

Udi (Oktomberi/Vartashen dialect) -- East Caucasian

Sa pašč'ağun čubuğoy q'a sa tämbälun nağəl

žeiranišvili 1971:169-173

[Corrigenda / Analysis and Translation: W. Schulze 2001]

baneksa sa pašč'ağk'ena adamar, banekoi te lap pašč'ağal bakanei,
ba-ne-k-sa sa pašč'ağ-k'ena adamar ba-ne-k-o-y te lap pašč'ağ-al bak-a-ne-y
be-3sg-\$-pres one king-like man be-3sg-\$-fut2-past that much king-foc be-opt-3sg-past
'It is a king-like man – it would have been that he would have been a very [good] kind, too.'

iš c'iax malin ma teq'oabai.

iš c'i-ax malin ma te-q'o-aba-y

refl name-dat2 where=from what neg-3sg:io-know-past

'They did not know, where from [and] what his [refl.] name was.'

me pašč'ağk'ena adamari baksane sa čubux, ičal be'ğnuxo barabar
me pašč'ağ-k'ena adamar-i bak-sa-ne sa čubux ič-al be'ğ-n-uxo barabar
prox king-like man-gen be-pres-3sg one woman refl-foc sun-sa-abl like
'The king-like man has a woman who [refl.] [is] like the sun.'

sa ği me išen exne, te: k'ož išeine, čöl čubuğoi. čubuğon exne: etärta bako! čöl išeine, k'ož čubuğoi!

sa ği iš-en ex-ne te k'ož iš-ey-ne čöl čubuğ-oy čubuğ-on ex-ne etärt-a bak-o čöl iš-ey-ne k'ož čubuğ-oy

one day man-erg say-3sg that house man-gen-3sg field woman-gen woman-erg say-3sg how-3sg:q be-fut2 field man-erg-3sg house woman-gen

'Once this man says: the house belongs to the man, the field [belongs] to the woman. The woman says: how it will be? The field belongs to the man, the house to the woman!'

šet'inal exne, te etärta bako, zähmät-zap'k'al išu čöli bakane.

še-t'-in-al ex-ne te etärt-a bak-o zähmät-zap'-k'-al išu čöl-i bak-a-ne.

dist-sa:obl-erg-foc say-3sg that how-3sg:q be-fut2 work-work-lv-part:pres man field-gen be-opt-3sg

'This one says: how this will be? A work-working man should should have the field.'

čubuğon ičit'unebsa, išen gena ičit'u, axri sa vädä höžätiq'un baft'esa monor.

čubuğ-on ič-i-t'-u-ne-b-sa iš-en gena ič-i-t'u axri sa vädä höžäti-q'un baft'-esa mo-n-o-r
woman-erg refl-gen-sa:obl-dat1-3sg-make-pres man-erg however refl-gen-sa:obl-dat1

finally one time quarrel-3pl fall=into-pres prox-sa:abs-abs-pl

'The woman makes what is hers, the man what is his; finally at a time they they started to quarrel.'

išen ažuğ biq'eci bürmišnebsa: tašanān čubuğo, bēsp'anān, bosānān, ič partala, gurat'a, lāiluğa p'ina čapa ečanān!

iš-en ažuğ biq'-ec-i bürmiš-ne-b-sa taš-a-nān čubuğ-o bes-p-a-nān bos-a-nān ič partal-a gurat'a lāiluğ-a p'i-n-a čap-a eč-a-nān

man-erg wrath take-lv:past:pass-aor order-3sg-lv-pres take-opt-2pl kill-lv-opt-2pl throw-opt-2pl refl coat-dat1 shirt-dat1 headscarf-dat1 blood-dat1 soak-opt bring-opt-2pl

'Having taken by anger, the man orders: take the woman, kill [her], throw [her], soak her [ref.!] coat [and] shirt [and] headscarf in the blood [and] bring [them]!'

vezir-nāzirğon mot'u taššaq'un bēsp'esān, ama häyf-q'unbesa, bēsp'esa teq'un.

vezir-nāzir-ğ-on mo-t'-u taš-šā-q'un bes-p'-es-an ama häyf-q'un-b-esa bes-p'-esa te-q'un
vezir-nāzir-pl-erg prox-sa:obl-dat1 carry-pres-3pl kill-lv-inf-final but fear-3pl-lv-pres kill-lv-pres neg-3pl

'The vezir-nezirs carry her [away] to kill [her] but they are afraid [and] do not kill [her].'

čubuxal gölō šeluk'la adamarrei.

