

Tarak'ala xaxal [The Walking Sieve] [Nizh (~ 2000); Keçaari 2001:25-126]

Glosses and translation: Wolfgang Schulze (11/02)

- (1) *nex-t'un ayiz-e sa karnu čuhux šo-t'-ay sa bin bin-e-al bip' äyel-t'ux bu-y*
say:PRES-3PL village-DAT one old woman DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 one daughter=in=law daughter=in=law-GEN-FOC four child-3SG:IO be-PAST
'They say that in a village (there was) an old woman, SHE had a daughter-in-law (and) the DAUGHTER-IN-LAW had four children.'
- (2) *bip'-alin xüyer.*
four-COLL girl
'All four (were) girls.'
- (3) *kalna-y ġar-a kala davi-n-a-t'un taš-er-e-y.*
grandmother-GEN2 son-DAT great war-SA-DAT-3PL carry-PAST-PERF-PAST
'They had taken her son to the Great War.'
- (4) *k'ož-in äš-ur mand-e-ne-y bin-e ozan-e.*
house-GEN affair-PL stay-PERF-3SG-PAST daughter=in=law-GEN neck-DAT
'The house affairs remained on the neck of the daughter-in-law.'
- (5) *bip' äyel sa-al mac'i kürüx q'aynako.*
four child one-FOC white haired mother=in=law
'Four children and a white-haired mother-in-law.'
- (6) *täk äš-b-i qo tan-a uk-est'un lap-est'un zor äš-e-y.*
only work-LV-PART:PAST five person-DAT eat-LV:CAUS:MASD2 put=on-LV:CAUS:MASD2 power work-3SG-PAST
'Only having worked, it was hard work to feed and dress five persons.'
- (7) *i^šzeni-n girvälä šü-n-urx-oxun so-ğö-ne-y.*
winter-GEN windy night-SA-PL-ABL one:REF-REF:ABS-3SG-PAST
'It was one of the windy winter nights.'

- (8) *karnu-al xüyär-mux-al biyäsın şum-a kâ-yi bas-k'-e-t'un-iy.*
 old=woman-FOC girl-PL-FOC evening bread-DAT eat:PAST-PART:PAST lie=down-LV-PERF-3PL-PAST
 ‘Having eaten the evening bread, the old woman and the girls went to bed.’
- (9) *bin-en qoş mand-i äş-urx-o bel-e duğ-i.*
 daughter=in=law-ERG outside stay-PART:PAST work-PL-DAT head:SUPER-3SG hit-PAST
 ‘The daughter-in-law stayed outside (and) finished the work (lit.: hit the things/work on (her) head>end).’
- (10) *buxari-n beś bok'-al-a püsüs-ä oq'a-ne b-i.*
 oven-GEN in=front burn-PART:nPAST-ATTR kerosene=lamp-DAT under-3SG make-PAST
 ‘She turned off the burning kerosene lamp (that was) in front of the oven.’
- (11) *oşa šo-no-al bas-k'-i nep'-ax-e-c-i.*
 then DIST-REF:ABS-FOC lie=down-LV-PART:PAST sleep-DAT2-3SG-LV:MP.PAST-PAST
 ‘Then she too lied down (and) slept.’
- (12) *sa-al šü-n-e bi^š-exun oşa-ne muğur bak-i.*
 one-FOC night-SA-GEN middle-ABL after-3SG awake be-PAST
 ‘Just after midnight, she awoke.’
- (13) *pul-muğ-o śar-p-i tağay mağay-e be^š-i.*
 eye-PL-DAT press-LV-PART:PAST DIST:ADV PROX:ADV-3SG see-PAST
 ‘She pressed (her) eyes together (and) looked around.’
- (14) *äyl-ux nep'-ax-t'un-iy ik'-oğ-oy loxol-xun-al but'-e-y.*
 child-PL sleep-DAT2-3PL-PAST blanket-PL-GEN2 on-ABL-FOC closed-PERF-PAST
 ‘The children were sleeping (lit.: in sleep) covered by (lit.: from on) the blankets.’
- (15) *bin-en läyif-ä bel zap'-i bas-k'-sun ċur-eğ-at'an*
 daughter=in=law-ERG hem-DAT head:SUPER pull-PART:PAST lie=down-LV-MASD2 stand-LV:MP:FUT-CV:POST

‘When the daughter-in-law wanted to sleep after having pulled the hem (of the blanket) to (her) head,

pul-mux buxari-n beś bak-al-a xaxal-a-ne lamand-i.
eye-PL oven-GEN in=front be-PART:nPAST-ATTR sieve-DAT-3SG wait-PAST
(Her) eyes rested upon the sieve which was in front of the oven.’

