

# Šükürbakala P'urio – The Grateful Dead

A Vartashen Udi Folktale

(Dirr 1928:60-63)

Slightly revised text, fully glossed interlinear version and lexicon  
prepared by Wolfgang Schulze (© 2010)

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## a. Text with translation

NOTA: The translation is extremely literal! Tense patterns and patterns of deictic reference are preserved in the translation.

[60] baneke sa pasč'ax met'ay banekey xib ġar.  
sa vaxt'a fikirrebi te ek'e sinamišbaz manoa me ġarmuğoxo haq'ullu.  
tanest'a hart'u qo u'q bać manat, exne: takenan kefbanan!  
monor aizeri, taq'unsa haro sa ganu.  
kala vičenq'an bəğün vičen bo'ğaq'unbesa ičugo baxt'in yoldaşmux;  
taci šet'uğoxol kefq'unbesa;  
k'ic'k'e vičengena furunexa;  
ek'al tene bo'ğa'bsa alişverişbaney, qaibaki enesa;  
eğaxun č'enebaksa sa garamzaluğun boş't'an, be'ğsane,  
te mia sa išen sa garamzinax gölö t'ap'nexa;  
me ġar tanesa işa,  
be'ğane te et'ea met'in t'ap'exa, xabarreaq'sa šot'uxo.

[60] (There) has been a king, he has had three sons.  
Once he thought: How can I find out who of these sons is (the most) clever (one).  
He gives each one five six hundred rubles (and) says: Go and relax!  
They start going, each one to one place.  
The old(est) brother and the middle brother look for friends for them.  
Having one with them they relax.  
The young(est) brother, however, searches (around),  
(but) he does not find anything to trade with; having turned around he goes hither.  
Going hither he passes by a graveyard; he sees  
that, here, a man is strongly hitting a grave.  
This son goes nearby,  
so that he might see why this one is hitting (the grave), he asks him.

šet'in exne te me p'urio za bošlune xibq'o manat,  
 dürüs vaxt'a tene tade, isa šet'a baxt'in ič gäräminax t'ap'zuexa.  
 pasč'ağun ġaren t'esahat čičeri xibq'o manatax tanest'a, exne:  
 aq'a tänginax, ma laft'a gäräminax, äibne venk'ena.  
 šet'in tänginax aq'i tanesa.  
 pasč'ağun ġar enesa k'ua,  
 amma gölö zap'nesay te bälükäm baba ažuğonebaki.  
 vičimuxal eq'unsa k'ua.  
 xib ğenaxo oşa pasč'ağen k'allexa ġarmuğox, xabarreaq'sa  
 te šet'uğun ek'aq'un be maq'un tace, ek'aq'o ak'e,  
 tänginax maq'un xaržbe.  
 p'a<sup>c</sup> kala ġarmuğon piq'un  
 te yan kefyanbe, beş tänginax xaržyanbe.  
 k'ic'k'e ġaren pine:  
 zu gärämlaluğaxo č'ebakaxun be<sup>c</sup>gsaz  
 te sa išen sa gäräminax t'ap'nexay xibq'o manatun baxt'in  
 zu šet'u xibq'o manat tadiz te maq'an t'ap'i.  
 q'eiri ek'al tez xaržbe; mandi tänga zast'ane.  
 pasč'ağ ažuğonebaki kala ġarmuğo laxo, k'ic'k'e ġarax gölö ögmişnebi  
 te haqullu aşne biq'e.  
 un zaxo oşa bakallu pasč'ağ.  
 k'ic'k'e ġara tanest'a žok' k'ož tängä, exne:  
 vi baxt'in q'azamišba, karxa!  
 ośal exne:  
 vi baxt'in biq'a gädü te adamarax, manote un uk'axun  
 eke bez t'o<sup>c</sup>go<sup>c</sup>l arca,  
 śum uken nut'egalle.  
 k'ic'k'e ġar saema ğenaxo oşa tanesa bazarax gädü biq'san;  
 sunt'ux biq'i enesča.  
 biasun evaxte gädinlen śumax tanest'a, pasč'ağun ġaren pine:  
 zual zapsazu unal eke saganu arcen, śum uken.  
 mono t'esahat ari arcesa.  
 pasč'ağun ġaren ixnebasaksa baba aiturgox.  
 ośun ġi me gädinax yaq'anebast'a;

That one says: This dead one owes me sixty rubles,  
 in (his) life time, he hasn't given (it), because of that I now hit his grave,  
 Having immediately taken out sixty rubles, the king's son gives the money, (and) says:  
 Take the money, don't touch the grave! It's a shame for you!  
 Having taken the money that one leaves.  
 The king's son comes home.  
 But he strongly fears that (his) father will perhaps be angry.  
 The brothers, too, come home.  
 After three days, the king calls the sons (and) asks  
 what those have done, where they have gone, what they have seen,  
 where they have spent the money.  
 The two old brothers said:  
 We have relaxed, we have spent our money.  
 The young brother said:  
 When passing by a graveyard I see  
 that a man was hitting a (specific) grave for sixty rubles.  
 I gave that one sixty rubles, so that he should not hit (the grave).  
 Else I have not spent anything. The remaining money is with me.  
 The king was angry with the old sons; he strongly praised the young son,  
 (saying that) he has undertaken a clever work.  
 You will be king after me.  
 He gives the little son money in addition to a house (and) says:  
 Earn for you, live!  
 Then he says:  
 Hire for you as boy that man, who – when you say  
 come here, sit near me,  
 let us eat bread – does not come.  
 After some days, the young boy goes to the bazaar to hire a boy.  
 Having hired one he brings (him home).  
 In the evening, when the boy gives bread, the king's son said:  
 I am alone (and) you, too; come, let us sit together, let us eat bread.  
 Having come this one sits down immediately.  
 The king's son remembers the words of (his) father.  
 The next day, he sends away this boy.

taci bazarax soal bineq'sa;  
šet'inal hametärre besa, [61] šet'uxal č'evnek'esa.  
xibumži ġena taci sa žāhil ġarre biq'sa xibq'o manatal.  
biasun pasč'ağun ġaren śum ukaxun exne gädinax te:  
zual sapsazu, unal eke saganu śum uken.  
gädinen exne te:  
zu vaxol bakal teza śum ukes, un uka!  
ek'ate mannedo ośa, zu uzko.  
eq'q'arate pasč'ağun ġaren k'allexa tene arcesa.  
pasč'ağun ġaren exne:  
bez baban uk'alo šor hamonone.  
me gädinax enefesa.  
me gädinen gölö šel q'ulluğne besa, gölöal haq'ulluney.  
pasč'ağun ġara gölö me gädinax but'uqi.  
saema vädinaxo ośa pasč'ağun ġaren kärvan ġačpi, gädinaxal aq'i,  
tanesa q'eiri šähära alişveriš.  
met'uğoxol taq'unsa q'eiri sövdäkäruxal.  
me šähärä p'a'yaq'ne taysa:  
so vu'ğ ġeneyne, so xib xaşney.  
amma šute me vu'ğ ġene yaq'axo tanesa,  
hame yaq'algär batt'ek'sa;  
teq'o ababaksa or baksa, or te.  
me gädinen pasč'ağun ġarax exne te:  
gäräg yan iśa yaq'en tağayan.  
pasč'ağun ġaren exne:  
axer, iśa yaq'en tağal adamarux teq'un qaibaksa.  
gädinen exne te:  
kano vi borž tene  
zu vax tavaq'q'azbesa, te hat'elan tağen.  
pasč'ağun ġara me gädinax gölö but'uq'say,  
met'a baxt'in ič xat'iraxo tene č'eri, pine:  
śel, iśa yaq'en tağen.  
ari me yaq'al baq'unp'i, monor kärvänaxo žok'q'unbaki,  
sövdäk'ärğon gireci xoiśq'unbesa t'e pasč'ağun ġar

Having gone to the bazaar, he hires (another) one.  
That one, too, makes (it) this way; he sends away that one, too.  
The third day, having gone, he hires a young boy for sixty rubles.  
In the evening, when the king's son is eating bread, he says to the boy:  
I am alone, you, too. Come. let us eat bread together.  
The boy says:  
I will not be able to eat bread with you, eat you for yourself!  
I will eat what should be left afterwards.  
How much the king's son calls – he does not sit down.  
The king's son says:  
This one is like what may father says.  
He keeps this boy.  
This boy serves very well, and he was very clever, too.  
The king's son loved this boy very much.  
Sometimes later, the king's son – having put together a caravan (and) having taken the boy -  
goes to another town (for) trading.  
Other merchants go with these ones.  
Two ways lead this town:  
one is of seven days, the other (is) of three months.  
But who goes this way of seven days,  
[this one] will perish just on the way.  
One does not know, whether he lives or not.  
This boy says to the king's son.  
We must go the shorter way.  
The king's son says:  
Finally, the people who go the short way do not return.  
The boy says:  
That is not your problem!  
I ask you: Let's go from there!  
The king's son loves this boy very much.  
Because of that he did not go out of his memory [and] he said:  
OK, let's go the short way.  
Having come they reached this way; they separated from the caravan,  
[but] the merchants having gathered ask [him] that the king's son

*maq'an taci me yaq'en, melan t'ağalo butt'ek'sa.  
pasč'ağun ġaren exne:  
zu bez gädinax gölöza buq'sa.  
šet'a xat'irun baxt'in ek'a bak'ayn, t'ağalzu.  
taq'unsa monor iśa yaq'en, biabakama yaq'q'un taysa.  
biasun ari saganu manq'undesa;  
śum kay'tuxo ośa pasč'ğun ġar basnek'esa;  
gädinen arci q'araull efsa.  
śünebiğ pasč'ağun ġari tulinen burreqsa tünd ba'psax.  
gädina it'ubaki sa kolla qošt'an sunt'in exne:  
ai, xa<sup>c</sup>, vax vi k'onžuğun usin besballe.  
vi p'inax ič pel ladalle,  
eke, barta ka mallu zu tašaz.  
tulan kaibakama ba'nep'i, gädinenal arci q'araull efsa;  
damdam aizeri taq'unsa, saxsalamat baq'unp'esa šähära;  
ičuğو mallux tövq'undesa,  
melan ičuğenk' malq'un aq'sa.  
sövdäkärux anžağte baq'unp'esa.  
sövdäkärğó met'uğox te aq'ok'sa, aq'q'unesa  
te monor saxsalamat ari mia baq'unp'e.  
gädinen sövdäkärğox exne:  
ekenan va<sup>c</sup>nal, tağen iśa yaq'en!  
monor iraziq'unbaksa.  
saema ġena ośa monor bütün sagala iśa yaq'en yaq'aq'un baysa;  
ari p'uran t'e śu mandi galaq'un mandesa;  
biasun śum käy bütün basq'unk'esa.  
täksa gäda arci q'araull zap'exa.  
śünebiğ pasč'ağun ġari tulinen burreqsa gölö ba'p'sax;  
gädina p'uran it'ubaki sa kolla qošt'an sunt'in exne:  
ai xa<sup>c</sup> vi k'onžuğun usin besballe,  
vi p'inax ič pel ladalle,  
eke barta za mallu tašaz!  
gädinen ari pasč'ağun ġarax moğorrebesa, exne:  
mia sa säsne bu, zu tağalzu me säsna laxo,*

should not go that way; who goes from here perishes.  
The king's sons says:  
I love my boy very much.  
because of him – what should happen. I will go!  
They go the short way, they go until the evening.  
When the evening has come, they stay/rest together.  
after having eaten bread, the king's son lies down.  
Having sat down, the boy keeps watch.  
At midnight, the dog of the king's son starts to bark loudly.  
The boy heard that someone says from behind a bush:  
Oh dog! Your lord will soon kill you,  
he will put your blood on his eye,  
come, let me carry (away) those goods.  
The dog barked until dawn; Having sat down the boy keeps watch.  
Having risen in the morning, they go (and) safely arrive in the town.  
They sell their goods,  
they take from here goods for them.  
The merchants finally (also) arrive.  
When the merchants see these ones, they are amazed,  
that these having come have safely arrived here.  
The boy says to the merchants:  
come you, too, let's go the short way!  
These one agree.  
After some days all these ones enter together the way to the short way.  
Having come again to the place, (where they) had stayed that night, they rest.  
In the evening, having eaten bread, they all lie down.  
Only the boy – having sat down – keeps watch.  
At midnight, the dog of the king's son begins to bark much.  
The boy again heard that someone says from behind a bush:  
Oh dog! Your lord will soon kill (you),  
he will put your blood on his eye,  
come, let me carry (away) the goods.  
Having come the boy awakes the king's son, says:  
Here is a voice; I will go [on]to this voice,

*unal eke bez qošt'an!*

*pasč'ağun ġaren exne:*

*śel, take, zual essa!*

*gädä tanesa me säsna laxo, be 'ġsane, [62]*

*sa adamar t'ineſt'a, monoal met'a qošt'an,*

*gölöq'un t'ist'a, k'ic'iq'un t'ist'a.*

*birdän t'e adamar bafnest'a sa kurru.*

*hame vaxt'a pasč'ağun ġaral ari banep'esa, gädinen exne:*

*zu baiğalzu me kurru, un sa č'a basaka,*

*ek'ate ġač'k'ayz, zap'nuk'o!*

*pasč'ağun ġaren exne: śel!*

*gädä bainesa kurra boš, be'ġsane te mia otağuxne bu;*

*bütün q'əzlən güümşün boşne, ič boşal xib xinärre arci,*

*so sunsunaxo šavat't'e.*

*me xinarmuğun ġarax exq'un:*

*ek'aluğnu mia are?*

*mia vuč'g dövne karxesə.*

*me k'ožurux šet'uğoyne.*

*yaxal hart'ux dünyanun sa č'ot'exoq'un ečere,*

*isa č'eğayq'un vax ukalq'un.*

*gädinen xabarreaq'sa:*

*maq'un şonor?*

*xinarmuğun exq'un: t'esa otağaq'un.*

*me ġar bainesa mia, bütün dövurğox k'ac'nexa,*

*ičuğو imğox k'ac'pi yalluğane baiexa.*

*šet'uxo oşa t'e xinarmuğox č'aen ġač'nexa so so,*

*pasč'ağun ġarenal zapi lainesča;*

*oşa gädinen girrebsa bütün q'əzəlax gümüšax mallux dövlatax dövurğoy,*

*ħač'nexa k'andiren, pasč'ağun ġaren zap'nexa ala.*

*me malurux bütün dövurğon yaq'č'ebakalğoxoq'un fuq'p'e ičuğoxal besbe.*

*bütün malux laičerit'uxo oşa gädinen ičuxne ġač'pi,*

*met'uxal pasč'gün ġaren zapi činesča.*

*met'uğon girbi, xinarmuğoxal aq'i*

come you, too behind me!

The king's son says:

OK, go, I, too, go!

The boy goes [on]to this voice, he sees

(that) a man runs, this one, too, (runs) behind that one,  
they run much, they run a little.

Suddenly, that man falls into a hole.

Having come, the king's soon arrives at the same time; the boy says:

I will go into this hole; throw a rope in(to the hole).

Whatever I should bind (with the rope), you shall pull up!

The king's son says: OK!

The boy goes into the hole, he sees that here are rooms.

All are of gold and of silver- three girls were sitting in them,  
one more beautiful than the other.

These girls say to the boy:

Why have you come here?

Here live seven devs.

These houses (~ rooms) belong to those ones.

They have brought us here, each from on corner of the world.

When they now come out, they will eat you.

The boy asks:

Where are those ones?

The girls say: They are in another room.

This boy goes into (the room) here (and) kills all devs.

Having cut their ears he puts (them) in a cloth.