čubux-al gölō šel-uk'-la adamar-re-y

woman-foc much good-heart-adj person-3sg:-past

'The woman was a very thankful person.'

mot'ğon šot'u barq'unexa, exq'un

mo-t'-ğ-on šo-t'-u bar-q'un-exa ex-q'un

prox-sa:obl-pl-erg dist-sa:obl-dat1 free-3pl-lv:pres say:pres-3pl

'They free her [and] say.'

ma buvaq'sa, take, ačesba vax melan, täksa pašč'ağun pel ma ak'eke!

ma bu-va-q'-sa take ač-es-b-a vax melan täksa pašč'ağ-un pel ma ak'-eke

where want-2sg:io-\$-pres go:imp:2sg be=away-inf-make-opt:2sg you:sg:dat2 from=here only
king-gen eye:super proh see-lv:pass:imp:2sg

'Go where you want; get away from here so that you won't be seen by the king's eye.'

met'inal burim sa iāravgā q'əzälle aq'sa; me iāravginā aq'i tanesa.

me-t'-in-al burim sa yāravgā q'əzäl-le aq'-sa me yāravgā aq'-i ta-ne-sa

prox-sa:obl it=seems one bag gold-3sg take-pres prox bag take-past go-3sg-\$:pres

'She (it seems) takes a bag (full of) gold. Having taken this bag she goes.'

gölōne taisa, k'ic'ine taisa, taci sa äizi banep'sa.

gölō-ne tay-sa k'ic'-ne tay-sa tac-i sa äiz-i ba-ne-p'-sa

much-3sg go-pres little-3sg go go:past-aor one village-dat1 come-3sg-\$-pres

'She go much [and] goes a little; having gone she comes into a village.'

me äizi sa karvanu q'a ičial sa tämbäl ġarre baksa.

me äiz-i sa karvanu q'a ič-i-al sa tämbäl ġar-re bak-sa
prox village-dat1 old=woman and refl-gen-foc one lazy boy-3sg be-pres
'In this village, there is an old woman and her lazy boy.'

mono ari düz mot'ġo k'uane esa. karvanax exne:

mo-n-o ar-i düz mo-t'-ġ-o k'ua-ne esa karvan-ax ex-ne
prox-sa:ob-abs come:past-aor directly prox-sa:obl-pl-gen house:dat1-3sg go:pres old=woman-
dat2 say:pres-3sg
'Having come she goes directly to their house [and] says to the old woman.'

ai, nana, zax me biasun q'onaġba! me karvanen exne: bezi sa tämbäl ġarbez bu, k'ual ek'aal tebez bu, vax etär q'onaġbaz?

ay nana zax me bias-un q'onaġ-b-a me karvan-en ex-ne bezi sa tämbäl ġar-bez bu k'ua-l ak'a-
al te-bez bu vax etär q'onaġ-b-a-z
oh mother I:dat2 prox evening-gen guest-lv-opt:2sg prox old=woman say:pres-3sg my one
lazy boy-1sg:poss exist house:dat1-foc something-foc neg-1sg:poss exist you:sg:dat2 how
guest-lv-opt-1sg
'Oh mother, be my host this evening! The old woman says: I have a lazy boy. In the house, I have nothing –
how can I be your host?'

doġridan, t'e ġaren sa iš kex boxost'a tene, te sa k'at' xe u'ġa'ne.

doġridan t'e ġar-en sa iš kex boxo-st'a te-ne te sa k'at' xe u'ġ-a'ne
really dist boy-erg one refl hand:dat2 long-caus:pres neg-3sg that one drop water dring-opt-
3sg
'Really: that boy does not make long his hand in order to drink a drop of water.'

me čubġox axri q'onaġq'unbesa. mono mia sa xeilax mannest'a.

me čub-ġ-ox axri q'onaġ-q'un-b-esa mo-n-o mia sa xeil-ax ma-ne-st'a
prox woman-dat2 finally guest-3pl-lv-pres prox-sa:abs-abs here one period-dat2 stay-3sg-
\$:pres
'Finally, they host this woman – she stays here for a while.'

sa ġi me čubġon sa u'q e'š aq'i k'ožin bip'čo u'q gala t'ak'nexa.

sa ġi me čubġ-on sa u'q e'š aq'-i k'ož-in bip'čo u'q ga-l-a t'ak'-ne-xa
one day prox woman-erg one six apple take-past house-gen four=side six place-sa-dat1
distribute-3sg-lv:pres
'One day the woman take six apples [and] distributes them in the house.'

sa e'šnux t'ošne laxsa, te me e'šnu be'ġi t'e ġar t'oš č'eġane.

sa e'š-n-ux t'oš-ne lax-sa te me e'š-n-u be'ġ-i t'e ġar t'oš č'eġ-a-ne

one apple-sa-dat2 outside-3sg place-pres that prox apple-sa-dat2 see-past dist boy outside
go=out-opt-3sg

‘She places one apple outside so that that boy – having seen this apple – would go out.’

e^ʃna soot’u lanexsa t’e sa gala, saial a^ʃxi^ʃl, te me ġar sai a^ʃxi^ʃl č’eġane,
e^ʃš-n-a soo-t’-u la-ne-x-sa t’e sa ga-l-a say-al a^ʃxil te me ġar say a^ʃxi^ʃl č’eġ-a-ne
apple-sa-gen one-sa:obl-dat1 place-3sg-\$-pres dist one place-sa-dat1 one-foc distance that
prox boy one distance go=out-opt-3sg

‘She lays one apple on such a far place that the boy has to go out far [away].’

