sub> =i =ni teš =i  
 PTC beg PTC ERG =EV =CMPL so =EV

He told her (exactly) as the beggar instructed, that way.

137 peniak kimidginə č'irka do gočolu:  
 penia -k ki- m- i- dgjn -ə č'irka do go- čol -u:  
 penia -k<sub>1</sub> ko- me- i-<sub>8</sub> dgjn<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> č'irka do<sub>1</sub> go-<sub>1</sub> čol<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 Penia ERG AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP bring near S3SG.PST glass and PRV empty S3SG.PST

Penia put the glass to her lips and emptied it.

138 beč'et'ik ke:jtoskidə tudo  
 beč'et' -i -k ke:- jto- sk'id -ə tudo  
 beč'ed+DIAL. VAR. OF -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> ko- ito- sk'id -u<sub>1</sub> tudo  
 (finger-)ring SV ERG AFF PRV remain S3SG.PST down

The ring remained at the bottom (of the glass).

139 kič'anu: matxuali do k'itxə :  
 k- i- matxual -i do k'itx -ə  
 ko- i-<sub>8</sub> č'an -u: matxual<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> k'itx<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF APPL.CENTRIP call in S3SG.PST beggar NOM and ask S3SG.PST

She called the beggar in and asked:

140 - mik merčə si te  
 mi(n) -k me- r- č -ə si te  
 mi(n) -k<sub>1</sub> me- r<sub>-1</sub> č<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> si e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\*  
 who ERG PRV IO2 give S3SG.PST you.SG DEM.PROX

beč'et'i ?  
 beč'et' -i  
 beč'ed+DIAL. VAR. OF -i<sub>1</sub>  
 (finger-)ring NOM

Who gave you this ring?

141 - mik muču da ,  
 mi(n) -k mu- [m]- č -u =da  
 mi(n) -k<sub>1</sub> mo-+DIAL. VAR. OF,POS. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF m-<sub>1</sub> č<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =da  
 who ERG PRV IO1 give S3SG.PST =EMPH

ip'idi  
 i- p'- id -i  
 i-<sub>8</sub> v- ?id -i<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL.CENTRIP S1 buy PST.IND

Who gave it to me, why? I bought it.

142 uc'u: čičiek  
 u- c' -u: čičie -k  
 u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> čičie -k<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL tell S3SG.PST useless person ERG

The pityful man told her.

143 - si ?viliri gapə teš minžə k'očia  
 si ?vil -ir -i g- ap -ə te -š minžə k'oč -i =a  
 si ?vil -ir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> g-<sub>1</sub> ap -u(n)<sub>1</sub> te<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> minžə k'oč -i<sub>1</sub> =a  
 you.SG kill.SG PTC NOM IO2 have SM.INACT DEM.PROX GEN owner man NOM =QUOT

, do nžali yoles tes  
 do n- žal -i yol -es te -s  
 do<sub>1</sub> n- žal<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> yol<sub>1</sub> -es te<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 and SBM violence NOM do S3PL.PST DEM.PROX DAT

You have (obviously) killed its owner, and they used violence against him.

144 ga:cxadə  
 g- a:- cxad -ə  
 ga-<sub>2</sub> o-<sub>1</sub> cxad -u<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV CAUS declare S3SG.PST

He disclosed himself.

145 - ma vorek aleksandre  
 ma v- or -e -k aleksandre  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF v- or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> aleksandre  
 I S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG Aleksandre

I am Aleksandre.

146 guk'virde aržas ,  
 g- u- k'vir -d -es aržas -s  
 ga-<sub>2</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> k'vir<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>2</sub> -es aržas -s<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV APPL be surprised INCH IO.PL.PST all DAT

gemni?unes dinaxale , gobones , mu  
 ge- mn- i- ?un -es dinaxale go- bon -es mu  
 ge- mino-<sub>2</sub> i-<sub>8</sub> ?on<sub>1</sub> -es dinaxale go-<sub>1</sub> bon -es mu(n)<sub>2</sub>  
 PRV PRV APPL.CENTRIP take.ANM S3PL.PST inside PRV bathe S3PL.PST either... or...

va?oles , mu c'amali vamu?es , mara  
 va= yol -es mu c'amal -i va= m- u- y -es mara  
 va= yol<sub>1</sub> -es mu(n)<sub>2</sub> c'amal -i<sub>1</sub> va= mo- u-<sub>1</sub> yw -es mara<sub>1</sub>  
 NEG= do S3PL.PST either... or... poison NOM NEG= PRV APPL bring.INANM S3PL.PST but

vamexvarə mutunk  
 va= me- xvar -ə mutun -k  
 va= me- xvar<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> mutun -k<sub>1</sub>  
 NEG= PRV help S3SG.PST anything ERG

Everyone got surprised, they took him inside, washed, what did they not do to him, what medicine did they not bring to him, nothing nothing helped him.