After that, he binds those girls with the rope, one (after) the other,  
(and) the king's son – having pulled (them) – brings (them) up.

Then the boy collects all gold, silver, goods, (and) riches of the devs,  
binds (them) with a rope, (and) the king's son pulls (them) up.

All the devs have robbed these good from (those) who passed by the way and killed them (who  
passed by).

After having brought up all the goods, the boy binds himself,  
(and) the king's son – having pulled – pulls this one up, too.

Having gathered, they also took the girls,

*taq' unsa ičuğon mandi gala.*

*mia xelq'unbesa ičugo mallux, xinarmuğox, taq' unsa k'ua.  
k'ua ari be'gsaq'un te ičuğó baba k'açine bake, xunči dange bake.*

*evaxt'e iq'obaksa ičuğó ğar iša yaq'enne tace,  
babanq'an xinären šet'ux p'uriq'un hesabbi,  
gölö o'nepsaxo, fikirbesaxo baba pul k'açine baki, xinär däng.*

*saema vadanaxo oşa gädinen exne pasč'ağun ğara te:*

*tağen oxala!*

*pasč'ağun ğaren exne: sel, tağen!*

*taq' unsa, biabakama furuq'unexa, ek'al teq'un bo'ğsa'bsa.*

*biasun qaibaki eq'unsa, yaq'al eğaxun*

*gädinen biq'sane me tulinax, dopt'esa.*

*pasč'ağun ğaren gölö be'negsa met'a laxo,*

*gädinen ič yalluğax čičeri, tulin p'ine boş čapnixa*

*oşa ič žubnune laxsa.*

*šet'uxo oşa pasč'ağun ğara exne:*

*ek'an fikirbesa, ieni sa tulin amal xat'ir tebez bu,*

*bakio baneke, sa xatane č'enebake.*

*pasč'ağun ğaren met'a xat'irax gölöt'ui buq'sa, ek'al tene pi.*

*taq' unsa k'ua.*

*p'a'x ib ğenaxo oşa me gädinen exne te bez vädü tamnebaxsa.*

*gäräg va'n xibalenal lašk'obakanan me yan ečeri xinarmuğó laxo.*

*pasč'ağun ğaren ek'ate ič gadinen exne, bütün tamnebesa.*

*saema ğenaxo oşa pasč'ağun ğarmuğon lašk'oq'un besa.*

*kala viče tanedi kala xinarax, biğunt'u biğunt'ux,*

*k'ic'k'e ğarenal aneq'i k'ic'k'e xinärax.*

*me gädinen usin tambaki ğena, ič tānginax aneq'sa ič ağaçxo.*

*pasč'ağun ğaren gölö xoişnebsa te mandane p'uran ič t'o'ğol.*

*me gädü tene irazibaxsa, exne:*

*tağen furupsan, be'gen*

*ek'az fikirbesa, mia doğru aitax uzk'o.*

*monor taq' unsa;*

(and) go to the place (where they) had stayed.

Here, they load their goods (and) the girls (and) go home.

Having come home they see that their father has become blind (and that) the sister has become stupid.

When they hear that their son has gone the short way,  
the father and the daughter regarded him as dead.

Because of so much weeping (and) thinking, the father's eye became blind, (and) the daughter (became) stupid.

After some times, the boy say to the king's son:

Let's go hunting.

The king's son says: OK, let's go!

They go until it became evening, the search (for something), (but) they do not find anything.

Having turned around in the evening they go hither; when coming on the way,  
the boy takes that dog (and) shoots (him).

The king's son looks at him very much,

(as) the boy - having pulled out his cloth – dips (it) into the blood of the dog.

Then he puts it into his pocket.

After that, he says to the king's son:

What do you think? That the wishes of a dog are not relevant for me?

What has happened has happened! A danger has disappeared.

The king's son loved the relevance of this one very much, (so) he did not say anything.

They go home.

Two, three days later, this boy says; My time is fulfilled.

You three have to marry these girls we have brought (here).

The king's son fulfills everything that his boy says.

Some days later, the king's sons marry.

He gives the old girl to the old boy, the middle one to the middle one.

And the little son took the little girl.

This boy – having soon fulfilled the day – takes his money from his lord.

The king's son asks (him) very much that he should stay again with him.

This boy das not agree (and) says:

Let's go in order to search/walk around, let' see  
what I think. Here I shall speak the true word.

These ones go.

gölö furuq'unexa, ari t'e besun gärämzin t'o 'go 'l č'ebakaxun be'gsaq'un te  
 sa [63] gärämzin laxo xašne č'esa.  
 taq'unsa be'gsan mono ek'aa;  
 iša taci be'gsaq'un sa gärämzä kašpi hazirre.  
 gädä e'kaxo cinesa, exne:  
 sa baiğaz, be'ğaz me gärämzina baq'saz.  
 baici basnek'esa.  
 pasč'ağun ğaren exne te uk'ante ka gärämzinax venk'q'un serbe!  
 gädenin exne: eke bez kexo biq'a, alaba č'eğaz!  
 ğaren gädin kex biq'axun, gädenin tanest'a xibq'o manatax,  
 tulin p'inen bi yalluğax, exne:  
 yalluğax vi baba pel lada, ič pulmux qaiq'aneci;  
 k'ual dövnä imxoxne bu, šet'uğox boxa xene boš,  
 xenax tada xunče şelq'anbaki,  
 baba pul şelle baki, gäräg ič taxt'uxo ciğane, un arcan.  
  
 me aiturgox pi čixarrek'sa.  
 şeyurğox tadesxolan gärämzä t'esahat' but't'esa.  
 gädä mannest'a gärämzin boš,  
 pasč'ağun ğaren mia gölö o'nenexa ič gädin baxt'in.  
 korpeşman qaibaki, enesa k'ua  
 p'inen yalluğax lanest'a baba pel, t'esahat' baba pulmux şelle baksa;  
 dövurğox imxox bonexsa şelgär, ič xenax tanest'a däng xunče;  
 xunçial usin şelle baksa.  
 pasč'ağ cinesa ič taxt'uxo, pasč'ağluğax tanest'a ič k'ic'k'e ġara.  
 k'ic'k'e ġar baneksa pasč'ağ, gölöal şel pasč'ağluğnebsa.

They search/walk around very much; when - having come - they passed by that first (mentioned) grave they see that a light goes out from [on] one grave.  
 They go to see what this one is.  
 Having gone near, they see that a grave (has) been dug (and) is ready.  
 The boy descends from the horse (and) says:  
 I should just go into (the grave) to see (whether) I fit into this grave.  
 Having gone into (the grave), he lies down.  
 The king's son says: You may say that they have made that grave for you.  
 The boy says: Come, take my hand, pull (me) up, so that I may go out.  
 When the son takes the hand of the boy, the boy gives (him) sixty rubles.  
 (and) the cloth (that he had) done (/dipped into) the blood of the dog, (and) says:  
 Put the cloth on the eye of your father; his eye should come back/open.  
 At home (there) are the dev's ears; boil those ones in water,  
 (and) give the water to the sister; she shall be sound.  
 (When) the father's eye has become sound, he must step down from his throne, (and) you should sit (on it).  
 After (he) had spoken these words, he disappeared.  
 When (he) has given the things, the grave immediately closes.  
 The boy remains in the grave.  
 Here, the king's son weeps very much because of his boy.  
 Having returned sadly, he come home.  
 He puts the bloody cloth on the father's eye (and) the father's eyes immediately become sound.  
 He boils the ears of the devs quite well (and) gives the water to the stupid sister.  
 The sister, too, soon becomes sound.  
 The king steps down from his throne (and) gives the rulership to his little son.  
 The little son becomes king (and) rules very well.

**b. Glossed version (lines correspond to the lines in (a)).**

[60]

<i>ba-ne-k-e</i>		<i>sa</i>	<i>pasč'ax</i>		<i>me-t'-ay</i>		<i>ba-ne-k-e-y</i>		<i>xib</i>	<i>čar.</i>
be-3SG-\$-PERF		one	king		PROX-REF:OBL-GEN:REF		be-3SG-\$-PERF-PAST		three	son
<i>sa</i>	<i>vaxt'-a</i>	<i>fikir-re-b-i</i>		<i>te</i>	<i>ek'e</i>	<i>sinamiš-b-a-z</i>		<i>ma-no-a</i>		<i>me</i>
one	time-DAT	thought-3SG-do-PAST		SUB	how	examine-LV-MOD-1SG	which-REF:ABS-3SG:Q	PROX	son-PL-ABL	smart
<i>ta-ne-st'a</i>		<i>har-t'-u</i>		<i>qo</i>	<i>u'q</i>	<i>bać</i>		<i>manat, ex-ne:</i>		<i>ta-ke-nan</i>
give-3SG-\$:PRES		each-REF:OBL-DAT		five	six	hundred	ruble	say:PRES-3SG	thither-go:IMP-2PL	<i>kef-b-a-nan!</i>
<i>mo-no-r</i>		<i>aiz-er-i,</i>		<i>ta-q'un-sa</i>		<i>har-o</i>		<i>sa</i>		<i>ga-n-u.</i>
PROX-REF:ABS-PL		rise-LV:PAST-PAST		thither=go-3PL-\$:PRES		each-REF:ABS	one	place-SA-DAT		
<i>kala</i>	<i>vič-en-q'an</i>		<i>bəg-un</i>		<i>vič-en</i>		<i>bo'ča'-q'un-b-es-a</i>		<i>ič-ug-o</i>	
old	brother-ERG-and		middle-GEN		brother-ERG		find-3PL-LV-PRES		REFL-PL-GEN	for
<i>ta-c-i</i>		<i>še-t'-ug-oxol</i>			<i>kef-q'un-b-es-a;</i>					
thither-go:PAST-PAST		DIST-REF:OBL-PL-COM			well-3PL-do-PRES					
<i>k'ic'k'e</i>		<i>vič-en-gena</i>		<i>furu-ne-xa,</i>						
little		brother-ERG-but		search-3SG-LV:PRES						
<i>ek'al</i>	<i>te-ne</i>		<i>bo'ča'-b-sa</i>		<i>ališveriš-b-a-ne-y,</i>		<i>qai-bak-i</i>		<i>e-ne-sa;</i>	
something	NEG-3SG		find-LV-PRES		trading-do-MOD-3SG-PAST		back-be-PAST		hither=go-3SG-\$:PRES	
<i>eč-axun</i>		<i>č'e-ne-bak-sa</i>		<i>sa</i>	<i>garamzaluč-un</i>		<i>boš't'an,</i>		<i>be'č-sa-ne,</i>	
hither-go:FUT-CV:PAR		out-3SG-be-PRES		one	graveyard-GEN		in:ABL		see-PRES-3SG	
<i>te</i>	<i>mia</i>		<i>sa</i>	<i>iš-en</i>		<i>garamzi-n-ax</i>		<i>gölö</i>	<i>t'ap'-ne-xa;</i>	
SUB	PROX:DAT		one	man-ERG		grave-SA-DAT2		much	hit-3SG-LV:PRES	

<i>me</i>	<i>čar</i>	<i>ta-ne-sa</i>	<i>iša,</i>					
PROX	son	thither=go-3SG-\$:PRES	near					
<i>be'č-a-ne</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>et'e-a</i>	<i>me-t'-in</i>	<i>t'ap'-exa,</i>	<i>xabar-re-aq'-sa</i>	<i>šo-t'-uxo.</i>		
see-MOD-3SG	SUB	how-3SG:Q	PROX-REF:OBL-ERG	hit-LV:PRES	question-3SG-take-PRES	DIST-REF:OBL-ABL		
<i>še-t'-in</i>		<i>ex-ne</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>p'uri-o</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>bošlu-ne</i>	<i>xib-q'o</i>
DIST-REF:OBL-ERG		say:PRES-3SG	SUB	PROX	dead-REF:ABS	I:DAT	owing-3SG	three-twenty
<i>dürüs</i>	<i>vaxt'-a</i>	<i>te-ne</i>	<i>tad-e,</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>še-t'-a</i>		<i>baxt'in</i>	<i>ič</i>
living	time-DAT	NEG-3SG	give-PERF	now	DIST-REF:OBL-GEN		for	REFL
								<i>gärämzi-n-ax</i>
								hit-1SG-LV:PRES
<i>pasč'ač-un</i>	<i>čar-en</i>	<i>t'esahat</i>	<i>čič-er-i</i>		<i>xib-q'o</i>	<i>manat-ax</i>	<i>ta-ne-st'a,</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>
king-GEN	son-ERG	immediately	pull=out-LV:PAST-PAST		three-twenty	ruble-DAT2	give-3SG-\$:PRES	say:PRES-3SG
<i>aq'-a</i>	<i>tängi-n-ax,</i>		<i>ma</i>	<i>laf-t'-a</i>	<i>gärämzi-n-ax,</i>	<i>äib-ne</i>	<i>venk'ena.</i>	
take-IMP:2SG	money-SA-DAT2		PROH	touch-LV-IMP:2SG	grave-SA-DAT2	shame-3SG	you:SG:BEN	
<i>še-t'-in</i>		<i>tängi-n-ax</i>	<i>aq'-i</i>		<i>ta-ne-sa.</i>			
DIST-REF:OBL-ERG		money-SA-DAT2	take-PAST		thither=go-3SG-\$:PRES			
<i>pasč'ač-un</i>	<i>čar</i>	<i>e-ne-sa</i>		<i>k'ua,</i>				
king-GEN	son	hither=go-3SG-\$:PRES		at=home				
<i>amma</i>	<i>gölö</i>	<i>zap'-ne-sa-y</i>			<i>te</i>	<i>bälükäm</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>ažug-o-ne-bak-i.</i>
but	much	fear-3SG-MP:PRES-PAST			SUB	perhaps	father	anger-DAT-3SG-be-PAST
<i>viči-mux-al</i>		<i>e-q'un-sa</i>		<i>k'ua.</i>				
brother-PL-FOC		hither=go-3PL-\$:PRES		at=home				
<i>xib</i>	<i>če-n-axo</i>	<i>oša</i>	<i>pasč'ač-en</i>	<i>k'al-le-xa</i>		<i>čar-muč-ox,</i>	<i>xabar-re-aq'-sa</i>	
three	day-SA-ABL	after	king-ERG	call-3SG-LV:PRES		son-PL-DAT2	question-3SG-take-PRES	

