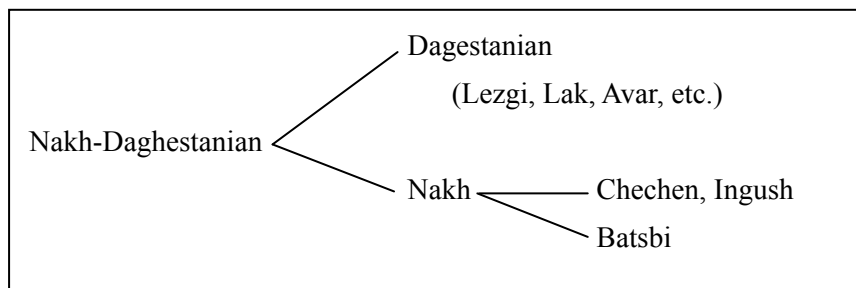


A man coming from Shiraki — a Batsbi text

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1. The Batsbi language

Batsbi belongs to the Nakh branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian or North-East Caucasian languages, along with Chechen and Ingush. In the linguistic literature, the language is also known as “Tsova-Tush,” which is the Georgian designation of Batsbi speakers.



Batsbi is spoken in the village of Zemo Alvani (“Upper Alvani”) in the eastern Georgian region of Kakheti. The number of Batsbi speakers is estimated to be between 2,500 and 3,000 by Desheriev (1967: 228), around 3,000 by Holisky and Gagua (1994: 149), and 5,000 by Chrelashvili (1999: 196).

There is no doubt that Batsbi is in danger of disappearing in the near future. According to my experience in the village, it is no longer spoken by children. Fluent speakers of Batsbi appear to be restricted to people over the age of forty. Younger people, even those who understand Batsbi to some extent, are generally reluctant to use it and tend to speak only Georgian, which is the literary language for all speakers. Every member of the community knows it well. In so far as I am aware, the community is generally indifferent to the endangered state of Batsbi. Documentation of the language as it is presently spoken is quite an urgent task.

The first Batsbi grammar was published as early as the middle of the nineteenth century by A. von Schiefner (Schiefner 1856). However, we have only had a few pieces

of linguistic work on Batsbi since then and much remains unclear about its grammar. Dešeriev (1953), Dešeriev (1967), Holisky and Gagua (1994), and Chrelashvili (2002) provide grammatical descriptions. Kadagidze and Kadagidze (1984) is a dictionary produced by native speakers. No collection of Batsbi texts exists at present.

2. Grammatical notes

2.1 Consonants and vowels

The following table shows the inventory of consonants. Consonants marked with a colon, such as /t:/ and /t':/, represent intensives.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
plosive	p' p b		t' t d t': t:		k' k g	q' q q': q:		ʔ
nasal	m		n					
fricative		v	s z s:	š ž š:		x[χ] ġ[ʁ] x:	h ʕ	h
affricate			c' c ʒ[dʒ]	č' č ʒ[dʒ]				
lateral			ɬ l l:					
approx.				j				
trill/tap			r					

(1 bilabial, 2 labio-dental, 3 dental/alveolar, 4 post-alveolar, 5 velar, 6 uvular, 7 pharyngeal, 8 glottal)

Batsbi has the short vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /u/, /o/ as well as some long vowels. As for the latter, Dešeriev (1967: 228) distinguishes /a:/, /o:/, /u:/, while Holisky and Gagua (1994: 152) acknowledges /e:/, too. The distinction of vowel length, however, is often obscure and is not marked in the phonemic notation of the text. Nasalized vowels (e.g. /aⁿ/) and diphthongs (e.g. /ui/) also exist. Vowels are subject to various morphophonemic processes.