- (16) *xaxal sa ta-ne-sa-y sa-al čur-e-ne-y.*
sieve one go-3SG-\$.PRES-PAST one-FOC stay-3SG-LV:PRES-PAST
‘The sieve moved a little, stopped for a while.’
- (17) *šo-t'-ay oq'a-xun-al t'iktuk' t'ikt'uk' säs-e č'ey-sa-y.*
DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 under-ABL-FOC taptap taptap voice-3SG go=out-PRES-PAST
‘From under it (the sieve), a voice (making) taptap came out.’
- (18) *šo-no gele haq'-e-c-i.*
DIST-REF:ABS much take-3SG-LV:MP:PAST-PAST
‘She really was astonished (lit.: taken).’
- (19) *ay buxažux, mo-no hikä xaxal-al tara-ne-k'-o?*
oh god PROX-REF:ABS what:3SG:Q sieve-FOC walk-3SG-LV-FUT:MOD
‘Oh my God, what’s this? The sieve would move!’
- (20) *šo-t'-ay äyit-äxun xaxal sa čur-e-p-i.*
DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 word-COM sieve one stand-3SG-LV-PAST
‘When she said these words, the sieve stopped at once.’
- (21) *oša bur-e-q-i p'urun tay-sa.*
then begin-3SG-LV-PAST again go-PRES
‘Then it again started to move.’
- (22) *čugč-oy yeq' ü^hq'-en t'ut'u-ne-p-i.*

woman-GEN flesh bone-ERG>INSTR tremble-3SG-LV-PAST
'The woman's flesh and bones trembled.'

(23) *šo-t'-o čax ap'-en-e čax-p'-i.*
DIST-REF:OBL-DAT cold sweat-ERG>INSTR-3SG pour-LV-PAST
'Her cold sweat poured.'

(24) *alloy säs-en q'aynako-ne k'al-p-i*
loud voice-ERG>INSTR mother=in=law:DAT-3SG call-LV-PAST
'With a loud voice, she cried for (her) mother-in-law.'

(25) *nana, ay nana sa hayz-a be^ʕg-a me k'oya hikä bu?*
mother oh mother one rise-IMP:2SG see-IMP:2SG PROX house:DAT what:3SG:Q be
'Mother, oh mother! Just rise and see what's in this house!'

(26) *bin-e säs-ä xuyär-mux žağ-p-i muğur-t'un bak-i.*
daughter=in=law-GEN voice-DAT girl-PL tremble-LV-PART:PAST awake-3PL LV-PAST
'With (lit.: in) the voice of the daughter-in-law the girls woke up shivering.'

(27) *xaxal-i tara-p-sun-a ak'-i bur-t'un-q-i c'irit'-ä.*
sieve-GEN walk-LV-MASD2-DAT see-PART:PAST begin-3PL-LV-PAST cry-DAT
'Having seen the moving sieve, they started to cry (lit.: the cry).'

(28) *kalna usun hayz-er-i har-e:*
grandmother quickly rise-PAST-PART:PAST come:PAST-PERF
'The grandmother quickly rose and came.'

(29) *axar, ay bin, ay xüyär-mux, mo-no he c'irit'-e?*
finally oh daughter=in=law oh girl-PL PROX-REF:ABS what cry-3SG
'Oh daughter-in-law, oh girls, what's now this crying?'