<i>te</i>	<i>še-t'-uğ-on</i>	<i>ek'a-q'un</i>	<i>b-e</i>	<i>ma-q'un</i>	<i>ta-c-e,</i>	<i>ek'a-q'o</i>	<i>ak'-e,</i>
SUB	DIST-REF:OBL-PL-ERG	what-3PL	do-PERF	where-3Pl	thither-go:PAST-PERF	what-3PL:DAT	see-PERF
<i>tängi-n-ax</i>	<i>ma-q'un</i>	<i>xarž-b-e.</i>					
money-SA-DAT2	where-3PL	spending-do-PERF					
<i>p'a<sup>r</sup></i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>ğar-muğ-on</i>	<i>p-i-q'un</i>				
two	old	brother-PL-ERG	say-PAST-3PL				
<i>te</i>	<i>yan</i>	<i>kef-yan-b-e,</i>	<i>beš</i>	<i>tängi-n-ax</i>	<i>xarž-yan-b-e.</i>		
SUB	we	well-1PL-do-PERF	our	money-SA-DAT2	spending-1PL-do-PERF		
<i>k'ic'k'e</i>	<i>ğar-en</i>	<i>p-i-ne:</i>					
little	son-ERG	say-PAST-3SG					
<i>zu</i>	<i>gärämzaluğ-axo</i>	<i>č'e-bak-axun</i>	<i>beč'g-sa-z</i>				
I	graveyard-ABL	out-be-CV:PAR	see-PRES-1SG				
<i>te</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iş-en</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>gärämzi-n-ax</i>	<i>t'ap'-ne-xa-y</i>	<i>xib-q'o</i>	<i>manat-un</i>
SUB	one	man-ERG	one	grave-SA-DAT2	hit-3SG-LV-PRES-PAST	three-twenty	ruble-GEN
<i>zu</i>	<i>še-t'-u</i>	<i>xib-q'o</i>	<i>manat</i>	<i>tad-i-z</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ma-q'a-n</i>	<i>t'ap'-i.</i>
I	DIST-REF:OBL-DAT	three-twenty	ruble	give-PAST-1SG	SUB	PROH-ADH-3SG	hit-PAST
<i>q'eiri</i>	<i>ek'al</i>	<i>te-z</i>	<i>xarž-b-e;</i>	<i>mand-i</i>	<i>tänga</i>	<i>zast'a-ne.</i>	
other	something	NEG-1SG	spending-do-PERF	remain-PAST	money	I:ADESS-3SG	
<i>pasč'ağ</i>		<i>ažuğ-o-ne-bak-i</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>ğar-muğ-o</i>	<i>laxo,</i>	<i>k'ic'k'e</i>	<i>ğar-ax</i>
king		anger-DAT-3SG-be-PAST	old	son-PL-DAT	on	little	son-DAT2
							<i>gölö</i>
							<i>ögmiš-ne-b-i</i>
							praise-3SG-do-PAST
<i>te</i>	<i>haqullu</i>	<i>aš-ne</i>	<i>biq'-e.</i>				
SUB	clever	work-3SG	take-PERF				
<i>un</i>	<i>zaxo</i>	<i>oşa</i>	<i>bak-al-lu</i>	<i>pasč'ağ.</i>			
you:SG	I:ABL	after	be-FUT1-2SG	king			

*k'ic'k'e* *čgar-a* *ta-ne-st'a* *žok'* *k'ož* *tängä*, *ex-ne*:  
 little son-DAT give-3SG-\$:PRES besides house money say:PRES-3SG

*vi* *baxt'in* *q'azamiš-b-a*, *karx-a!*  
 you:SG:GEN for earning-do-IMP:2SG live-IMP:2SG

*ośa-l* *ex-ne*:  
 then-FOC say:PRES-3SG

*vi* *baxt'in* *biq'-a* *gädä* *te* *adamar-ax*, *ma-no-te* *un* *uk'-axun*  
 you:SG:GEN for take-IMP:2SG boy SUB person-DAT2 which-REF:ABS-SUB you:SG say:FUT-CV:PAR

*e-ke* *bez* *t'očgo'l* *arc-a*,  
 hither-go:IMP:2SG I:GEN at sit-IMP:2SG

*śum* *uk-en* *nut'-eč-al-le*.  
 bread eat-IMP:1PL NEG-hither=go:FUT-FUT1-3SG

*k'ic'k'e* *čgar* *saema* *čge-n-axo* *ośa* *ta-ne-sa* *bazar-ax* *gädä* *biq'-s-an*;  
 little son some day-SA-ABL after thither=go-3SG-\$:PRES bazaar-DAT2 boy take-INF-CV:FIN

*sun-t'-ux* *biq'-i* *e-ne-sča*.  
 one:OBL-REF:OBL-DAT2 take-PAST hither-3SG-carry:PRES

*bias-un* *evaxte* *gädi-n-en* *śum-ax* *ta-ne-st'a*, *pasč'ač-un* *čgar-en* *p-i-ne*:  
 evening-GEN when boy-SA-ERG bread-DAT2 give-3SG-\$:PRES king-GEN son-ERG say-PAST-3SG

*zu-al* *zapsa-zu* *un-al* *e-ke* *saganu* *arc-en*, *śum* *uk-en*.  
 I-FOC alone-1SG you:SG-FOC hither-go:IMP:2SG together sit-IMP:1PL bread eat-IMP:1PL

*mo-no* *t'esahat* *ar-i* *arc-esa*.  
 PROX-REF:ABS immediately hither=go:PAST-PAST sit-PRES

<i>pasč'aġ-un</i>	<i>gar-en</i>	<i>ix-ne-ba-sak-sa</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>ait-urġ-ox.</i>				
king-GEN	son-ERG	in=ear-3SG-into-throw-PRES	father:GEN	word-PL-DAT2				
<i>ośun</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>gädi-n-ax</i>	<i>yaq'-a-ne-bast'a;</i>				
next	day	PROX	boy-SA-DAT2	way-DAT-3SG-throw:PRES				
<i>ta-c-i</i>		<i>bazar-ax</i>	<i>so-al</i>	<i>bi-ne-q'-sa;</i>				
thither-go:PAST-PAST		bazaar-DAT2	one:REF:ABS-FOC	take-3SG-\$-PRES				
<i>še-t'-in-al</i>		<i>ha-me-tär-re</i>	<i>b-esa,</i>	<i>še-t'-ux-al</i>	<i>č'e-v-ne-k'-esa.</i>			
DIST-REF:OBL-ERG-FOC		EMPH-PROX-so-3SG	[61] do-PRES	page61	DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2-FOC	out-CAUS-3SG-LV-PRES		
<i>xib-umži</i>	<i>ge-n-a</i>	<i>ta-c-i</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>žähil</i>	<i>gar-re</i>	<i>biq'-sa</i>	<i>xib-q'o</i>	<i>manat-al.</i>
three-ORD	day-SA-DAT	thither-go:PAST-PAST	one	young	boy-3SG	take-PRES	three-twenty	ruble-SUPER
<i>bias-un</i>	<i>pasč'aġ-un</i>	<i>gar-en</i>	<i>šum</i>	<i>uk-axun</i>	<i>ex-ne</i>	<i>gädi-n-ax</i>	<i>te:</i>	
evening-GEN	king-GEN	boy-ERG	bread	eat-CV:PAR	say:PRES-3SG	boy-SA-DAT2	SUB	
<i>zu-al</i>	<i>sapsa-zu,</i>	<i>un-al</i>	<i>e-ke</i>		<i>saganu</i>	<i>šum</i>	<i>uk-en.</i>	
I-FOC	alone-1SG	you:SG-FOC		hither-go:IMP:2SG	together	bread	eat-IMP:1PL	
<i>gädi-n-en</i>		<i>ex-ne</i>	<i>te:</i>					
boy-SA-ERG		say:PRES-3SG	SUB					
<i>zu</i>	<i>vaxol</i>	<i>bak-al</i>	<i>te-za</i>	<i>šum</i>	<i>uk-es,</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>uk-a!</i>	
I	you:SG:COM	be-PART:PRES	NEG-1SG:DAT	bread	eat-INF	you:SG	eat-IMP:2SG	
<i>ek'a-te</i>	<i>man-ne-d-o</i>	<i>ośa,</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>u-z-k-o.</i>				
what-SUB	remain-3SG-\$-FUT2	after	I	eat-1SG-\$-FUT2				
<i>eq'q'ara-te</i>	<i>pasč'aġ-un</i>	<i>gar-en</i>	<i>k'al-le-xa</i>	<i>te-ne</i>	<i>arc-esa.</i>			
how=much-SUB	king-GEN	son-ERG	call-3SG-LV:PRES	NEG-3SG	sit-PRES			

<i>pasč'ač-un</i>	<i>čar-en</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>
king-GEN	son-ERG	say:PRES-3SG
<i>bez</i>	<i>baba-n</i>	<i>uk'-al-o</i>
my	father-ERG	say:FUT-PART:PRES-REF:ABS
<i>šor</i>	<i>ha-mo-no-ne.</i>	
so:DIST	EMPH-PROX-REF:ABS-3SG	
<i>me</i>	<i>gädi-n-ax</i>	<i>e-ne-f-es-a.</i>
PROX	boy-SA-DAT2	keep-3SG-\$-PRES
<i>me</i>	<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>gölö</i>
PROX	boy-SA-ERG	much
<i>šel</i>		<i>q'ulluč-ne</i>
good		service-3SG
<i>b-es-a,</i>		<i>gölö-al</i>
do-PRES		much-FOC
<i>haq'ullu-ne-y.</i>		clever-3SG-PAST
<i>pasč'ač-un</i>	<i>čar-a</i>	<i>gölö</i>
king-GEN	son-DAT	much
<i>me</i>		<i>gädi-n-ax</i>
PROX		boy-SA-DAT2
<i>bu-t'u-q-i.</i>		love-3SG:DAT-\$-PAST
<i>saema</i>	<i>vädi-n-axo</i>	<i>osá</i>
some	time-SA-ABL	after
<i>pasč'ač-un</i>		<i>čar-en</i>
king-GEN		son-ERG
<i>kärvan</i>		<i>čač'-p-i,</i>
caravan		bind-LV-PAST
<i>gädi-n-ax-al</i>		boy-SA-DAT2-FOC
<i>aq'-i,</i>		take-PAST
<i>ta-ne-sa</i>	<i>q'eiri</i>	<i>šähär-a ališveriš.</i>
thither=go-3SG-\$:PRES	other	town-DAT trading
<i>me-t'-uč-oxol</i>		<i>ta-q'un-sa</i>
PROX-REF:OBL-PL-COM		thither=go-3PL-\$:PRES
<i>q'eiri</i>		<i>sövdäkär-ux-al.</i>
other		merchant-PL-FOC
<i>me</i>	<i>šähär-ä</i>	<i>p'a'</i>
PROX	town-DAT	two
<i>yaq'-ne</i>		<i>ta-y-sa:</i>
way-3SG		thither-go:PRES-PRES
<i>so</i>	<i>vučč</i>	<i>če-n-ey-ne,</i>
one:REF:ABS	seven	day-SA-GEN:REF-3SG
<i>so</i>		<i>xib</i>
one:REF:ABS		three
<i>xaš-n-ey.</i>		month-SA-GEN:REF
<i>amma</i>	<i>šu-te</i>	<i>me</i>
but	who-SUB	PROX
<i>vučč</i>		<i>vučč</i>
seven		seven
<i>če-n-e</i>		<i>če-n-e</i>
day-SA-GEN		day-SA-GEN
<i>yaq'-axo</i>		<i>yaq'-axo</i>
way-ABL		way-ABL
<i>ta-ne-sa,</i>		thither=go-3SG-\$:PRES



<i>śel</i>	<i>iša</i>	<i>yaq'-en</i>	<i>ta-č-en.</i>				
good	near	way-ERG	hither-go:FUT-IMP:1PL				
<i>ar-i</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>yaq'-al</i>	<i>ba-q'un-p'-i,</i>	<i>mo-no-r</i>	<i>kärvän-axo</i>	<i>žok'-q'un-bak-i,</i>
hither=go:PAST-PAST		PROX	way-FOC	reach-3PL-\$-PAST	PROX-REF:ABS-PL	caravan-ABL	separate-3PL-be-PAST
<i>sövdäk'är-č-on</i>		<i>gir-ec-i</i>		<i>xoiš-q'un-b-esa</i>	<i>t'e</i>	<i>pasc'ač-un</i>	<i>čar</i>
merchant-PL-ERG		gather-LV:PAST-PAST		wish-3PL-do-PRES	DIST	king-GEN	son
<i>ma-q'a-n</i>		<i>ta-c-i</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>yaq'-en, melan</i>	<i>ta-č-al-o</i>	<i>but-t'e-k'-sa.</i>
PROH-AHD-3SG		thither-go:PAST-PAST		PROX	way-ERG PROX:ABL	thither-go:FUT-PART:PRES-REF:ABS	perish-3SG-LV-PRES
<i>pasc'ač-un</i>	<i>čar-en</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>					
king-GEN	son-ERG	say:PRES-3SG					
<i>zu</i>	<i>bez</i>	<i>gädi-n-ax</i>	<i>gölö-za</i>	<i>buq'-sa.</i>			
I	my	boy-SA-DAT2	much-1SG:DAT	love-PRES			
<i>še-t'-a</i>		<i>xat'ir-un</i>	<i>baxt'in</i>	<i>ek'a</i>	<i>bak'-ay-n,</i>	<i>ta-č-al-zu.</i>	
DIST-REF:OBL-GEN		memory-GEN	for	what	be-CONJ-3SG	thither-go:FUT-FUT1-1SG	
<i>ta-q'un-sa</i>		<i>mo-no-r</i>		<i>iša</i>	<i>yaq'-en,</i>	<i>bia-bak-ama</i>	<i>yaq'-q'un</i>
thither=go-3PL-\$:PRES		PROX-REF:ABS-PL		near	way-ERG	evening-be-CV:UNTIL	way-3PL
<i>bias-un</i>	<i>ar-i</i>		<i>saganu</i>		<i>man-q'un-d-esa;</i>		<i>ta-y-sa.</i>
evening-GEN	hither=go:PAST-PAST		together		stay-3PL-\$-PRES		thither-go:PRES-PRES
<i>śum</i>	<i>ka-y-t'-uxo</i>		<i>oša</i>	<i>pasc'ač-un</i>	<i>čar</i>	<i>bas-ne-k'-esa;</i>	
bread	eat:PAST-PART:PAST-ABL		after	king-GEN	son	sleep-3SG-LV-PRES	
<i>gädi-n-en</i>		<i>arc-i</i>	<i>q'araul-le</i>	<i>ef-sa.</i>			
boy-SA-ERG		sit-PAST	watch-3SG	keep-PRES			

<i>śü-n-e-biġ</i>	<i>pasč'aġ-un</i>	<i>ġar-i</i>	<i>tuli-n-en</i>	<i>bur-re-q-sa</i>	<i>tünd</i>	<i>ba'p-s-ax.</i>
night-SA-GEN-middle	king-GEN	son-GEN	dog-SA-ERG	begin-3SG-\$-PRES	loud	bark-INF-DAT2
<i>gädi-n-a</i>	<i>i-t'u-bak-i</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>kol-l-a</i>	<i>qošt'an</i>	<i>sun-t'-in</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>
boy-SA-DAT	ear-3SG:DAT-be-PAST	one	bush-SA-GEN	behind:ABL	one:OBL-REF:OBL-ERG	say:PRES-3SG
<i>ai,</i>	<i>xa᷑,</i>	<i>vax</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>k'onžuġ-on</i>	<i>usin</i>	<i>bes-b-al-le.</i>
oh	dog	you:SG:DAT2	your:SG	lord-ERG	soon	dying-do-FUT1-3SG
<i>vi</i>	<i>p'i-n-ax</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>pel</i>	<i>la-d-al-le,</i>		
your:SG	blood-SA-DAT2	REFL	eye:SUPER	on-LV-FUT1-3SG		
<i>e-ke,</i>	<i>bart-a</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mal-l-u</i>	<i>zu</i>	<i>ta-š-a-z.</i>	
hither-go:IMP:2SG	let-IMP:2SG	MED	goods-SA-DAT	I	thither-carry-MOD-1SG	
<i>tula-n</i>	<i>kai-bak-ama</i>		<i>ba᷑-ne-p'i,</i>	<i>gädi-n-en-al</i>	<i>arc-i</i>	<i>q'araul-le</i>
dog-ERG	morning-become-CV:UNTIL		bark-3SG-\$-PAST	boy-SA-ERG-FOC	sit-PAST	watch-3SG
<i>ef-sa;</i>						keep-PRES
<i>damdam</i>	<i>aiz-e-ri</i>		<i>ta-q'un-sa,</i>	<i>saxsalamat</i>	<i>ba-q'un-p'-esa</i>	<i>šähär-a;</i>
morning	rise-LV:PAST-PAST		thither=go-3PL-\$:PRES	safe	reach-3PL-\$:PRES	town-DAT
<i>ič-uġ-o</i>	<i>mal-lux</i>		<i>töv-q'un-d-esa,</i>			
REFL-PL-GEN	goods-PL		trade-3PL-LV:PRES			
<i>melan</i>	<i>ič-uġ-enk'</i>		<i>mal-q'un</i>		<i>aq'-sa.</i>	
PROX:ABL	REFL-PL-BEN		goods-3PL		take-PRES	
<i>sövdäkär-ux</i>	<i>anžag-te</i>		<i>ba-q'un-p'-esa.</i>			
merchant-PL	finally-SUB		arrive-3PL-\$:PRES			
<i>sövdäkär-ġ-o</i>	<i>me-t'-uġ-ox</i>		<i>te</i>	<i>a-q'o-k'-sa,</i>	<i>aq'-q'un-esa</i>	
merchant-PL-DAT	PROX-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2	SUB		see-3PL:DAT-\$-PRES		amaze-3PL-LV:PRES

