

62	miak'in			e	k'očk	xološan			kanču		
	mi-	a-	k'in	-[u]	e	k'oč -k	xolo -ša	=n	kanč -u		
	me-	o- ₉	k'in ₃	-u ₁	e	k'oč -k ₁	xolo ₂ -iša ₁	=ni	kanč -u ₁		
	PRV	APPL	approach	S3SG.PST	DEM.PROX	man	ERG	close	ALL =CMPL	snap	S3SG.PST

gerk	p'iẓ̌i	do	kudaragu:						dixas		
ger -k	p'iẓ̌	-i	do	ku-	d-	a-	rag	-u:	dixa -s		
ger -k ₁	p'iẓ̌	-i ₁	do ₁	ko-	do+	POS. VAR. OF	o- ₆	ragw	-u ₁	dixa -s ₁	
wolf	ERG	mouth	NOM	and	AFF	PRV	FACT	throw	S3SG.PST	soil	DAT

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

63	-	skani			umosi	uč'k'uo			k'oči	ma		
		sk'an		-i	umos -i	u-	č'k'u	-o	k'oč -i	ma		
		skan ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF		-i ₁	umos -i ₁	u-	-o(t)	č'k'u	u-	-o(t)	k'oč -i ₁	ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF
		your.SG		NOM	more	NOM	PRVT	wit	PRVT	man	NOM	I

mitini	vamašinia								tku	do	dudi		
mitin -i	va=	m-	a-	š	-in	=i	=a		tk	-u	do	dud -i	
mitin -i ₁	va=	m- ₁	a-	-e(n)	š ₁	a-	-e(n)	=i	=a	tkw	-u ₁	do ₁	dud ₂ -i ₁
nobody	NOM	NEG=	IO1	POT	find	POT	=EV	=QUOT	say	S3SG.PST	and	REFL	NOM

mekinẓ̌u			bediši			magorali			uč'k'ue		k'os							
me-	kinẓ̌	-u	bed	-iš	=i	ma-	gor	-al	-i	u-	č'k'u	-e	k'o	-s				
me-	kinẓ̌	-u ₁	bed ₁	-iš ₁	=i	ma-	-al	gor	ma-	-al	-i ₂	u-	-e	č'k'u	u-	-e	k'oč	-s ₁
PRV	snap	off	S3SG.PST	destiny	GEN	=EV	PTC	find	PTC	SV	PRVT	wit	PRVT	man	DAT			

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

66	nest'or	zurabis	ẓ̌e	gunia	;	sopeli			ek'i	;	1921
	nest'or	zurab	-is	ẓ̌e	gunia	sopel	-i		ek'i		
	nest'or	zurab	-is	ẓ̌e	gunia	sopel	-i ₁		ek'i		
	Nest'or	Zurab	GEN	son-of	Gunia	village	NOM		Ek'i		

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

Xubua XXIII: A Bego and Tatraq'ani Tale

Bego do Tatarq'aniš arik'i

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

Once upon a time, there was one sovereign.

2	ates				noxve				sumi	osurskualeti					
	ate	-s	no-	x	-v	-e			sum	-i	osur	skua	-l	-ep	-i
	ate	-s ₁	no-	ox	-u ₇	-e(n) ₁			sum ₁	-i ₂	osur	skua	-l ₁	-ep	-i ₁
	DEM.PROX	DAT	EVID	sit	SM.EVID	SM.INACT			three	SV	woman	child	SUF.INTR	PL	NOM

He has evidently had three daughters (lit. three daughters have evidently sat to him).

3	mužams				osur-skualetk				mirdesəni						
	mužams				osur	skua	-l	-ep	-k	m-	i-	rd	-es	=ə	=ni
	mužam+POS. VAR. OF				osur	skua	-l ₁	-ep	-k ₁	me-	i- ₅	rd	-es	=i	=ni
	when				woman	child	SUF.INTR	PL	ERG	PRV	DECAUS	grow	S3PL.PST	=EV	=CMPL

3	ẓ̌abepi				gəmalanẓ̌yunia				do	ateš				
	ẓ̌ab	-ep	-i		gə-	m-	a-	lanẓ̌y	-un	=i	=a	do	ate	-š
	ẓ̌ab	-ep	-i ₁		go-	m-	a-	lanẓ̌yw	-u(n) ₁	=i	=a	do ₁	e+***	-iš ₂
	girl	PL	NOM		PRV	IO1	EVO	curse	SM.INACT	=EV	=QUOT	and	DEM.PROX	GEN

gurišeni	ẓ̌yvaša			ʔude	kimšak'etebapu:									
gur -išen	=i	ẓ̌yva		-ša	ʔude	ki-	mš-	a-	k'et	-eb	-ap	-u:		
gur ₄ -iše(n)	=i	ẓ̌yva+POS. VAR. OF		-iša ₁	ʔude	ko-	miša-	o-	-ap ₁	k'et	-eb ₁	o-	-ap ₁	-u ₁
sake	EL	=EV		sea	ALL	house	AFF	PRV	CAUS	do	AUG	CAUS	S3SG.PST	

xenc'əpek				do	sumxolo	ẓ̌yabenc		bina	tek			
xenc'əpe		-k		do	sum	=xolo	ẓ̌yab	-en	-c	bina	te	-k
xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF		-k ₁		do ₁	sum ₁	=xolo	ẓ̌yab	-ep	-s ₁	bina ₂	te ₁	-k ₁
sovereign		ERG		and	three	=EMPH	girl	PL	DAT	accommodation	DEM.PROX	ERG

kemurčkinə					
ke-	m-	u-		rčkin	-ə
ko-	me-	u-		rčkin	-u ₁
AFF	PRV	APPL		designate	S3SG.PST

When (his) daughters grew up, [the sovereign thought:] "the girls will curse me" and this is why the sovereign made (his men) build a house in the sea and allocated there an accommodation to each of the three girls.

4	ir	sabat'ons			doxturi			kimiak'itxandə		do					
	ir	sabat'on	-s		doxtur	-i		ki-	mi-	a-	k'itx	-an	-d	-ə	do
	ir	sabat'on	-s ₃		doxtur	-i ₁		ko-	me-	a-	k'itx ₂	-an ₁	-d ₁	-u ₁	do ₁
	entire	Saturday	ADV		doctor	NOM		AFF	PRV	APPL	visit	SM	EM	S3SG.PST	and

c'onənd				ate	ẓ̌yabenc			
c'on	-ə	n	-d	-[u]	ate	ẓ̌yab	-en	-c
c'on ₂	-un	-d ₁	-u ₁	e+***	ẓ̌yab	-ep	-s ₁	
weigh	SM	EM	S3SG.PST	DEM.PROX	girl	PL	DAT	

Every Saturday, a doctor visited and weighed these girls.

5 odo , iri sabat'oniši c'onas xenc'əpes
odo ir -i sabat'on -iš =i c'ona -s xenc'əpe -s
odo ir -i₂ sabat'on -iš₁ =i c'ona -s₁ xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁
and so every SV Saturday GEN =EV weight DAT sovereign DAT

ma:šinandə
m- a:- š -in -an -d -ə
mo- o- -in₁ š₃ o- -in₁ -an₁ -d₁ -u₁
PRV CAUS remember CAUS SM EM S3SG.PST

And so, every Saturday he reported (their) weight(s) to the sovereign.

6 oč'k'umalo sumxolo dalens arzendes
oč'k'umal -o sum =xolo da -l -en -s a- rz -en -d -es
oč'k'omal+FR. VAR. OF -o(t) sum₁ =xolo da₁ -l₁ -ep -s₁ a-₇ rz₁ -en₁ -d₁ -es
food ADV three =EMPH sister SUF.INTR PL DAT APPL give SM EM S3PL.PST

artnero do art zomas
art -ner -o do art zoma -s
art -ner -o(t) do₁ art zoma -s₁
one of kind ADV and one size DAT

They provided all the three girls with meals equally and in the same quantity.

7 artiša dalenk kignodoxodes gale abarc'as do
art -iša da- -l -en -k ki- gno- doxod -es gale abarc'a -s do
art -iša₂ da-₁ -l₁ -ep -k₁ ko- gino- doxod -es gale abarc'a -s₁ do₁
one ADV PRV SUF.INTR PL ERG AFF PRV sit down S3PL.PST outside balcony DAT and

kužinena zγvas
k- u- žin -en -a zγva -s
ko- u-₁ žin -en₁ -a(n) zγva+POS. VAR. OF -s₁
AFF APPL look SM S3PL sea DAT

Once, the girls sat down outside on the balcony and are looking at the sea.

8 kožires , zγvas č'ita uškuri
ko- žir -es zγva -s č'ita uškur -i
ko- žir -es zγva+POS. VAR. OF -s₁ č'ita uškur -i₁
AFF see S3PL.PST sea DAT red apple NOM

kəmuγuni
kə- m- u- γ -u =ni
ko- mo- u-₁ γw -u(n)₁ =ni
AFF PRV APPL carry.INANM SM.INACT =CMPL

They saw that the sea is carrying a red apple (towards them).

9 uc'i:s artianc :
u- c' -i:s artian -c
u-₁ c'₁ -es artian -s₁
APPL tell S3PL.PST one another DAT

They told each other:

10 - gešebγat ti uškuri do
geš- e- b- γ -a -t ti uškur -i do
geša- i-₈ v- γw -a₁ -t₁ ti₁ uškur -i₁ do₁
PRV APPL.CENTRIP S1 take.INANM OPT PL DEM.DIST apple NOM and

op'č'k'omatia
o- p'- č'k'om -a -t =i =a
o-₇ v- č'k'om -a₁ -t₁ =i =a
PRF S1 eat OPT PL =EV =QUOT

Let's take that apple and eat it [, they said].

11 unčašik do vart oškark - vek'orines
unčaš -i -k do vart oškar -k v= e- k'or -in -es
unčaš -i₂ -k₁ do₁ varti+POS. VAR. OF oškar -k₁ va= i-₈ k'or₂ -in₁ -es
elder SV ERG and neither... nor... middle ERG NEG= APPL.CENTRIP want AUG S3PL.PST

(Neither) the eldest sister nor the middle sister wished (to do anything).

12 uk'ulašik xe ginuč'irinu: do
uk'ulaš -i -k xe gin- u- č'ir -in -u: do
uk'ulaš -i₂ -k₁ xe gino- u-₁ č'ir₂ -in₁ -u₁ do₁
younger SV ERG hand PRV APPL stretch out AUG S3SG.PST and

gešeγə uškuri
geš- e- γ -ə uškur -i
geša- i-₈ γw -u₁ uškur -i₁
PRV APPL.CENTRIP take out.INANM S3SG.PST apple NOM

The youngest (sister) stretched out her arm and took the apple out (of the water).

13 - radganac tkva vešeγitie
radganac tkva v= eš- e- γ -i -t =i =e
radganac tkva(n) va= eša- i-₈ γw -i₁ -t₁ =i =e₃
as long as you.PL NEG= PRV APPL.CENTRIP bring.INANM PST.IND PL =EV =QUOT+CMPL

vart oč'k'omalo rčantia - do muk xvale
vart oč'k'omal -o r- č -an -t =i =a do mu -k xvale
varti+POS. VAR. OF oč'k'omal -o(t) r-₁ č₁ -an₁ -t₁ =i =a do₁ mu(n)₁ -k₁ xvale
neither... nor... food ADV IO2 give SM PL =EV =QUOT and self ERG alone

oč'k'omə
 o- č'k'om -ə
 o-₇ č'k'om -u₁
 PRF eat S3SG.PST

Since you have not brought it up, I won't feed you with it [, she said,] and ate it alone.

14 ti maras sabat'onk ma⁷unun do
 ti mara -s sabat'on -k m- a- ⁷un -u =n
 i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** mara₂ -s₁ sabat'on -k₁ me- a-₇ ⁷un₂ -u₁ =ni
 DEM.DIST week DAT Saturday ERG PRV APPL begin S3SG.PST =CMPL

tis doxturk čveulebrivo kəmortə do doc'onə
 ti -s doxtur -k čveulebriv -o kə- mo- rt -ə do do- c'on -ə
 ti₁ -s₁ doxtur -k₁ čveulebriv -o(t) ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ do₁ do- c'on₂ -u₁
 DEM.DIST DAT doctor ERG usual ADV AFF PRV go S3SG.PST and PRV weigh S3SG.PST

ate ³ɣabepi
 ate ³ɣab -ep -i
 e+*** ³ɣab -ep -i₁
 DEM.PROX girl PL NOM

When Saturday followed that week, the doctor, as usual, came and weighed these girls.

15 uk'ulašik c'onaše met'ik kəmortə ate
 uk'ulaš -i -k c'ona -še met' -i -k kə- mo- rt -ə ate
 uk'ulaš -i₂ -k₁ c'ona -iše(n) met' -i₂ -k₁ ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ ate
 younger SV ERG weight EL more SV ERG AFF PRV go S3SG.PST DEM.PROX
 e+***

uškuriši mizezit
 uškur -iš =i mizez -it
 uškur -iš₁ =i mizez -it
 apple GEN =EV reason INS

The youngest appeared (lit. came) heavier (lit. more in weight) because of this apple.

16 mažira maras xolo met'ik kəmažinə do
 ma- žir -a mara -s =xolo met' -i -k kə- m- a- žin -ə do
 ma- a₂ žir ma- a₂ mara₂ -s₁ =xolo met' -i₂ -k₁ ko- me- a-₇ žin -u₁ do₁
 ORD two ORD week DAT =EMPH more SV ERG AFF PRV APPL add S3SG.PST and

doxturk guri ku:ču , muč'o te
 doxtur -k gur -i k- u:- č -u muč'o te
 doxtur -k₁ gur₁ -i₁ ko- u-₁+POS. VAR. OF č₄ -u₁ muč'o e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
 doctor ERG heart NOM AFF APPL notice S3SG.PST how DEM.PROX

³ɣabi up'lanot kižinansəni do
³ɣab -i u- p'lan -o k- i- žin -an -s =ə =ni do
³ɣab -i₁ u- o(t) p'lan -o(t) ko- i-₈ žin -an₁ -s₂ =i =ni do₁
 girl NOM PRVT plan ADV AFF APPL.CENTRIP add SM S3SG =EV =CMPL and

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

In the next week, she gained even more (weight) and the doctor noticed that this girl is unexpectedly gaining weight and told her:

17 - si žalami žgiro kogičkənia
 si žalam =i žgir -o ko- g- i- čk -ən =i =a
 si žalam =i žgir₁ -o(t) ko- g-₁ i-₁ čk -u(n)₁ =i =a
 you.SG very =EV good ADV AFF IO2 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT =EV =QUOT

skani muma xenc'əpeši zožua - namuti
 skan -i muma xenc'əpe -ši zož₂ -ua namu =ti
 skan₁ -i₂ muma xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₂ zož₂ -ua namu₁ =ti
 your.SG SV father sovereign GEN order MSD REFL.PRN =REL

varduo mižinandit gorčkineli
 va= r -d -u =o m- i- žin -an -d -i -t go- rčkin -el -i
 va= or -d₁ -u₁ =o₂ mo- i-₈ žin -an₁ -d₁ -i₄ -t₁ go-₁ rčkin -el₃ -i₂
 NEG= be EM S3SG.PST =QST PRV APPL.CENTRIP add SM EM PST.IND PL PRV appear PTC SV

oč'k'omališi žini , tina zɣvaša
 oč'k'omal -iš =i ži -n =i tina zɣva
 oč'k'omal -iš₁ =i ži₂ -n₃ =i i+*** zɣva+POS. VAR. OF -iša₁
 food GEN =EV upwards ADJR =EV DEM.DIST sea ALL

gegnvo⁷otitk'oni
 ge- gn- v- o- ⁷ot -i -t -k'oni
 ga-₁ gino- v- o-₆ ⁷ot₁ -i₄ -t₁ -k'on
 PRF PRV S1 FACT throw PST.IND PL COND

You very well know [, he said,] your sovereign father's order, so that we would to throw into the sea that one of you, which would gain weight above the meals assigned.

18 mara si mocodək do gogit'ale
 mara si m- o- cod -ə -k do go- g- i- t' -al -e[n] -[k]
 mara₁ si m-₁ o-₄ cod₂ -u(n)₁ -k₂ do₁ go-₁ g-₁ i-₁ t'₁ -al₂ -en₁ -k₂
 but you.SG IO1 APPL pity SM.INACT S1/2SG and PRV IO2 EVO let go AUG SM S1/2SG

xmeletiša , sole gisxunun , teure
 xmelet -iša so -le g- i- sxun -u =n te
 xmelet -iša₁ sod -le g-₁ i-₁ sxun₂ -u(n)₁ =ni e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** -⁷ure
 dry land ALL where MOT IO2 APPL prefer SM.INACT =CMPL DEM.PROX towards

meu .
meu
meu
out!

But I pity you and will let you go onto the dry soil, wherever you prefer, go there.

19 ma xenc'əpes uc'i:nk :
ma xenc'əpe -s [v]- u- c' -i:n -k
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁ v- u₋₁ c'₁ -in₃+DIAL. VAR. OF -k₁
I sovereign DAT S1 APPL tell SM ERG

I will tell the sovereign:

20 - up'lanot kimižinə 3ʒabik do
u- p'lan -ot ki- m- i- žin -ə 3ʒab -i -k do
u- -o(t) p'lan u- -o(t) ko- mo- i-₈ žin -u₁ 3ʒab -i₂ -k₁ do₁
PRVT plan PRVT AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP add S3SG.PST girl SV ERG and

zʒvaša gegnvoʔot mak
zʒva -ša ge- gn- v- o- ʔot -[i] mak
zʒva+POS. VAR. OF -iša₁ ga-₁ gino- v- o-₆ ʔot₁ -i₄ mak
sea ALL PRF PRV S1 FACT throw PST.IND QUOT1

The girl has gained weight unexpectedly and I threw her into the sea [, I will say].

21 - žgiria , 3ʒabik tku:
žgir -i =a 3ʒab -i -k tk -u:
žgir₁ -i₁ =a 3ʒab -i₂ -k₁ tkw -u₁
good NOM =QUOT girl SV ERG say S3SG.PST

Good, said the girl.

22.1 3ʒabik da:č'q'ə zʒva p'ic
3ʒab -i -k d- zʒva p'i
3ʒab -i₂ -k₁ do+POS. VAR. OF o-₁₀ č'q' -ə zʒva+POS. VAR. OF p'iž'+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁
girl SV ERG PRV FACT begin S3SG.PST sea mouth DAT -c

ula
ul -a
wl -a₃
go MSD

The girls began to walk down the sea shore.

22.2 idə art maras , vitoxutis , art tutas idə ,
id -ə art mara -s vit o xut -i -s art tuta -s id -ə
id -u₁ art mara₂ -s₁ vit do₁+*** xut -i₂ -s₁ art tuta -s₁ id -u₁
go S3SG.PST one week DAT ten and five SV DAT one month DAT go S3SG.PST

iro zʒva p'iž'it
ir -o zʒva p'iž' -it
ir -o(t) zʒva+POS. VAR. OF p'iž' -it
every ADV sea mouth INS

She was going for one week, fifteen (days), she was going for one month, all the time down the sea shore.

23 oč'k'umalo xvarendə t'q'aši k'ak'als do xileps
oč'k'umal -o xvar -en -d -ə t'q'a -ši k'ak'al -s do xil -ep -s
oč'k'omal+FR. VAR. OF -o(t) xvar₂ -en₁ -d₁ -u₁ t'q'a -iš₂ k'ak'al₂ -s₁ do₁ xil₂ -ep -s₁
food ADV use SM EM S3SG.PST forest GEN walnut DAT and fruit PL DAT

For (her) meals, she used forest walnuts and fruits.

24 breliša , tenepi vašidəni
brel -iša ten -ep -i va= a- š -i -d -ə =ni
brel -iša₂ e+*** -ep -i₁ va= a- -e(n) š₄ a- -e(n) -d₁ -u₁ =ni
much ADV DEM.PROX PL NOM NEG= POT find POT EM S3SG.PST =CMPL

purcelepsət oč'k'umundə
purcel -ep -s =ə =t o- č'k'um -un -d -ə
purcel -ep -s₁ =i =t o-₇ č'k'om -un -d₁ -u₁
leaf PL DAT =EV = PRF eat SM EM S3SG.PST

Many times, when she could not find these, she ate leaves, too.

25 ate uškuriš mizezit te 3ʒabik
ate uškur -iš mizez -it te 3ʒab -i -k
e+*** uškur -iš₁ mizez -it e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** 3ʒab -i₂ -k₁
DEM.PROX apple GEN reason INS DEM.PROX girl SV ERG

deuxenə
d- e- uxen -ə
do+POS. VAR. OF i-₅ uxen -u₁
PRV DECAUS become pregnant S3SG.PST

This girl got in trouble because of this apple.

26 ulak guč'irdən , teši ginirtə
ul -a -k g- u- č'ir -d -ə =n teš =i gin- i- rt -ə
wl -a₂ -k₁ go-₂ u-₁ č'ir₁ -d₁ -u₁ =ni teš =i gino- i-₅ rt₁ -u₁
go MSD ERG PRV APPL trouble EM S3SG.PST =CMPL so =EV PRV DECAUS turn S3SG.PST

That walking became difficult for her, it turned out that way.

27 arti didi ʎoli č'q'oniša miti:lə do tek
 art -i did -i ʎol -i č'q'on -iša mit- i:- l -ə do tek
 art -i₂ did -i₁ ʎol₂ -i₂ č'q'on -iša₁ mito- i₆ wl -u₁ do₁ tek
 one SV big NOM with hollows SV oak ALL PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST and there

kimtodirtə
 ki- mto- dirt -ə
 ko- mito- dirt₃ -u₁
 AFF PRV remain S3SG.PST

She got inside one big rotten oak trunk and remained there.

28 drok kəmortəni , skuak ka:šu:
 dro -k kə- mo- rt -ə =ni , skua -k k- a:- š -u:
 dro -k₁ ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ =ni skua -k₁ ko- a₇ š₆ -u₁
 time ERG AFF PRV go S3SG.PST =CMPL child ERG AFF APPL get born S3SG.PST

bošik
 boš -i -k
 boš -i₂ -k₁
 boy SV ERG

When the time came, a child was born to her, a boy.

29 ate sers kəmortes sumi t'oronžepk do
 ate ser -s kə- mo- rt -es sum -i t'oronž -ep -k do
 e+*** ser -s₃ ko- mo- rt₁ -es sum₁ -i₂ t'oronž -ep -k₁ do₁
 DEM.PROX evening ADV AFF PRV go S3PL.PST three SV pigeon PL ERG and

te č'q'onc kigladoxodes
 te č'q'on -c ki- gla- doxod -es
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** č'q'on -s₁ ko- gila- doxod -es
 DEM.PROX oak DAT AFF PRV sit down S3PL.PST

That night three pigeons came flying and landed on this oak.

30.1 - ate bošis muši bedi mepčatia
 ate boš -i -s mu(n) -ši bed -i me- p- č -a -t =i =a
 e+*** boš -i₂ -s₁ mu(n)₂ -iš₂ bed₁ -i₁ me- v- č₁ -a₁ -t₁ =i =a
 DEM.PROX boy SV DAT what GEN destiny NOM PRV S1 give OPT PL =EV =QUOT

What destiny should we give to this boy? [they said.]

30.2 (enepi ʔope angelozepe)
 en -ep -i ʔ -op -e angeloz -ep -i
 e+POS. VAR. OF -ep -i₁ ʔ₁ -op -e(n)₁ angeloz -ep -i₁
 DEM.PROX PL NOM be AUG.PERF SM.INACT angel PL NOM

(They have apparently been angels.)

31 unčaišik tku:
 unčaiš -i -k tk -u:
 unčaiš -i₂ -k₁ tkw -u₁
 elder SV ERG say S3SG.PST

The eldest (pigeon) said:

32 - c'q'arc diškvidasia
 c'q'ar -c d- i- škvid -a -s =i =a
 c'q'ar -s₁ do-+POS. VAR. OF i₅ škvid -a₁ -s₂ =i =a
 water DAT PRV DECAUS drown OPT S3SG =EV =QUOT

Let him get drowned in water [, it said].

33 oškark tku:
 oškar -k tk -u:
 oškar -k₁ tkw -u₁
 middle ERG say S3SG.PST

The middle (pigeon) said:

34 - žaše gegmalas do doɣurasia
 ža -še ge- gm- a- l -a -s do do- ɣur -a -s =i =a
 ža -iše(n) ga₁ gima- o₉ wl -a₁ -s₂ do₁ do- ɣur -a₁ -s₂ =i =a
 tree EL PRF PRV APPL go OPT S3SG and PRV die OPT S3SG =EV =QUOT

Let him fall down from a tree and die [, it said].

35 uk'ulašik tenepiši gančineba
 uk'ulaš -i -k ten -ep -iš =i gančineba
 uk'ulaš -i₂ -k₁ e+*** -ep -iš₁ =i gančineba
 younger SV ERG DEM.PROX PL GEN =EV prophesy

vedežerə do tku:
 ve= d- e- žer -ə do tk -u:
 va=+POS. VAR. OF do-+POS. VAR. OF i₈ žer₂ -u₁ do₁ tkw -u₁
 NEG= PRV APPL.CENTRIP agree S3SG.PST and say S3SG.PST

The youngest (pigeon) did not agree with their prophecies and said:

36 - radganc tena uškuriši skuarenie , sumi
 radganc tena uškur -iš =i skua r -en =i =e sum -i
 radganc e+*** uškur -iš₁ =i skua or -e(n)₁ =i =e₃ sum₁ -i₂
 since DEM.PROX apple GEN =EV child be SM.INACT =EV =QUOT+CMPL three SV

nart'ik geurtasia
 nart' -i -k ge- u- rt -a -s =i =a
 nart' -i₂ -k₁ ge- u₁ rt₂ -a₁ -s₂ =i =a
 wish SV ERG PRV APPL come true OPT S3SG =EV =QUOT

Since he is an apple's child [, it said], let three (his) wishes come true for him [, it said].

37.1 – žgiria , uc'i:s maʔalepk do kopurines
 žgir -i =a u- c' -i:s maʔal -ep -k do ko- purin -es
 žgir₁ -i₁ =a u₁ c'₁ -es maʔal -ep -k₁ do₁ ko- purin -es
 good NOM =QUOT APPL tell S3PL.PST companion PL ERG and AFF fly S3PL.PST

Good, told it (its) companions and they (all) left flying.

37.2 atenepiši ragadis irpelc te dida
 aten -ep -iš =i ragad -i -s irpel -c te dida
 e -ep -iš₁ =i ragad -i₂ -s₁ irpel -s₁ e^{+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***} dida
 DEM.PROX PL GEN =EV talk SV DAT everything DAT DEM.PROX mother

irčkile
 i- rčkil -e
 i- -e(n) rčkil i- -e(n)
 POT hear POT

The mother has heard their whole talk.

38 žalamk kaškurinə , mara mu ok'o
 žalam -k k- a- škur -in -ə mara mu ok'o
 žalam -k₁ ko- o- -in₁ škur o- -in₁ -u₁ mara₁ mu(n)₂ ok'o(n)^{+POS. VAR. OF}
 very ERG AFF CAUS fear CAUS S3SG.PST but either... or... MOD

kiminək'oni ?
 kimin -ə -k'on =i
 kimin -u₁ -k'on =i
 do S3SG.PST COND =EV

(She) got scared very much, but what did she have to do?