- (30) *kalu te-nan bar-e bas-k'-a-yan?*
 why NEG-2PL let-PERF lie=down-LV-MOD-1PL
 ‘Why didn’t you let us sleep?’
- (31) *xuyär-muğ-on-al, bin-en-al kul-muğ-o xaxal-ač'-t'un boxo-d-i.*
 girl-PL-ERG-FOC daughter=in=law-ERG-FOC hand-PL-DAT sieve-ADESS-3PL long-LV-PAST
 ‘The girls (and) the daughter-in-law pointed with their hands to the sieve.’
- (32) *sa... sa... be^ʃ...eğ-a xaxal hetär-ä tara-ne.*
 one ... one .. see....-IMP:2SG sieve how-3SG:Q walk-LV:PRES
 ‘Just, just look how the sieve moves!’
- (33) *iz-i oq'a ar dovul-e bu.*
 REFL-GEN under devil-3SG be
 ‘There’s a devil under IT.’
- (34) *kalna-n buxari-n-ač' pul čur-ev-k'-i bur-e-q-i axsum-a.*
 grandmother-ERG oven-SA-ADESS eye stay-CAUS-LV-PAST begin-3SG-LV-PAST laughter-DAT
 ‘Having looked at the oven, the grandmother started to laugh.’
- (35) *ay vä^ʃn aq'ananc'i! zu-al nex-zu k'oya he-t'-aynak'-t'un ič-oğ-oy bel e^ʃx-t'-e?*
 oh you:PL coward I-FOC say:PRES-1SG house:DAT what-REF:OBL-BEN-3PL REFL-PL-GEN head:SUPER take-LV-PERF
 ‘Oh you cowards!’ ‘I say: Why have they taken the house on their head(s)?’
- (36) *sa šip' bak-a-nan, vä^ʃx bex bad-a-z:*
 one quite be-MOD-2PL you:PL:DAT2 head:DAT2 put=into-MOD-1SG
 ‘Be quiet! I should explain it to you!’
- (37) *xä^ʃy-uğ-o šad-b-i k'oya eğ-at'an*
 dog-PL-DAT free-LV-PART:PAST house:DAT go:FUT-CV:POST
 ‘After having set free the dogs (and after) having come back into the house,

be-z-ǵ-i sa c'iyäq' k'ok'oc' q'ac'q'al-i oq'a q'ič'-ec-i čur-p-e-ne.
 see-1SG-\$-PAST one weak hen stairs-GEN beneath press-LV:MP:PAST-PAST stand-LV-PERF-3SG
 'I saw a weak hen (that) stood cowered down under the stairs.'

(38) *šo-t'-o biq'-i eč-er-i buxari-n berś la-z-x-i.*
 DIST-REF:OBL-DAT seize-PART:PAST bring-PAST-PART:PAST oven-GEN in=front put-1SG-\$-PAST
 'Having taken (and) having brought it I put it in front of the oven.'

(39) *xaxal-a-al tara-z-d-i iz-i loxol.*
 sieve-DAT-FOC turn-1SG-LV-PAST REFL-GEN on
 'I turned around the sieve (and put it) on IT.'

(40) *sa-mal gam-ec-i bur-q-e-ne tara-p-sa.*
 one-little warm-LV:MP:PAST-PART:PAST start-LV-PERF-3SG walk-LV-PRES
 'Having become too warm, it started to move.'

(41) *vä^hn-al amc'i ga-l-a baf-t'-e-nan sun-a.*
 you:PL-FOC empty place-SA-DAT fall-LV-PERF-2PL one:REF-DAT
 'Each of you has made a fuss about nothing (lit.: has fallen into an empty place).'

(42) *oša-al kul-a boxo-d-i xaxal-a tara-ne-d-i.*
 then-FOC hand-DAT long-LV-PART:PAST sieve-DAT turn-3SG-LV-PAST
 'Then, she seized (and) turned around the sieve.'

(43) *šo-t'-ay oq'a-xun sa k'ok'oc' č'er-i bur-e-q-i bul-a gal-gal-st'un tara-p-sa.*
 DIST-REF:OBL-GEN2 under-ABL one hen go=out:PAST-PART:PAST start-3SG-LV-PAST head-DAT shake-shake-LV:MASD2 walk-LV-PRES
 'From beneath it, a hen came out (and) started to walk around shaking (its) head.'

(44) *bin-e, bačan-exun-al xüyär-muǵ-oy axśum-i säs-en k'oya e^hx-e-d-i bel.*
 daughter=in=law-GEN back-COM-FOC girl-PL-GEN2 laughter-GEN voice-ERG>INSTR house:DAT take-3SG-LV-PAST head:SUPER

The laughing voices of the daughter-in-law (and) of the girls with their shoulders filled the house to its roof.’