147.1 – si vaičkəno mu  
 si va= [g]- i- čk -ə̃n =o mu(n)  
 si va= g<sub>-1</sub> i<sub>-1</sub> čk -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =o<sub>2</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub>  
 you.SG NEG= IO2 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT =QST what

goxvarə̃n ?  
 g- o- xvar -ə̃ =n  
 g<sub>-1</sub> o<sub>-4</sub> xvar<sub>1</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> =ni  
 IO2 APPL help SM.INACT =CMPL

Do you not know what can help you?

147.2 k'itxes čili do komončk  
 k'itx -es čil -i do komonč -k  
 k'itx<sub>1</sub> -es čil -i<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub> komonč<sub>3</sub>+FR. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
 ask S3PL.PST wife SV and husband ERG

The wife and husband asked him.

148 – aməseri ok'o kigmasizmaras  
 am =ə̃ ser =i ok'o ki- gm- a- sizmar -a -s  
 am =i ser =i ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF ko- gima- a<sub>-7</sub> sizmar -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub>  
 DEM.PROX:OBL =EV evening =EV MOD AFF PRV APPL dream OPT S3SG

irpel , mu moskiliduansie ,  
 irpel -k mu m- o- sk'ilid -u -an -s =i =e  
 irpel -k<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub> m<sub>-1</sub> o- u<sub>1</sub> skilad+DIAL. VAR. OF o- u<sub>1</sub> -an<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> =i =e<sub>3</sub>  
 everything ERG either... or... IO1 CAUS heal CAUS SM S3SG =EV =QUOT+CMPL

tku:  
 tk -u:  
 tkw -u<sub>1</sub>  
 say S3SG.PST

Tonight everything must appear to me in a dream, what can heal me, he said.

149 im sers kədirulu: do  
 im ser -s kə- d- i- rul -u: do  
 im ser -s<sub>3</sub> ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF i<sub>-5</sub> rul<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.DIST:OBL evening ADV AFF PRV DECAUS sleep S3SG.PST and

mažira oč'əmares gedirtə̃n , tku: :  
 ma- žir -a oč'əmare -s ge- dirt -ə̃ =n tk -u:  
 ma- -a<sub>2</sub> žir ma- -a<sub>2</sub> oč'umare+FR. VAR. OF -s<sub>3</sub> ge- dirt<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =ni tkw -u<sub>1</sub>  
 ORD two ORD morning ADV PRV stand up S3SG.PST =CMPL say S3SG.PST

He slept that night and when he woke (lit. stood) up the next morning, he said:

150 – peniak amədyə do aməseri  
 penia -k amədyə do am =ə̃ ser =i  
 penia -k<sub>1</sub> amudyə+DIAL. VAR. OF do<sub>1</sub> am =i ser =i  
 Penia ERG today and DEM.PROX:OBL =EV evening =EV

kixvec'as iriato do  
 k- i- xvec' -a -s ir =i at -o do  
 ko- i<sub>-1</sub> xvec' -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> ir =i art -o(t) do<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF NON-PRS pray OPT S3SG every =EV one ADV and

dobskidə̃kia  
 do- b- sk'id -ə̃ -k =i =a  
 do- v- skid<sub>2</sub>+DIAL. VAR. OF -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> =i =a  
 PRV S1 recover SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

Penia must pray today and tonight all the time and I will get cured [, he said].

151 midartə̃ peniak oxvameša do xvamulenc  
 mida- rt -ə̃ penia -k oxvame -ša do xvam -ul -en -c  
 mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> penia -k<sub>1</sub> oxvame<sub>2</sub> -iša<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> xvam<sub>1</sub> -ul<sub>1</sub> -en<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub>  
 PRV go S3SG.PST Penia ERG church ALL and pray AUG SM S3SG

Penia went to the church and prays.

152 uc'u: luduk'is aleksandrek :  
 u- c' -u: luduk' -i -s aleksandre -k  
 u<sub>-1</sub> c' <sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL tell S3SG.PST Luduk'i SV DAT Aleksandre ERG

Aleksandre told Luduk'i:

153 – ma ina mutas moxvarə̃  
 ma ina muta -s m- o- xvar -ə̃  
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF i+\*\*\*\* muta -s<sub>1</sub> m<sub>-1</sub> o<sub>-4</sub> xvar<sub>1</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 I DEM.DIST anything DAT IO1 APPL help SM.INACT

This won't help me in any way.