2.2 Nominals

Each noun belongs to one of the gender classes listed in the table given below. Classes I and II are for those nouns denoting male and female person, respectively. The classification of other nouns, however, is not predictable from their meanings or form. There are also twenty-odd exceptional nouns that do not fall into any of these classes.

	sg	pl	examples
I	v-	b-	<i>st'ak'</i> "man," <i>k'nat</i> "son, boy," <i>da:d</i> "father"
II	j-	d-	<i>pst'uin</i> "woman, wife," <i>joh</i> "girl, daughter," <i>na:n</i> "mother"
III	j-	j-	<i>mʃaʔ</i> "horn," <i>c'e</i> "name," <i>načx</i> "cheese," <i>put'k'ar</i> "bee," <i>k'uv</i> "turtle"
IV	d-	d-	<i>bader</i> "child," <i>haš</i> "guest," <i>dok'</i> "heart," <i>ditx</i> "meat," <i>ħac'uk'</i> "bird," <i>ʔa</i> "winter," <i>cok'al</i> "fox," <i>c'a</i> "house," <i>bubuk'</i> "flower," <i>xi</i> "water, river"
V	b-	d-	<i>kort</i> "head," <i>mot'</i> : "word, language," <i>pħe</i> "village", <i>č'ivč'</i> "sparrow," <i>bʃorc'</i> "wolf," <i>ča</i> "bear," <i>gor</i> "apple," <i>do</i> "horse," <i>matx</i> "sun," <i>but.</i> "moon"

The gender class is formally marked by the agreement prefixes *v-*, *b-*, *j-*, *d-*, which appear in some adjectives, verbs, etc. Verbs show class agreement with the nominal in the absolutive case. The class prefixes are written in capital letters in the following examples.

- (i) *Vaq:oⁿ* *k'nat* *Va:ğ-ǫ.* "A big boy comes."
V.big boy.ABS V.come-PF
- (ii) *Baq:oⁿ* *k'nat-i* *Ba:ğ-ǫ.* "Big boys come."
B.big boy-PL.ABS B.come-PF

The declensional paradigm for *ğazeⁿ k'nat* "a good boy" is as follows. Note that *ğazeⁿ* "good" does not show class agreement, differently from *Vaq:oⁿ* "big." The case and number suffixes may vary in form according to the nominal it attaches to.

	sg.	pl.
ABSolutive	<i>ğazeⁿ k'nat</i>	<i>ğazeⁿ k'nat-i</i>
GENitive	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-eⁿ</i>	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-aⁿ</i>
DATive	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-en</i>	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-in</i>
ERGative	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-ev</i>	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-iv</i>
CONtact	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-ex</i>	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-ix</i>
ALLative	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-egǫ</i>	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-igǫ</i>
ADverbial	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-eğ</i>	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-iğ</i>
COMmitative	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-eciⁿ</i>	<i>ğaz-ičǫ k'nat-iciⁿ</i>

A restricted number of nouns have the locative form (cf. (1)).

The three series of demonstratives are:

	ABS	ABS.PL	OBL	
DEM1	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>ʔe-bi</i>	<i>ʔe-qu-</i>	“this” (by the speaker)
DEM2	<i>ʔis</i>	<i>ʔipsi</i>	<i>ʔic-xu-</i>	“that, it” (by the addressee)
DEM3	<i>ʔo</i>	<i>ʔo-bi</i>	<i>ʔo-qu-</i>	“that, it, he ,she”

(Cf. *ʔuis* “there, in/to that place” in (11), *ʔošt’uⁿ* “such, that kind of” in (37), etc.)

2.3 Verbs

The base is extended by the stem formant of present/future (PF) or by that of aorist (AOR) to form a stem. The aorist stem itself may become the base for the present/future stem. The stem may take the suffix of the past tense *-ra*, which, in turn, may be followed by the suffix of evidential *-lo*.