- (45) *šo-t’-oğ-oy axsum käy bak-amun te-ne bot’-bak-i.*
DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN2 laughter dawn be-CV:UNTIL NEG-3SG end-LV-PAST
‘Their laughter did not end till dawn.’
- (46) *äyč’indäri ayizlu-ğ-on-t’un i-bak-i axsum-p-i.*
morning villager-PL-ERG-3PL ear-LV-PAST laugh-LV-PART:PAST
‘In the morning the villagers, having heard (the story), laughed.’
- (47) *ba-ne-k-o, vä’n-al hekyät-ä k’al-p-i čär-k’-at’an axsum-k’-al-nan.*
be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -FUT:MOD you:PL-FOC story-DAT read-LV-PART:PAST end-LV-CV:POST laught-LV:FUT-FUT:FAC-2PL
‘May be that you, too, will laugh after having finished the reading of the story.’

Translation (Literal)

(1) They say that in a village (there was) an old woman, SHE had a daughter-in-law (and) the DAUGHTER-IN-LAW had four children. (2) All four (were) girls. (3) They had taken her son to the Great War. (4) The house affairs remained on the neck of the daughter-in-law. (5) Four children and a white-haired mother-in-law. (6) Only having worked, it was hard work to feed and dress five persons. (7) It was one of the windy winter nights. (8) Having eaten the evening bread, the old woman and the girls went to bed. (9) The daughter-in-law stayed outside (and) finished the work. (10) She turned off the burning kerosene lamp (that was) in front of the oven. (11) Then she too lied down (and) slept. (12) Just after midnight, she awoke. (13) She pressed (her) eyes together (and) looked around. (14) The children were sleeping (lit.: in sleep) covered by (lit.: from on) the blankets. (15) When the daughter-in-law wanted to sleep after having pulled the hem (of the blanket) to (her) head, (her) eyes rested upon the sieve which was in front of the oven. (16) The sieve moved a little, stopped for a while. (17) From under it (the sieve), a voice (making) taptap came out. (18) She really was astonished (lit.: taken). (19) Oh my God, whats this? The sieve would move! (20) When she said these words, the sieve stopped at once. (21) Then it again started to move. (22) The womans flesh and bones trembled. (23) Her cold sweat poured. (24) With a loud voice, she cried for (her) mother-in-law. (25) Mother, oh mother! Just rise and see whats in this house! (26) By the voice of the daughter-in-law, the girls woke up shivering. (27) Having seen the moving sieve, they started to cry. (28) The grandmother quickly rose and came. (29) Oh daughter-in-law, oh girls, whats now this crying? (30) Why didn’t you let us sleep? (31) The girls (and) the daughter-in-law pointed with their hands to the sieve. (32) Just, just look how the sieve moves! (33) There’s a devil under IT. (34) Having looked at the oven, the grandmother started to laugh. (35) Oh you

cowards! I say: Why have they taken the house on their heads? (36) Be quiet! I should explain it to you! (37) After having set free the dogs (and after) having come back into the house, I saw a weak hen (that) stood covered down under the stairs. (38) Having taken (and) having brought it I put it in front of the oven. (39) I turned around the sieve (and put it) on IT. (40) Having become too warm, it started to move. (41) Each of you has made a fuss about nothing (lit.: has fallen into an empty place). (42) Then, she seized (and) turned around the sieve. (43) From beneath it, a hen came out (and) started to walk around shaking (its) head. (44) The laughing voices of the daughter-in-law (and) of the girls with their shoulders filled the house to its roof. (45) Their laughter did not end till dawn. (46) In the morning the villagers, having heard (the story), laughed. (47) May be that you, too, will laugh after having finished reading the story.

Pačšaǵ q'an naxrči [King and Shepherd] [Vartashen (~ 1900); Dirr 1904:84-86]

Glosses and translation: Wolfgang Schulze (11/02)

- (1) *ba-ne-k-e te-ne bak-e sa pačšax.*
 be-3SG-\$-PERF NEG-3SG be-PERF one king
 'There was, there was not a king.'
- (2) *pačšaǵ-en p-e-ne bilži-n-ax te:*
 king-ERG say-PERF-3SG wise-SA-DAT2 SUB
 'The king had said to the wise man.'
- (3) *un beg-a dūnia-n-ix e xabar-re bu.*
 you:SG see-IMP:2SG world-SA-DAT2 what news-3SG be
 'Look which news are there in the world.'
- (4) *bilži-n-en p-e-ne te sa ölki-n-a sa naxrči-n ğar-en vi pačšaxlǵ-ax aq'-al-le.*
 wise-SA-ERG say-PERF-3SG SUB one land-SA-DAT one shepherd-GEN son-ERG you:SG:POSS kingdom-DAT2 take-FUT:FAC-3SG
 'The wise man had said: The son of a certain shepherd in a certain land will take your kingdom.'
- (5) *o^śa^ś pačšax šip'-ne bak-i.*
 then king quiet-3SG be-PAST
 'Then the king was silent.'