<i>te</i>	<i>mo-no-r</i>	<i>saxsalamat</i>	<i>ar-i</i>		<i>mia</i>	<i>ba-q'un-p'-e.</i>	
SUB	PROX-REF:ABS-PL	safe	hither=go:PAST-PAST		PROX:DAT	arrive-3PL-\$-PERF	
<i>gädi-n-en</i>		<i>sövdäkär-ğ-ox</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>				
boy-SA-ERG		merchant-PL-DAT2	say:PRES-3SG				
<i>e-ke-nan</i>		<i>va'n-al,</i>	<i>ta-ğ-en</i>	<i>işa</i>	<i>yaq'-en!</i>		
hither-go:IMP-2PL		you:PL-FOC	thither-go:FUT-IMP:1PL	near	way-ERG		
<i>mo-no-r</i>		<i>irazi-q'un-bak-sa.</i>					
PROX-REF:ABS-PL		agreeing-3PL-be-PRES					
<i>saema</i>	<i>ğe-n-a</i>	<i>oşa</i>	<i>mo-no-r</i>	<i>bütün</i>	<i>sagala</i>	<i>işa</i>	<i>yaq'-en</i>
some	day-SA-DAT	after	PROX-REF:ABS-PL	all	together	near	way-ERG
<i>ar-i</i>		<i>p'uran</i>	<i>t'e</i>	<i>śu</i>	<i>mand-i</i>	<i>ga-l-a-q'un</i>	<i>yaq'-a-q'un</i>
hither=go:PAST-PAST		again	DIST	night	stay-PART:PAST	place-SA-DAT-3PL	way-DAT-3PL
<i>bias-un</i>	<i>śum</i>	<i>kä-y</i>	<i>bütün</i>	<i>bas-q'un-k'-esa.</i>			
evening-GEN	bread	eat:PAST-PAST	all	sleep-3PL-LV-PRES			
<i>täksa</i>	<i>gäda</i>	<i>arc-i</i>	<i>q'araul-le</i>	<i>zap'-exa.</i>			
only	boy	sit-PAST	watch-3SG	draw-LV:PRES			
<i>śü-n-e-biğ</i>		<i>pasč'ağ-un</i>	<i>ğar-i</i>	<i>tuli-n-en</i>	<i>bur-re-q-sa</i>	<i>gölö</i>	<i>ba'p'-s-ax;</i>
night-SA-GEN-middle		king-GEN	son-GEN	dog-SA-ERG	begin-3SG-\$-PRES	much	bark-INF-DAT2
<i>gädi-n-a</i>	<i>p'uran</i>	<i>i-t'u-bak-i</i>		<i>sa</i>	<i>kol-l-a</i>	<i>qošt'an</i>	<i>sun-t'-in</i>
boy-SA-ERG	again	ear-3SG:DAT-be-PAST		one	bush-SA-GEN	behind:ABL	one:OBL-REF:OBL-ERG
<i>ai</i>	<i>xa'</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>k'onžug-on</i>	<i>usin</i>	<i>bes-b-al-le,</i>		<i>ex-ne:</i>
oh	dog	your:SG	lord-ERG	soon	dying-do-FUT1-3SG		say:PRES-3SG

<i>vi</i>	<i>p'i-n-ax</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>pel</i>	<i>la-d-al-le,</i>
your:SG	blood-SA-DAT2	REFL	eye:SUPER	on-LV-FUT1-3SG
<i>e-ke</i>	<i>bart-a</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>mal-l-u</i>	<i>ta-š-a-z!</i>
hither-go:IMP:2Sg	let-IMP:2SG	I:DAT	goods-SA-DAT	thither-carry-MOD-1SG
<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>ar-i</i>		<i>pasč'ač-un</i>	<i>gar-ax</i>
boy-SA-ERG	hither=go:PAST-PAST		king-GEN	son-DAT2
<i>mia</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>säss-ne</i>	<i>bu, zu</i>	<i>ta-č-al-zu</i>
PROX-DAT	one	voice-3SG	be I	hither-go:FUT-FUT1-1SG
<i>un-al</i>	<i>e-ke</i>		<i>bez</i>	<i>qoš't'an!</i>
you:SG-FOC	hither-go:IMP:2SG		I:GEN	behind:ABL
<i>pasč'ač-un</i>	<i>gar-en</i>		<i>ex-ne:</i>	
king-GEN	son-ERG		say:PRES-3SG	
<i>sel,</i>	<i>ta-ke,</i>		<i>zu-al</i>	<i>e-s-sa!</i>
good	thither-go:IMP:2SG		I-FOC	hither=go-1SG-\$:PRES
<i>gädä</i>	<i>ta-ne-sa</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>säss-n-a</i>
boy	thither=go-3SG-\$:PRES		PROX	voice-SA-GEN
<i>sa</i>	<i>adamar</i>		<i>t'i-ne-st'a,</i>	<i>mo-no-al</i>
one	person		run-3SG-\$:PRES	PROX-REF:ABS-FOC
<i>gölö-q'un</i>	<i>t'ist'a,</i>		<i>k'ic'i-q'un</i>	<i>t'ist'a.</i>
much-3PL	run:PRES		little-3PL	run:PRES
<i>birdän</i>	<i>t'e</i>	<i>adamar</i>	<i>baf-ne-st'a</i>	<i>sa kur-r-u.</i>
suddenly	DIST	person	fall-3SG-\$:PRES	one hole-SA-DAT

<i>ha-me</i>	<i>vaxt'-a</i>	<i>pasč'aḡ-un</i>	<i>ḡar-al</i>	<i>ar-i</i>		<i>ba-ne-p'-esa,</i>	<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>
EMPH-PROX	time-DAT	king-GEN	son-FOC	hither=go:PAST-PAST		arrive-3SG-\$-PRES	boy-SA-ERG	say:PRES-3SG
<i>zu</i>	<i>bai-ḡ-al-zu</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kur-r-u,</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>č'a</i>	<i>ba-sak-a,</i>	
I	into-go:FUT-FUT1-1SG	PROX	hole-SA-DAT	you:SG	one	rope	in-throw-IMP:2SG	
<i>ek'a-te</i>	<i>ḡać'-k'-ay-z,</i>	<i>zap'-nu-k'-o!</i>						
what-SUB	bind-LV-CONJ-1SG	pull-2SG-LV-FUT2						
<i>pasč'aḡ-un</i>	<i>ḡar-en</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>	<i>šel!</i>					
king-GEN	son-ERG	say:PRES-3SG	good					
<i>gädä</i>	<i>bai-ne-sa</i>	<i>kur-r-a</i>	<i>boš,</i>	<i>be'ḡ-sa-ne</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>otaḡ-ux-ne</i>	<i>bu;</i>
boy	into=go-3SG-\$:PRES	hole-SA-GEN	in	see-PRES-3SG	SUB	PROX:DAT	room-PL-3SG	be
<i>bütün</i>	<i>q'əzl-ən</i>	<i>gümš-ün</i>	<i>boš-ne,</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>boš-al</i>	<i>xib</i>	<i>xinär-re</i>	<i>arc-i,</i>
all	gold-GEN	silver-GEN	in-3SG	REFL	in-FOC	three	girl-3SG	sit-PAST
<i>so</i>	<i>sunsun-axo</i>		<i>šavat'-t'e.</i>					
one:REF:ABS	another-ABL		beautiful-3SG					
<i>me</i>	<i>xinar-muḡ-on</i>	<i>ḡar-ax</i>	<i>ex-q'un:</i>					
PROX	girl-PL-ERG	boy-DAT2	say:PRES-3PL					
<i>ek'alug-nu</i>	<i>mia</i>		<i>ar-e?</i>					
why-2SG	PROX.DAT		hither=go:PAST-PERF					
<i>mia</i>	<i>vu'ḡ</i>	<i>döv-ne</i>	<i>karx-esa.</i>					
PROX:DAT	seven	dev-3SG	live-PRES					
<i>me</i>	<i>k'ož-urux</i>	<i>še-t'-uḡ-oy-ne.</i>						
PROX	house-PL	DIST-REF:OBL-PL-GEN:REF-3SG						

*yax-al*      *har-t'-ux*      *dünya-n-un*      *sa*      *č'ot'-exo-q'un*      *e-č-er-e,*  
 we:DAT2-FOC each-REF:OBL-DAT2 world-SA-GEN one side-ABL-3PL hither-carry-LV:PAST-PERF

*isa*      *č'e-č-ay-q'un*      *vax*      *uk-al-q'un.*  
 now      out-go:FUT-CONJ-3PL you:SG:DAT2 eat-FUT1-3PL

*gädi-n-en*      *xabar-re-aq'-sa:*  
 boy-SA-ERG      question-3SG-take-PRES

*ma-q'un*      *šo-no-r?*  
 where-3PL      DIST-REF:ABS-PL

*xinär-muč-on*      *ex-q'un:*      *t'e-sa*      *otag-a-q'un.*  
 girl-PL-ERG      say:PREZ-3PL DIST-one room-DAT-3PL

*me*      *č'gar*      *bai-ne-sa*      *mia,*      *bütün*      *döv-urč-ox*      *k'ac'-ne-xa,*  
 PROX      boy      into=go-3SG-\$:PREZ      PROX:DAT all dev-PL-DAT2 cut-3SG-LV-PRES

*ič-uč-o*      *imč-ox*      *k'ac'-p-i*      *yalluč-a-ne*      *bai-exa.*  
 REFL-PL-GEN ear-PL-DAT2 cut-LV-PAST cloth-DAT-3SG into-LV:PREZ

*še-t'-uxo*      *oša*      *t'e*      *xinar-muč-ox*      *č'a-en*      *č'ac'-ne-xa*      *so*      *so,*  
 DIST-REF:OBL-ABL after DIST girl-PL-DAT2 rope-ERG bind-3SG-LV:PREZ one:REF:ABS one:REF:ABS

*pasč'ač-un*      *č'gar-en-al*      *zap-i*      *lai-ne-sča;*  
 king-GEN son-ERG-FOC pull-PAST onto-3SG-carry:PREZ

*oša*      *gädi-n-en*      *gir-re-b-sa*      *bütün*      *q'azəl-ax*      *gümüş-ax*      *mal-lux*      *dövlat-ax*      *döv-urč-oy,*  
 then      boy-SA-ERG gather-3SG-LV-PRES all gold-DAT2 silver-DAT2 goods-PL riches-DAT2 dev-PL-GEN:REF

*č'ac'-ne-xa*      *k'andır-en,*      *pasč'ač-un*      *č'gar-en*      *zap'-ne-xa*      *ala.*  
 bind-3SG-LV:PREZ rope-ERG king-GEN son-ERG pull-3SG-LV:PREZ up

<i>me</i>	<i>mal-urux</i>	<i>bütün</i>	<i>döv-urğ-on</i>	<i>yaq'-č'e-bak-al-ğ-oxo-q'un</i>	<i>fuq'-p'e</i>	<i>ič-uğ-ox-al</i>	<i>bes-b-e.</i>
PROX	goods-PL	all	dev-PL-ERG	way-out-be-PART:PRES-PL-ABL-3PL	rob-LV-PERF	REFL-PL-DAT2	die-do-PERF
<i>bütün</i>	<i>mal-ux</i>	<i>lai-č-er-i-t'-uxo</i> onto-carry-LV:PAST-PAST-REF:OBL-ABL			<i>oşa</i>	<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>ičux-ne</i>
all	goods-PL				after	boy-SA-ERG	REFL-DAT2-3SG
<i>me-t'-ux-al</i>		<i>pasč'ağ-un</i>	<i>ğar-en</i>	<i>zap-i</i>	<i>či-ne-sča.</i>		
PROX-REF:OBL-DAT2-FOC		king-GEN	son-ERG	pull-PAST	pull=out-3SG-\$:PRES		
<i>me-t'-uğ-on</i>		<i>gir-b-i,</i>	<i>xinär-muğ-ox-al</i>	<i>aq'-i</i>			
PROX-REF:OBL-PL-ERG		gather-LV-PAST	girl-PL-DAT2	take-PAST			
<i>ta-q'un-sa</i>		<i>ič-uğ-on</i>	<i>mand-i</i>	<i>ga-l-a.</i>			
thither=go-3PL-\$:PRES		REFL-PL-ERG	stay-PART:PAST	place-SA-DAT			
<i>mia</i>	<i>xel-q'un-b-esä</i>		<i>ič-uğ-o</i>	<i>mal-lux,</i>	<i>xinar-muğ-ox,</i>	<i>ta-q'un-sa</i>	<i>k'ua.</i>
PROX:DAT	load-3PL-do-PRES		REFL-PL-GEN	goods-PL	girl-PL-DAT2	thither=go-3PL-\$:PRES	at=home
<i>k'ua</i>	<i>ar-i</i>		<i>be'ğ-sa-q'un</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ič-uğ-o</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>k'acı-ne</i>
at=home	hither=go:PAST-PAST		see-PRES-3PL	SUB	REFL-PL-GEN	father	blind-3SG
<i>evaxt'e</i>	<i>i-q'o-bak-sa</i>		<i>ič-uğ-o</i>	<i>ğar</i>	<i>iša</i>	<i>yaq'-en-ne</i>	<i>ta-c-e,</i>
when	ear-3PL:DAT-be-PRES		REFL-PL-GEN	son	near	way-ERG-3SG	thither-go:PAST-PERF
<i>baba-n-q'an</i>	<i>xinär-en</i>	<i>še-t'-ux</i>	<i>p'uri-q'un</i>	<i>hesab-b-i,</i> reckoning-do-PAST			
father-ERG-and	daughter-ERG	DIST-REF:OBL-DAT2	dead-3PL				
<i>gölö</i>	<i>o'ne-p-s-axo,</i>		<i>fikir-b-es-axo</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>pul</i>	<i>k'acı-ne</i>	<i>bak-i,</i>
much	weep-LV-INF-ABL		thought-do-INF-ABL	father	eye	blind-3SG	be-PAST
<i>saema</i>	<i>vada-n-axo</i>	<i>oşa</i>	<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>ex-ne</i>	<i>pasč'ağ-un</i>	<i>ğar-a</i>	<i>te:</i>
some	time-SA-ABL	after	boy-SA-ERG	say:PRES-3SG	king-GEN	son-DAT	SUB