- | | | | |
|-------|----|--|----------------------------------|
| (iii) | a. | <i>mełǒ</i> (< meł-o)
drink.IP-PF | “s/he drinks” |
| | b. | <i>mełor</i> (< meł-o-ra)
drink.IP-PF-PST | “s/he was drinking” |
| | c. | <i>metralǒ</i> (< meł-o-ra-lo)
drink.IP-PF-PST-EV | “s/he was drinking (apparently)” |
| (iv) | a. | <i>małǒ</i> (< mał-o)
drink.P-PF | “s/he will drink” |
| | b. | <i>małeⁿ</i> (< mał-en)
drink.P-AOR | “s/he drank” |
| | c. | <i>małer</i> (< mał-en-ra)
drink.P-AOR-PST | “s/he drank, had drunk” |
| | d. | <i>małnor</i> (< mał-en-o-ra)
drink.P-AOR-PF-PST | “s/he has drunk, had drunk” |

A personal pronoun may cliticize to the finite verb form. The cliticization of the subject pronoun is often obligatory.

duq xalx ʔejaxk'janor, e ʔe xalx, t'q'uihsine tataⁿ xac'a lati. ʔe xalx daq'-melo:š ʔejaxk'janor. ux dor? vux xum co verc'ere daħ gargvaliⁿ. moħeⁿ mak gargvaliⁿ, ħat:e? ʔuisrena: ċħa melmi st'ak' ħal lakvelnoer, ʔeq piniħ soa veʔnor. «vo:l, vo:l. txociⁿ so vo:l. gana vo:l, volen», daħ vik'ue. ʔoquin magram ħat:e? dabc'mak'iⁿ, me ʔešmi levdor. ʔešmaⁿ daq'-mehuila: dare; le vux co vaxmak'ine, le ħatx co vot'mak'e. dak'levra tasvalin, ux doe? t'q'uihsine korlena velnor ʔoqargo. korleⁿ velnoer, bat'binoer ʔe doⁿ vux verc'inčov, šarna vet'nor. šarn vet'če ħat:e? t'q'uiħa doc'delnor ʔobijaj ʔe st'ak'ox. vuit'ō ʔe st'ak'e, de:c'ō t'q'uiħa ʔe ʔešmie; t'q'uihsine ʔaxši, korleⁿ valeⁿ ra, ʔešmi dux diseⁿ. e ʔeq droħ t'q'uiħa ċħen pst'uinčo juğar xec'nor. «q'ismat ħeⁿ me so ʔak'vanmak bʕarjaxesuin.» e qoc' jiknor. e ʔo pst'uin magram ʔošt'uⁿ levjor, me baq'e? ʔo ʔak'vanmak co bʕarjexnoħer, ħat:eš donmakreⁿ ʔaħtasin kor vaħin var ʔo st'ak'. ʔoqus, magram, bader daqdoralō make; ʔo bader me daqdor, ʔo badren daħ maq' co belnor. ʔišt'uⁿ c'es levbor ʔoqargo. jaq:ux levjor, ʔešmaⁿ jaq:ux.

4.2 English Translation

Once a Batsbi man was coming up to Alvani from Shiraki. It is a very long way to Alvani. It had become dark on the way. What could he do? “I shall go in the darkness,” he thought. He comes and comes. Far away, somewhere, he saw a fire. He saw a tongue of fire. He thought, “wow, someone certainly has a fire lighted. I am tired. Now I shall go there and take a rest for a while, at least.” He turned his horse toward there, where he saw the fire. He went there. As approaching the fire, he gradually realized that so many people were sitting around the fire. He then heard their voices. These people were sitting eating and drinking. What could he do? He could not turn back, could he? So, he approached them. Suddenly, several men stood up and came toward him from there. “Come, come! Come to us!” They are taking him, saying, “hey, come, come.” He readily realized that they were devils. There was devils’ food and drink, too. Neither could he leave, nor can he go forward. He dropped into thought, “what to do?” At last he got free of their hands. Showing them his back, he rode a horse and ran away. As he ran away, they immediately followed him. This man goes and these devils follow after him. At last, he escaped from them and the devils were left behind. This time he heard a woman crying behind him. “Lucky you that I met you when I was by a cradle.” She screamed three times. The woman was such that if she had not been by the cradle when she met him, she would have dropped him down from the horse and caught him at once. But she was feeding her baby. She didn’t leave the baby she was feeding. They had such a custom. She was the boss, the boss of the devils.