154 – aba mu goxvarə̃ , komic'i:  
 aba mu g- o- xvar -ə̃ ko- m- i- c' -i:  
 aba mu(n)<sub>2</sub> g<sub>-1</sub> o<sub>-4</sub> xvar<sub>1</sub> -u(n)<sub>1</sub> ko- m<sub>-1</sub> i<sub>-1</sub> c' <sub>1</sub> -i<sub>3</sub>+FR. VAR. OF  
 well then either... or... IO2 APPL help SM.INACT AFF IO1 APPL tell IMP

Well then, what will help you, tell me.

155 č'ume tanapa re  
 č'ume tanapa r -e  
 č'uman tanapa or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 tomorrow Easter be SM.INACT

Tomorrow is the Easter.

156 aleksandrek uc'u: :  
 aleksandre -k u- c' -u:  
 aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 Aleksandre ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST

Aleksandre told him:

157 – sumi skua rʔunc si , sumxolos  
 sum -i skua r- ʔun -c si sum =xolo -s  
 sum<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> skua r-<sub>1</sub> ʔon<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> si sum<sub>1</sub> =xolo -s<sub>1</sub>  
 three SV child IO2 have.ANM S3SG you.SG three =EMPH DAT

doq'vilunk do tinepiši zisxirit t'ans  
 do- q'vil -un -k do tin -ep -iš =i zisxir -it t'an -s  
 do- ʔvil+POS. VAR. OF -un -k<sub>2</sub> do<sub>1</sub> tina<sub>2</sub> -ep -iš<sub>1</sub> =i zisxir -it t'an -s<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV kill.SG SM S1/2SG and DEM.DIST PL GEN =EV blood INS body DAT

gomibonk da , xate skiladiri  
 go- m- i- bon -k =da , xate skilad -ir -i  
 go-<sub>1</sub> m-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>1</sub> bon -k<sub>2</sub> =da xate skilad+DIAL. VAR. OF -ir<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV IO1 APPL bathe S1/2SG =COND at once save PTC NOM

ip'ik  
 i- p'- [ʔ] -i -k  
 i-<sub>4</sub> v- ʔ<sub>1</sub> -i(n) -k<sub>2</sub>  
 be\_CVO S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG

You have three childre, if you kill all the three of them and wash my body with their blood, I will get healed at once.

158 doʔvilə luduk'ik sumxolo bošepi do inepiši  
 do- ʔvil -ə luduk' -i -k sum =xolo boš -ep -i do in- -ep -iš =i  
 do- ʔvil -u<sub>1</sub> luduk' -i<sub>2</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> sum<sub>1</sub> =xolo boš -ep -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ino- -ep -iš<sub>1</sub> =i  
 PRV kill.SG S3SG.PST Luduk'i SV ERG three =EMPH boy PL NOM and PRV PL GEN =EV

zisxirit t'ani gubonə  
 zisxir -it t'an -i g- u- bon -ə  
 zisxir -it t'an -i<sub>1</sub> go-<sub>2</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> bon -u<sub>1</sub>  
 blood INS body NOM PRV APPL bathe S3SG.PST

Luduk'i killed all the three boys and washed Aleksandre his body with their blood.

159 dasuro gežgirə k'očk , žvešeburo  
 dasuro ge- e- žgir -ə k'očk -k žveš -ebur -o  
 dasuro go-<sub>2</sub> e-<sub>3</sub> žgir<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> k'očk -k<sub>1</sub> žveš -ebur -o(t)  
 indeed PRV DECAUS get better S3SG.PST man ERG old as of ADV

gini:rtə aleksandrek  
 gin- i:- rt -ə aleksandre -k  
 gino- i-<sub>5</sub> rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV DECAUS turn S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG

And indeed, the man got better, Aleksandre turned into what he had been before.

160 mažira oč'əmarek gotandə tanapakən  
 ma- žir -a oč'əmare -k go- tan -d -ə tanapa -k =ə =n  
 ma- -a<sub>2</sub> žir ma- -a<sub>2</sub> oč'umare+FR. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> go-<sub>1</sub> tan -d<sub>2</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> tanapa -k<sub>1</sub> =i =ni  
 ORD two ORD morning ERG PRV dawn INCH S3SG.PST Easter ERG =EV =CMPL

, peniak kəmortə oxvameše .  
 penia -k kə- mo- rt -ə oxvame -še  
 penia -k<sub>1</sub> ko- mo- rt<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> oxvame<sub>2</sub> -iše(n)  
 Penia ERG AFF PRV go S3SG.PST church EL

When the Easter day dawn broke the next morning, Penia came (back) from the church.

161 di:žaxə galexíše :  
 d- i:- žax -ə gale -x -iše  
 do-+POS. VAR. OF i-<sub>8</sub> žax -u<sub>1</sub> gale -x -iše(n)  
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP call S3SG.PST outside NZER EL

She called from the outside:

162 – aleksandre muč'o re ?  
 aleksandre muč'o r -e  
 aleksandre muč'o or -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 Aleksandre how be SM.INACT

How is Aleksandre?