<i>ta-č-en</i>		<i>oxal-a!</i>					
thither-go:FUT-IMP:1PL		hunting-DAT					
<i>pasč'ač-un</i>	<i>čar-en</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>	<i>šel,</i>	<i>ta-č-en!</i>			
king-GEN	son-ERG	say:PRES-3SG	good	thither-go:FUT-IMP:1PL			
<i>ta-q'un-sa,</i>	<i>bia-bak-ama</i>	<i>furu-q'un-exa,</i>	<i>ek'al</i>	<i>te-q'un</i>	<i>boččač-b-sa.</i>		
thither=go-3PL-\$:PRES	evening-be-CV:UNTIL	search-3PL-LV:PRES	something	NEG-3PL	find-LV-PRES		
<i>bias-un</i>	<i>qai-bak-i</i>	<i>e-q'un-sa,</i>	<i>yaq'-al</i>	<i>e-č-axun</i>			
evening-GEN	back-be-PAST	hither=go-3PL-\$:PRES	way-SUPER	hither-go:FUT-CV:PAR			
<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>biq'-sa-ne</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tuli-n-ax,</i>	<i>dop-t'-esa.</i>			
boy-SA-ERG	take-PRES-3SG	PROX	dog-SA-DAT2	shoot-LV-PRES			
<i>pasč'ač-un</i>	<i>čar-en</i>	<i>gölö</i>	<i>beč-ne-č-sa</i>	<i>me-t'-a</i>	<i>laxo,</i>		
king-GEN	son-ERG	much	look=at-3SG-\$:PRES	PROX-REF:OBL:GEN	on		
<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>yalluč-ax</i>	<i>čič-er-i,</i>	<i>tuli-n</i>	<i>p'i-n-e</i>	<i>boš</i>	<i>čap-ne-xa</i>
boy-SA-ERG	REFL	cloth-DAT2	pull=out-LV:PAST-PAST	dog-GEN	blood-SA-GEN	in	dip-3SG-LV:PRES
<i>oša</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>žub-n-u-ne</i>		<i>lax-sa.</i>			
then	REFL	pocket-SA-DAT-3SG		put-PRES			
<i>še-t'-uxo</i>	<i>oša</i>	<i>pasč'ač-un</i>	<i>čar-a</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>			
DIST-REF:OBL-ABL	after	king-GEN	son-ERG	say:PRES-3SG			
<i>ek'a-n</i>	<i>fikir-b-esá,</i>	<i>ieni</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tuli-n</i>	<i>amal</i>	<i>xat'ir</i>	<i>te-bez</i>
what-2SG	thought-do-PRES	that=is	one	dog-GEN	wishes	relevance	NEG-my
<i>bak-i-o</i>		<i>ba-ne-k-e,</i>		<i>sa</i>	<i>xata-ne</i>	<i>č'e-ne-bak-e.</i>	
be-PART:PAST-REF:ABS		be-3SG-\$-PERF		one	danger	out=3SG-be-PERF	

<i>pasč'aḡ-un</i>	<i>ḡar-en</i>	<i>me-t'-a</i>	PROX-REF:OBL-GEN	<i>xat'ir-ax</i>	<i>gölö-t'u-i</i>		<i>buq'-sa,</i>	<i>ek'al</i>	<i>te-ne</i>	<i>p-i.</i>
king-GEN	son-ERG			relevance-DAT2	much-3SG:DAT-PAST		love-PRES	something	NEG-3SG	say-PAST
<i>ta-q'un-sa</i>		<i>k'ua.</i>								
thither=go-3PL-\$:PRES		at=home								
<i>p'a᷑</i>	<i>xib</i>	<i>ḡe-n-axo</i>		<i>ośa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>ex-ne</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>bez</i>	<i>vädä</i>
two	three	day-SA-ABL		after	PROX	boy-SA-ERG	say:PRES-3SG	SUB	my	time
										full-3SG-be-PRES
<i>gäräg</i>	<i>va'n</i>	<i>xib-al-en-al</i>		<i>lašk'o-bak-a-nan</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yan</i>	<i>e-č-er-i</i>		<i>xinar-muḡ-o</i>	<i>laxo.</i>
must	you:PL	three-COLL-ERG-FOC		marriage-be-IMP-2PL	PROX	we	hither-carry-LV:PAST-PAST		girl-PL-GEN	on
<i>pasč'aḡ-un</i>	<i>ḡar-en</i>	<i>ek'a-te</i>		<i>ič</i>	<i>gadi-n-en</i>	<i>ex-ne,</i>	<i>bütün</i>		<i>tam-ne-b-esa.</i>	
king-GEN	son-ERG	what-SUB		REFL	boy-SA-ERG	say:PRES-3SG	all		full-3SG-do-PRES	
<i>saema</i>		<i>ḡe-n-axo</i>		<i>ośa</i>	<i>pasč'aḡ-un</i>	<i>ḡar-muḡ-on</i>	<i>lašk'o-q'un</i>	<i>b-esa.</i>		
some		day-SA-ABL		after	king-GEN	son-PL-ERG	marriage-3PL	do-PRES		
<i>kala</i>	<i>vič-e</i>	<i>ta-ne-d-i</i>		<i>kala</i>	<i>xinar-ax,</i>	<i>biḡ-un-t'-u</i>		<i>biḡ-un-t'-ux,</i>		
old	brother-DAT	give-3SG-\$-PAST		old	girl-DAT2	middle-GEN-REF:OBL-DAT		middle-GEN-REF:OBL-DAT2		
<i>k'ic'k'e</i>		<i>ḡar-en-al</i>		<i>k'ic'k'e</i>		<i>xinär-ax.</i>				
little		son-ERG-FOC		little		girl-DAT2				
<i>me</i>	<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>usin</i>	<i>tam-bak-i</i>		<i>ḡe-n-a,</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>tängi-n-ax</i>		<i>a-ne-q'-sa</i>	<i>ič</i>
PROX	boy-SA-ERG	soon	full-be-PART:PAST		day-SA-DAT	REFL	money-SA-DAT2		take-3SG-\$-PRES	REFL
									lord-ABL	
<i>pasč'aḡ-un</i>	<i>ḡar-en</i>	<i>gölö</i>	<i>xoiš-ne-b-sa</i>		<i>te</i>	<i>mand-a-ne</i>		<i>p'uran</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>t'o᷑go᷑l.</i>
king-GEN	son-ERG	much	plea-3SG-do-PRES		SUB	stay-MOD-3SG		again	REFL	at
<i>me</i>	<i>gädä</i>	<i>te-ne</i>	<i>irazi-bak-sa,</i>		<i>ex-ne:</i>					
PROX	boy	NEG-3SG	agreeing-be-PRES		say:PRES-3SG					

<i>ta-ğ-en</i>	<i>furu-p-s-an,</i>		<i>be'ğ-en</i>					
thither-go:FUT-IMP:1PL	search-LV-INF-CV:FIN		see-IMP:1PL					
<i>ek'a-z</i>	<i>fikir-b-es-a,</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>doğri</i>	<i>ait-ax</i>	<i>u-z-k'-o.</i>			
what-1SG	thought-do-PRES	PROX:DAT	true	word-DAT2	say:FUT-1SG-\$-FUT2			
<i>mo-no-r</i>	<i>ta-q'un-sa;</i>							
PROX-REF:ABS-PL	thither=go-3PL-\$:PRES							
<i>gölö</i>	<i>furu-q'un-exa,</i>	<i>ar-i</i>	<i>t'e</i>	<i>beş-un</i>	<i>gärämzi-n</i>	<i>t'o'ğ'o'l</i>	<i>č'e-bak-axun</i>	<i>be'ğ-sa-q'un te</i>
much	search-3PL-LV:PRES	hither=go:PAST-PAST	DIST	first-GEN	grave-GEN	at	out-be-CV:PAR	see-PRES-3PL SUB
<i>sa</i>	[63] <i>gärämzi-n</i>	<i>laxo</i>	<i>xaš-ne</i>	<i>č'e-sa.</i>				
one	page63 grave-GEN	on	light-3SG	out=go-PRES				
<i>ta-q'un-sa</i>	<i>be'ğ-s-an</i>		<i>mo-no</i>		<i>ek'a-a;</i>			
thither=go-3PL-\$:PRES	see-INF-CV:FIN		PROX-REF:ABS		what-3SG:Q			
<i>işa</i>	<i>ta-c-i</i>	<i>be'ğ-sa-q'un</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>gärämzä</i>	<i>kaś-p-i</i>	<i>hazir-re.</i>		
near	thither-go:PAST-PAST	see-PRES-3PL	one	grave	dig-LV-PAST	ready-3SG		
<i>gädä</i>	<i>e'k-axo</i>	<i>ci-ne-sa,</i>		<i>ex-ne:</i>				
boy	horse-ABL	down=go-3SG-\$:PRES		say:PRES-3SG				
<i>sa</i>	<i>bai-ğ-a-z,</i>	<i>be'ğ-a-z</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>gärämzi-n-a</i>	<i>baq'-sa-z.</i>			
one	into-go:FUT-MOD-1SG	see-MOD-1SG	PROX	grave-SA-DAT	fit=into-PRES-1SG			
<i>bai-c-i</i>		<i>bas-ne-k'-esa.</i>						
into-go:PAST-PAST		lie=down-3SG-LV-PRES						
<i>pasč'ağ-un</i>	<i>ğar-en</i>	<i>ex-ne</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>uk'-a-n-te</i>		<i>ka</i>	<i>gärämzi-n-ax</i>	
king-GEN	son-ERG	say:PRES-3SG	SUB	say:FUT-MOD-3SG-SUB		MED	grave-SA-DAT2	you:SG:BEN-3PL
								<i>serb-e!</i>
								build-PERF

<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>	<i>e-ke</i>		<i>bez</i>	<i>kexo</i>	<i>biq'-a,</i>	<i>ala-b-a</i>	<i>č'e-č-a-z!</i>
boy-SA-ERG	say:PRES-3SG	hither-go:IMP:2SG		my	hand:ABL	take-IMP:2SG	up-do-IMP:2SG	out-go:FUT-MOD-1SG
<i>čar-en</i>	<i>gädi-n</i>	<i>kex</i>	<i>biq'-axun,</i>	<i>gädi-n-en</i>	<i>ta-ne-st'a</i>	<i>xib-q'o</i>	<i>manat-ax,</i>	
son-ERG	boy-GEN	hand:DAT2	take-CV:PAR	boy-SA-ERG	give-3SG-\$:PRES	three-twenty	ruble-DAT	
<i>tuli-n</i>	<i>p'i-n-en</i>	<i>b-i</i>		<i>yalluč-ax,</i>	<i>ex-ne:</i>			
dog-GEN	blood-SA-ERG	do-PART:PAST		cloth-DAT2	say:PRES-3SG			
<i>yalluč-ax</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>pel</i>	<i>la-d-a,</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>pul-mux</i>	<i>qai-q'a-n-ec-i;</i>	
cloth-DAT2	your:SG	father	eye:SUPER	on-LV-IMP:2SG	REFL	eye-PL	back-AHD-3SG-go:PAST-PAST	
<i>k'ua-l</i>	<i>döv-n-ä</i>	<i>imx-ox-ne</i>	<i>bu,</i>	<i>še-t'-ug-ox</i>		<i>box-a</i>	<i>xe-n-e</i>	<i>boš,</i>
at=home-FOC	dev-SA-GEN	ear-PL-3SG	be	DIST-REF:OBL-PL-DAT2		boil-IMP:2SG	water-SA-GEN	in
<i>xe-n-ax</i>		<i>tad-a</i>	<i>xunč-e</i>	<i>šel-q'an-bak-i,</i>				
water-SA-DAT2		give-IMP:2SG	sister-DAT	well-ADH-3SG-be-PAST				
<i>baba</i>	<i>pul</i>	<i>šel-le</i>	<i>bak-i,</i>	<i>gäräg ič</i>	<i>taxt'-uxo</i>	<i>ci-č-a-ne,</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>arc-a-n.</i>
father:GEN	eye	well-3SG	be-PAST	must	REFL	throne-ABL	down-go:PAST-MOD-3SG	you:SG sit-MOD-2SG
<i>me</i>	<i>ait-ur-č-ox</i>	<i>p-i</i>		<i>čixar-re-k'-sa.</i>				
PROX	word-PL-DAT	say-PAST		disappear/be=saved-3SG-LV-PRES				
<i>še-y-urč-ox</i>	<i>tad-es-xolan</i>		<i>gärämzä</i>	<i>t'esahat'</i>	<i>but'-t'e-sa.</i>			
thing-PL-DAT2	give-INF-CV:ANTE		grave	immediately	close-3SG-MP:PRES			
<i>gädä</i>	<i>man-ne-st'a</i>		<i>gärämzi-n</i>	<i>boš,</i>				
boy	remain-3SG-\$:PRES		grave-GEN	in				
<i>pasč'ač-un</i>	<i>čar-en</i>		<i>mia</i>	<i>gölö</i>	<i>o'ne-ne-xa</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>gädi-n</i>	<i>baxt'in.</i>
king-GEN	son-ERG		PROX:DAT	much	weep-3SG-LV:PRES	REFL	boy-GEN	for

<i>korpešman</i>	<i>qai-bak-i,</i>	<i>e-ne-sa</i>	<i>k'ua</i>						
sad	back-be-PAST	hither=go-3SG-\$:PRES	at=home						
<i>p'i-n-en</i>	<i>yalluč-ax</i>	<i>la-ne-st'a</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>pel,</i>	<i>t'esahat'</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>pul-mux</i>	<i>šel-le</i>	<i>bak-sa;</i>
blood-SA-ERG	cloth-DAT2	on-3SG-LV:PRES	father:GEN	eye:SUPER	immediately	father:GEN	eye-PL	well-3SG	be-PRES
<i>döv-urč-o</i>	<i>imx-ox</i>	<i>bo-ne-x-sa</i>	<i>šel-gär,</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>xe-n-ax</i>	<i>ta-ne-st'a</i>		<i>däng</i>	<i>xunc-e;</i>
dev-PL-GEN	ear-PL	boil-3SG-\$:PRES	well-just	REFL	water-SA-DAT2	give-3SG-\$:PRES		stupid	sister-DAT
<i>xunc-i-al</i>	<i>usin</i>	<i>šel-le</i>	<i>bak-sa.</i>						
sister-FOC	soon	well-3SG	be-PRES						
<i>pasč'ač</i>	<i>ci-ne-sa</i>		<i>ič</i>	<i>taxt'-uxo,</i>	<i>pasč'ačluč-ax</i>	<i>ta-ne-st'a</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>k'ic'k'e</i>	<i>čar-a.</i>
king	down=go-3SG-\$:PRES		REFL	throne-ABL	rulership-DAT2	give-3SG-\$:PRES	REFL	little	son-DAT
<i>k'ic'k'e</i>	<i>čar</i>	<i>ba-ne-k-sa</i>	<i>pasč'ač,</i>	<i>gölö-al</i>	<i>šel</i>	<i>pasč'ačluč-ne-b-sa.</i>			
little	son	be-3SG-\$:PRES	king	much-FOC	well	rulership-3SG-do-PRES			

### c. Abbreviations and frequency of morphemes

GLOSS	Meaning	Frequency in Text	Morpheme (basic forms only)
\$	Second part of discontinuous lexeme	63	
1PL	First Plural	14	<i>-yan</i>
1SG	First Singular	24	<i>-zu, -za</i>
2PL	Second Plural	4	<i>-nan</i>
2SG	Second Singular	28	<i>-nu, -va</i>
3PL	Third Plural	58	<i>-q'un, -q'o</i>
3SG	Third Singular	178	<i>-ne ~ -e</i>
ABL	Ablative	32	<i>-xo</i>
ABL*	Ablative (borrowed/petrified)	8	<i>-t'an ~ -lan</i>
ABS	Absolutive	115	<i>-Ø ~ -o (disregarding incorporated forms)</i>