*axri mert’er, soot’u t’ia, soot’u mia, t’aġa-maġa lanexsa. sa äiten, t’esunt’u t’aġa, mesunt’u
maġa*

axri mer-t’er soo-t’-u t’ia soo-t’-u mia t’aġa-maġa la-ne-x-sa sa äit-en t’esun-t’-u t’aġa
mesun-t’-u maġa

finally this=way-that=way one-sa:obl-dat1 here here-there lay-3sg-\$-pres one word-erg>instr
that=one-sa:obl-dat1 there this=one-sa:obl-dat1 here

‘Finally, like this and that, she lays one here, somewhere, in one word, one over there, one over here.’

axri hämetarluġen t’e ġarax me čubġon t’ošne čišč’a e^ʃna örindä.

axri hämetarluġ-en t’e ġar-ax me čubġ-on t’oš-ne čišč’a e^ʃš-n-a örindä

finally this=mode-erg>instr dist boy-dat2 prox woman-erg outside-3sg pull:pres appl-sa-gen
in=favor=of

‘Finally, the woman brings out that boy for sake of the apple.’

sa ġi me čubġon exne me ġara:

sa ġi me čubġ-on ex-ne me ġar-a

one day prox woman say:pres-3sg prox boy-dat1

‘One day this woman says to this boy.’

venkena č’äinaxup’ boxalzu, täksa sa šäi eča!

venk’ena č’äi-n-a xup’ box-al-zu täksa sa šäy eč-a

you:sg:ben butter-sa-gen pilav cook-fut-1sg only one five=kopek bring-opt:2sg

‘I will cook you a butter-pilav – but bring [me] one coin (of five kopeks).’

tämbälen exne: sa šäinal za šina ašbest’o?

tämbäl-en ex-ne sa šäy-n-al za šin-a aš-bes-t’-o

lazy-erg say:pres-3sg one five-kopek-super who:erg-3sg:q work-lv-inf-caus-fut2

‘The lazy one says: who can work for me for one coin (of five kopeks)?’

*šet’in exne: upa mer: sa šäinal ašbest’al, sa šäinal ašbest’al! hamer pesin take t’aġa-maġa,
take boxo iaq’.*

še-t’-in ex-ne up-a mer sa šäy-n-al aš-b-es-t’-al sa šäy-n-al aš-b-es-t’a-l hamer p-es-in take

t'ağa-mağa take boxo yaq'

dist-sa:obl-erg say:pres-3sg say:imp-opt:2sg so one five=kopek-sa-super work-lv-inf-caus-part:pres one five=kopek-sa-super work-lv-inf-caus-part:pres so say-inf-erg>instr go:imp:2sg here there go:imp:2sg long way

'She says: say so: working for a coin, working for a coin - saying so go here and there and take a long way.'

vax sa gala te sa gala ašbest'alq'un.

vax sa ga-l-a te sa ga-l-a aš-b-es-t'-al-q'un

you:sg:dat2 one place-sa-dat1 neg one place-sa-dat1 work-lv-inf-caus-fut1-3pl

'They will have you work in this place [if] not in that place.'

tanesa me ġaral hamer haraibesin harsa ašla besane čubğon uk'alok'ena.

ta-ne-sa me ġar-al hamer haray-b-es-in har-sa aš-l-a b-esa-ne čubğ-on uk-'al-o-k'ena

go-2sg-š:pres prox boy-foc so cry-lv-inf-erg>instr each-one work-sa-dat1 make-pres-3sg woman-erg say:fot-part:pres-abs-like

'Crying, the boy goes [and] makes the whole work yust as the woman has said.'

met'u, ma upa burim, ašbesq'undesä.

me-t'-u ma up-a burim aš-b-es-q'un-d-esa

prox-sa:obl-dat1 proh say:imp:2sg it=seems work-lv-inf-3pl-caus-pres

'Not to say: it seems that they out him to work.'

mot'u tängäälq'un tast'a, gölö tängä.

mo-t'-u tängä-äl-q'un tast'a gölö tängä.

prox-sa:obl-dat1 money-foc-3pl give:pres much money

'They give him money, much money.'

met'in šäinuxo abuz aq'sa tene. ečeri tanest'a čubğo.

me-t'-in šäy-n-uxo abuz aq'-sa te-ne eč-er-i ta-ne-st'a čubğ-o

prox-sa:obl-erg five=kopek-sa-abl more take-pres neg-3sg bring-past-aor give-3sg-š:pres woman-dat1

'He does not take more coins (of five kopek) [and] having brought [them] he gives [them] to the woman.'

me čubğon me tämbäla ošun ġenal p'a^š šäienk'ne iaq'absa, hamal exne:

me čubğ-on me tämbäl-a ošun ġe-n-a-l p'a^š šäy-enk'-ne yaq'-a-b-sa ham-al ex-ne

prox woman-erg prox lazy-dat1 next day-sa-dat1-foc two five=kopek way-dat1-lv-pres so-foc say:pres-3sg

'The next day this woman sends the lazy one for two coins (of five kopeks), saying so:'

p'uran va č'ainaxup' tadalzu, saial abuz!

p'uran va č'ay-n-a xup' tad-al-zu say-al abuz

again you:sg:dat1 butter-sa-gen pilav give-fut1-1sg one-foc more

‘Again I will give you a butter pilav this one [is] more!’

