

197	aleksandre	žalami	č'k'veri	k'očk	iʔu:	do	didi
	aleksandre -k	žalam =i	č'k'ver -i	k'oč -k	i-	do	did -i
	aleksandre -k ₁	žalam =i	č'k'ver -i ₂	k'oč -k ₁	i- ₄	do ₁	did -i ₁
	Aleksandre ERG	very =EV	intelligent SV	man ERG	be_CVO	and	big NOM

saxeli	uɣudə	teli	keʔanas
saxel -i	u- ɣ	tel -i	keʔana
saxel -i ₁	u- ₁ ɣw	tel ₂ -i ₂	kiʔana+FR. VAR. OF
name NOM	APPL have.INANM	entire SV	world DAT

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

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

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

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

Nžalieriš umosi nžalieriši (arik'i)

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

There is one plain area.

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

There stood one buffalo.

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

č'apurias
č'apuria -s
č'apuria -s₁
tasty grass DAT

That buffalo ruminated, for instance, on a mountain, excellent grass.

3	sode	gerdən	tek	tənəndə
	sode	ge- r -d -ə =n	te -k	tən -ən -d -ə
	sode	ge- or -d ₁ -u ₁ =ni	te ₁ -k ₁	tən -un -d ₁ -u ₁
	wherever	PRV stand EM S3SG.PST =CMPL	DEM.PROX ERG	stretch SM EM S3SG.PST

k'ərsərsən	, gvalas	odiarəs	idiardə
k'iser -s =ə =n	gvala -s	o- diar -e -s	i- diar -d -ə
k'iser -s ₁ =i =ni	gvala -s ₁	o- -e ₁ diar	o- -e ₁ -s ₁ i- ₁ diar -d ₁ -u ₁
neck DAT =EV =CMPL	mountain DAT	LOC ruminant LOC DAT	NON-PRS ruminant EM S3SG.PST

, tiš	maginža	k'əseri
t ₁	-š ma- ginž	-a k'iser -i
DEM.DIST GEN	ma- -a ₁ girž+DIAL. VAR. OF	ma- -a ₁ k'iser -i ₁
	long	EQT neck NOM

uɣudə	
u- ɣ	-u -d -ə
u- ₁ ɣw	-u(n) ₁ -d ₁ -u ₁
APPL have.INANM	SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST

Wherever it stood, when it stretched there its neck, it ruminated grass on the mountain, that long was its neck.

4	ataure	gotənədə	k'ərsərsən
	ata -ure	go- tən -ə -d -ə	k'iser -s =ə =n
	ate+***	ʔure go- ₁ tən -u(n) ₁ -d ₁ -u ₁	k'iser -s ₁ =i =ni
	DEM.PROX side	PRV stretch SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST	neck DAT =EV =CMPL

zɣva-p'is	idiardə	
zɣva	p'i -s i- diar -d -ə	
zɣva+POS. VAR. OF	p'iž+DIAL. VAR. OF -s ₁ i- ₁ diar -d ₁ -u ₁	
sea	mouth DAT	NON-PRS ruminant EM S3SG.PST

anč'udə	ir	dixas
a- n- č' -u -d -ə	ir	dixa -s
a- ₇ n- č' ₃ -u(n) ₁ -d ₁ -u ₁	ir	dixa -s ₁
APPL SBM reach up SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST	entire	soil DAT

When it stretched its neck from here, it grazed on the sea shore, it reached up everywhere.

5.1	ti	k'ambeši	ge:č'opə
	t ₁	k'ambeš -i	ge:- č'op -ə
	i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***	k'ambe+FR. VAR. OF -i ₁	ge-+POS. VAR. OF č'op -u ₁
	DEM.DIST	buffalo NOM	PRV catch S3SG.PST

mepurinəndə	per	obrik
me- purin -ən -d -ə	per -[i]	obr -i -k
me- purin -un -d ₁ -u ₁	per -i ₁	obr -i ₂ -k ₁
PRV fly SM EM S3SG.PST	such NOM	vulture SV ERG

Such a vulture that was flying hither caught that buffalo.