- (6) *sa xaš-ixo o^ša^f q'eiri bilži-ne ar-e.*
 one month-ABL after other wise-3SG come:PAST-PERF
 'A month later, another wise man had come.'
- (7) *ka bilži-n-en-al p-i-ne ek'ate bəšun-t'-in-ne p-i.*
 MED wise-SA-ERG-FOC say-PAST-3SG what-SUB first-REF:OBL-ERG-3SG say-PAST
 'That wise man said what the first (had) said.'
- (8) *o^ša^f pačšaǵ ar-re-c-i e^šk-al*
 then king sit=down-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST horse-SUPER
 'Then the king mounted (his) horse.'
- (9) *bur-re-q-i dūs naxrči-n šähär-ä.*
 begin-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST direct shepherd-GEN town-DAT
 'He started (to ride) directly to the town of the shepherd.'
- (10) *pačšaǵ ba-ne-c-i čirax bačuk'-t'-axun iaq'-al čur-re-p-i*
 king go=into-3SG- $\text{\$}$:PAST-PAST candle lighten-LV-CV:PAR way-SUPER stand-3SG-LV-PAST
 'The king entered and lightening a candle he stood (= continued) on his way.'
- (11) *ar-i bəšt'an čebak-axun naxrči-n-ax a-t'u-k'-i.*
 come:PAST-PART:PAST before:ABL pass=by-CV:PAR shepherd-SA-DAT2 see-3SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PAST
 'Finally passing by, he saw the shepherd.'
- (12) *o^ša^f naxriči-n-ax p-i-ne: zax me biasun q'onaǵ-b-a.*
 then shepherd-SA-DAT2 say-PAST-3SG I:DAT2 PROX evening guest-LV-IMP:2SG
 'Then he said to the shepherd: Invite me for the night.'

- (13) *o^ʃsa^ʃ pačšaǵ ta-ne-c-i dūs naxrči-n k'ua.*
 then king go-3SG-\$.PAST-PAST direct shepherd-GEN house:DAT
 ‘Then the king went directly to the house of the shepherd.’
- (14) *o^ʃsa^ʃ ka pačšaǵ-ax gölö hürmät-q'un-b-i.*
 then MED king-DAT2 much honor-3PL-LV-PAST
 ‘Then they honored (= served) much that king.’
- (15) *pačšaǵ-en p-i-ne te sa a^ʃiel bo^ʃǵa^ʃ-b-a-nan zenk'ena beš öлки-n-a iaq'-a-b-al-zu.*
 king-ERG say-PAST-3SG SUB one child find-MOD-2PL I:BEN we:POSS land-SA-DAT way-DAT-LV-FUT:FAC-1SG
 ‘The king said: Find a boy for me! I will send (him) to our land.’
- (16) *ka pačšaǵ-en sa ka^ʃǵz-ne cam-p-i ta-ne-d-i naxrči-n ǵar-a.*
 MED king-ERG one letter write-LV-PART:PAST give-3SG-\$.PAST shepherd-GEN son-DAT2
 ‘That king wrote a letter (and) gave it to the son of the shepherd.’
- (17) *ka ka^ʃǵz-un boš cam-ne-c-i te ka ǵar bap'-es-xolan ka-t'-a q'oq'-ex bot'-a-nan.*
 MED letter-GEN in write-3SG-LV:MP:PAST-PAST SUB MED boy arrive-MASD-CV:WHEN MED-REF:OBL-GEN throat-DAT2 cut-MOD-2PL
 ‘In that latter it was written: When that boy comes, cut his throat!’
- (18) *ǵar-en bur-re-q-i iaq'-ax dūs pačšaǵ-un šähär-ä.*
 boy-ERG begin-3SG-LV-PAST way-DAT2 direct king-GEN town-DAT
 ‘The boy started (his) way directly to the king’s town.’
- (19) *ka ǵar ta-ne-c-i dūs pačšaǵ-un baǵči-n-a.*
 MED boy go-3SG-\$.PAST-PAST direct king-GEN small=garden-SA-DAT
 ‘That boy went directly to the king’s garden.’