tanesa, tämbäl-en besane čubuğon uk’alokena.

ta-ne-sa tämbäl-en b-esa-ne čubuğ-on uk’-al-o-k’ena

go-3sg- $\$$:pres tämbäl-en make-pres-3sg woman-erg say:fut-part:pres-abs-like

‘The lazy one goes [and] does like the woman has said’.

taq’undesä p’a^f šäi. aq’i enesa k’ua. čubuğon xup’a tanest’a.

ta-q’un-d-esa p’a^f šäy aq’-i e-ne-sa k’ua čubuğ-on xup’-a ta-ne-st’a

given-3pl- $\$$:pres two five=kopek take-aor home.Dat1 woman-erg pilav-dat1 give-3sg- $\$$:pres

‘They give him two coins. Having taken [them] he goes home. The woman gives [him] the pilav.’

axraxal sa abazinalle ašbesa.

axrax-al sa abaz-in-al-le aš-b-esa

finally-foc one twenty=kopek-sa-super-3sg work-lv-pres

‘Finally, he works for a coin (of twenty kopek)’

me ġaren abazina ečesxolan, met’u čubğon ečeri č’äina xup’a sa šel uk-es-ne-st’a.

me ġar-en abaz-in-a eč-es-xolan me-t’-u čubğ-on eč-er-i č’äy-n-a xup’-a sa šel uk-es-ne-st’a

prox boy-erg twenty=kopek-sa-dat1 bring-inf-during prox-sa:obl-dat1 bring-past-aor butter-sa-gen pilav-dat1 one good eat-inf-3sg-caus:pres

‘When the boy brings the coin (of twenty kopeks) the woman brings the butter pilav [and] feeds [him] well.’

sai oša me čubğon tämbäla p’uran iaq’anebsa, hamal pesnest’a:

say oša me čubğ-on tämbäl-a p’uran yaq’-a-ne-b-sa ham-al pes-ne-st’a

one after prox woman-erg lazy-dat1 again way-dat1-3sg-lv-pres so-foc say-3sg-caus:pres

‘After this, the woman sends the lazy one again [and] has him say so.’

sa usen ašbest’al sa usen ašbest’al!

sa usen aš-b-es-t’-al sa usen aš-b-es-t’-al

one year work-lv-inf-caus-part:pres one year work-lv-inf-caus-part:pres

‘One year working, one year working.’

take, ašba sa usen, oša eke, vax be^fğa^f ežürä dövlät kaf-t’ala.

take aš-b-a sa usen oša eke vax be^fğ-a^f e-žürä dövlät kaf-t’-al-a

come:imp:2sg work-lv-opt:2sg then you:sg:dat2 go:imp:2sg see-opt:2sg what-kind goods gain-lv-part:part-3sg:q

‘Come, work one year, then go [and] look what kind of goods are gained.’

ğar tanesa, hašoral exne t’ia mia.

ğar ta-ne-sa hašor-al ex-ne t’ia mia.

boy go-3sg- $\$$:pres emph-so-foc say:pres-3sg here there

‘The boy goes [and] says so here and there.’

sa karvanen bineq’sa mit’u gädäluğa.

sa karvan-en bi-ne-q’-sa mo-t’-u gädäluğ-a

one old=Woman take-3sg- $\$$ -pres prox-sa:obl-dat1 slavehood-dat1

‘One old woman takes him as a slave.’

mia me ğaren ella gavalĝo tägroğox dürüs-dürüs alanebsa.

mia me ğar-en el-la gaval-ğ-o täg-roğ-ox dürüs-dürüs ala-ne-b-sa

here prox boy-erg salt-gen sack-pl-gen piece-pl-dat2 right-right high-3sg-lv-pres

‘Here this boy lifts pieces of salt sacks in the right way.’

me tämbälun ašbesunun ion bütünt’ai kefillesa.

me tämbäl-un aš-b-esun-un yon bütün-t’-ay kefil-le-sa

prox lazy-gen work-lv-inf2-gen kind all-sa:obl-gen pleasing-3sg-pres

‘The way the lazy one is working is a pleasure for everybody.’

melan aizeri iaq’alq’un č’esa bušruğon.

melan aiz-er-i yaq’-al-q’un č’-esa buš-ruğ-on

from=now=on rise-past-aor way-super-3pl go=out-pres camel-pl-erg>instr

‘From now on they start to send [him] with camels.’

iaq’al bušrux xenezaq’un baksa, ama xe tast’an lek’er ičxoi tene baksa

yaq’-al buš-rux xeneza-q’un bak-sa ama xe tast’an lek’er ič-x-oy te-ne bak-sa

way-super camel-pl thirsty-3pl be-pres but water give:final pitcher refl-pl-gen neg-3sg be-pres

‘On the way the camels become thirsty but they do not have a pitcher to give water.’

me ğar taise beğsane, te sa q’uš xodal purpi lainesä binesta, lainesä binesta

me ğar tai-sa beğ-sa-ne te sa q’uš xod-al pur-p-i lai-ne-sa bi-ne-st’a lai-ne-sa bi-nest’a

prox boy go-pres see-pres-3sg that one bird tree-super fly-lv-aor go=up-3sg- $\$$:pres fall=down-3sg- $\$$:pres go=up-3sg- $\$$:pres fall=down-3sg- $\$$:pres