5.2 obri vareno , didi psuami ?
 obr -i va= r -en =o did -i psu -am -i
 obr -i₁ va= or -en₁ =o₂ did -i₁ psu -am₁ -i₁
 vulture NOM NEG= be SM =QST big NOM wing ADJ NOM

Is it not a vulture, (the) huge-winged (bird)?

6 č'q'eši gitožanədə oros arti do tiš
 č'q'eš -i gito- žan -ə -d -ə oro -s art -i do ti -š
 č'q'eš -i₁ gito- žan₁ -u(n)₁ -d₁ -u₁ oro -s₁ art -i₁ do₁ ti₁ -iš₂
 shepherd NOM PRV lie SM.INACT EM S3SG.PST shadow DAT one NOM and DEM.DIST GEN

bircxas gerdə oči
 bircxa -s ge- r -d -ə oč -i
 bircxa -s₁ ge- or -d₁ -u₁ oč -i₁
 nail DAT PRV stand EM S3SG.PST ram NOM

One shepherd was lying in the shadow and a ram was standing on his toenails.

7 ateš kas kigla:purinə ate obrik
 ate -š ka -s ki- gl- a- purin -ə ate obr -i -k
 ate -iš₂ ka -s₁ ko- gila- o-₉ purin -u₁ e+*** obr -i₂ -k₁
 DEM.PROX GEN horn DAT AFF PRV APPL fly S3SG.PST DEM.PROX vulture SV ERG

k'ambeši meuyə , atežgua
 k'ambeš -i me- u- y -ə ate -žgua
 k'ambe+FR. VAR. OF -i₁ me- u₁ yw -u₁ ate -žgura
 buffalo NOM PRV APPL bring.INANM S3SG.PST DEM.PROX of kind

k'ambešin , tek
 k'ambeš -i =n te -k
 k'ambe+FR. VAR. OF -i₁ =ni te₁ -k₁
 buffalo NOM =CMPL DEM.PROX ERG

The vulture landed on its horn(s), there, where it is carrying the buffalo of this kind, there.

8 tak muč'o koč'k'umuns te obri
 tak muč'o ko- č'k'um -un -s te obr -i
 tak muč'o ko- č'k'om -un -s₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** obr -i₁
 here how AFF eat SM DAT DEM.PROX vulture NOM

te k'ambešis do gilaxe
 te k'ambeš -i -s do gila- x -e
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** k'ambe+FR. VAR. OF -i₂ -s₁ do₁ gila- ox -e(n)₁
 DEM.PROX buffalo SV DAT and PRV sit SM.INACT

te očiš kasən !
 te oč -iš ka -s =ə =n
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** oč -iš₁ ka -s₁ =i =ni
 DEM.PROX ram GEN horn DAT =EV =CMPL

That this vulture is eating this buffalo here and sits on this ram's horn(s)!

9 ate oči č'q'ešiš bircxas vegereno ?
 ate oč -i č'q'eš -iš bircxa -s ve= ge- r -en =o
 e+*** oč -i₁ č'q'eš -iš₁ bircxa -s₁ va+=POS. VAR. OF ge- or -e(n)₁ =o₂
 DEM.PROX ram NOM shepherd GEN nail DAT NEG= PRV stand SM.INACT =QST

Is not this ram standing on the shepherd's toenails?

10 ate k'očik toli ga:nžən , apxak
 ate k'oč -i -k tol -i ga- o- n- ž -ə =n apxa -k
 e+*** k'oč -i₂ -k₁ tol₁ -i₁ go- o-₆ n- ž₂ -u₁ =ni apxa₁ -k₁
 DEM.PROX man SV ERG eye NOM PRV FACT SBM open S3SG.PST =CMPL scapula bone ERG

gaic'uolə obris do ate k'očiš tols
 ga- [g]ic'- u- ol -ə obr -i -s do ate k'oč -iš tol -s
 ga-₁ gic'-o-₁ u-₁ wl -u₁ obr -i₂ -s₁ do₁ e+*** k'oč -iš₁ tol₁ -s₁
 PRF PRV APPL go S3SG.PST vulture SV DAT and DEM.PROX man GEN eye DAT

ka:lalə do ilažə tak
 k- al- a- l -ə do ila- ž -ə tak
 ko- ala- o-₉ ol₂ -u₁ do₁ ela- ž -u(n)₁ tak
 AFF PRV APPL fall down S3SG.PST and PRV lie.INANM SM.INACT here