39 te bošis didak saxelo bego
 te boš -i -s dida -k saxel -o bego
 e^{+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***} boš -i₂ -s₁ dida -k₁ saxel -o(t) bego
 DEM.PROX boy SV DAT mother ERG name ADV Bego

kigiodə
 ki- gi- o- d -ə
 ko- ge- o-₆ dv₁ -u₁
 AFF PRV FACT put S3SG.PST

The mother named this boy Bego (lit. placed the name Bego onto him).

40 te baɣana iri dɣaše gasak'viro irdu:
 te baɣana ir -i dɣa -še gasak'vir -o i- rd -u:
 e^{+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***} baɣana ir -i₂ dɣa -iše(n) gasak'vir -o(t) i- -u(n)₁ rd -u(n)₁
 DEM.PROX child every SV day EL amazing ADV DECAUS grow SM.INACT

This child is amazingly growing every day.

41 škviti c'anaša kimertəni , xet
 škvit -i c'ana -ša ki- me- rt -ə =ni xe -t
 škvit -i₂ c'ana -iša₁ ko- me- rt₁ -u₁ =ni xe -t₂
 seven SV year ALL AFF PRV go S3SG.PST =CMPL hand INS

da:č'q'ə č'ič'e-č'ič'e nadirepiši č'opua
 d- a:- č'q' -ə č'ič'e č'ič'e nadir -ep -iš =i č'op -u -a
 do-+POS. VAR. OF a₂ č'q' -u₁ č'ič'e č'ič'e nadir₂ -ep -iš₁ =i č'op -u₃ -a₂
 PRV FACT begin S3SG.PST little little prey PL GEN =EV catch AUG MSD

When he reached seven years (of age), he began catching small prey (lit. preys) with (his bare) hand(s).

42 kəmuʔonandə didas do xorcit
 kə- m- u- ʔon -an -d -ə dida -s do xorc -it
 ko- mo- u-₁ ʔon₁ -an₁ -d₁ -u₁ dida -s₁ do₁ xorc -it
 AFF PRV APPL bring.ANM SM EM S3SG.PST mother DAT and meat INS

skədədes
 sk'əd -ə -d -es
 skid₂+DIAL. VAR. OF -u(n)₁ -d₁ -es
 stay SM.INACT EM S3PL.PST

He would bring (it) to (his) mother and they survived thanks to (that) meat.

43 artiša ate udaburi zɣva p'ižiši t'q'aša
 art -iša ate udabur -i zɣva p'iž -iš =i t'q'a -ša
 art -iša₂ e+*** udabur -i₂ zɣva+POS. VAR. OF p'iž -iš₁ =i t'q'a -iša₁
 one ADV DEM.PROX uninhabited SV sea bank GEN =EV forest ALL

molartə sanadirot xenc'əpeši skuak
 mola- rt -ə sa- nadir -ot xenc'əpe -ši skua -k
 mola- rt₁ -u₁ sa- -o(t) nadir₁ sa- -o(t) xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₂ skua -k₁
 PRV go S3SG.PST PURP hunt PURP sovereign GEN child ERG

Once, a sovereign's child came over for a hunt in the forest on this uninhabited sea shore.

44 giožinən , k'oči vaxoranc saxoc peri dexas
 gi- o- žin -ə =n k'oč -i va= xor -an -c saxoc per -i dixa -s
 ge- o-₄ žin -u₁ =ni k'oč -i₂ va= xor -an₁ -s₂ saxoc₂ per -i₂ dixa -s₁
 PRV APPL look S3SG.PST =CMPL man SV NEG= settle SM S3SG nearby such SV soil DAT

kožirə t'ark'ale boši miruleni
 ko- žir -ə t'ark'ale boš -i m- i- rul -e =ni
 ko- žir -u₁ t'ark'ale boš -i₁ me- i-₆ rul₂ -e(n)₁ =ni
 AFF see S3SG.PST naked boy NOM PRV AUTOCAUS run SM.INACT =CMPL

When he looked around, he saw, at a place where no man lives, that a naked boy is running away.

45 te bošik kožirə dγas
 te boš -i -k ko- žir -ə dγas
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** boš -i₂ -k₁ ko- žir -u₁ dγas
 DEM.PROX boy SV ERG AFF see S3SG.PST never

voužirən peri k'očini , tišeni re
 vo= u- žir -ə =n per -i k'oč -i =ni tišeni r -e
 va= u- u(n)₁ žir u- u(n)₁ =ni per -i₂ k'oč -i₁ =ni tišeni or -e(n)₁
 NEG= PERF see PERF =CMPL such SV man NOM =CMPL because be SM.INACT

mut miruleni
 mu =t m- i- rul -e =ni
 mu(n)₁ =t m-₁ i-₆ rul₂ -e(n)₁ =ni
 self =ADD IO1 AUTOCAUS run SM.INACT =CMPL

This boy saw (this) kind of a man, that he had never seen before, (and) that is why he is running away.

46 gamatxozə mažinek oč'opalo , mara
 ga- m- a- txoz -ə ma- žin -e -k o- č'op -al -o mara
 ga-₁ mo- a-₇ txoz -u₁ ma- -e žin ma- -e -k₁ o- -al₂ č'op o- -al₂ -o(t) mara₁
 PRF PRV APPL pursue S3SG.PST PTC look PTC ERG SUP take SUP ADV but

bošik ent'ə
 boš -i -k e- n- t' -ə
 boš -i₂ -k₁ e-₁ n- t'₃ -u₁
 boy SV ERG APPL SBM run away S3SG.PST

The spectator chased him to catch (him), but the boy escaped from him.

47 didaša kəmortə do uc'u: :
 dida -ša kə- mo- rt -ə do u- c' -u:
 dida -iša₁ ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ do₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁
 mother ALL AFF PRV go S3SG.PST and APPL tell S3SG.PST

He went to (his) mother and told her:

48 - arti mudgareni bžiri ate žgura ,
 art -i mudga -ren -i b- žir -i ate žgura
 art -i₁ mudga -ren -i₁ v- žir -i₄ e+*** -žgura
 one NOM whatever INDEF NOM S1 see PST.IND DEM.PROX of kind

težgura do irpeli keču: didas
 te -žgura do irpel -i k- e- č -u: dida -s
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** -žgura do₁ irpel -i₁ ko- e-₁ č₂ -u₁ dida -s₁
 DEM.PROX of kind and everything NOM AFF APPL narrate S3SG.PST mother DAT

I saw one thing of this kind, this kind and told (his) mother everything.

49 didak geu:nc'q'ə , muč'o ti
 dida -k ge- u:- n- c'q' -ə muč'o ti
 dida -k₁ ge- u-₁+POS. VAR. OF n- c'q'₇ -u₁ muč'o i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
 mother ERG PRV APPL SBM explain S3SG.PST how DEM.DIST

k'oči mažine reni , muč'o ṽviluns tina
 k'oč -i ma- žin -e r -en =i muč'o ṽvil -un -s tina
 k'oč -i₁ ma- -e žin ma- -e or -e(n)₁ =i muč'o ṽvil -un -s₂ i+***
 man NOM PTC look PTC be SM.INACT =EV how kill.SG SM S3SG DEM.DIST

nadirensən , tenepi irpeli
 nadir -en -s =ə =n ten -ep -i irpel -i
 nadir₁ -en₁ -s₂ =i =ni e+*** -ep -i₁ irpel -i₁
 hunt SM S3SG =EV =CMPL DEM.PROX PL NOM everything NOM

kəda:guru:
 kə- d- a:- gur -u:
 ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF o-₁ gur₃ -u₁
 AFF PRV CAUS learn S3SG.PST

The mother explained to him that that man is a spectator, that he kills the game, she taught him all these matters.

50 midartə bošik do t'q'as kimiot'q'obə ,
 mida- rt -ə boš -i -k do t'q'a -s ki- mi- o- t'q'ob -ə
 mida- rt₁ -u₁ boš -i₂ -k₁ do₁ t'q'a -s₁ ko- me- o-₄ t'q'ob -u₁
 PRV go S3SG.PST boy SV ERG and forest DAT AFF PRV APPL hide S3SG.PST

teure duč'q'ə žina , muč'o
 te d- d- žin -a muč'o
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** -ṽure do-+POS. VAR. OF u- u(n)₁ č'q' -ə u- u(n)₁ žin -a₂ muč'o
 DEM.PROX towards PRV PERF begin PERF look MSD how

cxenc gitmedoxodə do muč'o kaškvili do kasagans
 cxen -c gi- tm- doxod -ə -d -ə do muč'o kaškvil -i do kasagan -s
 cxen -s₁ ge- tmi- doxod -u(n)₁ -d₁ -u₁ do₁ muč'o kaškvil -i₂ do₁ kasagan -s₁
 horse DAT PRV IMPRF sit down SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST and how bow SV and arrow DAT

xvarendən
 xvar -en -d -ə =n
 xvar₂ -en₁ -d₁ -u₁ =ni
 use SM EM S3SG.PST =CMPL

The boy went and hid in the forest, he apparently began watching in the direction, how he (i.e. the spectator) would mounting a horse and use the bow and arrows.

51 u₃inə tes irpels bošik do
 u- žin -ə te -s irpel -s boš -i -k do
 u-₁ žin -u₁ te₁ -s₁ irpel -s₁ boš -i₂ -k₁ do₁
 APPL look S3SG.PST DEM.PROX DAT everything DAT boy SV ERG and

kimk'ic'onə
 ki- mk'- i- c'on -ə
 ko- mik'o- i-₈ c'on₂ -u₁
 AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP memorise S3SG.PST

The boy watched all those things and memorised them.

52 ezəma xanc , žoɣorepi mitore t'q'as
 e -zəma xan -c žoɣor -ep -i mito- r -e t'q'a -s
 e -zoma+DIAL. VAR. OF xan -s₁ žoɣor -ep -i₁ mito- or -e(n)₁ t'q'a -s₁
 DEM.PROX much time DAT dog PL NOM PRV be SM.INACT forest DAT

monadirepin , tenenk k'oči kimtaxviles
 monadir -ep -i =n ten -en -k k'oč -i ki- mt- a- xvil -es
 monadire -ep -i₁ =ni e+*** -ep -k₁ k'oč -i₂ ko- mito- o-₉ xvil₁ -es
 hunter PL NOM =CMPL DEM.PROX PL ERG man SV AFF PRV APPL feel the smell S3PL.PST

t'q'as do dič'q'es lalua
 t'q'a -s do d- i- č'q' -es lal -u -a
 t'q'a -s₁ do₁ do-+POS. VAR. OF i-₈ č'q' -es lal -u₃ -a₂
 forest DAT and PRV APPL.CENTRIP begin S3PL.PST bark AUG MSD

In the meanwhile, the hunting dogs that are (lit. is) in the forest, they smelled (the presence of) a man in the forest and started barking.

53 xenc'əpeši skuak kimirulun ,
 xenc'əpe -ši skua -k ki- m- i- rul -u =n
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₂ skua -k₁ ko- me- i-₆ ru₂ -u₁ =ni
 sovereign GEN child ERG AFF PRV AUTOCAUS run S3SG.PST =CMPL

kožirə k'ini ti t'ark'ale boši
 ko- žir -ə k'in =i ti t'ark'ale boš -i
 ko- žir -u₁ k'in₇ =i i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** t'ark'ale boš -i₁
 AFF see S3SG.PST again =EV DEM.DIST naked boy NOM

When the sovereign's child came running, he saw that naked boy again.

54 breli exvec' , mara radganc bošis mutunk
 brel =i e- xvec' -[u] mara radganc boš -i -s mutun -k
 brel =i e-₁ xvec' -u₁ mara₁ radganc boš -i₂ -s₁ mutun -k₁
 much =EV APPL swear S3SG.PST but since boy SV DAT anything ERG

vagaginən , vajučendə
 va= g- a- g -in -ə =n va= g- u- čen -d -ə
 va= ga-₂ a- -e(n) g₂ a- -e(n) -u₁ =ni va= go-₁ u- -u(n)₁ čen₁ -d₂ u- -u(n)₁
 NEG= PRV POT understand POT S3SG.PST =CMPL NEG= PRV PERF stop INCH PERF

He (i.e. spectator) begged him a lot (not to leave), but since the boy could not understand anything (the spectator was saying), he apparently did not stay.

55 atec'k'əma xenc'əpeši skuak gamatxožə
 ate -c'k'əma xenc'əpe -ši skua -k ga- m- a- txoz -ə
 e+*** -c'k'uma xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₂ skua -k₁ ga-₁ mo- a-₇ txoz -u₁
 DEM.PROX SOC sovereign GEN child ERG PRF PRV APPL pursue S3SG.PST

cxenit do oč'opə boši
 cxen -it do o- č'op -ə boš -i
 cxen -it do₁ o-₇ č'op -u₁ boš -i₁
 horse INS and PRF take S3SG.PST boy NOM

Then the sovereign's child chased him on a horse and caught the boy.

56.1 - miši skuak rek ?
 mi(n) -ši skua r -e -k
 mi(n) -iš₂ skua or -e(n)₁ -k₂
 who GEN child be SM.INACT S1/2SG

Whose child are you?

56.2 vara te rigi udaburi t'q'as si xvale
 vara te rig -i udabur -i t'q'a -s si xvale
 vara e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** rig₂ -i₂ udabur -i₂ t'q'a -s₁ si xvale
 either DEM.PROX of kind SV uninhabited SV forest DAT you.SG alone

mu gok'o ?
 mu g- o- k' -o
 mu(n)₂ g-₁ o-₁₁ k'₁ -o(n)
 either... or... IO2 want_CVO want SM.INACT

Or what do you want alone in such a godforsaken forest?

57 k'itxə xenc'əpeši skuak
 k'itx -ə xenc'əpe -ši skua -k
 k'itx₁ -u₁ xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₂ skua -k₁
 ask S3SG.PST sovereign GEN child ERG

The sovereign's child asked.

58 mara bošis p'asuxik vemiacinə ,
 mara boš -i -s p'asux -i -k ve=
 mara₁ boš -i₂ -s₁ p'asux -i₂ -k₁ va=+POS. VAR. OF me- a- -e(n) č₁ a- -e(n) -u₁
 but boy SV DAT answer SV ERG NEG= PRV POT give POT S3SG.PST

radgan tiši sit'q'va
 radgan ti- -ši sit'q'va
 radganac+DIAL. VAR. OF ti₁ -iš₂ sit'q'va
 as long as DEM.DIST GEN word

voučkidəŋ
 vo= u- čk -i -d -ə =n
 va= u-₁ čk -u(n)₁ -d₁ -u₁ =ni
 NEG= APPL know.INANM SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST =CMPL

But the boy could not give him an answer, because he did not know his word(s).

59 xenc'əpeši skuak ʔunapa mundomə , tito
 xenc'əpe -ši skua -k ʔun -ap -a m- u- ndom -ə tito
 xenc'ipe^{+DIAL.} VAR. OF -iš₂ skua -k₁ ʔon₁ -ap₂ -a₂ mo- u₁ ndom -u₁ tito
 sovereign GEN child ERG take.ANM AUG MSD PRV APPL want S3SG.PST each

muk'okunali gamk'inc'q'ə do bošis
 muk'o- kun -al -i ga- mk'- i- do boš -i -s
 mik'o- kun o- -al₁ -i₁ ga-₁ mik'o- i-₈ n- c'q'₆ -ə do₁ boš -i₂ -s₁
 PRV cover SUP.NOUN NOM PRF PRV APPL.CENTRIP SBM take off S3SG.PST and boy SV DAT

kəmk'a:kunə
 kə- mk'- a:- kun -ə
 ko- mik'o- o-₉ kun -u₁
 AFF PRV APPL cover S3SG.PST

The sovereign's child intended to take the boy away with him, he took off a piece of dress and put it on the boy.

60 moleʔunə do molartes žirxolok
 mol- e- ʔun -ə do mola- rt -es žir =xolo -k
 mola- i-₈ ʔon₁ -u₁ do₁ mola- rt₁ -es žir =xolo -k₁
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP bring.ANM S3SG.PST and PRV go S3PL.PST two =EMPH ERG

He took (the boy) away with him and both of them headed off.

61 side dida uc'onebudə
 sid =e dida u- c'on -eb -u -d -ə
 sod^{+DIAL.} VAR. OF =e₁ dida u-₁ c'on₂ -eb₁ -u(n)₁ -d₁ -u₁
 where =EV mother APPL know by destiny AUG SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST

te bošisəŋ , ti šaras muč'o
 te boš -i -s =ə =n ti šara -s muč'o
 e^{+DIAL.} VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** boš -i₂ -s₁ =i =ni i^{+DIAL.} VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** šara -s₁ muč'o
 DEM.PROX boy SV DAT =EV =CMPL DEM.DIST road DAT how

gīnačirtes do bošik vedə
 gīn- a- čirt -es do boš -i -k v= id -ə
 gīno- o-₉ čirt -es do₁ boš -i₂ -k₁ va= id -u₁
 PRV APPL miss S3PL.PST and boy SV ERG NEG= go S3SG.PST

Where it was destined by the mother for the boy, they passed by that (right) way and the boy did not go.

62 dunʒalə xenc'əpeši skuak ,
 d- u- n- ʒal -ə xenc'əpe -ši skua -k
 do-^{+POS.} VAR. OF u-₁ n- ʒal₂ -u₁ xenc'ipe^{+DIAL.} VAR. OF -iš₂ skua -k₁
 PRV APPL SBM force S3SG.PST sovereign GEN child ERG

mušurtes čxup'ik do te bošik
 muš- u- rt -es čxup' -i -k do te boš -i -k
 miša- u-₁ rt₁ -es čxup' -i₂ -k₁ do₁ e^{+DIAL.} VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** boš -i₂ -k₁
 PRV APPL occur IO.PL.PST argument SV ERG and DEM.PROX boy SV ERG

doʔvilə xenc'əpeši skua
 do- ʔvil -ə xenc'əpe -ši skua
 do- ʔvil -u₁ xenc'ipe^{+DIAL.} VAR. OF -iš₂ skua
 PRV kill.SG S3SG.PST sovereign GEN child

The sovereign's child tried to force (lit. forced) him (to continue their way), a fight broke out between them and this boy killed the sovereign's child.

63 iši iaraq'epi do cxeni muk
 i -ši iaraq' -ep -i do cxen -i mu -k
 i -iš₂ iaraq' -ep -i₁ do₁ cxen -i₁ mu(n)₁ -k₁
 DEM.DIST GEN weapon PL NOM and horse NOM self ERG

desak'utrə
 d- e- sak'utr -ə
 da-₁ i-₈ sak'utr -u₁
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP appropriate S3SG.PST

He (i.e. the boy) appropriated his weapons and horse.

64 kəmortə didaša
 kə- mo- rt -ə dida -ša
 ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ dida -iša₁
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST mother ALL

He came to (his) mother.

65 didas guk'virdə
 dida -s g- u- k'vir -d -ə
 dida -s₁ go-₂ u-₁ k'vir₁ -d₂ -u₁
 mother DAT PRV APPL be surprised INCH S3SG.PST

The mother got amused.

66 – tena miši ren do vara munero gašu:
 tena mi -ši r -en do vara mu -ner -o g- a- š -u:
 e+*** mi(n) -iš₂ or -e(n)₁ do₁ vara mu(n)₂ -ner -o(t) g₋₁ a₋₂ š₄ -u₁
 DEM.PROX who GEN be SM.INACT and either what of kind ADV IO2 POT find S3SG.PST

si ?
 si
 si
 you.SG

Whose is this (one) and (lit. or) how did you manage to find it?

67 bošik irpeli kečiu
 boš -i -k irpel -i k- e- či -u
 boš -i₂ -k₁ irpel -i₁ ko- e₋₁ č₂ -u₁
 boy SV ERG everything NOM AFF APPL narrate S3SG.PST

The boy told her everything.

68 žgiri , orena teš uk'uli umosi monc'q'ilo do
 žgir -i or -en -a teš uk'ul =i umos -i mo- n- c'q' -il -o do
 žgir₁ -i₁ or -e(n)₁ -a(n) teš uk'ul =i umos -i₁ mo- n- c'q'₃ -il₁ -o(t) do₁
 good NOM be SM.INACT PL so later =EV more NOM PRV SBM set PTC ADV and

gožinelo
 go- žin -el -o
 go₋₁ žin -el₃ -o(t)
 PRV look PTC ADV

Good, there are (living) after this (incident) in a more arranged and beautiful way.

69 gexe e boši cxenc do gilurc ir dixaša
 ge- x -e e boš -i cxen -c do gil- ur -c ir dixa -ša
 ge- ox -e(n)₁ e boš -i₁ cxen -s₁ do₁ gila- wl -s₂ ir dixa -iša₁
 PRV sit SM.INACT DEM.PROX boy NOM horse DAT and PRV go S3SG entire soil ALL

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

This boy rides (lit. sits on) the horse and goes everywhere around.

70 art dγas te boši vare muši
 art dγa -s te boš -i va= r -e mu(n) -ši
 art dγa -s₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** boš -i₁ va= or -e(n)₁ mu(n)₁ -iš₂
 one day DAT DEM.PROX boy NOM NEG= be SM.INACT self GEN

didac'k'əma
 dida -c'k'əma
 dida -c'k'uma
 mother SOC

One day, this boy is not with his mother.

71 te , atē č'q'oniši žinžiša
 te dro -c ate č'q'on -iš =i žinž -iša
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** dro -s₁ e+*** č'q'on -iš₁ =i žinž -iša₁
 DEM.PROX time DAT DEM.PROX oak GEN =EV bottom ALL

kimiogoru: vitožiri dudami k'aži
 ki- mi- o- gor -u: vit o žir -i dud -am -i k'až -i
 ko- me- o₋₄ gor -u₁ vit do₁+*** žir -i₂ dud₁ -am₁ -i₂ k'až -i₂
 AFF PRV APPL come across S3SG.PST ten and two SV head ADJ SV demon SV

ndemk , Ŕoropa gagmucxadə te
 ndem -k Ŕor -op -a ga- gm- u- cxad -ə te
 dev+DIAL. VAR. OF -k₁ Ŕor -op -a₂ ga₋₁ gima- u₋₁ cxad -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
 daeva ERG love AUG MSD PRF PRV APPL declare S3SG.PST DEM.PROX

osurc ndemk do gilurc mala-malas , mužansət
 osur -c ndem -k do gil- ur -c mala mala -s mužans =ə =t
 osur -s₁ dev+DIAL. VAR. OF -k₁ do₁ gila- wl -s₂ mala mala -s₃ mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF =i =t
 woman DAT daeva ERG and PRV go S3SG soon soon ADV when =EV =

boši vare muši didac'k'əmani
 boš -i va= r -e mu(n) -ši dida -c'k'əma =ni
 boš -i₁ va= or -e(n)₁ mu(n)₁ -iš₂ dida -c'k'uma =ni
 boy NOM NEG= be SM.INACT self GEN mother SOC =CMPL

At this time, a twelve-headed sorcerer daeva (intuitively) came across the bottom of that oak, this daeva declared his love towards this woman and visits (her) every now and then, when the boy is not with his mother.

72.1 ate bošis žoxo bego
 ate boš -i -s žox -o bego
 e+*** boš -i₂ -s₁ žox -o(n) bego
 DEM.PROX boy SV DAT be called SM.INACT Bego

This boy's name is Bego.

72.2 osurc xolo keʔoropə te
 osur -c =xolo k- e- ʔor -op -ə te
 osur -s₁ =xolo ko- e-₁ ʔor -op -u₁ e⁺DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
 woman DAT =EMPH AFF APPL love AUG S3SG.PST DEM.PROX

ndemk ʒalamk
 ndem -k ʒalam -k
 dev⁺DIAL. VAR. OF -k₁ ʒalam -k₁
 daeva ERG very ERG

In addition, the woman fell in love with this daeva greatly.

73.1 - mus ak'etenc čkini ʔoropa !
 mu -s a- k'et -en -c čkin -i ʔor -op -a
 mu(n)₂ -s₁ a-₁ k'et -en₁ -s₂ čkin -i₁ ʔor -op -a₂
 what DAT EVO do SM S3SG our NOM love AUG MSD

What makes our love!

73.2 begok kešmat'q'vesda , žirxolos
 bego -k k- eš- m- a- t'q'v -es =da žir =xolo -s
 bego -k₁ ko- eša- m-₂ o-₆ t'q'v -es =da žir =xolo -s₁
 Bego ERG AFF PRV DO1 FACT sense DO.PL.PST =COND two =EMPH DAT

dop'iluna
 do- p'- il -un -a
 do- m-₂ ʔvil -un -a(n)
 PRV DO1 kill.SG SM DO.PL

If Bego learns (about) us, the will kill both of us.

74 ina uškuriši skuaren do iši moria
 ina uškur -iš =i skua r -en do i -ši mo- ri -a
 i+*** uškur -iš₁ =i skua or -e(n)₁ do₁ i -iš₂ mo- ri -a₂
 DEM.DIST apple GEN =EV child be SM.INACT and DEM.DIST GEN PRV engage MSD

eči čkimcals vešu:lebə , mara si
 eč -i čkim -cal -s ve= š- u:- l -eb -ə mara si
 eč -i₂ čkim₂ -cal -s₁ va=⁺POS. VAR. OF še- u-₁ l₂ -eb₁ -u₁ mara₁ si
 twenty SV I:OBL of kind DAT NEG= PRV APPL be able AUG S3SG.PST but you.SG

arti kimini , uc'u: ndemk osurc
 art -i kimin -i u- c' -u: ndem -k osur -c
 art -i₁ kimin -i₃ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ dev⁺DIAL. VAR. OF -k₁ osur -s₁
 one NOM do IMP APPL tell S3SG.PST daeva ERG woman DAT

He is an apple's child and (even) twenty of my kind cannot deal with him, but you do one thing, the daeva told the woman.