163 komončk uc'u: :  
 komonč -k u- c' -u:  
 komonč+FR. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 husband ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST

The husband told her:

164 – aleksandrek k'ini muč'o ordən teši  
 aleksandre -k k'in =i muč'o or -d -ə =n teš =i  
 aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> k'in, =i muč'o or -d<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> =ni teš =i  
 Aleksandre ERG again =EV how be EM S3SG.PST =CMPL so =EV

ginirtas , ʔorons mus  
 gin- i- rt -a -s ʔoron -s mu -s  
 gino- i-<sub>5</sub> rt<sub>1</sub> -a<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> ʔoront+POS. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>2</sub> -s<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV DECAUS turn OPT S3SG God DAT what DAT

šec'irenkia ?  
 še- c'ir -en -k =i =a  
 še- c'ir -en<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>2</sub> =i =a  
 PRV sacrifice SM S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

So that Aleksandre again turns into what he had been, what will you sacrifice to God? [he asked.]

165 – sumi xolo čkimi baɣanepi šemci'rebu  
 sum -i =xolo čkim -i baɣan -ep -i še- m- i- c'ir -eb -u(n)  
 sum<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> =xolo čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> baɣana -ep -i<sub>1</sub> še- m-<sub>1</sub> i- -u(n)<sub>2</sub> c'ir -eb<sub>3</sub> i- -u(n)<sub>2</sub>  
 three SV =EMPH my NOM child PL NOM PRV IO1 PERF sacrifice SM.PERF PERF

I have sacrificed all the three children of mine.

166 tku: peniak  
 tk -u: penia -k  
 tkw -u<sub>1</sub> penia -k<sub>1</sub>  
 say S3SG.PST Penia ERG

Penia said.

167 – aba , aleksandre žgirona uc'u:  
 aba aleksandre žgir -o r -en =i =a , uc'u:  
 aba aleksandre žgir<sub>1</sub> -o(t) or -e(n)<sub>1</sub> =i =a u- c' -u:  
 well then Aleksandre good ADV be SM.INACT =EV =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST

Well then, Aleksandre is well, he told her.

168 axioles do gažunes artianc  
 a xiol -es do g- a- žun -es artian -c  
 xiol -es do<sub>1</sub> go-<sub>2</sub> a-<sub>4</sub> žud<sup>+POS</sup>. VAR. OF,DIAL. VAR. OF -es artian -s<sub>1</sub>  
 become glad S3PL.PST and PRV EVO kiss S3PL.PST one another DAT

They were glad and kissed each other.

169 peniak geč'opə k'vercxi do mini:lə  
 penia -k ge- č'op -ə k'vercx -i do min- i- l -ə  
 penia -k<sub>1</sub> ge- č'op -u<sub>1</sub> k'vercx -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mino-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>6</sub> wl -u<sub>1</sub>  
 Penia ERG PRV take S3SG.PST egg NOM and PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST

baɣanepiša  
 baɣan -ep -iša  
 baɣana -ep -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 child PL ALL

Penia took an egg and went inside to (her) children.

170 baɣanepk kəmazades sumxolok ašo  
 baɣan -ep -k kə- m- a- zad -es sum =xolo -k ašo  
 baɣana -ep -k<sub>1</sub> ko- mo- o-<sub>9</sub> zad -es sum<sub>1</sub> =xolo -k<sub>1</sub> ašo  
 child PL ERG AFF PRV APPL come out to greet S3PL.PST three =EMPH ERG hither

All the three children came out to meet them (i.e. Luduk'i and Aleksandre).

171 č'ič'e xaniš uk'uli , k'ini gimilə peniak ašo  
 č'ič'e xan -iš uk'ul =i k'in =i gim- i- l -ə penia -k ašo  
 č'ič'e xan -iš<sub>1</sub> uk'ul =i k'in<sub>7</sub> =i gima- i-<sub>6</sub> wl -u<sub>1</sub> penia -k<sub>1</sub> ašo  
 little time GEN later =EV again =EV PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST Penia ERG hither

After a little while, Penia came back out here.