When this man opened his eye(s), the vulture accidentally dropped a shoulder bone, (and) it fell into this man's eye and is lying there.

11 oš k'očk kəmortə tak
 oš -[i] k'oč -k kə- mo- rt -ə tak
 oš -i₁ k'oč -k₁ ko- mo- rt₁ -u₁ tak
 hundred NOM man ERG AFF PRV go S3SG.PST here

One hundred men came here.

12 osxup'una aržə tes
 o- sxup' -un -a aržə te -s
 o-₄ sxup' -un -a(n) aržə te₁ -s₁
 APPL clutch SM S3PL all DEM.PROX DAT

All of them are clutching at this (man).

13 xop'it gale:yes do robus
 xop' -it gal- e- y -es do robu -s
 xop' -it gila- i-₈ yw -es do₁ robu -s₁
 scoop INS PRV APPL.CENTRIP take out.INANM S3PL.PST and downward slope DAT

kilaragve:s višo
 k- ila- ragv -e:s višo
 ko- ela- ragv -es+POS. VAR. OF višo
 AFF PRV roll S3PL.PST thither

They took it out with a scoop and rolled it down the downward slope.

14 kilaragve:s do kədoskədə te
 k- ıla- ragv -e:s do kə- do- sk'əd -ə te
 ko- ela- ragv -es+POS. VAR. OF do₁ ko- do- skid₂+DIAL. VAR. OF -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
 AFF PRV roll S3PL.PST and AFF PRV stay S3SG.PST DEM.PROX

apxak tak brel xans do dixak munu:lu:
 apxa -k tak brel xan -s do dixax -k mun- u:- l -u:
 apxa₁ -k₁ tak brel xan -s₁ do₁ dixax -k₁ mino₋₁ u₋₁+POS. VAR. OF wl -u₁
 scapula bone ERG here much time DAT and soil ERG PRV APPL go S3SG.PST

tes , te apxas
 te -s te apxa -s
 te₁ -s₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** apxa₁ -s₁
 DEM.PROX DAT DEM.PROX scapula bone DAT

They rolled it down and this bone remained here for a long time, and the soil covered it, this bone.

15 oši maxoro k'oči gioxorandə
 oš -i ma- xor -o k'oč -i gi- o- xor -an -d -ə
 oš -i₁ ma- -o xor ma- -o k'oč -i₁ ge- o-₄ xor -an₁ -d₁ -u₁
 hundred NOM PTC settle PTC man NOM PRV APPL settle SM EM S3SG.PST

te apxas
 te apxa -s
 e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** apxa₁ -s₁
 DEM.PROX scapula bone DAT

A one-hundred-men family settled on this bone.

16.1 apxas gioxoranso , mu oren , mu
 apxa -s gi- o- xor -an -s =o mu or -en mu
 apxa₁ -s₁ ge- o-₄ xor -an₁ -s₂ =o₁ mu(n)₂ or -e(n)₁ mu(n)₂
 scapula bone DAT PRV APPL settle SM S3SG =CMPL either... or... be SM.INACT either... or...

učkuna ?
 u- čk -un -a
 u₋₁ čk -u(n)₁ -a(n)
 APPL know.INANM SM.INACT IO.PL

That they live on a bone, that it is (so), what do they know?