75 - mužanc kəmortas begokən , uc'i: :
 mužanc kə- mo- rt -a -s bego -k =ə =n u- c' -i:
 mužanc ko- mo- rt₁ -a₁ -s₂ bego -k₁ =i =ni u-₁ c'₁ -i₃+FR. VAR. OF
 AFF PRV go OPT S3SG Bego ERG =EV =CMPL APPL tell IMP

When Bego comes back, tell him:

76 - skani muma ti rigi k'oči
 sk'an -i muma ti rig -i k'oč -i
 skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ muma i⁺DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** rig₂ -i₁ k'oč -i₁
 your.SG NOM father DEM.DIST of kind NOM man NOM

rdə - kaškvoliši ʒapis žir xolo čanži k'itepiša
 r -d -ə kaškvil -iš =i ʒap -i -s žir =xolo čanž -i k'it -ep -iša
 or -d₁ -u₁ kaškvil -iš₁ =i ʒap -i₂ -s₁ žir =xolo čanž -i₂ k'it -ep -iša₁
 be EM S3SG.PST bow GEN =EV bowstring SV DAT two =EMPH thumb SV finger PL ALL

kəgik'ərandə do gunč'irandə -
 kə- g- i- k'ər -an -d -ə do g- u- n- č'ir -an -d -ə =n
 ko- go-₁ i-₁ k'ər -an₁ -d₁ -u₁ do₁ go-₂ u-₁ n- č'ir₂ -an₁ -d₁ -u₁ =ni
 AFF PRV APPL tie SM EM S3SG.PST and PRV APPL SBM tear apart SM EM S3SG.PST =CMPL

gosopəndə - atena vareno kuc'u:e
 go- sop -ənd -d -ə atena va= r -en =o kuc' u: e
 go-₁ sop₂ -un -d₁ -u₁ e+*** va= or -e(n)₁ =o₂ ko- c'₁ -e₅
 PRV tear SM EM S3SG.PST DEM.PROX NEG= be SM.INACT =QST AFF tell OPT+CMPL

begosən , mideʔoni eti k'ərdeš
 bego -s =ə =n mid- e- ʔon -i eti k'ərde -š
 bego -s₁ =i =ni mida- i-₈ ʔon₁ -i₃ i+*** k'ərde -iš₂
 Bego DAT =EV =CMPL PRV APPL.CENTRIP take.ANM IMP DEM.DIST rock GEN

ginažinuša do tek kaʒolinape: irpeli
 gin- a- žin -u -ša do te -k k- a- ʒol -in -ap -e: irpel -i
 i+*** gin- o- -u₂ žin o- -u₂ -iša₁ do₁ te₁ -k₁ ko- o- -ap₁ ʒol₁ -in₁ o- -ap₁ -e₃ irpel -i₁
 PRV SUP look SUP ALL and DEM.PROX ERG AFF CAUS do AUG CAUS IMP everything NOM

tena
 tena
 e+***
 DEM.PROX

Your father was such a man, he would tie a bowstring to his thumbs, and when he drew it, he would tear it apart, - when you tell this to Bego, take him to take a look around from that rock over there and make him do all this.

77.1 k'itepi ak'ik'iras do
 k'it -ep -i ak'- i- k'ir -a -s do
 k'it -ep -i₁ ak'o- i-₈ k'ir -a₁ -s₂ do₁
 finger PL NOM PRV APPL.CENTRIP draw OPT S3SG and

vagasopasən tic'k'əma
 va= g- a- sop -a -s =ə =n ti -c'k'əma
 va= go-₁ a-₂ sop₂ -a₁ -s₂ =i =ni i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** -c'k'uma+DIAL. VAR. OF
 NEG= PRV POT tear OPT S3SG =EV =CMPL DEM.DIST SOC

ginužik'e do robus giorgine:
 gin- u- žik' -e do robu -s gi- o- rg -in -e:
 gino- u-₁ -e₃ do₁ robu -s₁ ge- o- -in₁ rg₂ o- -in₁ -e₃
 PRV APPL IMP and downward slope DAT PRV CAUS roll CAUS IMP

Let him tie his fingers and if he cannot tear (the bowstring), then push him and (let him) roll down the slope.

77.2 ina tek kalaχurə do čki ip'ik čkin
 ina tek k- ala- χur -ə do čki i- p'- [ʔ] -i -k čkin
 i+*** tek ko- ala- χur -u(n)₁ do₁ čki i-₄ v- ʔ₁ -i(n) -k₂ čkin
 DEM.DIST there AFF PRV die SM.INACT and we be_CVO S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG our

dudšulo
 dud -š -ul -o
 dud₂ -iš₂ -ul₃ -o(t)
 REFL GEN ADJR ADV

He will die there and we will be (the verb form is in singular, lit. I will be) on our own (lit. for us).

78 - žalami žgiria , uc'u: osurk
 žalam =i žgir -i =a u- c' -u: osur -k
 žalam =i žgir₁ -i₁ =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ osur -k₁
 very =EV good NOM =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST wife ERG

Very good, told him the woman.

79 kəmortə begok didaša do kəmuχə
 kə- mo- rt -ə bego -k dida -ša do kə- m- u- χ -ə
 ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ bego -k₁ dida -iša₁ do₁ ko- mo- u-₁ χw -u₁
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST Bego ERG mother ALL and AFF PRV APPL bring.INANM S3SG.PST

brelī xorci nadirepiši
 brel -i xorc -i nadir -ep -iš =i
 brel -i₁ xorc -i₁ nadir₂ -ep -iš₁ =i
 much NOM meat NOM prey PL GEN =EV

Bego came to (his) mother and brought her a lot of meat of the (game he) hunted.

80 didak uc'u: :
 dida -k u- c' -u:
 dida -k₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁
 mother ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST

The mother told him:

81 - mua skani ti rigi
 mua sk'an -i ti rig -i
 muma+FR. VAR. OF skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** rig₂ -i₁
 father your.SG NOM DEM.DIST of kind NOM

k'oči rdə , naməda kaškviliši žapis žir xolo
 k'oč -i r -d -ə naməda kaškvil -iš =i žap -i -s žir =xolo
 k'oč -i₂ or -d₁ -u₁ namuda+DIAL. VAR. OF kaškvil -iš₁ =i žap -i₂ -s₁ žir =xolo
 man SV be EM S3SG.PST CMPL bow GEN =EV bowstring SV DAT two =EMPH

čanž k'itiša kəgik'ərandə do
 čanž k'it -iša kə- g- i- k'ər -an -d -ə do
 čanž k'it -iša₁ ko- g-₁ i-₁ k'ir+FR. VAR. OF -an₁ -d₁ -u₁ do₁
 thumb finger ALL AFF IO2 APPL draw SM EM S3SG.PST and

gək'inandən , gosopəndə
 gə- k'in -an -d -ə =n go- sop -ənd -d -ə
 go-₁ k'in₃ -an₁ -d₁ -u₁ =ni go-₁ sop₂ -un -d₁ -u₁
 PRV approach SM EM S3SG.PST =CMPL PRV tear SM EM S3SG.PST

Your father was a man of such a kind that he would draw a bowstring by his thumbs and when he drew it, he would tear it apart.

82 mipšat eti k'ərdeša do tek
 m- i- p- š -a -t eti k'ərde -ša do te -k
 me- i-₆ v- š₂ -a₁ -t₁ i+*** k'ərde -iša₁ do₁ te₁ -k₁
 PRV AUTOCAUS S1 go:IMPRF OPT PL DEM.DIST rock ALL and DEM.PROX ERG

kədobxodat , daba si kəgəyole: teši da
 kə- do- b- xod -a -t daba si kə- g- a- γol -e: teš =i =da
 ko- do- v- xod -a₁ -t₁ daba si ko- g-₁ a- -e(n) γol₁ a- -e(n) teš =i =da
 AFF PRV S1 sit down OPT PL well then you.SG AFF IO2 POT do POT so =EV =you know

Let's go to that rock over there and sit there, I wonder if you can do it that way, you know.

83 midartes dida do skuak do kignodoxodes
 mida- rt -es dida do skua -k do ki- gno- doxod -es
 mida- rt₁ -es dida do₁ skua -k₁ do₁ ko- gino- doxod -es
 PRV go S3PL.PST mother and child ERG and AFF PRV sit down S3PL.PST

te didi k'ərdeši duc
 te did -i k'ərde -ši du -c
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** did -i₂ k'ərde -iš₂ dud₁ -s₁
 DEM.PROX big SV rock GEN head DAT

The mother and child headed off and sat on top of that big rock.

84 atak genc'q'ə begok ʒapi muši
 atak g- e- n- c'q' -ə bego -k ʒap -i mu(n) -ši
 atak go-₁ i-₈ n- c'q'₆ -u₁ bego -k₁ ʒap -i₁ mu(n)₂ -iš₂
 right here PRV APPL.CENTRIP SBM take off S3SG.PST Bego ERG bowstring NOM what GEN

škvil do žirxolo čanʒi k'iti artianiša
 škvil -s do žir =xolo čanʒ -i k'it -i artian -iša
 škvil -s₁ do₁ žir =xolo čanʒ -i₁ k'it -i₁ artian -iša₁
 bow DAT and two =EMPH thumb NOM finger NOM one another ALL

kimiok'ərapu: didas
 ki- mi- o- k'ər -ap -u: dida -s
 ko- me- o- -ap₁ k'ər a- -ap -u₁ dida -s₁
 AFF PRV CAUS tie CAUS S3SG.PST mother DAT

Right here, Bego unstrung the string from his bow and let (his) mother tie both of his thumbs (with it).

85 gu:k'inə , mara vagasopə
 g- u:- k'in -ə mara va= g- a- sop -ə
 go-₁ u-₁+POS. VAR. OF k'in₈ -u₁ mara₁ va= go-₂ a-₂ sop₂ -u₁
 PRV APPL stretch S3SG.PST but NEG= PRV POT tear S3SG.PST

He stretched (the string), but failed to tear it apart.

86 ginuʒik'u: didak do giorginu:
 gin- u- ʒik' -u: dida -k do gi- o- rg -in -u:
 gino- u-₁ ʒik' -u₁ dida -k₁ do₁ ge- o- -in₁ rg₂ o- -in₁ -u₁
 PRV APPL push with hand S3SG.PST mother ERG and PRV CAUS roll CAUS S3SG.PST

robus
 robu -s
 robu -s₁
 downward slope DAT

The mother pushed him (with her hand) and (let him) roll down the slope.

87.1 ik'erk'elə bošik do sodgeni tudo
 i- k'erk'el -ə boš -i -k do sodgen =i tudo
 i-₅ k'erk'el -u₁ boš -i₂ -k₁ do₁ sodgen =i tudo
 DECAUS somersault S3SG.PST boy SV ERG and somewhere =EV down

ka:jtirginə kualonc
 ka:- jt- i- rg -in -ə kua -l -on -c
 ko- gito- i-₁ rg₁ -in₁ -u₁ kua -l₁ -ep -s₁
 AFF PRV APPL be fit AUG S3SG.PST stone SUF.INTR PL DAT

The boy rolled and fell down rolling somewhere onto the stones.

87.2 ʒurat va ʒure , mara aureše ek'ula mutunc
 ʒur -a -t va= ʒur -e mara a -ure -še ek'- ul -a mutun -c
 ʒur -a₂ -t₂ va= ʒur -e(n)₂ mara₁ e ʒure -iše(n) ek'-o- wl -a₂ mutun -s₁
 die MSD INS NEG= die PERF but DEM.PROX side EL PRV go MSD anything DAT

vešulebə
 ve= š- u- l -eb -ə
 va+=POS. VAR. OF še- u-₁ l₂ -eb₁ -u(n)₁
 NEG= PRV APPL be able AUG SM.INACT

umuxvarebuo
 u mu- xvar -eb -u -o
 u- -u₃ mo+=DIAL. VAR. OF,POS. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF xvar₁ -eb₁ u- -u₁ -o(t)
 PRVT PRV help AUG PRVT ADV

As to die, he has not apparently died, but he can no way go up from here unaided.

87.3 xelep ok'ok'əriili apə , k'ərdeši
 xe -l -ep -i ok'o- k'ər -il -i ap -ə k'ərde -ši
 xe -l₁ -ep -i₂ ik'o- k'ər -il₁ -i₁ ap -u(n)₁ k'ərde -iš₂
 hand SUF.INTR PL SV PRV tie PTC NOM have SM.INACT rock GEN

gilnalepi ok'ot'axili re , oč'k'umali
 gil- na- lep -i ok'o- t'ax -il -i r -e oč'k'umal -i
 gila- na- lep -i₁ ik'o- t'ax₁ -il₁ -i₁ or -e(n)₁ oč'k'omal+FR. VAR. OF -i₁
 PRV EVID.PTC fall down NOM PRV break PTC NOM be SM.INACT food NOM

vouʒun do didi ši:c'uxə
 vo= u- ʒ -un do did -i š- i:- c'ux -ə
 va= u-₁ ʒw -u(n)₁ do₁ did -i₁ še- i-₅ c'ux -u₁
 NEG= APPL have.INANM SM.INACT and big NOM PRV DECAUS worry S3SG.PST

He has (his) hand tied, he is crushed after rolling down the rock, he has no food and became very worried.

88 ʒoronc txu:
 ʒoron -c tx -u:
 ʒoront+POS. VAR. OF -s₁ tx₁ -u₁
 God DAT request S3SG.PST

He asked God:

89 – ma skanda mutuni
 ma sk'an -da mutun -i
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -da₁ mutun -i₁
 I your.SG ALL anything NOM

vadamšebə do ataši mušeni
 va= da- m- [i]- š -eb -ə do ataš =i mušen =i
 va= da-₁ m-₁ i- -u(n)₂ š₇ -eb₁ i- -u(n)₂ do₁ ataš =i mušen =i
 NEG= PRV IO1 PERF spoil AUG PERF and this way =EV why =EV

damasaži ?
 da- m- a- saž -i
 da-₁ m-₁ a-₃ saž -i₄
 PRV IO1 FACT judge PST.IND

I have not harmed you in any way, so (lit. and) why have you punished me this way?

90 mitxu: skanda , žiri taxviši
 m- i- tx -u: sk'an -da žir -i taxv -iš =i
 mo- i- -u(n)₂ tx₁ i- -u(n)₂ skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -da₁ žir -i₂ taxv -iš₁ =i
 PRV PERF request PERF your.SG ALL two SV beaver GEN =EV

lak'vepi komuče: !
 lak'v -ep -i ko- mu- [m]- č -e:
 lak'v -ep -i₁ ko- mo-+DIAL. VAR. OF,POS. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF m-₁ č₁ -e:
 puppy PL NOM AFF PRV IO1 give OPT+CMPL

I am asking (lit. have asked) you, give me two beaver's kits (lit. puppies)!

91 ate minut'is – žiri didi žoγorepk kəmortes
 ate minut' -i -s žir -i did -i žoγor -ep -k kə- mo- rt -es
 e+*** minut' -i₂ -s₁ žir -i₂ did -i₁ žoγor -ep -k₁ ko- mo- rt₁ -es
 DEM.PROX minute SV DAT two SV big NOM dog PL ERG AFF PRV go S3PL.PST

kaludirtes ikile-akile do c'q'unapili xeši lot'k'ua
 k- al- u- dirt -es ikile akile do c'q'un -ap -il -i xe -ši lot'k' -ua
 ko- ala- u-₁ dirt₁ -es ikile akile do₁ c'q'un -ap₂ -il₁ -i₁ xe -iš₂ lot'k' -ua
 AFF PRV APPL stand S3PL.PST that side this side and ache AUG PTC NOM hand GEN lick MSD

du:č'q'es
 d- u:- č'q' -es
 do-+POS. VAR. OF u-₁+POS. VAR. OF č'q' -es
 PRV APPL begin S3PL.PST

At that moment, two big dogs came, they took a supportive stand (next to Bego) from both sides and began to lick his aching hand(s).

92.1 begos mu učkədə , nart'i
 bego -s mu u- čk -ə -d -ə nart' -i
 bego -s₁ mu(n)₂ u-₁ čk -u(n)₁ -d₁ -u₁ nart' -i₁
 Bego DAT either... or... APPL know.INANM SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST wish NOM

geialedəni ?
 gei- a- l -e -d -ə =ni
 gei- a- -e(n) wl a- -e(n) -d₁ -u₁ =ni
 PRV POT happen POT EM S3SG.PST =CMPL

How would (lit. what did) Bego know that the wish would possibly come true?

92.2 vara šxva didi mutunc inart'endə
 vara šxva did -i mutun -c i- nart' -en -d -ə
 vara šxva did -i₂ mutun -s₁ i-₈ nart' -en₁ -d₁ -u₁
 either other big SV anything DAT APPL.CENTRIP wish SM EM S3SG.PST

Otherwise he would have wished something (else) of importance (lit. big).

93 arti dγas movač're uriepk kəmortes do ate
 art -i dγa -s mo- vač'r -e uria -ep -k kə- mo- rt -es do ate
 art -i₂ dγa -s₁ mo- -e₃ vač'ar mo- -e₃ uria -ep -k₁ kə- mo- rt₁ -es do₁ e+***
 one SV day DAT QPTC merchant QPTC Jew PL ERG AFF PRV go S3PL.PST and DEM.PROX

k'ərdeši duc cxens oγalə gamanc'q'es
 k'ərde -ši du -c cxen -s o- γal -ə gam- a- n- c'q' -es
 k'ərde -iš₂ dud₁ -s₁ cxen -s₁ o- -u₂ γal o- -u₂+DIAL. VAR. OF gam- o-₆ n- c'q'₆ -es
 rock GEN head DAT horse DAT SUP bring SUP PRV FACT SBM take off S3PL.PST

One day, merchant Jews came and unburdened their horse on top of this rock.

94.1 cxeni odiareša gu:t'es , munepk
 cxen -i o- diar -e -ša g- u:- t' -es mun -ep -k
 cxen -i₁ o- -e₇ diar o- -e₁ -iš₁ go-₁ u-₁+POS. VAR. OF t'₁ -es mu(n)₁ -ep -k₁
 horse NOM LOC ruminant LOC ALL PRV EVO let go S3PL.PST self PL ERG

kəmisvanžes do oč'k'umališi č'k'umua
 kə- m- i- svanž -es do oč'k'umal -iš =i č'k'um -ua
 ko- mo- i-₈ svanž -es do₁ oč'k'omal+FR. VAR. OF -iš₁ =i č'k'om -ua
 AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP rest S3PL.PST and food GEN =EV eat MSD

da:č'q'es
 d- a:- č'q' -es
 do-+POS. VAR. OF o-₁₀ č'q' -es
 PRV FACT begin S3PL.PST

They let the horse go to (graze on) the grass, took rest themselves and began eating meals.

94.2 ate droc , arti žoγork ek'ilə
 ate dro -c art -i žoγor -k ek' i- l -ə
 e+*** dro -s₁ art -i₂ žoγor -k₁ ek'o- i-₆ wl -u₁
 DEM.PROX time DAT one SV dog ERG PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST

te robuše do šoriše
 te robu -še do šor -iše
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** robu -iše(n) do₁ šor -iše(n)
 DEM.PROX downward slope EL and far away EL

kimianžirə oč'k'umališi mač'k'umali
 ki- mi- a- n- žir -ə oč'k'umal -iš =i ma- č'k'um -al -i
 ko- me- a-₇ n- žir -u₁ oč'k'omal+FR. VAR. OF -iš₁ =i ma- al č'k'om ma- al -i₂
 AFF PRV APPL SBM lie down S3SG.PST food GEN =EV PTC eat PTC SV

k'ateps
 k'at -ep -s
 k'ata -ep -s₁
 people PL DAT

At this moment, one of the dogs came up the slope and lay down in a distance in front of the meals-eating people.

95 uriepk ipikres :
 uria -ep -k i- pikr -es
 uria -ep -k₁ i-₁ pikr₁ -es
 Jew PL ERG NON-PRS think S3PL.PST

The Jews thought:

96 - te žoγori žgiri žoγori kore
 te žoγor -i žgir -i žoγor -i ko- r -e
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** žoγor -i₁ žgir₁ -i₁ žoγor -i₁ ko- or -e(n)₁
 DEM.PROX dog NOM good NOM dog NOM AFF be SM.INACT

midgašireni , morti , kimiprčkvanuat do
 midga -ši -ren =i morti ki- m- i- p- rčkvan -u -a -t do
 midga -iš₂ -ren =i morti ko- mo- i-₈ v- rčkvan -u₃ -a₁ -t₁ do₁
 which GEN INDEF =EV HORT AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP S1 tame AUG OPT PL and

op'č'opat
 o- p'- č'op -a -t
 o-₇ v- č'op -a₁ -t₁
 PRF S1 catch OPT PL

This dog belongs to someone, (and) is indeed a good dog, let's tame and catch it.

97 kuʔotes kobali žoγorc
 k- u- ʔot -es kobal -i žoγor -c
 ko- u-₁ ʔot₁ -es kobal -i₁ žoγor -s₁
 AFF APPL throw S3PL.PST bread NOM dog DAT

They threw (some) bread to the dog.

98 kixvamilu: kobali žoγork do k'ərdeša
 k- i- xvam -il -u: kobal -i žoγor -k do k'ərde -ša
 ko- i-₈ xvam₂ -il₃ -u₁ kobal -i₁ žoγor -k₁ do₁ k'ərde -iša₁
 AFF APPL.CENTRIP grasp AUG S3SG.PST bread NOM dog ERG and rock ALL

galerulə
 gal- e- rul -ə
 gila- i-₆ rul₂ -u₁
 PRV AUTOCAUS run S3SG.PST

The dog snatched the bread and ran (away) down the slope.

99.1 ate kobali kemuγə begos do
 ate kobal -i ke- m- u- γ -ə bego -s do
 e+*** kobal -i₁ ko- me- u-₁ γw -u₁ bego -s₁ do₁
 DEM.PROX bread NOM AFF PRV APPL bring.INANM S3SG.PST Bego DAT and

kočə
 ko- č -ə
 ko- č₃ -u₁
 AFF feed S3SG.PST

It took this bread to Bego and fed him (with it).

99.2 žirxolo žoγorenk ešeles č'ič'e xaniš uk'uli
 žir =xolo žoγor -en -k eš- e- l -es č'ič'e xan -iš uk'ul =i
 žir =xolo žoγor -ep -k₁ eša- i-₆ wl -es č'ič'e xan -iš₁ uk'ul =i
 two =EMPH dog PL ERG PRV AUTOCAUS go S3PL.PST little time GEN later =EV

k'ərdeše
 k'ərde -še
 k'ərde -iše(n)
 rock EL

After a little while, both dogs came up on (top of) the rock.

100.1 - ka:rc'q'eko , artik mažira žoγori
 k- a:- rc'q' -e -k =o art -i -k ma- žir -a žoγor -i
 ko- o-₉ rc'q' -e(n)₁ -k₂ =o₂ art -i₂ -k₁ ma- -a₂ žir ma- -a₂ žoγor -i₁
 AFF APPL see SM.INACT S1/2SG =QST one SV ERG ORD two ORD dog NOM

kimiʔunəni: ?
 ki- m- i- ʔun -ə =ni:
 ko- mo- i-₈ ʔon₁ -u₁ =ni+POS. VAR. OF
 AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP bring.ANM S3SG.PST =CMPL

Can you see, one (dog) has brought the second dog here?

100.2 tkvi:s uriepk do kuʔotes kobali žir xolos
tkv -i:s uria -ep -k do k- u- ʔot -es kobal -i žir xolo -s
tkw -es uria -ep -k₁ do₁ ko- u₁ ʔot₁ -es kobal -i₁ žir xolo₂ -s₁
say S3PL.PST Jew PL ERG and AFF APPL throw S3PL.PST bread NOM two close DAT

The Jews said and threw (some) bread to both of them.

101.1 kobali kixvamide:s do k'ini robuša
kobal -i k- i- xvam -il -e:s do k'in =i robu -ša
kobal -i₁ ko- i-₈ xvam₂ -il₃ -es+POS. VAR. OF do₁ k'in₇ =i robu -iša₁
bread NOM AFF APPL.CENTRIP grasp AUG S3PL.PST and again =EV downward slope ALL

gioles
gi- o- l -es
ge- o-₉ wl -es
PRV APPL go S3PL.PST

They snatched the bread(s) and again went (away) down the slope.

101.2 uriepk ipikres :
uria -ep -k i- pikr -es
uria -ep -k₁ i-₁ pikr₁ -es
Jew PL ERG NON-PRS think S3PL.PST

The Jews thought:

102 - te žoʔorepi kobals
te žoʔor -ep -i kobal -s
e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** žoʔor -ep -i₁ kobal -s₁
DEM.PROX dog PL NOM bread DAT

kixvamiluana , vač'k'umunan , teši
k- i- xvam -il -u -an -a va= č'k'um -un -a =n teš =i
ko- i-₈ xvam₂ -il₃ -u₆ -an₁ -a(n) va= č'k'om -un -a(n) =ni teš =i
AFF APPL.CENTRIP grasp AUG AUG SM S3PL NEG= eat SM S3PL =CMPL so =EV

sore mirulena ?
so r -e m- i- rul -en -a
sod or -e(n)₁ me- i-₆ rul₂ -en₁ -a(n)
where be SM.INACT PRV AUTOCAUS run SM S3PL

These dogs snatch the bread(s), if they don't eat it, then where is it that they run to?

103 užines šoriše žoʔoreps do muč'o kimertes
u- žin -es šor -iše žoʔor -ep -s do muč'o ki- me- rt -es
u-₁ žin -es šor -iše(n) žoʔor -ep -s₁ do₁ muč'o ko- me- rt₁ -es
APPL watch S3PL.PST far away EL dog PL DAT and how AFF PRV go S3PL.PST

k'očišan , kožires
k'oč -iša =n ko- žir -es
k'oč -iša₁ =ni ko- žir -es
man ALL =CMPL AFF see S3PL.PST

They watched the dogs from a distance and saw how they went to a man.

104 - mu andamioriš sulieri k'oči rekia ?
mu andamior -iš sulier -i k'oč -i r -e -k =i =a
mu(n)₂ andamior -iš₁ sulier -i₁ k'oč -i₁ or -e(n)₁ -k₂ =i =a
either... or... human GEN animate NOM man NOM be SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

What kind of a man with a soul are you? [they asked him.]

105 dužaxes uriepk
d- u- žax -es uria -ep -k
do-+POS. VAR. OF u-₁ žax -es uria -ep -k₁
PRV APPL call S3PL.PST Jew PL ERG

The Jews called loudly to him.

106 - ma vorek gač'irebuli k'oči do šuro
ma v- or -e -k gač'irebul -i k'oč -i do šur -o
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF v- or -e(n)₁ -k₂ gač'irebul -i₁ k'oč -i₂ do₁ šur₁ -o(t)
I S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG fallen into hardship NOM man SV and soul ADV

ʔoronti korc'ananda , bac'ari kalamʔotit do
ʔoront -i ko- r- c'an -an =da bac'ar -i k- ala- m- [i]- ʔot -i -t do
ʔoront -i₁ ko- r-₁ c'an -a(n) =da bac'ar -i₁ ko- ala- m-₁ i-₂ ʔot₁ -i₃ -t₁ do₁
God NOM AFF IO2 believe IO.PL =COND rope NOM AFF PRV IO1 APPL throw IMP PL and

gek'oməʔunit ek'i
gek'o- m- ə- ʔun -i -t ek' =i
gek'o- m-₁ i-₃ ʔon₁ -i₃ -t₁ ek' =i
PRV IO1 EVO take.ANM IMP PL up =EV

I am a man in trouble and, if you believe in God, throw me a rope and take me up from here.

107 ešaragadu: begok
eša- ragad -u: bego -k
eša- ragad -u₁ bego -k₁
PRV talk S3SG.PST Bego ERG

Bego spoke (to them) with difficulty.

108 oʻyaleši bac'arepi artianc kemuskves ,
 o- ʧal -e -ši bac'ar -ep -i artian -c ke- m- u- skv -es
 o- -e₅ ʧal o- -e₅ -iš₂ bac'ar -ep -i₁ artian -s₁ ko- mo- u₁ skv -es
 NZER bring NZER GEN rope PL NOM one another DAT AFF PRV APPL bind S3PL.PST

dudi ʒoʻoroc kəda:k'ines , meuk'inə
 dud -i ʒoʻor -c kə- d- a:- k'in -es me- u- k'in -ə
 dud₁ -i₁ ʒoʻor -s₁ ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF o-₁ k'in₁ -es me- u₁ k'in₄ -u₁
 end NOM dog DAT AFF PRV CAUS hold S3PL.PST PRV APPL take away S3SG.PST

ʒoʻork do begoša kimertə
 ʒoʻor -k do bego -ša ki- me- rt -ə
 ʒoʻor -k₁ do₁ bego -iša₁ ko- me- rt₁ -u₁
 dog ERG and Bego ALL AFF PRV go S3SG.PST

They bound the luggage ropes together, gave one end to the dog, the dog dragged it and went to Bego.