ADESS	Adessive	1	<i>-st'a</i>
ADH	Adhortative	4	<i>q'a-</i>
and	Conjunction	2	<i>-q'an</i>
ANTE	Anterior converb	1	<i>-xolan</i>
BEN	Benefactive	3	<i>-enk'(ena)</i>
CAUS	Causative	1	<i>-v-</i>
COLL	Collective	1	<i>-al</i>
COM	Comitative	2	<i>-xol</i>
CONJ	Conjunctive	3	<i>-ay-</i>
CV	Converb	15	<i>various forms</i>
DAT	Dative	64	<i>-a, -u, -e, -i, o</i>
DAT2	Dative 2	65	<i>-ax, -ux, -ex, -ix, -ox</i>
DIST	Distal	23	<i>t'e ~ še-</i>
EMPH	Emphatic	5	<i>ha-</i>
ERG	Ergative	89	<i>-(e)n, -in</i>
FIN	Final converb	3	<i>-an</i>
FOC	Focus	28	<i>-al</i>
FUT	Future	19	<i>various lexical stems</i>
FUT1	Future 1	10	<i>-al</i>
FUT2	Future 2	4	<i>-o</i>
GEN	Genitive	90	<i>-un, -(i)n, -a(y), -e(y), -o(y)</i>
IMP	Imperative	30	<i>-a</i>
INF	Infinitive	9	<i>-es</i>
LV	Light Verb	56	<i>various forms</i>
MED	Medial	3	<i>ka</i>
MOD	Modal	14	<i>-a-</i>
MP	Medio-Passive	2	<i>dervied from e(y)sun 'go'</i>
NEG	Negation	13	<i>te- ~ nut'-</i>
OBL	Oblique	35	<i>-t'-</i>
ORD	Ordinal	1	<i>-umži</i>
PAR	Parallel action (converb)	8	<i>-axun</i>
PART	Participle	11	<i>-al ~ -i</i>
PAST	Past	112	<i>-i</i>

PERF	Perfect	21	<i>-e</i>
PL	Plural	62	<i>various forms</i>
PRES	Present	180	<i>-sa or fused with stem</i>
PROH	Prohibitive	3	<i>ma-</i>
PROX	Proximal	63	<i>me</i>
PV:back	Preverb	5	<i>qai-</i>
PV:down	Preverb	3	<i>ci-</i>
PV:hither	Preverb	31	<i>e-</i>
PV:in(to)	Preverb	8	<i>ba- ~ bai-</i>
PV:on(to)	Preverb	5	<i>la- ~ lai-</i>
PV:out	Preverb	9	<i>č'e-</i>
PV:thither	Preverb	38	<i>ta-</i>
Q	Interrogative	3	<i>-a</i>
REF	Referentializer	66	<i>-o ~ -t' ~ -y</i>
SA	Stem augment	80	<i>-n-, -l-</i>
SUB	Subordinator	33	<i>(-)te</i>
SUPER	Superessive	7	<i>-l</i>
UNTIL	Terminative converb	3	<i>-ama</i>
		<b>1762</b>	<b>in 1193 word tokens</b>

## d. Lexical Indexes

### 1. Udi-English including frequency of types (numbers indicate 'tokens per type')

Frequencies:	Tokens:	1193
	Types:	593
	Lexical forms:	270

"\_ " indicates place of agreement marker in endoclitization. English correspondences present a rather literal translation (basically *source domains*).

*a\_k'sun* 'see, perceive' △ *ak'e* [1]; *aq'ok'sa* [1]  
*a\_q'sun* 'take' △ *aneq'i* [1]; *aneq'sa* [1]; *aq'a* [1]; *aq'i* [3]; *aq'sa* [1]  
*aba\_baksun* 'be knowing, know' △ *ababaksa* [1]  
*adamar* 'person, man' △ *adamar* [2]; *adamarax* [1]; *adamarux* [1]  
*ažu gó\_baksun* 'be in anger, be angry' △ *ažu gónebaki* [2]  
*ağa* 'lord' △ *ağaxo* [1]  
*ai* 'oh!' △ *ai* [2]  
*ai\_zesun* 'rise' △ *aizeri* [2]  
*äib* 'shame' △ *äibne* [1]  
*ait* 'word' △ *aitax* [1]; *aitur góx* [2]  
*ala* 'above' △ *ala* [1]  
*ala\_besun* 'make hight, raise' △ *alaba* [1]  
*ališveriš* 'trading' △ *ališveriš* [1]  
*ališveriš\_besun* 'trade' △ *ališverišbaney* [1]  
*amal* 'wishe(es)' △ *amal* [1]  
*amma* 'but' △ *amma* [2]  
*anža gó* 'however, yet' △ *anža góte* [1]  
*aq'\_esun* 'be taken, be amazed' △ *aq'q'unesa* [1]; *arca* [1]; *arcan* [1]; *arcen* [1]; *arcesa* [2]  
*ar\_cesun* 'sit' △ *arci* [4]  
*aš* 'work' △ *ašne* [1]  
*axer* 'finally' △ *axer* [1]  
*ba'p()'esun* 'bark' △ *ba'nep'i* [1]; *ba'psax* [1]; *ba'p'sax* [1]

**ba\_ksun** 'be(come)' △ *bakal* [1]; *bakallu* [1]; *bak'ayn* [1]; *bake* [2]; *baki* [2]; *bakio* [1]; *baksa* [3]; *baneke* [2]; *banekey* [1]; *baneksa* [1]  
**ba\_p'esun** 'arrive, reach' △ *banep'esa* [1]; *baq'unp'e* [1]; *baq'unp'esa* [2]; *baq'unp'i* [1]  
**ba\_q'sun** 'fit into' △ *baq'saz* [1]  
**baba** 'father' △ *baba* [8]; *baban* [1]; *babanq'an* [1]  
**bać** 'hundred' △ *bać* [1]  
**baf\_st'un** 'fall' △ *bafnest'a* [1]  
**bai\_(y)sun** 'go into, enter' △ *baici* [1]; *baiexa* [1]; *baiğalzu* [1]; *baiğaz* [1]; *bainesa* [2]; *baysa* [1]  
**bälükäm** 'perhaps' △ *bälükäm* [1]  
**bar\_tesun** 'let, leave, cause' △ *barta* [2]  
**bas\_k'esun** 'lie down, sleep' △ *basnek'esa* [2]; *basq'unk'esa* [1]  
**basa\_ksun** 'throw into' △ *basaka* [1]  
**bat'\_kesun** 'perish' △ *batt'ek'sa* [1]  
**baxt'in** 'for (lit.: *baxt'*-in with the sake (of))' △ *baxt'in* [8]  
**bazar** 'bazaar' △ *bazarax* [2]  
**be<sup>c</sup>ğsun** 'see, observe' △ *be<sup>c</sup>ğane* [1]; *be<sup>c</sup>ğaz* [1]; *be<sup>c</sup>ğen* [1]; *be<sup>c</sup>ğsan* [1]; *be<sup>c</sup>ğsaq'un* [3]; *be<sup>c</sup>ğsaz* [1]; *be<sup>c</sup>neğsa* [1]  
**be<sup>c</sup>ğ** 'sun' △ *be<sup>c</sup>ğsane* [3]  
**beş** 'in front of' △ *beş* [1]  
**beşun** 'first' △ *beşun* [1]  
**bes\_besun** 'make die, kill' △ *besballe* [2]; *besbe* [1]  
**besun** 'do, make, trans. LV' △ *be* [1]; *besa* [3]; *bi* [1]  
**bez** 'my' △ *bez* [6]  
**bi\_q'sun** 'take, seize, hire' △ *bineq'sa* [1]; *biq'a* [2]; *biq'axun* [1]; *biq'e* [1]; *biq'i* [1]; *biq'sa* [1]; *biq'san* [1]; *biq'sane* [1]  
**bia\_baksun** 'become morning' △ *biabakama* [2]  
**bias** 'evening' △ *biasun* [5]  
**ba(?)ğ ~ bi(?)ğ** 'middle' △ *bağun* [1]; *biğunt'u* [1]; *biğunt'ux* [1]  
**birdän** 'suddenly' △ *birdän* [1]  
**bo<sup>c</sup>ğa<sup>c</sup>\_besun** 'find' △ *bo<sup>c</sup>ğa<sup>c</sup>bsa* [2]; *bo<sup>c</sup>ğa<sup>c</sup>q'unbesa* [1]  
**bo\_xsun** 'boil' △ *bonexsa* [1]; *boxa* [1]  
**borž** 'guilt' △ *borž* [1]  
**boš** 'in' △ *boš* [4]; *boşal* [1]; *boşne* [1]  
**bošt'an** 'from in (Azeri Ablative)' △ *bošt'an* [1]  
**bošlu** 'owing' △ *boślune* [1]  
**bu** 'be' △ *bu* [4]  
**bu\_q'sun** 'want, love' △ *buq'sa* [2]; *but'uqi* [1]; *but'uq'say* [1]

*bütün* 'all' △ *bütün* [8]  
*bur\_qesun* 'begin' △ *burreqsa* [2]  
*but'\_esun* 'be closed' △ *but't'esa* [1]  
*but'\_kesun* 'close' △ *butt'ek'sa* [1]  
*č'a* 'rope' △ *č'a* [1]; *č'aen* [1]  
*čap\_pesun* 'dip into' △ *čapnexa* [1]  
*č'e\_(y)sun* 'go out, leave' △ *č'eğaz* [1]; *č'eri* [1]; *č'esa* [1]; *č'eğayq'un* [1]  
*če'\_baksun* 'pass by, happen' △ *č'ebakaxun* [2]; *č'enebake* [1]; *č'enebaksa* [1]  
*č'ev\_k'esun* 'make leave, dismiss' △ *č'evnek'esa* [1]  
*či\_česun* 'pull out' △ *čičeri* [2]; *činesča* [1]  
*čixar\_k'esun* 'disappear, be saved' △ *čixarrek'sa* [1]  
*č'ot'* 'side' △ *č'ot'exoq'un* [1]  
*ci\_(y)sun* 'go down' △ *ciğane* [1]; *cinesa* [2]  
*damdam* 'morning' △ *damdam* [1]  
*däng* 'stupid' △ *däng* [2]; *dange* [1]  
*do'p\_t'esun* 'shoot' △ *do'pt'esa* [1]  
*doğri* 'real, true' △ *doğri* [1]  
*döv* 'dev' △ *dövnä* [1]; *dövne* [1]; *dövurğo* [1]; *dövurğon* [1]; *dövurğox* [1]; *dövurğoy* [1]  
*dövla* 'riches' △ *dövlatax* [1]  
*dünya* 'world' △ *dünyanun* [1]  
*dürüs* 'living, sound' △ *dürüs* [1]  
*žähil* 'young' △ *žähil* [1]  
*žok'* 'part, except for' △ *žok'* [1]  
*žok'\_baksun* 'be separated' △ *žok'q'unbaki* [1]  
*žub* 'pocket' △ *žubnune* [1]  
*e'k* 'horse' △ *e'kaxo* [1]  
*e\_(y)sun* 'go hither, come' △ *are* [1]; *ari* [9]; *eğaxun* [2]; *eke* [7]; *ekenan* [1]; *enesa* [3]; *eq'unsa* [2]; *essa* [1]; *nut'egalle* [1]  
*e\_česun* 'bring, carry hither' △ *eçere* [1]; *ečeri* [1]; *enesča* [1]  
*e\_fsun* 'keep, hold' △ *efsa* [2]; *enefesa* [1]  
*ek'a* 'what' △ *ek'a* [1]; *ek'aa* [1]; *ek'an* [1]; *ek'aq'o* [1]; *ek'aq'un* [1]; *ek'ate* [3]; *ek'az* [1]  
*ek'al* 'something' △ *ek'al* [4]  
*ek'aluğ* 'why' △ *ek'aluğnu* [1]  
*ek'e* 'how' △ *ek'e* [1]  
*eq'q'ara* 'how much/many' △ *eq'q'arate* [1]

*et'e* 'why'  $\triangle$  *et'ea* [1]  
*evaxt(')e* 'when (< *e-vaxt'-te* 'this time that')'  $\triangle$  *evaxte* [1]: *evaxt'e* [1]  
*fikir\_besun* 'think (make thought)'  $\triangle$  *fikirbesa* [2]; *fikirbesaxo* [1]; *fikirrebi* [1]  
*fuq'\_p'esun* 'rob'  $\triangle$  *fuq'p'e* [1]  
*furu\_pesun* 'search'  $\triangle$  *furanexa* [1]; *furupsan* [1]; *furuq'unexa* [2]  
*ňač'\_pesun* 'bind'  $\triangle$  *ňač'nexa* [1]; *ňač'pi* [2]; *ňač'k'ayz* [1]; *ňač'nexa* [1]  
*ňar* 'son, boy'  $\triangle$  *ňaren* [1]; *ňar* [9]; *ňara* [6]; *ňaral* [1]; *ňarax* [4]; *ňaren* [21]; *ňarenal* [2]; *ňari* [2]; *ňarmuňo* [1]; *ňarmuňon* [2]; *ňarmuňox* [1]; *ňarmuňoxo* [1]; *ňarre* [1]  
*ňi* 'day'  $\triangle$  *ňena* [3]; *ňenaxo* [4]; *ňene* [1]; *ňeneyne* [1]; *ňi* [1]  
*ga* 'place'  $\triangle$  *gala* [1]; *galaq'un* [1]; *ganu* [1]  
*gädä* 'boy'  $\triangle$  *gäda* [1]; *gädä* [7]; *gädin* [2]; *gädina* [2]; *gädinax* [6]; *gädinaxal* [1]; *gadinen* [1]; *gädinen* [19]; *gädinenal* [1]  
*gäräg* 'must'  $\triangle$  *gäräg* [3]  
*gärämzä* 'grave'  $\triangle$  *gärämzä* [2]; *gärämzin* [3]; *gärämzina* [1]; *garamzinax* [1]; *gärämzinax* [4]  
*gärämzäluň* 'graveyard'  $\triangle$  *gärämzalugaxo* [1]; *garamzalugun* [1]  
*gir\_besun* 'gather, collect'  $\triangle$  *girbi* [1]; *girrebsa* [1]  
*gir\_esun* 'be gathered, collected'  $\triangle$  *gireci* [1]  
*gölö* 'much'  $\triangle$  *gölö* [12]; *göläl* [2]; *göloq'un* [1]; *gölot'ui* [1]; *gölöza* [1]  
*gümüš* 'silver'  $\triangle$  *gümüšax:* [1] *gümüşün* [1]  
*hame* 'this (emphatic)'  $\triangle$  *hame* [2]  
*hametär* 'this way, so (emphatic)'  $\triangle$  *hametärre* [1]  
*hamono* 'this one' (emphatic)  $\triangle$  *hamonone* [1]  
*haq'ullu* 'clever, smart'  $\triangle$  *haqullu* [1]; *haq'ullu* [1]; *haq'ulluney* [1]  
*har* 'each'  $\triangle$  *haro* [1]; *hart'u* [1]; *hart'ux* [1]  
*hat'elan* 'from there'  $\triangle$  *hat'elan* [1]  
*hazir* 'ready'  $\triangle$  *hazirre* [1]  
*hesab\_besun* 'do calculus, reckon, estimate, esteem'  $\triangle$  *hesabbi* [1]  
*i\_baksun* 'be ear, hear'  $\triangle$  *iq'obaksa* [1]; *it'ubaki* [2]  
*ič* 'self'  $\triangle$  *ič* [17]; *ičuňenk'* [1]; *ičuňo* [6]; *ičuňon* [1]; *ičuňoxal* [1]; *ičuňne* [1]  
*ieni* 'that is, it means that'  $\triangle$  *ieni* [1]  
*imux* 'ear'  $\triangle$  *imňox* [1]; *imxox* [1]; *imxoxne* [1]  
*irazi\_baksun* 'be agreeing, agree'  $\triangle$  *irazibaksa* [1]; *iraziq'unbaksa* [1]  
*iš* 'man'  $\triangle$  *išen* [2]  
*isa* 'now'  $\triangle$  *isa* [2]  
*iša* 'near'  $\triangle$  *iša* [9]