‘The boy goes [and] sees that a bird having flown on a tree goes up and down, goes up and down.’

ai dalai, ai dalai, bixažux, va šükür, bixažux, va šükür! hamer pesin ğar tanesa t’ağa, enesa mağa, te xene lek’era buğa’bane

ay dalay ay dalay bixažux va šükür bixažux va šükür ha-mer p-es-in ğar ta-ne-sa t’ağa e-ne-sa

mağa te xe-n-e lek’er-a buğa’-b-a-ne

o dalay o dalay god you:sg:dat1 glory god you:sg:dat1 glory emph-so say-inf-erg>instr come-3sg- $\$$:pres there go-3sg- $\$$:pres here that water-sa-gen pitcher-dat1 find-lv-opt-3sg

‘Saying ‘o dalay, o dalay god, glory to you glory to you’ he comes here goes there in order to find a pitcher of water.’

bixažux, va šükür! mia xe bakalle, baiğa beğaz
bixažux va šükür mia xe bak-al-le baiğ-a beğ-a-z
 god you:sg:dat1 glory here water be-fut1-3sg go=into-opt see-opt-1 sg
 ‘God, glory to you! Here will be water, if I go and see [it].’

me ğaren mia beğsane, te sa p’a devne bu. burim mia devroğo pašč’ağluğne.
me ğar-en mia beğ-sa-ne te sa p’a dev-ne bu burim mia dev-roğ-o pašč’ağluğ-ne
 prox boy-erg here see-pres-3sg that one two dev-3sg exist it=seems here dev-pl-gen kingdom-
 3sg
 ‘The boy sees that [there] are one two devs; it seems that here is a kingdom of the devs.’

ičxo, devroğo q’atıal sa šavat’, beğk’ena xašt’al, beğnuxo barabar, nut’ ak’eci xınarre bu.
me xınarı pulal binesta me ğari laxo.
ič-xo dev-roğ-o q’ati-al sa šavat’ beğ-k’ena xašt’-al beğ-n-uxo barabar nut’ ak’eci-i xınar-
re bu. me xınār-i pul-al bi-ne-st’a me ğar-i laxo.
 refl-abl dev-pl-gen between-foc one beautiful sun-like shine-lv-part:pres sun-sa-abl like neg
 see-lv:pass:past-aor girl-3sg axist prox girl-gen eye-foc fall-3sg-\$.pres prox boy-gen on
 ‘From this, [there] is a beautiful girl among the devs – shining like the sun equaling the sun as it has never been
 seen. The girl’s eye falls on this boy.’

xınären ğara ari č’ap’k’in exne:
xınār-en ğar-a ar-i č’ak’in ex-ne
 girl-erg boy-dat1 come:past-aor secretly say:pres-3sg
 ‘Having come the girl says secretly to the boy.’

aman, vax besp’alq’un devroğon, un meno mia man are?
aman vax bes-p’-al-q’un dev-roğ-on un me-n-o mia ma-n ar-e
 aman you:sg:dat2 kill-lv-3pl dev-pl-erg you:sg prox-sa:abs-abs here why-2sg come:past-perf
 ‘Aman! The devs will kill you. [For] what have you [this one] come here?’

me xınären tanest’a ğara p’ilinža, me ğaren k’ac’nexa devroğo.
me xınār-en ta-ne-st’a ğar-a p’ilinž-a me ğar-en k’ac’-ne-xa dev-roğ-o
 prox girl-erg go-3sg-\$.pres boy-dat1 sable-dat1 prox boy-erg kill-3sg-lv:pres dev-pl-dat1
 ‘The girl gives the boy a sable [and] the boy kills the devs.’

xınār baneksa azad. xınären ğara sa a^lla^lmne tast’a, düniani nut’ bakala šei.
xınār ba-ne-k-sa azad xınār-en ğar-a sa a^lla^lm-ne tast’a dünian-i nut’ bak-al-a šey
 girl be-3sg-\$.pres free girl-erg boy-dat1 one sign-3sg give:pres world-dat1 neg be-part:pres-
 attr thing
 ‘The girl is free. The girl gives the boy a sign – a thing that does not exist in the world’.

me a^ʎla^ʎma ġaren aq^ʎi t^ʎe pašč^ʎağun čubğonk^ʎne iaq^ʎabsa.
 me a^ʎla^ʎm-a ġar-en aq^ʎ-i t^ʎe pašč^ʎağ-un čubğ-onk^ʎ-ne yaq^ʎ-a-b-sa
 prox sign-dat1 boy-erg take-aor dist king-gen woman-ben-3sg send-dat1-lv-pres
 ‘The boy takes this sign [and] sends it to the king’s woman.’