109 gvalo vemianč'ə bac'arkən ,
 gvalo ve= mi- a- n- č' -ə bac'ar -k =ə =n
 gvalo va=+POS. VAR. OF me- a-₇ n- č'₅ -u₁ bac'ar -k₁ =i =ni
 entirely NEG= PRV APPL SBM be long enough S3SG.PST rope ERG =EV =CMPL

arti topi narma kemuskves uriepk da bego
 art -i top -i narma ke- m- u- skv -es uria -ep -k da bego
 art -i₁ top -i₁ narma ko- mo- u₁ skv -es uria -ep -k₁ do₁+DIAL. VAR. OF bego
 one NOM gun NOM holster AFF PRV APPL bind S3PL.PST Jew PL ERG and Bego

eše gešeʔones
 eše geš- e- ʔon -es
 eše geša- i-₈ ʔon₁ -es
 up PRV APPL.CENTRIP bring out.ANM S3PL.PST

As the rope was not long enough, the Jews bound a gun holster and brought Bego upwards on the rock.

110 gunc'q'es xe k'ərili
 g- u- n- c'q' -es xe k'ər -il -i
 go-₁ u-₁ n- c'q'₈ -es xe k'ir+FR. VAR. OF -il₁ -i₁
 PRV APPL SBM release S3PL.PST hand bind PTC NOM

apudən , oč'k'umali do ošumali
 ap -u -d -ə =n oč'k'umal -i do ošumal -i
 ap -u(n)₁ -d₁ -u₁ =ni oč'k'omal+FR. VAR. OF -i₁ do₁ ošumal -i₁
 have SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST =CMPL food NOM and beverage NOM

kočes
 ko- č -es
 ko- č₃ -es
 AFF feed S3PL.PST

They released him his hand(s) that he had tied (and) fed him with food and beverage(s).

111 kəmasvanžes ʒgiro do uk'uli k'itxes :
 kə- m- a- svanž -es ʒgir -o do uk'ul =i k'itx -es
 ko- mo- o-₆ svanž -es ʒgir₁ -o(t) do₁ uk'ul =i k'itx₁ -es
 AFF PRV FACT rest S3PL.PST good ADV and later =EV ask S3PL.PST

The let him rest well and asked:

112 - mu k'oči rek si ?
 mu k'oč -i r -e -k si
 mu(n)₂ k'oč -i₁ or -e(n)₁ -k₂ si
 either... or... man NOM be SM.INACT S1/2SG you.SG

What (kind of a) man are you?

113 begok maʔun do kečiu muši gač'ireba
 bego -k m- a- ʔun -[u] do k- e- č₁ -u mu(n) -ši gač'ireba
 bego -k₁ mo- a-₇ ʔun₂ -u₁ do₁ ko- e-₁ č₂ -u₁ mu(n)₂ -iš₂ gač'ireba
 Bego ERG PRV APPL begin S3SG.PST and AFF APPL narrate S3SG.PST what GEN trouble

irpeli
 irpel -i
 irpel -i₁
 everything NOM

Bego began (talking) and narrated all his trouble (to them).

114 - mus ak'etenc anc'i čkimi rina , čkimi
 mu -s a- k'et -en -c anc'i čkim -i r -in -a čkim -i
 mu(n)₂ -s₁ a-₁ k'et -en₁ -s₂ anc'i čkim₁ -i₁ or -in₁ -a₂ čkim₁ -i₁
 what DAT EVO do SM S3SG from now on my NOM be AUG MSD my NOM

raši dinapili mapun do mis
 raš -i din -ap -il -i m- ap -u =n do mi(n) -s
 raš -i₁ din₁ -ap₂ -il₁ -i₁ m-₁ ap -u(n)₁ =ni do₁ mi(n) -s₁
 steed NOM lose AUG PTC NOM IO1 have SM.INACT =CMPL and who DAT

ʔunsən vamičkən , dida
 ʔun -s =ə =n va= m- i- čk -ə =n dida
 ʔon₁ -s₂ =i =ni va= m-₁ i-₁ čk -u(n)₁ =ni dida
 have.ANM S3SG =EV =CMPL NEG= IO1 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT =CMPL mother

soren , tit vamičkə !
 so r -e =n ti =t va= m- i- čk -ə
 sod or -e(n)₁ =ni ti₁ =t va= m-₁ i-₁ čk -u(n)₁
 where be SM.INACT =CMPL DEM.DIST =ADD NEG= IO1 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT

What does my existence do now, my stallion is lost and who owns it, I don't know, where (my) mother is, I don't know even that!

115 – muč'o , muč'o ?
 muč'o muč'o
 muč'o muč'o
 how how

What did you say? (lit. how, how?)

116 mioragadu: mudgakien
 mi- o- ragad -u: mudga -k =i -[r]en
 me- o-₄ ragad -u₁ mudga -k₁ =i -ren
 PRV APPL talk S3SG.PST whatever ERG =EV INDEF

Someone said to himself.

117 mik'ižinesən , k'oči važires do
 mik'- i- žin -es =ə =n k'oč -i va= žir -es do
 mik'o- i-₈ žin -es =i =ni k'oč -i₂ va= žir -es do₁
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP look S3PL.PST =EV =CMPL man SV NEG= see S3PL.PST and

žalamk guk'virde
 žalam -k g- u- k'vir -d -es
 žalam -k₁ ga-₂ u-₁ k'vir₁ -d₂ -es
 very ERG PRV APPL be surprised INCH IO.PL.PST

When they looked (at that someone), they saw no man, and they got amused a lot with that.

118 – mukərdə tak mioragadun ?
 mu(n) -k =ə r -d -ə tak mi- o- ragad -u =n
 mu(n)₂ -k₁ =i or -d₁ -u₁ tak me- o-₄ ragad -u₁ =ni
 what ERG =EV be EM S3SG.PST here PRV APPL talk S3SG.PST =CMPL

What was it here that started talking?

119 tku: begok
 tk -u: bego -k
 tkw -u₁ bego -k₁
 say S3SG.PST Bego ERG

Bego said.

120 atak č'q'oniši rok'i gedgə do tek
 atak č'q'on -iš =i rok' -i ge- dg -ə do te -k
 atak č'q'on -iš₁ =i rok' -i₁ ge- dg -u(n)₁ do₁ te₁ -k₁
 right here oak GEN =EV oak branch NOM PRV stand SM.INACT and DEM.PROX ERG

tku: :
 tk -u:
 tkw -u₁
 say S3SG.PST

Right here, an oak branch stands and it said:

121 – ragadit mardə ptkvin , mara mušo
 ragad -it ma r -d -ə p- tkv -i =n mara mu -šo
 ragad -it ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF or -d₁ -u₁ v- tkv -i₄ =ni mara₁ mu(n)₂ -išo(t)
 talk INS I be EM S3SG.PST S1 say PST.IND =CMPL but what BEN

gok'o skani dida soren
 g- o- k' -o sk'an -i dida so r -e =n
 g-₁ o-₁₁ k'₁ -o(n) skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ dida sod or -e(n)₁ =ni
 IO2 want_CVO want SM.INACT your.SG NOM mother where be SM.INACT =CMPL

gičkədas , iša si muta
 g- i- čk -ə -d -a -s i -ša si muta
 g-₁ i-₁ čk -u(n)₁ -d₁ -a₁ -s₂ i -iša₁ si muta
 IO2 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT EM OPT S3SG DEM.DIST ALL you.SG anything

gaŷole
 g- a- ŷol -e
 g-₁ a- -e(n) ŷol₁ a- -e(n)
 IO2 POT do POT

It was me who said (it) with a word (lit. with a talk I said), but why do you want to know where your mother is, you can't do anything for her (otherwise: anything about it).

122.1 – maŷolen do vamaŷolen , ina čkimi
 m- a- ŷol -en do va= m- a- ŷol -en ina čkim -i
 m-₁ a- -e(n) ŷol₁ a- -e(n) do₁ va= m-₁ a- -e(n) ŷol₁ a- -e(n) i+*** čkim₁ -i₁
 IO1 POT do POT and NEG= IO1 POT do POT DEM.DIST my NOM

sakme ren do skanda mitxu: komic'ue
 sakme r -en do skan -da m- i- tx -u: ko- m- i- c'u -e
 sakme or -e(n)₁ do₁ skan₂ -da₁ m-₁ i- -u(n)₂ tx₁ i- -u(n)₂ ko- m-₁ i-₁ c'₁ -e₂
 deal be SM.INACT and you.SG:OBL ALL IO1 PERF request PERF AFF IO1 APPL tell OPT

šuro mutuni kogičkənda
 šur -o mutun -i ko- g- i- čk -ə n =da
 šur₁ -o(t) mutun -i₁ ko- g-₁ i-₁ čk -u(n)₁ =da
 soul ADV anything NOM AFF IO2 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT =COND

I can do or (lit. and) I can't, that is my business and I have asked you to tell me if you know anything at all.

122.2 uc'u: tena begok
 u- c' -u: tena bego -k
 u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ e+*** bego -k₁
 APPL tell S3SG.PST DEM.PROX Bego ERG

Bego told this (to the branch).

123 ase tena uragadə :
 ase tena u- ragad -ə
 ase e+*** u-₁ ragad -u(n)₁
 now DEM.PROX APPL talk SM.INACT

Now this (i.e. the branch) is telling (Bego):

124 – skani didak midaʔunə čilo vitožiri
 skan -i dida -k mid- a- ʔun -ə čil -o vit o žir -i
 skan₁ -i₂ dida -k₁ mida- a-₇ ʔon₁ -u₁ čil -o(t) vit do₁+*** žir -i₂
 your.SG SV mother ERG PRV APPL marry S3SG.PST wife ADV ten and two SV

dudami k'aži ndemc , tišet skuak
 dud -am -i k'až -i ndem -c ti- -še =t skua -k
 dud₁ -am₁ -i₂ k'až -i₂ dev+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁ ti₁ -iše(n) =t skua -k₁
 head ADJ SV demon SV daeva DAT DEM.DIST EL =ADD child ERG

geurčkində , mara si pikrenkən tiši
 ge- u- rčkin -d -ə mara si pikr -en -k =ə =n ti- -ši
 ge- u-₁ rčkin -d₂ -u₁ mara₁ si pikr₁ -en₁ -k₂ =i =ni ti₁ -iš₂
 PRV APPL appear INCH S3SG.PST but you.SG think SM S1/2SG =EV =CMPL DEM.DIST GEN

mamalas tiši bina si vagagore
 ma- mal -a -s ti- -ši bina si va= g- a- gor -e
 ma- a₃ mal ma- a₃ -s₃ ti₁ -iš₂ bina₂ si va= g-₁ a- -e(n) gor a- -e(n)
 ABSTR quick ABSTR ADV DEM.DIST GEN accommodation you.SG NEG= IO2 POT find POT

Your mother became wife of the twelve-headed sorcerer daeva, she begot a child from him as well, but if you think (that you will find) her living place, you cannot locate it quickly.

125 begok tku: :
 bego -k tk -u:
 bego -k₁ tkw -u₁
 Bego ERG say S3SG.PST

Bego said:

126 – vai , axavai , čkimi raši soren
 vai axavai čkim -i raš -i so r -e =n
 vai axavai čkim₁ -i₁ raš -i₁ sod or -e(n)₁ =ni
 alas alas! my NOM steed NOM where be SM.INACT =CMPL

komičkədasi ?
 ko- m- i- čk -ə -d -a -s =i
 ko- m-₁ i-₁ čk -u(n)₁ -d₁ -a₁ -s₂ =i
 AFF IO1 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT EM OPT S3SG =EV

My oh my, I wish I knew where my stallion is!

127 rok'ik uc'u: :
 rok' -i -k u- c' -u:
 rok' -i₂ -k₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁
 oak branch SV ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST

The branch told him:

128 – ate mindorc giaʔuni do skani
 ate mindor -c gi- a- ʔun -i do sk'an
 e+*** mindor -s₁ ge- a-₇ ʔun₃ -i₃ do₁ skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁
 DEM.PROX meadow DAT PRV APPL go along.ANM IMP and your.SG NOM

rašī tek c'əmore onangeramo
 raš -i te -k c'əmo- r -e o- nanger -am -o
 raš -i₁ te₁ -k₁ c'imo- or -e(n)₁ o- -am nanger o- -am -o(t)
 steed NOM DEM.PROX ERG PRV stand SM.INACT ??? saddle ??? ADV

You can go along (lit. will go along) this meadow and your stallion is standing there seen and saddled (ready for being saddled?).

129 breli atxozes , mara mitinc va:č'opə
 brel =i a- txoz -es mara mitin -c v= a:- č'op -ə
 brel =i o-₉ txoz -es mara₁ mitin -s₁ va= a-₂ č'op -u₁
 much =EV APPL try S3PL.PST but nobody DAT NEG= POT catch S3SG.PST

People have tried many times, but nobody's managed to catch (him).

130 – midartə bošik , gegmetxu: urieps
 mida- rt -ə boš -i -k ge- gm- e- tx -u:
 mida- rt₁ -u₁ boš -i₂ -k₁ ga-₁ gima- i-₃ tx₁ -u₁ uria -ep -s₁
 PRV go S3SG.PST boy SV ERG PRF PRV APPL.CENTRIP request S3SG.PST Jew PL DAT

, ʒalami madloba uc'u: inens , mu
 ʒalam =i madloba u- c' -u: in -en -s mu
 ʒalam =i madloba u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ tina₁ -ep -s₁ mu(n)₂
 very =EV gratitude APPL tell S3SG.PST DEM.DIST PL DAT either... or...

sak'urelie
 sak'urel -i [or] -e
 sak'urel -i₁ or -e(n)₁
 surprising NOM be SM.INACT

The boy went, took leave of the Jews, thanked them a lot, of course.

131.1 mindorc dasuro kimc'axvilu: muši raši
 mindor -c dasuro ki- mc'- a- xvil -u: mu(n) -ši raš -i
 mindor -s₁ dasuro ko- mic'o- o-₉ xvil₁ -u₁ mu(n)₁ -iš₂ raš -i₁
 meadow DAT indeed AFF PRV APPL notice S3SG.PST self GEN steed NOM

On the meadow, he truly noticed his stallion.

131.2	rašik	xete	kičinə	muši	minže	bego	ogoruša
	raš -i -k	xete	k- i-	mu(n)	-ši	minže	o- gor -u -ša
	raš -i ₂ -k ₁	xate+FR. VAR. OF	ko- i- ₈	mu(n) ₂	-iš ₂	minže	o- -u ₂ gor o- -u ₂ -iša ₁
	steed SV ERG	at once	AFF APPL.CENTRIP	recognise	S3SG.PST	what GEN	owner Bego

do	kimioč'irxinə
do	ki- mi- o- č'irx -in -ə
do ₁	ko- me- o- ₄ č'irx -in ₁ -u ₁
and	AFF PRV APPL let out a whinny AUG S3SG.PST

The stallion recognised his owner Bego at once and let out a whinny.

132	kəmortə	do	begos	kac'udirtə
	kə- mo- rt -ə	do	bego -s	k- ac'- u- dirt -ə
	ko- mo- rt ₁ -u ₁	do ₁	bego -s ₁	ko- ec'o- u ₁ dirt ₁ -u ₁
	AFF PRV go S3SG.PST	and	Bego DAT	AFF PRV APPL stand S3SG.PST

It came and stood in front of Bego.

133	begok	oč'opə	, onangeri	gamanc'q'ə	do
	bego -k	o- č'op -ə	onanger -i	gam- a- n- c'q' -ə	do
	bego -k ₁	o- ₇ č'op -u ₁	onanger -i ₁	gama- o- ₉ n- c'q' ₆ -u ₁	do ₁
	Bego ERG	PRF take S3SG.PST	saddle NOM	PRV APPL SBM take off S3SG.PST	and

žgīro	gopučonə
žgir -o	go- pučon -ə
žgir ₁ -o(t)	go- ₁ pučon -u ₁
good	ADV PRV caress S3SG.PST

Bego stopped him, took the saddle off it and caressed it well.

134	art	maras	kore	tak	muši	rašamo
	art	mara -s	ko- r -e	tak	mu(n)	-ši raš -am -o
	art	mara ₂ -s ₁	ko- or -e(n) ₁	tak	mu(n) ₁	-iš ₂ raš -am ₁ -o(t)
	one	week DAT	AFF be SM.INACT	here	self GEN	steed ADJ ADV

He is here with his stallion for a week.

135	art	maras	uk'uli	, mužansət	šuri	žgīro
	art	mara -š	uk'ul =i	mužans	=ə =t šur -i	žgir -o
	art	mara ₂ -iš ₂	uk'ul =i	mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF	=i =t šur ₁ -i ₁	žgir ₁ -o(t)
	one	week GEN	later =EV	when	=EV =	soul NOM good ADV

midgəni	midartə	muši	didaš
m- i-	mid- rt -ə	mu(n)	-ši dida -š
me- i- ₅	mid- rt ₁ -u ₁	mu(n) ₁	-iš ₂ dida -iš ₂
PRV DECAUS	stand S3SG.PST =CMPL	PRV go S3SG.PST	self GEN mother GEN

One week later, after having a good break (after his suffering), he headed off to look for his mother.

136	gilartə	ir	dixas	, art	c'anas	, mažira	c'anas
	gila- rt -ə	ir	dixa -s	art	c'ana -s	ma- žir -a	c'ana -s
	gila- rt ₁ -u ₁	ir	dixa -s ₁	art	c'ana -s ₁	ma- -a ₂ žir ma- -a ₂	c'ana -s ₁
	PRV go S3SG.PST	entire	soil DAT	one	year DAT	ORD two ORD	year DAT

ir	k'oc	tes	k'itxulenc	, mara	mutunk
ir	k'o -c	te	-s k'itx -ul -en -c	mara	mutun -k
ir	k'oč -s ₁	te ₁	-s ₁ k'itx ₁ -ul ₁ -en ₁ -s ₂	mar ₁	mutun -k ₁
entire	man DAT	DEM.PROX DAT	ask AUG SM S3SG	but	anything ERG

vagaginə
va= g- a- g -in -ə
va= go- ₁ a- -e(n) g ₂ a- -e(n) -u ₁
NEG= PRV POT find out POT S3SG.PST

He wandered everywhere for one year, for another year, he asks everybody about her, but he failed to find out anything.

137	gišelə	begok	arti	didi	mindoriša	;
	giš- e-	l -ə	bego -k	art -i	did -i	mindor -iša
	giša- i- ₆	wl -u ₁	bego -k ₁	art -i ₁	did -i ₁	mindor -iša ₁
	PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST	Bego ERG	one SV	big NOM	meadow ALL	

miožinuo	, kəmurs	midgareni	rašit
mi- o- žin -u =o	kə- m- u- r -s	midga -ren -i	raš -it
me- o- ₄ žin -u ₁ =o ₁	ko- mo- u- ₁ wl -s ₂	midga -ren -i ₁	raš -it
PRV APPL look S3SG.PST =CMPL	AFF PRV APPL go S3SG	which INDEF NOM	steed INS

ašon	kožirə
ašo =n	ko- žir -ə
ašo =ni	ko- žir -u ₁
hither =CMPL	AFF see S3SG.PST

Bego came out onto one big meadow; as he looked around, he saw that someone is coming hither (i.e. towards him) astride a stallion.

138	č'e	šoriše	ok'o	aluluan	artianc
	č'e	šor -iše	ok'o	al- u- l -u -a -n =n	artian -c
	č'e	šor -iše(n)	ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF	ala- u- ₁ wl -u ₃ -a ₁ -n ₂ =ni	artian -s ₁
	little	far away EL	MOD	PRV APPL go AUG OPT S3PL =CMPL	one another DAT

eperi	dros	dužaxes	artianc
e	-per -i	dro -s d-	u- žax -es artian -c
e	-per -i ₂	dro -s ₁ do-+POS. VAR. OF	u- ₁ žax -es artian -s ₁
DEM.PROX	of kind SV	time DAT PRV	APPL call S3PL.PST one another DAT

When they are about to pass each other by at some short distance, at that time they called out loudly to each other.

139 – mu k'oči rek si ?
 mu k'oč -i r -e -k si
 mu(n)₂ k'oč -i₂ or -e(n)₁ -k₂ si
 either... or... man SV be SM.INACT S1/2SG you.SG

What man are you?

140 – ma vari si mu k'oči rek ?
 ma var =i si mu k'oč -i r -e -k
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF var =i si mu(n)₂ k'oč -i₂ or -e(n)₁ -k₂
 I no =EV you.SG either... or... man SV be SM.INACT S1/2SG

Not me, what man are you?

141 c'əmuragades artians iša-ašo do ka:ʔotə
 c'əm- u- ragad -es artian -s iša ašo do k- a:- ʔot -ə
 c'imo- u-₁ ragad -es artian -s₁ išo+POS. VAR. OF ašo do₁ ko- o-₉ ʔot₁ -u₁
 PRV APPL talk S3PL.PST one another DAT thither hither and AFF APPL shoot S3SG.PST

ezəma xanc ti k'očk begos
 e -zəma xan -c ti k'oč -k bego -s
 e -zoma+DIAL. VAR. OF xan -s₁ i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -k₁ bego -s₁
 DEM.PROX much time DAT DEM.DIST man ERG Bego DAT

kasagani
 kasagan -i
 kasagan -i₁
 arrow NOM

They yelled back and forth to each other and in the meanwhile that man discharged an arrow at Bego.

142 sagank begoš rašiši k'učxiš polos kəmoxvadə
 sagan -k bego -š raš -iš =i k'učx -iš polo -s kə- mo- xvad -ə
 sagan -k₁ bego -iš₂ raš -iš₁ =i k'učx -iš₁ polo -s₁ ko- mo- xvad₂ -u₁
 arrow ERG Bego GEN steed GEN =EV leg GEN hoof DAT AFF PRV hit S3SG.PST

The arrow hit Bego stallion's hoof.

143 vališ mamalas mək'artinu: begok
 val -iš ma- mal -a -s mək'- a- rt -in -u: bego -k
 val₂ -iš₁ ma- a₃ mal ma- a₃ -s₃ mək'o- 0- -in₁ r₁ 0- -in₁ -u₁ bego -k₁
 flash (of lightning) GEN ABSTR quick ABSTR ADV PRV CAUS turn CAUS S3SG.PST Bego ERG

sagani do ka:ʔotə rašis oʔvilaro
 sagan -i do k- a:- ʔot -ə raš -i -s o- ʔvil -ar -o
 sagan -i₁ do₁ ko- o-₉ ʔot₁ -u₁ raš -i₂ -s₁ o- -ar ʔvil o- -ar -o(t)
 arrow NOM and AFF APPL shoot S3SG.PST steed SV DAT SUP kill.SG SUP ADV

With a speed of lightning, Bego drew the bow and shot (an arrow) at (that man's) stallion for the kill.

144 moxvadə rašis do xate šuri
 mo- xvad -ə raš -i -s do xate šur -i
 mo- xvad₂ -u₁ raš -i₂ -s₁ do₁ xate šur₁ -i₁
 PRV hit S3SG.PST steed SV DAT and at once soul NOM

gat'ebapu:

g- a- t' -eb -ap -u:
 g-₁ a- -ap t'₁ -eb₁ -ap₂ -u₁
 IO2 CAUS let go AUG AUG S3SG.PST

(The arrow) hit the stallion and killed it (lit. made (its) soul flee) at once.

145 kəmač'išu: , mu ok'itxe ren do
 kə- m- a- č'iš -u: mu o- k'itx -e r -en do
 ko- mo- o-₉ č'iš -u₁ mu(n)₂ o- -e₂ k'itx₁ o- -e₂ or -e(n)₁ do₁
 AFF PRV APPL catch up with S3SG.PST either... or... SUP ask SUP be SM.INACT and

uc'u:

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

He (i.e. Bego) chased him (i.e. that man), of course (lit. what is to ask?), and told him:

146 – si muk'oči rek , vara mut
 si mu(n) k'oč -i r -e -k vara mu(n) -t
 si mu(n)₂ k'oč -i₁ or -e(n)₁ -k₂ vara mu(n)₂ -t₂
 you.SG what man NOM be SM.INACT S1/2SG either what INS

gamibedi ma kasaganiši ʔotama ?
 ga- m- i- bed -i ma kasagan -iš =i ʔot -am -a
 ga-₁ m-₁ i-₁ bed₂ -i₁ ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF kasagan -iš₁ =i ʔot₁ -am₃ -a₂
 PRF IO1 APPL dare PST.IND I arrow GEN =EV throw SM MSD

What man are you, and (lit. or) how dared you shoot an arrow at me?

147 ate axalgazrda k'oc žoxo tatraq'ani do
 ate axalgazrda k'o -c žox -o tatraq'an -i do
 e+*** axalgazrda k'oč -s₁ žox -o(n) tatraq'an -i₁ do₁
 DEM.PROX young (man) man DAT be called SM.INACT Tatraq'ani NOM and

gultaazrile
 gultaazr -i l -e
 gultaazr -i₁ OF+DIAL. VAR. OF -e(n)₁
 wizard NOM be SM.INACT

This young man's name is Tatraq'ani and (he) is a wizard.

148 mut keʔanas koren , irpeli
 mu =t keʔana -s ko- r -e =n irpel -i
 mu(n)₁ =t kiʔana^{+FR. VAR. OF} -s₁ ko- or -e(n)₁ =ni irpel -i₁
 self = world DAT AFF be SM.INACT =CMPL everything NOM

kučkə
 k- u- čk -ə
 ko- u-₁ čk -u(n)₁
 AFF APPL know.INANM SM.INACT

Whatever happens in the world, he knows everything.

149 ate bego mu apu musən ,
 ate bego mu ap -u mu -s =ə =n
 e+*** bego mu(n)₂ ap -u(n)₁ mu(n)₁ -s₁ =i =ni
 DEM.PROX Bego what have SM.INACT self DAT =EV =CMPL

tet kučkə , mara
 te =t k- u- čk -ə mara
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** =t ko- u-₁ čk -u(n)₁ mara₁
 DEM.PROX =ADD AFF APPL know.INANM SM.INACT but

ešeni mutuni vouc'u:
 e -šen =i mutun -i vo= u- c' -u:
 e -iše(n) =i mutun -i₁ va= u-₁ c'₁ -u₁
 DEM.PROX EL =EV anything NOM NEG= APPL tell S3SG.PST

What this Bego is to him, he knows this too, but nonetheless he did not tell him anything.

150 ate boši re begoš žima , ndemiši skua
 ate boš -i r -e bego -š žima ndem -iš =i skua
 e+*** boš -i₁ or -e(n)₁ bego -iš₂ žima dev+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₁ =i skua
 DEM.PROX boy NOM be SM.INACT Bego GEN brother daeva GEN =EV child

This boy is Bego's brother, the daeva's child.