16.2 oxoruo žgir adgilk i?u: tek do
 o- xor -u -o žgir adgil -k i- ? -u: te -k do
 o- -u₂ xor o- -u₂ -o(t) žgir₁ adgil -k₁ i-₄ ?₂ -u₁ te₁ -k₁ do₁
 SUP settle SUP ADV good place ERG be_CVO happen S3SG.PST DEM.PROX ERG and

gioxorana tak
 gi- o- xor -an -a tak
 ge- o-₄ xor -an₁ -a(n) tak
 PRV APPL settle SM PL here

This place became a good one to settle there, and they (i.e. these men) are living here.

17 oši maxoro k'očik tak kigixorə
 oš -i ma- xor -o k'oč -i -k tak ki- g- i- xor -ə
 oš -i₁ ma- -o xor ma- -o k'oč -i₂ -k₁ tak ko- go-₁ i-₈ xor -u₁
 hundred NOM PTC settle PTC man SV ERG here AFF PRV APPL.CENTRIP settle S3SG.PST

do orenan , art dγas tenepiš ʔudeš k'ari
 do or -en -a =n , art dγa -s ten -ep -iš ʔude -iš k'ar -i
 do₁ or -e(n)₁ -a(n) =ni art dγa -s₁ e+*** -ep -iš₁ ʔude -iš₂ k'ar -i₁
 and be SM.INACT S3PL =CMPL one day DAT DEM.PROX PL GEN house GEN door NOM

art ganiše ižinen , mažia dγas mažia ʔure
 art gan -išē i- žin -en , ma- ži -a dγa -s ma- ži -a ʔure
 art gan -išē(n) i- -e(n) žin i- -e(n) ma- -a₂ žir ma- -a₂ dγa -s₁ ma- -a₂ žir ma- -a₂ ʔure
 one side EL POT look POT ORD two ORD day DAT ORD two ORD side

kožires !
 ko- žir -es
 ko- žir -es
 AFF see S3PL.PST

That one hundred men have settled here and live (lit. are); one day their house door is seen to have been turned to one side (thither), (but) on the other day they saw that it is turned to the other side (hither).

18 irtu: mudga ren pe k'arepi !
 i- rt -u: mudga -ren pe[r] -[i] k'ar -ep -i
 i- -u(n)₁ rt₁ -u(n)₁ mudga -ren per -i₁ k'ar -ep -i₁
 DECAUS turn SM.INACT whatever INDEF such NOM door PL NOM

These doors are spinning in some way!

19 artša , art ʔure ; mažiaša , - mažia ʔure
 art -ša , art ʔure ma- ži -a -ša , ma- ži -a ʔure
 art -iša₂ , art ʔure ma- -a₂ žir ma- -a₂ -iša₂ , ma- -a₂ žir ma- -a₂ ʔure
 one ADV one side ORD two ORD ADV ORD two ORD side

One time - to one side; another time - to the other side.

20 teš masəmaša do teš maontxaša
 teš ma- səm -a -ša do teš ma- ontx -a -ša
 teš ma- -a₂ sum₁ ma- -a₂ -iša₂ do₁ teš ma- -a₂ ontx ma- -a₂ -iša₂
 so ORD three ORD ADV and so ORD four ORD ADV

This way for the third time and (that way) for the fourth time.

21 ortinuans mudga ren tes !!
 o- rt -in -u -an -s mudga r -e(n) te -s
 o- -in₁ rt₁ o- -in₁ -u₃ -an₁ -s₂ mudga or -e(n)₁ te₁ -s₁
 CAUS turn CAUS AUG SM S3SG whatever be SM.INACT DEM.PROX DAT

Something makes them turn!!

22 ates nortinapue turme : art č'ič'e t'uras
ate -s no- rt -in -ap -u -e turme art č'ič'e t'ura -s
ate -s₁ no- rt₁ -in₁ -ap₅ -u₇ -e(n)₁ turme art č'ič'e t'ura -s₁
DEM.PROX DAT EVID turn AUG CAUS SM.EVID SM.INACT apparently one little jackal DAT

kmurtumə do tina re
k- m- u- rt -um -ə do tina r -e
ko- mo- u- -u(n)₁ rt₁ -um₁ u- -u(n)₁ do₁ i+*** or -e(n)₁
AFF PRV PERF turn SM.PERF PERF and DEM.DIST be SM.INACT

nortinuapuen , tes
no- rt -in -u -ap -u -e =n te -s
no- rt₁ -in₁ -u₃ -ap₅ -u₇ -e(n)₁ =ni te₁ -s₁
EVID turn AUG AUG CAUS SM.EVID SM.INACT =CMPL DEM.PROX DAT

Eventually, (it came to light that) it has been a small jackal that has been coming and turning it (i.e. the door).