4.3 Georgian Translation

ერთხელ ბაცბის კაცი შირაქიდან ალვანში მოდიოდა. ალვანამდე ძალიან გრძელი გზაა. გზაში უკვე დაბნელებოდა. რა ვქნა, ვივლი ამ სიბნელეშიო, იფიქრა. მოდის, მოდის და სადღაც შორს ცეცხლის ენა დაინახა. იფიქრა, „ვაა, ვილაცას ცეცხლი უნთიაო. დაღლილი ვარ, ახლა იქ მივალ და ცოტა ხანს მაინც დავისვენებო.“ სადაც ცეცხლი დაინახა, ცხენი იქით მიატრიალა და წავიდა. ცეცხლს რომ უახლოვდებოდა, თანდათან ხვდებოდა, რომ მის გარშემო ძალიან ბევრი ხალხი იჯდა. ბოლოს ხალხის ხმა შემოესმა. ისინი სმა-ჭამაში იყვნენ გართულები. რა ექნა, უკან ხომ არ გაბრუნდებოდა და მიუახლოვდა. რომ მივიდა, იქიდან რამდენიმე კაცი წამოხტა და მისკენ წამოვიდა. „მოდი, მოდი. ჩვენთან მოდი. აბა, მოდი, მოდიო“, — მიჰყავთ ის. კაცმა მაშინვე იცნო, რომ ისინი ეშმაკები იყვნენ. ეშმაკები ჰურ-მარილობდნენ. ვეღარც უკან დაიხია, ვერც წინ წავიდა. საგონებელში ჩავარდა, „რა ვქნაო?“ ბოლოს ხელიდან გაუსხლტა. ცხენი უკან მოატრიალა და გაიქცა. ეშმაკები მაშინვე უკან დაედევნენ. მირბის კაცი და მოსდევენ უკან ეშმაკები. როგორც იქნა, გამოექცა. ეშმაკები უკან ჩამორჩნენ. ამ დროს უკნიდან ქალის ყვირილი შემოესმა. „ბედი შენი, რომ მე აკვანზე დაგიხვდიო.“ სამჯერ დაიძახა ქალმა. ის ქალი ისეთი იყო, მართლაც აკვანზე რომ არ ყოფილიყო, მაშინვე ცხენიდან ჩამოაგდებდა და დაიჭერდა ამ კაცს. მაგრამ ქალი ბავშვს ძუძუს აწოვებდა და თავი არ დაანება. ასეთი წესი ჰქონდათ ეშმაკებს. ის უფროსი იყო, ეშმაკების უფროსი.

4.4 Text with interlinear gloss

(1)	<i>c'q'e</i>	<i>čħa</i>	<i>bacbaⁿ</i>	<i>st'ak'</i>	<i>vağralō</i>
	<i>c'q'e</i>	<i>čħa</i>	<i>bacb-aⁿ</i>	<i>st'ak'</i>	<i>Vağ-o-ra-lo</i>
	once	one	Batsbi-PL.GEN	man.ABS	V.come.IP-PF-PST-EV
	<i>širkilna</i>	<i>ʔaluin</i>		<i>ħalue,</i>	
	<i>širki-lena</i>	<i>ʔaluin</i>		<i>ħalo=e</i>	
	Shiraki.LOC-from	to.Alvani		up=and	

Once a Batsbi man was coming up to Alvani from Shiraki;

- (2) *ʔo zoreš baxxeⁿ niq' ba ʔaluinemcine,*
ʔo zoreš Baxxeⁿ niq' Ba ʔaluine-mcin=e
 DEM3 very B.long way.ABS B.be.IP.PF to.Alvani-up.to=and

It is a very long way up to Alvani;

- (3) *naq'a ʔučinⁿ xilnor ʔoquin.*
naq'a[h] ʔučinⁿ xil-en-o-ra ʔo-qu-in
 on.the.way darkness.ABS be.P-AOR-PF-PST DEM3-OBL-DAT

It had become dark (for him) on the way.

- (4) *ux dor?*
ux Do-ra
 what.ABS D.do.IP.PF-PST

What was to do?