151 - vadop'ila do mati k'oči
 va= do- p' -il -a do ma(n) =t =i k'oč -i
 va= do- m-₂ ʔvil -a₁ do₁ ma(n) =t =i k'oč -i₁
 NEG= PRV DO1 kill.SG OPT and I =ADD =EV man NOM

gaʔik , uc'u: bošik begos
 g- a- ʔ -i -k u- c' -u: boš -i -k bego -s
 g-₁ a-₇ ʔ₁ -i(n) -k₂ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ boš -i₂ -k₁ bego -s₁
 IO2 APPL become SM.INACT S1/2SG APPL tell S3SG.PST boy SV ERG Bego DAT

Don't kill me, and I, too, will become a helpful man for you (lit. you will have me a helpful man, i.e. a good servant), the boy told Bego.

152 begos mec'onə te bošik do
 bego -s m- e- c'on -ə te boš -i -k do
 bego -s₁ mo- e-₁ c'on₁ -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** boš -i₂ -k₁ do₁
 Bego DAT PRV APPL like S3SG.PST DEM.PROX boy SV ERG and

dežimales - artians
 d- e- žimal -es artian -s
 do-+POS. VAR. OF e-₁ žimal -es artian -s₁
 PRV APPL become sworn brothers S3PL.PST one another DAT

kimiopučes - mutunnero , mutun sakmes
 ki- mi- o- puč -es mutun -ner -o mutun -[i] sakme -s
 ko- me- o-₄ puč -es mutun -ner -o(t) mutun -i₁ sakme -s₁
 AFF PRV APPL swear S3PL.PST anything of kind ADV anything NOM deal DAT

artians dʒas vauʒalat'anin
 artian -s dʒa -s va= u- ʒalat' -a -n =i =n
 artian -s₁ dʒa -s₁ va= u-₁ ʒalat' -a₁ -n₂ =i =ni
 one another DAT day DAT NEG= APPL betray OPT S3PL =EV =CMPL

Bego liked this boy and they became sworn friends - swore to each other - that they in no manner, in no case will betray each other.

153 bego do tatraq'ani žirxolo artianc gəna , muč'ot
 bego do tatraq'an -i žir =xolo artian -c g -ən -a muč'o =t
 bego do₁ tatraq'an -i₁ žir =xolo artian -s₁ gv -u(n)₁ -a(n) muč'o =t
 Bego and Tatraq'ani NOM two =EMPH one another DAT look alike SM.INACT S3PL how =

ʔvali ʔvališe gamlak'vati
 ʔval -i ʔval -iše ga- mla- k'vat -i
 ʔval -i₁ ʔval -iše(n) ga-₁ mila- k'vat -i₁
 cheese NOM cheese EL PRF PRV cut NOM

Both Bego and Tatraq'ani look look very much alike, (just) like (a piece of) cheese cut off from (another piece of) cheese.

154 da:č'q'es žirxolok ula do munepiši
 d- a:- č'q' -es žir =xolo -k ul -a do mun -ep -iš =i
 do-+POS. VAR. OF a-₆ č'q' -es žir =xolo -k₁ wl -a₂ do₁ mu(n)₁ -ep -iš₁ =i
 PRV APPL begin S3PL.PST two =EMPH ERG go MSD and self PL GEN =EV

ambes artianc kečiebuna
 ambe -s artian -c k- e- či -eb -un -a
 ambe -s₁ artian -s₁ ko- e-₁ č₂ -eb₁ -un -a(n)
 story DAT one another DAT AFF APPL narrate AUG SM S3PL

They began travelling together (lit. both began...) and are telling each other their stories.

155 tatraq'ank uc'u: :
 tatraq'an -k u- c' -u:
 tatraq'an -k₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁
 Tatraq'ani ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST

Tatraq'ani told him:

156.1 – čkimi žima , bego !
čkim -i žima bego
čkim₁ -i₂ žima bego
my SV brother Bego

My brother, Bego!

156.2 ma miγə skanda arti
ma m- i- γ -ə sk'an -da art -i
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF mi₃ i₁ γw -u(n)₁ skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -da₁ art -i₁
I PRV APPL have.INANM SM.INACT your.SG ALL one NOM

otxuali do , muč'ot axal
o- tx -u -al -i do muč'o =t axal
o- -al₁ tx₁ -u₃ o- -al₁ -i₁ do₁ muč'o =t axal
SUP.NOUN request AUG SUP.NOUN NOM and how = recently

minapučin , imendi re , tišen
mi- na- puč -i =n imend -i r -e ti- -šen
me- na- puč -i₁ =ni imend₁ -i₁ or -e(n)₁ i⁺+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** -iše(n)
PRV EVID.PTC swear NOM =CMPL hope NOM be SM.INACT DEM.DIST EL

vagmacudenkəni !
va= g- m- a- cud -en -k =ə =ni
va= go₁ m₁ a₃ cud -en₁ -k₂ =i =ni
NEG= PRV IO1 FACT let down SM S1/2SG =EV =CMPL

I have one request for you and, as recently sworn, hopefully, you won't let me down!

157 – si do ma didaše žimalepi voret
si do ma dida -še žima -l -ep -i v- or -e -t
si do₁ ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF dida -iše(n) žima -l₁ -ep -i₁ v- or -e(n)₁ -t₁
you.SG and I mother EL brother SUF.INTR PL NOM S1 be SM.INACT PL

, čkimi muma k'ažam ndemc kəmap'at'ienk da ,
čkim -i muma k'až -am ndem -c kə- m- a- p'at'i -en -k =da
čkim₁ -i₂ muma k'až -am₁ dev⁺+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁ ko- m- a₃ p'at'i -en₁ -k₂ =da
my SV father demon ADJ daeva DAT AFF IO1 FACT forgive SM S1/2SG =COND

si gičkən do skani
si g- i- čk -ən do sk'an -i
si g₁ i₁ čk -u(n)₁ do₁ skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁
you.SG IO2 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT and your.SG NOM

žimalobas
žimal -oba -s
žimal -oba -s₁
become sworn brothers MSD DAT

You and I are (half-)brothers from the mother side, you will forgive (for) me my sorcerer daeva father, you know, you know it and your brotherhood does.

158 begos nabet'ank ec'q'inə , mara pučik išeni
bego -s nabet'an -k e- c'q'in -ə mara puč -i -k išen =i
bego -s₁ nabet'an -k₁ e-₁ c'q'in -u₁ mara₁ puč -i₂ -k₁ išen =i
Bego DAT too much ERG APPL get offence S3SG.PST but oath SV ERG yet =EV

vagat'axə
va= g- a- t'ax -ə
va= go₁ a₂ t'ax₁ -u₁
NEG= PRV POT break S3SG.PST

Bego felt very much offended, but he nevertheless could not break the oath.

159 – žgəri , mip'at'iebə , uc'u: žimas
žgər -i m- i- p'at'i -eb -ə u- c' -u: žima -s
žgir⁺+DIAL. VAR. OF -i₁ m-₁ i- -u(n)₂ p'at'i -eb₄ i- -u(n)₂ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ žima -s₁
good NOM IO1 PERF forgive SM PERF APPL tell S3SG.PST brother DAT

Good, I have apparently forgiven (you for this), he told the brother.

160 ides do kimertes k'aži ndemiš ʔudeša
id -es do ki- me- rt -es k'až -i ndem -iš ʔude -ša
id -es do₁ ko- me- rt₁ -es k'až -i₂ dev⁺+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₁ ʔude -iša₁
go S3PL.PST and AFF PRV go S3PL.PST demon SV daeva GEN house ALL

The went on and reached the sorcerer daeva's house.

161 ndemk dit'q'obə
ndem -k d- i- t'q'ob -ə
dev⁺+DIAL. VAR. OF -k₁ do-+POS. VAR. OF i-₆ t'q'ob -u₁
daeva ERG PRV AUTOCAUS hide S3SG.PST

The daeva hid.

162 didak uc'u: skuas :
dida -k u- c' -u: skua -s
dida -k₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ skua -s₁
mother ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST child DAT

The mother told her child:

163 – minore ti sumari
 min or -e ti sumar -i
 min or -e(n)₁ i^{+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***} sumar -i₁
 who be SM.INACT DEM.DIST guest NOM

morʔənsəni ?
 mo- r- ʔən -s =ə =ni
 mo- r- ʔon₁+POS. VAR. OF -s₂ =i =ni
 PRV IO2 bring.ANM S3SG =EV =CMPL

Who is that guest that you are bringing?

164 – minorenda bego re , čkimi žima do
 min or -en =da bego r -e , čkim -i žima do
 min or -e(n)₁ =da bego or -e(n)₁ čkim₁ -i₁ žima do₁
 who be SM.INACT =COND Bego be SM.INACT my NOM brother and

skani skua
 sk'an -i skua
 skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ skua
 your.SG NOM child

Who is it? Why? (This) is Bego, my brother and your child.

165 – nana , ma iša dudi vamažirape
 nana ma i -ša dud -i va= m- a- žir -ap -e
 nana ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF i -iša₁ dud₂ -i₁ va= m-₁ a- -e(n) žir -ap₅ a- -e(n)
 mother I DEM.DIST ALL REFL NOM NEG= IO1 POT see CAUS POT

, vara sole miʔuni , so žiri ?
 vara so -le m- i- , so žir -i
 vara sod -le m-₁ i-₈ ʔon₁ -i₄ sod žir -i₄
 either where MOT IO1 APPL.CENTRIP bring.ANM PST.IND where see PST.IND

(My) child (lit. mother, a reference to the family relationship of the speaker to the addressee), I cannot show up to him, anyways (lit. or), where have you brought him from to me, where did you find (lit. see) him?

166 tatraq'ank uc'u: didas :
 tatraq'an -k u- c' -u: dida -s
 tatraq'an -k₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ dida -s₁
 Tatraq'ani ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST mother DAT

Tatraq'ani told (his) mother:

167 – tkvani današauroba irpeli muč'ot sin , teši
 tkvan -i današaur -oba irpel -i muč'o =t si =n teš =i
 tkvan -i₁ današaur -oba irpel -i₁ muč'o =t si =ni teš =i
 your.PL NOM criminal ABSTR everything NOM how = you.SG =CMPL so =EV

čkimi mumasət kəgap'at'i:s begok do
 čkim -i muma -s =ə =t kə- g- a- p'at' -i:s bego -k do
 čkim₁ -i₂ muma -s₁ =i =t ko- g-₁ a-₃ p'at'i -es bego -k₁ do₁
 my SV father DAT =EV = AFF IO2 FACT forgive IO.PL.PST Bego ERG and

ʔviluaša vagaškurinani
 ʔvil -u -a -ša va= g- a- škur -in -a =n
 ʔvil -u₃ -a₂ -iša₁ va= g-₁ a-₇ škur -in₁ -a(n) =ni
 kill.SG AUG MSD ALL NEG= IO2 APPL fear AUG IO.PL =CMPL

Bego has forgiven both you and my father all of your wrongdoings and don't be afraid he'll kill you (lit. don't be afraid of death).

168 uc'u: skuak didas
 u- c' -u: skua -k dida -s
 u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ skua -k₁ dida -s₁
 APPL tell S3SG.PST child ERG mother DAT

The child told (his) mother.

169.1 mini:lə ʔudša begok
 min- i- l -ə ʔud -ša bego -k
 mino-₁ i-₆ wl -u₁ ʔude^{+FR. VAR. OF} -iša₁ bego -k₁
 PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST house ALL Bego ERG

Bego entered the house.

169.2 didak kəmortə do gažunə
 dida -k kə- mo- rt -ə do g- a- žun -ə
 dida -k₁ ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ do₁ go-₁ o-₉ žud^{+POS. VAR. OF,DIAL. VAR. OF} -u₁
 mother ERG AFF PRV go S3SG.PST and PRV APPL kiss S3SG.PST

The mother came to him and kissed him.

170 mažira dʒas žirxolo žimalepk onadiruša
 ma- žir -a dʒa -s žir =xolo žima -l -ep -k o- nadir -u -ša
 ma- a₂ žir ma- a₂ dʒa -s₁ žir =xolo žima -l₁ -ep -k₁ o- -u₂ nadir₁ o- -u₂ -iša₁
 ORD two ORD day DAT two =EMPH brother SUFF.INTR PL ERG SUP hunt SUP ALL

midartes , breli nadiri doʔviles do ʔudeša
 mida- rt -es , brel =i nadir -i do- ʔvil -es do ʔude -ša
 mida- rt₁ -es brel =i nadir₁ -i₁ do- ʔvil -es do₁ ʔude -iša₁
 PRV go S3PL.PST much =EV hunt NOM PRV kill.SG S3PL.PST and house ALL

kimiγes
ki- m- i- γ -es
ko- me- i-₈ γw -es
AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP bring.INANM S3PL.PST

The next day, both brothers went hunting, killed lots of game and brought it home.

171 gilula dro gišaškumaliro tenepi žirxolo
gil- ul -a dro giša- šk -um -al -ir -o ten -ep -i žir =xolo
gila- wl -a(n) dro giša- šk₃ -um₂ -al₄ -ir₁ -o(t) e+*** -ep -i₁ žir =xolo
PRV go S3PL time PRV let go AUG MSD PTC ADV DEM.PROX PL NOM two =EMPH

onadiruša
o- nadir -u -ša
o- -u₂ nadir₁ o- -u₂ -iša₁
SUP hunt SUP ALL

From time to time, they go hunting together (lit. both).

172 art dγas ndemk uc'u: osurs
art dγa -s ndem -k u- c' -u: osur -s
art dγa -s₁ dev+DIAL. VAR. OF -k₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ osur -s₁
one day DAT daeva ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST wife DAT

One day, the daeva told (his) wife:

173 - mu amdγa do mu č'ume , bego išeni
mu am dγa do mu č'ume bego išen =i
mu(n)₂ am dγa do₁ mu(n)₂ č'uman bego išen =i
either... or... DEM.PROX:OBL day and either... or... tomorrow Bego yet =EV

dop'iluna čki
do- p'- il -un -a čki
do- m-₂ γvil -un -a(n) čki
PRV DO1 kill.SG SM DO.PL we

Either today or tomorrow, Bego will kill us anyways.

174 ma giniprtuk didi gopurapili
ma gin- i- p- rt -u -k did -i go- pur -ap -il -i
ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF gino- i-₆ v- rt₁ -u(n)₁ -k₂ did -i₁ go-₁ pur -ap₂ -il₁ -i₂
I PRV AUTOCAUS S1 turn SM.INACT S1/2SG big NOM PRV heat AUG PTC SV

šant rk'inat do ži mənol k'ars dinaxaleše
šant rk'ina -t do ži mənol- l k'ar -s dinaxale -še
šant rk'ina -o(t) do₁ ži₁ mino-₁ wl k'ar -s₁ dinaxale -iše(n)
heated red-hot iron ADV and above PRV go door DAT inside EL

kiglebdvaluk
ki- gl- e- b- dv -al -u -k
ko- gila- i-₆ v- dv₂ -al₂ -u(n)₁ -k₂
AFF PRV AUTOCAUS S1 lie down AUG SM.INACT S1/2SG

I will turn into a big red-hot branding iron and will lie down above the entrance door.

175 tatraq'ani mənilešən mutun vari do bego
tatraq'an -i mən- i- l -en -s =ə =n mutun -[i] var =i do bego
tatraq'an -i₁ mino-₁ i-₆ wl -en₁ -s₂ =i =ni mutun -i₁ var =i do₁ bego
Tatraq'ani NOM PRV AUTOCAUS go SM S3SG =EV =CMPL anything NOM no =EV and Bego

mužans mənilešən , k'əšers
mužans mən- i- l -en -s =ə =n k'əšer -s
mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF mino-₁ i-₆ wl -en₁ -s₂ =i =ni k'iser+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁
when PRV AUTOCAUS go SM S3SG =EV =CMPL neck DAT

kigvantxuk do tek
ki- g- v- a- n- tx -u -k do te -k
ko- go-₁ v- o-₉ n- tx₂ -u(n)₁ -k₂ do₁ te₁ -k₁
AFF PRV S1 APPL SBM hit SM.INACT S1/2SG and DEM.PROX ERG

kigvoč'q'anč'q'a
ki- g- v- o- č'q'anč'q' -a[n] -[k]
ko- go-₁ v- o-₁₀ č'q'anč'q' -an₁ -k₂
AFF PRV S1 FACT mangle SM S1/2SG

When Tatraq'ani comes in, nothing (will happen), and when Bego comes in, I will (fall on him down and) hit him on the neck and mangle him there.

176 čilk žgiria uc'u: do detanaxmə
čil -k žgir -i =a u- c' -u: do d- e- tanaxm -ə
čil -k₁ žgir₁ -i₁ =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ do₁ da-₂ e-₁ tanxm+DIAL. VAR. OF -u₁
wife ERG good NOM =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST and APPL agree S3SG.PST

The wife told him: Good, and agreed with him.

177 tatraq'ani do begok nadirobaše dirtesəni , ɤudeša
tatraq'an -i do bego -k nadir -oba -še dirt -es =ə =ni ɤude -ša
tatraq'an -i₂ do₁ bego -k₁ nadir₁ -oba -iše(n) dirt₁ -es =i =ni ɤude -iša₁
Tatraq'ani SV and Bego ERG hunt MSD EL return S3PL.PST =EV =CMPL house ALL

monula da:č'q'es
mon- ul -a d- a:- č'q' -es
mino-₁ wl -a₂ do-+POS. VAR. OF a-₆ č'q' -es
PRV go MSD PRV APPL begin S3PL.PST

When Tatraq'ani and Bego returned from the hunt, they began to come into the house.

178 tatraq'ank kvaraš č'ua kimigonə do begos
 tatraq'an -k kvara -iš č'ua ki- m- i- gon -ə do bego -s
 tatraq'an -k₁ kvara -iš₂ č'ua ko- mo- i-₈ gon₁ -u₁ do₁ bego -s₁
 Tatraq'ani ERG belly GEN pain AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP feel S3SG.PST and Bego DAT

še:xvec'ə
 š- e:- xvec' -ə
 še- e-,+POS. VAR. OF xvec' -u₁
 PRV APPL pray S3SG.PST

Tatraq'ani felt pain in the stomach and begged Bego:

179 - arika , komiʒyirk'e: do ʔudeša gemnomʔoni
 arika ko- m- i- ʒyirk' -e: do ʔude -ša ge- mno- m- [i]- ʔon -i
 arika ko- m-₁ i-₁ ʒyirk' -e₃ do₁ ʔude -iša₁ ga-₁ mino-₁ m-₁ i-₃ ʔon₁ -i₃
 heads up AFF IO1 APPL pick up IMP and house ALL PRF PRV IO1 EVO take.ANM IMP
 , vara kobɣurukia
 vara ko- b- ɣur -u -k =i =a
 vara ko- v- ɣur -u(n)₁ -k₂ =i =a
 either AFF S1 die SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

Watch out! Pick me up with your arms and take me into the house, otherwise I'm dying [, he said].

180 begok kiʒyirk'u: do ʔudeša
 bego -k k- i- ʒyirk' -u: do ʔude -ša
 bego -k₁ ko- i-₈ ʒyirk' -u₁ do₁ ʔude -iša₁
 Bego ERG AFF APPL.CENTRIP pick up S3SG.PST and house ALL

gemniʔunə
 ge- mn- i- ʔun -ə
 ge- mino-₂ i-₈ ʔon₁ -u₁
 PRV PRV APPL.CENTRIP take.ANM S3SG.PST

Bego picked him up with his arms and took him indoors.

181 demk giantxək'on , ži tatraq'ani
 dem -k gi- a- n- tx -ə -k'on ži tatraq'an -i
 dev+POS. VAR. OF -k₁ ge- o-₉ n- tx₂ -u₁ -k'on ži₁ tatraq'an -i₁
 daeva ERG PRV APPL SBM hit S3SG.PST COND above Tatraq'ani NOM

də do eš ʔvilua is
 [r] -d -ə do e -š ʔvil -ua i -s
 or -d₁ -u₁ do₁ e -iš₂ ʔvil -ua i -s₁
 be EM S3SG.PST and DEM.PROX GEN kill.SG MSD DEM.DIST DAT

vaak'odə
 va= a- k' -o -d -ə
 va= o-₁₁ k'₁ -o(n) -d₁ -u₁
 NEG= want_CVO want SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST

If the daeva had hit him (i.e. Bego), on top was Tatraq'ani and he (i.e. daeva) did not want to kill him.

182 mažiaša xolo dosxunes :
 ma- ži -a -ša =xolo do- sxun -es
 ma- -a₂ žir ma- -a₂ -iša₂ =xolo do- sxun₃ -es
 ORD two ORD ADV =EMPH PRV make up S3PL.PST

And (so) they (i.e. the daeva and his wife) thought (a new plan) up for the second time, too:

183 - didi lasireli arguno giniprtək do
 did -i las -ir -el -i argun -o gin- i- p- rt -ə -k do
 did -i₁ las -ir₁ -el₁ -i₂ argun -o(t) gino- i-₆ v- rt₁ -u(n)₁ -k₂ do₁
 big NOM sharpen PTC PTC SV hatchet ADV PRV AUTOCAUS S1 turn SM.INACT S1/2SG and
 tudo k'arc kigibžiruk , mužans bego
 tudo k'ar -c ki- g- i- b- žir -u -k mužans bego
 tudo k'ar -s₁ ko- go-₁ i-₆ v- žir -u(n)₁ -k₂ mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF bego
 down door DAT AFF PRV AUTOCAUS S1 lie down SM.INACT S1/2SG when Bego

mənilešən , eše kəvaraguk do
 mən- i- l -en -s =ə =n eše kə- v- a- rag -u -k do
 mino-₁ i-₆ wl -en₁ -s₂ =i =ni eše ko- v- o-₉ rag -u(n)₁ -k₂ do₁
 PRV AUTOCAUS go SM S3SG =EV =CMPL up AFF S1 APPL attack SM.INACT S1/2SG and

gop'č'k'irə
 go- p'- č'k'ir -ə -[k]
 go-₁ v- č'k'ir -un -k₂
 PRV S1 cut SM S1/2SG

I will turn into a big sharpened hatchet and will lie down at the door, when Bego enters, I will attack him from beneath and cut him (in two).

184 - žgiri , uc'u: osurk
 žgir -i u- c' -u: osur -k
 žgir₁ -i₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ osur -k₁
 good NOM APPL tell S3SG.PST wife ERG

Good, told him the wife.

185.1 kəmortes bošenk
 kə- mo- rt -es boš -en -k
 ko- mo- rt₁ -es boš -ep -k₁
 AFF PRV go S3PL.PST boy PL ERG

The boys came.

185.2 ʔudes dexolesən , žimək
 ʔude -s d- e- xol -es =ə =n žima -k
 ʔude -s₁ do-+POS. VAR. OF e-₁ xol₂ -es =i =ni žima -k₁
 house DAT PRV APPL approach S3PL.PST =EV =CMPL brother ERG

uc'u: begos :
 u- c' -u: bego -s
 u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ bego -s₁
 APPL tell S3SG.PST Bego DAT

When they approached the house, the brother told Bego:

186 – si k'oči , tezəma xani re arto
 si k'oč -i te -zəma xan -i r -e art -o
 si k'oč -i₂ te₁ -zoma+DIAL. VAR. OF xan -i₁ or -e(n)₁ art -o(t)
 you.SG man SV DEM.PROX much time NOM be SM.INACT one ADV

voret do si muš mamonk'a
 v- or -e -t do si mu -š ma- monk' -a
 v- or -e(n)₁ -t₁ do₁ si mu(n)₁ -iš₂ ma- -a₁ monk' ma- -a₁
 S1 be SM.INACT PL and you.SG self GEN EQT heavy EQT

rekən , vamičkə , dɣas
 r -e -k =ə =n va= m- i- čk -ə dɣa -s
 or -e(n)₁ -k₂ =i =ni va= m-₁ i-₁ čk -u(n)₁ dɣa -s₁
 be SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =CMPL NEG= IO1 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT day DAT

vamižyirk'uapək – morti do
 va= m- i- žyirk' -u -ap -ə -k morti do
 va= m-₁ i- -u(n)₂ žyirk' -u₃ -ap₂ i- -u(n)₂ -k₂ morti do₁
 NEG= IO1 PERF pick up AUG AUG PERF S1/2SG HORT and

kəmaržyik'i !
 kə- m- a- ržyik' -i
 ko- m-₁ a-₇ žyirk'+FR. VAR. OF -i₃
 AFF IO1 APPL pick up IMP

You man, it has been (lit. is) so much time that we've been (lit. are) together, and I don't know how heavy you are, I have never picked you up with my arms, come on, hang onto me!

187.1 – boši , čkəčkə xolo vavorek , ma
 boš -i čkəčkə =xolo va= v- or -e -k ma
 boš -i₂ čkičk+DIAL. VAR. OF =xolo va= v- or -e(n)₁ -k₂ ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF
 boy SV child =EMPH NEG= S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG I

si gažyirk'e
 si g- a- žyirk' -e
 si g-₁ o-₉ žyirk' -e₂
 you.SG IO2 APPL pick up OPT

Boy, I am no way a kid to hang onto you.

187.2 uc'u: begok
 u- c' -u: bego -k
 u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ bego -k₁
 APPL tell S3SG.PST Bego ERG

Bego told him.

188.1 vadužerə do kižyirk'u: bego
 va= d- u- žer -ə do k- i- bego
 va= do-+POS. VAR. OF u-₁ žer₃ -u₁ do₁ ko- i-₈ žyirk' -u:
 NEG= PRV APPL obey S3SG.PST and AFF APPL.CENTRIP pick up S3SG.PST Bego

žimək
 žima -k
 žima -k₁
 brother ERG

The brother did not listen to Bego and picked him up (with his arms).

188.2 ataši gemniʔunə ʔudeša do
 ataš =i ge- mn- i- ʔun -ə ʔude -ša do
 ataš =i ge- mino-₂ i-₈ ʔon₁ -u₁ =i ʔude -iša₁ do₁
 this way =EV PRV PRV APPL.CENTRIP take.ANM S3SG.PST house ALL and

geskidə dio dɣaro begok ɣuraše
 g- e- skid -ə dio dɣaro bego -k ɣur -a -še
 go-₁ i-₅ skid₁ -u₁ dio dɣaro bego -k₁ ɣur -a₂ -iše(n)
 PRV DECAUS escape S3SG.PST yet so far Bego ERG die MSD EL

He carried him into the house this way and so Bego has escaped death so far.

189 k'ini midartes onadiruša bošenk
 k'in =i mida- rt -es o- nadir -u -ša boš -en -k
 k'in₇ =i mida- rt₁ -es o- -u₂ nadir₁ o- -u₂ -iša₁ boš -ep -k₁
 again =EV PRV go S3PL.PST SUP hunt SUP ALL boy PL ERG

The boys went hunting again.

190 ndemk ginoč'q'vidə žirxološi ʔvilua :
 ndem -k gino- č'q'vid -ə žir =xolo -ši ʔvil -u -a
 dev+DIAL. VAR. OF -k₁ gino- č'q'vid -u₁ žir =xolo -iš₂ ʔvil -u₃ -a₂
 daeva ERG PRV decide S3SG.PST two =EMPH GEN kill.SG AUG MSD

The daeva decided to kill both of them:

191.1 kučkə , muč'o žima muši oxvarə
 k- u- čk -ə , muč'o žima mu(n) -ši o- xvar -ə
 ko- u₁ čk -u(n)₁ muč'o žima mu(n)₂ -iš₂ o-₄ xvar₁ -u(n)₁
 AFF APPL know.INANM SM.INACT how brother what GEN APPL help SM.INACT

begosən
 bego -s =ə =n
 bego -s₁ =i =ni
 Bego DAT =EV =CMPL

He knows that his (i.e. Bego's) borther helps Bego.