pašč^ʎağun čubğon be^ʎği be^ʎği be^ʎğsane, te me a^ʎla^ʎm dim birliant^ʎe.
 pašč^ʎağ-un čubğ-on be^ʎğ-i be^ʎğ-i be^ʎğ-sa-ne te me a^ʎla^ʎm dim birliant^ʎ-e
 king-gen woman-erg see-past see-past see-pres-3sg that prox sign complete brilliant-3sg
 ‘The king’s woman looks, looks and sees that this sign is a complete brilliant.’

met^ʎin me birliant^ʎun togen k^ʎoğruxne biq^ʎsa, zerevnek^ʎsa harsa ŧei-ŧuien.
 me-t^ʎ-in me birliant^ʎ-un tog-en k^ʎoğ-rux-ne biq^ʎ-sa zerev-ne-k^ʎ-sa har-sa ŧey-ŧuy-en
 prox-sa-erg prox brilliant-gen price-erg>instr house-pl-3sg take-pres dress-3sg-lv-pres each-
 one thing-thing-erg>instr
 ‘She buys house for the price of this brilliant and dresses [herself] with things [and] things.’

hamal tãmbãl ġari iaq^ʎne be^ʎğsa.
 hamal tãmbãl ġar-i yaq^ʎ-ne be^ʎğ-sa
 so lazy boy-gen way-3sg see-pres
 ‘Thus she sees the way of the lazy boy.’

ğar tene esa ama p^ʎa^ʎ a^ʎla^ʎmne iaq^ʎabsa t^ʎe čubğoenk^ʎ ŧelluğa besuna ġöraã.
 ġar te-ne esa ama p^ʎa^ʎ a^ʎla^ʎm-ne yaq^ʎ-a-b-sa t^ʎe čubğ-oenk^ʎ ŧelluğ-a b-esun-a ġöraã.
 boy neg-3sg go:pres but two sign-3sg way-dat1-lv-pres woman-ben goodness-dat1 make-inf-
 dat1 because
 ‘The boy does not go but sends two signs to the woman because of the good things she did.’

ič hala t^ʎe xinãri t^ʎo^ʎğ^ʎlle mandesa.
 ič hala t^ʎe xinãr-i t^ʎo^ʎğ^ʎl-le mand-esa
 refl now dist girl-gen at-3sg stay-pres
 ‘He (himself) stays with that girl.’

sa usen ari tamnebaksa. xinãrã t^ʎia exne:
 sa usen ar-i tam-ne-bak-sa xinãr-ã t^ʎia ex-ne
 one year go:past-past complete-3sg-lv-pres girl-dat1 there say:pres-3sg
 ‘One year has passed. He says there to the girl.’

zax iaq^ʎabit^ʎin pene, te sa usenaxo abuz ma čurpa.
 zax yaq^ʎ-a-b-i-t^ʎ-in p-e-ne te sa usen-axo abuz ma čur-p-a
 I:dat2 way-dat1-lv-part:past-sa:obl-erg that one year-abl more proh stand-lv-opt:2sg
 ‘He who has sent me said that you (> I) should not stay longer after one year.’

ğar qaibaki enesa; ari be^ğsane, te ič k'ožmec bu tene;
 ğar qai-bak-i e-ne-sa ar-i be^ğ-sa-ne te ič k'ož-mec bu te-ne
 boy back-be-past go-3sg-\$.pres go:past-past see-pres-3sg that refl house-door exist neg-3sg
 'Having returned the boy comes. Having come he sees that his house-door does not exist.'

furunexa, ama iš dägina bu^ğa^ğbes tet'ubaksa.
 furu-ne-xa ama iš däg-in-a bu^ğa^ğ-b-es te-t'u bak-sa
 search-3sg-lv:pres but refl nomade-sa-dat1 find-lv-inf neg-3sg:io be-pres
 'He searches but he cannot find his nomade.'

iš gala sa minäriux čurpine.
 iš ga-l-a sa minäriux čur-p-i-ne
 refl place-sa-dat1 one palace stand-lv-aor-3sg
 'In its place [there] stood a palace.'

aq'nesa. pašč'ağun čubğon iču ak'eci exne:
 aq'-ne-sa pašč'ağ-un čubğ-on ič-u ak'-ec-i ex-ne
 take-3sg-lv:pass:pres king-gen woman-erg refl-dat1 see-lv:pass:past-aor say-pres-3sg
 'He wondered; being seen [by him] the king's woman says:'

take, eča t'e devna xunčex, arcest'a mia venk'ena bin!
 take eč-a t'e dev-n-a xunč-ex arc-es-t'-a mia venk'ena bin
 go:imp:2sg bring-opt:2sg dist dev-sa-gen sister-dat2 sit-inf-caus-opt:2sg here you:sg-ben
 bride
 'Go [and] bring that sister of the dev, make [her] sit as your bride.'