- (20) *ka bağči-n boş-al bu-ne-i sa hovuz.*
 MED small=garden-GEN in-FOC be-3SG-PAST one well
 ‘In that garden, there was a fountain.’
- (21) *ğar ta-ne-c-i hovuz-un t’ok’maşi-n-a bas-ne-k’-i.*
 boy go-3SG-\$.PAST-PAST well-GEN edge-SA-DAT sleep-3SG-LV-PAST
 ‘The boy went to the border of the fountain (and) slept.’
- (22) *o’sa^f pačšağ-un xinär-en-al düs hovuz-un t’o’ğö^fl-le ar-e te čo oc’k’-a-ne-i.*
 then king-GEN daughter-ERG-FOC direct well-GEN at-3SG come:PAST-PERF SUB face wash-LV-MOD-3SG-PAST
 ‘Then the king’s daughter came directly to the fountain in order to wash (her) face.’
- (23) *be^f-ne-ğ-e te hovuz-un t’o’ğö^fl sa ğar-re bas-k’-e*
 see-3SG-\$.PERF SUB well-GEN at one boy-3SG sleep-PERF
 ‘She saw that a boy was sleeping at the fountain.’
- (24) *be^fğ-n-ux ex-ne un ma-č’ek-e zu č’eğ-a-z*
 sun-SA-DAT2 say:PRES-3SG you:SG PROH-go=out:IMP-IMP:2SG I go=out:FUT-MOD-1SG
 ‘He says to the sun: Don’t rise, I shall rise.’
- (25) *t’e-ma ka ğar šavat’-t’e bak-e.*
 DIST-QUANT MED boy beautiful-3SG be-PERF
 ‘So beautiful was the boy.’
- (26) *xinär-en ta-ne-c-i ğar-i t’o’ğö^fl bə^f-ne-ğ-e te ič k’oi-n-un boş sa ka^fğöz-ne bu.*
 girl-ERG go-3SG-\$.PAST-PAST son-GEN at see-3SG-\$.PERF SUB REFL pocket-SA-GEN in one letter-3SG be
 ‘The girl went to the boy (and) saw that there was a letter in his pocket.’

- (27) *xinär-en čí-ne-č-er-i k'oi-n-un bošt'an ka'ǵz-ax k'al-le-p-i.*
 girl-ERG pull-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST-PAST pocket-SA-GEN in=from letter-DAT2 read-3SG-LV-PAST
 'The girl pulled the letter out of the pocket (and) read (it).'
- (28) *ka'ǵz-un boš cam-ne-i te ka ġar bap'-axun ka-t'-a q'oq'-ex bo-t'-a-nan.*
 letter-GEN in written-3SG-PAST SUB MED boy arrive-CV:PAR MED-REF:OBL-GEN throat-DAT2 cut-MOD-2PL
 'In that letter, it was written: When that boy arrives, cut (his) throat!'
- (29) *o'sa' ka xinär-i fikir žok' žürä-ne-i.*
 then MED girl-GEN thought other sort-3SG-PAST
 'Then that girl had another THOUGHT.'
- (30) *ka'ǵz-ax taš-er-i arġ-ox-ne basak-i sa ka'ǵz-ne cam-p-i ič boš cam-ne-c-i te*
 letter-DAT2 carry-PAST:PART:PAST fire-DAT2-3SG throw-PART:PAST one letter-3SG write-LV-PART:PAST REFL in write-3SG-LV:MP:PAST-PAST SUB
me ġar bap'-axun bez xinär-ax me-t'-a laxo p'usak'-b-a-nan.
 PROX son arrive-CV:PAR I:POSS girl-DAT2 PROX-REF:OBL-GEN on marriage-LV-MOD-2PL
 'Having taken the letter she threw (it) into the fire, she wrote a letter in which was written: When this boy arrives, marry him to my daughter!'
- (31) *o'sa' sa p'a' ġe-n-axo o'sa' pačšaġ e-ne-sa.*
 then one two day-SA-ABL after king come-3SG- $\text{\$}$:PRES
 'Then, one (or) two days later, the king comes.'
- (32) *ar-i bə'ǵ-sa-ne te ič xinär-ax kābin-q'un bot'-e ġar-i laxo.*
 come:PAST-PART:PAST see-PRES-3SG SUB REFL daughter-DAT2 engage-3PL cover-PERF son-GEN on
 He finally sees that they have engaged his daughter to the boy.'
- (33) *pačšaġ-i ažuġ-on gölö-ne biq'-i.*

king-GEN anger-ERG>INSTR much-3SG take-PAST

‘The king got very angry.’