172 – inepi kožirə ɣurelo , mara mutuns  
 in -ep -i ko- žir -ə ɣurel -o mara mutun -s  
 tina<sub>1</sub> -ep -i<sub>1</sub> ko- žir -u<sub>1</sub> ɣurel -o(t) mara<sub>1</sub> mutun -s<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.DIST PL NOM AFF see S3SG.PST dead ADV but anything DAT

vac'uxens albat čkimi osuria , ipikrə  
 va= c'ux -en -s albat čkim -i osur -i =a i- pikr -ə  
 va= c'ux -en<sub>1</sub> -s<sub>2</sub> albat čkim<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> osur -i<sub>1</sub> =a i-<sub>1</sub> pikr<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub>  
 NEG= worry SM S3SG probably my NOM woman NOM =QUOT NON-PRS think S3SG.PST

komončk  
 komonč -k  
 komonč<sup>+FR</sup>. VAR. OF -k<sub>1</sub>  
 husband ERG

She saw them dead, but nothing apparently worries my wife, thought the husband.

173 ga:nžes k'ari do mini:leso ,  
 g- a:- n- ž -es k'ar -i do min- i- l -es =o  
 go-<sub>2</sub> o-<sub>10</sub> n- ž<sub>2</sub> -es k'ar -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> mino-<sub>1</sub> i-<sub>6</sub> wl -es =o<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV FACT SBM open S3PL.PST door NOM and PRV AUTOCAUS go S3PL.PST =CMPL

sumxolo baɣanepi kimlelaʔapəna  
 sum =xolo baɣan -ep -i ki- ml- e- laʔap -ə n -a  
 sum<sub>1</sub> =xolo baɣana -ep -i<sub>1</sub> ko- ml- laʔap -en<sub>1</sub> -a(n)  
 three =EMPH child PL NOM AFF mila- play SM S3PL

They opened the door and when they went inside, they saw (that) all the three children are playing.

174 guk'virdes žalamk do gak'virebulo breli  
 g- u- k'vir -d -es žalam -k do ga- k'vir -eb -ul -o brel -i  
 ga-<sub>2</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> k'vir<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>2</sub> -es žalam -k<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ga-<sub>1</sub> k'vir<sub>1</sub> -eb<sub>2</sub> -il<sub>1</sub> -o(t) brel -i<sub>2</sub>  
 PRV APPL be surprised INCH IO.PL.PST very ERG and PRF be surprised SM PTC ADV much SV

xans rdes žirxolo , luduk'i do aleksandre  
 xan -s r -d -es žir =xolo luduk' -i do aleksandre  
 xan -s<sub>1</sub> or -d<sub>1</sub> -es žir =xolo luduk' -i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> aleksandre  
 time DAT be EM S3PL.PST two =EMPH Luduk'i NOM and Aleksandre

Both of them, Luduk'i and Aleksandre, got amazed very much and remained amazed for a long time.

175 mažira dɣas midartes aleksandreši ʔudša  
 ma- žir -a dɣa -s mida- rt -es aleksandre -ši ʔud -ša  
 ma- -a<sub>2</sub> žir ma- -a<sub>2</sub> dɣa -s<sub>1</sub> mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -es aleksandre -iš<sub>2</sub> ʔude<sup>+FR.</sup> VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 ORD two ORD day DAT PRV go S3PL.PST Aleksandre GEN house ALL

The next day they went to Aleksandre's home.

176.1 iši osurs saq'vareli no ʔunue  
 i -ši osur -s saq'varel -i no- ʔun -u -e  
 i -iš<sub>2</sub> osur -s<sub>1</sub> saq'varel<sub>1</sub> -i<sub>1</sub> no- ʔon<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>7</sub> -e(n)<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.DIST GEN wife DAT lover NOM EVID have.ANIM SM.EVID SM.INACT

His wife has apparently had a lover.

176.2 žirxolo do ʔviles  
 žir =xolo do- ʔvil -es  
 žir =xolo do- ʔvil -es  
 two =EMPH PRV kill.SG S3PL.PST

They killed both of them.

177 uk'uli midartes aleksandreši dida do mumaša  
 uk'ul =i mida- rt -es aleksandre -ši dida do muma -ša  
 uk'ul =i mida- rt<sub>1</sub> -es aleksandre -iš<sub>2</sub> dida do<sub>1</sub> muma -iša<sub>1</sub>  
 later =EV PRV go S3PL.PST Aleksandre GEN mother and father ALL

After that they went to Aleksandre's mother and father.

178 enepi gvalo dorčinenan do  
 en -ep -i gvalo do- rčín -en -an do  
 e<sup>+POS.</sup> VAR. OF -ep -i<sub>1</sub> gvalo do- rčín -e(n)<sub>3</sub> -a(n) do<sub>1</sub>  
 DEM.PROX PL NOM entirely PRV become older SM.PERF S3PL and

kəməšaxena dačxirs  
 kə- mš- a- ox -e -a dačxir -s  
 ko- miša- o-<sub>3</sub> ox -e(n)<sub>1</sub> -a(n) dačxir -s<sub>1</sub>  
 AFF PRV APPL sit SM.INACT S3PL fire DAT

They have apparently become much older and are sitting in front of the fire(place).