191.2 begos irpeli kuc'u: muši žimak t'q'as :
 bego -s irpel -i k- u- c' -u: mu(n) -ši žima -k t'q'a -s
 bego -s₁ irpel -i₁ ko- u₁ c'₁ -u₁ mu(n)₁ -iš₂ žima -k₁ t'q'a -s₁
 Bego DAT everything NOM AFF APPL tell S3SG.PST self GEN brother ERG forest DAT

His brother told Bego everything in the forest:

192 - aməseri čki kigmantxəna čkimi
 am =ə ser =i čki ki- g- m- a- n- tx -ən -a čkim -i
 am =i ser =i čki ko- go-₁ m-₂ o-₉ n- tx₂ -un -a(n) čkim₁ -i₂
 DEM.PROX:OBL =EV evening =EV we AFF PRV DO1 APPL SBM strike SM DO.PL my SV

muma maʔvilaro do si muč'o doiʒaxe:
 muma ma- ʔvil -ar -o do si muč'o do- [g]- i- ʒax -e:
 muma ma- ar ʔvil ma- ar -o(t) do₁ si muč'o do- g-₁ i-₁ ʒax -e:
 father PTC kill.SG PTC ADV and you.SG how PRV IO2 APPL call OPT+CMPL

etimc'k'əma maržvet orda !
 etim -c'k'əma maržve -t or -d -a
 i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** -c'k'uma maržve -o(t) or -d₁ -a₁
 DEM.DIST SOC victorious ADV be EM OPT

Tonight my father will strike us for the kill and (so) when I call you out, then be as good as you ever can!

193 ok'arzes dačxiri do orena t'q'as
 o- k'arz -es dačxir -i do or -en -a t'q'a -s
 o-₆ k'arz -es dačxir -i₁ do₁ or -e(n)₁ -a(n) t'q'a -s₁
 FACT light S3PL.PST fire NOM and be SM.INACT PL forest DAT

They lit a campfire and are (staying) in the forest.

194.1 gerčkində caši kvinžiše č'ič'e munapak
 g- e- rčkin -d -ə ca -ši kvinž -iše č'ič'e munapa -k
 go-₁ i-₅ rčkin -d₂ -u₁ ca -iš₂ kvinž -iše(n) č'ič'e munapa -k₁
 PRV DECAUS appear INCH S3SG.PST sky GEN bottom EL little cloud ERG

A small cloud appeared from the bottom of the sky.

194.2 teši gedidarə naməda , sark'ili
 teš =i g- e- did -ar -ə naməda sark'il -i
 teš =i go-₁ i-₅ did -ar₁ -u₁ namuda+DIAL. VAR. OF sark'il -i₁
 so =EV PRV DECAUS grow big PTC S3SG.PST CMPL mirror NOM

seri da:rumu:
 ser -i d- a:- rum -u:
 ser -i₁ do-+POS. VAR. OF o-₁₀ rum -u₁
 evening NOM PRV FACT darken S3SG.PST

It grew so big that darkened the night (that had been) as luminous as a mirror.

195 tenenc dačxiri urzən , tec
 ten -en -c dačxir -i u- rz -ə =n te -c
 e+*** -ep -s₁ dačxir -i₁ u-₁ rz₂ -u(n)₁ =ni te₁ -s₁
 DEM.PROX PL DAT fire NOM APPL burn SM.INACT =CMPL DEM.PROX DAT

dep'irdap'irə
 d- e- p'irdap'ir -ə
 da-₁ i-₅ p'irdap'ir -u₁
 PRV DECAUS confront S3SG.PST

It (i.e. cloud) directly came over towards the campfire that is burning for them.

196 - žima , bego
 žima bego
 žima bego
 brother Bego

Brother, Bego.

197 uc'u: tatraq'ank
 u- c' -u: tatraq'an -k
 u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ tatraq'an -k₁
 APPL tell S3SG.PST Tatraq'ani ERG

Tatraq'ani told him.

198.1 - etina čkimi muma demi re !
 etina čkim -i muma dem -i r -e
 tina₁+POS. VAR. OF čkim₁ -i₁ muma dev+POS. VAR. OF -i₁ or -e(n)₁
 DEM.DIST my NOM father daeva NOM be SM.INACT

That one over there is my father daeva!

198.2 munapat ginortele do ase re
munapa -t gino- rt -el [r] -e do ase r -e
munapa -o(t) gino- rt₁ -el₃ or -e(n)₁ do₁ ase or -e(n)₁
cloud ADV PRV turn PTC be SM.INACT and now be SM.INACT

gimantxunani
gim- a- n- tx -un -a =ni
gima- o-₉ n- tx₂ -un -a(n) =ni
PRV APPL SBM hit SM IO.PL =CMPL

He has apparently turned into (this) cloud and now is (the moment) that he will strike us.

199 maržvas orda !
maržva -s or -d -a
maržve^{+FR. VAR. OF} -s₃ or -d₁ -a₁
victorious ADV be EM OPT

Be as good as you ever can!

200 mužanc munapak dexolən , žirxolok
mužanc munapa -k d- e- xol -ə =n žir =xolo -k
mužanc munapa -k₁ do-+POS. VAR. OF e-₁ xol₂ -u₁ =ni žir =xolo -k₁
cloud ERG PRV APPL approach S3SG.PST =CMPL two =EMPH ERG

kaškvili do kasagani kaṛotes
kaškvil -i do kasagan -i k- a- ṛot -es
kaškvil -i₁ do₁ kasagan -i₁ ko- o-₉ ṛot₁ -es
bow NOM and arrow NOM AFF APPL shoot S3PL.PST

When the cloud approached, both (took their bows and) discharged arrows at it.

201 munapas kəmoxvadən , ti rigi
munapa -s kə- mo- xvad -ə =n ti rig -i
munapa -s₁ ko- mo- xvad₂ -u₁ =ni i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** rig₂ -i₁
cloud DAT AFF PRV hit S3SG.PST =CMPL DEM.DIST of kind NOM

mioṽvaru: - cas muricxi gamasopə
mi- o- ṽvar -u: ca -s muricx -i ga- m- a- sop -ə
me- o-₄ ṽvar -u₁ ca -s₁ muricx -i₁ ga-₁ mo- o-₉ sop₂ -u₁
PRV APPL cry out S3SG.PST sky DAT star NOM PRF PRV APPL tear S3SG.PST

When those (i.e. the arrows) hit the cloud, it cried out loud so hard that it smashed and scattered the stars in the sky.

202 kegtabazə tudo ušvelebeli ndemk
ke- gt- a- baz -ə tudo ušvelebel -i ndem -k
ko- gito- o-₉ baz -u₁ tudo ušvelebel -i₂ dev+DIAL. VAR. OF -k₁
AFF PRV APPL fall down with rumble S3SG.PST down gigantic SV daeva ERG

The huge daeva fell onto the ground with rumble and smashed.

203 žirxolok sat'evari gelenc'q'es do
žir =xolo -k sat'evar -i g- e- lenc'q' -es do
žir =xolo -k₁ sat'evar -i₁ go-₁ i-₈ lenc'q' -es do₁
two =EMPH ERG dagger NOM PRV APPL.CENTRIP draw out S3PL.PST and

duč'q'es dudenc č'k'ərua
d- u- č'q' -es dud -en -c č'k'ər -ua
do-+POS. VAR. OF u-₁ č'q' -es dud₁ -ep -s₁ č'k'ir+FR. VAR. OF -ua
PRV APPL begin S3PL.PST head PL DAT cut MSD

Both drew out (their) daggers and started to cut off the daeva's heads.

204.1 mara mus ak'etendə - artis
mara mu -s a- k'et -en -d -ə art -i -s
mara₁ mu(n)₂ -s₁ a-₁ k'et -en₁ -d₁ -u₁ art -i₂ -s₁
but what DAT EVO do SM EM S3SG.PST one SV DAT

mek'vatəndesən , mažiaši k'vatuaša
me- k'vat -ə_n -d -es =ə =n ma- ži -a -ši k'vat -ua -ša
me- k'vat -u(n)₁ -d₁ -es =i =ni ma- a₂ žir ma- a₂ -iš₂ k'vat -ua -iša₁
PRV cut SM.INACT EM S3PL.PST =EV =CMPL ORD two ORD GEN cut MSD ALL

c'oxoleni nak'vata k'ini
c'oxole =ni na- k'vat -a k'in =i
c'oxole =ni na- a k'vat na- a k'in₇ =i
in front =CMPL EVID.PTC cut EVID.PTC again =EV

mitiardədə
mi- ti- a- rd -ə -d -ə
me- ti- a-₇ rd -u(n)₁ -d₁ -u₁
PRV IMPRF APPL grow SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST

But what good was that (lit. what did it do)? After they had cut off one (head), the cut-off one had been again growing up before they cut off the next one.

204.2 breli ic'vales , mara mutunk vamexvarə
brel =i i- c'val -es mara mutun -k va= me- xvar -ə
brel =i i-₁ c'val -es mara₁ mutun -k₁ va= me- xvar₁ -u₁
much =EV NON-PRS suffer S3PL.PST but anything ERG NEG= PRV help S3SG.PST

They struggled a lot, but nothing helped them.

205 kəma:č'išes gotanak
kə- m- a:- č'iš -es go- tan -a -k
ko- mo- a-₇ č'iš -es go-₁ tan -a₂ -k₁
AFF PRV APPL catch up with S3PL.PST PRV dawn MSD ERG

They were caught by the dawn.

206 kəmoɔpurinə arti č'ič'e čit'ik do mioɔaxə :
 kə- mo- purin -ə art -i č'ič'e čit' -i -k do mi- o- ɔax -ə
 ko- mo- purin -u₁ art -i₂ č'ič'e čit' -i₂ -k₁ do₁ me- o-₄ ɔax -u₁
 AFF PRV fly S3SG.PST one SV little bird SV ERG and PRV APPL summon S3SG.PST

One little bird flew down (to them) and called out (to them):

207 – nacar-t'ut'a , nacar-t'ut'a !
 nacar t'ut'a nacar t'ut'a
 nacar t'ut'a nacar t'ut'a
 ashes ashes ashes ashes

Lye! Lye!

208 miderulə begok do nak'vatas arɔas
 mid- e- rul -ə bego -k do na- k'vat -a -s arɔa -s
 mida- i-₆ rul₂ -u₁ bego -k₁ do₁ na- a k'vat na- a -s₁ arɔa -s₁
 PRV AUTOCAUS run S3SG.PST Bego ERG and EVID.PTC cut EVID.PTC DAT all DAT

nacar-t'ut'a kigioryə
 nacar t'ut'a ki- gi- o- rɣ -ə
 nacar t'ut'a ko- ge- o-₄ rɣ -u₁
 ashes ashes AFF PRV APPL scatter S3SG.PST

Bego ran off (to collect some lye) and scattered lye onto all cut-off (heads).

209 atenero dačapanes ndemi
 ate -ner -o d- a- čap -an -es ndem -i
 e+*** -ner -o(t) do-+POS. VAR. OF o-₆ čap -an₂ -es dev+DIAL. VAR. OF -i₁
 DEM.PROX of kind ADV PRV FACT overcome AUG S3PL.PST daeva NOM

This way the overcame the daeva.

210.1 demk ɤudeša vamortən – čilk
 dem -k ɤude -ša va= mo- rt -ə =n čil -k
 dev+POS. VAR. OF -k₁ ɤude -iša₁ va= mo- rt₁ -u₁ =ni čil -k₁
 daeva ERG house ALL NEG= PRV go S3SG.PST =CMPL wife ERG

ipikrə – doɤviles bošenk čkimi komonž*1* !
 i- pikr -ə do- ɤvil -es boš -en -k čkim -i komonž*1* -i
 i-₁ pikr₁ -u₁ do- ɤvil -es boš -ep -k₁ čkim₁ -i₁ komonž*1* -i₁
 NON-PRS think S3SG.PST PRV kill.SG S3PL.PST boy PL ERG my NOM husband NOM

When the daeva did not come (back) home, (his) wife thought: the boys killed my husband!

210.2 morti artis pkimin – demiš
 morti art -i -s p- kimin dem -iš
 morti art -i₂ -s₁ v- kimin dev+POS. VAR. OF -iš₁
 HORT one SV DAT S1 do daeva GEN

mənaɣeli t'uraši c'amali
 mə- na- ɣ -el -i t'ura -ši c'amal -i
 mo- na- el ɣw na- el -i₂ t'ura -iš₂ c'amal -i₁
 PRV EVID.PTC bring.INANM EVID.PTC SV jackal GEN poison NOM

miɣə , etis begoši tia kobals
 m- i- ɣ -ə eti -s bego -ši tia kobal -s
 m-₁ i-₁ ɣw -u(n)₁ tina₂+POS. VAR. OF -s₁ bego -iš₂ tia kobal -s₁
 IO1 APPL have.INANM SM.INACT DEM.DIST DAT Bego GEN share bread DAT

kimšvoɤota do dop'ilənkia
 ki- mš- v- o- ɤot -a do do- p' - il -ən -k =i =a
 ko- miša- v- o-₆ ɤot₁ -a₁ do₁ do- v- ɤvil -un -k₂ =i =a
 AFF PRV S1 FACT throw OPT and PRV S1 kill.SG SM S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

Come on, I will do one (thing), she decided, I have a jackal poison brought by the daeva, I should put it into Bego's share of bread and will kill him [, she decided].

211 doč'ə sumi kobali , artis c'amali
 do- č' -ə sum -i kobal -i art -i -s c'amal -i
 do- č'₂ -u₁ sum₁ -i₂ kobal -i₁ art -i₂ -s₁ c'amal -i₁
 PRV fry S3SG.PST three SV bread NOM one SV DAT poison NOM

kuk'atu:
 k- u- k'at -u:
 ko- u-₁ k'at₂ -u₁
 AFF APPL mix in S3SG.PST

She baked (lit. fried) three breads and mixed the poison into one (of them).

212 bošepk kəmortesəni , tatraq'an k begos
 boš -ep -k kə- mo- rt -es =ə =ni tatraq'an -k bego -s
 boš -ep -k₁ ko- mo- rt₁ -es =i =ni tatraq'an -k₁ bego -s₁
 boy PL ERG AFF PRV go S3PL.PST =EV =CMPL Tatraq'ani ERG Bego DAT

gagc'uɣə muši kaškvili do kasagani do
 ga- gc' - u- ɣ -ə mu(n) -ši kaškvil -i do kasagan -i do
 ga-₁ gic'o-₁ u-₁ ɣw -u₁ mu(n)₁ -iš₂ kaškvil -i₁ do₁ kasagan -i₁ do₁
 PRF PRV APPL take.INANM S3SG.PST self GEN bow NOM and arrow NOM and

oxorxales kimk'ap'onə
 oxorxale -s ki- mk' - a- p'on -ə
 oxorxale -s₁ ko- mik'o- o-₉ p'on -u₁
 palisade DAT AFF PRV APPL lean S3SG.PST

When the boys came (back home), Tatraq'ani took the bow and arrows from Bego and leant it against the palisade.

213 mənɪ:lɛs ɾudeša
 mən- i:- l -es ɾude -ša
 mino-₁ i-₆ wl -es ɾude -iša₁
 PRV AUTOCAUS go S3PL.PST house ALL

They came into the house.

214 didak t'abak'i gunc'q'u:
 dida -k t'abak' -i g- u- n- c'q' -u:
 dida -k₁ t'abak' -i₁ go-₁ u-₁ n- c'q'_o -u₁
 mother ERG low table NOM PRV APPL SBM set up S3SG.PST

The mother set up a low table for them (for a dinner).

215 nac'amal kobali begos kac'udgə
 na- c'amal kobal -i bego -s k- ac'- u- dg -ə
 na- c'amal kobal -i₁ bego -s₁ ko- ec'o- u-₁ dg -u₁
 EVID.PTC poison bread NOM Bego DAT AFF PRV APPL put S3SG.PST

She lay the poisoned bread in front of Bego.

216 č'k'umuaš doč'q'apaša skuak uc'u: didas
 č'k'um -u -a -š do- č'q' -ap -a -ša skua -k u- c' -u:
 č'k'om -u₃ -a₂ -iš₂ do- č'q' -ap₃ -a₂ -iša₁ skua -k₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ dida -s₁
 eat AUG MSD GEN PRV begin SM MSD ALL child ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST mother DAT

At the beginning of the eating, the child told (his) mother:

217.1 - arika , nana !
 arika nana
 arika nana
 heads up mother

Wait a moment, mother!

217.2 gale oxorxaleša kaškvili do kasagank kimk'moč'q'ordə
 gale oxorxale -ša kaškvil -i do kasagan -k ki- mk'- m- o- č'q'ord -ə
 gale oxorxale -iša₁ kaškvil -i₂ do₁ kasagan -k₁ ko- mik'o- m-₁ o-₄ č'q'ord -u₁
 outside palisade ALL bow SV and arrow ERG AFF PRV IO1 APPL forget S3SG.PST

I have forgotten (my) bow and arrows outside next to the palisade.

218 arika , taxviši lak'venk vac'aɾunasia
 arika taxv -iš =i lak'v -en -k va= c'- a- ɾun -a -s =i =a
 arika taxv -iš₁ =i lak'v -ep -k₁ va= c'a- a-₇ ɾun₄ -a₁ -s₂ =i =a
 heads up beaver GEN =EV puppy PL ERG NEG= PRV APPL hurt OPT S3SG =EV =QUOT

ašo gamnomɣia
 ašo ga- mno- m- [i]- ɣ -i =a
 ašo ga-₁ mino-₁ m-₁ i-₂ ɣw -i₃ =a
 hither PRF PRV IO1 APPL bring.INANM IMP =QUOT

See to it, lest those hurt the beaver's puppies, [he said,] bring those in to me [, he said].

219 gedirtə didak do gale gagmirulə
 ge- dirt -ə dida -k do gale ga- gm- i- rul -ə
 ge- dirt₂ -u₁ dida -k₁ do₁ gale ga-₁ gima- i-₆ rul₂ -u₁
 PRV stand up S3SG.PST mother ERG and outside PRF PRV AUTOCAUS run S3SG.PST

The mother stood up and ran outside.

220 tatraq'ank geč'opə begoš tia kobali do didas
 tatraq'an -k ge- č'op -ə bego -š tia kobal -i do dida -s
 tatraq'an -k₁ ge- č'op -u₁ bego -iš₂ tia kobal -i₁ do₁ dida -s₁
 Tatraq'ani ERG PRV take S3SG.PST Bego GEN share bread NOM and mother DAT

kac'udgə , didaši tia - begos
 k- ac'- u- dg -ə dida -ši tia bego -s
 ko- ec'o- u-₁ dg -u₁ dida -iš₂ tia bego -s₁
 AFF PRV APPL put S3SG.PST mother GEN share Bego DAT

Tatraq'ani took Bego's share of bread and lay it in front of (his) mother, whereas the mother's share - to Bego.

221.1 kədoxodes do č'k'umuna
 kə- doxod -es do č'k'um -un -a
 ko- doxod -es do₁ č'k'om -un -a(n)
 AFF sit down S3PL.PST and eat SM S3PL

They have sat down and are eating.

221.2 didak muč'o arti luk'a oč'k'omə do xate xolo
 dida -k muč'o art -i luk'a o- č'k'om -ə do xate =xolo
 dida -k₁ muč'o art -i₁ luk'a o-₇ č'k'om -u₁ do₁ xate =xolo
 mother ERG how one NOM morsel PRF eat S3SG.PST and at once =EMPH

doɣurə
 do- ɣur -ə
 do- ɣur -u₁
 PRV die S3SG.PST

When the mother ate one piece, she died at that very moment.

222 – ai , žima , ate osuri skani didat
 ai žima ate osur -i sk'an -i dida -t
 ai žima e+*** osur -i₁ skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ dida -o(t)
 look! brother DEM.PROX woman NOM your.SG NOM mother ADV

rdə do čkimit
 r -d -ə do čkim -i =t
 or -d₁ -u₁ do₁ čkim₁ -i₁ =t
 be EM S3SG.PST and my NOM =ADD

Behold, brother, this woman was your mother, too, and mine, too.

223.1 mara radganc si kəmgopučini , skani
 mara radganc si kə- mgo- puč -i =ni sk'an -i
 mara₁ radganc si ko- puč -i₄ =ni skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁
 but since you.SG AFF swear PST.IND =CMPL your.SG NOM

ɣalat'iša vemšmartə do
 ɣalat' -iša ve= mš- m- a- rt -ə do
 ɣalat' -iša₁ va=+POS. VAR. OF miša- m-₁ a-₂ rt₃ -u₁ do₁
 betrayal ALL NEG= PRV IO1 POT step over S3SG.PST and

karc'q'ek , muč'o čkimi didas
 k- a- r- c'q' -e -k muč'o čkim -i dida -s
 ko- o-₃ r-₁ c'q'₁ -e(n)₁ -k₂ muč'o čkim₁ -i₂ dida -s₁
 AFF APPL IO2 see SM.INACT S1/2SG how my SV mother DAT

uɣalat'ini !
 [v]- u- ɣalat' -i =ni
 v- u-₁ ɣalat' -i₄ =ni
 S1 APPL betray PST.IND =CMPL

But since you made me give this oath, I couldn't betray you and you indeed (can) see how I betrayed my mother!

223.2 tak čkə vordat anc'əni , mutuniša
 tak čkə v- or -d -a -t anc'ə =ni mutun -iša
 tak čki+DIAL. VAR. OF v- or -d₁ -a₁ -t₁ anc'i+DIAL. VAR. OF =ni mutun -iša₁
 here we S1 be EM OPT PL from now on =CMPL anything ALL

vaɣirə !
 va= ɣir -ə
 va= ɣir -u(n)₁
 NEG= cost SM.INACT

It makes no sense (lit. costs nothing) that we stay (lit. be) here from now on.

224 didaš maɣvilar domiɣaxəna -
 dida -š ma- ɣvil -ar -s do- m- i- ɣax -ən -a
 dida -iš₂ ma- ar ɣvil ma- ar -s₁ do- m-₁ i-₁ ɣax -un -a(n)
 mother GEN PTC kill.SG PTC DAT PRV IO1 APPL call SM IO.PL

gegnvolat šxva kevanaša
 ge- gn- v- o- l -a -t šxva kevana -ša
 ge- gino- v- o-₈ wl -a₁ -t₁ šxva kiɣana+DIAL. VAR. OF -iša₁
 PRV PRV S1 PRV go OPT PL other land ALL

They will call us matricides, (so) let's go over into exile to another country.

225 žgiria , uc'u: begok
 žgir -i =a u- c' -u: bego -k
 žgir₁ -i₁ =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ bego -k₁
 good NOM =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST Bego ERG

Good, Bego told him.

226 mut aɣedes -
 mu =t a- ɣ -e -d -es
 mu(n)₁ =t a- -e(n) ɣw a- -e(n) -d₁ -es
 self = POT take away.INANM POT EM S3PL.PST

midexes do ndemiš
 mid- e- ɣ -es do ndem -iš
 mida- i-₈ ɣw -es do₁ dev+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₁
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP take away.INANM S3PL.PST and daeva GEN

xorua-maxoroba irpeli dačxirs kimečes
 xor -ua ma- xor -oba irpel -i dačxir -s ki- me- č -es
 xor -ua ma- -oba xor ma- -oba irpel -i₁ dačxir -s₁ ko- me- č₁ -es
 settle ABSTR ABSTR settle ABSTR everything NOM fire DAT AFF PRV give S3PL.PST

They took whatever they could take with them and committed the daeva's entire house and court to flames.

227 ides , ides do žiri ortu: šaras
 id -es id -es do žir -i o- rt -u: šara -s
 id -es id -es do₁ žir -i₂ o-₄ rt₂ -u₁ šara -s₁
 go S3PL.PST go S3PL.PST and two SV APPL divide S3SG.PST road DAT

kimiodirtes
 ki- mi- o- dirt -es
 ko- me- o-₄ dirt₂ -es
 AFF PRV APPL reach S3PL.PST

They kept on going and reached a crossroads that divided the road in two.

228.1 – žima , bego !
 žima bego
 žima bego
 brother Bego

Brother, Bego!

228.2 ate šara čkini martualie
 ate šara čkin -i ma- rt -u -al -i [r] -e
 e+*** šara čkin -i₂ ma- -al rt₂ -u₆ ma- -al -i₁ or -e(n)₁
 DEM.PROX road our SV PTC divide AUG PTC NOM be SM.INACT

This road is our parting place.

228.3 sole gisxunun , teure meu !
 so -le g- i- sxun -u =n te -ure meu
 sod -le g- i-₁ sxun₂ -u(n)₁ =ni e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** ʔure meu
 where MOT IO2 APPL prefer SM.INACT =CMPL DEM.PROX side out!

Whither you prefer, go there!

229.1 begok gagšagorə marʒgvani šara
 bego -k ga- gš- a- gor -ə marʒgvan -i šara
 bego -k₁ ga-₁ giša- o-₆ gor -u₁ marʒgvan -i₁ šara
 Bego ERG PRF PRV FACT choose S3SG.PST right NOM road

Bego chose the right road.

229.2 žimak uc'u:
 žima -k u- c' -u:
 žima -k₁ u-₁ c'₁ -u₁
 brother ERG APPL tell S3SG.PST

The brother told him:

230 – ate čkimi sat'evari si ko:jʏudas
 ate čkim -i sat'evan -i si ko:- [g]- i- ʏu -d -a -s
 e+*** čkim₁ -i₂ sat'evan -i₁ si ko- g-₁ i-₁ ʏw -d₁ -a₁ -s₂
 DEM.PROX my SV dagger NOM you.SG AFF IO2 APPL have.INANM EM OPT S3SG

skani sat'evari ma komučī
 sk'an -i sat'evan -i ma ko- mo- [m]- č -i
 skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ sat'evan -i₁ ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF ko- mo- m-₁ č₁ -i₃
 your.SG NOM dagger NOM I AFF PRV IO1 give IMP

Possess this dagger of mine, (and) give me your dagger.

231 mužans sat'evariše zisxiri č'vatapis
 mužans sat'evan -iše zisxir -i č'vat -ap -i -s
 mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF sat'evan -iše(n) zisxir -i₁ č'vat -ap₂ -i₂ -s₁
 when dagger EL blood NOM drop AUG SV DAT

dič'q'ansən , gač'irebulo
 d- i- č'q' -an -s =ə =n gač'irebul -o
 do-+POS. VAR. OF i-₈ č'q' -an₁ -s₂ =i =ni gač'irebul -o(t)
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP begin SM S3SG =EV =CMPL fallen into hardship ADV

ip'i:k do məmexvari
 i- p'- [ʔ] -i: -k do mə- m- e- xvar -i
 i-₄ v- ʔ₁ -i(n) -k₂ do₁ mo- m-₁ e-₁ xvar₁ -i₃
 be_CVO S1 be SM.INACT S1/2SG and PRV IO1 APPL help IMP

When blood begins to drop from the dagger, I will be in trouble and you help me.