23 atena uxət'onuans dro-do-dro te
atena u- xət'on -u -an -s dro do dro te
tena+*** u-₁ xət'on -u₃ -an₁ -s₂ dro do₁ dro e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
DEM.PROX APPL gnaw AUG SM S3SG time and time DEM.PROX

apxas , ešnočkve art dixas do tes
apxa -s eš- no- čk -v -e art dixā -s do te -s
apxa₁ -s₁ eša- no- -u₇ -e(n)₁ art dixā -s₁ do₁ te₁ -s₁
scapula bone DAT PRV EVID SM.EVID SM.INACT one soil DAT and DEM.PROX DAT

This one (i.e/ the jackal) gnaws this bone time after time, it could apparently be seen from a particular (lit. one) spot.

24.1 - mu re , ortinuansie ?
mu r -e o- rt -in -u -an -s =i =e
mu(n)₂ or -e(n)₁ o- -in₁ rt₁ o- -in₁ -u₃ -an₁ -s₂ =i =a
either... or... be SM.INACT CAUS turn CAUS AUG SM S3SG =EV =QUOT

What is it that makes (the doors) turn? [the dwellers thought.]

24.2 do kigeut'q'obes art dʒas tak
do ki- ge- u- t'q'ob -es art dʒā -s tak
do₁ ko- ge- u-₁ t'q'ob -es art dʒā -s₁ tak
and AFF PRV APPL hide S3PL.PST one day DAT here

And (so,) one day they hid here to stay on guard (waiting for the door-turner).

25.1 oš k'očis oš topi uʒə
oš -[i] k'oč -i -s oš -[i] top -i u- ʒ -ə
oš -i₁ k'oč -i₂ -s₁ oš -i₁ top -i₁ u-₁ ʒw -u(n)₁
hundred NOM man SV DAT hundred NOM gun NOM APPL have.INANM SM.INACT

One hundred men have one hundred guns.

25.2 do ka:ʔotes te munepiš ʔudes
do k- a:- ʔot -es te mun -ep -iš ʔude -s
do₁ ko- o-₃ ʔot₁ -es e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** mu(n)₁ -ep -iš₁ ʔude -s₁
and AFF APPL throw S3PL.PST DEM.PROX self PL GEN house DAT

vareno ortinuans t'uran tes , do
va= r -en =o o- rt -in -u -an -s t'ur =n te -s do
va= or -e(n)₁ =o₂ o- -in₁ rt₁ o- -in₁ -u₃ -an₁ -s₂ t'ura =ni te₁ -s₁ do₁
NEG= be SM.INACT =QST CAUS turn CAUS AUG SM S3SG jackal =CMPL DEM.PROX DAT and

doʔviles
do- ʔvil -es
do- ʔvil -es
PRV kill.SG S3PL.PST

They shot at the jackal that turns (the doors) in their house and killed it.

26 ase kigeuč'q'es tes t'q'abarua te
ase ki- ge- u- č'q' -es te -s t'q'abar -ua te
ase ko- ge- u-₁ č'q' -es te₁ -s₁ t'q'abar -ua e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
now AFF PRV APPL begin S3PL.PST DEM.PROX DAT flay MSD DEM.PROX

oš k'očik
oš -[i] k'oč -i -k
oš -i₁ k'oč -i₂ -k₁
hundred NOM man SV ERG

Now, these one hundred men have begun to flay it.