179 aleksandrek uc'u: didas :  
 aleksandre -k u- c' -u: dida -s  
 aleksandre -k<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> dida -s<sub>1</sub>  
 Aleksandre ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST mother DAT

Aleksandre told (his) mother:

180 - xe gəmobonapeva  
 xe gə- m- o- bon -ap -e =v =a  
 xe go-<sub>1</sub> m-<sub>1</sub> o- -ap<sub>1</sub> bon o- -ap<sub>1</sub> -e<sub>3</sub> =v =a  
 hand PRV IO1 CAUS wash CAUS IMP =EC =QUOT

Let me wash (my) hand(s) [ , he said].

181 gabonape:js xe , mara miokosapalk  
 g- a- bon -ap -e:js xe mara mi- o- kosap -al -k  
 go-<sub>1</sub> o- -ap<sub>1</sub> bon o- -ap<sub>1</sub> -es<sup>+POS.</sup> VAR. OF xe mara<sub>1</sub> me- o- -al<sub>1</sub> o- -al<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
 PRV CAUS wash CAUS S3PL.PST hand but PRV SUP.NOUN SUP.NOUN ERG

vešu: žgirk mutunk  
 v= e- š -u: žgir -k mutun -k  
 va= i-<sub>5</sub> š<sub>4</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> žgir<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub> mutun -k<sub>1</sub>  
 NEG= DECAUS find S3SG.PST good ERG anything ERG

They let him (his) hand(s), but he (i.e. Aleksandre) could not find anything to dry his hands.

182 - mu rškidua , skua , mutuni  
 mu r- škid -u -a skua mutun -i  
 mu(n)<sub>2</sub> r-<sub>1</sub> škid -u<sub>3</sub> -a<sub>1</sub> skua mutun -i<sub>1</sub>  
 either... or... IO2 talk out of turn AUG OPT child anything NOM

vamap'aluna  
 va= m- a- p'al -un -a  
 va= m-<sub>1</sub> a-<sub>7</sub> p'al -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -a(n)  
 NEG= IO1 APPL possess SM.INACT IO.PL

What shall I tell you frankly, (my) child, we don't have anything.

183 uc'u: didak  
 u- c' -u: dida -k  
 u-<sub>1</sub> c'<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> dida -k<sub>1</sub>  
 APPL tell S3SG.PST mother ERG

The mother told him.

184.1 - tkva vara mu gaškídena !  
 tkva vara mu ga- škid -en -a  
 tkva(n) vara mu(n)<sub>2</sub> ga-<sub>2</sub> škid -en<sub>1</sub>  
 you.PL either either... or... PRV talk out of turn SM

Or what are you telling me frankly?

184.2 tkvani skua kordəḁk'oni , p'at'is tina  
 tkvan -i skua ko- r -d -ə -k'on =i , p'at' -i -s tina  
 tkvan -i₁ skua ko- or -d₁ -u₁ -k'on =i p'at' -i₂ -s₁ i+\*\*\*  
 your.PL NOM child AFF be EM S3SG.PST COND =EV respect SV DAT DEM.DIST

kopcendes  
 ko- p- c -en -d -es  
 ko- m-₁ c₄ -en₁ -d₁ -es  
 AFF IO1 pay SM EM IO.PL.PST

If it had been your child, he would show his respect to me.

185 - skua čkə vap'undes , tku: osurk  
 skua čkə va= p' - un -d -es tk -u: osur -k  
 skua čki+DIAL. VAR. OF va= m-₁ ʔon₁+FR. VAR. OF -d₁ -es tkw -u₁ osur -k₁  
 child we NEG= IO1 have.ANM EM IO.PL.PST say S3SG.PST wife ERG

We did not have a child, said the wife.

186 - komičkə ma ; mušeni  
 ko- m- i- čk -ə ma mušen =i  
 ko- m-₁ i-₁ čk -u(n)₁ ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF mušen =i  
 AFF IO1 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT I why =EV

inaʔotit c'q'ars tkvani skua ?  
 in- a- ʔot -i -t c'q'ar -s tkvan -i skua  
 ino- o-₆ ʔot₁ -i₄ -t₁ c'q'ar -s₁ tkvan -i₁ skua  
 PRV FACT throw PST.IND PL water DAT your.PL NOM child

I know it indeed; why did you toss your child into water?

187 - tižgura k'oči ip'ik , tkva  
 ti- žgura k'oč -i i- p' - [ʔ] -i -k tkva  
 i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* žgura k'oč -i₁ i-₄ v- ʔ₁ -i(n) -k₂ tkva(n)  
 DEM.DIST of kind man NOM be\_CVO S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG you.PL

mo:jnalet vamoskədatie  
 mo:jnale -t va= m- o- sk'əḁ -a -t =i =e  
 moinala -t₁ va= m-₁ o-₄ skid₂+DIAL. VAR. OF -an₃ -t₁ =i =e₃  
 servant PL NEG= IO1 APPL stay SM.INACT PL =EV =QUOT+CMPL

He told us: I will be such a man, you will not be worth being my servants.