232 taši aʏole skans xolo
 taš =i a- ʏol -e sk'an -s =xolo
 taš =i a- -e(n) ʏol₁ a- -e(n) skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -s₁ =xolo
 this way =EV POT do POT your.SG DAT =EMPH

Yours can do so, too.

233 si ac'orxvadə šaras arti c'q'ari
 si ac'o- r- xvad -ə šara -s art -i c'q'ar -i
 si ec'o- r-₁ xvad₂ -u(n)₁ šara -s₁ art -i₁ c'q'ar -i₁
 you.SG PRV IO2 appear on one's way SM.INACT road DAT one NOM waterspring NOM

You will come across a waterspring on your way.

234 etiša skani taxviši lak'vepi
 eti -ša sk'an -i taxv -iš =i lak'v -ep -i
 tina₂+POS. VAR. OF -iša₁ skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ taxv -iš₁ =i lak'v -ep -i₁
 DEM.DIST ALL your.SG NOM beaver GEN =EV puppy PL NOM

venaškva , vara orkot giʔinunan do moʒraoba
 v= en- a- škv -a , vara orko -t g- i- ʔin -un -an do moʒraoba
 va= eno- o-₆ škv₃ -a₁ vara orko -o(t) go-₁ i-₅ -un -a(n) do₁ moʒraoba
 NEG= PRV FACT let go OPT either gold ADV PRV DECAUS SM IO.PL and movement

meudinəna
 me- u- din -ən -a
 me- u-₁ din₁ -u(n)₁ -a(n)
 PRV APPL lose SM.INACT IO.PL

Don't let your beaver's kits (i.e. dogs) into that, otherwise they will turn into gold and lose their ability to move (lit. motion).

235 mužans c'q'ariša kimerte: , xut
 mužans c'q'ar -iša ki- me- rt -e: xu -t
 mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF c'q'ar -iša₁ ko- me- rt₁ -e: xu₁ -it
 when waterspring ALL AFF PRV go OPT+CMPL cupped hand INS

gešəɣi c'q'ari do žoɣorens duc do oč'išis
 geš- e- ɣ -i c'q'ar -i do žoɣor -en -s du -c do oč'iš -i -s
 geša- i-₁ ɣw -i₃ c'q'ar -i₁ do₁ žoɣor -ep -s₁ dud₁ -s₁ do₁ oč'iš -i₂ -s₁
 PRV EVO take.INANM IMP waterspring NOM and dog PL DAT head DAT and back SV DAT

kigna:bi
 ki- gn- a:- b -i
 ko- gino- o-₉ b₁ -i₃
 AFF PRV APPL pour IMP

When you reach the waterspring, take some water with (your) cupped hand and pour it onto the dog's heads and backs.

236 do tito-titot nəšit gemniɽuni
 do tito tito -t nəš -it ge- mn- i- ɽun -i
 do₁ tito tito -o(t) niš₂ -it ga-₁ mino-₂ i-₁ ɽon₁ -i₃
 and each each ADV boat INS PRF PRV EVO take.ANIM IMP

And take (the dogs) one by one over (the waterspring) by boat.

237 gagmetxi:s artians do midartes
 ga- gm- e- tx -i:s artian -s do mida- rt -es
 ga-₁ gima- i-₈ tx₃ -es artian -s₁ do₁ mida- rt₁ -es
 PRF PRV APPL.CENTRIP part S3PL.PST one another DAT and PRV go S3PL.PST

They bid each other farewell and left (each taking his road).

238 begok irpeli teši šiasrulə , muč'ot žimək
 bego -k irpel -i teš =i ši- a- srul -ə muč'o =t žima -k
 bego -k₁ irpel -i₁ teš =i še- a-₃ srul -u₁ muč'o =t žima -k₁
 Bego ERG everything NOM so =EV PRV FACT complete S3SG.PST how = brother ERG

uc'u:n
 u- c' -u: =n
 u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ =ni
 APPL tell S3SG.PST =CMPL

Bego executed everything (exactly) in the way that his brother told him.

239 arti kalakiša kimertun - kožirə arti didi
 art -i kalak -iša ki- me- rt -u =n ko- žir -ə art -i did -i
 art -i₂ kalak -iša₁ ko- me- rt₁ -u₁ =ni ko- žir -u₁ art -i₁ did -i₁
 one SV city ALL AFF PRV go S3SG.PST =CMPL AFF see S3SG.PST one NOM big NOM

doxore
 doxore
 doxore
 manor house

When he went into one town, he saw a big house.

240 ates kəgoɽuns mək'-mək'i maɣali
 ate -s kə- g- o- ɽun -s mək' mək' =i maɣal -i
 ate -s₁ ko- ge- o-₄ ɽun₃ -s₂ mik' mik' =i maɣal -i₁
 DEM.PROX DAT AFF PRV APPL go along.ANIM S3SG around around =EV high NOM

masarepi do tito masars tito k'očiši dudi
 masar -ep -i do tito masar -s tito k'oč -iš =i dud -i
 masar -ep -i₁ do₁ tito masar -s₁ tito k'oč -iš₁ =i dud₂ -i₁
 pole PL NOM and each pole DAT each man GEN =EV REFL NOM

kimc'ocik'ə
 ki- mc'- o- cik' -ə
 ko- mic'o- o-₄ cik' -u(n)₁
 AFF PRV APPL stick SM.INACT

A high palisade surrounds it and men's heads are stuck on its posts, one per each.

241 kimertə arti dedəbiši ɽudeša do k'itxə :
 ki- me- rt -ə art -i dedəb -iš =i ɽude -ša do k'itx -ə
 ko- me- rt₁ -u₁ art -i₂ dedib+FR. VAR. OF -iš₁ =i ɽude -iša₁ do₁ k'itx₁ -u₁
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST one SV old woman GEN =EV house ALL and ask S3SG.PST

He went to one old woman's house and asked her:

242 - tena miši doxore re do varda
 tena mi(n) -ši doxore r -e do vara =da
 e+*** mi(n) -iš₂ doxore or -e(n)₁ do₁ vara =da
 DEM.PROX who GEN manor house be SM.INACT and CNJ =COND

tezəma dudi muambe re ?
 te -zəma dud -i mu(n) ambe r -e
 te₁ -zoma+DIAL. VAR. OF dud₁ -i₁ mu(n)₂ ambe or -e(n)₁
 DEM.PROX much head NOM what story be SM.INACT

Whose is this manor house and or why are there so many heads here?

243.1 – nana , atena xenc'əpeši doxore .
 nana atena xenc'əpe -ši doxore
 nana tena+*** xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₂ doxore
 mother DEM.PROX sovereign GEN manor house

(My) child (lit. mother!), this is the sovereign's house.

243.2 te xenc'əpes arti osurskua ʔunc
 te xenc'əpe -s art -i osur skua ʔun -c
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁ art -i₁ osur skua ʔon₁ -s₁
 DEM.PROX sovereign DAT one NOM woman child have.ANIM DAT

This sovereign has one daughter.

244 tiši matxuali mit vareno
 ti- -ši matxual -i mi(n) =t va= r -en =o
 ti₁ -iš₂ matxual₂ -i₁ mi(n) =t va= or -e(n)₁ =o₂
 DEM.DIST GEN wish NOM who = NEG= be SM.INACT =QST

kəmərsən , tis uc'i:na :
 kə- m- ur -s =ə =n ti -s u- c' -i:n -a
 ko- mo- wl -s₂ =i =ni ti₁ -s₁ u-₁ c' -i₁ -in₃+DIAL. VAR. OF -a(n)
 AFF PRV go S3SG =EV =CMPL DEM.DIST DAT APPL tell SM S3PL

His wish to those whoever comes (to ask her hand), they will tell such (a man):

245 – čkimi osurskuaši txuala vareno
 čkim -i osur skua -ši tx -u -al -a va= r -en =o
 čkim₁ -i₂ osur skua -iš₂ tx₁ -u₆ -al₂ -a₂ va= or -e(n)₁ =o₂
 my SV woman child GEN request AUG AUG MSD NEG= be SM.INACT =QST

gok'onda , meu ate do te
 g- o- k' -on =da , meu ate do te
 g-₁ o-₁₁ k'₁ -o(n) =da meu e+*** do₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
 IO2 want_CVO want SM.INACT =COND out! DEM.PROX and DEM.PROX

t'q'aša do teure mažira dγas
 t'q'a -ša do te -ure ma- žir -a dγa -s
 t'q'a -iša₁ do₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** ʔure ma- a₂ žir ma- a₂ dγa -s₁
 forest ALL and DEM.PROX side ORD two ORD day DAT

kəmgarte cocxalo da merča čilo do
 kə- m- g- a- rt -e cocxal -o =da me- r- č -a[n] -[k] čil -o do
 ko- mo- g-₁ a- -e(n) rt₁ a- -e(n) cocxal -o(t) =da me- r-₁ č₁ -an₁ -k₂ čil -o(t) do₁
 AFF PRV IO2 POT go POT alive ADV =COND PRV IO2 give SM S1/2SG wife ADV and

varda skani dudi aʔi: moɣaliri
 vara =da sk'an -i dud -i a- ʔ -i: mo- ɣal -ir -i
 vara =da skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ dud₂ -i₁ a-₇ ʔ₁ -i(n) mo- ɣal -ir₁ -i₁
 CNJ =COND your.SG NOM REFL NOM APPL be SM.INACT PRV bring PTC NOM

do masars močanapili
 do masar -s mo- čan -ap -il -i
 do₁ masar -s₁ mo- čan₁ -ap₂ -il₁ -i₁
 and pole DAT PRV skewer AUG PTC NOM

If you want to ask my daughter's hand, go to such and such forest, and if you can come from there alive the next day, I will give you to you as a wife, if not, your head will be brought here and skewered onto the palisade post.

246 – begok sadili oč'k'omə do dedibis uc'u:
 bego -k sadil -i o- č'k'om -ə do dedib -i -s u- c' -u:
 bego -k₁ sadil -i₁ o-₇ č'k'om -u₁ do₁ dedib -i₂ -s₁ u-₁ c' -u₁
 Bego ERG lunch NOM PRF eat S3SG.PST and old woman SV DAT APPL tell S3SG.PST

Bego ate (his) lunch and told the old woman:

247 – munero minoprta ma ti doxoreša
 mu(n) -nero mino- p- rt -a ma ti doxore -ša
 mu(n)₂ -nero mino-₁ v- rt₁ -a₁ ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** doxore -iša₁
 what way PRV S1 go OPT I DEM.DIST manor house ALL

How can I enter that house?

248 – žašxa dγas veziri gimilens gale do
 žašxa dγa -s vezir -i gim- i- l -en -s gale do
 žašxa dγa -s₁ vezir -i₁ gima- i-₆ wl -en₁ -s₂ gale do₁
 Sunday day DAT vizier NOM PRV AUTOCAUS go SM S3SG outside and

gagmacxadens :
 ga- gm- a- cxad -en -s
 ga-₁ gima- o-₆ cxad -en₁ -s₂
 PRF PRV FACT declare SM S3SG

On Sunday, the vizier will come out and declare:

249 – minorek matxuali mutunišia
 min or -e -k matxual -i mutun -iš =i =a
 min or -e(n)₁ -k₂ matxual₁ -i₁ mutun -iš₁ =i =a
 who be SM.INACT S1/2SG petitioner NOM anything GEN =EV =QUOTE

Who are (from) you askers of anything? [he will say.]

250 tkuans ; timc'k'əma minili si do
 tku -an -s tim -c'k'əma min- i- l -i si do
 tkw -an₁ -s₂ ti₁+POS. VAR. OF -c'k'uma+DIAL. VAR. OF mino-₁ i-₆ wl -i₃ si do₁
 say SM S3SG DEM.DIST SOC PRV AUTOCAUS go IMP you.SG and

ko:jc'i:na mu kimine:
 ko:- [g]- i- c' -i:n -a mu kimin -e:
 ko- g-₁ i-₁ c' -i:n₃+DIAL. VAR. OF -a(n) mu(n)₂ kimin -e:
 AFF IO2 APPL tell SM S3PL what do OPT+CMPL

When he says this, then go inside and they will tell you what to do.

251 kimertə begok č'išk'ariša
 ki- me- rt -ə bego -k č' -išk' -iš k'ar -iša
 ko- me- rt₁ -u₁ bego -k₁ č' -išk' -išk' k'ar -iša₁
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST Bego ERG hinge GEN door ALL

He went to the hinged gates.

252 vare k'ari gožamili
 va= r -e k'ar -i go- žam -il -i
 va= or -e(n)₁ k'ar -i₁ go-₁ žam -il₁ -i₁
 NEG= be SM.INACT door NOM PRV open PTC NOM

The gates are not open.

253 begok mourkiu cxens do ži - di - ži
 bego -k mo- u- rki -u cxen -s do ži
 bego -k₁ mo- u-₁ rki -u₁ cxen -s₁ do₁ ži₁ di ži₁
 Bego ERG PRV APPL whip S3SG.PST horse DAT and above oh my God! above

kopurinə č'išk'ars
 ko- purin -ə č' -išk' k'ar -s
 ko- purin -u₁ č' -išk' k'ar -s₁
 AFF fly S3SG.PST hinge GEN door DAT

Bego whipped the horse and, oh my God, flew over the hinged gates.

254 ka:ʔunes žoʔorenk xolo
 k- a:- ʔun -es žoʔor -en -k =xolo
 ko- a-₇ ʔun₃ -es žoʔor -ep -k₁ =xolo
 AFF APPL go along.ANM S3PL.PST dog PL ERG =EMPH

The dogs followed him, too.

255 ezoša minilən , cxeni
 ezo -ša min i- l -ə =n cxen -i
 oze+DIAL. VAR. OF -iša₁ min i-₆ wl -u₁ =ni cxen -i₁
 yard ALL who AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST =CMPL horse NOM

ka:laʔapinu:
 k- a:- laʔap -in -u:
 ko- o- -in₁ laʔap o- -in₁ -u₁
 AFF CAUS play CAUS S3SG.PST

When he entered the yard, he made the horse leap around.

256 xenc'əpek gek'viru:
 xenc'əpe -k g- e- k'vir -u:
 xenc'ipe+DIAL. VAR. OF -k₁ go-₁ i-₅ k'vir₁ -u₁
 sovereign ERG PRV DECAUS be surprised S3SG.PST

The sovereign got amused.

257 - mu k'oči re , te udroot do
 mu k'oč -i r -e te u- dro -ot do
 mu(n)₂ k'oč -i₂ or -e(n)₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** u- -o(t) dro u- -o(t) do₁
 either... or... man SV be SM.INACT DEM.PROX PRVT time PRVT and

ušaret čkimi ozeša mənula gabledəni ?
 u- šar -et čkim -i oze -ša mən- ul -a ga- bed -ə =ni
 u- -o(t) šara u- -o(t) čkim₁ -i₂ oze -iša₁ mino-₁ wl -a₂ ga-₂ bed₂ -u₁ =ni
 PRVT road PRVT my SV yard ALL PRV go MSD PRV dare S3SG.PST =CMPL

What man is this one that he has dared enter my yard so untimely and so inappropriately?

258 - ma goxolək bego , uškuriši skua ,
 ma g- o- xol -ə -k bego uškur -iš =i skua
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF g-₁ o-₄ xol₁ -u(n)₁ -k₂ bego uškur -iš₁ =i skua
 I IO2 APPL be.HNR SM.INACT S1/2SG Bego apple GEN =EV child

skani osurskuaš otxuša
 sk'an -i osur skua -š o- tx -u -ša
 skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ osur skua -iš₂ o- -u₂ tx₁ o- -u₂ -iša₁
 your.SG NOM woman child GEN SUP request SUP ALL

gaxolit do ok'o
 g- a- xol -i -t do ok'o
 g-₁ a-₇ xol₂ -i₄ -t₁ do₁ ok'o(n)+POS. VAR. OF
 IO2 APPL approach PST.IND PL and MOD

komučē:
 ko- mu- [m]- č -e:
 ko- mo-+DIAL. VAR. OF,POS. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF m-₁ č₁ -e:
 AFF PRV IO1 give OPT+CMPL

I may be Bego, an apple's child, I have come to you, if I may, to ask your daughter(s hand) and you should give her to me.

259 – meu ate do te t'q'aša , arti sers
 meu ate do te t'q'a -ša art -i ser -s
 meu e+*** do₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** t'q'a -iša₁ art -i₂ ser -s₃
 out! DEM.PROX and DEM.PROX forest ALL one SV evening ADV

tek gačendi do mažira dɣas
 te -k ga- čen -d -i do ma- žir -a dɣa -s
 te₁ -k₁ ga-₂ čen₁ -d₂ -i₃ do₁ ma- -a₂ žir ma- -a₂ dɣa -s₁
 DEM.PROX ERG PRV stop INCH IMP and ORD two ORD day DAT

kəmgartə cocxalo da , skani
 kə- m- g- a- rt -ə cocxal -o =da sk'an -i
 ko- mo- g-₁ a-₂ rt₁ -u₁ cocxal -o(t) =da skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁
 AFF PRV IO2 POT go S3SG.PST alive ADV =COND your.SG NOM

iɸi: čkimi osurskua
 i- ɸ -i: čkim -i osur skua
 i-₄ ɸ₁ -i(n) čkim₁ -i₁ osur skua
 be_CVO be SM.INACT my NOM woman child

Go the such and such forest, stay (there) for one night and if you manage to come (lit. managed to came) (back) tomorrow alive, my daughter will be yours, the sovereign said.

260 – žgiria , uc'u: begok do midartə
 žgir -i =a u- c' -u: bego -k do mida- rt -ə
 žgir₁ -i₁ =a u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ bego -k₁ do₁ mida- rt₁ -u₁
 good NOM =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST Bego ERG and PRV go S3SG.PST

tí t'q'aša
 tí t'q'a -ša
 i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** t'q'a -iša₁
 DEM.DIST forest ALL

Good, Bego said and went to that forest.

261 kuɸunes k'oči šoriše
 k- u- ɸun -es k'oč -i šor -iše
 ko- u-₁ ɸun₅ -es k'oč -i₁ šor -iše(n)
 AFF APPL dispatch S3PL.PST man NOM far away EL

They (i.e. the sovereign's men) dispatched a man to follow (and watch Bego) from a distance.

262 mužans t'q'aša mitilə begokən ,
 mužans t'q'a -ša mit- i- l -ə bego -k =ə =n
 mužam+DIAL. VAR. OF t'q'a -iša₁ mito- i-₆ wl -u₁ bego -k₁ =i =ni
 when forest ALL PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST Bego ERG =EV =CMPL

e k'očk di:rtə ašo
 e k'oč -k di:rt -ə ašo
 e k'oč -k₁ di:rt₁+POS. VAR. OF -u₁ ašo
 DEM.PROX man ERG return S3SG.PST hither

When Bego entered the forest, this man returned here (i.e. to the sovereign's house).

263 begok doɸvilə xate nadiri , nadiriši xorci
 bego -k do- ɸvil -ə xate nadir -i nadir -iš =i xorc -i
 bego -k₁ do- ɸvil -u₁ xate nadir₁ -i₁ nadir₁ -iš₁ =i xorc -i₁
 Bego ERG PRV kill.SG S3SG.PST at once hunt NOM hunt GEN =EV meat NOM

geiobumu: do dačxiri kəda:rzə
 gei- o- b -um -u: do dačxir -i kə- d- a:- rz -ə
 o-₄ b₁ -um₂ -u₁ do₁ dačxir -i₁ ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF o-₁₀ rz₂ -u₁
 APPL pour AUG S3SG.PST and fire NOM AFF PRV FACT burn S3SG.PST

Bego quickly killed a game, hung the meat of the game and lit a campfire (below it).

264.1 c'vadis koč'uns bego
 c'vad -i -s ko- č' -un -s bego
 c'vad -i₂ -s₁ ko- č'₂ -un -s₂ bego
 shashlyk SV DAT AFF fry SM S3SG Bego

Bego is frying shashlyk.

264.2 eper dros arti dedəbik
 e -per dro -s art -i dedəb -i -k
 e -per dro -s₁ art -i₂ dedib+FR. VAR. OF -i₂ -k₁
 DEM.PROX of kind time DAT one SV old woman SV ERG

kimiokurkulu:
 ki- mi- o- kurkul -u:
 ko- me- o-₆ kurkul -u₁
 AFF PRV FACT let out a whimper S3SG.PST

At this moment, one old woman let out a whimper.

265.1 – mu gok'o , si sac'q'alia !
 mu g- o- k' -o si sac'q'al -i =a
 mu(n)₂ g-₁ o-₁₁ k'₁ -o(n) si sac'q'al -i₂ =a
 either... or... IO2 want_CVO want SM.INACT you.SG poor SV =QUOT

What do you want, you poor one?

265.2 uc'u: begok
 u- c' -u: bego -k
 u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ bego -k₁
 APPL tell S3SG.PST Bego ERG

Bego told her.

266 – čxoulepc bgorənk , šaras gevočirti do
 čxou -l -ep -c b- gor -ən -k šara -s ge- v- o- čirt -i do
 čxou -l₁ -ep -s₁ v- gor -un -k₂ šara -s₁ ge- v- o-₄ čirt -i₄ do₁
 cow SUF.INTR PL DAT S1 look for SM S1/2SG road DAT PRV S1 APPL miss PST.IND and

mitini mardiani korekəda ,
 mitin -i mard -ian -i ko- r -e -k =ə =da
 mitin -i₁ mard -ian -i₁ ko- or -e(n)₁ -k₂ =i =da
 nobody NOM gratitude NOM AFF be SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =COND

aməseri kešeminaxia
 am =ə ser =i ke- še- m- i- nax -i =a
 am =i ser =i ko- še- m-₁ i-₁ nax -i₃ =a
 DEM.PROX:OBL =EV evening =EV AFF PRV IO1 EVO keep IMP =QUOT

I am looking for (my) cows (and) have lost (my) way, and if you are someone sympathetic, keep me by your side tonight [he said].

267 – ašo mozožia , uc'u: begok
 ašo mo- zož -i =a u- c' -u: bego -k
 ašo mo- zož -i₃ =a u-₁ c' -u₁ bego -k₁
 hither PRV deign IMP =QUOT APPL tell S3SG.PST Bego ERG

Deign to come here, told her Bego.

268 – skani žoγorepiša moškurun do
 sk'an -i žoγor -ep -iša m- o- škur -un do
 skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₂ žoγor -ep -iša₁ m-₁ o-₄ škur -u(n)₁ do₁
 your:SG SV dog PL ALL IO1 APPL fear SM.INACT and

vemvotinankia
 ve= m- v- o- t -in -an -k =i =a
 va=+POS. VAR. OF mo- v- o-₄ t₂ -in₁ -an₁ -k₂ =i =a
 NEG= PRV S1 APPL dare AUG SM S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

I am afraid of your dogs and I dare not [she said].

269.1 – ma mu bγola žoγorensia ?
 ma mu b- γol -a žoγor -en -s =i =a
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF mu(n)₂ v- γol₁ -a₁ žoγor -ep -s₁ =i =a
 I either... or... S1 do OPT dog PL DAT =EV =QUOT

What can I do to the dogs? [asked Bego.]

269.2 dak'ərali muta miγunia
 da- k'ər -al -i muta m- i- γ -un =i =a
 da-₁ k'ər -al₃ -i₁ muta m-₁ i-₁ γw -u(n)₁ =i =a
 PRV tie SUP.PTC NOM anything IO1 APPL have.INANM SM.INACT =EV =QUOT

I've got nothing to tie (them) [he said].

270 dedəbik žiri toma ga:jtisopə
 dedəb -i -k žir -i toma ga:- [gljt- i- sop -ə
 dedib+FR. VAR. OF -i₂ -k₁ žir -i₁ tuma+DIAL. VAR. OF ga-₁ gito- i-₈ sop₂ -u₁
 old woman SV ERG two NOM hair PRF PRV APPL.CENTRIP tear S3SG.PST

do begos kuʔotə
 do bego -s k- u- ʔot -ə
 do₁ bego -s₁ ko- u-₁ ʔot₁ -u₁
 and Bego DAT AFF APPL throw S3SG.PST

The old woman ripped out two hairs (from her head) and threw them to Bego.

271 – atena tito , tito žoγors kigedvi k'əšers do
 atena tito tito žoγor -s ki- ge- dv -i k'əšer -s do
 tena+*** tito tito žoγor -s₁ ko- ge- dv₁ -i₃ k'iser+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁ do₁
 DEM.PROX each each žoγor DAT AFF PRV put IMP neck DAT and

kimk'ək'irunia
 ki- mk'ə- k'ir -un =i =a
 ko- mik'o- k'ir -u(n)₁ =i =a
 AFF PRV tie SM.INACT =EV =QUOT

Put one each on the dogs' neck(s) and they will get tied [she said].

272 begok tito tuma kigedə tito žoγors k'isers do
 bego -k tito tuma ki- ge- d -ə tito žoγor -s k'əšer -s do
 bego -k₁ tito tuma ko- ge- dv₁ -u₁ tito žoγor -s₁ k'iser+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁ do₁
 Bego ERG each hair AFF PRV put S3SG.PST each dog DAT neck DAT and

martalo didi žač'vit kimk'iskančə žoγorenk
 martal -o did -i žač'v -it ki- mk' -i- skanč -ə žoγor -en -k
 martal -o(t) did -i₁ žač'v -it ko- mik'o- i-₃ skanč -u₁ žoγor -ep -k₁
 true ADV big NOM chain INS AFF PRV DECAUS get tied S3SG.PST dog PL ERG

Bego put each hair on each dog's neck and, indeed, the dogs got tied with a big chain.

273 kəmort dedəbik do ole kaludoxodə
 kə- mo- rt -[u] dedəb -i -k do ole k- al- u- doxod -ə
 ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ dedib+FR. VAR. OF -i₂ -k₁ do₁ ole ko- ala- u-₁ doxod -u₁
 AFF PRV go S3SG.PST old woman SV ERG and next to AFF PRV APPL sit down S3SG.PST

begos
 bego -s
 bego -s₁
 Bego DAT

The old woman came (closer) and sat down next to Bego.

274 begok c'k'əriši xorci xes kəda:k'inu:
 bego -k c'k'əɾ -iš =i xorci -i xe -s kə- d- a:- k'in -u:
 bego -k₁ c'k'əɾ -iš₁ =i xorci -i₁ xe -s₁ ko- do-+POS. VAR. OF o-₁ k'in₄ -u₁
 Bego ERG skewer GEN =EV meat NOM hand DAT AFF PRV CAUS take S3SG.PST

Bego gave her some skewer meat into (her) hand(s).

275.1 ena xate geq'irt'ə
 ena xate ge- q'irt' -ə
 e+*** xate ge- ʔint' -u₁
 DEM.PROX at once PRV swallow S3SG.PST

She swallowed it at once.

275.2 uk'uli mik'artə ladiri xorci do arʒa arto
 uk'ul =i mik'- a- rt -ə ladir -i xorci -i -s do arʒa art -o
 uk'ul =i mik'o- o-₉ rt₁ -u₁ ladir -i₂ xorci -i₂ -s₁ do₁ arʒa art -o(t)
 later =EV PRV APPL turn S3SG.PST raw SV meat SV DAT and all one ADV

gerkamə
 ge- rkam -ə
 ge- rkam -u₁
 PRV munch S3SG.PST

Then she turned to the raw meat and munched all of it.