- (5) *ʔo, «ʔučnax hal ʔixosen» dak'levnor.*
ʔo ʔučn-ax hal ʔix-o=as=en dak'lav-in-o-ra
 DEM3.ABS darkness-CON up go-PF=1SG.ERG=QUOT think.P-AOR-PF-PST

“I shall go in the darkness,” he thought.

- (6) *mainc va:ğǒ, vağue,*
mainc Vağ-o Vağ-o=e
 nevertheless V.come.IP-PF V.come.IP-PF=and

He nevertheless comes and comes;

- (7) *čaq mičax c'e jegnor.*
čaq mičax c'e Jag-in-o-ra
 far somewhere fire.ABS J.see.P-AOR-PF-PST

Far away, somewhere, he saw a fire.

- (8) *c'ari* *mot':* *begnor.*
c'ar-iⁿ *mot':* *Bag-in-o-ra*
 fire-GEN tongue.ABS B.see.P-AOR-PF-PST

He saw a tongue of fire.

- (9) *dak'levnor,* «*ba,* *ħanaxčogo* *c'e*
dak'lav-in-o-ra *ba* *ħanax-čo-go[-ħ]* *c'e*
 think.P-AOR-PF-PST wow someone-OBL-ALL[-LOC] fire.ABS

ʔak'uice.»

ʔak'-oJ=ce

burn-J.do.IP=indeed

He thought, “wow, someone certainly has a fire lighted.”

- (10) «*malvalin* *vasǎ.»*
mal-Val-in *Va=so*
 tire-V.INTR-PPRT.ABS V.be.IP.PF=1SG.ABS

“I am tired.”

- (11) «*ʔinc* *ʔuis* *moʔ* *ǵole:s* *daħ.»*
ʔinc *ʔuis* *moʔ* *ǵo-lo=as* *daħ*
 now there at.least go.P-SUBJ=1SG.ERG thither

“Now I shall go there, at least.”

- (12) «*daħ* *moʔ* *tivra:s* *k'azik'* *xaneħen.»*
daħ *moʔ* *tiv-u-ra=as* *k'azik'* *xan-eħ=en*
 thither at.least repose.P-PF-PST=1SG.ERG a.little time-LOC=QUOT

“I would take a rest for a while, at least.”

- (13) *ħal qit:noer;*
 ħal qit:-en-o=e-ra
 up stand.up.P-AOR-PF=and-PST

He stood up;

(This does not mean literally that he stood up, but this is an idiomatic expression suggesting that the man starts some action. [Cf. Georgian *adga da ...* “He stood up and ...”] The particle =e “and,” when cliticized to a finite verb ending with the suffix *-ra*, may precede it. Both forms, *qit:-n-o=e-r* and *qit:-n-o-r=e*, are possible.)

- (14) *mičħe c'e jagiⁿ, ᳵoq piniħa:*
 mičħ=e c'e Jag-in ᳵo-qu piniħ=a
 where=PTCL fire.ABS J.see.P-AOR DEM3-OBL side.LOC=PTCL

ᳵe doⁿ ᳵoq piniħ berc'binoer;
 ᳵe doⁿ ᳵo-qu piniħ Berc'-Bi-en-o=e-ra
 DEM1 horse.ABS DEM3-OBL side.LOC B.turn.P-B.do.P-AOR-PF=and-PST

ᳵoq piniħa: vexnor.
 ᳵo-qu piniħ=a Vax-en-o-ra
 DEM3-OBL side.LOC-PTCL V.go.P-AOR-PF-PST

He turned his horse toward there, where he saw the fire, and went there.

(*mičħ=e* “where” is a relative adverb, consisting of the interrogative adverb *mičħ* “where” and the particle =e “and, too” attached to it. Relative pronouns and adverbs are generally formed by means of this particle.)