27 do t'q'abarana do got'q'abares gverdi do
do t'q'abar -an -a do go- t'q'abar -es gverd -i do
do₁ t'q'abar -an₁ -a(n) do₁ go-₁ t'q'abar -es gverd -i₁ do₁
and flay SM PL and PRV flay S3PL.PST half NOM and

vamna:rtines ti oš k'os
va= mno- a- rt -in -es ti oš k'o -s
va= mino-₁ a- -e(n) rt₁ a- -e(n) -es i+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** oš k'oč -s₁
NEG= PRV POT turn POT IO.PL.PST DEM.DIST hundred man DAT

te č'ič'e t'urak
te č'ič'e t'ura -k
e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** č'ič'e t'ura -k₁
DEM.PROX little jackal ERG

And (so) they are flaying it and have flayed a half of it, but (lit. and) those one hundred men failed to turn around this small jackal.

28 ase čkəčk xužis k'ilaxen , eper
 ase čkəčk xuž -i -s k'ila- ox -e =n e -per
 ase čkičk+DIAL. VAR. OF xuž -i₂ -s₁ k'ila- ox -e(n)₁ =ni e -per
 now child side SV DAT PRV sit SM.INACT =CMPL DEM.PROX of kind

osurk kəma:č'išu:
 osur -k kə- m- a:- č'iš -u:
 osur -k₁ ko- me- a-₇ č'iš -u₁
 woman ERG AFF PRV APPL attend S3SG.PST

Now, that child sits to (her) side, a woman of this kind attended.

29 do gere tak do atenepts
 do ge- r -e tak do aten -ep -s
 do₁ ge- or -e(n)₁ tak do₁ tena+*** -ep -s₁
 and Specific Localisation and/or Orientation stand SM.INACT here and DEM.PROX PL DAT

vamna:rtinun , orc'q'e tak do
 va= mno- a- rt -in -u =n o- rc'q' -e tak do
 va= mino-₁ a- -e(n) rt₁ a- -e(n) -u₁ =ni o-₄ rc'q' -e(n)₁ tak do₁
 NEG= PRV POT turn POT S3SG.PST =CMPL APPL see SM.INACT here and

gere te osuri
 ge- r -e te osur -i
 ge- or -e(n)₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** osur -i₁
 Specific Localisation and/or Orientation stand SM.INACT DEM.PROX woman NOM

And she stands here and sees here that these have failed to turn (the jackal) around, and stands this woman.

30 kəmortes do te osurs uc'i:s
 kə- mo- rt -es do te osur -s u- c' -i:s
 ko- mo- rt₁ -es do₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** osur -s₁ u-₁ c'₁ -es
 AFF PRV go S3PL.PST and DEM.PROX woman DAT APPL tell S3PL.PST

They came to this women and told her:

31 - mu pkiminatia
 mu p- kimin -a -t =i =a
 mu(n)₂ v- kimin -a₁ -t₁ =i =a
 either... or... S1 do OPT PL =EV =QUOT

vammartinesia !
 va= mn- m- a- rt -in -es =i =a
 va= mino-₂ m-₁ a- -e(n) rt₁ a- -e(n) -es =i =a
 NEG= PRV IO1 POT turn POT IO.PL.PST =EV =QUOT

What shall we do, we have failed to turn it around! [they asked.]

32 - ma xvale gamnvortinuankia
 ma xvale ga- mn- v- o- rt -in -u -an -k =i =a
 ma(n)+DIAL. VAR. OF xvale ga-₁ mino-₂ v- o- -in₁ rt₁ o- -in₁ -u₃ -an₁ -k₂ =i =a
 I alone PRF PRV S1 CAUS turn CAUS AUG SM S1/2SG =EV =QUOT

komučit mutunia do
 ko- mo- [m]- č -i -t mutun -i =a do
 ko- mo- m-₁ č₁ -i₃ -t₁ mutun -i₁ =a do₂
 AFF PRV IO1 give IMP PL anything NOM =QUOT you know

I will turn it around alone, (just) give me something, you know [, she said].