188 atešeni mivoʔotit skua  
 ate -šen =i mi- v- o- ʔot -i -t skua  
 e+\*\*\* -iše(n) =i me- v- o-₄ ʔot₁ -i₄ -t₁ skua  
 DEM.PROX EL =EV PRV S1 APPL throw PST.IND PL child

This is why we threw away (our) child.

189.1 - ti skuačkimi žgurak  
 ti skua -k čkim -i žgura -k  
 i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,\*\*\* skua -k₁ čkim₁ -i₂ žgura -k₁  
 DEM.DIST child ERG my SV of kind ERG

kiʔuk'ove - tkva mo:jnalet  
 k- i- ʔ -u -k'o =v =e tkva mo:jnale -t  
 ko- i-₄+POS. VAR. OF ʔ₁ -u₁ -k'on =v =e₃ tkva(n) moinala -o(t)  
 AFF be\_CVO be S3SG.PST COND =EC =QUOT+CMPL you.PL servant ADV

karguditia ?  
 k- a- rg -u -d -i -t =i =a =o  
 ko- o-₃ rg₁ -u(n)₁ -d₁ -i₄ -t₁ =i =a =o₂  
 AFF APPL be fit SM.INACT EM PST.IND PL =EV =QUOT =QST

If that child had been of my kind [, he said], would you be worth being his servants?

189.2 k'itxə aleksandrek  
 k'itx -ə aleksandre -k  
 k'itx₁ -u₁ aleksandre -k₁  
 ask S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG

Aleksandre asked.

190.1 - is tkvan žguras mu ʔondua ?  
 i -s tkvan žgura -s mu mu ʔon -d -u =a  
 i -s₁ tkvan žgura -s₁ mu(n)₂ ʔon₁ -d₁ -u₁ =a  
 DEM.DIST DAT your.PL of kind DAT either... or... have.ANM EM S3SG.PST =QUOT

What would make him of your kind? [they asked.]

190.2 čki tkva mo:jnalet vagoskətia  
 čki tkva mo:jnale -t va= g- o- sk -ə -t =i =a  
 čki tkva(n) moinala -o(t) va= g-₁ o-₄ -u(n)₁ -t₁ =i =a  
 we you.PL servant ADV NEG= IO2 APPL SM.INACT PL =EV =QUOT

We are worth being your servants [, they said].

191 ragadu: aleksandrek :  
 ragad -u: aleksandre -k  
 ragad -u₁ aleksandre -k₁  
 talk S3SG.PST Aleksandre ERG

Aleksandre spoke:

192	–	aba	,	ma		muk		kimadə		c'q'ariši					
		aba		ma		mu	-k	ki-	m-	a-	d	-ə	c'q'ar	-iš	=i
		aba		ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF		mu(n) <sub>1</sub>	-k <sub>1</sub>	ko-	m-	o-	d <sub>2</sub>	-u <sub>1</sub>	c'q'ar	-iš <sub>1</sub>	=i
		well then		I		self	ERG	AFF	IO1	APPL	befall	S3SG.PST	water	GEN	=EV

oškvīdapalk ?  
o- škvid -ap -al -k  
o- -al<sub>1</sub> škvid -ap<sub>2</sub> o- -al<sub>1</sub> -k<sub>1</sub>  
SUP.NOUN drown AUG SUP.NOUN ERG

Well now, what befell me, for the sake of drowning me in water?

193	ma		vorek		tkvani		skua	,	aleksandre	
	ma		v- or -e		-k	tkvan	-i	skua	aleksandre	
	ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF		v- or -e(n) <sub>1</sub>		-k <sub>2</sub>	tkvan	-i <sub>1</sub>	skua	aleksandre	
	I		S1	be	SM.INACT	S1/2SG	your.PL	NOM	child	Aleksandre

I am your child, Aleksandre.

194	didā	do	mumak		igares		breli	,	mara	mu	
	didā	do	muma	-k	i-	gar	-es	breli	=i	mara	mu(n)
	didā	do <sub>1</sub>	muma	-k <sub>1</sub>	i-	gar	-es	breli	=i	mara <sub>1</sub>	mu(n) <sub>2</sub>
	mother	and	father	ERG	NON-PRS	cry	S3PL.PST	much	=EV	but	what

kiminesk'o ?  
kimin -es -k'o  
kimin -es -k'on  
do S3PL.PST COND

The mother and father wept a lot, but what could they have done?