- (15) *e moħe gargla ᳵe c'aran, tantaⁿ*
 e moħ=e gargla ᳵe c'ar-an, tantaⁿ
 and how=PTCL near DEM1 fire-DAT gradually

dat'q'obadieⁿ, me ᳵe c'aran gogix
 dat'q'oba-Di-eⁿ me ᳵe c'ar-an gogix
 realize-D.do.P-AOR CONJ DEM1 fire-DAT around

<i>zoreš</i>	<i>duq</i>	<i>xalx</i>	<i>ʔejaxk'janor,</i>
zoreš	Duq	xalx	ʔeJaxk'-Ja-n-o-ra
very	D.many	people.ABS	J.sit-J.be.IP-AOR-PF-PST

As approaching the fire, he gradually realized that so many people were sitting around this fire,

(16)	<i>e</i>	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>xalx,</i>	<i>t'q'uihsine</i>	<i>tataⁿ</i>	<i>xac'a</i>	<i>latiⁿ.</i>
	e	ʔe	xalx	t'q'uihsine	tata ⁿ	xac'-a ⁿ	lati ⁿ
	and	DEM1	people.ABS	finally	voice.ABS	hear-INF	AUX.began

And this people, he then began to hear their voices.

(17)	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>xalx</i>	<i>daq'-melo:š</i>	<i>ʔejaxk'janor.</i>
	ʔe	xalx	daq'-meł-o-š	ʔeJaxk'-Ja-n-o-ra
	DEM1	people.ABS	eat-drink.IP-PF-CV	J.sit-J.be.IP.PF-AOR-PF-PST

These people were sitting eating and drinking.

(18)	<i>ux</i>	<i>dor ?</i>
	ux	Do-ra
	what	D.do.IP.PF-PST

What was to do?

(19)	<i>vux</i>	<i>xum</i>	<i>co</i>	<i>verc'ere</i>	<i>daħ</i>
	Vux	xum	co	Verc'-e-ra=e	daħ
	V.backward	INTERR	NEG	V.return.P-PF-PST=and	thither

gargvaliⁿ.

garg-Val-iⁿ

near-V.INTR-AOR

He could not turn back, could he? So, he approached them.

(*Vux* “backward” is the only adverb that shows class agreement. It agrees in class with the nominal in the absolutive case.)

- (20) *moħe mak gargvaliⁿ, ĥat:eʔ ʔuisrena:*
 moh=e mak garg-Val-iⁿ ĥat:eʔ ʔuis-ren=a
 how=PTCL on near-V.INTR-AOR immediately there-from=PTCL
- ĉħa meħmi st'ak' ĥal lakvelnoer,*
 ĉħa meħmi st'ak' ĥal lak-Val-in-o=e-ra
 one several man.ABS up let.out-V.INTR-AOR-PF=and-PST
- ʔeq piniħ soa veʔnor.*
 ʔe-qu piniħ so=a Veʔ-en-o-ra
 DEM1-OBL side.LOC hither=PTCL V.come.P-AOR-PF-PST

As he approached them, suddenly, several men stood up and came toward him from there.

- (21) «*Vo:l, vo:l.*»
 Vol Vol
 V.come.IMP V.come.IMP
- “Come, come!”
- (22) «*txociⁿ so vo:l.*»
 txo-ciⁿ so Vol
 1PL.EXCL-COM hither V.come.IMP

“Come to us!”

- (23) «*gana vo:l, volen,* *daħ vik'ue.*»
 gana Vol Vol=en daħ Vik'-o=e
 hey V.come.IMP V.come.IMP-QUOT thither V.take-PF=and

They are taking him, saying, “hey, come, come”;

- (24) *ʔoquin magram ĥat:eʔ dabc'mak'in,*
 ʔo-qu-in magram ĥat:eʔ Dabc'-mak'-in
 DEM3-OBL-DAT but immediately realize-POSS-AOR

<i>me</i>	<i>ʔešmi</i>	<i>levdor.</i>
me	ʔešm-i	levD-o-ra
CONJ	devil-PL.ABS	D.be.IP-PF-PST

But he immediately realized that they were devils.