276 - mus re , ortəkəni ?
 mu -s r -e o- rt -ə -k =ə =ni
 mu(n)₂ -s₁ or -e(n)₁ o-₄ rt₂ -u(n)₁ -k₂ =i =ni
 what DAT be SM.INACT APPL do SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =CMPL

What is it that you are doing?

277 uc'u: begok
 u- c' -u: bego -k
 u-₁ c'₁ -u₁ bego -k₁
 APPL tell S3SG.PST Bego ERG

Bego told her.

278 ena vamibaɣ , si xolo
 ena va= m- i- baɣ si =xolo
 e+*** va= m-₁ i-₁ baɣ si =xolo
 DEM.PROX NEG= IO1 APPL be enough you.SG =EMPH

mok'okia
 m- o- k' -o -k =i =a
 m-₁ o-₁₁ k'₁ -o(n) -k₂ =i =a
 IO1 want_CVO want SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

This won't be enough for me, I want (to eat) you, too [, she said].

279 - arika , ʒoɣorepia , mioʒaxə begok
 arika ʒoɣor -ep -i =a mi- o- ʒax -ə bego -k
 arika ʒoɣor -ep -i₂ =a me- o-₄ ʒax -u₁ bego -k₁
 heads up dog PL SV =QUOT PRV APPL call S3SG.PST Bego ERG

Front and centre, dogs, called out Bego (to his dogs).

280 ʒoɣorepi k'əɾən do mu kiminan !
 ʒoɣor -ep -i k'əɾ -ən do mu kimin -a -n
 ʒoɣor -ep -i₁ k'əɾ -u(n)₁ do₁ mu(n)₂ kimin -a₁ -n₂
 dog PL NOM tie SM.INACT and either... or... do OPT S3PL

The dogs are tied and what can they do?

281 dedəbik bego xolo geq'int'ə
 dedəb -i -k bego =xolo ge- q'int' -ə
 dedib+FR. VAR. OF -i₂ -k₁ bego =xolo ge- ʔint' -u₁
 old woman SV ERG Bego =EMPH PRV swallow S3SG.PST

The old woman swallowed Bego, too.

282 ate serc tatraq'ans sat'evariše zisxirk duc
 ate ser -c tatraq'an -s sat'ev ar -iše zisxir -k du -c
 e+*** ser -s₁ tatraq'an -s₁ sat'ev ar -iše(n) zisxir -k₁ dud₁ -s₁
 DEM.PROX evening DAT Tatraq'ani DAT dagger EL blood ERG head DAT

kigiac'vatə
 ki- gi- a- c'vat -ə
 ko- ge- o-₉ č'vat+DIAL. VAR. OF -u₁
 AFF PRV APPL drop S3SG.PST

That night, blood dropped on Tatraq'ani's head down from the dagger.

283.1 - vai , čkimi coda , begok kənoskidua
 vai čkim -i coda bego -k kə- no- skid -u =a
 vai čkim₁ -i₂ coda bego -k₁ ko- =a
 alas my SV poor fellow Bego ERG AFF =QUOT

My oh my, poor me, Bego's got in trouble [, he thought].

283.2 kigedoxodə muš rašis do midart begošī
ki- ge- doxod -ə mu -š raš -i -s do mida- rt -[u] bego -ši
ko- ge- doxod -u₁ mu(n)₁ -iš₂ raš -i₂ -s₁ do₁ mida- rt₁ -u₁ bego -iš₂
AFF PRV sit down S3SG.PST self GEN steed SV DAT and PRV go S3SG.PST Bego GEN

ogorəša
o- gor -ə -ša
o- -u₂ gor o- -u₂+DIAL. VAR. OF -iša₁
SUP find SUP ALL

He mounted his stallion and headed off to look for Bego.

284 kimertə te kalakiša
ki- me- rt -ə te kalak -iša
ko- me- rt₁ -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** kalak -iša₁
AFF PRV go S3SG.PST DEM.PROX city ALL

He went to this city.

285 dedəbis tek xolo k'itxə te
dedəb -i -s te -k =xolo k'itx -ə te
dedib+FR. VAR. OF -i₂ -s₁ te₁ -k₁ =xolo k'itx₁ -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
old woman SV DAT DEM.PROX ERG =EMPH ask S3SG.PST DEM.PROX

doxoreši ambe
doxore -ši ambe
doxore -iš₂ ambe
manor house GEN story

He, too, asked the old woman about the story of this manor house.

286 dedəbik irpeli kuc'u:
dedəb -i -k irpel -i k- u- c' -u:
dedib+FR. VAR. OF -i₂ -k₁ irpel -i₁ ko- u-₁ c' -u-₁
old woman SV ERG everything NOM AFF APPL tell S3SG.PST

The old woman told him everything.

287 giaɾunə begoš žimak do miti:lə
gi- a- ɾun -ə bego -š žima -k do mit- i:- l -ə
ge- a-₇ ɾun₀ -u₁ bego -iš₂ žima -k₁ do₁ mito- i-₆ wl -u₁
PRV APPL follow.ANM S3SG.PST Bego GEN brother ERG and PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST

ti didi t'q'aša
ti did -i t'q'a -ša
ti₁ did -i₁ t'q'a -iša₁
DEM.DIST big NOM forest ALL

Bego's brother followed him and entered that big forest.

288 tek nadiri doɾvilə
te -k nadir -i do- ɾvil -ə
te₁ -k₁ nadir₁ -i₁ do- ɾvil -u₁
DEM.PROX ERG hunt NOM PRV kill.SG S3SG.PST

There he killed a game.

289 dačxiri ek'arzə do kek'ač'opu: oč'us
dačxir -i e- k'arz -ə do k- ek'- a- č'op -u: o- č' -u -s
dačxir -i₁ e-₄ k'arz -u₁ do₁ ko- ek'-o- č'op -u₁ o- -u₂ č'₂ o- -u₂ -s₁
fire NOM PRV light S3SG.PST and AFF PRV take S3SG.PST SUP fry SUP DAT

c'vadi
c'vad -i
c'vad -i₁
shashlyk NOM

He lit a campfire and set about frying shashlyk.

290 mudgakien miokurkulu:
mudga -k =i -[r]en mi- o- kurkul -u:
mudga -k₁ =i -ren me- o-₄ kurkul -u₁
whatever ERG =EV INDEF PRV APPL let out a whimper S3SG.PST

Something let out a whimper.

291 ates ɾuns xolo žiri žoɣori
ate -s ɾun -s =xolo žir -i žoɣor -i
ate -s₁ ɾon₁ -s₂ =xolo žir -i₁ žoɣor -i₁
DEM.PROX DAT have.ANM S3SG =EMPH two NOM dog NOM

This one, too, has two dogs (with him).

292 atek xolo iɾu: ti muši
ate -k =xolo i- ɾ -u: ti mu(n) -ši
ate -k₁ =xolo i-₄ ɾ₂ -u₁ i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** mu(n)₂ -iš₂
DEM.PROX ERG =EMPH be_CVO happen S3SG.PST DEM.DIST what GEN

žimaši mač'k'omalk
žima -ši ma- č'k'om -al -k
žima -iš₂ ma- -al č'k'om ma- -al -k₁
brother GEN PTC eat PTC ERG

And here, again, the one who had eaten his brother (lit. that eater of his brother) appeared.

293 kučkə ena irpeli ase tatraq'ans
k- u- čk -ə ena irpel -i ase tatraq'an -s
ko- u-₁ čk e+*** irpel -i₁ ase tatraq'an -s₁
AFF APPL know.INANM SM.INACT DEM.PROX everything NOM now Tatraq'ani DAT

Tatraq'ani knows all about it.

294 - mortia ašova , uc'u:
mo- rt -i =a ašo =v =a u- c' -u:
mo- rt1 -i3 =a ašo =v =a u1 c'1 -u1
PRV go IMP =QUOTE hither =EC =QUOTE APPL tell S3SG.PST

Come here, he told her.

295 - skani žoγorepiša moškurunia
sk'an -i žoγor -ep -iša m- o- škur -un =i =a
skan1+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i1 žoγor -ep -iša1 m1 o1 škur -u(n)1 =i =a
your.SG NOM dog PL ALL IO1 APPL fear SM.INACT =EV =QUOTE

I am afraid of your dogs [, she said].

296 mu bγola mava , dak'erali
mu b- γol -a ma(n) =v =a da- k'ər -al -i
mu(n)2 v- γol1 -a1 ma(n) =v =a da-1 k'ər -al3 -i1
either... or... S1 do OPT I =EC =QUOTE PRV tie SUP.PTC NOM

vamiγunia
va= m- i- γ -un =i =a
va= m-1 i-1 γw -u(n)1 =i =a
NEG= IO1 APPL have.INANM SM.INACT =EV =QUOTE

What can I do, I don't have anything to tie (them).

297 kimečə osurk žiri k'ak'ali tuma
ki- me- č -ə osur -k žir -i k'ak'al -i tuma
ko- me- č1 -u1 osur -k1 žir -i2 k'ak'al1 -i1 tuma
AFF PRV give S3SG.PST wife ERG two SV piece NOM hair

The woman gave him two pieces of hair.

298 - atena k'əasers kigedvi titos do
atena k'əaser -s ki- ge- dv -i tito -s do
tena+*** k'iser+DIAL. VAR. OF -s1 ko- ge- dv1 -i3 tito -s1 do1
DEM.PROX neck DAT AFF PRV put IMP each DAT and

kimk'ak'irans mušitia
ki- mk'- a- k'ir -an -s mu -š -it =i =a
ko- mik'o- o-9 k'ir -an1 -s2 mu(n)1 -iš2 -it =i =a
AFF PRV APPL bind SM S3SG self GEN INS =EV =QUOTE

Put this each dog onto the neck and it will tie them on its own [, she told him].

299.1 ga:jc'uγə ena bošik do dačxirs
ga:- jc'- u- γ -ə ena boš -i -k do dačxir -s
ga-1 jc'-o-1 u-1 γw -u1 e+*** boš -i2 -k1 do1 dačxir -s1
PRF PRV APPL take.INANM S3SG.PST DEM.PROX boy SV ERG and fire DAT

kagmač'u:
ka- gm- a- č' -u:
ko- gima- o-9 č'2 -u1
AFF PRV APPL burn S3SG.PST

This boy accepted this and burnt it in the campfire.

299.2 mini:lə dedəbik , kəməšadoxodə dačxirs do
min- i- l -ə dedəb -i -k dačxir -s do
mino-1 i-6 w1 -u1 dedib+FR. VAR. OF -i2 -k1 dačxir -s1 do1
PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST old woman SV ERG fire DAT and

xorcishi č'k'umua dič'q'ə , č'vili do
xorc -iš =i č'k'um -ua d- i- č'v -il -i do
xorc -iš1 =i č'k'om -ua do-+POS. VAR. OF i-8 č'q' -u1 č'v2 -il1 -i2 do1
meat GEN =EV eat MSD PRV APPL.CENTRIP begin S3SG.PST fry PTC SV and

ladiriši u:jšugoruo
ladir -iš =i u:- jšu- gor -u -o
ladir -iš1 =i u- -o(t) gor -u3 u- -o(t)
raw GEN =EV PRVT choose AUG PRVT

The old woman came in, sat down next to the campfire and started eating meat, (both) fried and raw, indiscriminately.

300 - mus re , ortəkie
mu -s r -e ortəkie
mu(n)2 -s1 or -e(n)1 o-4 rt2 -u(n)1 -k2 =i =e3
what DAT be SM.INACT APPL do SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOTE+CMPL

k'itxə bošik
k'itx -ə boš -i -k
k'itx1 -u1 boš -i2 -k1
ask S3SG.PST boy SV ERG

What is it that you're doing? asked the boy.

301 - moica , si xolo vamobaγukia
moica si =xolo va= m- o- baγ -u -k =i =a
moica si =xolo va= m-1 o-4 baγ -u(n)1 -k2 =i =a
wait a bit you.SG =EMPH NEG= IO1 APPL be enough SM.INACT S1/2SG =EV =QUOTE

Wait, even you won't be enough for me [, she said].

302 – arika žoγorepia , dižaxə tatraq'ank
 arika žoγor -ep -i =a d- i- žax -ə tatraq'an -k
 arika žoγor -ep -i₂ =a do-+POS. VAR. OF i-₈ žax -u₁ tatraq'an -k₁
 heads up dog PL SV =QUOTE PRV APPL.CENTRIP call S3SG.PST Tatraq'ani ERG

Front and centre, dogs! Tatraq'ani called out.

303 žoγorenk kokančes k'ibirepi do gozindes rok'ap'i
 žoγor -en -k ko- kanč -es k'ibir -ep -i do go- zind -es rok'ap' -i
 žoγor -ep -k₁ ko- kanč -es k'ibir -ep -i₁ do₁ go-₁ zind -es rok'ap' -i₁
 dog PL ERG AFF snap S3PL.PST tooth PL NOM and PRV stretch S3PL.PST NOM

dedəbi
 dedəb -i
 dedib+FR. VAR. OF -i₁
 old woman NOM

The dogs passed (their) teeth down her and stretched the shrewish old woman.

304 sat'evari gelenc'q'ə do kigiobižə
 sat'ev ar -i g- e- lenc'q' -ə do ki- gi- o- biž -ə
 sat'ev ar -i₁ go-₁ i-₈ lenc'q' -u₁ do₁ ko- ge- o-₄ biž -u₁
 dagger NOM PRV APPL.CENTRIP draw out S3SG.PST and AFF PRV APPL step S3SG.PST

k'əšers tatraq'ank
 k'əšer -s tatraq'an -k
 k'iser+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁ tatraq'an -k₁
 neck DAT Tatraq'ani ERG

Tatraq'ani drew the dagger and stepped onto her neck.

305 gek'aṛotinapu: ašo bego
 g- ek'- a- ṛot -in -ap -u: ašo bego
 ga-₁ ek'-o- o- -ap₁ ṛot₁ -in₁ o- -ap₁ -u₁ ašo bego
 PRF PRV CAUS throw AUG CAUS S3SG.PST hither Bego

He made her throw Bego out.

306 mara γureli re k'oči
 mara γurel -i r -e k'oč -i
 mara₁ γurel -i₁ or -e(n)₁ k'oč -i₁
 but dead NOM be SM.INACT man NOM

But the man is dead.

307 – mu acocxlens tes ?
 mu a- cocxl -en -s te -s
 mu(n)₂ a-₃ cocxl -en₁ -s₂ te₁ -s₁
 either...or... FACT enliven SM S3SG DEM.PROX DAT

What will revive (lit. revives) this one?

308 k'itxə bošik
 k'itx -ə boš -i -k
 k'itx₁ -u₁ boš -i₂ -k₁
 ask S3SG.PST boy SV ERG

The boy asked.

309 varagadans rok'ap'i
 va= ragad -an -s rok'ap' -i
 va= ragad -an₁ -s₂ rok'ap' -i₁
 NEG= talk SM S3SG NOM

The shrewish is not talking.

310 arti č'ič'e č'uk'ik gašerulə xvirat'eše do
 art -i č'ič'e č'uk' -i -k gaš- e- rul -ə xvirat'e -še do
 art -i₂ č'ič'e č'uk' -i₂ -k₁ geša- i-₆ rul₂ -u₁ xvirat'e -iše(n) do₁
 one SV little mouse SV ERG PRV AUTOCAUS run S3SG.PST burrow EL and

c'q'ariša dini:lə , molartə do šoliri
 c'q'ar -iša din- i:- l -ə mola- rt -ə do šol -ir -i
 c'q'ar -iša₁ dino- i-₆ wl -u₁ mola- rt₁ -u₁ do₁ šol -ir₁ -i₁
 waterspring ALL PRV AUTOCAUS go S3SG.PST PRV go S3SG.PST and get wet PTC NOM

k'udeli rok'ap'is tudo atoγuru: dida č'uk'in tes
 k'udel -i rok'ap' -i -s tudo ato- γur -u: dida č'uk' -i =n te -s
 k'udel -i₁ rok'ap' -i₂ -s₁ tudo ato- γur -u₈ dida č'uk' -i₁ =ni te₁ -s₁
 tail NOM shrewish SV DAT down PRV die PTC mother mouse NOM =CMPL DEM.PROX DAT

kignus do ga:cocxlə
 kignu -s do g- a:- cocxl -ə
 -s₁ do₁ ga-₂ a₂ cocxl -u₁
 DAT and PRV FACT enliven S3SG.PST

One small mouse ran out of the burrow and went down into the water, came back and ran (its) wet tail over (its) mother mouse that had apparently died beneath the shrewish, and revived it.

311 begos xolo , kimiγə te
 bego -s =xolo ki- m- i- γ -ə te
 bego -s₁ =xolo ko- me- i-₈ yw -u₁ e⁺DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** DEM.PROX
 Bego DAT =EMPH AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP bring.INANM S3SG.PST

c'q'ari do kignabə muši žimak , begok
 c'q'ar -i do ki- gn- a- b -ə mu(n) -ši žima -k bego -k
 c'q'ar -i₁ do₁ ko- gino- o-₉ b₁ -u₁ mu(n)₂ -iš₂ žima -k₁ bego -k₁
 water NOM and AFF PRV APPL pour S3SG.PST what GEN brother ERG Bego ERG

gecocxlə
 g- e- cocxl -ə
 g-₁ i-₅ cocxl -u₁
 IO2 DECAUS enliven S3SG.PST

His brother brought Bego this water and poured it on him, (and) Bego came back to life.

312 žoγorens xolo kignabes do gacocxles
 žoγor -en -s =xolo ki- gn- a- b -es do g- a- cocxl -es
 žoγor -ep -s₁ =xolo ko- gino- o-₉ b₁ -es do₁ ga-₂ a-₃ cocxl -es
 dog PL DAT =EMPH AFF PRV APPL pour S3PL.PST and PRV FACT enliven S3PL.PST

They poured (this water) on the dogs, too, and revived them.

313 doṽviles rok'ap'i tek do molartes
 do- ṽvil -es rok'ap' -i te -k do mola- rt -es
 do- ṽvil -es rok'ap' -i₁ te₁ -k₁ do₁ mola- rt₁ -es
 PRV kill.SG S3PL.PST NOM DEM.PROX ERG and PRV go S3PL.PST

xenc'əpeši ṽudša
 xenc'əpe -ši ṽud -ša
 xenc'ipe⁺DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₂ ṽude⁺FR. VAR. OF -iša₁
 sovereign GEN house ALL

They killed the shrewish there and came back to the sovereign's house.

314 begos gurgini kigudges ti ciraša
 bego -s gurgin -i ki- g- u- dg -es ti cira -ša
 bego -s₁ gurgin₂ -i₁ ko- ge- u-₁ dg -es i⁺DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** cira -iša₁
 Bego DAT crown NOM AFF PRV APPL place S3PL.PST DEM.DIST girl ALL

bža užirapuša
 bža u- žir -ap -u -ša
 bža₂ u- u₁ žir -ap₂ u- u₁ -iša₁
 sun PRVT see AUG PRVT ALL

They (i.e. sovereign's men) crowned (i.e. married) Bego to that girl of outstanding beauty (lit. unseen by/under the sun).

315 diarak getuni , midartes žirxolo
 diara -k g- e- t -u =ni mida- rt -es žir =xolo
 diara -k₁ go-₁ i-₅ t₁ -u₁ =ni mida- rt₁ -es žir =xolo
 feast ERG PRV DECAUS end S3SG.PST =CMPL PRV go S3PL.PST two =EMPH

žimalenk do bža ioləši xenc'əpeši osurskua
 žima -l -en -k do bža iolə -ši xenc'əpe -ši osur skua
 žima -l₁ -en₁ -k₁ do₁ bža₂ iolə -iš₂ xenc'ipe⁺DIAL. VAR. OF -iš₂ osur skua
 brother SUF.INTR SM ERG and sun East GEN sovereign GEN woman child

kutxu: muši žimas čilo begok
 k- u- tx -u: mu(n) -ši žima -s čil -o bego -k
 ko- u-₁ tx₁ -u₁ mu(n)₂ -iš₂ žima -s₁ čil -o(t) bego -k₁
 AFF APPL request S3SG.PST what GEN brother DAT wife ADV Bego ERG

When the feast came to an end, both brothers headed off and Bego asked the Eastern sovereign daughter's hand for his brother.

316 uk'uli dirtə muš muantiliši ṽudeša do
 uk'ul =i dirt -ə mu -š muantil -iš =i ṽude -ša do
 uk'ul =i dirt₁ -u₁ mu(n)₁ -iš₂ muantil -iš₁ =i ṽude -iša₁ do₁
 later =EV return S3SG.PST self GEN father-in-law GEN =EV house ALL and

čebaru: keṽanaš učašala
 č- e- bar -u: keṽana -iš učaš -ala
 ča- i-₈ bar -u₁ kiṽana⁺FR. VAR. OF -iš₂ učaš -ala
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP entrust S3SG.PST land GEN older ABSTR

Then he returned to his father-in-law's house and took responsibility of the land authority.

317 ir k'oči tiši žlierebas miašišandə
 ir k'oč -i ti- -ši žlier -eba -s mi- a- šiš -an -d -ə
 ir k'oč -i₁ ti₁ -iš₂ žlier -eba -s₁ me- a-₇ šiš -an₁ -d₁ -u₁
 entire man NOM DEM.DIST GEN strong ABSTR DAT PRV APPL fear SM EM S3SG.PST

Everybody was afraid of his strength.

318 radganc žirxolo žimalepiši artianc
 radganc žir =xolo žima -l -ep -iš =i saxenc'əpo artian -c
 radganc žir =xolo žima -l₁ -ep -iš₁ =i saxenc'ipo⁺DIAL. VAR. OF artian -s₁
 since two =EMPH brother SUF.INTR PL GEN =EV domain one another DAT

meužəðəni inepiša xek mitinc
 me- u- ž -ə -d -ə =ni in- -ep -iša xe -k mitin -c
 me- u-₁ ž -u(n)₁ -d₁ -u₁ =ni ino- -ep -iša₁ xe -k₁ mitin -s₁
 PRV APPL lie.INANM SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST =CMPL PRV PL ALL hand ERG nobody DAT

vegiaraPu: do cxovrendes švidobiano do
ve= g- a- iaraʔ -u: do cxovr -en -d -es švidobian -o do
va=+POS. VAR. OF g-₁ a- -e(n) iaraʔ -u₁ do₁ cxovr -en₁ -d₁ -es švidobian -o(t) do₁
NEG= IO2 POT enarm S3SG.PST and live SM EM S3PL.PST peaceful ADV and

žgiro
žgir -o
žgir₁ -o(t)
good ADV

Since both brothers' domains were close to each other, nobody could attack them (lit. approximated one's hand towards them) and they lived peacefully and well.

319 titkmis geri do txa arto idiardes
titkmis ger -i do txa art -o i- diar -d -es
titkmis ger -i₁ do₁ txa art -o(t) i-₆ diar -d₁ -es
almost wolf NOM and goat one ADV AUTOCAUS ruminare EM S3PL.PST

As if a wolf and a goat together grazed (grass).

320 sumi uškuri
sum -i uškur -i
sum₁ -i₂ uškur -i₁
three SV apple NOM

Three apples.

321 sumi berc'uli , ŷoronc vamusasədas
sum -i berc'ul -i ŷoron -c va= mulasəd -a -s
sum₁ -i₂ berc'ul -i₁ ŷoront+POS. VAR. OF -s₁ va= -a₁ -s₂
three SV pomegranate NOM God DAT NEG= OPT S3SG

skani xeši moc'iuli
sk'an -i xe -ši mo- c'i -ul -i
skan₁+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF -i₁ xe -iš₂ mo- -il₁ -i₁
your.SG NOM hand GEN PRV PTC NOM

Three pomegranades, (I hope) God grant you (your) hand's harvest.

322 so:jša t'k'ibirit c'q'ari vek'ibŷe
so:jša t'k'ibir -it c'q'ar -i v= ek'- i- b- ŷ -e
so:jša t'k'ibir -it c'q'ar -i₁ va= ek'o- i-₈ v- ŷw -e₂
until sieve INS water NOM NEG= PRV APPL.CENTRIP S1 bring.INANM OPT

satitis ŷumu venvak'ete , lišit
satit -i -s ŷumu v= en- v- a- k'et -e liš -it
satit -i₂ -s₁ ŷumu va= eno- v- a-₃ k'et -e₂ liš -it
thimble SV DAT mamaliga NEG= PRV S1 FACT do OPT needle INS

vemšuoazue do č'ič'e k'itiši bircxat tina
ve= mš- u- o- z -u -e do č'ič'e k'it -iš =i bircxa -t tina
va=+POS. VAR. OF miša- v- o-₆ z -u₃ -e₂ do₁ č'ič'e k'it -iš₁ =i bircxa -it i+***
NEG= PRV S1 FACT knead AUG OPT and little finger GEN =EV nail INS DEM.DIST

vadvoge: - ete:jša teš mak'itxe do marčkiles
va= dvog -e: ete: -jša teš ma- k'itx -e do ma- rčkil -e -s
va= -e: tina₂+POS. VAR. OF -iša₁ teš ma- -e k'itx₁ ma- -e do₁ ma- -e rčkil ma- -e -s₁
NEG= OPT+CMPL DEM.DIST ALL so PTC ask PTC and PTC hear PTC DAT

ducu varč'uebudani
du -c =u va= r- č'u -eb -u -d -a -[s] =ni
dud₁ -s₁ =i+POS. VAR. OF va= r-₁ č'₁ -eb₁ -u₃ -d₁ -a₁ -s₂ =ni
head DAT =EV NEG= IO2 feel pain AUG AUG EM OPT S3SG =CMPL

Until I bring up (some) water with a sieve, (until) I prepare mamaliga in a thimble, (until) I knead it with a needle and take it out with the small finger nail, until then let your, the reader and the listener's head(s) not to begin to ache.

324 avksent'i č'at'uria ; sopeli žvari ; 3 / 09 / 1923
avksent'i č'at'uria sopel -i žvar -i 3 09 1923
avksent'i č'at'uria sopel -i₁ žvari -i₁ 3 09 1923
Avksent'i Č'at'uria village NOM žvari NOM 3 09 1923

Avksent'i Č'at'uria; village Žvari; 03/09/1923.

Xubua IX: The Milk Boiler

Bžoš mapunapali

1.1 arti čili do komonži k'oči rdə do
art -i čil -i do komonž -i k'oč -i r -d -ə do
art -i₁ čil -i₁ do₁ komonž -i₁ k'oč -i₁ or -d₁ -u₁ do₁
one NOM wife NOM and husband NOM man NOM be EM S3SG.PST and

nadirendə te k'oči , midartə t'q'aša
nadir -en -d -ə te k'oč -i mida- rt -ə t'q'a -ša
nadir₁ -en₁ -d₁ -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'oč -i₁ mida- rt₁ -u₁ t'q'a -iša₁
hunt SM EM S3SG.PST DEM.PROX man NOM PRV go S3SG.PST forest ALL

do šardak kəmandomin
do šarda -k kə- mandomin -[u]
do₁ šarda -k₁ ko- -u₁
and urinate ERG AFF S3SG.PST

There were a wife and a husband, and this man hunted; (once,) he went to a forest and (suddenly) felt like urinating.