195	aleksandre		bolos		da:c'q'narə		didā	do	muma		
	aleksandre	-k	bolo	-s	ɖ-	a:-	c'q'nar	-ə	didā	do	muma
	aleksandre	-k <sub>1</sub>	bolo	-s <sub>3</sub>	do-+POS. VAR. OF	a <sub>2</sub>	c'q'nar	-u <sub>1</sub>	didā	do <sub>1</sub>	muma
	Aleksandre	ERG	end	ADV	PRV	FACT	be calm	S3SG.PST	mother	and	father

At last, Aleksandre soothed (his) father and mother.

196	gagmanc'q'u:		žgiro		žirxolo		do				
	ga-	gm-	a-	n-	c'q'	-u:	žgir	-o	žir	=xolo	do
	ga-	gima-	o-	n-	c'q'	-u <sub>1</sub>	žgir <sub>1</sub>	-o(t)	žir	=xolo	do <sub>1</sub>
	PRF	PRV	FACT	SBM	set	S3SG.PST	good	ADV	two	=EMPH	and

mideʔonə muši saxenc'əpoša  
mid- e- ʔon -ə mu -ši saxenc'əpo -ša  
mida- i-<sub>8</sub> ʔon<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> mu(n)<sub>1</sub> -iš<sub>2</sub> saxenc'ipo+DIAL. VAR. OF -iša<sub>1</sub>  
PRV APPL.CENTRIP take.ANM S3SG.PST self GEN domain ALL

He provided both of them with fine dress and took away to his domain.

197	aleksandre		ʒalami		č'k'veri		k'očk		iʔu:		do	didi		
	aleksandre	-k	ʒalam	=i	č'k'ver	-i	k'očk	-k	i-	ʔ	-u:	do	did	-i
	aleksandre	-k <sub>1</sub>	ʒalam	=i	č'k'ver	-i <sub>2</sub>	k'očk	-k <sub>1</sub>	i-	ʔ <sub>1</sub>	-u <sub>1</sub>	do <sub>1</sub>	did	-i <sub>1</sub>
	Aleksandre	ERG	very	=EV	intelligent	SV	man	ERG	be_CVO	become	S3SG.PST	and	big	NOM

saxeli uɣudə teli keʔanas  
saxel -i u- ɣ -u -d -ə tel -i keʔana -s  
saxel -i<sub>1</sub> u-<sub>1</sub> ɣw -u(n)<sub>1</sub> -d<sub>1</sub> -u<sub>1</sub> tel<sub>2</sub> -i<sub>2</sub> kiʔana+FR. VAR. OF -s<sub>1</sub>  
name NOM APPL have.INANM SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST entire SV world DAT

Aleksandre became a very wise man and had a great name in the whole world.

199	ak'ak'i		šonia		sopeli		paxulani		;	5	/	09	/	1923
	ak'ak'	-i	šonia		sopel	-i	paxulan	-i	;	5	/	09	/	1923
	ak'ak'	-i <sub>1</sub>	šonia		sopel	-i <sub>1</sub>	paxulan	-i <sub>1</sub>	;	5	/	09	/	1923
	Ak'ak'i	NOM	Šonia		village	NOM	Paxulani	NOM	;	5	/	09	/	1923

Ak'ak'i Šonia; village Paxulani; 5/09/1923.

## Xubua LVII: A Stronger One than a Strong One (Fairy Tale)

### Nʒalieriš umosi nʒalieriši (arik'i)

1.1	rzeni		re		arti	
	rzen	-i	r	-e	art	-i
	rzen	-i <sub>1</sub>	or	-e(n) <sub>1</sub>	art	-i <sub>1</sub>
	plain area	NOM	be	SM.INACT	one	NOM

There is one plain area.

1.2	k'ambeši		gerdə		tek	arti			
	k'ambeš	-i	ge-	r	-d	-ə	tek	art	-i
	k'ambe+FR. VAR. OF	-i <sub>1</sub>	ge-	or	-d <sub>1</sub>	-u <sub>1</sub>	tek	art	-i <sub>1</sub>
	buffalo	NOM	PRV	stand	EM	S3SG.PST	there	one	NOM

There stood one buffalo.

2	eti		k'ambeši		idiardə		magalito		gvalas		
	eti		k'ambe	-ši	i-	diar	-d	-ə	magalito	gvala	-s
	i+***		k'ambe	-iš <sub>2</sub>	i-	diar	-d <sub>1</sub>	-u <sub>1</sub>	magalito	gvala	-s <sub>1</sub>
	DEM.DIST		camel	GEN	NON-PRS	ruminant	EM	S3SG.PST	for example	mountain	DAT

č'apurias  
č'apuria -s  
č'apuria -s<sub>1</sub>  
tasty grass DAT