(25)	<i>ʔešmaⁿ</i>	<i>daq'-mehuila:</i>	<i>dare,</i>
	ʔešm-a ⁿ	daq'-meuil=a	Da-ra=e
	devil-PL.GEN	eat-drink=PTCL	D.be-PST=and

There was devils' food and drink, too;

(26)	<i>le</i>	<i>vux</i>	<i>co</i>	<i>vaxmak'ine,</i>
	le	Vux	co	Vax-mak'-in=e
	or	V.backward	NEG	V.go.P-POSS-AOR=and

	<i>le</i>	<i>ħatx</i>	<i>co</i>	<i>vot'mak'e,</i>
	le	ħatx	co	Vot'-mak'[-e]=e
	or	forward	NEG	V.go.IP-POSS[-PF]=and

Neither could he leave, nor can he go forward;

(27)	<i>dak'levra</i>	<i>tasvalin,</i>	<i>ux</i>	<i>doe,</i>
	dak'levra	tas-Val-in	ux	Do=e
	to.think	fall.P-V.INTR-AOR	what.ABS	D.do.IP.PF=and

He dropped into thought, "What to do?";

(28)	<i>t'q'uihsine</i>	<i>korlena</i>	<i>velnor</i>	<i>ʔoqargo.</i>
	t'q'uihsine	kor-lena	Vał-in-o-ra	ʔo-qu-ar-go[-ħ]
	finally	hand-from	V.go.P-AOR-PF-PST	DEM3-OBL-PL-ALL[-LOC]

At last, he got free of their hands.

(*kor-leⁿ Dał-eⁿ* is an idiomatic expression meaning "s/he escaped from, got free of." [Cf. Kadagidze and Kadagize 1984: 36])

(29) *korleⁿ velnoer; bat' binoer*
 kor-leⁿ Vał-in-o=e-ra, Bat'-Bi-en-o=e-ra
 hand-from V.go.P-AOR-PF=and=PST B.run.away-B.do.P-AOR-PF=and-PST

ʔe doⁿ vux verc'inčov,
 ʔe doⁿ Vux Verc'-in-čo-v
 DEM1 horse.ABS V.backward V.turn-PPART-OBL-ERG

šarna vet'nor.
 šarn=a Vat'-in-o-ra
 for.oneself=PTCL V.run.away-AOR-PF-PST

He escaped and, he, showing them his back, rode a horse and ran away.

(30) *šarn vet'če ħat:eʔ t'q'uiħa*
 šarn Vat'-in-če ħat:eʔ t'q'uiħa
 for.oneself V.run.away-AOR-CV immediately after

doc'delnor ʔobijaj ʔe st'ak'ox.
 Doc'-Dal-in-o-ra ʔo-bi=jaj ʔe st'ak'-ox
 D.follow-D.INTR-AOR-PF-PST DEM3-PL.ABS=PTCL DEM1 man-CON

As he ran away, they immediately followed him.

(31) *vuit'ō ʔe st'ak'e, de:c'ō t'q'uiħa ʔe*
 Vot'-u ʔe st'ak'=e, Dac'-u t'q'uiħa ʔe
 V.go.IP-PF DEM1 man.ABS=and D.follow-PF after DEM1

ʔešmie,
 ʔešm-i=e
 devil-PL.ABS=and

This man goes and these devils follow after him;

- (32) *t'q'uihsine* *ʔaxši,* *korleⁿ* *valeⁿ* *ra,*
t'q'uihsine *ʔaxši* *kor-leⁿ* *Vaʔ-eⁿ* *ra*
 finally at.last hand-from V.go.P-AOR PTCL
- ʔešmi* *dux* *diseⁿ.*
ʔešm-i *Dux* *Dis-eⁿ*
 devil-PL.ABS D.back D.remain.P-AOR

At last, he escaped from them and the devils were left behind.
 (*ra* is a Georgian interjection “so, you know.”)

- (33) *e* *ʔeq* *droḥ* *t'q'uiḥa*
e *ʔe-qu* *dro-ḥ* *t'q'uiḥa*
 and DEM1-OBL time-LOC after
- čhen* *pst'uinčo* *juḡar* *xec'nor.*
če-n *pst'uin-čo* *Juḡ-ar* *xac'-en-o-ra*
 one-OBL woman-OBL J.cry-VN hear-AOR-PF-PST

This time he heard a woman crying behind him.