***ix\_basaksun*** 'fall into ear, remember'  $\triangle$  *ixnebasaksa* [1]  
***ka*** 'that (MED)'  $\triangle$  *ka* [2]  
***k'ači*** 'blind'  $\triangle$  *k'ačine* [2]  
***k'ac'\_pesun*** 'cut, kill'  $\triangle$  *k'ac'nexa* [1]; *k'ac'pi* [1]  
***kai\_baksun*** 'become morning, sunsrise'  $\triangle$  *kaibakama* [1]  
***k'al\_pesun*** 'call'  $\triangle$  *k'allexa* [2]  
***kala*** 'old, great'  $\triangle$  *kala* [5]  
***k'andir*** 'rope'  $\triangle$  *k'andiren* [1]  
***kano*** 'that one (MED)'  $\triangle$  *kano* [1]  
***kar\_xesun*** 'live'  $\triangle$  *karxa* [1]; *karxesha* [1]  
***kärvän*** 'caravan'  $\triangle$  *kärvan* [1]; *kärvänaxo* [1]  
***kaš\_pesun*** 'dig'  $\triangle$  *kašpi* [1]  
***kef\_besun*** 'do a rest, relax'  $\triangle$  *kefbanan* [1]; *kefq'unbesa* [1]; *kefyanbe* [1]  
***k'ic'i*** 'small, little, young'  $\triangle$  *k'ic'iq'un* [1]  
***k'ic'k'e*** 'small, little, young'  $\triangle$  *k'ic'k'e* [9]  
***k'ož*** 'house'  $\triangle$  *k'ož* [1]; *k'ožurux* [1]  
***kol*** 'bush'  $\triangle$  *kolla* [2]  
***k'onžug*** 'house lord'  $\triangle$  *k'onžugon* [2]  
***korpešman*** 'sad'  $\triangle$  *korpešman* [1]  
***k'ua*** 'at home (< \**k'u-a* 'in home')'  $\triangle$  *k'ua* [6]; *k'ual* [1]  
***kul*** 'hand'  $\triangle$  *kex* [1]; *kexo* [1]  
***kur*** 'hole'  $\triangle$  *kurra* [1]; *kurru* [2]  
***la\_desun*** 'put on'  $\triangle$  *lada* [1]; *ladalle* [2]; *lanest'a* [1]  
***la\_xesun*** 'lay on'  $\triangle$  *laxsa* [1]  
***laf\_t'esun*** 'touch'  $\triangle$  *laft'a* [1]  
***lai\_česun*** 'carry up'  $\triangle$  *laičerit'uxo* [1]; *lainesča* [1]  
***lašk'o*** 'marriage'  $\triangle$  *lašk'oq'un* [1]  
***lašk'o\_besun*** 'do marriage, marry'  $\triangle$  *lašk'obakanan* [1]  
***laxo*** 'on(to)'  $\triangle$  *laxo* [6]  
***ma*** 'where'  $\triangle$  *ma* [1]  
***ma-*** 'Prohibitive'  $\triangle$  *maq'an* [2]; *maq'un* [3]  
***mal*** 'goods'  $\triangle$  *mallu* [2]; *mallux* [3]; *malq'un* [1]; *malurux* [1]; *malux* [1]  
***man\_desun*** 'stay, remain'  $\triangle$  *mandane* [1]; *mandesa* [1]; *mandi* [3]; *mannedo* [1]; *mannest'a* [1]; *manq'undesa* [1]  
***manat*** 'ruble'  $\triangle$  *manat* [3]; *manatal* [1]; *manatax* [2]; *manatun* [1]

**mano** 'which, who' △ *manoa* [1]; *manote* [1]  
**me** 'this (PROX)' △ *me* [27]  
**melan** 'from here' △ *melan* [2]  
**meno** 'this one' △ *met'a* [4]; *met'ay* [1]; *met'in* [1]; *met'uğon* [1]; *met'uğox* [1]; *met'uğoxol* [1]; *met'uxal* [1]; *mono* [2]; *monoal* [1]; *monor* [7]  
**mia** 'here' △ *me* [10]  
**moğor\_besun** 'make awake, awake' △ *moğorrebbeṣa* [1]  
**o<sup>č</sup>ne\_psun** 'weep' △ *o<sup>č</sup>nenexa* [1]; *o<sup>č</sup>nepsaxo* [1]  
**ögmiš\_besun** 'praise' △ *ögmišnebi* [1]  
**or** 'which one' △ *or* [2]  
**oša ~ ośa** 'after' △ *oša* [1]; *ośa* [2]; *ośal* [1]  
**ośa** 'after' △ *ośa* [12]  
**ośun** 'next' △ *ośun* [1]  
**otağ** 'room' △ *otağaq'un* [1]; *otağuxne* [1]  
**oxal** 'hunt' △ *oxala* [1]  
**p'a<sup>č</sup>** 'two' △ *p'a<sup>č</sup>* [3]  
**pasčağ ~ pasčax** 'king' △ *pasč'ağ* [4]; *pasč'ağen* [1]; *pasč'ağun* [32]; *pasč'ax* [1]; *pasč'ığun* [2]  
**pasčağluğ** 'rulership' △ *pasč'ağluğax* [1]  
**pasčağluğ\_besun** 'to do rulership, rule' △ *pasč'ağluğnebsa* [1]  
**pesun** 'say' △ *exne* [29]; *exq'un* [2]; *pi* [2]; *pine* [3]; *piq'un* [1]; *uk'alo* [1]; *ukalq'un* [1]; *uk'ante* [1]; *ukaxun* [1]; *uk'axun* [1]; *uzk'o* [1]  
**p'i** 'blood' △ *p'inax* [2]; *p'ine* [1]; *p'inen* [2]  
**pul** 'eye' △ *pel* [4]; *pul* [2]; *pulmux* [2]  
**p'uran** 'again' △ *p'uran* [3]  
**p'uri** 'dead' △ *p'urio* [1]; *p'uriq'un* [1]  
**qai\_baksun** 'be back, return' △ *qaibaki* [3]; *qaibaksa* [1]  
**qai\_esun** 'go back, recover' △ *qaiq'aneci* [1]  
**q'araul** 'watching' △ *q'araulle* [3]  
**q'azamiš\_besun** 'do earning, earn' △ *q'azamišba* [1]  
**q'eiri** 'other' △ *q'eiri* [3]  
**q'əzəl** 'gold' △ *q'əzəlax* [1]; *q'əzlən* [1]  
**qo** 'five' △ *qo* [1]  
**qošt'an** 'from behind (Azeri Ablative)' △ *qošt'an* [3]; *qošt'an* [1]  
**q'ulluğ** 'service' △ *q'ulluğne* [1]  
**şähär** 'town' △ *şähära* [2]; *şähärä* [1]  
**şavat'** 'beautiful, nice' △ *şavat't'e* [1]

**šeno** 'that one' △ *šet'a* [2]; *šet'in* [2]; *šet'inal* [1]; *šet'u* [1]; *šet'uğon* [1]; *šet'uğox* [1]; *šet'uğoxol* [1]; *šet'uğoyne* [1]; *šet'ux* [1]; *šet'uxal* [1]; *šet'uxo* [2]; *šonor* [1]; *šot'uxo* [1]

**šey** 'thing' △ *šeýurğox* [1]

**šor** 'that way, so' △ *šor* [1]

**šu** 'who' △ *šute* [1]

**šel** 'good' △ *šelle* [1]; *šel* [5]; *šel* [1]; *šelgär* [1]; *šelle* [2]

**šel\_baksun** 'become good' △ *šelq'anbaki* [1]

**šu** 'night' △ *šu* [1]

**šum** 'bread' △ *šum* [7]; *šumax* [1]

**šunebiğ** 'middle of night, midnight' △ *šünebiğ* [2]

**sa** 'one' △ *sa* [21]; *sane* [1]

**saema** 'once' △ *saema* [5]

**sagala** 'together (< in one place)' △ *sagala* [1]

**saganu** 'together (< in one place)' △ *saganu* [3]

**sapsa ~ zapsa** 'alone' △ *sapsazu* [1]; *zapsazu* [1]

**säs** 'voice' △ *säsna* [2]; *säsne* [1]

**saxsalamt** 'safe' △ *saxsalamat* [2]

**ser\_besun** 'build' △ *serbe* [1]

**sinamiš\_besun** 'do examination, examine' △ *sinamišbaz* [1]

**so** '(the) one' △ *so* [5]; *soal* [1]

**sövdäkär** 'merchant' △ *sövdäkärđo* [1]; *sövdäkärđgon* [1]; *sövdäkärğox* [1]; *sövdäkärux* [1]; *sövdäkäruxal* [1]

**sun-** 'one' △ *sunt'in* [2]; *sunt'ux* [1]

**sunsun-** 'one another' △ *sunsunaxo* [1]

**ta\_(y)sun** 'go thither' △ *tace* [2]; *taci* [5]; *tağal* [1]; *t'ağalo* [1]; *tağalzu* [1]; *t'ağalzu* [1]; *tağayan* [1]; *tagen* [5]; *tagen* [1]; *take* [1]; *takenan* [1]; *tanesa* [6]; *taq'unsa* [10]; *taysa* [2]

**ta\_şsun** 'carry thither, bring there' △ *tašaz* [1]; *tašaz* [1]

**ta\_st'un** 'give (< \*ta-desun'give thither')' △ *tada* [1]; *tade* [1]; *tadesxolan* [1]; *tadız* [1]; *tanedi* [1]; *tanest'a* [7]

**täksa** 'only' △ *täksa* [1]

**tam\_baksun** 'become full, fulfilled' △ *tambaki* [1]; *tamnebaksa* [1]

**tam\_besun** 'make full, fulfill' △ *tamnebesa* [1]

**tängä** 'money' △ *tänga* [1]; *tängä* [1]; *tänginax* [5]

**t'ap'\_pesun** 'hit' △ *t'ap'exa* [1]; *t'ap'i* [1]; *t'ap'nexa* [1]; *t'ap'nexay* [1]; *t'ap'zuexa* [1]

**tavaq'q'a\_besun** 'make plea, plea' △ *tavaq'q'azbesa* [1]

**taxt'** 'throne' △ *taxt'uxo* [2]

***te<sub>1</sub>*** 'that' (SUB)  $\triangle$  *te* [26]  
***te<sub>2</sub>*** 'not'  $\triangle$  *tebez* [1]; *tene* [7]; *teq'o* [1]; *teq'un* [2]; *tez* [1]; *teza* [1]  
***t'e*** 'that (DIST)'  $\triangle$  *t'e* [5]  
***t'esahat'*** 'that hour, immediately'  $\triangle$  *t'esahat* [2]; *t'esahat'* [2]  
***t'i\_st'un*** 'run (<*t'i\_t*'-sun)'  $\triangle$  *t'inest'a* [1]; *t'ist'a* [2]  
***t'o^g'o'l*** 'at'  $\triangle$  *t'o^go'l* [3]  
***töv\_desun*** 'make trade, sell'  $\triangle$  *tövq'undesa* [1]  
***tünd*** 'loud'  $\triangle$  *tünd* [1]  
***tula*** 'dog'  $\triangle$  *tulan* [1]; *tulin* [3]; *tulinax* [1]; *tulinen* [2]  
***u^q*** 'six'  $\triangle$  *u^q* [1]  
***u\_ksun*** 'eat'  $\triangle$  *käy* [1]; *kayt'uxo* [1]; *uka* [1]; *uken* [3]; *ukes* [1]; *uzko* [1]  
***un*** 'you (singular)'  $\triangle$  *un* [5]; *unal* [3]; *vax* [3]; *vaxol* [1]; *venk'ena* [1]; *venk'q'un* [1]  
***usin*** 'soon'  $\triangle$  *usin* [4]  
***va^n*** 'you (plural)'  $\triangle$  *va^n* [1]; *va^nal* [1]  
***vädä*** 'time'  $\triangle$  *vädä* [1]; *vadanaxo* [1]; *vädinaxo* [1]  
***vaxt'*** 'time'  $\triangle$  *vaxt'a* [3]  
***vi*** 'your (singular)'  $\triangle$  *vi* [8]  
***viči*** 'brother'  $\triangle$  *viče* [1]; *vičen* [1]; *vičengena* [1]; *vičenq'an* [1]; *vičimuxal* [1]  
***vu^g*** 'seven'  $\triangle$  *vu^g* [3]  
***xa^*** 'dog'  $\triangle$  *xa^* [2]  
***xaba\_aq'sun*** 'take news,a sk'  $\triangle$  *xabarreaq'sa* [3]  
***xarž\_besun*** 'do spending, spend'  $\triangle$  *xaržbe* [2]; *xaržyanbe* [1]  
***xaš*** 'month, light'  $\triangle$  *xašne* [1]; *xašney* [1]  
***xata*** 'danger'  $\triangle$  *xatane* [1]  
***xat'ir*** 'sake, rememebrance, relevance'  $\triangle$  *xat'ir* [1]; *xat'irax* [1]; *xat'iraxo* [1]; *xat'irun* [1]  
***xe*** 'water'  $\triangle$  *xenax* [2]; *xene* [1]  
***xel\_besun*** 'make load, load'  $\triangle$  *xelq'unbesa* [1]  
***xib*** 'three'  $\triangle$  *xib* [5]; *xibalenal* [1]; *xibumži* [1]  
***xibq'o*** 'sixty (<*xib q'o* 'three twenty!')'  $\triangle$  *xibq'o* [6]  
***xinär*** 'girl, daughter'  $\triangle$  *xinär* [1]; *xinarax* [1]; *xinärax* [1]; *xinären* [1]; *xinarmuğō* [1]; *xinarmuğon* [1]; *xinärmuğon* [1]; *xinarmuğox* [2]; *xinärmuğoxal* [1]; *xinärre* [1]  
***xoiś\_besun*** 'make wish, wish'  $\triangle$  *xoiśnebsa* [1]; *xoiśq'unbesa* [1]  
***xunči*** 'sister'  $\triangle$  *xunče* [2]; *xunči* [1]; *xuncial* [1]  
***yalluğ*** 'cloth'  $\triangle$  *yalluğane* [1]; *yalluğax* [4]

*yan* 'we' △ *yan* [3]; *yaxal* [1]  
*yaq'* 'way' △ *yaq'al* [2]; *yaq'algär* [1]; *yaq'aq'un* [1]; *yaq'axo* [1]; *yaq'en* [6]; *yaq'en* [1]; *yaq'enne* [1]; *yaq'ne* [1]; *yaq'q'un* [1]  
*yaq'\_čebaksun* 'pass on way' △ *yaq'\_čebakalğoxoq'un* [1]  
*yaq'a\_bast'un* 'put on way, send' △ *yaq'anebast'a* [1]  
*yoldaš* 'friend' △ *yoldašmux* [1]  
*zap'\_pesun* 'pull, draw' △ *zap'exa* [1]; *zapi* [2]; *zap'nesay* [1]; *zap'nexa* [1]; *zap'nuk'o* [1]  
*zu* T △ *za* [2]; *zast'ane* [1]; *zaxo* [1]; *zu* [9]; *zual* [3]