- (34) *a-t'u-k'-sa te ča^hra^f te-ne bu te xinär-ax ġar-i bel ġaç-q'un-p-e.*
see-3SG:IO- $\text{\$}$ -PRES SUB means NEG-3SG be SUB girl-DAT2 son-GEN head:SUPER bind-3PL-LV-PAST
‘He sees that there are no means: They had tied the girl and the boy together.’

- (35) *ča^hra^f bot'-t'e-c-i*
means end-3SG-LV:MP:PAST-PAST
‘There were no (other) means.’

- (36) *ič t'až-n-ux a-ne-q'-i la-ne-x-i ġar-i bel.*
REFL crown-SA-DAT2 take-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST put=on-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST boy-GEN head:SUPER
‘He took his crown (and) put it on the boy’s head.’

- (37) *o^hša^f ġar ba-ne-k-i pačšağ.*
then boy be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST king
‘Then the boy became king.’

- (38) *bəšun pačšağ-en lašk'o-ne b-i ġar-ax pačšağ-a xinär-axol.*
first king-ERG marriage-3SG make-PAST boy-DAT2 king-DAT daughter-COM
‘The former king married the boy to the king’s daughter.’

- (39) *ġar ba-ne-k-i pačšağ pačšağ-un xinär-al ič čubux.*
son be-3SG- $\text{\$}$ -PAST king king-GEN daughter-FOC REFL wife
‘The boy became king (and) the king’s daughter (became) his wife.’

- (40) *šo-n-or ič-ğ-o murad-a q'a-q'un bap'-i ian-al beś murad-a.*
DIST-REF:ABS-PL REFL-PL-GEN goal-DAT ADH-3PL arrive-PAST we-FOC we:POSS goal-DAT

‘They should arrived at their goal – we, too, (will arrive) at our goal.’

Translation (literal)

(1) There was, there was not a king. (2) The king had said to the wise man: (3) Look which news are there in the world. (4) The wise man had said: The son of a certain shepherd in a certain land will take your kingdom. (5) Then the king was silent. (6) A month later, another wise man had come. (7) That wise man said what the first (had) said. (8) Then the king mounted (his) horse. (9) He started (to ride) directly to the town of the shepherd. (10) The king entered and lightening a candle he stood (= continued) on his way. (11) Finally passing by, he saw the shepherd. (12) Then he said to the shepherd: Invite me for the night. (13) Then the king went directly to the house of the shepherd. (14) Then they honored (= served) much that king. (15) The king said: Find a boy for me! I will send (him) to our land. (16) That king wrote a letter (and) gave it to the son of the shepherd. (17) In that latter it was written: When that boy comes, cut his throat! (18) The boy started (his) way directly to the king’s town. (19) That boy went directly to the king’s garden. (20) In that garden, there was a fountain. (21) The boy went to the border of the fountain (and) slept. (22) Then the king’s daughter came directly to the fountain in order to wash (her) face. (23) She saw that a boy was sleeping at the fountain. (24) He says to the sun: Don’t rise, I shall rise. (25) So beautiful was the boy. (26) The girl went to the boy (and) saw that there was a letter in his pocket. (27) The girl pulled the letter out of the pocket (and) read (it). (28) In that letter, it was written: When that boy arrives, cut (his) throat! (29) Then that girl had another THOUGHT. (30) Having taken the letter she threw (it) into the fire, she wrote a letter in which was written: When this boy arrives, marry him to my daughter! (31) Then, one (or) two days later, the king comes. (32) He finally sees that they have engaged his daughter to the boy. (33) The king got very angry. (34) He sees that there are no means: They had tied the girl and the boy together. (35) There were no (other) means. (36) He took his crown (and) put it on the boys head. (37) Then the boy became king. (38) The former king married the boy to the king’s daughter. (39) The boy became king (and) the king’s daughter (became) his wife. (40) They should arrived at their goal – we, too, (will arrive) at our goal.