33.1 - mus merčantia siva ?
 mu -s me- r- č -an -t =i =a si =v =a
 mu(n)₂ -s₁ me- r-₁ č₁ -an₁ -t₁ =i =a si =v =a
 what DAT PRV IO2 give SM PL =EV =QUOT you.SG =EC =QUOT

What shall we give you? [they asked.]

33.2 čkə dop'ilitia , mara
 čkə do- p'- il -i -t =i =a mara
 čki+DIAL. VAR. OF do- v- ʔvil -i₄ -t₁ =i =a mara₁
 we PRV S1 kill.SG PST.IND PL =EV =QUOT but

vammartinesia do gverd t'q'ebis
 va= mn- m- a- rt -in -es =i =a do gverd t'q'eb -i -s
 va= mino-₂ m-₁ a- -e(n) rt₁ a- -e(n) -es =i =a do₁ gverd t'q'eb -i₂ -s₁
 NEG= PRV IO1 POT turn POT IO.PL.PST =EV =QUOT and half fur SV DAT

kimerčantia sia te
 ki- me- r- č -an -t =i =a si =a te
 ko- me- r-₁ č₁ -an₁ -t₁ =i =a si =a e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***
 AFF PRV IO2 give SM PL =EV =QUOT you.SG =QUOT DEM.PROX

t'urašisia
 t'ura -š -i -s =i =a
 t'ura -iš₂ -i₂ -s₁ =i =a
 jackal GEN SV DAT =EV =QUOT

We have killed it, they said, but we have failed to turn it around and we will give you [, they said,] a half of the fur of this jackal [, they said].

34 aturk'it'u: te osurk cal k'učxi do
 at- u- rk'it' -u: te osur -k cal -[i] k'učx -i do
 ato- u-₁ rk'it' -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** osur -k₁ cal₃ -i₁ k'učx -i₁ do₁
 PRV APPL prick S3SG.PST DEM.PROX wife ERG either NOM foot NOM and

gamna:rtinu: te t'ura
 ga- mno- o- rt -in -u: te t'ura
 ga-₁ mino-₁ o- -in₁ rt₁ o- -in₁ -u₁ e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,*** t'ura
 PRF PRV CAUS turn CAUS S3SG.PST DEM.PROX jackal

This woman touched the jackal with one of her feet and made it turn around.

35 got'q'abares č'ič'e t'uraš t'q'ebi mažira Ṗure xolo
 go- t'q'abar -es č'ič'e t'ura -iš t'q'eb -i ma- žir -a Ṗure =xolo
 go-₁ t'q'abar -es č'ič'e t'ura -iš₂ t'q'eb -i₁ ma- -a₂ žir ma- -a₂ Ṗure =xolo
 PRV flay S3PL.PST little jackal GEN fur NOM ORD two ORD side =EMPH

anc'i do gverdi te osurs kemečes ()
 anc'i do gverd -i te osur -s ke- me- č -es
 anc'i do₁ gverd -i₁ e^{+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***} osur -s₁ ko- me- č₁ -es
 from now on and half NOM DEM.PROX wife DAT AFF PRV give S3PL.PST

kimečes).
 ki- me- č -es
 ko- me- č₁ -es
 AFF PRV give S3PL.PST

Now, they flayed this little jackal's second side, too, and gave this woman a half (of it).

36 atak gortes do mele-mole
 atak go- rt -es do mele mole
 atak go-₁ rt₂ -es do₁ mele mole
 right here PRV divide S3PL.PST and thither hither

veχeso ?
 v= i- χ -es =o
 va= i-₃ χw -es =o₂
 NEG= APPL.CENTRIP take away.INANM S3PL.PST =QST

They divided it here and did not take it thither and hither?