ğaren taci enešč'a xinäräx, aneq'sa šot'u ičenk' binluğa. mia sa šel lašk'one baksa.
 ğar-en ta-c-i e-ne-šč'a xinär-äx a-ne-q'-sa šo-t'-u ič-enk' binluğ-a mia sa šel lašk'o-ne bak-sa
 boy-erg go-\$.past-aor bring-3sg-\$.pres girl-dat2 take-3sg-\$.pres dist-sa:obl-dat1 refl-ben
 bridehood-dat1 here one beautiful marriage-3sg be-pres
 'The boy goes and brings the girl. He takes her as his wife; it is a beautiful marriage.'

isa mannedi pašč'ağ.
 isa man-ne-d-i pašč'ağ
 now stay-3sg-\$.aor king
 'Now he became king.'

ičğo č'eri č'ap'k'in t'it'eri ari čubğon, mia te me älämätğo besane, oša taci pašč'ağa
q'eirit'a zomon xabarbi, q'onağne k'alex.
 ič-ğ-o č'e-r-i č'ap'k'in t'it'-er-i ar-i čubğ-on mia te me älämät-ğ-o b-esa-ne oša ta-c-i pašč'ağ-
 a q'eiri-t'-a zom-on xabar-b-i q'onağ-ne k'al-exa
 refl-pl-dat1 go=out-past-aor secretly run-past-aor come:past-aor woman-erg here that prox

sign-pl-dat1 make-pres-3sg then go-past-aor king-dat1 other-sa:obl-gen door-erg>instr news-
make-aor guest-3sg call-lv:pres

‘Having gone out to them, having run, having come the woman makes these signs. Then she goes to the king through another door, informs [him] [and] calls the guests.’

išual enesa, be^ǰgsane, te me fulan čubǰo karxal ga iš pasč’aǰluǰaxo abuzne ič mal dövläten.
išu-al e-ne-sa be^ǰg-sa-ne te me fulan čubǰ-o kar-x-al ga iš pasč’aǰluǰ-axo abuz-ne ič mal
dövlät-en

man-foc come-3sg- $\$$:pres see-pres-3sg that prox certain woman-gen live-lv-part:pres place
refl kingdom-abl more-3sg goods riches-erg>instr

‘The man comes [and] sees that the living place of this certain woman has more goods and riches than his kingdom.’

*išen hala tet’u aba, meno ši gamxoxa, ši dövläta. pasč’aǰen väzirǰox exne: mot’u hazirbio
šua, ariq’an sa!*

iš-en hala te-t’u aba me-n-o ši ga-mxox-a ši dövlät-a pasč’aǰ-en väzir-ǰ-ox ex-ne mo-t’-u
hazir-b-i-o šu-a ar-i-q’a-n sa

man-erg now neg-3sg:io know prox-sa:abs-abs who:gen place-pl-3sg:q who:gen riches-3sg:q
king-erg vezir-pl-dat2 say:pres-3sg prox-sa:obl-dat1 ready-lv-aor-abs who-3sg:q come:past-
aor-adh-3sg one

‘Now the man does not know whose place this is, whose riches [this] is. The king says to the vezirs: who has prepared this? One should come!’

*čubux zereci lapeci, q’əzələn babočalǰox ič k’ašimǰo lavk’i, imoǰo suruk’balǰo ič imǰo
suruk’bi,*

čubux zer-ec-i lap-ec-i, q’əzəl-ən babočal-ǰ-ox ič k’ašim-ǰ-o lav-k’-i, imoǰ-o suruk’-b-al-ǰ-o
ič imǰ-o suruk’-b-i,

woman dress-lv:pass:past-aor dress-lv:pass:past-aor gold-gen ring-pl-dat2 refl refl finger-pl-
dat1 put=on-lv-aor ear-dat1 hang-lv-part:pres-pl-dat1 refl ear-dat1 hang-lv-aor

‘The woman who was dress and dressed, who had put golden rings on her fingers, who had hang earrings on her ears,

ič bel q’əzələn q’a gümüşun k’at’ara laxi, ič laxoal žinžik’a but’k’i,

ič bel q’əzəl-ən q’a gümüş-un k’at’ar-a lax-i, ič laxo-al žinžik’-a but’-k’-i,

refl head:super gold-egn and silver-gen comb-dat1 put-aor refl on-foc gauze-dat1 cover-lv-aor
‘who put on her head a comb out of gold and silver, who put on herself gauze,’

maxp’urun turin lek’erax lapi, ič keal sa sininax aq’i,

maxp’ur-un tur-in lek’er-ax lap-i ič ke-al sa sini-n-ax aq’-i

velvet-gen leg-gen pitcher-dat2 put=on-aor refl hand:dat1-foc one platter-sa-dat2 take-or

‘who put on velvet trousers who took a platter in her hand[s]’

ič laxoal sa a^ǰla^ǰmax laxi č’enesa, ak’nesa me iše va^ǰ exne:

ič laxo-al sa a¹la¹m-ax lax-i č¹e-ne-sa, ak¹-ne-sa me iš-e va¹ ex-ne:
reff on-foc one sign-dat2 put-aor go=out-3sg-pres see-3sg-pass:pres refl man-dat1 and
say:pres-3sg

‘who put on herself a sign goes out shows [herself] to the man and says:’

me gamxo k'onžux zuzu! ič čoexo žinžik'ax alabi ak'esnest'a ičux.

me ga-mx-o k'onžux zu-zu! ič čo-exo žinžik'-ax ala-b-i ak'-es-ne-st'a ič-ux.

prox place-pl-gen master I-1sg refl side-abl gauze-dat2 high-lv-aor see-inf-3sg-caus:pres refl-
dat2

‘I am the master of this places! Having lifted the gauze from her side, she makes him(self) see her.’