- (34) *«q'ismat* *ḥeⁿ* *me* *so* *ʔak'vanmak*
q'ismat *ḥeⁿ* *me* *so* *ʔak'van-mak*
 luck.ABS 2SG.GEN CONJ 1SG.ABS cradle-on

bʃarjaxesuin.»

bʃarJax-en=so=en

J.meet.P-AOR=1SG.ABS=QUOT

“Lucky you that I met you [when I was] by a cradle.”

- (35) *e* *qoc'* *jiknor,*
e *qo-c'* *Jek-in-o-ra*
 and three-times J.shout.P-AOR- PF-PST

And she screamed three times;

- (36) *e* *ʔo* *pst'uin* *magram* *ʔošt'uⁿ* *levjor,* *me*
e *ʔo* *pst'uin* *magram* *ʔošt'uⁿ* *levJ-o-ra* *me*
and DEM3 woman.ABS but such J.be.IP-PF-PST CONJ

And the woman, however, was such that ...

- (37) *baq'eʔ* *ʔo* *ʔak'vanmak* *co* *bʕarjexnoher,*
baq'eʔ *ʔo* *ʔak'van-mak* *co* *bʕarJax-en-o-he-ra*
really DEM3.ABS cradle-on NEG J.meet.P-AOR-PF-COND-PST

if she really had not met him [when she was] by the cradle, ...

- (38) *ħat:eʔ* *donmakreⁿ* *ʔaħtasin* *kor*
ħat:eʔ *don-mak-reⁿ* *ʔaħ-tas-in* *kor*
at.once horse-on-from down-drop.P-PPART.ABS hand.ABS

vaħin *var* *ʔo* *st'ak'.*
Vaħ-in *Va-r* *ʔo* *st'ak'*
V.take.P-PPART.ABS V.be.IP-PST DEM3 man.ABS

the man would have been dropped off from the horse and have been caught at once.

- (39) *ʔoqus,* *magram,* *bader* *daqdoralö* *make,*
ʔo-qu-s *magram* *bader* *daq-Do-ra-lö* *mak=e*
DEM3-OBL-ERG but child.ABS eat-D.do.IP.PF-PST-EV on=and

But she was feeding her baby;

- (40) *ʔo* *bader* *me* *daqdor,* *ʔo* *badren*
ʔo *bader* *me* *daq-Do-ra* *ʔo* *badr-en*
DEM3 child.ABS CONJ eat-D.do.IP.PF-PST DEM3 child-DAT

daħ *maq'* *co* *betnor.*
daħ *maq'* *co* *Baħ-in-o-ra*
thither free NEG B.leave.P-AOR-PF-PST

She didn't leave the baby she was feeding.

(41)	<i>ʔišt'uⁿ</i>	<i>c'es</i>	<i>levbor</i>	<i>ʔoqargo.</i>
	ʔišt'u ⁿ	c'es	levB-o-ra	ʔo-qu-ar-go
	such	custom.ABS	B.be.IP-PF-PST	DEM3-OBL-PL-ALL

They had such a custom.

(42)	<i>jaq:ux</i>	<i>levjor,</i>	<i>ʔešmaⁿ</i>	<i>jaq:ux.</i>
	Jaq:ux	levJ-o-ra	ʔešm-a ⁿ	Jaq:ux
	J.senior.ABS	J.be.IP-PF-PST	devil-PL.GEN	J.senior.ABS

She was the boss, the boss of the devils.

(*Jaq:ux* is the comparative form of the adjective *Jaq:oⁿ* “big.”)

Abbreviation

ABS	Absolutive case	IP	Imperfective aspect
ALL	Allative case	LOC	Locative case
AOR	Aorist	NEG	Negation
CON	Contact case	OBL	Oblique case
COND	Conditional	P	Perfective aspect
CONJ	Conjunction	PF	Present/Future
CV	Converb	PL	Plural
DAT	Dative case	POSS	Possibility
DEM	Demonstrative	PPART	Past participle
ERG	Ergative case	PST	Past
EV	Evidential	PTCL	Particle
GEN	Genitive case	SUBJ	Subjunctive mood
INTERR	Interrogative		

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