37 mideχes do arzak kənčə
 mid- e- χ -es do arza -k kənč -u
 mida- i-₃ χw -es do₁ arza -k₁ kənč -u₁
 PRV APPL.CENTRIP take away.INANM S3PL.PST and all ERG clothes S3SG.PST

di:č'es oši k'očik ; on oš
 d- i:- č' -es oš -i k'oč -i -k on oš -[i]
 do-+POS. VAR. OF i-₁+DIAL. VAR. OF č'₄ -es oš -i₂ k'oč -i₂ -k₁ on oš -i₁
 PRV APPL sew S3PL.PST hundred SV man SV ERG then hundred NOM

k'očis oš kənčik ka:Ṗu: do ate
 k'oč -i -s oš -[i] kənč -i -k ko- a- Ṗ -u: do ate
 k'oč -i₂ -s₁ oš -i₁ kənč -i₂ -k₁ ko- a-₇ Ṗ₄ -u₁ do₁ e+***
 man SV DAT hundred NOM clothes SV ERG AFF APPL turn out S3SG.PST and DEM.PROX

čkəčkəs xeporčak da:k'ordə
 čkəčkə -s xeporča -k da- a- k'or -d -ə
 čkičk+DIAL. VAR. OF -s₁ xeporča -k₁ da-₁ a-₃ k'or₁ -d₂ -u₁
 child DAT sleeve ERG PRV APPL be not enough INCH S3SG.PST

They took it away and all these one hundred men sewed for themselves clothes; then these clothes came off for one hundred men, but (lit. and) for this little child, one sleeve turned out to be short.

38 ase , met'i mutun var , tena tak itebun do
 ase met' -i mutun -[i] var tena tak i- t -eb -un do
 ase met' -i₁ mutun -i₁ var e+*** tak i-₅ t₁ -eb₁ -u(n)₁ do₁
 now more NOM anything NOM no DEM.PROX here DECAUS end AUG SM.INACT and

, namu də umos uk'ulaši ?
 namu [r] -d -ə umos uk'ulaš -i
 namu₂ or -d₁ -u₁ umos uk'ulaš -i₁
 which be EM S3SG.PST more smaller NOM

Now, there is nothing, this (story) ends here, you know, which one (i.e. fairy tale) was shorter?

39 te k'ambeši duo , te
 te k'ambe -ši [r] -d -u =o te
 e^{+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***} k'ambe -iš₂ or -d₁ -u₁ =o₂ e^{+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF,***}
 DEM.PROX buffalo GEN be EM S3SG.PST =QST DEM.PROX

k'oči duo , obri do var , šxva namu də
 k'oč -i [r] -d -u =o obr -i do var šxva namu [r] -d -ə
 k'oč -i₁ or -d₁ -u₁ =o₂ obr -i₁ do₁ var šxva namu₂ or -d₁ -u₁
 man NOM be EM S3SG.PST =QST vulture NOM and no other which be EM S3SG.PST

umos - uk'laši tenepiše ?
 umos uk'laš -i ten -ep -iše
 umos uk'ulaš+FR. VAR. OF -i₁ e+*** -ep -iše(n)
 more smaller NOM DEM.PROX PL EL

That there was this buffalo, there was this man, the vulture and nothing, was some other shorter than these?

40 čkəčkə duo - t'arieli , oči duo
 čkəčkə [r] -d -u =o t'ariel -i oč -i [r] -d -u =o
 čkičk+DIAL. VAR. OF or -d₁ -u₁ =o₂ t'ariel -i₁ oč -i₁ or -d₁ -u₁ =o₂
 child be EM S3SG.PST =QST T'arieli NOM ram NOM be EM S3SG.PST =QST

do var , šxva ?
 do var šxva
 do₁ var šxva
 and no other

That the child was tall and strong (lit. T'arieli, the main protagonist in Šota Rustaveli's XIIth century poem "The Knight in the Panther's Skin"), that there was a ram and nothing, (some) other?

42 baxva eslamis ze kvarcxava ; 65 c'lis ; sopeli c'arče ; 7 / 07 /
 baxva eslam -is ze kvarcxava 65 c'l -is sopel -i c'arče 7 07
 baxva eslam -is ze kvarcxava c'l -is sopel -i₁ c'arče 7 07
 Baxva Eslam GEN son-of Kvarcxava year GEN village NOM C'arče 7 07

1933
 1933
 1933
 1933

Baxva son-of Eslam; 65 years old; village C'arče; 7/07/1933.