*pašč'ağ aq'esane t'u¹q'¹e¹sa, hametär zomox a¹m, aq'eci gölö vaxt' pex ci¹ğ¹a¹ramdi ič galaxo
galpes tet'ubaksa.*

pašč'ağ aq'-esa-ne t'u¹q'¹-e¹sa, hametär zomox a¹m, aq'-ec-i gölö vaxt' pex ci¹-ğ¹a¹ram-d-i ič
ga-l-axo gal-p-es te-t'u bak-sa.

king take-pass:pers-3sg be=amazed-pres such mouth open take-pass:past-aor much time
eye:dat2 down-?-lv-aor refl place-sa-abl move-lv-inf neg-3sg:io be-pres

‘The king wonders [and] is amazed; thus [his] mouth [is] open, he is amazed, a long time having ??? down he
cannot move from his place.’

*čubğon puranal exne: hame ġar t'e tämbäl ġarre, be¹ğ¹a¹ mano galaz bap'esp'e! isa
va¹baksan, te čöl išeine, k'ož gena čubğoi!*

čubğ-on puran-al ex-ne: ha-me ġar t'e tämbäl ġar-re, be¹ğ-a¹ ma-n-o ga-l-a-z bap'-es-p'-e! isa
va¹-bak-sa-n, te čöl iš-ey-ne, k'ož gena čubğ-oy!

woman-erg again-foc say:pres-3sg emph-prox boy dist lazy boy-3sg see-opt:2sg who-sa:abs-
abs place-sa-dat1-1sg reach-inf-lv-perf belief-be-pres-2sg that field man-gen-3sg house
however woman-gen

‘The woman says again: this boy is the lazy boy. Look which place I have reached. You believe that the field
belongs to the man the house to the woman!’

čubğon sinin laxo be¹ğ¹i exne:

čubğ-on sini-n laxo be¹ğ-i ex-ne

woman-erg platter-gen on see-past say:pres-3sg

‘The woman looks at the platter [and] says:’

a¹la¹m, do¹pa¹, pasbaka! a¹la¹m do¹pnexa, harsa žok' sa kaala pašč'ağluğane č'uresa.

a¹la¹m, do¹p-a¹, pas-bak-a! a¹la¹m do¹p-ne-xa, har-sa žok' sa kaala pašč'ağluğ-a-ne č'ur-esa.

sign burst-opt:2sg be=divided-opt:2sg sign burst-3sg-lv:pres each-one except one big
kingdom-dat1-3sg stand-pres

‘Burst, sign, be divided! The sign bursts, each one except one big [piece] standing in the kingdom.’

mia ečeri me čubğon bärün tämbäl ġara pašč'ağne arcest'esa.

mia eč-er-i me čubğ-on bärün tämbäl ġar-a pašč'ağne arc-es-t'-esa

here bring-past-aor prox woman-erg soon lazy boy-dat1 king-3sg sit-inf-caus-pres

‘Having brought [him] here the woman soon makes the lazy boy to sit as a king.’

iš išexal metärluğen ot’best’esane, enex exne:

iš iš-ex-al metärluğ-en ot’-b-es-t’-esa-ne, enex ex-ne:

refl man-dat2-foc this=mode-erg>instr shame-make-inf-caus-pres-3sg already say:pres-3sg

‘She beshamed her man in such a way so that he says:’

ek’a baneke, barta baq’anki, isa tağen ianal be^š pašč’ağluğa, täksa mot’xo oša abaq’avabaki:

ek’a ba-ne-k-e, barta ba-q’a-n-k-i, isa tağ-en yan-al be^š pašč’ağluğ-a, täksa mo-t’-xo oša abaq’a-va-bak-i:

what be-3sg- $\$$ -perf be=it be-adh-3sg- $\$$ -aor now go-imp:1pl we-foc we:gen kindom-dat1 only prox-sa:obl-abl after know-adh-2sg:io-lv-aor

‘What has happened let it happen. Now let us go into our kingdom only after you have known:’

čöl išeine, k’ož gena čubğo.

čöl iš-ey-ne k’ož gena čubğ-o

field man-gen-3sg house however woman-gen

‘The field belongs to the man the house however to the woman.’

pašč’ağen be^šgi be^šgi čubğo turelda čokt’i, exne:

pašč’ağ-en be^šgi be^šgi čubğ-o tur-el-da čok-t’-i ex-ne:

king-erg see-aor see-aor woman-gen foot-super-loc throw-lv-aor say:pres-3sg

‘The king looked [and] looked [and] threw himself on the foot of the woman [and] says:’

pašč’ağ unnu, zu gena vi be^š bulk’oc’bi vi iesirzu ġeunaxo oša!

pašč’ağ un-nu, zu gena vi be^š bul-k’oc’-b-i vi yesir-zu ġeun-axo oša!

king you:sg-2sg I however you:sg:gen in=front head-bow-lv-aor you:sg:gen prisoner-1sg day-abl after

‘You are the king, I however – having bent my head – am your prisoner from now on.’