## 2. English-Udi quick index

<b>above</b> <i>ala</i>	<b>be taken</b> <i>aq'_esun</i>	<b>cause</b> <i>bar_tesun</i>	<b>each</b> <i>har</i>
<b>after</b> <i>oşa</i>	<b>be(come)</b> <i>ba_ksun</i>	<b>clever</b> <i>haq'ullu</i>	<b>ear</b> <i>imux</i>
<b>after</b> <i>oşa ~ ośa</i>	<b>beautiful</b> <i>śavat'</i>	<b>close</b> <i>but'_k'esun</i>	<b>earn</b> <i>q'azamiš_besun</i>
<b>again</b> <i>p'uran</i>	<b>become full</b> <i>tam_baksun</i>	<b>cloth</b> <i>yalluğ</i>	<b>eat</b> <i>u_ksun</i>
<b>agree</b> <i>irazi_baksun</i>	<b>become good</b> <i>śel_baksun</i>	<b>collect</b> <i>gir_besun</i>	<b>enter</b> <i>bai_(y)sun</i>
<b>all</b> <i>bütiin</i>	<b>become morning</b> <i>bia_baksun</i>	<b>come</b> <i>e_(y)sun</i>	<b>esteem</b> <i>hesab_besun</i>
<b>alone</b> <i>sapsa ~ zapsa</i>	<b>become morning</b> <i>kai_baksun</i>	<b>cut</b> <i>k'ac'_pesun</i>	<b>estimate</b> <i>hesab_besun</i>
<b>arrive</b> <i>ba_p'esun</i>	<b>begin</b> <i>bur_gesun</i>	<b>danger</b> <i>xata</i>	<b>evening</b> <i>bias</i>
<b>ask</b> <i>xabar_aq'sun</i>	<b>bind</b> <i>ǵać'_pesun</i>	<b>daughter</b> <i>xinär</i>	<b>examine</b> <i>sinamiš_besun</i>
<b>at home</b> <i>k'ua</i>	<b>blind</b> <i>k'acı</i>	<b>day</b> <i>gi</i>	<b>except for</b> <i>žok'</i>
<b>at</b> <i>t'oǵ'oł</i>	<b>blood</b> <i>p'i</i>	<b>dead</b> <i>p'uri</i>	<b>eye</b> <i>pul</i>
<b>awake</b> <i>moǵor_besun</i>	<b>boil</b> <i>bo_xsun</i>	<b>dev</b> <i>döv</i>	<b>fall</b> <i>baf_st'un</i>
<b>bark</b> <i>ba'p'(e)sun</i>	<b>boy</b> <i>gädä</i>	<b>dig</b> <i>kaś_pesun</i>	<b>fall into ear</b> <i>ix_basaksun</i>
<b>bazaar</b> <i>bazar</i>	<b>boy</b> <i>ǵar</i>	<b>dip into</b> <i>čap_pesun</i>	<b>father</b> <i>baba</i>
<b>be agreeing</b> <i>irazi_baksun</i>	<b>bread</b> <i>śum</i>	<b>disappear</b> <i>čixar_k'esun</i>	<b>finally</b> <i>axer</i>
<b>be amazed</b> <i>aq'_esun</i>	<b>bring</b> <i>e_česun</i>	<b>dismiss</b> <i>ćev_k'esun</i>	<b>find</b> <i>boǵaś_besun</i>
<b>be angry</b> <i>ažuǵo_baksun</i>	<b>bring there</b> <i>ta_śsun</i>	<b>do a rest</b>	<b>first</b> <i>besün</i>
<b>be back</b> <i>qai_baksun</i>	<b>brother</b> <i>viči</i>	<b>do besun</b>	<b>fit into</b> <i>ba_q'sun</i>
<b>be bu</b>	<b>build</b> <i>ser_besun</i>	<b>do calculus</b> <i>hesab_besun</i>	<b>five</b> <i>qo</i>
<b>be closed</b> <i>but'_esun</i>	<b>bush</b> <i>kol</i>	<b>do earning</b>	<b>for</b> <i>baxt'in</i>
<b>be collected</b> <i>gir_esun</i>	<b>but</b> <i>amma</i>	<b>do examination</b>	<b>friend</b> <i>yoldaš</i>
<b>be fulfilled</b> <i>tam_baksun</i>	<b>call</b> <i>k'al_pesun</i>	<b>do marriage</b>	<b>from behind (Azeri Ablative)</b>
<b>be gathered</b> <i>gir_esun</i>	<b>caravan</b> <i>kärvän</i>	<b>do spending</b>	<i>qošt'an</i>
<b>be knowing</b> <i>aba_baksun</i>	<b>carry hither</b> <i>e_česun</i>	<b>dog</b> <i>tula</i>	<b>from here</b> <i>melan</i>
<b>be saved</b> <i>čixar_k'esun</i>	<b>carry thither</b> <i>ta_śsun</i>	<b>dog</b> <i>xaś</i>	<b>from in</b> <i>boś</i>
<b>be separated</b> <i>žok'_baksun</i>	<b>carry up</b> <i>lai_česun</i>	<b>draw</b> <i>zap'_pesun</i>	<b>from there</b> <i>hat'elan</i>

fulfill <i>tam_besun</i>	kill <i>kac'_pesun</i>	near <i>iša</i>	relax <i>kef_besun</i>
gather <i>gir_besun</i>	king <i>pasčağ ~ pasčax</i>	next <i>ošun</i>	relevance <i>xat'ir</i>
girl <i>xinär</i>	know <i>aba_baksun</i>	nice <i>šavat'</i>	remain <i>man_desun</i>
give <i>ta_st'un</i>	lay on <i>la_xesun</i>	night <i>šu</i>	remember <i>ix_basaksun</i>
go back <i>qai_esun</i>	leave <i>bar_tesun</i>	not <i>te<sub>2</sub></i>	rememebrance <i>xat'ir</i>
go down <i>ci_(y)sun</i>	leave <i>če_(y)sun</i>	now <i>isa</i>	return <i>qai_baksun</i>
go hither <i>e_(y)sun</i>	let <i>bar_tesun</i>	observe <i>be<sup>c</sup>_gsun</i>	riches <i>dövla</i>
go into <i>bai_(y)sun</i>	lie down <i>bas_k'esun</i>	oh! <i>ai</i>	rise <i>ai_zesun</i>
go out <i>če_(y)sun</i>	little <i>k'ic'i</i>	old <i>kala</i>	rob <i>fuq'_p'esun</i>
go thither <i>ta_(y)sun</i>	little <i>k'ic'k'e</i>	on(to) <i>laxo</i>	room <i>otağ</i>
gold <i>q'əzəl</i>	live <i>kar_xesun</i>	once <i>saema</i>	rope <i>č'a</i>
good <i>šel</i>	living <i>düriüs</i>	one (referential) <i>so</i>	rope <i>k'andır</i>
goods <i>mal</i>	load <i>xel_besun</i>	one another <i>sunsun-</i>	ruble <i>manat</i>
grave <i>gärmämä</i>	lord <i>ağa</i>	one <i>sa</i>	rule <i>pasčağluğ_besun</i>
graveyard <i>gärmämäluğ</i>	loud <i>tünd</i>	one <i>sun-</i>	rulership <i>pasčağluğ</i>
great <i>kala</i>	love <i>bu_q'sun</i>	only <i>täksa</i>	run <i>t'i_st'un</i>
guilt <i>borž</i>	make awake	other <i>q'eiri</i>	sad <i>korpeşman</i>
hand <i>kul</i>	make <i>besun</i>	owing <i>bošlu</i>	safe <i>saxsalamt</i>
happen <i>če'_baksun</i>	make die <i>bes_besun</i>	part <i>žok'</i>	sake <i>xat'ir</i>
hear <i>i_basun</i>	make full <i>tam_besun</i>	pass by (on a way) <i>yaq'_č'ebaksun</i>	say <i>pesun</i>
here <i>mia</i>	make hight <i>ala_besun</i>	pass by <i>če'_baksun</i>	search <i>furu_pesun</i>
hire <i>bi_q'sun</i>	make leave <i>če'_ev_k'esun</i>	perceive <i>a_k'sun</i>	see <i>a_k'sun</i>
hit <i>t'ap'_pesun</i>	make load	perhaps <i>bälikäm</i>	see <i>be<sup>c</sup>_gsun</i>
hold <i>e_fsun</i>	make plea	perish <i>bat'_kesun</i>	seize <i>bi_q'sun</i>
hole <i>kur</i>	make trade	person <i>adamar</i>	self <i>ič</i>
horse <i>e'k</i>	make wish	place <i>ga</i>	sell <i>töv_desun</i>
house <i>k'ož</i>	man <i>adamar</i>	plea <i>tavaq'q'a_besun</i>	send <i>yaq'a_bast'un</i>
house lord <i>k'onžuğ</i>	man <i>iš</i>	pocket <i>žub</i>	service <i>q'ulluğ</i>
how <i>ek'e</i>	marriage <i>lašk'o</i>	praise <i>ögmiš_besun</i>	seven <i>vu'ğ</i>
how much/many <i>eq'q'ara</i>	marry <i>lašk'o_besun</i>	Prohibitive <i>ma-</i>	shame <i>äib</i>
however <i>anžag</i>	merchant <i>sövdükär</i>	pull out <i>či_česun</i>	shoot <i>do'p_t'eson</i>
hundred <i>bać</i>	middle <i>bəğ</i>	pull <i>zap'_pesun</i>	side <i>č'ot'</i>
hunt <i>oxal</i>	middle of night <i>šunebiğ</i>	put on <i>la_desun</i>	silver <i>gümüš</i>
I <i>zu</i>	midnight <i>šunebiğ</i>	put on way	sister <i>xunci</i>
immediately <i>t'esahat'</i>	money <i>tängä</i>	raise <i>ala_besun</i>	sit <i>ar_cesun</i>
in <i>boş</i>	month. light <i>xaš</i>	reach <i>ba_p'eson</i>	six <i>u'q</i>
in front of <i>beş</i>	morning <i>damdam</i>	ready <i>hazir</i>	sixty <i>xibq'o</i>
it means that <i>ieni</i>	much <i>gölö</i>	real <i>doğri</i>	sleep <i>bas_k'esun</i>
keep <i>e_fsun</i>	must <i>gäräg</i>	reckon <i>hesab_besun</i>	small <i>k'ic'i</i>
kill <i>bes_besun</i>	my <i>bez</i>	recover <i>qai_esun</i>	small <i>k'ic'k'e</i>

smart <i>haq'ullu</i>	that is <i>ieni</i>	touch <i>laf_t'esun</i>	which one or
so (emphatic) <i>hematär</i>	that one (MED) <i>kano</i>	town <i>šähär</i>	who (REL) <i>mano</i>
so <i>šor</i>	that one <i>šeno</i>	trade <i>ališveriš_besun</i>	who <i>šu</i>
something <i>ek'al</i>	that way <i>šor</i>	trading <i>ališveriš</i>	why <i>ek'alug</i>
son <i>čar</i>	thing <i>šey</i>	trans. LV <i>besun</i>	why <i>et'e</i>
soon <i>usin</i>	think <i>fikir_besun</i>	true <i>doğri</i>	wish <i>xoiš_besun</i>
sound <i>dürüs</i>	this (emphatic) <i>hame</i>	two <i>p'a<sup>c</sup></i>	wishe(es) <i>amal</i>
spend <i>xarž_besun</i>	this (PROX) <i>me</i>	voice <i>säs</i>	word <i>ait</i>
stay <i>man_desun</i>	this one (emphatic) <i>hamono</i>	want <i>bu_q'sun</i>	work <i>aš</i>
stupid <i>däng</i>	this one <i>meno</i>	watching <i>q'araul</i>	world <i>dünya</i>
suddenly <i>birdän</i>	this way <i>hametär</i>	water <i>xe</i>	yet <i>anžag</i>
sun <i>be'č</i>	three <i>xib</i>	way <i>yaq'</i>	you (plural) <i>va'n</i>
take <i>a_q'sun</i>	throne <i>taxt'</i>	we <i>yan</i>	you (singular) <i>ur</i>
take <i>bi_q'sun</i>	throw into <i>basa_ksun</i>	weep <i>o'ne_psun</i>	young <i>k'ic'i</i>
that (DIST) <i>t'e</i>	time <i>vädä</i>	what <i>ek'a</i>	young <i>k'ic'k'e</i>
that (MED) <i>ka</i>	time <i>vaxt'</i>	when <i>evaxt('e)</i>	young <i>žahil</i>
that (SUB) <i>te</i>	together (< in one place) <i>sagala</i>	where <i>ma</i>	your (singular) <i>vi</i>
that hour <i>t'esahat'</i>	together (< in one place) <i>saganu</i>	which (REL) <i>mano</i>	

### Addendum: Distribution of floating agreement clitics:

#### General distribution:

Endoclitics: 123 in 60 lexical types

Enclitics: 190 in 90 lexical types

**Verbal ('Propositional') Focus** (verb-internal agreement place): 239 tokens in 104 lexical types  
**Constituent Focus** (verb-external agreement place): 74 tokens in 46 lexical types

#### Details:

##### ENDOCLITICS (123 in 60 lexical types):

Verb Type	Tokens	Lexical Types	Pattern	Nota
Etymologically not transparent	19	12	<i>ba_k-</i> 'be(come)'	Old Udi <i>båhesown</i> 'to move'
Fossilized INC-Elements	5	2	<i>bur_q-</i> 'begin'	* <i>bur-</i> = head-, 'top-'
Light verb constructions	23	9	<i>furu_pesun</i> 'search, walk around'	
Incorporation	28	21	<i>fikir_besun</i> 'think'	
Endoclitics with Medio-Passives	3	3	<i>zap'_esun</i> 'be pulled'	< * <i>zap'-ey-esun</i> < * <i>zap'-he-ğe-sun</i>
Endoclitics with (fossilized) preverbs:	45	13	<i>ta_(y)-</i> 'go thither'	< * <i>ta_-ğe-sun</i>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>60</b>		

**ENCLITICS (190 in 90 lexical types):**

Host Type			Tokens	Lexical Types	Pattern
Adjectives ~ Adverbs			18	12	<i>gölö-</i> _ 'much'
Noun Phrase	TOTAL		31	27	
		ABL	2	2	<i>č'ot'-exo-</i> _ 'from side'
		ABS	19	15	<i>gar-</i> _ 'son'
		ADESS	1	1	<i>zast'a-</i> _ 'at me'
		BEN	1	1	<i>venk'-</i> _ 'four you (sg.)'
		DAT	4	4	<i>yalluš-a-</i> _ 'to cloth'
		DAT2	1	1	<i>ičux-</i> _ 'oneself'
		ERG	1	1	<i>yaq'-en-</i> _ 'with way'
		GEN2	1	1	<i>že-n-ey-</i> _ 'of day'
		POSTPOSITION	1	1	<i>boš-</i> _ 'in'
Negation			14	2	<i>te-</i> _ 'not'
Question words			11	5	<i>ma-</i> _ 'where'
Verb	TOTAL		116	44	
		Enclitic	10	4	<i>biq'-sa-</i> _ 'is taking'
		Conditioned by stem form	35	2	<i>ex-</i> _ 'is saying'
		Suffix-like (TAM constraint)	61	38	
			FUT1	10	<i>bak-al-</i> _ 'will be'
			MOD	11	<i>be'ḡ-a-</i> _ 'should see'
			CONJ	3	<i>bak-ay-</i> _ 'would be'
			IMP	29	<i>aq'-a-( )</i> 'take!'
			IMP (suppletive 2SG)	8	<i>e-ke</i> 'come!'
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>190</b>	<b>90</b>	